SHAMANISM IN PERFORMING ARTS

Edited by
Tae-gon Kim and Mihály Hoppál

with the assistance of
Otto J. von Sadovszky



Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

SHAMANISM
IN PERFORMING ARTS



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On the cover:

Iron framed drum (dangu or taipinggu 'the peaceful drum') with a long handle and metal jingles from the Qing Dynasty (Beijing area)

Based on the illustration from Liu Gui-teng's article: "Musical Instruments in the Manchurian Shamanic Sacrificial Rituals"

MAGYAR TUDOMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA KÖNYVTÁRA

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Preface

The International Society for Shamanistic Research held its second conference on July 11–17, 1993, in Budapest (Hungary). The first international conference of the ISSR was held in Seoul (Korea) in 1993, and the selected papers were published for the second meeting in *Shamans and Cultures* (Edited by Mihály Hoppál and Keith D. Howard with the assistance of Otto J. von Sadovszky and Tae-gon Kim. Budapest — Los Angeles: Akadémiai Kiadó — ISTOR). A new journal *Shaman (An International Journal for Shamanistic Research)* was also established, which has been accepted as the official journal of the Society (Honorary Editor-in-Chief: Åke Hultkrantz; Editors: Mihály Hoppál and Ádám Molnár). Furthermore, the abstracts and some of the papers of the conference were also published in a small book *Shamanism and Performing Arts* (Edited by Mihály Hoppál and Pál Páricsy. Budapest: Ethnographic Institute, 1993).

The present volume, of course, cannot comprise all the lectures delivered, since ninety papers were given by the participants, who had arrived from eighteen countries. Many sent their lectures but were unable to attend the conference; while others did attend, but failed to submit final versions of their papers. True, at the closing session, we did not promise that we would be able to publish the lectures; all we promised was that *Shaman* would continuously publish the best papers coming in, a promise we have so far kept to; since No 2 of Volume 2, 1994 of the journal's second volume will be published; and for the next international conference, planned to be held in the city of Nara (Japan) in November 1995, two numbers of Volume 3 will be published as well. Nobody should feel excluded, as their scientific papers will be published continuously — if not in this particular volume, then in a subsequent volume of the journal.

The publication of this volume was made possible by the generous support of Kyung Hee University (Seoul, Korea), Institute of Folklore Studies (Director: Tae-gon Kim) and of the International Society for Trans-Oceanic Research, ISTOR, President and CEO: Otto J. von Sadovszky). Space, of course, was limited and the publication deadline was very close. In our opinion, it is better to have a volume *now* — one that appears as a result of sober compromises — than to wait for further grants, uncertain as these tend to be. The work of a scientific society and their results are reflected by regularly published materials. These may take the form not only of a journal but, much rather, that of volumes that feature the presentations of the conferences. The latter, indeed, tend to give a fresher view of the trends of the researches.

The Budapest conference, too, made it evident that the future lay in thematic conferences — ones which set out to analize in detail particular topics, previously neglected aspects.

At the conference, plenary and shorter lectures were presented, along with research reports (each of an average duration of twenty to twenty-five minutes), in the following sections: 1. Performing Arts; 2. Theatrical Aspects; 3. Shamanic Music; 4. Shamanic Songs and Singing; 5. Shamanic Narrative; 6. Shamanism and Religion; 7. Shamanism in Eurasia; 8. Shamanic Healing; 9. Dance in Shamanism; 10. Special Sessions on China, Korea, Japan, Mongolia, Far East, Northern Eurasia, Yakutia.

Partly parallel with the reading sessions, film–video presentations were held, too, with researchers presenting more than a dozen fascinating recently produced films.

The lectures of the conference reported on significant and new scientific results. It was particularly important that, while the overall topic of the conference examined the artistic aspects in general, the particular sections tended to concentrate on individual subareas (shamanism and music, dance, theatrical aspects, poetry and narration, singing), and it was here that they yield new material. Of special value were the films being part of earlier neglected research, and visually encompassing the topic.

After the reading sessions, the participants could indulge their interests and make choice of various supplementary programmes. After the opening session, for instance, a chamber exhibition prepared in honour of Vilmos Diószegi was opened in the Ethnographical Museum by the General Director of the Museum, Tamás Hofer. The material for the exhibition was compiled by Gábor Wilhelm. The location of the conference, the Kultúrinnov Building, situated in the Castle District, hosted an ethnophoto exhibition by László Kunkovács called "Táltoserő" (Shamanic Strength). Here, the opening addresses were given by poet Ferenc Buda and Vilmos Voigt. High-quality entertainment was provided, too, by a jazz concert (Mihály Dresch and his trio) on one evening and, on another evening, by a shamanic dance performance (staged by Ronald Chavers).

On three evenings, receptions were given for the attendees of the conference, with an excursion at the end including a visit to the Open-Air Museum of Szentendre and a farewell dinner.

According to the feedbacks, the general hallmark of the conference was, besides the high academic standards, a relaxed atmosphere of colleagues being amongst themselves. The scientific sessions having been concluded, the international society (ISSR) held its general assembly, at which many expressed the wish that, henceforth as well, Budapest should continue functioning as the centre of research on shamanism. A Scientific Committee was elected, with Mihály Hoppál and Tae-gon Kim as the chairmen.

The lecturers included leading experts on shamanism, such as Åke Hultkrantz, who gave the introductory lecture, and A.-L. Siikala, J. Pentikäinen, R. Hamayon, U. Johansen, and M. Oppitz. In the attendance

were also researchers from countries where shamanism is still a living tradition, such as China-Manchuria, Yakutia, and Korea. From Nepal, we had a young shaman attendee.

We hope that this conference will be followed by new meetings every second year — in other words, that the members of the ISSR will carry on the research work, since shamanistic research still has so many neglected areas.

Ths book is the first volume of a new series being launched, to be called *Bibliotheca Shamanistica*. In it, possibly the best authors will publish the results of their recent researches. The editorial board is planning to publish, too, in the present series, some of the classical works in the field. Reprint editions are considered for out-of-print books, and collections in some of the less accessible languages will be published in English translation. We are looking forward to the contributions of colleagues offering to cooperate in this work.

Budapest — Seoul — Fullerton, December 1994.

The Editors

Contents

The Symbolic Ur-Meaning of Shamanism and Performing Arts
Tae-gon Kim 1

Are 'Trance', 'Ecstasy' and Similar Concepts Appropriate in the Study of Shamanism?
Roberte N. Hamayon 17

The Shaman-Actor in the Finno-Ugric Area: Considerations on the Ritual Theatre
Carla Corradi Musi 35

Shamans, Actors and Images
John A. Dooley 43

On the Main Characteristics of the Manchu Shamanic Dance
Guo Shuyun 57

Observations on Shamanic Dance
Daniela Berti 63

Shamanic Visual Art in Nepal
Diana Riboli 77

The Ladakhi Shaman as Performer of Oneness with Local Gods, *Lha*
Takako Yamada 89

Ainu Shaman as Accuser of Taboo-Breakers
Hitoshi Watanabe 97

Musical Instruments in the Manchurian Shamanic Sacrificial Rituals
Liu Gui-teng 103

Ancient Hungarian Folk Songs and Shamanic Songs of the Minorities of North China
Du Yaxiong 123

Why Does Nanai Shaman Chant?
Tatyana Bulgakova 135

The Shaman in Myths and Tales
Åke Hultkrantz 145

A Comparative Study of the Shamanistic Motifs in Hungarian and Turkic Folk Tales
Izabella Horváth 159

The Poetry of Shamanism
Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer 171

The Puyuma's 'Language of the Spirits' (South-East of Taiwan)
Josiane Cauquelin 189

Translating the Ineffable into Ritual Language: A Comparison of Singapore Chinese and Northern Thai Shamanic Rituals
Ruth-Inge Heinze 197

Shamanistic Story and Song Cycles in Polynesia
Niel Gunson 213

The 'Dancing Religion' in Hawai'i
Tina Hamrin 225

The Absence of 'Performance' in the Shamanic Rite
Jonathan Horwitz 231

Ethics and the Neo-Shaman
Eleanor Ott 243

Performance, Vision and Transformation in Shamanic Ritual: Healers, Clients and Societies
Geoffrey Samuel 253

The Revival of Shamanism in the Contemporary North
Juha Pentikäinen 263

Performing Shamanism in Siberian Rock Art
Mihály Hoppál 273

Index 281

The Symbolic Ur-Meaning of Shamanism and Performing Arts

Tae-gon Kim
Seoul, Korea

Introduction

This article's aim is to examine how the arche-pattern based thinking which is the kernel of shamanism also takes up an important place in performing arts, and to find out what relationship can be established between shamanism and performing arts of the basis of this thought.

While this arche-pattern exists outside shamanism as a pattern in traditional popular thought, it has been demonstrated that it also lies at the kernel of, among others, Korean rites of passage, annual customs, folk belief, oral literature and folk painting, all of them based on such popular thought (Kim 1981:462–475). The same can be said about classical and modern Korean novel (Kim 1982:17–68). Such arche-pattern based thinking is a mental disposition of traditional Korean people and is, of course, also deeply rooted in modern people's mind (Kim 1981:479ff, 495ff). Since this thought is present as a common denominator in man-made constructs like religion, art, society and science, it may be deemed highly probable that this arche-pattern based thinking became the motive force behind culture as a human construct as well.

If we regard performing arts with the stress on the aspects of drama, dance and music, as performed on stage by performers who have been instructed by a skilled director, the rituals performed by the shaman, even though they include composite artistic elements such as drama, dance and music, should be seen as largely different from performing arts. The latter are performed on a man-made stage as a special art-genre. Even so, what we will try to prove to be the relationship between shamanic rituals and performing arts is the fact that the symbolic Ur-meaning of the performing arts' stage has something in common with the shamanic ritual space. As this common element interlocks with the arche-pattern based thinking, we will try to examine this element which is common to shamanism (i.e. the shamanic ritual). The part on which this debate focuses, and performing arts. Our examination will be through this arche-pattern based thinking, starting from the symbolic Ur-meaning of the stage's spatial and temporal characteristics.

There is one additional remark to be made here. As the examination of this arche-pattern-based thinking is based on Korean data, one could rightly ask whether such thinking exists also in other regions, i.e. outside Korea. In as far as humans have religion and performing arts, or any other form of thinking based on their imagination, all of which exist owing to the imagination which is, in turn, based on arche-pattern based thinking, we could say that such thinking transcends regional borders, but that according to each region this thinking may be more or less outspoken.

Materials and Approach

The materials for this paper were collected by the author between August 1960 and May 1993 on a number of field-trips related to shamanism all over Korea as well as on field-trips outside Korea. The locations and dates of these field-trips are as follows:

Japan, Kyushu, Tsushima and Ikishima (24 July — 6 August 1974)
Japan, Kyushu, Hiradokuchi, Oshima (6–10 August 1974)
Taiwan, Taipei and Tainam vicinities (24 June — 2 July 1982)
China, Inner-Mongolia, Ordos region (26–30 July 1990)
Mongolia, Ulan Bator vicinity and Hövsgöl (11--22 August 1990)
Siberia, vicinity of Yakutsk (Yakutia) and the areas of Maanday, Kutana and Namyugin (11–22 August 1992)
Siberia, Sot'onchi Namch'i and T'ach'insky (21 December 1992 — 10 February 1993)
Russia, vicinity of Habarovsk (21–28 February 1993)

Except for these materials the author has referred to the works of other scholars on shamanism.

Whereas the data on performing arts are concerned, these are both folk performances the author observed during field-trips of performing arts in Korea and the other regions mentioned before, as performances in theaters.

The method used in this paper is through focalisation on the problem of symbols from a folkloric and religio-phenomenological basis. We will try to find out what the shamanic ritual (as a kind of performance) as well as performing arts should basically consist of in order to be such a performance-like expression. We will then look for the original symbolic Ur-meaning used in these forms of expression and see how these forms are related to each other. This paper will, consequently, put much stress on the arche-pattern based thinking, which is the basis of the symbolism and the imagination behind religion and art.

The Search for the Ritual Pattern of Performing Arts

The search for the ritual pattern of performing arts starts from the premise that performing arts include a ritual pattern. Hence, the basis for comparing shamanic rituals and performing arts becomes the ritual pattern. Since such pattern is based on space and time which are extra-ordinary due to their sacredness which is different from the profane, it is basically connected with the condition of undifferentiation of the arche-pattern based thinking.

As I have already discussed this arche-pattern-based thinking in my *Han'guk Musok Yon'gu* there is no reason to discuss it again here. For the reader's convenience I will just give a summary review of the main elements of this thinking.

The arche-pattern of arche-pattern based thinking is a term used to denote the pattern of man's Ur-thought. Such Ur-thought develops along a definite pattern. This Ur-thought is a form of thinking based on a condition of undifferentiation, i.e. the state of chaotic non-space and non-time, which has transcended the cosmic order (i.e. the order of differentiation in space and time). This thinking is, moreover, a belief that all beings share the same undifferentiated origin which knows no distinction between being and non-being, life and death, beginning or end. Since all beings have the same undivided origin, they can change from one into another without restriction. Any shortcoming is made up for by this cycle, while beings also have eternal life. As a form of thinking based on a condition of undifferentiation transcending the cosmic order, the Ur-thinking has the pattern of a repeating cycle, allowing beings to exist forever. If it is man's wish to be taken up in the state of undifferentiation of non-space and non-time, which transcends the limitations of the cosmic order of space and time, this condition of undifferentiation becomes the basis for the imagination since it is free to imagine whatever one wishes. The motivation for such imagination is a reaction against all kinds of limitation occurring in the cosmic order. Myths representing immortal gods who are omniscient and omnipotent, or the belief that non-being becomes being, poverty becomes wealth, illness becomes health, and unhappiness became happiness, are all based on the condition of undifferentiation of this Ur-thinking. It is my opinion that as a very reaction to these limitations this finds expression in thinking and action (religion) or in language (mythology). If expressions like religion and mythology are the immediate, primary formation phenomena of this Ur-thinking, modern literature, art, performing arts etc. could be seen as an indirect, secondary expression.

This arche-pattern can then be seen as a continuing cycle of all being that is as yet undifferentiated. It sees the origin of all beings as chaos and believes all momentary cosmic beings to return to this chaos in order to be

recycled as new momentary cosmic beings, and this without end. Therefore, the arche-pattern is a cyclical pattern based on non-differentiation (Kim 1981:181ff).

Before we proceed to our next step, some points need to be clarified. First of all, the meaning of the word 'being' as it is used here must be explained and, secondly, we should clear up some misunderstanding about the term 'arche-pattern' which is used differently from C.G. Jung's 'archetypus', as well as from M. Eliade's 'archetype'.

The term 'being' is used here to mean 'anything that exists'. It is, thus, unrelated to the philosophical concept of ontology. As we saw before the term 'arche-pattern' as it is used by the author, denoting the pattern of the Ur-thinking about the origin of all 'archetypus' of Eliade's 'archetype'. Jung's archetypus is, however, used as a concept denoting the structure of the unconsciousness (Jacobi 1974:55–59); Eliade's archetype is a concept denoting God's act of creating Heaven and Earth (Eliade 1959:10–11). Both concepts are hence totally different from the author's concept of arche-pattern. If we would clarify the boundaries of these different concepts, the author's 'arche-pattern' is not a term to denote a problem of the unconsciousness ; speaking in terms of Jung, there is in man's consciousness an original Ur-thought pattern. If we further analyse the archetype of Eliade, who sees it as the origin of God's creation of heaven and earth, we see that this view leads to a basic Ur-thinking, so that the arche-pattern becomes the thought basis preceding the archetype.

1. The Form and Pattern of the Shaman's Ritual

Our present task is to establish the fact that shamanic rituals have a well-defined form and pattern, and then to find he basis for comparison of these rituals and performing arts.

Shamanism evolves around spirits that are the object of worship; if there are people believing in these spirits and if such believers have some desire, the shaman acts as an intermediary between these spirits and the believers, and shamans. In a mysterious way, i.e. by way of divination, the shaman finds out the cause behind his client's unhappiness, including poverty, illness, of adversity.

According to the result of his divination, he then holds a rite for the spirits, so as to remedy such unhappiness and to restore a state of happiness. Hence, the shaman's rite finds expression through action, trying to restore his client's unhappiness to happiness. Both the shaman and his client believe that unhappiness can be turned into happiness according to the spirits' intentions, which can be 'read' by way of the ritual.

If this is so, how are shamanic rituals composed? According to what structural principles should such rituals be built up? Or what is the ultimate basis for the form of such rituals?

The essentials of the shaman's ritual can be summarized in the following five points:

A. taboos and purification for space of rituals
B. ritual time; selection of time
C. offerings; water, slain animals
D. the shaman's performance (song and dance as the other-man) and his prayers
E. the break rite

The meaning of these five elements can be explained as follows.

A. The taboos and purification consist of the selection of the day on which the ritual will be held in accordance with the verdict of the shaman after his services have been called in by the client; once this day is selected, the client will, one or three days before this day, line off all the entrances to his house with ropes as well as spread red mud around them; he will keep his person from impurity, eat carefully selected food, shun unrespectful language of behaviour, and not sleep in one and the same room with his wife. In the case of a large-scale ritual, the shaman himself will go through a ritual purification as well.

At the entrance of the house where the rite is to be held, ropes are attached and red mud is spread, indicating that outsiders cannot enter this area. While this is a form of purification by means of a taboo on the ritual space, the fact that the shaman and the believers taking part in the ritual held in this ritual space keep these taboos, can also be seen as a purification by way of a taboo with the aim of isolating this space from the ordinary world.

The day chosen for the rite is not ordinary either; it is a carefully selected auspicious day. As this day has taken on an unworldly significance, it seems to me that this day is a purified day, i.e. a day that is distinguished from any ordinary day. Consequently, these taboos and purification observed during rituals become turning points from an ordinary state towards an extra-ordinary state, due to the isolation created by taboos.

I think we should pay special attention to the ritual place, i.e. the place lined off with ropes and red mud and which is off-limits to ordinary people. These ropes are not ordinary ropes, as they are twisted to the left, and the mud is different from ordinary mud, as it is red. This means that the ritual space is distinguished from ordinary worldly space and that it is therefore inaccessible to ordinary worldly people. If this space is fenced off in such a way, it can be explained as denoting a space cut off from cosmic space, as it is a space outside the ordinary space, where humans cannot go. If it is a space outside the cosmos, it must be chaos, i.e. the state of non-space that existed before the cosmic spatial order was established (Kim 1981:163ff). Consequently, this ritual purification can basically be explained as restoring all cosmic beings to the state of chaos that existed before the cosmos.

The selection of the ritual space, lined off with ropes and red mud, and its sacredness are common phenomena in Korean shamanism and village rituals. In Japanese shintoism too, it is a common phenomenon that *simenawa* (taboo-ropes) are attached to the upper part of the jinja's *torii* (altar), while the inside of the *jinja* altar is regarded as a carefully chosen sacred space.

Through the above discussion, we have explained the taboo-function which restores the ritual space to a state of chaos.

B. The time of the rituals is the dark of night, and even when rituals are held in daytime, the important parts are gone through only after nightfall, so these too are held in the dark. Hence, it can be said that the time of rituals is basically night-time. This is not true only for shamanic rituals; village rituals, Confucian ancestor rites, Japanese shintoism and Taiwanese and Chinese ancestor rites all share this as a common element.

I think that night-time, during which rituals are held, is the time when daytime, i.e. the time when people are normally active, is over, and therefore has a meaning of chaostime, i.e. a time outside people's active time (Kim 1981). Night can also be thought of as symbolizing chaos, i.e. a time existing before the cosmic order was established (and is thus not different from the spatial order) and the time, are states of chaos.

C. In Korea, offerings consist mainly of rice, rice cake, liqueur, fish, meat, fruit, and vegetables. Similar offerings can be found in Japan, China and Taiwan. In areas like Mongolia and Siberia, in shamanic rituals of nomadic and cattle-raising tribes, 'horsemilk' liquor, horse meat and mutton are used as offerings.

In addition to this, in Korean shamanic rituals a bowl of water is always offered as a basic element, while candles are lit as well. Both in shamanic and village rituals, when a large number of offerings is prepared, a pig of ox will be taken and its head will be used as an offering. The following meaning may be attributed to such offerings. When the ritual is limited and the offerings therefore simple, a bowl of water is offered and candles lit; if the ritual is extremely limited, only a bowl of water is offered. Consequently, water is the basic offering in rituals, and as in addition to this candles are lit, we can conclude that water and fire are the basic elements in the preparation of the altar. The fact that water and fire take up such an important part of the ritual is, in my opinion, because water has a purifying function, i.e. while purifying impure elements by washing them, it also symbolizes a flood which destroys the old and profane cosmos which is of no more use; at the same time it also symbolizes the source of life, so that it has the symbolic meaning of the purification by destroying the profane cosmos. At this point, I think it has the symbolic meaning of restoring light to a renewed cosmos.

As a first step in the shamanic ritual, a bowl of water is placed on the altar in order to safe-guard the ritual space from impurity. In this water

three lumps of charcoal are put. The shaman takes this soiled water in his left hand and holding a burning bushel of straw in his right hand, he walks along the periphery of the ritual space. Through these steps the functions of purification and destruction of water and fire become overly clear. In mountain spirit or tutelary spirit rituals held in mountainous regions like Korea's Kangwon province, open fires are lit all night long while rites are held; in Yakutia ritual is held and prays facing this fire.[1] The above examples suggest a close relationship between rituals and fire.

More than signifying an offer of food, the fact that pigs' and cows' heads are used as offerings also has death as its ultimate meaning, owing to the cutting of their throats. [Death] can be explained as the cosmos' ultimate symbolic meaning. In this light, I think that water and fire, as the basic elements of the shamanic ritual, just like the heads of sacrificial animals, are one and all elements with a symbolic meaning, necessary for the recycling to a new cosmos and worldly foundation.

D. As to the shaman's song, dance and prayers, we could say the following. In the pison, a ritual on a small scale, the shaman normally prays to the spirits while facing them, which is related to sitting down facing the spirits. In a full-scale ritual, however, the ritual develops in the form of a drama in which the shaman turns into the spirit, and while playing the spirit's role, he acts out the contents of the prayer. The songs and dance accompanying this ritual are a dance in which the shaman substitutes for the spirit's actions, and the songs include oracles divulging the spirit's intentions through the mouth of the shaman in the form of songs. For this reason, if during all ritual the shaman done a special uniform symbolizing a spirit's dress, this spirit will at once descend. If this happens, the shaman is no longer human, but turns into someone else, while his personality changes into that of the spirit. A Korean shaman has about twenty such uniforms, when he done any of these during a *kut*, his personality changes into that of the corresponding spirit, and having turned into someone else, he stages that spirit's actions. Thus, when during the *Taegam-kori kut* the shaman done the *taegam*'s uniform, he turns into the *taegam* spirit and stages this spirit's actions; if he done the uniform of a general, he changes into a general spirit and stages the general spirit's actions.

The fact that the shaman's substituting for the spirit's actions is expressed by the word 'staging' may form the side of shamanism meet with disagreement. This is because in shamanism, the shaman's acting like the spirits is not a formal performance, but the thing itself, while it is believed that these actions, as they are, come to fulfil man's desires. From this point of view, even the word 'substituting' in 'substituting for the spirit's actions' is a word angering the shaman.

1. Field research data collected on 17 August 1992 in Kutana, Yakutia, during a ritual held by *oyun* (shaman) Matvei Atanasyev (male, 78 years old).

The Yakut shaman from Siberia has the likenesses of birds or animals, such as duck, eagles, bears or wolves, cut out of nickel plate, hanging from the breast-part of his shaman dress; whenever he done this dress during a rite and gets himself into a state of ecstasy, he believes he changes into such a bird and flies up to the upper world, or into an animal, going to the lower world.[2] This shaman dress has a meaning of expediting the shaman's change into something else.

E. The conclusion rite is a ceremony following the end of the ritual. In the case of a small ritual, such as a small *kut* or a pison, after the end of the ritual the believer who requested the ritual will respect a number of taboos for a duration of three days: he will stay inside, avoid contact with others, and pay special attention to his person. In the case of a large scale ritual, a rite of gratitude (Kim1981:384) or 'second meeting' ritual (Kim 1981:128) is held somewhere between the third and seventh day after the original ritual. Such a conclusion rite informs the spirits of a return to ordinary time at the end of the ritual (Kim 1981:128). If we regard such a conclusion rite as a necessary step in the process of returning to the normal world after having entered a state of sacredness owing to the taboos about and the purification of the ritual space, it is my opinion that it may be seen as a process of re-entering the profane cosmos from the sacred condition of chaos, where the spirits dwell.

Summarizing the meaning of the five compositional essentials of shamanic rituals discussed so far, [the shaman] leaves the ordinary profane world for an extra-ordinary state of sacredness where the he after having become another, spiritual being, acts out man's desires; at the end of this process he returns to the ordinary profane world. This process can thus be seen as having the form of a connected loop. More specifically, as far as aspect A (taboos and purification) is concerned, the ritual space and the participants in the ritual move from the ordinary profane world towards a strictly separated, extra-ordinary sacred world (situated on the side of chaos); as to aspect B (ritual time), the ritual is held in the dark of night, i.e. at a time outside ordinary daytime, hence a state of chaos; aspect C (offerings) also points towards conditions of chaos, combining both a state of chaos and the rebirth of a newly returned cosmos; aspect D (song, dance and prayers) may be seen as a performance situated on the side of chaos; aspect E (break rite) is a return from the state of chaos towards the ordinary profane world. Betraying a cyclical form of

ELIMINATING THE PROFANE (A,B,C) → TURNING TOWARDS THE SACRED (D) →
→ RETURNING TOWARDS THE PROFANE (E)

2. Field research data collected on 13 August 1992 in Maandy, Yakutia. The shaman was Yuagim Mitrievis Vuegom (male, 83 years old).

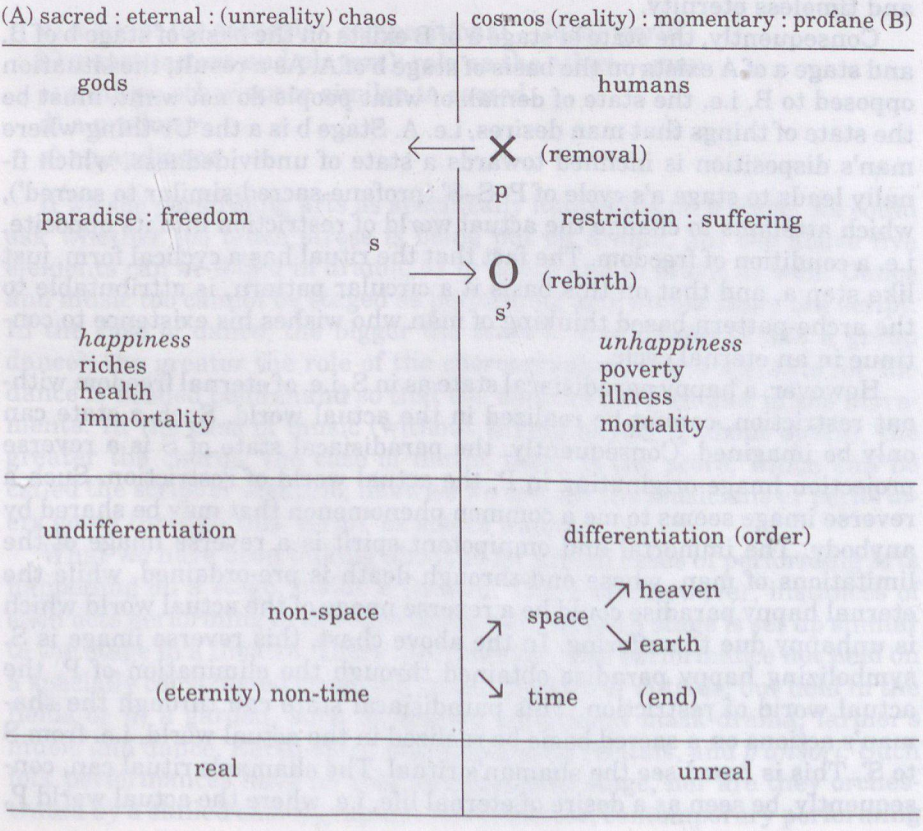
shamanic rituals can also be seen as having a circular pattern between sacred and profane, based on the condition of undifferentiation.

Such a cyclical form and pattern of circularity are not only found in shamanic ritual. In other religions as well, rites are held for deities aimed at the fulfilment of human desire. It is my opinion that such rites, where taboos are strictly observed and where sacredness is stressed, have an identical cyclical form and circular pattern.

The question is now why the shaman's ritual has come to have such a cyclical form and circular pattern. Recalling the fundamental principle of arche-pattern based thinking discussed before, we can easily understand the ritual's form and pattern by means of the following chart.

From the chart, A and B appear as completely opposite states. More specifically, B is the actual world in the cosmos where hymans dwell it contains restriction and suffering, and is hence a state of unhappiness,

Chart 1. **The Symbolic Meaning of Shamanic Rituals**



such as poverty, ill health and death. In contrast with this, A is a paradisiacal state of freedom without restriction, a surrealistic world on the side of chaos, i.e. outside the cosmos, where the spirits dwell. Here, one is rich, health, and safe from death. Hence, it is a state of immortal happiness.

If we read the chart downwards, i.e. from stage a towards stage b, A can be seen as the state where all things desired by human are affirmed, whereas B affirms all what man does not want. This is why, in religion and mythology, A is seen as a meaningful, affirmative and actual condition, whereas B is regarded as meaningless, negative and unreal. Man makes endless efforts to attain A, i.e. the state affirming what he wants to obtain. The reason that A is recognized by man as affirmative and real, comes from the very cosmic order of stage b, which man cannot transcend.

Heaven and earth are opened and the cosmos is created from dark chaos (Kim 1981:167–169). The time where the cosmic space of this heaven and earth begins has, together with its beginning, also a predestined end; as everything within the cosmos, and ultimately the cosmos itself, has a predestined end, man as well, as a being born in the cosmos, is at the same time predestined to die. The state of chaos, however, as it precedes the cosmos and has no space, nor time where space begins or ends, is spaceless and timeless eternity.

Consequently, the state of stage a of B exists on the basis of stage b of B, and stage a of A exists on the basis of stage b of A. As a result, the situation opposed to B, i.e. the state of denial. of what people do not want, must be the state of things that man desires, i.e. A. Stage b is a the Ur-thing where man's disposition is inclined towards a state of undividedness, which finally leads to stage a's cycle of P–S–S' (profane-sacred-similar to sacred'), which attempts to change the actual world of restriction into its opposite, i.e. a condition of freedom. The fact that the ritual has a cyclical form, just like step a, and that on this basis it a circular pattern, is attributable to the arche-pattern based thinking of man who wishes his existence to continue in an eternal cycle.

However, a happy paradisiacal state as in S, i.e. of eternal freedom without restriction, cannot be realized in the actual world. Such a state can only be imagined. Consequently, the paradisiacal state of S is a reverse projection image originating in P, the actual world of restriction. Such a reverse image seems to me a common phenomenon that may be shared by anybody. The immortal and omnipotent spirit is a reverse image of the limitations of man, whose end through death is pre-ordained, while the eternal happy paradise could be a reverse image of the actual world which is unhappy due to suffering. In the above chart, this reverse image is S. symbolizing happy paradise obtained through the elimination of P, the actual world of restriction. This paradisiacal state can through the shaman's actions on a sacred basis be realized in the actual world, i.e. from S to S'. This is how I see the shaman's ritual. The shaman's ritual can, consequently, be seen as a desire of eternal life, i.e. where the actual world P,

a state of denial, is ultimately turned into a happy and affirmative actual world by means of a circular movement changing P into its opposite S', a state of affirmation.

2. The Ritual Form and Pattern of Performing Arts

In order to find out the ritual form and pattern of performing arts, we should first take a closer look at the performing arts' compositional essentials and scope. If we sum up contemporary performing arts, stress is put on performances taking place on a stage, like drama, dance and music. Such performance all have a script (or scenario) which can be acted out on a stage, as well as a cast (of actor or players) along the needs of the script. For these actors to perform properly, a skilled 'producer' is necessary, who is in command of the whole performance. One more element that cannot be omitted here, is the audience, which appreciates and judges the performance along its strong and weak points.

Consequently, the compositional essentials of performing arts can be brought down to the following five:

a) a script (or scenario); compositional — ideal world
b) a cast (actors and players); role as the other — man
c) a stage; other space similar to sacred
d) a producer
e) an audience

If we see performing arts as specifically happening on a stage, we could ask whether too much stress is being put on drama, but the above five elements can be found in drama, as in dance and in music as well. Dance and music too cannot be staged as performing arts unless there is a script. In the case of dance, the bigger the scale of this dancer (I like a group dance), the greater the role of the choreographer, and a scenario for the dance is needed beforehand so that the dancers have an idea of the movements. In the case of music (without saying anything about opera), the greater the chorus, the case of music, there is the score, which can be called the script or scenario; likewise we can see the musicians or performers going through this 'script' as actors would.

What we have been talking about so for are all cases of performing arts happening on a stage, inside a theatre. There are, however, instances of such acts performing in the open air as well, where a stage is set up similar to the stage in a theatre. There are, however, also performance not held on a specially constructed stage, either in a theatre or outside, but held in the fields or in a garden, such as Korean traditional mask-drama, farmer's music and dance, Earth-spirit plays, folk song recitals, and *p'ansori*. Such folk performances have no specially prepared stage, nor are they orchestrated by a skilled choreographer. Nevertheless, contemporary performing

arts and folk performances have in common a performance space; these folk performances also have an audience. It is, therefore, difficult to draw a dividing line between contemporary performing arts, and folk performances. Since such folk performances are a spontaneous type of performance that are to be distinguished from contemporary performances arts, happening on an artificial stage and produced by a skilled choreographer, folk performances like mask drama, Earth-spirit plays, *p'ansori* and farmer's music, may be included under the heading of performing arts in a wide sense, but this term should then again be divided into spontaneous (or natural) performing arts and artificial (or human-made) performing arts on the basis of the conditions of the performance. If we see the artificial performing arts as primary, the natural performing arts could be seen as secondary, or as performing arts preceding the artificial performing arts.

Following the above, we can now look for the relationship between these performing and shamanic rituals discussed before.

As the five compositional elements of performing arts mentioned before are also a common element of shamanic rituals, these rituals too could be said to fall within the scope of performing arts in a broad sense. Even so, however, the point distinguishing shaminic rituals form performing arts is the fact that these rituals' actual objective is a prayer for [the fulfilment of] man's desire, and this on a sacred basis. Such an objective is a ritual part that has survived in spontaneous, secondary performing arts as well, such as mask drama, Earth-spirit plays, and farm music. As such, shamanic rituals and secondary performing arts, i.e. folk performances of the spontaneous type, can be seen as having in common a ritual condition. What we are ultimately trying to demonstrate here, however, is the relationship between the primary performing arts and shamanic rituals.

Since these primary performing arts show no objective like we find in shamanic rituals, i.e. where one expects results after praying for human desires, it seems as if both phenomena have, from the outside, no relation whatever. Seen from the pint of the primary performing arts' compositional aspects, such as stage, actors and audience, these performing arts and shamanic rituals are, however, not much different. For the sake of convenience, let us have a look at the following chart, which compares shamanic rituals and the performing arts, showing both their common elements and their points of difference.

As we can see from Chart 2, both the ritual place and the performing arts' stage are spaces outside the ordinary, i.e. differing from the ordinary, actual world. If there is a difference, it is that between natural and man-made conditions, but both the ritual space and the arts' stage are ultimately ideal spaces constructed according to man's longing. Whether such an ideal space is a conversion from a natural state on a sacred basis or whether it is a conversion into something artificial, without a sacred basis, that is only a difference in method. Consequently, both phenomena betray a change from a sacred space towards an artificial, man-made space, but

***Chart 2.* A Comparison of Shamanic Rituals and Performing Arts**

	RITUALS	PERFORMING ARTS
STAGE	extra-ordinary converted space — natural conditions: ideal space sacred space	extra-ordinary converted space — artificial conditions: ideal space human-made space
ACTORS	different person — spirit charater: ideal type state of altered consciousness (trance)	different person human character: ideal type
AUDIENCE	believers — subjective: belief	spectators — objective: appreciation
RESULT	a desired world — converted world	a desired world — converted world

there has been no change in the character of the ideal space erected according to man's desire.

Next we should discuss the actors performing in this space thus characterized. As we can see form Chart 2, in both cases the actors are not themselves, but have changed into someone else. In the shaman's ritual, when he done a uniform symbolizing a spirit, the shaman changes into that spirit's personality, all in a state of altered consciousness (or trance). In performing arts as well, when the actor puts on the appropriate dress and make-up, he changes into the character he embodies. Whether this conversion is into a spirit or a human being, this is only a difference in character, and even if there may be a difference in character, both expressions have in common that they are ideal models, so desired by man. Therefore, even though there is a difference in the conversion of the actors, i.e. into a spirit or into a human being, the fact that they change into another being, which is an ideal type desired by man, is also something both shamanic rituals and performing arts have in common.

As far as the audience is concerned, in the case of shamanic rituals the audience believes the rite will end with the fulfilment of the believer's desire, which was the subjective motivation behind the rite. Unlike this, the audience watching performing arts simply do so as a matter of amusement. This is a clear difference. However, from Chart 2 we can see that both shamanic rituals and performing arts have an element in common, namely in man's desire for the ideal, i.e. a coveted world distinguished from the actual world which is experienced as unsatisfactory.

We have already discussed the ritual in detail, so we shall not waste time here doing this again; about the performing arts, there are some vague points here which need some supplementary explanation here.

On the whole, a script (as a basic pattern) is indispensable for the staging of performing arts. This script represents an ideal world as desired by man, which is constructed inside the author's head by means of his imagination. What the author imagines in this way, can be seen as originating from a desire for a state which knows no of restriction and which is the opposite of the unsatisfactory actual world of restriction. Consequently, this script, which is called a 'creative work', is just like the ritual a reverse image of the restrictive actual world and may therefore, I believe, be regarded as being ultimately based on the same arche-pattern, i.e. the thought pattern according to which man wants to change the present state of restriction into its opposite. Since the audience watching such performances based on the above pattern shares this same arche-pattern based thinking with the author, we can understand his interest in these forms of art which represent the ideal world of their desire.

As, exactly as in the case of the ritual, the aspects of performing arts discussed so far, such as stage, actors, audience and result, all betray ideal conditions that are extra-ordinary, i.e. which fall outside the actual world, the performing arts basically have the cyclical form of changing the restrictive actual world into its opposite, i.e. an ideal reality. At the basis of this form lies, in my opinion, the circular pattern to which the Ur-thought is inclined. Therefore, the performing arts have this cyclical form and pattern of circulation in common with the shaman's ritual. Even though these arts are performed in the actual world, i.e. within the cosmos, they may be called a phenomenon in which the Ur-thinking takes form, i.e. a reverse image of the actual world which keeps a certain distance form this actual world.

The Circular Identity of Rituals and Performing Arts

While rituals and performing arts show similar compositional elements (a-e) and as they share the same cyclical form and pattern of circulation, there seems to be a deep relationship between both. From a diachronic point of view, performing arts can be seen to have developed from secondary spontaneous performing arts towards primary human-made performing arts. As these secondary performing arts, moreover, betray a strong ritual character, they can be seen as having developed from rituals, so that there is a possibility that performing arts developed from rituals (and spontaneous folk performances) towards primary, human-made performing arts. Such rituals and performing arts, however, coexisted in ancient times and

still do so in modern times, and while performing arts with this ritual form and pattern will continue to exist in the future, this basic pattern will continue to be reproduced without end through the imagination of the artist. In this view, the cyclical form and pattern of circulation of performing arts is, rather than a one-time change from the ritual, something that exists simultaneously, at any time or place, so that there is a high possibility that such Ur-thinking shared by man over time can simultaneously be found in various phenomena, such as rituals and performing arts, but also in literature and painting.

As we have mentioned already several times, the circular pattern shared by rituals and performing arts can be seen as an inclination towards oneness (or identity), i.e. man's desire to became one with the ideal world he longs for, or his desire to change the actual world of restriction into its opposite, i.e. a world of freedom. More specifically, this oneness is based on a condition of undifferentiation, i.e. the state where man is not separated from what he longs for. Hence, this oneness is also related to the circular pattern which emerges from the condition of undifferentiation of arche-pattern based thinking.

Conclusion

What we have so far discussed about the symbolic Ur-meaning of shamanism and performing arts could be rounded off with the following conclusion.

Shamanic rituals and performing arts show similar elements in their composition and both phenomena also share the same cyclical form and pattern of circularity. Consequently, both can be seen as being directed towards a state of oneness (i.e. identity) or undifferentiation where-based on the character of circularity-man becomes one with what he longs for. Such circular oneness is attributable to arche-pattern based thinking, i.e. the pattern of Ur-thought. Moreover, the phenomenon of conversion of the actual world, i.e. the reverse projection image of that world, which both rituals and performing arts have as a common element, can also be seen as being attributable to the circular character of the arche-pattern based thinking which itself is also based on a condition of undifferentiation.

Seen from the outside, there are indications that rituals lost part of their sacred character and changed into secondary performing arts of a natural (spontaneous) kind, i.e. folk performances, from which in turn the sacred character disappeared still further, giving rise to primary performing arts of the human-made kind, in which the stage, the actors and the audience went through a change from the sacred towards the profane. If we, however, disregard such a diachronic view and look at the fact that rituals and performing arts have an inclination towards undifferentiated

oneness in which man desires to become one with the world he covets, i.e. a world transcending (the present) time and space, such human thinking can be seen as multi-layered and synchronic. While this is so, this Ur-thinking, as the kernel of human thinking which is forever unchanging, can be said to lie at the basis of rituals and performing arts.

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Are 'Trance,' 'Ecstasy' and Similar Concepts Appropriate in the Study of Shamanism?[1]

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Most definitions and descriptions of shamanism contain terms such as 'trance' and 'ecstasy,' and place shamanism in the same category of religious phenomena as spirit possession. Often, these terms are even used to characterize these phenomena, and appear in the titles of general works such as those of Mircea Eliade ([1951]–1968) and Ioan M. Lewis (1971), or of the collective book *Transe, chamanisme, possession*, the subtitle of which is 'From Festival to Ecstasy.' However, the meaning of these terms is rarely specified in detail,[2] nor is their use usually justified, as though their appropriateness had been established in advance once and for all.

Fortunately, Gilbert Rouget's work ([1980]–1990) is an exception to the last statement. The author carefully distinguishes the two terms with regard to their respective implications, these being situated mostly in the psycho-physiological domain.[3] He considers only 'trance' to be appropriate to the shaman's behaviour.

This paper is not aimed at discussing definitions of shamanism which use 'trance' or 'ecstasy,' nor at comparing different uses of these terms. Its purpose is to call into question the presuppositions implied by their use. It will be necessary, first, to recall how shamanism was discovered and investigated. This will lead to the statement that the approach using such terms as 'trance' and 'ecstasy' for the study of shamanism is both an historical heritage and an obstacle to the anthropological analysis of shamanism. Finally, it will be suggested that the set of facts usually designated by these terms could fruitfully be examined from other points of view.

1. I am very grateful to Margaret Buckner for her supervision of my English version of this paper.
2. Precisions are scarce, but do exist. Thus Luc de Heusch accounts for his use of 'ecstatic religions' as an expression encompassing shamanism and possession (1971:227), Heinze accounts for her respective use of 'ecstasy' and 'trance' (1988:342, 362:363 & passim). Hultkrantz considers "trance" to be 'medical' and 'ecstasy' to be theological, but uses them "alternatingly, for they refer to the same state of mind" (1992:18–19).
3. In summarizing their respective features, Rouget (1985:11) characterizes ecstasy by "immobility, silence, solitude, no crisis, sensory deprivation, recollection, hallucinations", and trance by "movement, noise, in company, crisis, sensory overstimulation, amnesia, no hallucinations". The author suggests that one of the reasons of the confusion between these two terms in Western languages comes from the absence of an adjective corresponding to 'trance', whereas 'ecstatic' does exist. I reviewed Rouget's book after its first edition (Hamayon 1981).

Historical Survey

The first observers (orthodox priests) considered the shaman to be a religious figure, but in the devil's service rather than God's. The first of these, the archpriest Avvakum, did so explicitly. He was exiled to Siberia at the end of the seventeenth century and introduced the word 'shaman' into travel literature (Pascal 1938, Delaby 1976).

The next group of observers in Siberia, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, had other opinions. In addition to missionaries, there were travellers, colonial administrators, political convicts, and explorers sent by the Russian Academy of Sciences. In the meantime, the age of Enlightenment had progressed, along with the colonization process, which was overtaking native peoples who had been able up to that time to continue their traditional way of life. Thus, both observers and observed had changed.

The main points of view obtaining during this period fall into three categories. According to the first, which could be called Voltairian, the shaman is a 'quack' who takes advantage of peoples' credulousness, and, therefore, is more to be denounced than described. According to the second, issuing from a positivist state of mind, the shaman is the agent of an archaic religious form to be found among primitive societies almost everywhere in the world.[4] The problem becomes, then, that it is impossible to characterize shamanism as a religious form at a theoretical level, for it has neither dogma nor clergy, temples nor liturgy, and each shaman has his own manner of doing things, and this manner varies with each seance. The third viewpoint was expressed primarily by doctors and administrators in the field. They were especially sensitive to the shaman's healing activity, which indeed was expanding more and more as colonization proceeded. According to this view, the shaman is a sort of madman who, by keeping his own illness under control, is able to help other madmen.

All of this resulted, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in research being oriented towards the psychological profile of the shaman. This orientation can be recapitulated by Van Gennep's statement, in 1908, that the shaman is 'a certain kind of man',[5] and it is echoed in 1978 by Lot-Falck's expression: "[The nature of] man prevails [over social structure]." Throughout this century, psychological interpretations have spread. They fall into two trends. First, a mystical trend, starting from an overinterpretation of Eliade's book but extending far beyond this author's views, especially from the sixties on, holds that shamanism is and an exemplary

4. For instance, Mikhailovskiy brings together Siberian data and similar practices observed in other parts of the world.
5. "There can be no more question of shamanistic beliefs than of shamanic cult, therefore of shamanic religion. The reason why is simply that this word does not designate a set of beliefs expressed in a set of practices, but asserts only the existence of a certain kind of man who plays a social and religious role" (van Gennep 1908:52) [Trans. by R.N.H.]

kind of spiritual quest or a technique for seeking self-promoting 'powers.' Second, a long-lasting psycho-pathological trend describes shamanism as a therapeutic practice of a psychoanalytic or parapsychoanalytic type.

It is remarkable that most of the anthropological studies based on field-work carried out in the last three decades, on one hand, deviate from previous studies since they refuse to confine shamanism to the shaman's psychological aspects and consider debates about his normalcy or pathology to be irrelevant, but, on the other hand, show continuity, insofar as they use the terminology of 'trance' to describe the shaman's ritual behaviour.

'Trance' in Question

For the sake of simplification, only the term 'trance' will be examined here, although the same arguments could obtain against 'ecstasy'. Not only is 'trance' the most frequently used term, and, as Rouget stated, the only adequate one, but also, most authors who use the term 'ecstasy' use it with the same general meaning as others ordinarily assign to 'trance'.

This paper does not specifically seek to reject outright this type of terminology. Rather, through the very use of such terms, it has become obvious that they are unfit to serve, first, as descriptive tools, and, secondly, as analytical concepts. The main objection springs from the underlying interpretative views they implicitly call into play.

One is hindered by the lack of descriptive precision (even if one agrees with the criteria established by Rouget). According to current descriptions, 'the shaman is in trance, enters or falls into a trance', or, 'in trance, the shaman calls forth spirit or performs ritual action', leaving the reader free to imagine exactly how the shaman behaves.[6] Innumerable questions arise as to one of the simplest criteria, that of movement: is the shaman shaking, whirling, jumping, or dancing? And if moving is a necessary criterion, what should be done with cataleptic trance,[7] during which the shaman lies motionless? Such troublesome questions can be followed by two general observations.

First, shamanistic societies do not make use of native terms homologous to 'trance', which comes from Latin *transire* 'to die, to go beyond, to pass from one state to another'.[8] 'They do not refer to a change of state to

6. Here are the principal symptoms listed by Rouget (1985:13): "trembling, shuddering, horripilation, swooning, falling to the ground, yawning, lethargy, convulsions, foaming at the mouth, protruding eyes, large extrusions of the tongue, paralysis of a limb, thermal disturbances [...], insensitivity to pain, tics, noisy breathing, fixed stare, and so on."
7. Lot-Falck distinguishes two types of 'trance': dramatic and cataleptic (1973:9–10). I have also made use of this terminology in earlier studies on shamanism (for instance 1978), but the progress of the analysis led me to get rid of it.
8. This is the etymology on which Rouget's analysis is based.

designate the shaman's ritual action, though they may qualify his behaviour as enraged or furious during that time. It even seems that the very notion of 'trance' is irrelevant for them. When asked whether the shaman is or is not 'in trance', they are for the most part unable to answer. Certainly, this is not surprising in itself, since analytical categories and native categories do not necessarily coincide with each other. On the contrary, as a rule, ideologically important matters are not explicitly expressed. However, as an analytical concept, 'trance' becomes open to two types of criticism; the first with respect to its appropriateness to its object, and the second insofar as it does not belong to the system of representations which is the ultimate subject matter of the anthropological analysis.

The second observation is that most shamanistic societies interpret the ritual episode which observers have called 'trance', in terms of relationships with supernatural entities or spirits[9] and make meaningful distinctions according to the type of physical behaviour. In particular, the shaman's various gestures and movements are interpreted as expressing different types of relations with the spirits.

In short, the shaman's behaviour, called 'trance' by observers, is qualified by shamanistic societies with reference not to a specific physical or psychic state, but to the shaman's being in *direct contact with the spirits.*[10] And no wonder, since, for his community, the shaman is primarily the *agent of a social function*, and contact with spirits is both the means and the proof of his carrying out this function. In this respect, one should not confuse *shamanizing* (i.e. indulging in an individual practice void of ritual value for the community), which is more or less open to everyone in most shamanistic societies, and *acting as shaman*, which is reserved for those who have been recognized as such by their community. Shamanistic societies never confuse the behaviour of the shaman with that of the shamanizing individual.[11]

Next, one is hampered by the absence of explicit methodological and theoretical implications involved in the use of the word 'trance'. It is not a 'falsifiable' concept as scientifically required. There are no connected considerations which would allow for verification. The very question 'Is this shaman in trance?' can entail endless discussion and only be settled from a subjective point of view. The concept of trance spans several conceptual

9. In spite of semantic disadvantages, the term 'spirit' has a well-defined and well-established meaning. Let us recall the main implication of its use: spirits are supernatural entities whose essence and status are similar to the human soul's (Hamayon 1993).
10. "During the onset of the trance, her toes stiffen and curl. When the depth of her trance decreases and she permits a release of tension, her toes uncurl. [...] Her clients, however, look the `god' in the face and do not pay any attention to his (or her) toes. They do not `see' any difference." (Heinze 1992:135).
11. However this confusion is made by Western movements of 'neo-shamanism' or 'urban shamanism'. Actually, these consist in adepts' training for shamanizing with the help of an 'initiated' person.

levels and is not precisely defined in any of them. Moreover, it has an underlying implication which threatens to distort analysis, as I will now attempt to show.

The main difficulty with the word 'trance' comes from the fact that three different levels of considerations merge implicitly with its use: physical behaviour (possible attitudes and gestures), psychic state (or state of consciousness[12]) and culturally-defined behaviour. A link — of correlation if not of causality — is thus implied between body and mind on one hand, nature and culture on the other hand. However, such a link can be either acknowledged or denied, but it cannot be properly demonstrated. This means that the merging of the levels in question is forced. That this conceptual fusion of physical, psychological and cultural aspects occurs implicitly through the use of the word 'trance' is born out in the literature by the frequent recurrence of two problems: that of specifying exactly what induces trance, and that of its authenticity or genuineness. Both these problems derive from the implied link between physical, psychological and cultural factors. They can be formulated by questions such as: How important are physical factors in bringing about the particular psychic state suited for the shaman's culturally-defined behaviour? Does the expected psychic state necessarily accompany the culturally-defined behaviour and, if not, can the rite be valid?

Rouget's book deals with the first problem extensively and thoroughly, even though this is not the author's main concern.[13] Examining the relations between music and trance, Rouget points out that music "does not physiologically determine trance", but "does organize and socialize the trance", "at the service of a creed", "within an inclusive situation" and in relation with "essential intellectual ideas".[14] His demonstration can be extended to all other possible factors of physiological determination. Starting from the statement that trance arises from a 'natural predisposition',[15] the author asserts that this disposition gives rise to trance only within the

12. Rouget (1985:3) considers the 'state of mind' to be primary in his definition of 'trance'. He starts the first chapter of his book with this statement: "Axiomatically, trance will be considered in this book as a state of consciousness composed of two components, one psycho-physiological, the other cultural."
13. The main purpose of the book is to define the role of music, and its conclusion is quite clear in this respect: music does not cause trance.
14. The technique operates only because it is at the service of a belief, and because trance constitutes a cultural model integrated into a certain general representation of the world. Here we have an essential intellectual datum, which underlies both the psychology and physiology of trance. This is why entry into trance always seems to depend upon a kind of restrictive clause: however well prepared one may be, physically and psychologically, one must still be prepared intellectually, and have made the decision (more or less unconsciously) to succumb to the trance state (Rouget 1985:320–321).
15. "The universality of trance indicates that it corresponds to a psychophysiological disposition innate in human nature, although, of course, developed to varying degrees in different individuals. The variability of its manifestations is the result of the variety of cultures by which it is conditioned" (Rouget 1985:3).

specific socio-cultural framework and with the appropriate ideological goal. Thus, there is no conditioning factor able to I automatically trigger or induce a trance: one must believe in it, and give in to it. In other words, Rouget considers the underlying symbolic representations to be the crucial factor for inducing trance. In his opinion, it is the ideological conviction that, with or without external factors (such as beating drum, whirling round, or taking drugs), is determinant for bringing into play the natural propensity to trance lying in the structure of consciousness.[16] This is the reason why he insists that symbolic representations are the true subject matter of research on trance.

Moreover, in my opinion, cultural diversity is so great that the so-called natural propensity to trance becomes lost in generalities or inconsistencies. This is one more reason for studying representations, as a means to account for this diversity. Only through such study, in addition to sociological analysis, can we, for instance, account for the fact that in so many societies the ritual behaviour known as trance is the prerogative of one sex, the other sex being either prohibited from indulging in such behaviour or sanctioned with marginalization.

Yet, postulating natural propensity — to any extent — is not irrelevant *per se*. The point here is not that it means deciding in advance what are the respective parts of cognitive experience and mental structure in the elaboration of symbolic systems. The point is rather that it predetermines the interpretation of religious forms in which trance is present. The very fact that trance is held to be a mode of organizing, socializing and ritualizing a natural propensity makes the religious elaboration *second* to the natural propensity. This amounts to implying that these religious forms (shamanism and spirit possession) are more or less *dependent on* nature (in that they either channel or exploit natural dispositions), that is, it denies primacy to representations. This happens implicitly, without the knowledge of the authors themselves, and therefore all the more insidiously. This aspect will be further dealt with below.

The second problem (genuineness) indirectly rejoins the first (inducement) and emphasizes its importance. It is often expressed through the choice between genuine or simulated trance: does the shaman (or the possessed individual) really meet with the spirits or does he only pretend to? We also find such statements as: 'it is often difficult to decide whether the

16. "[...] in possession cults, [trance is] a socialized form of behaviour resulting from the conjunction of several factors: 1) at the level of the individual: a given innate to the structure of consciousness making it susceptible of being invaded by an emotional event that submerges its normal state and leads to hysteriform behaviour; 2) at the level of collective representations: *(a)* interpretation of this event as a sign of the will or presence of a spirit or divinity; *(b)* exploitation or [...] domestication of the event, with the intention of establishing it as a mode of communication with the divine; *(c)* identification of the entranced subject with the divinity held to be responsible for the trance; and *(d)* theatralization of this identificatory behaviour (Rouget 1985:322).

trance is real or feigned', 'the trance can be effective as well when it is only feigned', 'the ritual does not necessarily operate when the trance is authentic' and, conversely, 'the ritual can be operative even if no trance is manifested at al'. On the whole, such considerations amount to disqualifying 'trance' as fit to characterize shamanism, since they show that it is *neither sufficient nor necessary* to shamanic ritual action. There are so many obvious examples that there seems to be no need to quote any of them.

Interestingly, the question of the genuineness of trance rests on a strong hypothesis about the notion of belief. Now, this hypothesis seems to reflect a twofold misunderstanding: it implies inferring first from representation to belief, and second from belief to reality. Representations, however, taken as constituents of the symbolic system and possible objects of belief, only *represent* — this is trivial to recall.[17] In other words, representations cannot be identified with what they express, for they do not coincide with what they express, but refer to something else. Holding to them — which is generally the case in traditional contexts, even though adhesion remains unconscious — does not make them stop being mere ideas. Certainly, representations may have the force of reality for those who adhere to them, but they are not of the same cognitive order as ordinary reality. If this were the case, it would denote a type of madness. Is not the inability to distinguish reality from fancy one of the most obvious signs of insanity?

Surely everyone has at one time or another experienced the fact that it is not necessary to really believe to indulge in a religious practice. Conversely, believing corrupts knowing, as shown by Mannoni in his famous paper "I know that quite well, but nevertheless..." ("Je sais bien, mais quand même").[18] Remember also Quesalid,[19] the Kwakiutl shaman described by Lévi-Strauss, who was surprised by the confidence his healing inspired in others when he himself knew he was shamming, copying the traditional ways and cheating when exhibiting concrete causes of illness.[20] Everyone would also admit that somehow 'believing' and 'doubting' are close to each

17. Similarly, Oosten (1989:335) criticizing Merkur remarks: "All ritual behaviour is symbolic behaviour, and as such it does not coincide with the behaviour it represents."
18. "I know well that the *katchina* are not spirits, they are my fathers and uncles, but nevertheless the *katchina* are here when my fathers and uncles are dancing with masks" [the author's translation] (Mannoni 1969:16). This argument is already present in Huizinga's *Homo ludens*. In order to illustrate the fact that, when one plays, the one who plays knows that he is playing, Huizinga mentions the fearful distress of women when the masks come near them, although they know quite well who hides behind each mask. Huizinga underlines that the distress can be partly sincere, but that it is also a duty (Huizinga [1938]–1951:50).
19. The hero of Lévi-Strauss's famous paper "The sorcerer and his magic."
20. This is why one is surprised to read: "It can happen not only that the trance is feigned [...], but also that the extraordinary powers attributed to it are merely illusionist's tricks. [...] They are indisputably cases of fraud." (Rouget 1985:328. n. 34). There certainly are cases of trickery, but they cannot be decided by referring them to the fact that states which are supposed to give rise to 'extraordinary'feats are simulated.

other (this is the case everywhere, though other cultures may not express it so strongly as Western societies), as shown by Pouillon (1979). Huizinga stresses that one can be 'both knowing and dupe' at the same time` Could not the following sentences, written by Huizinga about a famous Christian, equally refer to a shaman meeting a spirit?

> Saint Francis of Assisi worships Poverty, his bride, with the most intimate pious conviction, in holy ecstasy. But if we are asked whether he believed in a spiritual heavenly being named Poverty, therefore in a being who really was the idea of Poverty, we are stopped short. The mere asking this question in such purely logical terms forces the feeling conveyed by this idea. Francis both believed and did not believe. [...] The most fitting expression for this spiritual activity would be to say that Francis was playing with the figure of Poverty." [Author's translation] (Huizinga 1951:228).

Why should it be easier to consider as real the spirits' taking control of the possessed, or the shaman's changing into an animal, than the Carmelites' enjoying Christ, their Husband?[21] How would Christians react if non-believers took such words for matter of fact?[22]

Along these lines, let us recall a remarkable, eye-opening case, presented by Laurel Kendall. It took place during the second attempt to perform an initiation ritual on a young Korean girl named Chini.[23] She was so clumsy and stiff that she did not manage to move and speak in a way suitable to persuade the audience that the spirits took hold of her. First the old shamanesses who conducted the ritual encouraged her:

> When you are jumping, when you feel an urge to grab a spirit's costume, then grab it and jump like crazy. Today all you have to do is dance with the costume...

Then, facing Chini's failure, they rebuked her:

> Do you think that the spirits will show up if you just stand there waiting for them? [...) Hey, do you think some spirit would go so far as to move your tongue for you? [...) When the Heavenly King kept coming in your visions,

21. The sentence, quoted by Rouget (1985:6) is the following: "Those who seek solitude in order to enjoy Christ, their Husband, have every possibility of living constantly in his company." (Sainte Thérése d'Avila, *Œuvres complètes* 1949:413).
22. To be ridden by a spirit as the possessed one is, to marry a spirit daughter as the shaman does, to have Poverty as a bride as Saint Francis of Assisi does, to enjoy Christ, their Husband, as the Carmelites do, all these are representations which are not to be taken for realities. However, their contents are not irrelevant; indeed, they are all the more relevant in that they are all in the same metaphorical series: love relationships. Let me ask, as an aside: could relationships with imaginary beings be other than metaphorical?
23. Usually one has to perform several rituals before being considered to be an initiate. In some societies repeated failures are necessary, for the access to the function obeys a logic of overcoming hardships. As a rule, one claims no other apprenticeship than the one 'directly provided by the spirits'.

> may be you didn't know enough to say `I am the Heavenly King, I need a crown,' but could not you at least have made the right gestures for a crown? [...] You cannot ignore that when you are divining.

And finally, they gave her the following hint:

> [To-day] cry your heart out and next time do not cry, just give a terrific performance.[24]

In addition, some authors, intending to restore the native tone — which is quite sound and valuable from another point of view — write their descriptions exactly as if they shared local beliefs and, they present the spirits and their relations with humans as matters of fact: the spirits exist, attack the possessed, provoke the shaman, and the society does its best to react to their actions. Now, even if this merely results from translations, the very fact that authors use these representations directly in their descriptions and analyses results in hiding their symbolic character.[25] One is led to forget that spirits are an element of a world view, the product of collective imagination. Moving from representation to belief is not a self-evident inference. Stating that a type of cultural behaviour is performed in a specific state of consciousness is a still more debatable inference.

On the whole, these two problems (inducement and genuineness) arise when the symbolic essence of the shaman's behaviour is not sufficiently taken into account. In taking it into account, one is prompted not to relate the cultural background of this behaviour to either the shaman's physical or psychic state. The question of the genuineness of the 'trance' then vanishes (and with it, that of the shaman's normalcy or pathology[26]). As a

24. It is worth quoting the footnote added by Kendall to this term: "The verb *nolda* subsumes notions of 'play,' 'amusement' and 'performance.' Shamans commonly describe the action of spirits at a *kut* as *nolda*, as in 'The Supernatural Official' plays well with me." It is also worth bringing it together with the last sentence of Huizinga quoted above.
25. The same way, the fact that one never recounts what happened during a 'trance' in the end comes to be taken for a physical correlate of trance, amnesia. However, this may be a mere outcome of current ideas in shamanistic societies, such as: 1. the spirits do not permit their Elected to disclose their relationships, nor do they like to be disturbed for no purpose, which is the case if one calls them forth outside the ritual framework; 2. since the shaman is then supposed to be 'else' and 'elsewhere', recounting his 'trance' in ordinary words would mean admitting his sham. Therefore, the question is more of a cultural prohibition than of amnesia. Such is the impression given by this remark made by Moréchand "No Hmong shaman will ever admit to remembering the trance he has just experienced" (quoted by Rouget 1985:9). Let me also quote a similar remark made by Leiris: "As soon as the *zâr* [the spirit) is supposed to act instead of the possessed human, obviously the latter can only appear ignorant of what the spirit supposed to speak and act in his place has effectively done and said; not to seem ignorant would mean admitting not to have been really possessed, in which case all gestures would remain meaningless agitation" (Leiris [1938)–1980:114).
26. In most cases, this question has been left aside on other accounts: the shaman is normal outside the ritual performances; the fact that a community could entrust a madman with such a responsibility as the shaman's is unbelievable.

matter of fact, the shaman does nothing other than *respect the model of behaviour prescribed for his function*. He takes up his *role* as a shaman,[27] a role that consists of portraying his contact with the spirits. The fact that his function is performed in a staged, ritual framework reinforces the point that the shaman acts out a role and brings his behaviour still closer to a dramatic performance.[28] The shaman 'in trance' is like the actor on the stage. Debating about whether the shaman's trance is sincere or shammed, about whether the actor believes or does not believe he is the character he plays, may enrich the study of their respective psychological profile, but will never allow us to understand what shamanism or theatre is. These cannot be defined by reference to the sincerity of the respective performers. Any social role requires nervous strain, energy, close attention, and at least some feeling of involvement,[29] but no role can be *justified* or *validated* by such factors. Only its symbolic *efficacy* can be influenced by them.[30]

It should be stated that comparing the shaman to an actor was only meant to illustrate how the shaman's behaviour is the acting out of the role assigned for his function. This does not at all mean likening the shaman to an actor, shamanism to theatre, ritual to play-acting.[31] The shaman's actions address supernatural entities and not an audience, and aim

27. Such is the conclusion given by Siikala (1978) and Mitrani (1982), who, however, started from quite different points of view: Siikala from an ecstatic view of the shamanic practice, Mitrani from a view to bringing together shamanic healing and psychoanalysis. More recent works by Siikala (1992) suggest that this author does not conclude the same way I did when reading her book from her applying the notion of role to the shaman's behaviour. At least this did not lead her to leave aside the ecstatic approach of shamanism, which she attempts to combine with the notion of role.

    Undoubtedly the fact that the role theory has so rarely and weakly been applied to shamanism has something to do with the very topic of this paper. However, several authors long ago tried to analyze the shaman's behaviour as a social role. Filliozat (1944:79–80) did so as early as 1944 in his book *Magie et médecine*: "The shaman does not behave at random in his frenzy, everything is going on as if he were playing a frantic role the way an actor would, a role for which the unfolding of gestures and words would be decided in advance. However this is not inconsistent with a possession state. The possession which possessed people believe they are undergoing is indeed a role they play, but this does not prevent the role from being played quite sincerely, a role which consists both in adopting a definite type of behaviour and believing that this behaviour comes from an outside force." [The author's translation].
28. Studies of Korean shamanism have best brought to light the theatrical aspect of shamanic ritual, especially when *mudang* represent the spirits they are supposed to embody (Laurel Kendall, Chungmoo Choi, etc.).
29. One cannot be cynical with respect to one's own role. Generalized cynicism would finally bring the role to an end. However this applies to all social roles and is not to be made into an element of definition in the case of 'trance'. In that case, one would have to admit that trance characterizes the rock-singer as well as the shaman.
30. Usually a successful practice is the condition for a shaman to be recognized as such. He may be deprived of his social role for lack of efficacy, In short, things turn bad if he does not take up the role, i.e. does not perform the appropriate ritual; but taking up his role is not sufficient for the situation to improve, he must play it well.
31. We do not totally agree with the series of criteria for distinguishing between ritual and theater set up by Schechner 1976.

at producing symbolic effects in other realms and not at merely entertaining or being an end in itself.

Let us return to the notion of role and to its implication that there can be no confusion between the person who plays a role and the character he is representing. "If [an actor] believes in the reality of his role, he becomes prone to alienation," writes Caillois ([1958]–1967:111), as if he were echoing shamanistic societies' opinion. Actually, these societies pay great attention to the management of relationships with spirits, for they believe these relationships are indispensable to their very existence as societies. This is why a community presses some of its members to develop such relationships, yet, on the other hand, compels them to maintain these relationships only in the ritual framework culturally set up for that purpose, and keeps their practice under control. Conversely, a community keeps other members from doing the same. The exhibition of such relationships on their part would be seen as pathological.[32] Let us refer, as an example, to the hunting societies of the Siberian forest. Any community expects its shaman to obtain promises of game from the game-giving spirit. This is why it prompts the shaman to enter into a love relationship with the sister or daughter of this spirit, envisioned as an elk or reindeer, the main species of game. Then it organizes rituals for sanctioning his 'marriage' with this female-spirit and for reactualizing it periodically. In these rituals the shaman imitates the behaviour of a male reindeer or elk in mating: he troats; prances, jumps, stamps his feet, snorts. The fact that he mimics a stag in rut is enough to explain the 'wild' aspect of his movements stigmatized in descriptions.[33] Various members of the community, excepting the shaman himself, are responsible for fashioning his ritual gear and paraphernalia. If the shaman dressed and behaved as a spirit-spouse outside the ritual framework, he would be deemed mad, rejected and disqualified as shaman. On the other hand, a mere hunter is prevented from 'going wild' out of love for game-giving spirit-girls and considered mad if he persists in such behaviour (Hamayon 1990:517–528). In short, relationships with spirits are possible only on the part of specialists recognized as such, within a ritual framework, and under the community's control.[34] This triple constraint allows us to state that the shaman's behaviour is to be defined as the acting out of a role culturally defined and socially organized.

32. As a rule, it would give rise to shamanic healing.
33. The shaman's animalisation is also represented by his gear. The idea of sexual intercourse between the shaman and his supernatural wife also explains why he enjoys ample possibilities for improvisation, and therefore why the shaman's practice is reputed for having a personal touch.
34. The statements made by Leiris ([1938]–1980:41–42, 57) with respect to possession among the Ethiopians of Gondar illustrate such control: "Possession crises appear only after the healer's intervention. The healer trains the patient to manifest by his behaviour the signs recognized as those of possession by such or such spirit. [...] Manifestations of possession obey a periodicity ruled by the calendar and coincide with the periods in the year when social relations are most intense. They disappear when seasonal conditions or economic circumstances hinder these relations." [The author's translation]

In a more general way, this Siberian example illustrates that physiological or psychological considerations are useless to explain the shaman's behaviour. This behaviour can better be accounted for by the conceptualization of the spirits and of the relationships entertained with them. This is what dictates to the shaman a particular physical manifestation. In other words, focusing the analysis on symbolic grounds is both necessary and sufficient. In this way, a starting question such as: 'How are the spirits conceived of so as to justify the shaman's hysteria-like behaviour when meeting them?' may lead us to understand the symbolic references of his behaviour. His behaviour is, first of all, the expression of the role prescribed by the conception of the spirits. As for any role, there are individuals who are better than others at acting out and getting involved in it. It is obvious that performing this role, as any role, has an effect on his performers' psyche, but this effect is secondary and contingent.

Trance as a Tool of Deprecation

According to the substantial data collected by Rouget, trance is not equally present all over the world. As a rule, it is condemned, marginalized or absorbed by all transcendental religions, whereas it is typical for all other religions.[35] In any context influenced by a world religion, trance can only be sectarian, deviant or peripheral as a religious form[36] or it is not religious at all. It is here that the ideological basis of the notion appears and it cannot be denied, unless one considers — probably an impudent and preposterous hypothesis — that meditation also expresses an alternative natural aptitude. After all, remaining still, kneeling, and bowing one's head, could also be considered as culturally defined behaviour performed in a ritual framework with a musical accompaniment. The definition of trance as being based on latent natural propensity appears to serve to belittle peoples whose religious practice is based on trance. It leads to say that, if in a society trance is allowed and practiced, it is for channelling and organizing this innate aptitude, and hence interpretation easily slides towards 'wildness' or nervous or mental pathology.[37] In other words, whoever goes into trance gives proof that he does not totally master his nature. As a representative of an ethnic group, he is primitive, as an individual, he is

35. Poly 1992 provides examples of condemnation of trance as 'pagan' in the early Middle Age in France.
36. "In the early days of Christianity, people in trances were called *energoumenoi* [...], a word still in current use in seventeenth-century France to designate people who were possessed, notably the nuns of Loudun" (Rouget 1985:14).
37. "The individual in a trance state is thus recognizable by the fact [...] [that] 3) he can fall prey to certain neurophysiological disturbances [...]" (Rouget 1985:14). See also Heusch 1971:227.

ill. Such is the ideological baggage of the term 'trance' which, in my opinion, impedes anthropological analysis of the shaman's behaviour.

This is the reason why the definition of trance as based on an innate disposition could be used by world religions as an argument to condemn it ideologically and to exclude it from accepted practice, without opposing this innate disposition as such. To return briefly to the history of shamanic studies, both of the two main approaches use the term 'trance': they can be characterized as *devilization* and *medicalization* respectively. The first consists of linking the shaman to the devil, and is derived from a *religious* point of view; it is based on the animal-like aspect of the shaman's jumping, shouting and costume. Although purely secular, the second shows continuity with the first. A similar shift from devilization to medicalization was observed by Hoppál (1989:89) by examining figurative representations of the shaman. According to engravings of the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries, the shaman is a savage, retaining animal features, but nevertheless commands respect due to his quality as a magician. On the other hand, the realistic photographs of the twentieth century depict him as miserable and backward. In short, in Western opinion, characterization of the shaman has shifted from ideological to psychological 'otherness'.

It should be mentioned that anthropological literature still retains a medical approach. Most authors still consider therapy to be shamanism's *raison d' être*, and healing to be the shamanic ritual *par excellence*. Of course the therapeutic aspect of shamanism is obvious and cannot be denied. But it should be recalled[38] that healing is neither the model for the shaman's activity in general nor the main substance of his social role.

With regard to the reasons why world religious condemn trance, Rouget offers a clue concerning spirit possession. He states that, on one hand, possession occurs only when the ritual is aimed at identifying the possessed individual with a spirit and that, on the other hand, 'nonidentificatory trance' is tied to transcendental religions.[39] And he remarks (1985:28): "Would imitating Allah, Jehovah, or the Holy Ghost be conceivable? [...] There is no question of identifying with Him or imitating Him."[40] A similar idea holds for shamanism. Although the type of contact in this case does not imply identification, it nevertheless also presupposes being on an equal

38. I have developed this point many times (Hamayon 1982, 1990, 1992:153, 156–157).
39. "There is possession when the ritual is identificatory, and only in this case [...] Thus nonidentificatory trance (inspiration or communion trance) appears to be characteristic of Islam, Christianity and Judaism. In other words, it seems to be linked with the logic of religions of transcendence" (Rouget 1985:28).
40. However, some Christian sects did or do pretend to such identification. "Jeanne des Anges, the most notorious of the possessed nuns of Loudun, was described [...] as 'possessed'. Jean Cavalier, the famous Camisard, was described [...] as 'inspired – with the exception of the papists, who described him as possessed in order to make people believe that the devil was in fact possessing him'." (Rouget 1985:25). The author also says: "It was apparently spiritism that first gave the word 'trance' the meaning it currently has today in the anthropology of religion" (Rouget 1985:7).

footing with spirits. And shamanism is still more subversive than possession, since contact with spirits is stated as a means of acting upon them. Obviously such attitudes are contrary to the aloofness and respectful submission to God required in world religions. Transcendence precludes direct contact, identification and imitation, all which amount to denying it. This is the reason why Christian churches not only condemned shamanism and spirit possession, but have also had troubles with their own mystics.

The Conception of the Soul and Symbolic Function

Whereas the shaman's psychic state as such is not to be taken into account from an anthropological viewpoint, the idea that specific states are associated with meeting the spirits is relevant to the analysis of the underlying symbolic system. For instance, the shaman, as a rule, is supposed to become acquainted with his electing spirit in a *dream*. In many societies, certain states (dreaming, drunkenness, fasting, mental illness, sleeping, etc.[41]) are conceived of as modes of dissociating the soul from the body, and are thereby considered to favour direct contact with spirits. These states form a group on account of their common symbolic reference.

Although the conceptualization of the soul is not uniform among shamanistic societies, in most of them, the soul (or a type of soul) is definable in terms of its link to the body and the body's life, and, conversely, in terms of its ability to part from the body. As a rule, this link is expressed and guaranteed by wakefulness, normal eating and speaking. In opposite states such as sleeping, dreaming, fasting or drunkenness, the soul is thought to be released from the body, hence to become similar to the spirits and be able to meet with them. Silence, shouting and some uses of the voice are also considered as evidence of contact with spirits. But it should be emphasized, first, that such states are relevant not as such but as representations regardless of and independent of psychic realities, second, that their point in common is that they are *different* from ordinary states. It is this difference from ordinary states which appears to be the condition for contact with the world of spirits, which differs from the ordinary world.

These other-than-ordinary states are considered to be signs of possible contact with spirits *only previous* to a shaman taking up his function, or outside the shaman's ritual activity. They are not constituent of the shaman's ritual. They are typical of the individual who shamanizes, not of the shaman acting as such. A shaman who got drunk in order to begin ritual would be deemed second-rate. As to the alleged fasting before a ritual, in

41. These states are usually called 'altered states of consciousness', an expression which makes sense in psychiatry. Recently it has been replaced by 'alterned states of consciousness' or 'alterned states of feeling' in some works on shamanism. We prefer not to use it in order to avoid letting the psychic aspect interfere in the analysis of representations.

reality it is rather a question of refraining from eating culturally prohibited food. If a shaman has to point out which spirit caused misfortune or to foretell what the weather will be like, he does not dream, but performs a divinatory ritual. More precisely, his ritual activity consists of *songs* and *dances*, and on these rests the efficacy of his practice. This does not prevent him from dreaming of spirits outside the ritual context. In short, *a shaman becomes trained to his function through certain states in private circumstances, and he carries out his function through specific actions in a public ritual framework.*

By way of conclusion, here are three proposed directions for furthering the analysis.

1. From a functional perspective, one might try to define the respective technical properties assigned to the various states suitable for direct contact with spirits. For instance, is a particular state more likely to help to 'see' or 'hear' or 'feel' in the world of spirits? Answers to such questions could lead to typological precisions, depending, for instance, on whether one is supposed to have 'visions,' 'calls' or 'revelations.' Then one could seek correlation between the type of state associated with the access to the function, and the type of divination associated with its practice. A certain type of preparatory state might be associated with a practice focusing more on singing, on dancing or on miming.

2. From a formal perspective, it is tempting to try to apply to the shaman's ritual behaviour the model of analysis set up by Caillois with respect to the notion of 'play.' The notion of playing is widely used to qualify the shaman's or the possessed individual's action towards the spirits, the latters' action towards the former, or both (Yakut *oyun*, Buryat *naadaxa*, Korean *nolda*, Hindi *k(h)elna*, etc.). All religious or ritual *playing* has been condemned by world religions on account of its being opposed to *praying*.[42] The notion of play encompasses the main features of the shaman's ritual behaviour, while also indicating that he acts out a role, and is both 'conscious and dupe' of his role.

3. From a symbolic perspective, the analysis could focus on the very simple idea that everything in the shaman's qualifying procedure and ritual behaviour is other-than-ordinary (state, voice, gesture, expression, etc.) and thereby gives him legitimacy and efficacy for acting in a realm which is also other-than-ordinary (be it called, sacred, ritual, symbolic, religious or other).[43] This also fulfils one of the main operative conditions of symbolic function.

42. See for instance Bakhtine 1970, Lhôte 1976:71, Le Goff 1990, Poly 1992, Van de Veer 1992, Hamayon 1992a, etc.

43. In my review of the first edition of Rouget's book (Hamayon 1981), I suggested that the constituents of the shaman's behaviour can be compared to similar constituents of the ordinary realm: the ritual state is to the ordinary state as dancing is to walking and as singing to speaking.

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The Shaman-Actor in the Finno-Ugric Area: Considerations on the Ritual Theatre

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The shamanic séance is not only a public ceremony, but a real theatrical event in its own right, in which many spectators participate with great apprehension, in so far as they expect a result of special importance for the whole tribe. It concerns a form of theatre in which all the participants are directly involved, in that what the shaman relates, even if at times it concerns only one person, in reality it concerns everybody according to the mentality of the tribe for which, being the only individual forming part of the clan, his own affairs constitute an integral part of the life of all the components of the group in its entirety. The ritual too, thanks to the custom handed down from the ancestors, which from time to time is renewed, confers a special solemnity on the theatre of the shaman.

The magic words, the silence, the gestures, partly coordinated with his assistants and at times even with the public, which stands up and then lowers itself, in the manner of participating spectators, acquire a sacred value which transcends their apparent simplicity. The shaman can need, even if on rare occasions, a mask, exchanging being with appearance, full with empty, his own voice with indetermined voices and presence with absence.

The idea of 'complementary opposition' which characterizes the shamanic vision of the world finds in the shamanic séance a significant application. Even the instruments which help the journey of the 'second soul' of the worker of sacred acts par excellence, used on many occasions, reproduce on the stage in their symbolic nature a second invisible reality: thus visible and invisible are fused, and are only two complementary aspects of the same reality. The oppositions which live together in the stage representation of the shamanic séance are clearly connected with 'the universal mythological oppositions', which are well indicated in the Uralic area (Hoppál 1978:369–372).

On the other hand, the play of the oppositions in the shamanic theatre constitutes a further proof of the fact that magic is what it is in virtue of its mythical origins. In my opinion, it is this mythical fact which confers a magic value on the ritual. The shamanic séance, therefore, is magic because it reflects mythical facts. The transformation into an animal assumed by the 'free soul' of the shaman in trance, which is totemic in char-

acter, and by the spirits which help him, correspond respectively with the metamorphoses of the gods and of the souls of the dead in mythology.

It is no coincidence that the shaman, who is the worker of sacred acts par excellence, is the earthly projection of divine power, even if it is obtained through the drama of a conquest which is impossible for a common mortal. The aim of such a difficult undertaking as the ecstatic journey confers on him in the eyes of the public the characteristics of a tutelary hero. As 'medicine-man', as psychopomp, as prophet, the worker of sacred acts, whether it be man or woman, must reinforce his 'second soul', in order to know how to behave so as to recreate the harmony of the contrasting forces of the cosmos or also just to preserve it. To acquire this capacity, time after time he needs to 'become double' in perfect form, so that his 'second soul' can assume the qualities and characteristics of a divine spirit.

The activation of ritual death depends on the perfection of this separation, which is the first act of the drama, a unique prélude to the mythical renovation. While the vampire, which is the counterpart of the shaman, is incapable of dying completely, even after death, the shaman is able to die even when he is alive, i.e., he is able to renew himself. The spectacular realization of the 'doubling', during which the shaman's body is able to relate the experiences of his 'second soul', presents the shaman in the eyes of the western people as an actor and at the same time spectator, in so far as he acts and simultaneously participates, is able to know death and live, to take part in an exclusively spiritual nature, but also in human nature, to stay in a spatial dimension, but also to transcend all spatial limits. His exclusively theatrical fiction expresses a radical experience, a complex reality in his complementary duality, and for this reason it is complete: it expresses the inexpressible with a cathartic process which excludes a priori any kind of falsity. The latter belongs to one of those deliberately contrived moral categories which are absolutely inadequate for the dramatic fulfilment of the shamanic ecstasy (Mazzoli 1989:48), to be understood as a projection of a mythical process which is lived beyond the limits of possibility.

We must not forget the relationship of the complementary opposition between the two 'separated' souls of the shaman. One rises above the other but needs the soul which remains attached to the body to communicate with the spectators who do not possess the ability of 'separation'. The soul of the worker of sacred acts, liberated from the body is able to move vertically up and down, the soul which lives in the body in the human dimension horizontally.

The ritual ceremony of the séance, which the shaman supervises, must have a dual function, on the one hand to appear in the horizontal dimension, on the other to act in the vertical dimension, as if to renew the primordial unity. It must stress the dignity of the 'second soul' of the shaman but at the same time must not break the ties with his mortal soul and the other humans.

While in ancient ritual theatre in general the ceremonial 'tends to establish distance' and 'is elevated above the mass by creating dignity and prestige' (Eberle 1966:661) in the Euroasiatic shamanic fields, it must at the same time also obtain the opposite, that is shorten the distance between the shaman and the spectators: near-far must be two complementary oppositions to be found in the ceremony too. The spectators must be silent, stay motionless or the contrary, according to the directions of the shaman. It is in this that he is a director, apart from actor and spectator. The other two form part of his role of director without being contradictory. It is a complex theatre, consisting in double aspects which are inter-complementary, different for this reason from those forms of ritual theatre which do not make provision for ecstasy.

According to the ethnomusicologist Gilbert Rouget, since the shamanic trance is to a large extent a reactivation of the initiation ceremony, it is linked to an exclusively internal logic of conscience; the music is not needed to let it loose, but by disciplining the theatrical manifestation, assumes the function of a socializing agent (Rouget 1986:428–429). We agree with him to a large degree, but it is necessary to underline also, above all, that the rhythmic sound evokes and creates an emotive atmosphere which is different from the usual one, an extraordinary, paranormal one, which causes in the spectators an atypical feeling.

The musical rhythm is not only socializing, but is emotively captivating. The rhythm of the drum corresponds to the rhythm of the blood, and its physical effect is so strong that the body feels it and provokes the beating of the foot. Music, dance and singing create a highly charged emotion and make visible an internal dangerous state which can lead to a loss of control, and thus in a certain sense exorcize it, thanks to the cleverly orchestrated directions of the worker of sacred acts. It has been rightly observed that the shaman qua 'musician' has an incantatory nature (Rouget 1986:182–183). The rhythm of the drum does not condition ecstasy, which can occur even without it. In his role as conductor of the orchestra, the shaman must have control over the music: he 'feels' it, but since he has to perform his own special task and reach a special goal, he must remain over and above it. Just like an actor, he cannot allow himself to relax, otherwise his 'fiction' collapses. The drum represents the 'flying carpet' (Lot-Falck 1989:18) which helps his journey beyond the world, becomes one and the same with him and demonstrates the flying aspect of his 'second soul' and at the same time through its rhythm conditions the spectators in an emotional sense. The shaman uses the drum as a means of transport because its rhythm transports man away from himself, but he knows how to direct it wherever he likes, how to control it by manipulating the emotions of the bystanders in the same way.

The other objects of the shaman and his clothes too are an integral part of his individuality, in so far as they delineate his image. In particular the animal reproduced by his costume becomes a second 'ego', not a separate

entity, but a complementary one, to be identified with the first 'ego' through a real 'mystical symbiosis' in its own right (Cantoni 1968:165), a 'psychological transfer' in its highest form. The shaman thus overcomes 'the radical separation from the animal nature' approaching 'the mysterious power of the animal world' (Mazzoli 1990:50).

We find ourselves in front; of a theatrical 'extension' of the personality of the shaman: it also implies his 'belongings': indeed his 'belongings' give power to the personality to such an extent that it can 'demonstrate' his two complementary indivisible aspects, i. e. his 'first soul ' and his 'double'. The shaman in action is the exaltation of the personality which manages to 'double itself' in a visible way. Just as an actor who possesses two personalities in one, so the shaman plays two simultaneous roles, the one of an exclusively human reality, and the other of a second reality which fuses with the imaginary: at moments they become interwoven and superimposed, albeit maintaining their individual character. While before the ecstasy it is the first personality which prevails on the stage, during ecstasy the second one dominates, even if it needs the body of the first to express in human form what it experiences: in this way another connection is delineated, namely passivity and activity, which become surprisingly complementary. Thanks to his 'doubling' the shaman represents the group in its complex, that of the living and that of the dead. There is a bond uniting the shaman and his people which finds its own consecration in the ecstatic séance. As the hero of salvation, risking death for his people, and what is more defeating it, the worker of sacred acts becomes the promoter of what Lucien Lévy-Bruhl defined as 'collective hypnotization' (1973:152), which induces the bystanders to complete the music of the soloists or to repeat the ritornellos for hours on end without getting tired: it is a kind of mystic participation in the mythical 'renewal'.

The place itself of the séance becomes a magical projection of the 'centre', in which each man feels immersed along with the others, eliminating his own personality in the whole. In my opinion, shamanic magic has the same collective character of religion, if, as Marcel Mauss emphasized 'we continue to postulate that religion is an essentially collective phenomenon in all its aspects' (1965:90).

The magic technique which gives rise to the collective pathos of the shamanic séance is art, in so far as 'art is *one* magic technique' and the same 'repetition is not necessarily the antithesis of art, but rather is able to respond to the demands of rhythm and symmetry' (Seppilli 1971:210–211). The music and the singing of the séance must obey rules, they are works of art, equal to the dance; indeed, the latter has something more in that it is a bodily modality and uses mime to represent the emotions.

The Finno-Ugric, just like the Far Eastern shaman 'becomes the creator of images based on the body', and 'makes a show of himself and his own powers' of human communication with the divine (Ottaviani 1984:11), and is an actor par excellence for a public which takes part emotionally and

'religiously' in his 'religious' ritual (in the sense of *religans*, i.e. 'tying'), presenting 'the face of the invisible' (Marotti 1984). It has been rightly observed that the communion between the living and mythical ancestors is put into effect by means of a temporary death, a suffering which, although not possessing any artistic element, awakes feelings of an artistic kind, as we witness in the magic fables with their origin in the initiatory ritual and in myth (Seppilli 1971:213; Propp 1977).

By means of death and resurrection the shaman relives the mythical world of the imaginary; thanks to his 'doubling' the surreal becomes concrete, is not opposed to the real, rather it completes it; this is when reality and myth become two complementary aspects of human existence. The metamorphosis of the shaman and his assistants, and their gestures simulate in so far as they represent and, in representing, form models: the imaginary takes on a real form in a magical union of surreal and real.

The creativity of the shaman can be shown also with unequivocal clarity. It is sufficient to think of the Lappish shaman who according to Olaus Magnus encouraged ecstasy by hammering the bronze snake and frog on an anvil (Corradi 1971:24; Calmet 1986:70), symbols of the soul on its journey to the world beyond the grave.

The anvil and hammer, which were substitutes for the drum and drumstick, (both probably taken with the other objects carried by the shaman as witnesses of his ecstatic journey, a ring or a knife of a more complex symbology) at once bring to mind the blacksmith, who is the active principle of creation and transformation, and their relative celestial myths. The mythical-ritual scene evoked by the shaman was completely unknown to outsiders; even Western travellers, more interested in magic phenomena, recorded only fragmentary items of information, which are invaluable only if reinterpreted, and expressed judgements which were for the most part superficial or erroneous on the beliefs of peoples labelled as 'primitive'.

We have found instead, a synthetic but correct interpretation of the emotional and collective meaning of the theatre of the shaman in a novella of a great Russian writer, who was by nature evidently more sensitive to artistic phenomena. Nicolaj Semenovic Leskov, who was able to describe with great realism the shamanic traditions surviving in Siberia in the second half of the last century. In 'At the furthest edge of the world' he wrote that while the old well-loved monk Kiriak was on his death bed

> in the tent full of people a shaman in her multicoloured costume jumped up and began to beat on a little drum: they began to accompany it with a wooden tuning fork and another instrument unknown to me, the kind they use when tribes and peoples, at the sound of the trumpet and every kind of musical instrument, prostrate themselves before an idol on the Dura plain, and a rustic festival began (Leskov 1988:102–103).

The she-shaman wanted to propitiate the journey of Father Kiriak's second soul beyond the grave so as to assure its future return to the earth.

In such a way she took upon herself the functions of the mythical 'homo faber', 'the creator' : by her 'doubling' she became a spectator of Kiriak's death and at the same time, in particular, the protagonist in his transition. The social community, by playing other instruments, took part with great emotion in the difficult undertaking of the worker of sacred acts so as to safeguard the death-resurrection of a real benefactor. In her role of psychopomp the shaman who was repeating her own initiation in ecstasy, encouraged the initiation of the immortal soul of Kiriak. Reflecting on this task of hers, one can understand Georges Lapassade, when he stated that

> initiation has as its purpose the establishment, development, and reinforcing of a second personality, and not, as it was too often possible to believe, the solemn revealing of secrets, an esoteric knowledge (1976:187–188).

It is true, however, that the reinforcement of the 'second personality' implies as a natural consequence the acquisition of a capacity for superior knowledge and a creative force which can only be found in the imaginary, the dream and the myth.

The performance of the shaman on the stage is that of an actor, whose 'fiction' is the representation of a special experience, the outcome of which is not foreseeable, and is suffered beyond the limits of the possible: the spectators identify themselves with him and through a 'feeling' which they have really experienced, they purify themselves on their own. The performance of the worker of sacred acts, by involving the public both intellectually and emotionally, carries out a function which by far surpasses the socializing aspect. The public goes to the theatre to attend a work of art which is such only if the actors identify themselves to such an extent in their new character that they forget their own.

The shaman is the actor par excellence in a work of art, he even 'doubles himself', and the public lives this magic, is moved and suffers with him. In his 'doubling' as actor and spectator, which are distinct but intimately connected and complementary, he reproduces the essence of 'fiction', which gives expressive form to a second being, a 'second personality' of mythical descendance. To maintain that theatrical fiction is neither true nor false, is therefore inadequate in expressing the shamanic ecstasy (Lapassade 1976:22), incorrect and also non-productive. Theatrical fiction is the appearance of a reality. The latter can for the spectator be true, and becomes so, certainly at the level of sentiment and emotion. Furthermore, the shaman, in representing a religious event, in so far as it is mythical and is believed by the public, is the protagonist of a form of theatre which contains something extra in relation to, the secular. Even when he does not go into ecstasy, the shaman enjoys a particular prestige. He can enter into a relationship with the divine even when he is alone, like Moses on the mountain. But in public 'trance' the shaman makes contact with a source of energy because he must transmit it to all present, taking on the function of a plug which transmits electric current.

Ecstasy can happen without being related, but if it is related it necessarily becomes a theatrical event. It is the means by which the shaman expresses the story of his journey beyond the grave that can not be separated from the representation of the story in front of the spectators: they relive these means as single individuals, united however in a collectivity. Emotive-social, individual-collective, these constitute a different bond which characterizes the theatre of the shaman. Dialogue, at the basis of the first theatrical forms, finds its own sublimation in the shamanic séance, and becomes a 'total dialogue' of a 'totally theatrical ' event (Chavers 1989:368).

> Just as for Plato, therefore, so for the shaman our physical world of the senses is a mere illusion, a world of shadows, an appendix to another vaster superdimensional reality': it is a reality which can be explored only by the spirit, not the three dimensional body which is only 'the matrix of real life' (Marchiori 1991:37).

This is how, thanks to the expansion of knowledge obtained by ecstasy, in the theatre of the shaman appearance and reality are not only complementary, but interchangeable, in the sense that appearance turns out to be true reality, and reality appearance. The shaman-actor appears like the 'shield' which is a defence against the 'crisis of presence' (Mazzoli 1990:49): in archaic society all living reality can become a threat. The spectators by means of the shaman's ecstasy can give new strength to their weakened 'second personality'.

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Shamans, Actors and Images

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Recognition and Reversal in Shamanistic Ritual and Their Parallels in the Work of the Actor

In ritual drama, as I shall demonstrate below, there exist what appear to be *Ur-forms* of Aristotelian 'reversal' and 'recognition' as he defines them in his *Poetics*. Thus reversal occurs when an action produces the opposite of what was intended. It can be seen as a kind of irony, as when – in the *Oedipus* – the messenger arrives seemingly about to make Oedipus happy. Instead, he unwittingly reveals that Oedipus has indeed married his mother, and the action takes a sudden implexive shift into the opposite pole. Recognition, as Gerald Else argues: 'is a shift from ignorance to awareness' (Else 1957:343). Such a moment is when Oedipus recognizes his true identity. These elements of drama will be seen to adopt new forms in shamanistic ritual or ritual theatre as some observers loosely term it.[1]

Though there are similarities between so-called ritual theatre and everyday theatre as we know it, there are also significant differences between the two. Michael Goldman, for instance, notes that what we see on the stage in everyday theatre is the real thing. 'Those are real people up there doing exactly what they appear to be doing. At the same time there is some conventionalism: these people are actors, and they are not doing what they appear to be doing' (Goldman 1975:34). This condition obtains because their actions do not have reference in the world, do not directly affect it. The shaman, on the other hand, as L.C. Charles notes, heightens his theatrical effects because they 'assist (his) psychotherapeutic function' (Charles 1953:96). In fact he is doing what he appears to be doing: communicating to the gods; acting as psychopompe or exorcist; healing the sick patient. Let us even suppose that the shaman's dubious conjuring of disease-enti-

1. Else is good on many particular points, but S. H. Butcher's *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art* is still considered by many to be the best standard translation and commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics* in English.

ties out of the mouths of the afflicted remains in the sphere of reality, for all these actions are meant to have their *direct* effect in real life; they do not contribute exclusively to the workings of an aesthetically framed plot with all its attendant 'make-believe'. Rather does a shaman's conjuring depend on the audience and patient's 'belief' in what he does.

David Cole outlines a number of ways in which the actor's work parallels that of the shaman. He commences with the supposition that the *illud tempus* — the place 'of origins, the period of creation [...] just after the gods walked the earth, [and] men visited the sky' — unlike merely historical periods — can be made present again at any moment by the performance of ritual (Cole 1975:7). He argues that the *'illud tempus'* can be seen as a theatre script in which the shaman makes himself present, and by whom some aspect of that script makes itself present amongst us. In such cases he is the actor who becomes 'possessed by the life of one of the inhabitants of that *illud tempus*' (Cole 1975:14).

Cole sees the actor's work in the shaman's opening a 'way out' towards the *illud tempus*, and then in the manner of the hungan, he (the actor) *'himself becomes* the 'way back' of the *illud tempus* towards us'. Cole continues:

> I call this reversal in which the actor goes from shaman to hungan — from masterful explorer to mastered vehicle — the 'rounding'. The rounding is the defining characteristic of theatrical performance. It is in the moment of rounding that the theatre, as an event, is born. (Cole 1975:15).

This reversal in the rounding of the actor entails his ability to make a journey from the natural to the supernatural world. The shaman and hungan reverses the condition of man's exclusion from God by resorting to trance journeys in which he restores their universal access. This reversal, from the point of view of theatre, belongs to performance action. For, without its occurrence the reversals contained within the dramatic action of the play will not be convincingly relayed to the audience, and the 'theatrical event' as Cole has it, will not take place. The rounding, reversal or possession of the actor would therefore appear to be an essential precondition of the dramatic reversal as Aristotle has defined it.

The actor's rounding would appear to duplicate the implexive, *peplegmenos* of the complex play; it reflects the recursive movement that, as Cave remarks, is 'the end (which) obliges one to revert to the beginning, to reread according to the now disclosed 'true sense' of the action'; peripeteia creating a 'paradox [...] a logical sequence operating *para ten doxan*'. (Cave 1988:32). This last element of the unexpected often carries with it an element of the uncanny. In drama this is a force which has not only to be masked by the plot, but also by those agents or actors who imitate this; who like the shaman returning back to earth from heaven, are caught up in the numinous act of 'rounding'. For the actor, the script *illud tempus* is

his means of bringing about this rounding, an apt word to describe his negotiation of the *fold* which characterizes the action of the play.[2]

Thus the play supposes dialogue against which the 'blocking' will be decided. In this way the dialogue substitutes for the dance with those definite steps which would have seen the initiands in and out of the labyrinth. The plot or action of the latter also requires prescriptive blocking if, as construct, the novice is successfully to negotiate its windings. Like tribal lore, which once inculcated allows the novice to survive his initiation, so too does the dialogue of a play have to be learned and interpreted by the actor and director. The latter may be seen as master of initiation whose job it is to enhance the action, to see the actor masterfully chart his way through the reticulations of the plot till he emerges at the end without ever having been threatened by the hypnotically winding power of the labyrinth. On stage these threats would manifest themselves as a 'dry', would terminate in the actor being too far from the wings when his dialogue is finished, in a missed cue; in any of those actions which menace the movement of the cast to the final curtain.

Cole's arguments for holding that the operations of shaman and actor are similar are cogently presented. He sees for instance, evidence of the similarity between the mental processes of actor and shaman in the fact that the metaphors used in training and rehearsal by the former 'are reminiscent of shamanic practices' (Cole 1975:23). He points out that Grotowski, Gordon Craig and Stanislavski — among others — are shamanistic in their approach to acting. Thus included in Grotowski's exercises is one called 'Flight' in which the actor imagines he is a bird. 'Such an exercise seems designed to bring home to the actor his function as shamanic flier to the *illud tempus*' (Cole 1975:27). Grotowski also shows his interest in the would-be shamanistic exercises such as those which help the actors ventriloquial abilities by exercises like the following:

> The pupil recites a text at will [...] the words must resound against the ceiling as though the upper part of the skull were talking [...] Through the echo, the ceiling becomes the partner in the dialogue which takes the form of questions and answers. (Grotowski 1968:144).

This is an exercise designed to develop precisely those skills the shaman of the Evenks demonstrates in the short excerpt of his healing seance I quote below.

Again, both Craig and Grotowski agree to the necessity 'of the actor being in a state of trance', which Craig defines as 'a death-like beauty [...]

2. The *peplegmenos* can, as Cave indicates, be etymologically associated with 'the twist at the end of the tale'. It is a recursive movement which not only can be found in drama and poetry, but also in the structure of passage rites. Hence, the rereading, in the case of the Australian Aborigine, will be done in the post-liminal occulted world about him. See later in this article.

exhaling a living spirit'. A reasonable evocation of beauty's mastery of the liminal death of the novice as he merges with the images of the cosmogonic myth. As Cole points out, although Stanislavski is not partial to the word trance, Kostya's Sea Voyage 'clearly represents the actor's highest creative state as a kind of trance' (Cole 1975:25). Later, in more detail, Cole demonstrates what he sees as parallels of shamanistic 'symbolism of diving and immersion' in Kostya's journey, and evaluates this in more general terms:

> What significance is there in the fact that 'ascent' and 'descent' can equally well be used as metaphors for the actor's (or shaman's) experience? The ambivalent symbolism points up the ambivalence in the experiences themselves, the potential they contain for self–loss as well as self-penetration, the great emotional range they demand of those who would embark on them (Cole 1975:31).

Cole argues that although an 'obliterated consciousness' is a fairly rare, and even undesirable state for an actor, the shaman/hungan 'upon returning to himself ... invariably claims to remember nothing of what he felt or did while the gods rode him'. For all this, both actor and shaman have one common characteristic at such moments: the gift for performance (Cole 1975:41).

That some form of possession also obtains in the case of the actor who has put himself at the disposal of his 'psychic components' in taking on a role, is testified to by a number of actors, including Jean-Louis Barrault who reports being taken over by a character he was playing. Similarly, Sarah Bernhardt appears to have been taken over by a god at the onset of her creative state, uttering the words 'Dieu est venu!'. As Cole indicates, these are 'the very words with which a hungan might greet the onset of possession' (Cole 1975:41). What is evoked here is the literal spiritual intervention of the images who enacted the paradigmatic acts. These are manipulated by the action of the script *illud tempus*. The last keeps the mild state of possession in check by having a beginning, middle and end, and by working a denouement which stands ready to unbind the curse of the play.

The hungan or shaman's claim to know nothing of the 'riding' of the gods, and the notion that in 'most possession cults [...] consciousness is totally extinguished during possession' (Cole 1975:40) has surely to be taken with the utmost caution. It would mean that any recognitions and reversals contained in a drama enacted by a shaman would be experienced only the audience. The shaman himself would have no idea which direction the action was being taken by the spirits he had conjured up. It will be useful to examine an account of such a drama. A.F. Anisimov gives a lively account of a shaman's curative seance in his article 'The Shaman's Tent of the Evenks'.

It is worth nothing at this point that the shamanistic function of curing is in itself another form of reversal: disease or psychotic symptoms being

converted to those of an opposite effect or character. Hence it is not surprising to see the scenario for curing the patient riddled with recognitions and reversals as shaman and — in this case — disease spirit, wage ware on one another within the shamanistic lodge: I begin my excerpt from well within the article:

> At other times [...] the shaman said that the disease spirit would not come to his bait. Then the shaman, annoyed, once more threw himself on the drum. It [...] 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 [...] spirit helpers and the disease spirit. The latter hid himself in ... [the patient's] stomach. Then, the most cunning of the shaman's spirits, pushed his beak into the patient's stomach and [...] caught the disease. The shaman and his spirits celebrated [...] but the joy proved itself to be premature. 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 shamanic tree [...] seized the disease spirit, squeezed it into its wooden body, and [...] came over to the shaman (Anisimov 1977:137).

In this account one sees the constant shift of the action from one pole to another. These shifts are sudden and surprising, and prove that they belong to 'second order metaphor' by always carrying an element of danger for the audience.[3] Characterization through personification is convincing because it is logical: the shamanic tree secures the disease within its 'wooden' body. Hubris as an element is already present in the too ready celebration of victory over the disease spirit. Its escape nearly comes off, and tragedy is averted by a hair's breadth. It is difficult to imagine only the unconscious mind of the shaman working this short of scenario which by its very nature calls for split–second timing of the sort only a sober actor would be expected to master.

Other reversals as manifest in the forces of nature which take place during a shamanic seance are legion. There is the reversal of the force of gravity as tables levitate: a play with gravity which in architectural feats will be consolidated in the suspension of domes or the leap of the Gothic arch.

These tricks which are brought off in shamanistic seances, Kirby cites as belonging to the tradition of 'pseudo-shamanism' in which the trance of the subject seems to protect him from such ordeals as scourging, tongue-piercing and hanging suspended by a hook in the flesh. All these tricks constitute demonstrations of the supernatural and are seen in a reversed

3. See Bruce Wilshire's *Role Playing and Identity: The Limits of Theatre as Metaphor* (Bloomington, Ind., 1982) in which performance in the theatre is contrasted to the 'second order metaphor' of a doctor playing his role in real life. The latter, as Wilshire remarks, 'does not have an immobilized audience sitting an aesthetic distance from what he does. The full gamut of what he does to the patient unrolls in time' (Wilshire 1982:263).

form of judgement which holds 'the virtual to be more real than the ordinary reality' (Kirby 1975:15). Such inversions of human physical capabilities have affinities with Aristotle's notion that drama has more reality than the incident–prone everyday life we lead. Thus these ordeals may be classified under phenomena which 'are beyond our experience, that never have happened and never will happen'. They can be painful acts contained in poetry which 'has never anywhere come to pass, that alone never grows old'. They come off because of the paralogism or 'faulty reasoning'[4] and through the ability of the shaman — as proto-protagonist — to work this seeming supernatural reasoning in order to complete the cure. The shaman, as Aristotle insists of the poet, has learnt 'to tell lies skilfully'.

Lies in Art and Their Therapeutic and Moral Ends

These lies, in the form of tricks, can, as I have noted above, be seen as the originals of Aristotle's preferred category of the 'wonderful' in drama: the 'probable impossibilities' which the playwright should resort to, rather than 'improbable possibilities'. The actions leading up to shamanistic reversals are also of a type which can be compared to these 'probable impossibilities'. In numerous shamanistic seances there appears to be a shaping of these to accord with the dramatic logic which grows out of the action necessary to cure the patient. Thus the seance–drama conjured up by the Evenk shaman is full of impossible and fantastic beings who move within an action system which creates a terrifying conviction of their reality. The shaman has, once again, learnt 'to tell lies skilfully'. This parallels the impulse of the playwright who, as Butcher argues:

> must be allowed to make certain primacy assumptions and create his own environment [...] By vividness of narrative and minuteness of detail, and, above all, by the natural sequence of incident and motive, things are made to happen exactly as they would have happened had the fundamental fiction been fact. The effects are so life like, that we yield ourselves instinctively to the illusion, and infer the existence of the supposed cause [...] By artistic treatment things incredible in real life wear an air of probability. The impossible not only becomes possible, but natural and even inevitable. (Butcher 1951:172–173).

4. Paralogic is false logic; deception practiced on the reader by the 'lying' writer. Thus if p implies q, the presence of q implies the presence of p. Odysseus, for example, misleads Penelope, his wife, into thinking he is a 'stranger' by giving a correct account of Odysseus' dress. This paralogic in art is paralleled by the shaman's ability to conjure. Thus, if a child is seen to enter a basket through which a sword is run, the basket, as p, suggests the presence of the child, q, and that the child is now dead. (See Cave 1988:42.)

This account of the creation of the fictional could as precisely describe the scenario contrived by our Evenk shaman as that of the poet. However, even though the reversal of impossibility into possibility by the shaman/actor and the poet can be seen as analogous, the aim of this process, in the case of the shaman, is functional rather than aesthetic. Its effect is, as Kirby suggests, meant to be 'direct'.

Cole prefers the name Images (spelt with a capital 'I') for the fictional beings created in this process that Butcher formulates. Cole uses the term for any inhabitant or personage of a script *illud tempus* — (in this case the play–script) — rather than 'character' or 'role' because he wishes to emphasize the fact that these 'beings' whom actor and audience encounter are 'numinous dwellers in an eternal imaginative *illud tempus*, not just an assortment of persons who happen to be imaginary'. Cole sees these images as entities of 'otherness' and 'insubstantiality' (Cole 1975:15–16). The word Image also mirrors the 'breadth' of the characters as they expand into the action system of a play. Thus John Gabriel Borkmann and Goneril are images whom actors seek 'to be present to' and 'to make present' (Cole 1975:16).

This last notion of Cole invites us back into the *illud tempus*, the time of origins, of the paradigmatic acts of the gods in *illo tempore*. As Eliade says of this time; of the patient to be cured, or the youth to be initiated:

> It is the entire world that symbolically returns, with the candidate, into cosmic night, in order that it may be created anew, that is, regenerated. As we saw [...] the cosmologic myth is recited for therapeutic purposes. To be cured, the victim of an illness must be brought to *a second birth*, and the archetypal model of birth is the cosmogony. The work of time must be undone, the auroral moment immediately preceding the Creation must be reintegrated ...
>
> Entering the belly of the monster — or being [...] shut up in the initiatory hut is equivalent to a regression to the primordial non–distinction, to cosmic night. To emerge from the belly [...] is equivalent to a cosmogony. Initiatory death reiterates the paradigmatic return to chaos, in order the make possible a repetition of the cosmogony — that is, to prepare the new birth (Eliade 1959:195–196).

This assertion of the common connection of the healing seance and liminal ritual with the cosmogonic myth is essential at this point. It clearly reveals that the images the actors seek 'to be present to' and 'to make present' belong to those beings who preside not only over the cosmology, but rites-of-passage in general; a source which in supplying both substance and idea of cure, relates itself empirically to that incredibly elusive notion of catharsis as a physical and spiritual purging.

The always elusive purpose of this cure which so obviously fascinates Cave, is based on nothing less than those therapeutic attempts of ancient man to conquer the pain and desolation of death. They, as Eliade says,

simply turned death into a rite-of-passage. Thus, for the primitive, initiation is a dying to something *'that is not essential*; men die to the profane life'. Following on this, death comes to be regarded as the 'supreme initiation' (Eliade 1959:196). A thought, for instance, that gives the Australian Aborigine his peace of mind as through an arduous existence he stalks the sacred world of the gods which his initiation has occulted for him, and which, ideally, he yearns to return to. In a similar way we die to the artwork we have presented ourselves to; our dying being taken up in the manner in which we allow the brooking of our desire or 'will' to be patterned by the machinery of the plot, the composition of the picture, the state of emergence of the sculpture, the moment of suspense during which 'the dominant seventh chord longs to move to the tonic'. In providing a world which is redolent of these nostalgias, art introduces a liminoid substitute which though religiously inferior to the proper liminal cure of the world, nevertheless works a profane and aesthetic cure. It is a cure which is apt for what we are: physically and mentally unfit for the rigours of primitive, ritual therapy.

What becomes evident here is the truth of Artaud's apprehension of the 'cosmic trance' in Far Eastern theatre; it matters nothing that he misunderstood the significance of the performer's gestures. In dividing the truth of the images which lie behind the facade of dramatic art, he concurs with the Balinese, who see the pantomimic dancers as vehicles by which 'celestial beings are able to descend to earth'. Enabling this, the actor, like the shaman, opens up the 'once universal access' to the gods. In doing this, as Cole observes, the shaman reverses the condition of earth-bound mankind, and sets aside the 'present fallen state of the universe'. The actor, in his liminoid role of intercessor, brings about not so much a return to the obligative 'primordial situation' as to an Aristotelian dramatic situation in which the image has been transformed into the *ethos* and *dianoia* of the actor as character; a transformation which enables us to identify a course of right or wrong against which we can voluntarily measure our own moral and human stature. This permits an enhancement rather than imposition of a new identify on the spectator.

The Actor-Shaman and the Emergence of the Image

In what ways, it might be asked, do the images manifest themselves in the actor? How do they shape the latter so that he becomes the character he is acting, and in so doing, becomes one of them? Like the shaman who makes 'an inward journey' to the *illud tempus* for the shake of others, so, too, by Grotowski style 'self-penetration' does the actor explore the script *illud tempus* through the exploration of his own 'answering impulses, shared

fantasies [and] common symbolism' (Cole 1975:23). All these being an approximation of Stanislavski's 'emotion memory' in which the actor uses his memories of past experiences to help him cope with the creation of the character he has been given. As Cole says: 'The way to the Image lies through the self. In searching for the life of a role, it is one's own life one searches' (Cole 1975:22–23). Similarly, the shaman's 'inward journey' involves the exploration of his own 'fantasies, memories, and dreams' before he explores the world of the *illud tempus* (Cole 1975:22).

This common world of the two men comes to light in the metaphors used by actors and acting teachers to get into a role; many of metaphors, as Cole observes, being comparable to those used by the shaman as he nears his god – for example: 'The body movement must be sharp and strong like the bows of a ship cleaving a huge wave' (Grotowski 1968:140). Stanislavski's description of what happens on stage could pass easily for a description of the *illud tempus: 'in ordinary life, truth is what really exists ... Whereas on the stage it consists of something that is not actually in existence but which could happen'* (Stanislavski 1967:122). Again, Grotowski's remarks about acting being closer to sculpture than to painting throw light on the mode of manifestation of the images. As Grotowski says: 'Painting involves the addition of colours, whereas the sculptor takes away what is concealing the form which ... already exists within the block of stone, thus revealing it instead of building it up' (Grotowski 1968:39). This accords with Stanislavski's notion that a play has to be read many times before the 'essentials of a new part' can be properly grasped, and the actor 'can create its whole spirit in one burst of feeling. More often his mind first grasps the text in part, then his emotions are slightly touched and they stir vague desires' (Stanislavski 1967:231). What is marked here is the tantalizing labyrinthine thread of nostalgia that Eliade so shrewdly marks out as significant in our development into imaginative human-beings. Stanislavski's own image of these 'desires' is telling: referring us back to the feeling first strike of the sculptor's chisel into the pregnant stone or wood; to all the processes by which the actor will strip himself down to the essentials of his role.

The shamanistic entity which Grotowski plays with – somewhat in the manner of Artaud – is the ability to master fire. Taking up Artaud's somewhat manic cry: 'Actors should be like martyrs burnt alive, still signalling to us from their stakes', Grotowski remarks that such signals must however, be articulated [...] 'they cannot just be gibberish [...] calling out everything and nothing' (Grotowski 1968:93). If anybody called from the fire, of course, it would be the shaman. It is strange, indeed – (betraying perhaps age-old atavisms at work in the minds of the church judiciary – that martyrs should have been burnt at all – 'fire' as Eliade recounts, ensuring:

> a celestial destiny after death [...] 'Fire', of whatever kind, transforms man into 'spirit'; this is why shamans are held to be 'masters over fire' and become insensitive to the touch of hot coals. 'Mastery over fire' or being burned are in a manner equivalent to initiation (Eliade 1964:206).

What is posited here is the constancy of the images: their mode of working their way into consciousness by initiatory motifs or through the debris of rites-of-passage; by this means shaping the actor — through his teacher — into presences conveying the same numinous charge as themselves.

Leading up to this mastery, Grotowski delineates a veritable St Francis — like vision of the 'holy actor' who makes 'a total gift of himself'. This is brought about by simple liminal processes — ('liminoid' if one wishes to emphasize their voluntary nature) — such as 'ripening' which 'is expressed by tension towards the extreme', which may be seen as the abrupt status reversals which attend the liminal scene, and 'by a complete stripping down, by the laying bare of one's own intimity' (Grotowski 1968:16). In other words one surrenders to what Turner refers to as the 'communitas' of the initiands liminal state. A condition attended by 'lowliness and sacredness, of homogeneity and comradeship' (Turner 1974:82). A condition of drama prevailing in the millennial period of the 1960s which showed a marked proliferation of ultra-liminal types of theatre. Grotowski's 'Poor Theatre' was but one of these; others, for instance, were the 'Living Theatre' and the new style people's Peking Opera of the time.

All these theatres were ruled in the manner of most 'middle' or liminal scenarios: by authoritarian 'ritual elders' like the Becks or Chiang Ching; Grotowski himself, appears through his writing, to be particularly authoritarian. Through the discipline these authorities posed, various enlightenments were supposed to come about. Thus Grotowski's method of mental and physical exercises brought on 'the trance' which presumed 'the integration of all the actor's psychic and bodily powers which emerge from the most intimate layers of his being and his instinct, springing forth in a sort of 'translumination' (Grotowski 1968:16). However, in line with his extremely shamanistic approach, Grotowski manages to extract the very essence of shamanistic mastery of fire from both Artaud's 'martyrs' and Eliade's assertion that any kind of fire 'transforms man into 'spirit', thus:

> The education of an actor in our theatre is not a matter of teaching him something; we attempt to eliminate his organisms resistance to this psychic process. The result is freedom from the time-lapse between inner impulse and outer reaction in such a way that the impulse is already an outer reaction. Impulse and action are concurrent: the body vanishes, burns, and the spectator sees only a series of visible impulses (Grotowski 1968:16).

The 'impulses' substituting for Eliade's 'spirit'. The lesson is plain: no matter what contortions a method may devise; no matter how much it claims for its originality as a method, it will always be the requisite cosmogonic image which is finally uncovered.

Another aspect of the actor's training which encourages the images to emerge is that of exercises which involve the actor's imitation of animals. Grotowski's quite detailed exercises such as 'Flight' — mentioned above —

'Tiger Springs' and 'The Cat'. These routines — even the abstract exercises preceding them — must be done according to 'a precise image' that the actor has in mind. Grotowski does not say which image this might be, only that the aim of the exercise is to remove any resistances to the image an actor might entertain. The removal of these is what Grotowski calls his 'via negativa'; the 'way' along which the actor learns what *not* to do, and recognizes and reverses those organic processes which disrupt his precise stylization of the image he is called on to depict, the new identity he must achieve to.

The shaman, as ecstatic journier to the beyond, usually summons his helping spirits before the shamanistic seance which will encompass his ascent. The presence of these beasts is betrayed by the shaman's imitation of animals cries and behaviour. As Eliade says, this is not so much a process of possession, but a *'taking possession of his helping spirits by a shaman'*. This event can bring about a *'new identity'* for the shaman. Animal language as we refer to it above, is in turn, a variant of 'spirit language' — the secret shamanic tongue shamans come to adopt. Grotowski's constant hints as to the secret nature of his actors' communications are found everywhere in his testament. For instance, in remarking on the nature of his exercises, he remarks:

> Even those exercises which are not the result of the actor's personal research have been developed [...] terminology pertaining to the chosen exercises is then altered. Once the actors adopt a given exercise, they themselves establish a name for it on the basis of personal associations and ideas. One tends consciously to use a kind of professional jargon since this has a stimulating effect on the imagination (Grotowski 1968:102).

If one substitutes the words 'secret language' for 'professional jargon', is given a quaint notion of how shamanistic concepts transform themselves into acceptable modern images. Grotowski's reluctance to spell out the nature of the images used in his exercises could indeed be because of the age-old fear that their power to occult, to possess the actor, may be lessened by exposure to all and sundry.

As Eliade continues, from the most archaic times, animals have been conceived of as 'psychopomps', the being that leads the soul to its rest, or else takes over the dead person's new form. Whether as 'ancestor' or the 'initiatory master', the animal symbolizes a real connection with the beyond:

> In a considerable number of myths and legends the hero is carried into the beyond by an animal. It is always an animal that carries the neophyte into the bush (the underworld) [...] or 'swallows' him to 'kill and resuscitate him' [...] Each time a shaman succeeds in sharing in the animal mode of being, he [...] re-establishes the situation that existed in illo tempore, in mythical times (Eliade 1964:94).

Thus animal exercises will help unbare the images lying within the actor in the following ways: firstly, the development of animal language into a secret 'spirit language' by the actors give them a psychical and even magical solidarity such as we find in the 'communitas' of initiands in liminal ritual, thus preparing them for reincorporation into the world of the script *illud tempus*, or play. Secondly, once possessed of an animal, proof of this lying in the ability of the actor to imitate the beast, he demonstrates, as Eliade says of the shaman, that he 'can forsake his human condition, is able, in a word, to 'die' (Eliade 1964:93).

It can be seen from this, that the actor enters a form of self–induced liminality by his animal exercises. Like the initiand, the actor has become 'dead', nothing, a *tabula rasa*, a being without name, but with the promise soon of obtaining one as he merges as a character into the script *illud tempus*. As Eliade says, animals are the 'authenticating signs of the shaman's ecstatic journey'. Like the ancestral spirits they carry the shaman to heaven, to the underworld, and 'reveal the mysteries to him' (Eliade 1964:95). What these amount to in the actor-in-the-guise-of-animal are the Grotowskian and other like exercises which enable the actor to remove 'resistances'. Even Stanislavski's own misguided 'tiger' exercises are instructive in this respect:

> To test myself, I began to go through tiger-like motions I had used in playing Othello. By the time I had taken one step all my muscles tightened up and I was forcibly reminded of just how I felt at the test performance, and realized what my main mistake had been at that time. A numb creature, whose whole body is in the throes of muscular spasms, cannot possibly feel any freedom on the stage [...] If it is difficult to do simple multiplication while holding up one end of a piano, how much less possible must it be to express the delicate emotions of a complicated role (Stanislavski 1967:106).

With such resistances manifest in Kostya's inept, tigerish movements for a part mainly misconceived, he reveals his need for the margin, to 'know what *not* to do'. He needs formally to return through his exercises to the sphere of the liminal, to die, and after this to be resurrected into his dramatic role. Relaxation will be this way into the script *illud tempus* because it reverses distracting organic activity.

Exercises to relax the actor's body and do away with the resistances which otherwise appear, are recommended by most teachers of acting, including Grotowski, and Viola Spolin who, despite her dislike of subjective approaches by actors, includes in her exercises bouts of relaxation on the floor during which the actor will recite and imagine the circumstances of his role. As Cole observes, these preparations are paralleled by the shaman's ritual sleep before he makes his trip to the beyond. A tradition found in Auracanian, Ugrian, Chukchee and Ostyak shamans, it often amounts to a 'mushroom' or other toxin induced trance. It is in this time of sleep

that the god or spirits communicate 'through their 'messenger' (Eliade 1964:220).

As it appertains to his role, the actor's enlightenment during his similar twilight state may be seen in Schopenhauerian terms to come about because his *will* has ceased to strive. Grotowski speaks of a condition when, if 'The body must be freed from all resistance. It must cease to exist' (Grotowski 1968:36). It is at this point that it presumably begins to 'burn' and the spectator sees the 'series of visible impulses'. It is these which may be said to constitute the *image*, what Stanislavski refers to as those moments when the actor achieves to the 'art of living a part' as opposed to what he calls 'forced acting' (Stanislavski 1967:19 and 23). To reach the former one must die in liminal fashion.

Grotowski's tortuous schedule for arriving at this condition is found in his starkly liminal theatre scenarios; take his schema for *Akropolis*:

> For *Akropolis*, it was decided that there would be no direct contact between actors and spectators: the actors represent those who have been initiated in the ultimate experience, they are the dead; the spectators represent those who are outside the circle of initiates, they remain in the stream of everyday life, they are the living. This separation, combined with the proximity of the spectators, contributes to the impression that the dead are born from a dream of the living. The inmates belong in a nightmare and seem to move in on the spectators from all sides [...] creating a feeling of vertigo and threatening ubiquity (Grotowski 1968:63).

The actors in this drama, indeed, remain throughout in the margin. Wrapt in this condition they betray all the grotesquerie of the initiated in portraying the brutal life in a prison-camp. Their clothing is unisex: 'bags full of holes covering naked bodies [...] for their heads, anonymous berets'. As true master of initiation, Grotowski can report that 'the costumes rob men of their personality, erase the distinctive signs which indicate sex, age, and social class [...] They are nothing but tortured bodies' (Grotowski 1968:64). This play, and others like Grotowski's *Dr Faustus*, teem with liminal symbols; they are scenarios which van Gennep himself might have written.

As models of plays written for a millennial era, an era usually characterized by its lack of political structure, they expose, with unwonted distinctness the rather erie business of image-making. They reveal — when examined through the filter of Liminal Criticism, the once ritual nature of this process with its recognitions and reversals which so usefully remain as Aristotelian-defined concepts that permit us to assess the gap between liminal and liminoid: the archaic ritual theatre of second order metaphor and that of our everyday theatre as we know it.

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On the Main Characteristics of the Manchu Shamanic Dance

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Among the different Chinese minorities, Manchu has a long and rich history with a specific shamanic culture. For more than ten years some Chinese scholars have done researches on Manchu shamanic dances, but they have particularly concentrated their own studies on modern forms. Referring to Manchu manuscripts,[1] which were handed dawn from the ancestors, and to investigations going on for many years, this article has the aim to explore and to analyse forms and characteristics of the Manchu traditional dance, as it has been realized in ancient times for example during the great worships — Fire Worship, Eagle Worship, Willow Worship, Snow Worship, Star Worship and Sea Worship. These forms of dance appeared during the Jürchen age (Chin. Nüzhen) and some of them have unfortunately disappeared.

Of these Manchu shamanic dances, which are still performed nowadays, some of the original characteristics are been preserved.

The Characteristic of Transmitting the Symbolic Meaning by Gestures

On the basis of studies and researches, independently of the worship's kind, the Manchu shamanic dance is an interesting system of symbols. Through the modern ecstatic dances shamans directly transmit the meaning of divinities by singing traditional songs. But originally the spiritual message was expressed by gestures. After the spirit has gone into the shaman's body, his performance becomes the only way to demonstrate the presence of the divinity, who directly communicates with people and shaman himself acts as mediator, and the ornaments on traditional clothes as well as his ritual utensils are aspects of the Manchu religious reality. During shamanic cerimony everything gains a symbolic meaning and are able to transmit it to believers.

1. On the basis of historical material about Manchu shamanism original manuscripts are particularly important like "Kunni Qixing Manzhou Huoji Shenshu" written at the Qing Dinasty (1890); "Manzu Xueji Shenyu" (1936); "Wuzhi Shenkan Jipu" (writing during the time of Wu); *"Wubuxiben Mama"* an epic work about Manchu shamanism.

The main spirit of the willow worship is *Foduo Mama* and in conformity with the Manchu tradition she is the real incarnation of the celestial tree and she is the divinity who gave birth to the humanity at the origin of the world: she is considered the Mother of things and human beings. When shaman embodies *Foduo Mama* his clothes are covered by willow leaves and he does some particular movements: if he turns his head and moves his hands up and dawn in front of him, this means that the season will not be favourable for the harvest; if the shaman lifts his head, the ground will be fruitful; if he unites two hands forming a willow leaf, the entire population will be happy and many children will be born.

The main spirit of the Sea worship is the female divinity *Deligeaimu Mama:* she is the goddess of sun and moon, with head of a fish and body of a woman. During his performance shaman usually dances keeping in hands seven coloured ropes as he would reproduce the image of sun and keeping in mouth water to assure the population she will furnish it for long time still. The dance is a specific language and every gesture of the shaman has got a corresponding meaning: for example, if the shaman covers his face with the hands and moves himself slowly left and right, the clan will live a period without troubles and dangers; if the shaman lifts his head keeping on high the drum, the spirit will help the population to solve a dramatic situation; if he does not do anything but keeps on high his drum, it will mean that the divinities did not accept the requests of the people or that the ceremony was not carried out as it should be.

The Characteristic Concerning Natural Aspects of the Dance

This characteristic refers to the pragmatism, simplicity and naturalness of shamanic dances, but it considers artificial elements as weel. The content of dance can be divided in four groups: the *first one* suggested a half-naked dance: tree leaves, leathers or furs of animals and feathers covered the private parts of shaman. The steps of dances were really easy and simple. The *second group* referred to a blood worship dance. From our researches it came out that this kind of dance was a reflection of the ancient belief in the existence of a soul in blood. At the Jürchen age (Chin. Nüzhen) this dance was very common and the shaman danced keeping in mouth blood of sacrificed beasts.

In the Manchu epic writing *"Wubuxiben Mama"* the blood worship dance is described inside the sea worship ceremony and the shaman recited this words:

> Using a bowl I take some blood,
> illnesses and adversities will remove...

Shamans throw blood of deer on their own bodies,
then they climb up a pole to place onto
a cup full of whale's blood.
Following Wubuxiben Mama
they will start the primitive blood worship dance.

Then keeping in her arms the celestial horse Wubuxiben Mama will start the horse's blood worship dance:

Wubuxiben Mama washes her face using horse's blood...
she invokes the Boa-Spirit to descend on the earth
then after he came down
they will dance together. . . [2]

The *third group* referred to a 'breast dance' and it wanted to represent the female organs of reproduction. Keeping with hands the breast and moving it up and down people danced left and right in the room and so doing they simulated to have a breast like women; moreover during the fire ceremony shaman posed as he had a breast from which people could obtain nourishment.

The *fourth group* considered a dance with final sexual intercourse, regarding the abilities in the reproduction. In the past after a ceremony women and men got together and made love and the babies were considered children of the divinities. Since the procreation was the strength of the clan through this 'primitive' dance people tried to realize its own desire to obtain the grace of god. In the contemporary rituals this aspect has completely disappered.

The Characteristic of Festivity

The shaman ceremony is the typical expression of devotion to divinities, but respect and amusement are important as well. Its main aim is always to guarantee health, prosperity and benefit to population. All these shamanic rituals are religious activities, which resolve to amuse gods and people giving them the chance to part from the daily life. Aspects of respecting and amusing deity are marked in Manchu modern shamanic rituals, but in the ancient Manchu worship self-amusement was distinctly evident.

It is possible the group to team dances, but the most usual form is when shaman and assistant dance together, and in this way they express the spiritual link between man and god. In ancient times all population was involved in dances, even if the shaman occupied the most impor-

2. *Samanjiao yu Shenhua*. Liaoning University Press, 1990.

tant place, the atmosphere was really happy and expressed the big participation of common people to the religious life. In this kind of dance shaman guided the believers, who repeated exactly any gesture without doubts of failure.

Dances are a representation of the people's hopes, to avoid calamities and destructions; through this joyful atmosphere people shows its own gratefulness to divinities, who take care of the entire village. The shaman is not only the embodiment of the spirit, but he is a common person at the same time, so he takes part in the attainment of the goal like others, although his nature is double — divine and human.

The Characteristic of Imitating Sounds, Gestures, Customs and Shapes of Natural Phenomena

The mimesis is an important psychological behaviour of mankind. Referring to Manchu shamanism the origin of mimesis in dances is to find out in ancient times when people lived on hunting and fishing. At that period the ancestors started to observe nature and animals and to imitate their gestures and voices. For example the dance of eagle during the fire worship ceremony is very representative. *Abuka Hehe* is the Eagle-Spirit who comes down on the earth to help people; using both his hands shaman grasps the drum, raises it in front of his face. He looks as he had two big eyes observing carefully around him and because eagles have an excellent sight shaman wants to imitate their ability.

Other kinds of dances refer to wild beasts and imitating their movements and voices the clan demonstrates respect and fear as well. What is really important to remember is that any animal or object has deep relations with the daily life, but still more important they protect the entire population from illness, danger and adversity. Studying the different behaviour of animal and the periodic changes of the nature primitive people learnt how to act and what to do in particular situation. Engaged in these dances the shaman wears holy clothes, caps and ornaments reproducing exactly that mystic animal or natural spirit and the atmosphere becomes absolutely lifelike.

Among the numerous kinds of shamanic dances it is necessary to mention "The dance of the deer": there are many shamans present at the ceremony: only one imitates the deer mother and others simulate its babies looking for the breast. The entire performance should reproduce the natural life as real as possible.

The Characteristic of Ecstasy

The shamanic ecstasy is the most important characteristic of the original Manchu rituals. Because of this specific peculiarity the dance was considered like a mad manifestation of the traditional religion: it was advanced that the psyche of the person was completely absent, but only spirits were acting possessing his mind and his body. Observing the behaviour of shaman he could look really like a crazy person; when he falls into trance many divinities enter into his body and at this moment his human nature disappears and his supernatural reveals. For this reason he is considered a mad and a fanatic believer, but he is the holiest expression of spirituality. It was established that the shaman uses drugs and medicines before playing his performance to guarantee a success, but clan people will not care if the aim is not reached and in any case shaman will not be accused of incompetence.

Briefly, some of the characteristics of the ancient Manchu shamanic dances are still present in the modern ones. This demonstrates that the shamanic culture is stable and remote, even if in Qing period through the writing *Manzhou Jishen Jitian Dianli*[3] many simplifications were introduced into the traditional shamanic rituals. The ethnic groups living on fishing and hunting, like the Olunchun and the Evenki in Northeast China, inherit numerous original elements which are evident in modern shamanic dances too. When Manchu abandoned hunting for living on agriculture economic changes combined with the politics of Qing Dinasty and this phenomenon naturally influenced either Manchurian life or shamanic rituals.

3. This work was written during Qing Dinasty (1747) and it gathers all simplifications introduced by emperors towards the shamaric rituals and instruments.

Observations on Shamanic Dance[1]

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The aim of this paper is to analyse five shamanic séances which I had the chance of observing during a stay in a village of the Bhojpur District (East Nepal). These séances were carried out by *jhãkris*[2] of various ethnic groups (three Tamang, one Newar and one Rai), living however in villages very close to each other. All the séances I observed had the same structure and the same formal pattern, basically consisting of: an invocation of the gods; the incorporation of the deities and spirits; the first stage of the dance; divination; the second stage of the dance (during which the *jhãkri* performed his diagnosis and therapeutic activities); the dismissal. The style of their peformances was different however and, according to the *jhãkris*, was due to the teaching of each one's personal guru. I will analyse the differences between these various dance styles and will provide observations on the role of shamanic dance. Since I am not an expert on dance in general or on shamanic dance in particular, I can only hope to make a small contribution to this so far little explored field of studies.

This first point I wish to highlight concerns the relationship between shamanic dance and self-induction of trance. Indeed, while during possession — as Rouget[3] has ably demonstrated — these two moments coincide, during the shamanic séances I observed, they were chronologically separate and the shaman did not make use of the dance to induce the trance in himself.

Self-Induction of the Trance

Music, chanting and dance are the three rhythms utilised by the *jhãkri* to organise the séance. During the séance itself, these three rhythms do not

1. A video film (duration: 10", title 'Different styles of shamanic dance') was shown during the ISSR Conference held in Budapest, 11–17 July 1993.
2. *jhãkri* is the Nepali term for shaman.
3. Rouget says literally, 'In possession, the dance oscillates between two poles: the figurative one (dance as identifying behaviour) and the abstract one (dance as trance behaviour), and this is so because of its role, which is to provide the adept with a means on the one hand through which he can change his personality, while on the other, the means to experience it intensely at a motor level' (Rouget 1986:162).

always have the same importance, nor do they maintain an equal importance throughout. Of the three, only the rhythm of the drum is constantly present from beginning to end of the séance (except during the intervals). The drum is almost never played alone, however, but is accompanied either by chanting or by the dance, or by both.

The only moment in which the drum is not accompanied by either chanting or dance is during the most violent phase of trembling, by means of which, it may be said, the shaman enters into a state of trance. Indeed, during the séances I observed, the means utilised to enter the state of trance was never the dance, but the technique used to play the drum.[4]

I will try to be more explicit by describing the first phase of a séance, in which there is a transition from the moment when the *jhãkri* starts playing the drum *without trembling* (or at least without its being perceptible to the outside observer) to the moment when the trembling persists even after the *jhãkri* has stopped playing and passes the drum to his assistant. I shall take as refernce the séance of one of the three Tamang *jhãkri*s, although for the point at question any of the other séances would fulfil the purpose. I shall begin the description from the moment in which the *jhãkri* started to play, thus skipping the phases concerning the preparation of the altar, the robing and consecration of the ritual instruments.

The Tamang *jhãkri*, seated cross-legged before the altar and wearing a bandolier of bells around his neck, grasped the handle of the drum with his left hand, with the drumstick *(gajo)* in his right. Besides the drum handle, his left hand also held a copper plate, thus forming two sound boxes: the drum above, and the plate below. Due to S-shape of the drumstick, he could strike both the drum's external membrane and the plate in a single movement. Both instruments were held in a vertical position, raised above the ground, so that the internal membrance of the drum was facing the *jhãkri*, while its handle and the copper plate were at knee level. During this first stage, the only perceptible voluntary movement was that of the right hand, following the horizontal movement of the *gajo*. The *jhãkri*'s body did not appear to tremble, although the movement of the right arm caused a very slight movement of shoulder and torso, so slight in fact, that it did not even make the bells ring.

After about ten minutes (the time taken to chant the opening *mantra*), the *jhãkri* handed the copper plate to his assistant and, resting the drum handle on the floor, continued to play with the same movements as before. Suddenly, after a slight acceleration of rhythm, the *jhãkri* thrice hit the floor with the drum handle, whistling and shouting 'Oh! Oh!' (as though he were riding a horse). When he resumed playing, his legs (which he kept

4. For a detailed musicological analysis of the musical technique of the trance and of the relationship between music and trance in Nepalese shamanism, see Giannattasio 1988:185ff.

crossed) started to jerk with a movement which was isochronal to the drum's rhythm. This movement was, as it were, voluntary, inasmuch as it was not caused by or consequent to any other bodily movement. All of a sudden, however, the *jhākri* changed rhythm completely and the most violent phase of the trembling began, with movements which were no longer voluntary, but strictly dependent on the drum-playing technique. This time, the movement was largely concentrated in the left arm which, with a very fast rhythm, jolted the drum up and down, driving the end of the handle into the ground, to the extent that quite a large hole was formed. This movement alone caused a jerky shaking of the head, face, jaws, shoulders and the upper part of the torso (as well as being a considerable physical and muscular exertion). At the same time, the right wrist and forearm moved horizontally, so as to strike the drum with the drumstick which the shaman held in his right hand. These two opposed movements — one vertical and the other horizontal — beat out the drum's rhythm isochronally, the drum acting as both sound box (when struck by the drumstick held in the right hand) and striker (when its handle struck the ground). In a certain way, the shaman's torso also acted as sound box and striker, since his trembling caused vibrations in the chanting, at the same time striking or moving the bells of his bandolier and making them ring. The movement of the shaman's right arm was so strong to keep up the rhythm that he would have been unable to move his legs simulatneously, with the result that during this stage they moved simply due to inertia. When the rhythm changed and the invocation of all the deities and spirits started, the *jhākri* stopped playing and, keeping the drum in his left hand and the drumstick in his right, moved the muscles of his legs (which he kept crossed), so that his whole body now moved only in a vertical direction.

The movement was gallup-like, and even the chanting was similar to the paces of a horse. The rhythm was sometimes maintained by the voice (beating out rhythmically the names invoked), sometimes by the blows to the ground (isochronous to the voice) given by the *jhākri* with the drum handle, and sometimes by the bells which followed the rhythm of his body. After this, the drum handle was no longer used to strike the ground and the only rhythm was that of the bells which rang according to the rhythm of his body and of the chanting. The next change of rhythm was marked by three yells (as of someone riding a horse), followed by laughter and the resumption of the sound of the drum, beaten very fast. After about ten minutes, the *jhākri* handed the drum to his assistant, got up and started dancing with other ritual instruments. At this point, his whole body was trembling, which continued even when it was no longer the *jhākri* himself but his assistant who played the drum. In fact, the trembling had become automatic and wholly independent of any external support.[5] The *jhākri*s

5. In order to make the trembling cease (at the end of the séance), the *jhākri* has to make the gods quit his body, utilising the same instrument which made them enter. Indeed, when

themselves, moreover, told me that the drum serves to call the gods and spirits who, once they enter the body, are solely responsible for the trembling.

From outside, therefore, it can be said that, schematically, the induction of trembling passes through three different stages: (1) a stage in which it is caused voluntarily and is limited to one part of the body (usually the right leg); (2) a stage in which it is caused by the drum-beating technique and involves several parts of the body (especially head and torso); (3) a stage in which it spreads to the whole body and appears to be absolutely automatic.

The transition from the voluntary (or at least self-induced) stage of trembling to the stage in which it is wholly automatic was described to me by the Tamang *jhãkri* as 'passing from a state of unconsciousness *(behos)* to a conscious state *(hos)*', or, according to the Newar *jhãkri*, 'from a state in which the *jhãkri* feels the presence of the god only with his body, to a state in which the deity has already entered his body and speaks to him'. Only when the trembling reaches this automatic condition does the *jhãkri* get up and start dancing. The dance therefore begins once the *jhãkri* has ensured the deities' protection and has acquired the necessary powers to control the spirits against whom he must fight. In every séance I observed, this stage always occurred at least half-an-hour after the séance had begun — the time required for the *jhãkri* to trigger 'the strange mechanism',[6] that constant and 'involuntary' trembling which, paradoxically, indicates the very state in which he possesses his fullest powers.

The Shamanizing Style

All those who have studied the shamanic dance have pointed out the difficulty of separating the dance from the other moments of the séance. Žornickaja, for example, notes that for Yakut shamans the dance 'was organically blended with other exercises of the shaman and was not clearly separated from the very act of shamanizing as a whole, and in this connection it was hardly suitable for independent notation' (Žornickaja 1978:301). With the Bhojpur shamans too, the moment of the dance appears to the outsider to be totally indistinguishable from other significant moments of the séance itself: the fight against the evil spirit, the eating of the *bān*[7] thrown by the witches *(boksi)*, the temporary death of the *jhãkri* thus

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the séance ended, the *jhãkri*'s trembling did not stop suddenly: he banged the drum on the ground as many times as were necessary to make the gods and his assistant spirits leave his body.

6. 'The strange mechanism' is an expression used by J. Rouch, quoted by Rouget (1986:229).
7. A *ban* is a mental dart, represented by many things: a stone, grains of rice, an egg, etc.

caused, his regaining of consciousness, the demonstration of the shaman's magical powers, diagnosis, therapy, and so on. Nevertheless, the Bhojpur natives who took part in the séance showed their appreciation of the dance as a rhythmic movement in itself, judging or evaluating it from an aesthetic point of view. Thus, for example, it would happen that immediately after the séance on person or other would ask me whether I had enjoyed it or not, expressing his personal opinion as to which moments he considered crucial. It was clear that one of the elements that determined the local people's judgement of the beauty of the séance was the way in which the dance was performed. After all, the dance was the moment in which the *jhãkri* could best express his own style and attract people's attention.

The concept of personal style was also used by the *jhãkri*s themselves to explain their different ways of performing a séance. Thus, when I asked a *jhãkrini*[8] the meaning of her gestures during the dance and why, for example, she did not do certain things that others did, she replied, 'Each *jhãkri* has his own style of dancing, taught him by his guru. I cannot do what other *jhãkri*s do, I must not imitate the style of another, or another's knowledge. Some *jhãkri*s imitate the style of a good *jhãkri* in order to be considered good themselves, but this is not right'. The style of the dance thus depends — according to the *jhãkri*s themselves — on the guru who taught them, or rather, on his ethnic origin. Indeed, although the *jhãkrini* was a Tamang, she performed what she called a Rai dance, since the guru who had initiated her was Rai. She told me that this often aroused protests and hilarity among her audience, who scolded her for not dancing like a Tamang.

Although the *jhãkri*s maintained that their shamanizing style corresponded to the ethnic group of their personal guru, in comparing the various séances, I was unable to find any correspondence between a particular shamanizing style and one particular ethnic group. Thus, for example, the dance of the Rai *jhãkri* which I saw some days later was very different to that of the *jhãkrini*, not only with regard to physical movements and expressions (those of the *jhãkrini* were more subdued and less explicit, while the *jhãkri*'s were more emphatic), but also regarding the many other actions performed by the *jhãkri* during the dance (i. e. mimicries, ape-mimicking, fire–eating, etc.) but which, according to the *jhãkrini*, did not belong to her style. Furthermore, the instruments used during the dance were considered differently by *jhãkri* and *jhãkrini*, those which were crucial for one being considered merely decorative by the other. The Rai *jhãkri*, for example, told me that for him the peacock's leg was an essential instrument, while it was not used by the *jhãkrini* who, on the other hand, considered the trident *(trishul)* very important, whereas the *jhãkri* declared that it was only useful for showing off.

8. A *jhãkrini* is a female shaman.

The same is true of the Tamang *jhākri*s, whose séances had the same percentage of differences and similarities as between the séance of a Tamang and that of a Rai, or a Newar.

The various dance styles can be partly explained by the different ways in which the trance is experienced, or rather, the different ways in which a *jhākri* feel sin his own body, or imagines in his mind, what is taking place during the séance. Let us see, for example, how the *jhākri* and *jhākrini* described their trance, or rather what they term *kamnu* (movement, trembling). The *jhākrini* told me, 'During the séance, I feel as there were ramifications throughout my body. In reality, it is wrapped around with the forms of the gods printed on it. All of a sudden, some animal enters me; the animals appear and disappear. Then everything before me becomes gold. The others cannot see it, but I can: the trident, the sticks, everything is gold.'

The *jhākri*, on the other hand, said, 'During the séance, my body is very active, the movement begins first in my legs, then in my right arm, then throughout my body. The god comes into my body and gets onto my shoulders. Then my body begins to swell and the god tells me, 'Take the shape of a monkey, jump about and eat grass!' When I become a monkey, I want to go into the forest, but then I have to stop, because otherwise I might not come back any more'.

Furthermore, it should be noted that the *jhākri*s' dance never follows an established pattern. The same *jhākri* performs different dances according to what happens during the séance, and what happens is never — or rather almost never — wholly predictable.

The Rai *jhākri*, for example, told me that an unforeseen event had occurred during the séance. To begin with, the séance should have been performed by a *jhākrini*, who had finally been sent away because she was rumoured to be a witch *(boksi)*. Angry and upset, the *jhākrini* — or should I say the *boksi* — wanted to be revenged on the *jhākri* who was called to replace her, and during the séance, she threw a *bān* at him. This *ban* was immediately caught and thrown back by the *jhākri*: it managed to hit the *jhākrini* and enetered her mind, confusing her and, as the *jhākri* said, 'driving her gradually mad'. The *jhākrini* then decided to apologise to the *jhākri* who, at this point, performed a dance for her, during which he put together two bamboo sticks (known as *ḍungri* and used by him for therapeutic purposes) and placed them in his mouth, extracting from the *jhākrini*'s mind what he himself defined as 'insects'.

Dance and Mimesis

As shown by the above example, every shamanic dance is, in a certain way, unpredictable, precisely because the forces it unleashes are unpredictable. These forces must be constantly controlled by the *jhākri*, and the

dance appears to play a fundamental role in maintaining (as well as demonstrating) such control. Indeed, dancing involves keeping (and maintaining) a rhythm, and so long as the *jhãkri* manages to follow the rhythm he is also able to dominate these hostile powers. Losing rhythm involves a loss, or at least a lessening, of the shaman's control over his own trance. In this connection, it is interesting to note what the Rai *jhãkri* told me: that, 'while he was dancing, if the person playing the drum lost the rhythm or stopped playing he might even die'.

Lack of rhythm is what distinguishes the dance from the mimesis, meaning the *jhãkri*'s transformation into and imitation of an animal. Let us see what happened during the animal mimesis performed by the Tamang *jhãkri* and by the Rai *jhãkri* whom I observed in Bhojpur.

The Tamang *jhãkri* performed the mimesis of a dog, starting more than three hours after the beginning of the séance. Having paused briefly, the *jhãkri* resumed playing and singing. All of a sudden, he handed the drum to his assistant, assumed a four-legged posture and, barking, growling and scraping the ground, appeared to be about to attack or at least frighten the audience. After this, wiht his mouth he picked up some burning coals, which he had previously set on a stone. His assistant continued to play the drum ceaselessly. The *jhãkri*, still growling and on four legs, dropped the coals on the ground when they became too cold and with his teeth took up other red-hot ones. After about four minutes, he took two bunches of leaves and started dancing again, with regular rhythmic movements.

In the case of the Rai *jhãkri*, on the other hand, the mimesis began almost one hour after the séance had started. After playing and chanting, the *jhãkri* handed the drum to his assistant and, making animal whines, began to scratch his face, back and head. The assistant continued to play the drum while the *jhãkri* either kneeling, or on all fours, and making monkey-noises, snatched with his mouth the leaves lying on the altar. After this, he began turning round and round, his arms wide, his feet together, and the leaves projecting from his mouth. He leaned against the wall and seized the leaves attached to it, snatching still more of them. He let the leaves drop form his mouth and began looking upwards, seeking something to hold onto. Every now and then, he shouted aloud. Then he took the plate, playing it like a drum, and sat down composedly.

The mimesis of the Bhojpur *jhãkri*s was very different from those reported, for example, by Žornickaja concerning the Yakut shamans. The Yakut mimesis was actually an imitative dance (or danced imitation), during which all the shaman's movements, as Žornickaja tells us 'went in rhythm with the drumbeat' (Žornickaja 1978:301). On the contrary, the mimesis of the Bhojpur *jhãkri*s neither followed nor gave any sign of following any kind of rhythm. During the mimesis, the *jhãkri* seemed to lose all control of himself and his behaviour was like someone possessed.

Differences Between Dance-Style Elements

At this point, we may examine the essential elements which mark the differences between the various styles of dancing.

a) rhythm and tune;
b) dance movements;
c) instruments used in the dance.

Rhythm and tune — The Bhojpur *jhãkri*s begin their séance sitting before the altar, playing the drum and chanting. Each *jhãkri* has his own repertoire of rhythm models, which vary both in speed and in accentuation. At the beginning of the séance, however, the drum rhythm does not have an autonomous value, but serves rather as a support for the tune followed by the chant.[9] This initial tune gives, as it were, the 'key' for the whole séance, in the sense that it gives an general idea of how the performance will proceed, right from the start. Thus, whenever the initial chant was very fast and full of tension (as in the case of the two Tamangs), the whole séance followed a frenzied rhythm. Contrariwise, when the initial tune was more harmonious, the rhythm of the entrie séance was more relaxed (as in the case of the Rai and Newar *jhãkri*s). It also matches the intensity of the trance manifested by the respective *jhãkri*s.

The dance movements follow the drum rhythm only when the *jhãkri* plays and dances simultaneously, which occurs especially at the beginning of the dance. After a few minutes, in fact, the *jhãkri* hands the drum to his assistant and begins dancing with various ritual objects, after which he proceeds with the diagnosis, the divination, demonstration of magical powers (mastery of fire and sharp steel) and therapy. These two stages of the dance, during which the drum is played by his assistant, may even last for more than a third of the séance (Tamang). It is interesting to note that when the drum is played by the assistant, the rhythm is characterized by an absence of any accentuation of change of time: it is a regular and therefore neutral time scansion, on which the shaman is free to carry out his entire choreographic repertoire, thus, as compared to his musician–assistant,[10] continuing to be the 'active' performer.[11]

9. See also Giannattasio (1988), describing the essential functional autonomy of the temporal rhythm structrues of the drum relative to the functions of the chant.
10. For a distinction between 'musician', 'player' and 'music-maker', see Rouget 1986:143–144.
11. In his by now classic distinction between shamanism and possession, Rouget summarizes the differences in a single basic distinction, the difference between 'doing and undergoing', ibid., 183.

Dance movements — The *jhãkri*'s dance is characterized by a jerky bodily movement, in harmony with the kind of trembling which the shaman keeps through the séance. All dance-steps are in fact jumping steps, which may vary however in height, speed rhythm, etc. The variety of the dance-step repertoire is not the same for all *jhãkri*s. On the other hand, while some dance-steps are shared by several *jhãrki*s, others (usually the more elaborate ones) are exclusive to a single *jhãkri* and, as the Tamang *jhãkrini* told me, 'they may not be imitated'. As we have seen, the *jhãkrini* also affirmed that the dance style corresponded to the particular ethnic group to which the *jhãkri*'s guru belonged (in her case, Rai), which may sometimes be different to that of the *jhãkri* himself. In the séances I observed, I was unable to note any such correspondence, although it would be necessary to compare many more dances in order to affirm that it is not so.[12] Indeed, a further sign of this correspondance may be found in the disappointment expressed by the *jhãkrini* herself at the disapproval and mockery of the audience on seeing her dance according to a style which was not that of her own ethnic group.

The main steps I observed during the five séances are as follows:

- turning jumps, both clockwise and anticlockwise (all *jhãkri*s);
- medium jumps (about 10 cm) bearing first on one foot then on the other, to left, right and forwards (Tamang 1,[13] Newar, Rai, Tamang 2);
- crossing legs (Tamang 1);
- high jumps (about 20–30 cm) with a pause between jumps (Tamang 1);
- quick low jumps (1–2 cm) to right and left, with feet joined and arms stretched downwards away from sides (puppet-like) (Tamang 1, Rai);
- backward jumps (Tamang 1);
- planting the right heel on the ground (Tamang 1, Tamang 2).

Some *jhãkri*s perform similar jumps but with different rhythms (more or less accentuated) and also with a different style. There was, for example, such a clear difference between the turning jumps performed by the two Tamangs and those performed by the Newar. Just as the former were frenzied, full of tension and almost irregular, so the latter were harmonious, open, well-spaced and highly spectacular. Of all the dances I observed, the most original (also according to the natives themselves) was that of the *jhãkrini*, in which the main movement was not made by the feet, but by the hips.

12. It should also be stated that this comparison should, in the first place, be made among *jhãkri*s belonging to different ethnic groups, but from the same area, seeing that, by way of example, the difference between western and eastern Tamangs is clearly much greater than between two eastern Tamangs (who may even live in the same village).
13. The number distinguishes the two Tamang *jhãkri*s.

Moreover, the *jhãkrini* alternated sudden movements (which led her to assume a whole series of postures rather than moving in a continuous fashion) with more undulatory, continuous movements, accompanied by only slightly accentuated gestures.

The position of the torso may also be different — sometimes bent (Rai), at others straight (all the others), or even, during some stages of the dance, completely bent forward (Newar, Rai).

The arms are another important part of the body, with movements which vary greatly from one *jhãkri* to another. Arm positions and movements are as follows:

- arms bent forward (all);
- arms stretched downwards (Tamang 1, Newar, Rai);
- arms crossed (Tamang 1, Newar, Rai);
- rapid vertical and diagonal movements (Tamang 1, Tamang 2);
- left arm bent upwards and right arm bent downwards with hand resting on buttocks (Newar);
- arms bent with hands on swaying hips (Tamang *jhãkrini*);
- arms stretched wide (Newar).

No *jhãkri* I interviewed could explain the meaning of the various dance movements. All the *jhãkri*s said that it was the god inside them who told them when to get up and dance, what kind of dance to do, and when to change rhythm. Thus, for example, when I asked the *jhãkrini* why she danced during the séance, she replied, 'I don't know how to dance. It is my god who makes me dance and change rhythm. All of a sudden, the god says 'Get up!' and I get up and he makes me dance.'

From the *jhãkri*s' statements, it seems that the dance is not addressed to the deity, nor is it a language used by the *jhãkri* to communicate with the other world, but is rather the means by which the deity manifests himself or communicates through the *jhãkri*. 'Through', however, does not mean that the *jhãkri* becomes the deity he incorporates, as it seems to be in the case of possession (Rouget 1986:38). The *jhãkri* does not manifest the deity by annihilating himself, but carries out the god's order, meaning that he performs what the god orders him to do which, in that case, is to get up and dance.[14] If we therefore consider the dance to be the result of

14. Höfer, describing the shaman's possession, maintains that 'there is no trace of the shaman's personality being fused with, or supplanted by, a deity or another superhuman being' and speaks of a 'partial change of the bombo's personal identity' (Höfer 1974:174). The author also says that 'From the viewpoint of physical promixity ('on the back', 'with the hands'), this relationship (between the shaman and his counterparts) is somewhat similar to possession, while from the viewpoint of the agents, it is different from the latter because the shaman is at the same time a passive 'carrier' and an active 'player'. In difference (sic!) to possession, here none of the agents gives up his identity, or, in other words, there is no continuity but rather contiquity between them' (ibid., 174–175).

possession (which would explain why the *jhãkri* hands the drum to his assistant during the dance, thus becoming, as Rouget would say, a 'music-maker'),[15] this possession is never total, but is always, as it were, guided and hence controlled by the *jhãkri*[16] in some way.

Unlike the music, with which the *jhãkri*s — as they told me — called the gods and spirits (to the extent that it induces the *jhãkri* into his trance),[17] the dance is the carrying out of the god's instruction. In this sense, the dance is more passive than the music: if the latter is a 'call addressed to', the former is a 'message received from'. Nevertheless, from another standpoint, the dance, as we shall see, is also the moment in which the *jhãkri* — thanks to the presence of the god who is manifested through the dance — can fully exercise his powers: divination, diagnosis, therapy, as well as the proof of his mastery over fire.

Instruments used in the dance — While dancing, the *jhãkri* holds various ritual instruments in his hands. Each *jhãkri* operates with his own paraphernalia, communicated to him in a dream by his personal guru. Not all *jhãkri*s use the same instruments nor, as we have seen, is the same instrument of equal importance for different *jhãkri*s (or for the various séances performed by the same *jhãkri*). The Bhojpur *jhãkri*s maintained that, thanks to the use of these instruments, they could 'dance *(khelnu)* and move with the god'. In all the séances I observed in Bhojpur, I never saw a *jhãkri*, even for a moment, dancing with empty hands. During the first phase of the dance, the various ritual objects which the *jhãkri* holds in his hands are moved about in the air, as if he wished to cut them or drive something out. By tracing vertical, horizontal and diagonal movements and blowing in all directions, the *jhãkri* defends the surroundings from the attacks of enemy forces. Indeed, this first stage of the dance is the demonstration, proof and hence consolidation of the powers acquired, thanks to the incorporation of the deities and assistant spirits. It is during this stage that the *jhãkri* is most vulnerable to attack and to challenges from his enemies, even to the extent of risking his life itself.[18]

15. The observation concerning the *jhãkri*'s state of greater passiveness during the stage in which the drum is played by his assistant was made to me personally by M. Oppitz.
16. Furthermore, the very statements made by the Rai *jhãkri* demonstrate that, in actual fact, even during the mimesis, the *jhãkri* must be able to control himself and never exceed a certain limit of spontaneity. On this subject, see also the observations of Mastromattei (1988:21f).
17. That is, through the music there is a transition from a stage in which the deity is not present to an ecstatic condition characterized by the god's presence.
18. It is above all during this stage of the dance (or of the séance) that the *jhãkri* risks what A. de Sales (1991:188) has defined as the 'irruption of the forces he himself has created'. In this connection, it is interesting to note that, during the dance, the Bhojpur *jhãkri*s always created a concrete point of reference to which they would return, either with a glance or physically, after each movement. This point of reference could be the drum, trident, altar, or even the hole the *jhãkri* had made in the ground while playing his drum.

Many times, for example, during this stage of the dance, the *jhãkri*s I observed would suddenly shout and place their hands on the part struck (usually the breast), falling into catalepsy for a few seconds. During this stage, the fight was not somewhere far off, but right there, near the altar, to the point that the *ban* thrown by the spirits could even hit — by mistake — the participants-audience. For this reason, during the dance, the *jhãkri* has to be extremely alert, looking in all directions and catching the *bān*, whose path is invisible to ordinary people. Everything goes to suggest that, during this first stage of the dance, the *jhãkri* is not only assuming full control over himself and the powers he has acquired, but also over the surroundings and over the powers by whom he may be possessed.

The choice of instruments with which these first dance-steps are performed follows no precise order, and the *jhãkri* grasps each ritual instrument in his hand for about five or six minutes.

The more operative phase of the dance subsequently begins, during which the various ritual objects are used fro a concrete and precise purpose: divination, diagnosis, therapy, etc. These instruments are the *jhãkri*'s 'professional tools' and the successful outcome of the various operations is subject to their use.

It is interesting to note, in this connection, what the Tamang *jhãkrini* told me when I asked why, during the séance, she had not used the trident *(trishūl)*, which she had previously said was one of her main instruments. The *jhãkrini* said, 'The other day I left it at home. The trident is the most important thing for me, and for this reason I had many problems. My god asked me, 'Where have you left the *trishūl*? Why didn't you bring it?' If a young *jhãkri* had forgotten it, he would have had great difficulty in seeing the future, and the god would have got very angry: Since I am old, the god only got angry and asked me why I had not brought it'.

The main instruments used by *jhãkri*s are:

- the drum (all);
- the trident and a bunch of leaves and flowers (Tamang 1, Tamang *jhãkrini*, Tamang 2);
- pumpkins (Newar, Tamang, *jhãkrini*);
- the sickle, making the gesture first of cutting off the foot and then the face (Newar, Tamang 2);
- the sickle and a bunch of leaves for divination (Tamang1, Tamang *jhãkrini*, Rai);
- two bamboo sticks (Newar, Tamang *jhãkrini*, Rai);
- plates (Newar);
- grains of rice (Rai);
- stick with notches (Rai);
- a leaf (Rai);
- a vase full of flowers and leaves (Tamang 2);
- knife (Tamang 2);

— *phurba*[19] (Tamang 1, Tamang *jhãkrini*, Tamang 2);
— an iron ladle (Tamang 1);
— an egg (Rai);
— a peacock's claw (Rai).

Each of these instruments may be used by the same *jhãkri* for various purposes: the drum, for example, is not used only for playing, but also for divination or therapy; the sickle is also used for divination or for demonstrating the *jhãkri*'s magical powers; the leopard's thigh-bone is used both for therapy and as a musical instrument for calling the spirits.

Unlike the gestures made with his instruments by the *jhãkri* during the first stage of the dance — rather abstract gestures, difficult to interpret, those made during what we have termed the 'operative' phase are more figurative and their meaning easier to comprehend. Thus, for example, diagnosis with the drum is performed by placing a few grains of rice on one of the drum's two external membranes, held out horizontally at waist level. While dancing, the *jhãkri* beats the lower membrane so as to interpret or decipher the movements and position of the grains of rice on the upper membrane (Tamang and Rai). Another way of making a diagnosis during the dance is to cut some pieces of leaf with the sickle and see how they fall to the ground (all). The same goes for therapy: in order to cure a woman's rheumatic pains caused by a witch, the Tamang *jhãkri* performed a dance during which he placed two bunches of leaves on various parts of her body so as to extract the corpuscles that the witch had inserted.

During all these 'operative' dances, the *jhãkri* shows that he has full control of himself, and acts as a true professional, giving instructions, examining, interpreting, deciding which part of the body to operate on, etc., and doing all this while chanting and dancing.[20] Unlike what happens in the first part of the dance — when the *jhãkri* is often struck by the attacks of hostile spirits and may even fall into catalepsy for several minutes without giving any sign of regaining consciousness, during these operations (which always occur three-quarters of the way through the séance), the *jhãkri* appears to have completely mastered all the hostile powers.

To sum up, we have seen that the dances performed by the Bhojpur shamans during their séances occur only after contact with the deity or assistant spirits. In this sense, the dance does not serve to 'trigger' the trance — meaning by this term that continuous trembling which is the sign that the incorporation of the gods and/or spirits has taken place. We

19. The *phurba* is a ritual dagar, usually made of wood and sculpted with various symbolic drawings.
20. In these cases too, the drum is played by his assistant, except when it is used as a therapeutic instrument.

have also seen that the dance may be of two chronologically separate and functionally different kinds. The first stage of the dance begins before the *jhãkri* starts his diagnostic, divinatory and therapeutic activities. By means of this dance, the *jhãkri* consolidates his acquired powers, challenging the hostile spirits and showing that he has full control of the situation. At this point, the second stage of the dance begins, during and by means of which the *jhãkri* makes his diagnosis and performs therapy on the patients. The main characteristic of these dances, however, is the *jhãkri*'s ability to maintain (or regian) a rhythm — which is both musical and choreutic — and thus never to be definitively overcome by the forces he himself has invoked. Lastly, we have also seen that the fact that a precise and concrete goal is reached through shamanic dance does not exclude its being appreciated from an aesthetic point of view. This is demonstrated both by the beliefs of the natives (beneficiaries or merely spectators), whose appreciation of the dance effects belief in its efficacy, as well as by the *jhãkri*'s constant search for a personal style in his performance, making every dance (like every séance) a unique and creative spectacle.

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Shamanic Visual Art in Nepal

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Preface

Here you will find a specific analysis of shamanic art in Nepal and not on shamanic art in general, because we are firmly convinced that these kind of studies need a direct observation on place — when it is possible. Only being there to see shamanic sessions have enabled us to understand the real meaning and collect material such as pictures or drawings which are normally destroyed during or right after rituals.

This text has no intention to be a scientific documentation, but only a description with personal notes on a kind of art which is unaware and far from self enjoyment. An art living a proper life during magic-religious sessions of great importance.

We will moreover concentrate on shamanic works of art created by a small and less known ethnic group: the Chepang.*

Shamanic works of art can not be separated from the context from which they rise, that is why we will always see objects and drawings strictly connected with the sessions. All examples of artistic expression have been divided in three main groups which corresponds to the three main parts of a session, directed by a precise 'artistic timing'. But a shamanic session is a very articulated happening, so our interpretation must be seen as one of the possible ways of reading this ceremony. For example one could decide to concentrate on the role of the music or on the ecstatic condition of the shamans or even on the study of shamanic texts and mythologies of a specific ethnic group.

A special credit must be given to the concept of time. During a shamanic session the time is extended, different from every day time, different from shaman to shaman feeling and even from session to session. It becomes an individual and subjective time in which a shaman can travel to heaven or to hell, in a real and objective space of time of even a few minutes. It is a 'mental time', in some way similar to what we experience in dreams: we

* Abbreviations used in the text:
N = Nepali, T = Tibetan, C = Chepang

can complicated situations which seem to go on and on, in a real space of time of a few seconds.

But when we talk about 'artistic timing' we refer again to a third category of time, in some way other than the objective as from the subjective one we have mentioned above.

So choosing the 'artistic timing' classification is a personal choice to analyse the shamanic sessions and to give an interpretation of these complex happenings.

Introduction to Chepang Ethnic Group and Shamanism

Chepang is one of the less known and less studied Nepal ethnic group. Therefore we think it necessary to introduce briefly their main characteristics, in order to better understand later their special type of shamanism and their artistic expression.

Chepang existence was documented around the first half of nineteenth century by B. H. Hodgson, a scholar who was studying tribes of the Hymalayan area on behalf of the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.

At present Chepangs live in the central-south area of the country. Most of them live in terrible economic conditions, especially after the Nepal government so called program for 'modernization'; after the hunt banning, always imposed by the government (Chepangs were nomads people living on hunting and gathering); after an indiscriminated disafforestation. Nepal Government have started in 1977 a 'Program for Praja development'. The name Praja stands for Chepang and it is more and more taking its place, because the original name is now felt as degrading and offensive. As a result this ethnic group has been forced to become sedentary and to change radically its nourishing habits. The transition from hunting and gathering to agriculture has been even more traumatic because the Government has assigned to Chepangs parched lands, very difficult to cultivate, and which give a very meagre harvest and only for few months in the year.

Moreover a process of conversion to Hinduism has been started off — we must remember that Nepal is the only Hindu reign in the world still trying to eradicate all previous religion creeds.

Because of their miserable life conditions and because they often breed pigs, Chepangs converted to Hinduism become 'untouchable', the lowest grade of caste hierarchy made of persons with whom Chepangs have nothing in common.

In spite of this situation, Chepangs, who are considered one of the few aborigines ethnic group of Nepal, have managed up to now to keep their autonomy, especially regarding religion: the only practised religion is shamanism and the shaman, called *pande* in Chepang language, is the main

personality in the community. The Chepang shamans are considered, by other ethnic groups, the more powerful of Nepal and their shamanism, still strongly tied to the forest world, has deep chthonic meanings.

In 1990 we had the fortune to get in touch with a Chepang family group, including an old couple of shamans, wife and husband, and their young nephew, a neophyte *pande*. The few scholars who have studied Chepang group, have always denied the existence of shaman women in this ethnic group (see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1959:83). On the contrary Krishora, the old *pande* woman we met, is not only a very powerful and honoured shaman, but has as well the guidance of nine villages and may initiate young men to the shamanic profession.

Krishora explained to us that chepang shamans 'walk' only in *patal* (N), that is in hell, whereas *akas* (N), that is heaven, is seen by Chepangs as a remote and unknown world, even dangerous for mortal men, being the abode of Yama raja, hinduist god of the deads.

Some godheads are called by Chepangs with the hinduist names, but most of the times it is a simple matter of borrowings and language stratifications, concealing gods with completely different characteristics. The best example we have is Yama raja himself, the first dead person: for Hinduists he is the god of the deads and of hell, whereas for Chepangs he is cause of illness and death and supreme chief of heaven nine levels.

Yama is very important for Chepangs and he is often called and represented on the ground with coloured powder during the sessions. Yama lives on the ninth level of heaven (some say seventh level) and all the other levels are abode for dangerous supernatural beings submitted to Yama orders. Namely *pisac* (N); demoniac and carnivorous beings; spirits who have met a violent death, so not yet pacified, and consequently very dangerous for the community; two planets (*graha* in Nepali) which are sent to men by Yama when he wants to give illness or even death.

It may not be accidental that most hinduist god names used by Chepangs correspond to dangerous and feared supernatural beings living in akas, whereas god names of chepang origin stand for godheads with less power but much more reassuring, living in *patal*.

Chepang describes *patal* as an idyllic land, with lovely and peaceful valleys, forests and springs, inhabited by four of the main Chepang godheads: Batisé and Tiwasé, two brothers, Sobotì and Devklì, two sisters. The two sisters were once living in *akas*, but they moved in *patal* to help the two brothers, who were lazy and idle, to create a world where human beings could live.

The Chepang myth on world creation is long, poetic and very articulated, but for our present analysis it is only important to note some aspects. This myth comes to life again every year during a very important Chepang feast-day called Nwagi or Chhonam. In this day Chepangs offer their early fruits and a special type of rice whose roots are thought to come directly from *patal*, to the four main godheads of *patal*, with a special re-

gard to the two brothers, and to the first shaman who was as well the first man on earth and is now living with supernatural beings.

To conclude this introduction to Chepang ethnic group we give a rapid glance to their after death creeds. While Chepang *pande* will not express themselves on common human beings destiny, talking about themselves they are sure, after death, to go to *patal* and continue a life of peace and richness, serving the godheads who live there.

Hell is described by *pande* (especially by old ones) as a place similar to the one where once their forefathers lived, before the present government program which may lead this Chepang interesting culture to death.

Artistic Objects and Drawings Common to Different Nepal Shamanic Traditions

As already mentioned we have divided art manufacturing in three phases. Here follows the explanation of this subdivision.

Group A

In this group we find objects with a life which doesn't start nor end with a shamanic session. These objects are tightly linked with the shamanic life, they start 'living' when he becomes a shaman and at his death they are inherited by a neo shaman, usually coming from the same family group, or they are destroyed or even sold. These objects can live a very long life, but they are used only during shaman practices.

The objects belonging to this group are: the drum (called *dhyangro* in Nepali and *ring* or *rin* in Chepang); the necklaces, principally made of *Elaeocarpus ganitrus* seeds (N. *rudraksa-mala*) and bright black seeds (N. *kala-mala*), worn by the shamans during the sessions; the bells bandoleer. And moreover the ritual weapons used by shamans of many Nepal ethnic groups such as *phur-bu* (T), carved wood knives and different kind of animal horns.

Group B

Here are grouped all those works of art which are prepared at the beginning of the sessions, in the arrangement phase. For example: the *torma* (T) or *pinda* (N), conic or truncated conic shapes, made of boiled rice or flours, representing godheads; the *narling mendo*, white-transparent oval seeds pierced by sticks, representing the forefathers; painted eggs placed on the altar layed on the ground.

Most of these objects last only a session time. Each session starts with the arrangement phase, which consists in the preparation of the altar. The rituals of the phase and the objects used change from ethnic group to ethnic group and sometimes even from shaman to shaman. For example the shaman sessions held by Tamang ethnic group, start with the manufacturing of the torma and of other objects (as *narling mendo*) which will play an active part during the ceremony. These artistic compositions are placed on a tray in front of the shaman (who can be one or more) officiating. These objects live a complete and active life passing through each phase of the session, they are moved and changed of place many times, according to a definite design, up to the sacrifice phase. Then the blood of the victim is poured in the same tray where the works of art are and offered to the godheads symbolized by the same objects.

The sacrifice is followed by the leave phase, in which the objects of this group are destroyed (often with secret rituals). They will be brought again to life in some other session.

Group C

In this last group we will not find objects but real visual reproductions (not always with realistic appearances, but sometimes perceived as realistic) of supernatural beings called for during sessions. These reproductions are created on the ground using coloured powders, Indian corn or ground rice flours. They are composed during the highest phase of the session, when the godhead or the supernatural being to whom the sacrifice has to be done, descends (or rises) to earth, among human beings, to take the blood — or sometimes only the vegetables — offered to him. At the end of this phase this supernatural being becomes very dangerous, so he must be rapidly sent away by destroying its symbolic reproduction.

Chepang Shamanic Sessions, with Special Reference to the Artistic Production

The works of art of Chepang shamanic sessions are of greate interest. They reach the highest point in the reproduction of supernatural beings, created on the ground with coloured powders. The three groups already mentioned correspond to three different phases of contact with the supernatural world.

Group A, with objects such as the drum and the necklaces, corresponds to an artistic phase 'suggested by godheads'. After the initiating call, a small bird-spirit appears in dream to the neophyte shaman and leads him to the choice and manufacturing of ritual instruments and objects.

The artistic objects of group B are used 'to serve and to pay homage to godheads': objects, flowers and food are displayed on the altar as an offer to supernatural beings.

In group C, art 'becomes the godhead itself', the drawing is not a mere symbolic representation but is, in every way, the divinity.

We must start our exposition on Chepang shamanic sessions with an introduction to the drum *(ring),* an absolutely necessary instrument. Chepang drum is of the 'Siberian' type, that is a single-sided leather one. On the back of the *ring* we find some iron chains with pendants at each end. These iron chains are moved by the pande with different rhythmic wavering movements. The Chepang shamans are aware of the esthetic value of this instrument, they describe the iron chains and the pendants as 'the drum dress, ornaments'.

Any object used to communicate with godheads must have beauty, must exceed the shape, the sound, the human movements and reach a highest language on a level where *pande* and supernatural beings may communicate.

Krishora and her husband explained to us how the choice of the tree for the manufacturing of the drum, happens: Normal trees are not used for ring: only *sandan* (N) trees. In these trees the roots touch the leaves. There is one bird and the bird finds the tree. The woman started to sing:

> There is forest, over the forest a bird flies, and we play the one-sided drum. The soul of a human being can be taken by *boksis* [witches in Nepali]: you are a bird, you recognize the upper and the lower part of the tree...

Then Krishora continued the story:

> We say these lines to the bird and the bird will answer by pecking the tree seven times with its beak, so that is the right tree. Now the soul is safe and we thank the bird: 'thank you, thank you'. After going through this process, we go with the student to find this tree and the guru will make the tree shake, and one leaf will fall down from the top, and nobody is allowed to look up. Then they begin to fell it. Only one *sandan* in the forest is right for the *ring*. All this takes place in a dream. Among the Magars, the dreams are induced by a *bayu* [dangerous wind-spirit in Nepali], among us by a bird. After the dream, during the daytime, the student cuts the tree; the guru is not allowed to do it. As soon as the tree begins to shake, the student must fell it. During the falling process nobody looks up. During the cutting process, the tree seems to bleed, that means that the tree is good for the *ring*. If yellow sap comes out, it means it is not so good.

To Chepang people the drum has different meaning in respect to other Nepal ethnic groups, and as long as we know, also in respect to other shamanic traditions. In Nepal most shamans, of different ethnic groups, use manly double-sided leather drums. In particular Tamangs, whose ceremonies we have personally observed, think one side of the drum to be

feminine and the other to be masculin. For Chepangs instead the drum is only masculin and so doesn't need a second leather side. Moreover the *ring* is not correlated with a mount, but mainly with a hunter, a hunter in a way under *pande*'s orders. So that makes clear the origin of the *ring* masculin nature. Krishora's husband explained to us the role of the drum with a metaphor. He said that as we send for the police to trace a thieve, in the same way the *pande* orders the drum to reach a place or to pursue a task. So the drum is not only an instrument for musical accompaniment, but has an identity of his own, and many different functions. Besides, and principally, the drum is the shaman *alter ego*. The two elements are inseparable although by Chepangs it is not necessary for each *pande* to have a ring of his own. In a family group, even if there are many shamans, we found usually only one drum (could these be traces of an old family shamanism?). Unlike mortal human beings, the drum never dies because, by paradox, it starts life with death. As the *pande* woman explained to us:

> The drum never dies, it dies already once, when we cut the tree and kill the goat. We devide the goat meat and we eat it. The wood is already dead, when we make the drum. When the ring is made, we re-live it. We call the goat soul and we three cooperate in order to treat the sickness. These three are: leather, wood and me. Once it is relivened, it will never die again'.

As we see each matter used to manufacture objects or to make designs are supposed by shamans to have a proper life. Using it to start a work of art means to deprive it of its life, so this moment is very traumatic and delicate for the shamans and must follow a coded procedure where no error is admitted. Referring to the way the drum is manufactured, once the tree has been identified, it is then cut down and if the trunk 'bleeds' red resin it confirms to be the right one, otherwise, if it 'bleeds' a yellow sap, it is not suitable. Sacrifice, suffering, blood and death are part of the initial phase of drum manufacturing and are necessary elements to have the rebirth of which *pande* is author and artist at the same time. But that is not all, the shaman becomes as well part of the work of art and starts a tight cooperation with the drum which is very important during sessions. As far as possible the shaman takes inside himself part of the work of art: eating the goat meat or the victims offered up, leaving the blood for the godheads represented on the ground, or eating the vegetables and the fruits displayed on the altar. The Chepang sessions have many different aims. Sometimes with divination purposes, other time with therapeutic ends to heal one or more patients or only to call a godhead (most of the times Yama raja) felt dangerous, at that moment, to the life of the community or the village. In this last case, *pande* must offer some blood to the godhead and then drive him away from the ceremony and from the village.

Every session starts with the altar arrangement, sometimes simple, sometimes very rich according to the purposes. The most elaborated altar is arranged for Nwagi feast that we have already mentioned.

Nwagi feast is devoted to all main Chepang godheads who live in *patal*. So *pandes*, in their own house, want to create a place as similar as possible to patal, as they say:

> The gods who live down, have a banana garden in this place and we try to recreate a garden here and we ask them to take their place here, on the altar. We say: 'take a seat, we offer you all the new harvest brought by your subjects; we will not eat, without offering you before...'

The altar is arranged with great care, starting with young banana plants and going on with flowers, rice plants, fruits and other kind of offers. Each element is displayed to create a composition as beautiful, as harmonious, as perfect as possible: nothing is placed casually on the ground. This delicate phase needs a great concentration of the *pande*, and all the people taking part to the session follow with wonder and anxiety. They can see not a mere reconstruction of the godheads abode, but the real abode itself appear in front of their eyes, in which godheads will stay for the time of the ceremony.

Once the altar is completed, godheads are invocated. Then the session continue with songs, other invocations, states of trance: during these states, the supernatural being enter the shaman body and starts talking with his mouth.

When there is a patient to heal, the shaman must locate the illness as soon as possible. In a similar way, when something strange or dangerous has happened to the village, the pande must find the cause and the responsable supernatural beings.

In both cases, once the godhead or the disquiet spirit has been singled out, the shaman creates his representation on the ground using coloured powder or rice grains. The drawings, anthropomorphuses or completely abstracts, play a main role during the Chepang shamanic sessions.

One day we asked some old *pande* to reproduce on a sheet of paper the drawings made during the sessions. The result amazed us: they had drawn the same godheads, but in a completely different way, much more realistic and extremely childish. Comparing these drawings with the ones made during the sessions, we were able to understand the distance and at the same time the coexistence of the shamanic and of the 'every day' world.

During day light, when the shamans are common men and women (but we should investigate to see how common they are) they draw godheads according to human rules, representing them similar to things they normally see or as human beings would expect to see them. Only during the night sessions we have examples of real art: the drawings, leaving human and day light way of seeing, can really represent godheads as they truly are and not as human beings think they are. Time, space and lines evolve during the session, so that the same picture can be drawn over with another until the two are perfectly overlapping. This happens for example

with the representation of Yama raja. This godhead is designed as an anthropomorphus bird with red, black and white lines. These same lines can be doubled during a subsequent session in order to represent Yama raja and Yama rani together (his sister and wife according to the Hindu tradition).

We were often questioning ourselves on the real meaning of these drawings so short lasting, so upsetting and though so fascinating. What could have been the meaning of talking about an artistic expression which had no aim to be so. The two main characteristics of this art are: the pure beauty of the shape and the deep dramatic feeling they produce. Both these characteristics are strongly linked to the life which enters into these works of art, allowing so the godheads to decend (or rise) among human beings.

So the art is not seen as a mere representation but as well as a gate and as a mean for godheads to enter on Earth. Life and death, human and divine meet on the lines traced on the floor, following rigid rules. We want to underline that the shamanic art is by no means casual or schizofrenic (although some scholars would link shamanism with a sort of mental disorder), but it is a codified art which must be taught to neophyte shamans as well as songs, invocations and musical rhythm.

The moment the drawing on the ground is completed, it is the highest artistic point of the session: the music, the singing, the dances and the drawing, which were single independent elements until now, begin to form a 'beautiful, harmonious' *unicuum*, as Krishora explained to us in very simple words. Once the coloured lines are traced, it is necessary to convince the supernatural being to enter and give life to them. Up to this moment we have on the floor only signs, an abstract combination of colour and shape, even if, as Kandinsky says:

> This relation between colour and shape shows the influence of the shape on the colour. The shape, even if completely abstract and similar to a geometric form, has an interior sound: it is a spirit with the qualities of that shape (Kandinsky 1952).

In shamanic art there is more than the 'interior sound' mentioned by this great artist, there is a real sound produced by the rhythm of the drum, the songs and the dances. Dances are a necessary element in the Chepang sessions. This ethnic group has a very rich and complex gestual ritual. We interviewed many *pande* on dances meaning. They all agreed in saying that well performed dances are a call for godheads and are the only possible mean to communicate with supernatural beings. Dances, as well as music, invocations and whistles, form a complete language on its own, which can reach heaven or descend in hell. On the other hand godheads will not use songs or dances to communicate with *pande*, but will use a silent language. Krishora and her husband said to feel "waves, which can be understood only by persons who possess 'the knowledge'".

The moment the *pande* feels these waves is the starting of the state of trance: for a short or long period of time his body will be the meeting point for the human and the divine. This relation changes during the sacrifice phase: shaman must then return to be a simple man, keeping only the function of intermediary between men and godheads. During the sacrifice is the man who offers something to the god, so the god must leave the shaman body and enter the drawing. In this moment the drawing, as before has been for the drum, becomes alive, with a supernatural being incorporated in every single rice grain and colour particle.

But this is not the only *transfer* occurring during a session. Also the illness or the negative element must leave men and enter in the blood of the sacrified victim, usually a chicken or a goat. This blood must satisfy the godhead responsable for the harm, while the meat will be eaten by human beings.

During the sacrifying phase, the *pande* (always a man because women must not kill) dances around the drawing caring not to touch it, then he kills the animal with rapid movements and pours the blood on the coloured lines. This is the highest point of the session, the most dangerous and full of tension. Now art and *religio* join together: the blood becomes part of the artistic expression; that blood that, as we have already explained, is not only a chicken blood, but stands for human blood.

Attracted by the smell, all evil spirits come and 'sit on the drawing', as shamans explain. That is why the drawing must be quickly after destroyed, trading on it with rapid steps of dance until complete disappearing. If everything is correctly performed the access gate between men and gods would shut and the spirits, satisfied with blood, will not find anymore the way to the human world.

This is how Jaman, nephew of the pande couple we met and neophyte *pande* himself, explained to us, in a simple sentence which sums up all the characteristics of shamanism:

> To cancel the drawing means to destroy Yama raja, in the same way as we offer the chicken blood instead of our lives.

To conclude this analysis we will look more closely to the intense dramatic character of this art. An artist helped us to understand the difference between a shaman and a professional artist, during creation. The shaman lives a moment of danger not experienced by the artist. We will not exaggerate in saying that the *pande*, when he represent a godhead, risks madness or even death if he is not careful and perfectly beware of his limits.

During a session, the more dramatic we have ever seen, the shaman created a very complicated artistic image on the porch floor of his house. He layed on the ground three lengths of material, a white one, a red one

and a black one. On the last one he traced some lines with coloured powder, always white, red and black, to represent a sort of anthropomorphus image. All around this work of art he made a circle with red powder. It was the representation of Indrani, Indra wife in Hindu tradition.

To Chepangs Indrani is a dangerous goddess, who appears as a rainbow. Indrani, as the sun and the moon (two godheads), lives in patal and, during raining seasons, may cause madness to men, with fainting, shiver and foam at the mouth. These were exactly the conditions of the patient to be cured in this session. The shaman woman and her husband located the cause of illness and then created the image we have described, because otherwise '...Indrani would have never come...'. Then Krishora started a complex dance, and when she got closer to the drawing she fell in deep catalepsy and her husband took many minutes to wake her up. Once awaken, Krishora, overturned, altered in the expression, in the movements and in the voice, ran away towards the forest. Nobody was allowed to follow her, but we could hear her loud shouts, sometimes savages, sometimes with sobs, meaning that a magic fight was going on. When Krishora came back to the porch, she fell in a second catalepsy, even longer than the first one. When she woke up, sobbing and in a confusional state of mind, she grabbed two small knives and traced a circle around herself, similar to the one circling the drawing.

Later they explained to us that Indrani has a higher temperature than the fire. As soon as the drawing is completed, Indrani rises from patal and the *pande* has to bear a terribly high temperature. The shaman should grab the terrible rainbow goddess, shake and pull her, in order to remove her from the patient soul. But Indrani is a powerful goddess, she can even kill who tries to stop her willings, and catalepsy is the beginning of death. The only way to save a *pande* fallen in catalepsy is to make him drink some water to contrast the unbearable heat.

Two sessions were held to fight Indrani away from the patient, but both of them with no result. Krishora could not bear Indrani high temperature and she fell again in catalepsy in the second session. Still she managed to obtain, during her fight in the forest, five more years of life for the patient.

We quoted this experience to show how dangerous a session can be for the shamans. While creating a godhead image the shaman-artist feels danger or even death coming closer. Even only watching the shaman at work during the sessions, it is possible to feel this deep dramatic involvement in each line he traces, in each movement he makes:

During the artistic phase the man has to face not only the godheads, but also himself, his strength, his life and his death. The result is, a high, deep, dramatic work of art, full of meaning; a work in which you can feel an art without boundaries, an art freely expressed and even exasperated.

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The Ladakhi Shaman as Performer of Oneness with Local Gods, *Lha*

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Introduction

As I discussed in a paper presented at the previous ISSR conference in Seoul (Yamada, 1991, 1993), among the Ladakhi it is considered a necessary qualification for a shaman (*lha-ba* for male / *lha-mo* for female) to be possessed by a local god or *lha* at his/her disposal. Major activities of the shaman are to cure diseases, to divine luck, and to exorcise evil spirits. The shaman, possessed by *lha* and in the capacity of the god, performs a seance for these purposes. A healing ritual conducted by a shaman is the very occasion where he/she convinces his/her patients of his/her divinity. Thus, one of the main themes of a shamanic performance is to demonstrate that a shaman is one with the local god. In this paper, viewing rituals performed by a Ladakhi shaman as a drama demonstrating the shaman's transformation into oneness with a local god, I would like to present the characteristics of the performance of a Ladakhi shaman.

The Concept of *Lha*

Lha refers to the whole class of minor gods, who are regarded as dwelling in one of the upper zones of Mt. Sumeru. They are ceaselessly at war with *lha-ma-yin* or Asuras, who inhabit the zone just beneath them. Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are also regarded as superior *lha* (Das 1980[1902]:1331). At the same time, the concept of *lha* included beings subject to metempsychosis, the gods, both those of Brahminical mythology, and the various national and local gods (Jaschke 1980[1881]:598).

These local gods were incorporated into the system of Buddhism when Buddhism came in contact with folk religion in the region. Since they were found to be too numerous and too much endeared to the people, they were later entirely discarded and given up as part of Buddhism.

However, most of them are worshipped and presented with various offerings even today, They are also supposed to enjoy a blissful existence, even though they are considered to be of inferior rank and power when

compared with any Buddhist saint. A local *lha* can never attain to Buddhaship (Jaschke 1980[1880]:599; Irimoto 1989:311), and usually a Ladakhi lama recites the sutra not being reborn as a *lha*, as described in the sutra of *ltung bshags* (Irimoto 1989:311). Even among the villagers, *lha* are considered beings who can fulfil their desires, but not beings the villagers hope to be reborn as, because of their limited life and their rebirth in hell.

Moreover, in the sutra of *bsangs*, i.e., *bsangs brugan gyi cho ga nyis pa kun sel*, which is recited at the purification rite, sixty kinds of *lha* are described, such as the god of the kitchen (living room), the god of the house, the god of the oven, the god of the field, the god of the horse, the god who makes food and property abundant, and the god of the village. (Irimoto 1989:313–317). The concept of *lha* is diversified according to functions and objects that are of serious concern to the people. Each *lha* is also characterized by gender. The purification rite *(bsangs)*, the most common rite among the villagers, is performed by a lama or even by villager at births and funerals, once a month, or everyday in the house, The Ladakhi recognize the *lha* described in the sutra of *bsangs* as beings who coexist with Buddha *(Sangs-rgyas)*, and who may guard and reward people if people respect the beings by performing the proper purification rites. Thus, among laymen, lha are more frequently objects of everyday religious activities than Buddhist deities. Among these *lha, yul-lha* (the village god), who is concerned with and guards the welfare of the whole village, is usually relied on by the shaman.

The Paraphernalia of the Shaman *(lha-mo/lha-ba)*

Each shaman keeps his/her own paraphernalia, usually packed in a bag. One important part of the shaman's paraphernalia are the instruments used during a seance. First of all, the shaman holds a small drum, *daru*, shaped like an hourglass, in his/her right hand and a bell, *dril-bu*, in his/her left hand while reciting *gser-skyems*, a ritual of offering to the gods. For ritual treatment to remove defilements, 'poisonous' substances, or a needle from the body of a patient, a pipe or even the above mentioned drum is used. The drum is also used for divination in place of a plate on which rice grains are scattered. A knife after being made red hot, is used for the ritual treatment of skin diseases caused by the *klu* spirit (Naga). The *rdo-rje* or *vajra*, which is a common symbol representing deities in whose hands it is placed according to Tibetan Buddhism, is also used by the shaman to exorcise evil spirits from a patient.

The other important part of a shaman's paraphernalia is the costume: the headdress, *rigs-lnga* with a bundle of silk string on each side; a large

brocade collar, *stod-le*; a long brocade apron, *smad-gyoks*; and a piece of cloth which covers the area around the mouth and the head. The *rigs-lnga* is a five-lobed crown which is fastened to the head with strings. On the lobes are painted pictures, which are said to represent five dakini, or the five Buddhas known as 'dhyani-buddhas'. The *smad-gyoks* is often not worn. These are donned just a few moments before the possession takes place. Among these, the headdress in particular is a sign that the god *lha* is now acting through the shaman, *lha-ba/lha-mo*. Thereafter, the putting-off of the *rigs-lnga* is the sign of de-possession.

The important characteristic of the shaman's paraphernalia, both the instruments and costume, is that they are the same as those of Buddhist monks. The *daru* (small drum), *dril-bu* (bell) and *rdo-rje* (vajra) are indispensable for religious rituals; the shaman's costume is the same as that donned by Buddhist monks at funeral rites. One *lha-ba* related that formerly the *lha-ba* would perform the shamanic ritual wearing the same costume as a layman. The coincidence of the shaman's paraphernalia with those of a Buddhist monk is considered to be a result of a syncretic process between Tibetan Buddhism and shamanism.

The Arrangement for the Seance

The shaman performs a seance usually in a room used as kitchen, dining and living room. First, a shaman has to summon his/her particular local god to possess him/her. For this purpose, at the beginning of every seance the shaman sets up a small altar for the *lha* on the table usually just beside a big oven; juniper leaves are burned in the pot to purify the place where the seance is to be executed. The smoke of burning juniper leaves is also regarded as facilitating possession by the *lha*. In fact the shaman generally gets possessed by sniffing the smoke of the juniper leaves. Therefore, when a shaman is having difficulty being possessed by *lha*, his/her attendant will burn more juniper leaves and make the shaman sniff its smoke.

The altar is generally composed of an arrangement of *chang* (wine made of barley), water, barley or rice, incense sticks, barley flour and a butter oil lamp. One *lha-mo* arranged the altar with two bowls of *chang* (wine), three bowls of water, two bowls of barley grains or rice, one bowl of barley flour and one butter oil lamp. These are necessary items for the rite of *gser-skyems*, considered an offering to the god to entertain him/her. The rite of *gser-skyems* is performed not only in a shamanic seance, but also on common religious occasions. Accordingly, the arrangement of an altar is the same as that made for the ordinary house religious ritual.

A picture of his/her tutelary deity *(yi-dam)* or the vajra or *rdo-rje* wrapped with a white scarf is also placed on the altar.

The Procedure of the Seance

The Invitation of Lha

After the altar is set up, an oil lamp is lit and the shaman begins to recite a Buddhist sutra of invocation, actually the sutra of *bsangs* (purification), inviting *lha* to the place. The sutra of *bsangs* is usually recited at everyday religious rituals or at any occasion, with the intention of purifying the place, the house or the family. Gradually the shaman starts to get the hiccups, sneezes, shrills 'a! tsi tsi!', or breathes hard. These are the signs of his/her becoming possessed by his/her own god, *lha*.

While doing this, he/she begins to put on the shaman's costume. First the shaman puts on his/her *stod-le* (a big brocade collar) and *smad-gyoks* (a long brocade apron), then wraps his/her head and mouth with a piece of cloth. The *rigs-lnga* (the headdress) is then fastened to the head. At the very moment when the shaman puts on the headdress, he/she is transformed into a god himself/herself.

The Transformation of Shaman into God

After the shaman is completely possessed by *lha*, it is not the shaman but *lha* himself/herself that performs the seance to the end. Now, the *lha-bshad*, the telling of the story of *lha*, and the *gser-skyems*, the ritual offering to the god, begin. The shaman starts to ring the *daru*, a small drum shaped like an hourglass, and sings the *lha-bshad* for a few minutes. Then, he/she starts to chant the sutra of *gser-skyems*. Sometimes, the *gser-skyems* starts before the *lha-bshad*, depending on the shaman's own choice, or the *lha-bshad* is even shortened or omitted.

The recitation of the sutra of *gser-skyems* is indispensable for a shamanic seance. It is believed that without the *gser-skyems*, the ritual offering, the *lha* cannot execute fully his/her own strength or energy. The sutra of gser-skyems is basically the same as that recited in ordinary religious occasions, the recitation of which symbolizes an offering to the god by 'man' of the items placed on the altar, such as the wine, grain and water. However, in a shamanic seance it is *lha* himself/herself that performs this offering ritual, so logically *lha*, i.e., the god, offers it to himself/herself. Each lha must perform a special *gser-skyems* appropriate for himself/herself.

The Healing by Lha

Next comes a phase of actual healing. Now, the shaman is *lha* himself/herself, and starts to answer the requests of the patients one by one. The

lha who possesses the shaman firstly is his/her principal *lha*. The principal *lha* of a shaman is commonly a village god, *yul-lha*, of the village where he lives, and is identified and certificated by the *rinpoche*, a high spiritual incarnate lama, or a senior shaman. Each *lha* has his/her own special power regarding a certain healing technique; then, if the help of another *lha* is needed, that *lha* is called in after an appropriate *gser-skyems* has been done for him/her. Thus, during the seance several gods come to possess the shaman in turn, according to the requests of the patients.

In this phase, the shaman (now *lha* himself/herself) demonstrates his/her divinity by talking in an uncommon fashion such as employing a tone of command, or an unusual turn of expression. In actual fact, the shaman's vocabularies are believed not to be Ladakhi but rather Tibetan in character. In reality he does not speak in true Tibetan, but simply imitates Tibetan pronunciation. Therefore, since it is often difficult for patients to understand the speech of a shaman, an attendant who translates and explains the shaman's speech is needed for the seance. The shaman also replies to his/her patients authoritatively, harshly or affectionately, according to the gender of his/her god. Asking, 'Understand?' authoritatively after the reply to a patient is one of the common characteristics in every shaman's speeches. Patients make their requests to a shaman with cringing respect, addressing him/her as 'Mighty Powerful Divine Protector' and using honorific expressions.

The Healing Techniques by Lha

During the seance, the shaman also shows his/her divine power by means of healing techniques; four techniques are commonly used, according to the requests of the patient. One is *grib-lung*, the removal of defilements. Using a *daru* (small drum) or a pipe, he/she sucks out some black substance from the patient's body. This substance is considered the defilement, or *grib*, that has caused the patient's disease. The point to be sucked depends on the illness and condition of the patient; one may be sucked in the belly, another on the leg, and another on the throat, and so on. After sucking out the *grib*, the shaman displays the black substance on a plate as evidence of the defilement. This technique is applied to almost all the ill patients present.

The second is *kab-lung*, the removal of a needle from the body of a patient. Mastering this technique is considered to be difficult. Usually a novice can receive training in *kab-lung* only after mastering the technique of *grib-lung*, the sucking of defilements. When a needle is identified as the cause of the disease, this technique is applied. This technique is rarely applied to a human patient, but usually applied to ill cattle, since most cattle diseases are believed to be caused by needle-eating.

The third is *me-sngags*, or fire incantation. A knife is made red hot, then the shaman *(lha)* first shows his/her power by putting the red hot knife onto his/her tongue. Next, he/she holds the knife over the patient's affected part, such as the head or leg, and spits there while reciting the *mantra* to expel from the patient's body the malignant forces which cause the disease. Generally, this technique is applied to skin diseases which are considered to be caused by the *klu* spirit (Naga).

The fourth is *mo*, or divination by checking the pattern of rice grains scattered onto a small drum. People often come to request that the shaman performs a divination for a safe journey, or luck in business, or for lost cattle, or against evil forces causing bad luck in the family. After the requests of patients, the shaman takes a few grains of rice in his hand, and, while reciting the *mantra*, throws them onto a small drum, or places them, so that they can move. He/she then reads the pattern of the scattered grains, and answers the patient, saying, for example, 'If you go in this *direction*, then your object will be attained'. Generally the answer of a shaman is only to suggest the direction of the solution to the problem.

The Sending-off of Lha

Finally, after replying to all the requests of those present, the shaman begins to recite a Buddhist sutra for sending off the *lha*, and meanwhile he/she suddenly begins to hiccup or to breathe hard, and then takes off the headdress and lies on his/her face. At that point, the *lha* has gone. Sometimes he/she beats himself/herself on the back with his/her fist as if he/she is trying to expel the god from his/her body. The shaman then returns to his/her original state.

As I stated above, among the Ladakhi it is believed that *lha* himself/herself performs the seance. Accordingly, all the shaman stressed that they did not remember what had happened during the seance. They said they learned what was going on only afterwards by talking with their attendant. However, in an interview with one *lha-mo* done immediately after a seance, she related exactly what she had told during the seance. This fact indicates that whatever a Ladakhi shaman does during a seance might not be completely unrecognized by his/her conscious mind. This unawareness of the shaman during the seance is another device to convince people of the lha's active participation in the seance.

Discussion

In the previous sections I have described the concept of *lha*, the paraphernalia of the shaman, the arrangement of the altar, and the procedure of the shamanic seance among the Ladakhi. In the everyday life of the Ladakhi, people rely on various *lha* according to their desire as indicated in the sutra of *bsangs* (rite of purification). In other words, the Ladakhi consider that it is *lha* who are directly involved in looking after the people, and responsible for luck and welfare in their everyday lives. In particular, *yul-lha* (the village god) is most venerated by villagers since he/she is responsible for the entire village.

The villagers believe in the supernatural power of *lha*. The people believe that in the case of spirit-possession the possessed is transformed into the very spirit himself, regardless of whether the spirit is *'dre* (evil), *'gong-rkyal* (wraith), or *lha* (god). Accordingly, people believe in the supernatural power of the shaman when he/she is possessed by *lha*, since the shaman is *lha* himself/herself during the seance. In this sense, the shaman should demonstrate his/her divinity during the seance. The shaman should arrange the altar for his/her *lha* before the seance starts, as a layman does before performing the rite of purification; should show the divinity visually, by wearing a special costume, or aurally, by speaking in unusual manners; and should show his/her divine power by applying miraculous healing techniques. Thus, the performance of a Ladakhi shaman is organized to demonstrate the shaman's divine power and his/her oneness with a local god, *lha*.

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Ainu Shaman as Accuser of Taboo-Breakers

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The Ainu are an aboriginal inhabitants of Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the southern part of the Kurile Islands. Hokkaido is an island of about 78, 000 sq. km situated north of the Japanese mainland. The northern tip of the island is about 40 km away from Sakhalin and to the northeast of the island the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka.

The annual means of temperature (1921–1950) vary from 5.2°C to 8.5°C. in different areas in Hokkaido. There is a long season of snowfall from October to May. Apart from some local differences, this is roughly the period of base snow which covers the ground through the winter.

The island is well-wooded: the southwestern part is rich in latifoliate trees represented by beech while the northeastern part abounds in coniferous forests, the representative species being firs, Abies and Picea.

From north to south through the centre of the island runs a range of hills and mountains the highest of which is 2,290 m above sea level and in which the main rivers of Hokkaido have their sources.

In most of these rivers there are successive runs of salmon, Oncorhyncus masou and O. keta, from early summer to early or midwinter. Among larger land mammals in Hokkaido are brown bear *(Ursus arctos)*, and deer *(Cervus nippon)*. The Ainu exploited these resources by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants. Small-scale horticulture of millet and the like was practiced by women of coastal groups but the Ainu of the interior areas of such a large river as the Tokapchi did not practiced it till the middle of the 19th century.

In 1868, Hokkaido came under the administration of the Japanese Government: the island became a part of the territory of Japan and colonization started. With this began a process which greatly changed Ainu life, so that today the Ainu language is rarely spoken and then only by the aged; full-blood Ainus are about to be extinct; and the whole system of their subsistence has been profoundly altered. The most sudden and significant change in their mode of life happened in 1883 when the new Government started carrying out its programme of encouraging the Ainu to take up farming with tillage. Each household was granted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seeds, and received technical instructions from specialist Japanese officials. The introduction of agriculture thus encour-

aged by the Japanese Government resulted in considerable displacement in the territorial groupings of the Ainu which originally had been correlated to hunting, fishing, and collecting grounds rather than to any terrain suitable for farming. The Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated in 1940 at about 16,000.

The traditional Ainu had two major cycles of subsistence activities: a leisurely winter season of about 2 months and a work season of about 10 months from spring to fall. During the work season, Ainu labour was devoted to 2 to 3 months of hunting by the men, 5 to 6 months of collecting of plants by the women, and 8 to 9 months of fishing by men and women. In summer, they devoted themselves to fishing for cherry salmon *(O. masou),* and collecting edible plants. In autumn, when the dog salmon *(O. keta),* ran in place of cherry salmon and the meat of the deer grew greasy, their gathering activity became most intense. The dog salmon fishing was associated with the First Salmon ceremony. It was during this season that they prepared and stored their food for the winter. Bear hunting was regularly practiced by specialized hunters in spring and autumn. In each season bear hunters went to stay at their bear hunting huts away from their homes. During the wintering period, they had to live on stored provisions, consisting chiefly of dried salmon and venison. During this season festivity thrived among all the Ainu and relatives and friends were invited from different local groups to join the Bear Ceremony.

According to the Ainu view, all animal- and plant-resources were *kamui* deities in their temporary guises, and every topographical feature, such as a hill or river, was their field of activity. In consequence, all Ainu activities in exploiting natural resources implied social intercourse with *kamui* and could not be done without ritual observance. The Bear Ceremony was the greatest of their *kamui* rituals, which was the expression of the solidarity of their localized patrilineal descent group, i. e. the *shine itokpa* group. The dog salmon ceremony, on the other hand, was the annual ritual held by the local group as a unit, which consisted of 3 stages: the prefishing ritual, the First Salmon ceremony, and the postfishing ritual. Both the bear and the salmon ceremonies show a common ceremonial pattern which includes 3 such core elements representing 3 successive ceremonial acts as follows: (1) bringing home animals by the hunter or fisherman, (2) rituals of honouring the animals including eating of the meat at his home, and (3) ritual disposal of the remains such as bones. The Ainu of Hokkaido observed this type ('sending-off type') of ceremony for various animals varying from such large game as the bear to such small animals as the owl and the squirrel. The religious ideas of those ceremonies are basically the same: the common idea or theory is that the animals concerned are honoured guests visiting the hunter or fisherman as the host, and, therefore, those should be welcomed to the host's home, entertained there, and sent off respectfully. The most important points here are firstly that any failure of ritual treatment will be reported by the guest spirit to its fellows or headman so

that they will be offended and never visit the host's country again, and secondly that the main purpose of their observing this type of ceremonies was to secure their game animals coming back or reappearing in the next season. From such a religious point of view there were many taboos surrounding game animals. Those concerned with the bear and the salmon were most severe and stringent. Breaking of such a taboo meant a grave violation to the *kamui* deities concerned and then it was necessary to observe the *kamuinomi* rituals to apologize to the *kamui*. The effective ritual relationship between the *kamui* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males, which formed the basis of their local organization. The *kamuinomi* rituals began with the ritual for the fire *kamui* residing in the fireplace. This is because the Ainu could not communicate with other *kamui* deities without the mediation of this *kamui*.

Major examples of tabooed acts surrounding the game animals are as follows: throwing garbage or unclean things into salmon rivers during the season of the runs (Mukawa area); making water or sexual intercourse at the river-side of a salmon river (Bihoro area); sexual intercourse of the keeper of a bear cub or any other important persons concerned with the bear ceremony during certain prescribed period (Shizunai, Kutcharo, and Bihoro areas); loss of any bones of the bear to be disposed of at the outdoor altar at the end of the bear ceremony (Kushiro area).

The Ainu believed that breaking of those taboos would be indicated by various signs which could be observed by anyone in their daily life. Those signs are, for example, as follows:

(1) any taboo-breaking act of the keeper of a bear cub for the bear ceremony would be reproduced by the cub mimicking it in its cage as the day of the ceremony came soon (Shizunai area);

(2) the bear cub of the keeper who broke the taboo of sexual intercourse would not eat any food even for 2 or 3 days (Bihoro area);

(3) the fact that a bear cub did not behave joyfully on the day of the bear ceremony was a proof that someone concerned did certain unclean tabooed act such as sexual intercourse (Kutcharo area).

Breaking of such a taboo meant a grave violation to the *kamui* deities concerned and was believed to bring such disastrous results to their society as a cessation of the seasonal appearance of those animals. Accordingly restration of the broken social relationship between the Ainu and the *kamui* concerned was an urgent need for the community and it was the duty of elders who were in charge of communal affairs such as the Bear and the Salmon Ceremonies to observe the *kamuinomi* ritual to apologize to the *kamui* for the act of violation. The effective ritual relationship between the *kamui* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males, which formed the basis of their local organization.

Discovery of such signs of taboo-breaking as mentioned above disturbed their community and shamans began detecting the taboo breaker. Restoration of broken social relationship between the Ainu and the *kamui* con-

cerned was the duty of elders who were in charge of communal affairs such as the bear and the salmon ceremonies and they observed the *kamuinomi* ritual to apologize to the *kamui* for their act of violation.

The Ainu shaman, *tusu kur*, is a parttime religious specialist who operates under the condition of spirit possession. The *tusu kur* is usually a woman among the Hokkaido Ainu although the male *tusu kur* seems not to have been unusual in the eastern part of Hokkaido. The role of the shaman was curer of illness and intermediary between society and supernatural world although their epic called *Yukara* emphasizes the role as sorcerer. However, one of the most important social functions in their traditional hunting and gathering society appears to have been to detect and accuse breakers of taboos of communal significance, especially those on such divine animals as the bear and the salmon. Breaking of those taboos was believed to bring such disastrous results to their society as a cessation of the seasonal appearance of those animals. Finding out some signs of violence to *kamui* and breakers of such communal taboos was a task of special importance in view of the urgent need for the *kamuinomi* ritual of apology to *kamui* to follow.

As far as I know, this function of the Ainu shaman has never been noticed as one of their culture trait; however, its reliable evidence has been obtained in the course of our recent field investigations (Teikoku Gakush'in 1944:66; Sarashina 1968:61; Watanabe et al. 1984:10; 1986:15, 16; 1987:94; 1993:64).

The shamanistic performance, *tusu*, consists of two successive stages: the first stage is represented by the *kamuinomi* ritual of asking a *kamui* deity for possessing the shaman and the second one by the performance of the shaman possessed by the *kamui*. The *kamuinomi* ritual as the preceding performance is a privilege of the adult male Ainu. It is never allowed for a woman to observe and always begins with the ritual for the fire deity, *ape fuchi kamui,* residing at the fireplace because they believe their prayers could not be understood by any other *kamui* without the mediation of this *kamui*. Therefore the preceding *kamuinomi* ritual includes offering of prayers and the *inau*, i.e., wooden sticks with wooden shavings, to the fire deity and tying of wooden shavings or twisted coloured threds etc. around the neck or wrist of the shaman. The second stage is the performance of the shaman possessed by the spirit helper, *tren kamui* or *tusu kor kamui*. As the *kamuinomi* ritual comes to an end, the shaman comes to be possessed by the deity, usually the *kamui* of the snake. When possessed, the look of the shaman is said to become strange and the face is flushed, or the body begins to tramble and the personality becomes unusual. While thus being possessed, the *tusu kur* utters divine messages (oracles) as if chanting or growning in the state of trance. It is said that the shaman does not remember the messages after the performance. No drum is used in the performance.

MAGYAR TUDOMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA KÖNYVTÁRA

As mentioned previously, the *tusu kur* may be a woman (mostly) or a man. In case of a male *tusu kur,* the whole performance may be given by one and the same person. But in case of a female one, she must have some adult male, usually an elder, to perform the *kamuinomi* ritual for her. On this point, the female shaman of the Hokkaido Ainu are fundamentally different from that of the Sakhalin Ainu and many other circumpolar peoples including the Eskimo and even from that of the Japanese.

There were two different ways of receiving the message or oracle of the shaman by elders who were in charge of communal affairs. The first one was that the elders interpret or 'read' the divine message and decide themselves how to do. The second was that the elders followed the message and acted as it indicated. As soon as the fact of taboo-breaking became clear, the elders observed the *kamuinomi* ritual to apologize to the *kamui* concerned for their fault of violence, which included offering of some treasures, *ikoro,* to the *kamui* as a kind of compensation, *ashimpe,* for the fault.

It is true that Ainu shaman, *tusu kur*, took no part in any of the *kamuinomi* rituals or animistic rituals for the maintenance of their social solidarity with nature spirits *kamui*. However, we cannot simply say that the Ainu shamanism *tusu* is not an independent religious practice separated from their animistic practice *kamuinomi* because, as explained previously, their shamans played a significant part as accusers of taboo breakers, that is, the destroyers of the social solidarity between the people and the kamui, which was believed to be essential to successful hunting and fishing. This means that Ainu shamans rendered important service to the community in the maintenance of social order. In this sense we can say that they performed a political function.

The function of the *tusu kur* as curer of illness has been well known ethnographically. But their political function as such has never been discussed as far as I know. Information about the performance of the *tusu kur* as accusers of taboo breakers still appears to be very scarce. Accordingly I think it is necessary to make efforts to search and collect such information from every possible sources.

There are some ethnographic evidences among northern hunter-gatherers that shamans functioned as a kind of religious police to keep close watch on the proper observance of animal cults or animistic taboos of communal significance, and to detect, accuse, and even punish the offenders (Driver 1961:327, 331; Drucker 1951:388–389, 453; Graburn and Strong 1973:169; Kleivan 1984:619; McIlwraith 1953:53; Nelson 1983:390–391; Ray 1932:70, 74; Spencer 1959:310; Underhill 1945:22).

The above analysis indicates that the shaman, *tusu tur,* of the Hokkaido Ainu is characterized by such features as (1) no part taken in the rituals concerned with cult of nature spirits, (2) dependence of the female shaman on the male priest of the animistic cult, and (3) the political function as the detector-accuser of the breakers of animistic taboos of communal impor-

tance. Those facts seem to give a promising clue for clarifying functional relationship between animism and shamanism among northern hunter-gatherers. Ethnographic data incorporated in this synthetic paper were collected from those works listed in the References.

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Musical Instruments in the Manchurian Shamanic Sacrificial Rituals

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Shamanism is a folk belief, and is perhaps the kind of religious activities linking most closely with the people. Different from professional priests, shamans are usually ordinary members of a certain social group, enjoying no privileges. They can only mark themselves by dancing in the sacrificial rituals. Manchu shamans, in particular, mainly use shamanic drums (i.e. magic drum) and waist-bells in these rituals to show their magical power. Therefore we can get some understanding of the broad and profound influences of shamanism on folk customs in Northeast China, Hebei province and Inner-Mongolia by tracing the spread of magic drums and waistbells among this people.

The Manchurian Shamanic Sacrificial Rituals

The meaning and usage of the term 'shamanism' is clear and definite in the Chinese academic circle, referring to a folk belief particular to and spreading among the peoples in Northeast China. But it is used and defined differently in foreign academic fields. According to the summary made by Akamatu Tikoto, shamanism is, geographically speaking, the kind of religious belief held by the peoples in Northeast Asia; but, viewed from a much broader academic angle, it also refers to similar believes held by the Oriental peoples who mainly live in China and also in other parts of the world.[1] It is rightly because of this much broader academic definition, some foreign scholars include the witchcraft of the Taoist priests in the discussion of shamanism.[2] At the thirty-first international annual conference of ICTM, I myself heard a German scholar discuss similar activities of a certain minority nationality in Yunnan province of China as shamanism.[3]

1. Akamatu Tikoto, "The Significance of Shamanism." *Study of Shamanistic Culture* 2:36.
2. Obajasi Tokutarou, "Eastern Asian Shamanism." *Study of Shamanistic Culture* 2:128; Sakurai Tokutarou, "Japanese Shamanism." *Study of Shamanistic Culture* 2:137.
3. Schworer-Kohl, Gretel (1991), "The Function of Music in a Shamanistic Session among Miao from Yunnan." 31th international annual meeting of ICTM, July, 1991 Hongkong.

In my opinion, this broad definition has an insurmountable problem. In China, folk believes of this kind are generally known as *wu* (witchcraft). However, even this term is only a general one, hard to be agreed on by all nationalities. Actually, either the *Dongba* sacrificial rituals (*dongba* is the Naxi counterpart of shaman) of the Naxi nationality, or the *nuoji* (a kind of sacrificial ritual aiming at driving away a devil called nuo, who brings pestilence and other evils to people), or such kind of customs widespread among other peoples, all have their own particular meanings and can not be substituted. These terms can only be used in certain regions and among certain nationalities. However, in academic study, they all can be regarded as variant types of *wu*.

Therefore, I am for the definition that shamanism is "a religious phenomenon particular to Siberia and central Asia"[4] and I agree with Mr. Gi Shengtsen of South Korea in his regarding "shamanism as one of the many kinds of folk believes".[5]

Many scholars think of shamanism as a 'primitive religion'. This is probably because they consider it in terms of the theory of evolution, or compare it with 'modern' religions, and imply that shamanism is inferior to so-called modern religions. However, we can not view the Manchurian shamanism, which is still operating in Northeast China, in this light, for those social groups that believe in shamanism are by no means 'primitive tribes'. In addition, Buddhism and Taoism in that region are as spreading among their own followers just as shamanism, and these three religions have been interpenetrating, contending with each other, and ebbing and flowing alternately. The French anthropologist Lévi-Strauss said that in the abstract thinking of the primitive people, there are no such divisions as 'modern' or 'primitive', 'preliminary' or 'advanced' modes of thinking, but rather two parallel modes of thinking, which have different functions and complement and influence each other.[6] There is no superiority or inferiority in judgement and acception of a religious belief by different social groups. Actually, this process is rather a choice of and an adaptation to different cultures by people in the social background where they live and prosper. Once clear about this point, shamanism can be understood impartially and correctly.

Chinese shamanism mainly originated in and functioned among the Altaian northern minority nationalities, including the Manchu-Tungus Manchuria, Sibo, Hezhen, Oroqen, Evenki peoples and Mongols and a certain number of Chinese living in Northeast China, with Manchu shamanism being the most typical. Manchu shamanism is not only popular among the people, it has also once been established in the court of Manchu rulers

4. Mircea Eliade, "A General Discussion of Shamanism: the shamanistic complex phenomenon found in some region does not necessarily mean that the local people's belief of witchcraft belong to shamanism ... generally speaking, shamanism coexists with other practices of witchcraft and believes." Cited in: *Study of Shamanistic Culture* 2:324.
5. Gi Shengtsen (South Korea), "The Root of Korean Shamanism." *Study of Shamanistic Culture* 2:278.
6. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind.* (Preface by the Chinese translator), 5.

as a special institution for offering sacrifice to their ancestors. Emperor Qianlong, Manchu ruler of Qing dynasty (1644–1911), compiled and published a book titled *The Manchurian Sacrificial Rituals to the God of Heaven* (simplified as *MSR*, the same below), in 1747 which is the only standardized record of the shamanic sacrificial rituals of all the peoples that believed in shamanism, and it has been translated into Chinese.

Scholars are most concerned with the function of the Manchu shaman's sacrificial rites. According to Tarbicha's *The Gods Worshipped by the Eskimos*,[7] there are two kinds of shamans among Eskimos, these are, the angakkoh and the Qilalik. Although both of them are shamans, the former preside in sacrificial rituals and are respected and admired by all the people; while the latter are despised by society, and mainly practice as witch doctors, practicing in relatively simple rituals. Interesting enough, it is also the same case with the shamans of the Tungusic peoples, especially the Manchu shamans. The Manchurian shamanistic sacrificial rituals can also be classified into two types.[8] One type is for sacrifice, the other for medical treatment. Shamans presiding in sacrificial rituals are respected and admired by all the people, some of them, held in a very high position by Manchu aristocracy, can even enter the court. But shamans practicing as witch doctors, though worshipped by their followers, are repelled by all others. They never acquire a legitimate status, and are frequently constrained and controlled by the government in a severe way. Just as Tarbicha translated angakkoq as high priest and qilajok as quacks, in Chinese shamans presiding in sacrificial rituals are called *sizhu*, while shamans practicing as witch doctors are called *da shen* meaning witch doctor (*da shen* carries no derogatory meaning literally, but in concrete linguistic context, it is a synonym for quack).

Music and dance are the major means of expression and medium of the Manchurian shamans to communicate, with gods, constituting the basic frame of the Manchurian shamanistic rituals. As is agreed, the Manchu shaman well deserves to be called the unparalleled artist in his clan.

In terms of its history and present situation, the shamanic rituals of the Manchu shaman show the unity between the sacrificial device and the musical instrument, between the incantation and music as well as dance, between pleasing the gods and pleasing the people. It is an artistic form as well as a religious ritual. So, it is quite logical that shamanism also has come to be noticed by musicologists. The writer believed that a study of shamanism from an ethnomusicological angle will be quite helpful to the understanding of this worldwide cultural phenomenon.

7. Quote indirectly from Akamatu Tikoto, "The Significance and Origin of Shamanism." *Study of Shamanistic Culture* 2:43–45.
8. *History of Heilongjiang Province*, Vol. 6: " Sacrificial rituals can be classified into two categories. [...] *tiaojiashen* and *tiaoda shen*. *Tiaojiashen* (shamans practice this kind of activity, I called it domestic shaman) is used for offering sacrifice to gods, many people of the tribe can do that; *tiaoda shen* is used to treat or enchant people."

Drum and Waistbells Used by the Manchurian Shamans

The drums are indispensable for the sacrificial rituals of the shaman. They play an omnipotent and inspiring mystical role in the ritual *(tiao shen)*, and have become indisputably the symbols of the Manchurian shamanism. Accompanied with the waistbells, they are even more typical features that distinguish the Manchu shamans from shamans of other peoples. So, as it is impossible in this short essay to discuss all of the shamanistic musical instruments, the writer has chosen to do a research on these two instruments, and tries to give a clear picture of their shapes and structures by citing historical documents and materials he had collected in his investigation.

The Drum *(shengu)*

The shamanic drum is called *shengu* in the Manchu language. The drums used for Manchu shamanistic rituals can be classified into two categories: *zhuagu* and *dangu*. As for *zhuagu*, those around the area of the Heilongjiang River are the most typical, while for *dangu*, the most typical ones are those of the Liaodong area. Similar with *dangu*, *zhuagu* is round framed, covered with animal skin on one side, with a grip running across the inside of the frame, and is played with the help of drumsticks. The differences between them mainly lie in the materials used to make the frame and the way they are held. The frame of *zhuagu* is made of wood, while that of *dangu* is made of iron; *zhuagu* carries rings for griping with hand, while *dangu* is held by a handle at its side. In addition, as a result of their different structures, they are played in different ways.

Zhuagu (Fig. 1–1)

The structure of *zhuagu* can be described in terms of its shape, size and raw materials.

Shape

According to its shape, *zhuagu* can be classified into two categories: elliptic ones and round ones.

Round or elliptic, *zhuagu* is often found in the drainage area of the Heilongjiang river. To quote a book entitled *A Record of the Customs in Mudanjiang Area*:

> The magic drum, around, 82 cm in vertical diameter, 50 cm in horizontal diameter. It is covered with sheepskin on one side, with a copper ring in its center, which is tied to the frame by four leather cords in a crisscross way. At its upper part, eight copper coins are attached to the frame (Yan Gongquan 1943).

As the vertical diameter and horizontal diameter of the magic drum are not equal, this drum can't be round, but rather elliptic or eggshaped. Magic drums of this shape can also be found among other peoples who believe in shamanism. For example, zhuagu used by the Manchu-Tungus Hezhen people has this shape (Sun Yunlai 1990:67). Recording to Ivanov this magic drum are widespread spreading among Hezhens living near the Songhuajiang River, and had a narrow frame, with a metal ring attached to the frame by a leather strip, as a substitution for a handle. The vertical diameter of this drum is 82 cm. Paintings decorate the drum.

In addition to the elliptic or eggshaped *zhuagu*, there is also the round *zhuagu*. The *zhuagu* used in the Manchu court (Jin Jiujing and Ming Chang 1935), as recorded in historical documents, rightly belonged to this category, with a diameter of 53 cm. Judged from its picture, it had a ring in the center of its back, which was attached to the frame by twelve cords, and its frame was narrower than ordinary ones. *Zhuagu* of this shape can be easily found, and compared with larger round or eggshaped ones, this kind of *zhuagu* is also easier to be played upon

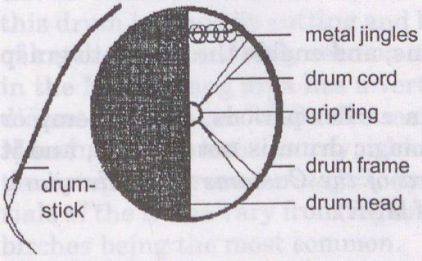


Fig. 1-1. Zhuagu

Metal Jingles

It is an important part of the magic drum. They clang in the course of performance; and accompanied with them, the magic drum can express a much wider range of meanings and feelings. The jingles of *zhuagu* are often set in its wooden frame, and can be classified into two categories according to their shapes, namely, ring-shaped ones or coin-shaped ones. For example, the kind of metal jingles which has been described in *A Record of the Customs in Mudanjiang Area* as "at the metal jingles' upper part, eight coins are attached to the frame", belonged to this category. Such coins are flat round pieces, with a hole in the centre, and were mainly used in ancient China. Usually several such coins stringed together by a wire

make a set of drum jingles, which clang and bump each other while shaken. The *zhuagu* of the Fucha clan in Ningan county, Heilongjiang province has a history of more than one hundred years. Inside its frame, there is an iron bar on which are stringed eight copper coins. As these coins are often rubbed, they have become very thin, but people can still make out the Chinese characters *Kang Xi Tong Bao* (this phrase indicates that these coins are currencies of the Qing dynasty) on it. The Evenki near Narim River also have magic drums set with metal jingles. To quote M. Kagan,

> Magic drums are very large, elliptic in shape [...] inside the magic drum, there are also a group of iron bars, which are adorned with various kinds of clinking spangles (Sun Yunlai 1990:167).

Some early shamanistic magic drums were also set with rings. For example, inside the frame of a magic drum used by Evenki near Jieya River is set on the right and left side respectively eight groups of jingles, each of them are made up of five to nine rings stringed together (Sun Yunlai 1990:75, fig. 56).

Cord

The cords link the grip ring and the frame, and enable the player to grasp the magic drum.

They were usually made of leather in earlier periods, and of hemp or cotton later. The number of cords of a magic drum is not definite, and it usually varies from four (as in *A Record of the Customs in Mudanjiang Area*) to twelve (as in *Revised Edition of MSR*).

Grip Ring

The thing by which people grab a *zhuagu* is a metal (either iron or copper) ring, so we call it 'the grip ring', which may also serve as the centre to which all the cords are attached. The size of the grip ring should be convenient for to grasping.

Drum Head

The drum head is made of animal skin. In earlier days, skin of wild beasts, such as roe deers, wild boars, was widely used; in modern times, that of livestock, such as cattle, sheep, pigs, has come to be the main source of materials. Sheep, which is thin and capable of producing brisk and clear sound, is the most preferred one today. The reason lying behind this change is perhaps that magic drums of old days were much larger, while modern ones are smaller, and put more emphasis on the quality of sound. Drum heads made of animal skin are susceptible to the influence of weather, so before performance, shamans have to heat the magic drum to make the drum head tense, so that it may produce melodious music. Shamans often draw various symbolic pictures on the drum head. According to Wu Bing-

an's interviews with modern shamans, the content of these pictures is very diversified, including

> the sun, the moon, stars, rainbow, mountains and trees, wild beasts like bears, deers, livestock like horses and cattle, and other animals as snakes, lizards, frogs, tortoises etc. (Wu Bing'an 1989:230).

This find supports the recorded observations about the pictures on shamanistic magic drums used by along Heilongjiang River's in *Collections of the 19th and the Early 20th Century Siberian National Plastic Art* by S.V. Ivanov (1954). However, due to the scarcity of detailed and convincing materials, we can not do further research about the symbolic meaning of the pictures on shamanic magic drums.

Drum Frame

The drum frame is made of wood, and its size is decided according to the tension of the drum head. The magic drum of the Fucha clan in Ningan county has a vertical diameter of 48 cm and a horizontal diameter of 46 cm. Its frame is 3.5 cm wide, and 1 to 2 cm thick. Obviously, the frame of this drum is made by cutting and bending a flexible small tree, and marks of hatches can be clearly seen on its surface. The above-mentioned zhuagu in the Mudanjiang area has a vertical diameter of 82 cm and a horizontal diameter of 50 cm, while the magic drum of the Wushu clan in Xinbin Manchu autonomous county, which has a frame of 6.5 cm wide, belongs to the category of round *zhuagus*, and is 42.5 cm in diameter. The raw materials of the frame vary from region to region, with wood of willows, firs and birches being the most common.

Drumstick

Zhuagu is played with the help of drumsticks and this distinguishes it from the *dapu* (a kind of musical instrument similar to *zhuagu*) in Xinjiang province, which is played directly with hands. According to experienced shamans, drumsticks of earlier days were quite delicate. They are covered with skin of deers, otters and roe deers, so they were heavier than modern ones and were capable of more forceful beating. Some big drumsticks also had what shamans considered as pictures with magic power. But today we can not find such delicate drumsticks, as most modern drumsticks are made by cutting and grinding slightly curved bamboo sticks. There is no common standard for the size of drumsticks. They are made according to the size of the drums.

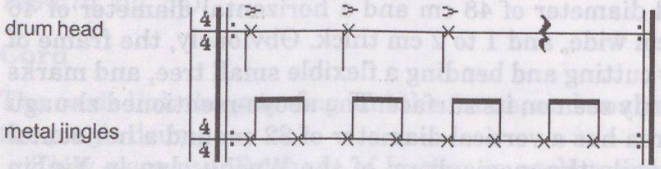
Drumbeats

The basic rule of the drumbeats of *zhuagu* is that the drumbeats are always based on oddnumbered beats, that is, three beats form a unit. Recorded in detail as early as in *MSR*, this rule shares the same origin with

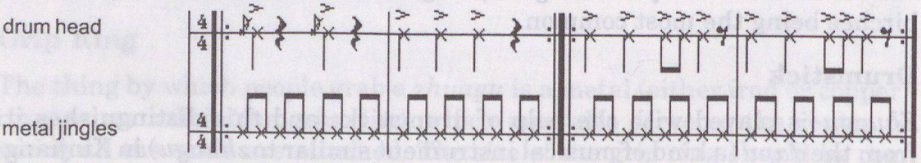
lao san dian (this phrase means 'always three beats') in folk sacrificial rituals. "Lao san dian" (Example 1) forms the basic pattern of the rhythm and meter of the music accompanying Manchurian folk sacrificial rituals and shamans make it colourful by the frequent change of their performing tempo, force and movements (Example 2). There is no definite rules for the size and materials of *zhuagu*, so they often vary from person to person, from region to region. Generally speaking, *zhuagu*s tend to be smaller and more portable in size, and tend to be made of livestock skin rather than the skin of wild animals.

By examining and comparing the royal *zhuagu* of the Qing dynasty, the *zhuagu* of Ningan county; Heilongjiang province, and the *zhuagu* of Xinbin county, Liaoning province, we find that *zhuagus* bear the following characteristics:[9]

Example 1:
Lao san dian (Jilin Jiutai: Played by Shi Qingshan and Shi Qingmin. Recorded by Liu Gui-teng. 1980)



Example 2:
Lao wu dian (Heilongjiang Ning'an: Played by Fucha Hala. Recorded by Liu Gui-teng. 1992)



Dangu (Fig. 1–2)

Another type of magic drum is called *dangu*, or *taipinggu*. There had been some doubt in Chinese academic circle about whether Manchu shamans use this kind of magic drums in their rituals, and some scholars who have published works on shamanism did not regard such a drum as a variety of

9. The magic drum of the court of Qing dynasty. In: *Revised edition of MSR*; Ning'an drum: the magic drum in Ning'an county, Jilin province; property of the Fucha dan in Wolong town, Ning'an county, Heilongjiang province, measured and recorded by Liu Gui-teng in August, 28th, 1992; The magic drum in Xinbin county: property of the Wushuhala family in Xiayingzi township, Xinbin manchu autonomous county, Liaoning province; measured and recorded by Liu Gui-teng in Oct. 6th, 1992.

magic drums. But according to my research and investigation, either in the past or at present, either in the court of Manchu aristocracy or among the folk, there exist proofs of the use of *dangu* in shamans' sacrificial rituals.

In this respect, the most authoritative work is *A Brief History of the Willow Borders* (liu bian lue ji), which is praised as "a unique-styled minor encyclopedia of the life and history in the Northeast area of China from the seventeenth to eighteenth century" (Melehov 1976:9). It is written by Yang Bin, whose ancestors were deported to that region. Yang Bin wrote this book according to what he had heard and seen, so this book has great historical value. To quote him:

> The shaman [...] ties bells to his hip, rocks them and beats a drum with his hands. The drum is iron-framed, covered with animal skin on one side, and carrying several rings at its handle. The shaman beats the drum and shakes the bells simultaneously, producing a clinking sound (Yang Bin 1985, vol. 4:3).

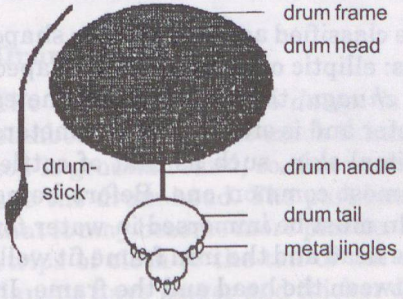


Fig. 1-2. Dangu

The drum in this paragraph is iron-framed, animal-skin-covered, with a handle carrying several iron rings. Zaitao and Yunbaohui, two Manchurian aristocrats of the late Qing dynasty, related in *The Aristocratic Life of the Late Qing Dynasty* (1644–1911):

> The shaman wears a magic cap, ties to his body waistbells, and beat a skin-covered drum which has a handle at the lower part (Pu Jia 1982:349).

Judged from its appellation, the 'skin-covered' drum must be a *zhuagu*. However, judged from its shape, this magic drum must be a *dangu*. Xin Xiuming, an eunuch of the late Qing dynasty, had also recorded in detail the shape and structure of a *dangu* used by Manchu shamans:

> it is like a big round fan, iron-framed, iron-handled, with many iron rings at one end of its handle. It is two chi [a unit of measurement in China] in diameter.[10]

As to the simultaneous use of these two kinds of magic drums, *zhuagu* and *dangu*, we can find detailed descriptions in *A Brief Record of The Ninggu Tower*:

10. Xin Xiuming, *Recollections of an Old Eunuch, "The Secret of Kunning Palace"*. n.d. 91.

> The shaman wears a skirt, ties hundreds of long iron bells to his waist, and holds a clanging paper drum in his hands. He jabbers in the Manchu language, rocks the bells, and accompanies their sound with the beating of the paper drum. What's more, there are several large pigus [drums covered with animal skin], whose players all turn their faces to the west, accompanying the paper drum (Wu Zhenchen 1940, vol. 13).

The paper drum *(zhi gu)* and the large *pigu (da pi gu)* belong to the category of *dangu* and the category of *zhuagu* respectively, for some *dangus* are covered with paper and some *zhuagus* are sometimes called *pigu*. The materials from my field investigations can also confirm that *dangus* are used in Manchu shamans' sacrificial rituals. For example, in Xinbin county of Liaoning province,[11] where the great Manchu ruler Nuerhachi was born, people use *dangu* in their sacrificial rituals. It is the same case with the Mongols, a people closely connected with the Manchu nationality. To illustrate, the *bo* (shaman of the Mongols) in Kerqin area use this kind of magic drums (Bai Cuiyeng et al. 1986:39).

Shape and Head

Similar with *zhuagus, dangus* can also be classified according to the shape they assume into the following categories: elliptic ones, round-fan-shaped ones, peach-shaped ones. Different from *zhuagu*, the horizontal diameter of *dangu* is longer than its vertical diameter and is often forty centimeters or so. The head of *dangu* is made of animal skin, such as that of cattle, sheep, ass, etc., with sheepskin as the most common one. Before being used as cover on a *dangu*, the animal skin must be immersed in water for some time to make it soft, and to make the head and the iron frame fit well, people often put a round of hemp rope between the head and the frame. In earlier days, the head of *dangu* was decorated with pictures, but now people seldom do so.

Handle and Frame

The frame is made of flat and thin iron bar and is about one cm wide, much narrower than the frame of *zhuagu*. It is made by bending an iron bar, whose remaining part is straightened and forms the handle, which is about twelve cm long. The handle is covered with cloth or thin animal skin, or sometimes with hemp ropes, so that it be comfortable for people to hold and the frame and the tail of the drum be connected.

Metal Jingles and Drum Tail

The metal jingles are indispensable parts. They are usually stringed together on iron bars in three groups, and when rocked, they bump each

11. *A Collection of Chinese Folk Songs.* (The volume for Liaoning province, the book for Fushun municipality.)

other, and clink. In order to improve the musical quality of the metal jingles; people cast the thin iron bars into the shape of a cuboid, and then twisted them, so that they may be capable of giving off clearer and louder sounds when being shaken. In a group, there are two to three metal jingles whose diameter is about four cm.

The design of the drum tail varies from region to region. Fig. 2–1 are metal jingles of the Liaodong type; Fig. 2–2 the Liaoxi type, Fig. 2–3 the Bejing type.



Fig. 2–1. Liaodong type



Fig. 2–2. Liaoxi type



Fig. 2–3. Bejing type

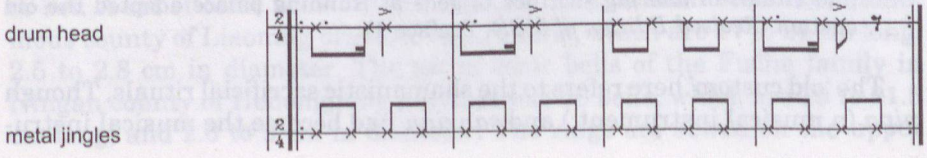
Drumbeater

The drumbeater of the *dangu* is made by cutting and carving wood arid bamboo sticks, and is much thinner than the drumsticks of the *zhuagu*. Its top is ground round, so that in the course of performance, it will not damage the drum head. The part near its top is often made thinner, in order that it may become more plastic. People usually tie colorful tassels made of strips of cloth to the tail of the drumbeater to make it beautiful. Larger dangus have longer and thicker drumbeaters, which are often twined with cloth strips.

Drumbeats

The main characteristic of the drumbeats of *dangu* is: the total number of strong beats in every unit of beat drumming is always odd, in other words, the groups of beats are based on an odd-numbered strong beat (Example 3). As *dangus* are smaller and lighter, and have handles; they can be manipulated more easily and thus are capable of producing more divermentos than *zhuagus*.

Example 3:
San bang gu (Fengcheng-tongyuanpu: Played by Liaoning Sun Fujun. Recorded by Liu Gui-teng. 1981)



Dangu also spreads among Eastern Asian countries, for example; *Binggus* (a kind of round-fan-shaped drums) (Yosigawa Hitehumi 1989:106; Hirano Kenzi 1984:337) in Japan belong to the category of *dangus*. *Binggus (tuan shan gu)* are different from Chinese *dangus*, they are more delicate and standardized, with wooden rather than iron handle; and carry no tails. Due to the scarcity of materials, we can not produce a satisfactory picture about the evolution of Chinese *dangus* and Japanese *binggus*; however, to carry out research in this field will be very interesting and quite worthwhile.

Similarities between *zhuagus* and *dangus* are: (1) they are both covered with animal skin on one side; (2) they are both round, have metal jingles, and are played with the help of drumsticks or drumbeaters; (3) their strong beats are all based on odd-numbered beats. Of course, there are some differences in the way to hold them and some other respects as well. But in spite of this, we can still say that they are closely related both in history and culture.

As to the evolutionary process of the *dangus* and *zhuagus*, there are not enough historical documents and archaeological findings to give us a full picture. But according to my view, judged from the different skills required to make them, the complexity of their shapes and the development of the technology of iron-smelting, *zhuagus* must have appeared earlier than *dangus*, and the latter must be a variant of the former and must have been made under the influence of other peoples' culture in the former's process of spreading.

The Waistbells *(yuoling)*

Waistbells, or *xisha* in the Manchu language. The main characteristic of Manchu shamanistic sacrificial rituals is to "use magic drums and waistbells simultaneously". For example, the shamanistic sacrificial instruments recorded in *History of Hulan Prefecture*, include *hama* sword (magic sword), *hongwu* (copper bells), *taigu* (a kind of drums), *zhaban, danhuangu* (a kind of drums with only one ring), waistbells, skirts etc. Even in shaman's sacrificial rituals in the court of Qing dynasty, waistbells were still preserved. It is known that the rituals of offering sacrifice to gods in Qing dynasty adopted the same rule and process of Ming dynasty (that is the rules and process of the Chinese),

> but only the rituals of offering sacrifice to Heaven at Tangzi [a place in Beijing] and rituals of offering sacrifice to gods at Kunning palace adopted the old custom (*Revised Edition of MSR*, Preface 1).

The 'old custom' here refers to the shamanistic sacrificial rituals. Though *pipa* (a musical instrument) and *sanxian* had become the musical instru-

ments in the sacrificial rituals in the court of Qing dynasty, magic drums and waistbells were still preserved. Fujia, a Manchu aristocrat, once described shaman's sacrificial rituals as:

> After a while, come two shaman ladies. They wear embroidered ropes, jewelleries, embroidered thick-soled shoes. One of them begins to play *sanxian*, another ties bunches of copperbells to her waist... (Pu Jia 1982:122).

These bunches of copperbells must be waistbells. Several editions of *MSR* all have pictures of waistbells, with clear explanation of their size. When performing, shamans tie them to their waists and sway their waists and hisps to make them clang. The rhythmic sound of waistbells, combined with the diversified melodies of the magic drums form the main body of the music in sacrificial rituals. Consequently, waistbells are considered to be an important musical instrument in shamanistic sacrificial rituals. They can be played by being swayed, vibrated or bounched on the ground.

Waistbells are made up of girdle, underskirt, conic bells and rings (Fig. 3).

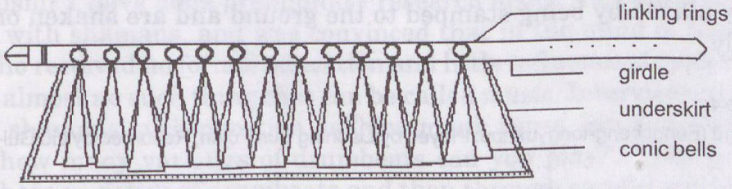


Fig. 3. Waistbells *(yaoling)*

Girdle and Underskirt

Connected with the underskirt, the girdle is made of animal skin, such as that of pigs, cattle or asses. The girdle of the waistbells recorded in *The Revised Edition of MSR* is 120 cm long The underskirt is 53 cm long, 27 cm wide, and on the upper part of it, is sewed the girdle, whose function is to tie the underskirt and conic bells to the shaman's waist. The length of the girdle depends on the shaman's waistline, and buckles are added to the girdle to button it. In earlier days there was perhaps no buckles, and shamans probably had to make a knot to fasten the girdle.

Conic Bells and the Linking Rings *(ji huan)*

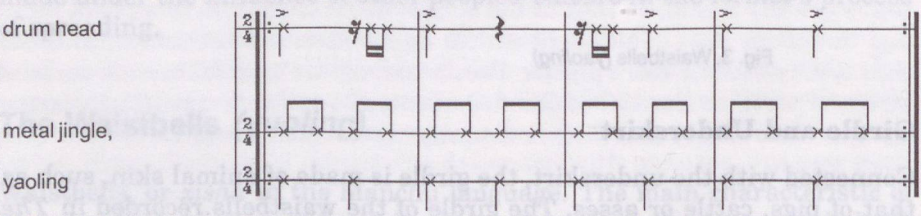
Waistbells are conic or tubular, and are made of iron or copper. They are about 20 cm long and 3 cm in diameter, and 10 to 50 of them form a group or set. A set of conic bells of the Xu family in Kuandian Manchu autonomous county of Liaoning province has 24 bells, which are 17 to 21 cm long, 2.5 to 2.8 cm in diameter. The set of conic bells of the Fucha family in Ningan county of Heilongjiang province has 40 bells, which are 19 to 21.5 cm long, and 2.6 to 3 cm in diameter. The rings are sewed on the upper

part of the underskirt, and the conic bells are tied to them with leather strips, usually one ring corresponds to one bell, or one ring corresponds to 2 to 3 bells. The distance between every bell is carefully designed, so that the sound it produced be melodious.

Music of the Waistbells

Seldom used alone, the waistbells are usually played together with magic drums (Example 4). Shamans play waistbells mainly by tying them to their bodies and sway their waists and hips, and as this is a little difficult, they only use waistbells to beat time, and the waistbells played in this way are called *bailing*, which in Chinese means bells played by being swayed. Sometimes, shamans hold waistbells in their hands and shake them. Waistbells played in this way are then called *yaoling*, which means that bells are played by being shaken; or sometimes, shamans play waistbells by bouncing them on the ground, therefore, waistbells played in this way are called *dunling*, which in Chinese it means bells played by being stamped. In a sacrificial ritual called *beidengji*, when lights are put out, waistbells are mainly played by being stamped to the ground and are shaken only occasionally.

Example 4:
Yaoling gu (Fengcheng-tongyuanpu: Played by Liaoning Sun Fujun, Recorded by Liu Gui-teng 1981)



Similar to other folk musical instruments, the making of waistbells varied from region to region.[12]

It is very interesting that the waistbells used in sacrificial rituals by the Mongols living in the Kerqin Grassland are copper mirrors rather than bells. There are nine mirrors of different sizes in a set, and they are stacked and tied to the girdle of the performer. The Japanese scholar Torn Rjutso

12. The waistbells in the court of Qing dynasty, in: *Revised edition of MSR*; The waistbells in Ning'an county, Heilongjiang; province recorded and measured by Liu Gui-teng in Aug. 28th, 1992. The waistbells in Kuandian county : owned by the Xu dan in Budayuan town, Kuandian Manchu autonomous county, Liaoning province; measured by Liu Gui-teng in Sept. 18th, 1992. The waistbells in Xinbin county; owned by the Wushu clan in Xiayingzi town, Xinbin Manchu autonomous county, Liaoning province; measured and recorded by Liu Gui-teng, in Oct. 6th 1992.

call waistbells of this kind 'waistmirrors'.[13] However, we still regard them as waistbells, because in terms of the mode of playing them (people play them by swaying their waists and hips), the mode of tying them (they are tied to the girdle of the performer), and their function (they are used to drive away demons), are similar to waistbells. Of course, the heart-defending mirrors on the shaman's chest and back and the copper mirrors held by the shaman can not be called waistbells, because they are not made to produce sound. It is said that some Oroqen shamans also use waistmirrors, but I have not seen this kind of performance, or found any record of this kind in historical documents.

The Role of the Instruments in the Shamanistic Ritual Music

Is there any formal concept of music in the vast and complicated system of shamanism? I have done preliminary research about this point in my interview with shamans, and was convinced that in the mind of those shamans who received no formal education and little influence of modern arts, there is almost no such thing that can be called music. Interviewers should not ask shamans such question as 'how many tunes can you play?' But rather 'how many varieties of drumbeats can you play?'. They can only record these varieties of drumbeats and then through careful study, try to find what is called 'tunes' in them. Otherwise they will confuse shamans or be confused by them. During one of my interviews, a clever shaman seemed to have understood what I called 'tune', and tried his best to play more than ten tunes. But, except the shaman's change of facial expression, I failed to find any alternation between these presumedly different tunes.

In terms of art forms, shamanistic music is a mixture of songs, dances, and music; in terms of culture, shamanistic music is a mixture of religion, folk customs, and art. For shamans, music is not an art form independent of life, rather it is life itself. In view of this, the music of shamanic sacrificial rituals becomes a special language to communicate with gods, the magic drums and waistbells being its vehicles. Perhaps, just because this somewhat superstitious view has been passed down from generation to generation, shamanistic music has survived many disasters and misfortunes. Since it can be easily perceived that the shamanistic view of music is quite unique.

Magic drums and waistbells are not only representative musical instruments of shamanistic sacrificial rituals, but also shamanistic sacrificial instruments to communicate with gods. If one does not understand this

13. Torn Rjutso, a Japanese scholar, said in *Study of Historical Heritage in Manchu and Mongolia* that this kind of mirrors is not for dressing, but is specially designed to be attached to the waist. So they are called waistbells, which are used for sacrifice.

point, one will not find their unpredictable, simple and wild music rather charming and moving. So, it is necessary 'to do research on the functions and influences of this music and the idea they express as sacrificial instruments, which can enable shamans to communicate with gods.

Mediator between Gods and Human Beings

As the shamanistic music is mainly used for religious purposes, it is not necessarily melodious, in fact, the most part of it is loud and noisy. So, in shamanistic music, melody is not fully developed, but varieties of drumbeats are extremely abundant, and play an important role in shamanistic sacrificial rituals. This is perhaps because ancient people believed that sounds of magic drums can enable them to establish contact with gods. For shamans, magic drums are not musical instruments, but rather instruments to talk with gods. Without them, they can not speak to gods, or invite gods to come down to earth, let alone getting inspirations and directions from them.

Atmosphere for Change of Identity

In sacrificial rituals, shamans experience a change of identity from man to god and from god to man, that is, in sacrificial rituals, they go through such a process as inviting gods to come down, becoming gods incarnate, giving orders and directions in the identity of gods, and then becoming man again. When it is supposed that shamans have become gods incarnate, their behaviour become agitated. At the same time, waistbells and magic drums give off a burst of rapid and violent sounds, form a mystical, enchanting and heavenly atmosphere, in which shamans feel themselves possessed and controlled by an ineffable yet intense passion and rise involuntarily towards the heaven. This psychological experience of shamans is not to be confined to himself, but to be imparted to others through the sound of magic drums, waistbells, songs and dances. Shamans give directions in the identity of a god, and their assistants (called *zailizi* in Chinese) explain these directions to others, and complete this process of turning an individual experience into a social one.

Weapons to Fight Devils

The phrase that 'the sound of magic drums is like thunder' reflects the view that shamans regard the sound of magic drums as thunder. Ivanov also thought that for many nationalities living around the Heilongjiang River, the sound of magic drums carries similar meaning that is it was regarded as the sound of thunder. Ivanov also thought that these peoples' was the earliest meaning for the sound magic drums.[14] However, the idea

14. Sun Yunlai (1990):246. In the course of my research on this subject, the Chinese version of S.V. Ivanov (1954) (ed. & trans. by Sun Yunlai) of *Collections of Materials of Plastic Arts of the Siberian Nationalities from the Nineteenth Century to the Twentieth Century* is

of drums as thunders was recorded long age in detail in Chinese ancient documents:

> the painter pictures thunder like two drums stacked together. [...] He does so because thunder is much like the sound of drums (Wang Chong 1979:314).

What is more, the ancient Chinese character *lei* (thunder) is just like two drums stacked together (Zhan Jinxin 1992:56). In fact, for the Manchu nationality, magic drums and their sounds mean much more than this. Magic drums are supposed to be able to imitate the sound of the gods (tigers, leopards, boars), which can help shamans to drive away demons. Especially accompanied by the sound of waistbells, the thundering magic drums fuse unlimited power and courage into shamans. So, when shamans find the monsters they are seeking, they will play the magic drums and waistbells more violently and forcefully to drive them away.

Not only do shamans and their disciples strongly believe in magic drums and waistbells as means of communication with gods, but so do the Chinese and Mongols in the North of China who live near or among the Manchu nationality.

Both the Chinese *tiaodasheng* and the Mongolian *tiaobo*, are shamanic sacrificial rituals used for treating the sick. They take over the Manchu shaman's magic drums and waistbells. The sacrificial ritual *dangu* in Hebei province and in suburbs of Beijing, though has become quite different from Manchu rituals in their process of spreading. In these areas Shamans still use magic drums and waistbells as a means to communicate with gods or as a symbol of gods' might.

In the sacrificial ritual *dangu*, the simultaneous use of the magic drums and waistbells are still the main musical instruments. *Shengjiangs* (counterpart of shamans) use magic drums and waistbells to invite gods to come down, to eulogize gods, to see gods off and to drive demons away. Though *shengjiangs* do not go through the stage of becoming gods incarnate, they are as agitated as shamans in the process of *pao wang hun quan zi* (descent to the underworld) and *pao tian men quan zi* (ascent to heaven), due to the influence of magic drums and waistbells. *Dangu* is widely practiced among the Chinese in the Northeast China and the Chinese who had been organized into the Manchu governmental system *(han jun qi ren)*. The evidences for its derivation from the Manchu shamans' sacrificial rituals

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an indispensable reference book. For the materials collected and recorded by the author Ivanov, with considerable efforts, especially that about the shamanistic musical instruments used by some nationalities living around the Heilongjiang (Amur) river in China and in Russia, we can not find proofs of them in reality. But as these nationalities have lived together with the Manchurian people for a long time, and have influenced each other a lot culturally, the materials recorded in Ivanov's monumental work form an extremely valuable consulting source for my work on the history and present situation of Manchu sacrificial rituals. Many inferences and comparisons in this thesis have been drawn from this book, and here I pay tribute to this great ethnologist.

can still be perceived during ritual performances. The most important connections between them is the simultaneous use of waistbells and magic drums. As I have discussed it in my work *Research on the Music of Dangu* (Liu Gui-teng 1991:11–15), I will not touch this subject here.

In the sacrificial activity called *taipinggu*, the only musical instrument is *dangu*, which was brought by the Manchu through Liaodong area, Liaoxi area, Hebei province and finally appeared around the Beijing area, following the same route along which the Manchu nationality went to Beijing from their an native place. As they had conquered China twice by this road, their belief — shamanism — must have also influenced people living near this route. But once separated from the great mountains and rivers, from the political, economic and cultural context where it germinated and flourished, it seemed to have lost its strength. In fact, in the vast Han-inhabited areas south to the Great Wall, shamanism received violent attacks from the Chinese feudal culture, Buddhism and Taoism, and is believed only by a very small number of people. However, the magic drums taken from the shamans are still preserved and even had become past of a widely beloved folk ritual in the North of China, which is held in January, a slack season in farming. Different from the shaman's rituals and the sacrificial activity named *dangu*, the folk drum performance called *taipinggu* only retains magic drums, and the rest of it has nothing to do with sacrificial activities. However, the people's purpose of organizing and taking part in it is still to pray for peace. For shamans, waistbells and magic drums are their means to communicate with gods.

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Ancient Hungarian Folk Songs and Shamanic Songs of Minorities of North China

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About 30 years ago, when I did my field work among Yugurs living in the Hexi corridor, Gansu province, Tova, a famous Yugur singer and shaman sung some shamanic songs for me. His songs had the short-fore and long-rear rhythm style, and a special pentatonic scale. At that time the style of those songs reminded me of some melodies of Béla Bartók's piano pieces written for children. A question arose in my mind: Why are the Yugur songs so similar to Bartók's pieces?

I decided to study the issue to answer this question.

At that time I was a student at North-West Normal University in Lanzhou, Gansu province. After I graduated from the university and became a musicologists, I did my field work in the north of China and visited a great many villages and studied the traditional music of many Altaic languages speaking nationalities living in this area.

There are 18 minorities living in the north of China whose languages belong to the Altaic family. They are: Uigur, Salar, Uzbek, Kazak, Tatar, Kirgiz, Mongolian, Tu, Dongxiang, Daur, Bonan, Manchu, Xibo, Oroqen, Evenki, and Yugur (Ma 1989:449). Although some nationalities among them are Muslims (Uygur, Kazak, Tatar, Kirgis, Uzbek, Dongxiang, Salar, and Bonan), and Lamaists (Mongolian, Yugur and Tu), in the ancient times the ancestors of all of them were believers of shamanism (Renqin and Lang 1990:1). So the elements of the shamanic culture forms the oldest stratum of their tradition. During the past 30 years of my research, I found that shamanic songs belong to the most ancient stratum of their musical tradition.

From 1987 to 1988, I was in Budapest as a visiting scholar at the Musicology Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. During that time, I also went to many Hungarian and Slovakian villages to collect Hungarian folk songs. In the archives of the Institute, I also conducted extensive research on the materials which were collected by Béla Bartók, Zoltán Kodály, and other Hungarian musicologists, and carefully studied the ancient stratum of Hungarian folk songs.

After having had the opportunity to do all this work, I think I can try to give an answer to the above question. Let us start with some basic information concerning the musical tradition of the Hungarians and the minority peoples living in the north of China.

The Characteristics of Ancient Hungarian Folk Songs

In his book *A magyar népdal* (Hungarian Folk Songs) published in Hungarian in Budapest in 1924, Béla Bartók groups the "materials of Hungarian peasant melodies" into three categories: (a) Old-style melodies, (b) New-style melodies, and (c) Melodies belonging to neither of the former two, and which cannot be classified as uniform in style (Sárosi 1986:46).

Zoltán Kodály published his book, *A magyar népzene* (Folk Music of Hungary) in 1937 and in this book he gave the chapter on old Hungarian folk songs the title "The Primitive Stratum of Hungarian Folk Music" instead of the term "Old style". In the chapter, Kodály points out that,

> it is a stratum characterized by the pentatonic scale and by repetition of the first phrase at the fifth below" (Kodály 1982: 24).

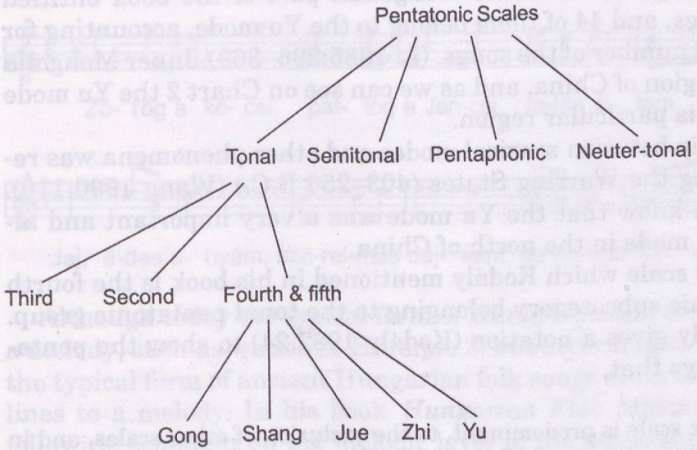
Here, Kodály did not classify the pentatonic scales so his words were misunderstood. Consequently, many believed and still believe, that there is only one pentatonic scale, and it can be found everywhere in the world. Actually this is a misconception.

As far as we know, there are four different pentatonic scales in the musics of the world (see Chart 1). They are: (1) tonal pentatonic scales, (2) semitonal pentatonic scales, (3) pentaphonic scales, and (4) neuter-tonal penta scales. Each of these has several subcategories. For example, there are three different scale variations in the tonal pentatonic scales. These are: a) the third pentatonic, b) the second pentatonic, and the c) fourth and fifth pentatonic. Moreover, there are five different modes in the c, group. In Chinese, they are called Gong, Shang, Jue, Zhi and Yu. Hungarian musicologists call them pentatonic do, re, me, sol and la (Du 1993).

The flow chart below demonstrates the breakdown of the pentatonic scales of the world. It also shows exactly which specific kind of penta scale is shared by the Altaic language speaking peoples musical tradition, including the shamanic songs under discussion here, and the most ancient musical tradition of the Hungarians. It is imperative that we understand this basic fact so that we can follow the thought of this study.

In ancient Chinese musicological theory, these five different modes are connected to: five different directions of the compass, elements, planets, constellations, colours, and different internal organs of the human body (Wang 1991:111). This organizing of natural phenomena into five categories is a part of an elaborate system of the ancient Chinese world-view and philosophy, that emphasizes the point that everything in the universe is harmoniously related to each other. Chart 2 shows the groupings.

***Chart 1.* The Classification of Pentatonic Scales**



Although musicologists have not yet uncovered the principles governing the relationship between modes and elements, planets, constellation, colours, and the internal human organs, the connections between the musical modes and the directions of the compass have been researched by many musicologists. They have demonstrated that there is a definite relationship between the musical modes and various geographic areas. Their work shows that despite the fact that in a region where various modes of the tonal pentatonic scales exist side by side, peoples living in different regions may in fact favour one mode over the others. For example, the south is related to the Zhi mode (see chart above). According to Yang's research, in some southern provinces of China, the Zhi mode is dominant, and folk songs in this mode account for 70% of the total number of folk songs, whereas the other four modes together make up only 30% (Yang 1988).

***Chart 2.* The Relationship between Musical Modes and Other Subjects**

Modes	Juë (mi)	Zhi (sol)	Gong (do)	Shang (re)	Yu (la)
Materials	wood	fire	earth	metal	water
Directions	east	south	centre	west	north
Planets	Jupiter	Mars	Saturn	Venus	Mercury
Constel.	blue	red	yellow	white	black
	dragon	bird	dragon	tiger	tortoise
Colours	blue	red	yellow	white	black
Organs	liver	heart	spleen	lung	kidney

Another example is the mode of the Mongolian folk songs. There are 79 Mongolian folk songs in the Inner Mongolian part of the book entitled *Chinese Folk Songs*, and 44 of them belong to the Yu mode, accounting for 55.6 % of the total number of the songs. (Li 1985:296–369). Inner Mongolia is the northern region of China, and as we can see on Chart 2 the Yu mode is connected to this particular region.

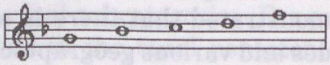
The relationship between musical modes and other phenomena was recorded first during the Warring States (403–256 B.C.) (Wang 1990:110). From this we can know that the Yu mode was a very important and already established mode in the north of China.

The pentatonic scale which Kodály mentioned in his book is the fourth and fifth pentatonic subcategory belonging to the tonal pentatonic group. In the book Kodály gives a notation (Kodály 1982:24) to show the pentatonic scale and says that,

> The pentatonic scale is predominant, to the exclusion of other scales, and in a form without semitones which appears to be native to Turco-Tartar peoples living on the steppes of Central Asia as far east as China. (Kodály 1982:24).

This is the notation which Kodály gives:

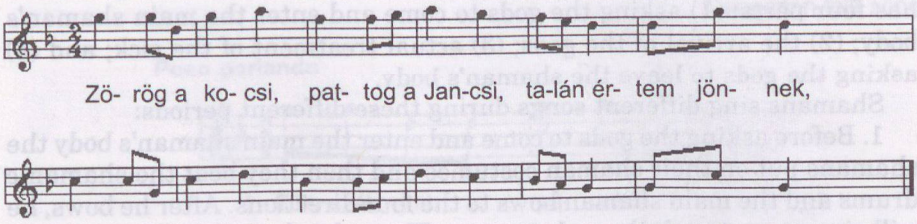
Example 1:



What is of outmost significance here is that this particular pentatonic scale can not be found anywhere in the world, except in America, the north of China, throughout Central Asia to the Volga valley, and in Hungary. According to ancient Chinese musical theory, it is the Yu mode which is connected to the north.

The second characteristic of what Kodály called the "primitive stratum" of Hungarian folk songs is the fifth construction. A typical example of this melodic structure is a Hungarian folk song "Zörög a kocsi", Example 2 (Kodály 1982:24). Its melody employs a downward quint shift, that is, the second half of the melody is by and large identical with the first half, repeated a fifth lower. Marking the melodic lines with capital letters, the form of the melodic structure would be: A5 Av5 A Av (v representing minor melodic divergences or variations).

Example 2: "Zörög a kocsi", Hungarian folk song



Although today the typical form of Hungarian folk songs is four lines to a melody, such as we see in Example 2, but according to Bartók's research the typical form of ancient Hungarian folk songs seem to have had but two lines to a melody. In his book *Hungarian Folk Music*, Bartók adds the following comment on the melodic layer of the quint-shifting structure:

> Only in a marginal note dare I deal with the somewhat daring supposition whether it was not the A5 B5 A B structure, or indeed, an even simpler form of it — A Av5 A Av — which was the most ancient structure of Hungarian peasant melodies, and whether it was not out of this that the A B C D, that is, the more complicated manner of construction later developed. The thing might be conceived in a way that originally there only existed two-line melodies with a structure of A Av or A B, and later, due to some reason or other, they became longer, turning into four- line ones by having the original two lines, that is the whole melody, repeated a fifth lower" (in Sárosi 1986:47).

Shamanic Songs of the Minorities of North China

Today, there are six minorities that still practice shamanism in China. They are Manchu, Xibo, Oroqen, Evenki, Hezhe, and Daur. Their languages belong to the Manchu-Tungusic group of the Altaic family except for the Daur which belongs to the Mongolian group. They all live in north east China except some Xibo and Daur people living in Xinjiang. Besides these six minorities, many Mongolians, Yugurs, and Tus are believers of shamanism. Shamanic songs can be found among the above nine nationalities. Although there are various remnants of shamanism among the Muslim nationalities such as the Uigurs, Kazaks, Kirgiz, and Uzbek, there are hardly any shamanic songs to be found because of the strong Islamic cultural influence they underwent in the 8–10th centuries .

A shamans' activity can be divided into three parts: (1) Holding a ceremony to offer sacrifices to gods or ancestors; (2) Practising divination; and (3) healing the sick. Among the three today, the most important function is the one used to treat the sick. This activity needs at least two sha-

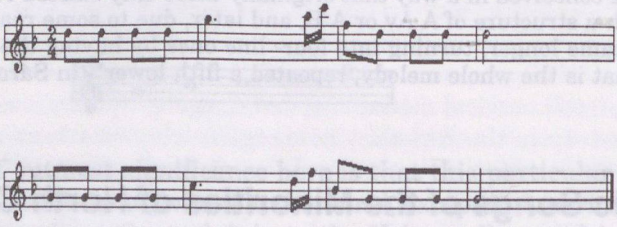
mans — one main shaman and an assistant. Sometimes, a main shaman has as many as two to four assistants. The procedure of treating the sick has four parts: (1) asking the gods to come and enter the main shaman's body; (2) the arrival of the gods; (3) actual treatment of the sick; and (4) asking the gods to leave the shaman's body.

Shamans sing different songs during these different periods:

1. Before asking the gods to come and enter the main shaman's body the shamans put on their shaman costumes and then they beat the shamanic drums and the main shaman bows to the four directions. After he bows, he will sing songs to ask the gods to come. The gods whom the shamans asks are various sorts: the god of the heaven, Buddha, ancestors, his teachers and the gods guarding the shaman. The songs of this period are called 'songs inviting the gods'. These are very beautiful and melodious. Shamans believe that the gods love to listen to the beautiful melodies and they will come when they hear them. Generally speaking, these melodies have two phrases:

Example 3: Please come, my gods!

Mongolian Shamanic song

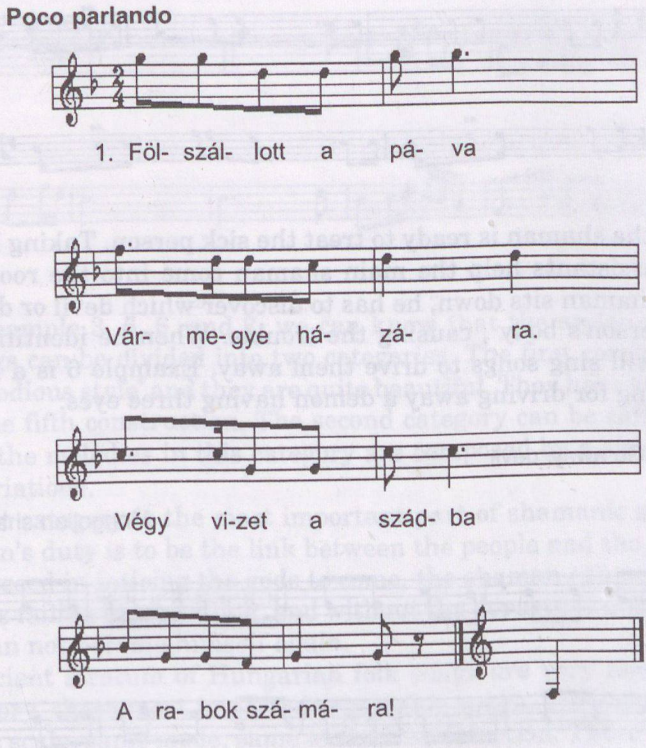


Example 3 is a Mongolian shaman song asking the gods to come. It uses the fourth and fifth pentatonic of the tonal pentatonic scale, and the Yu mode. Besides these two characteristics, it uses the fifth construction which has two phrases, the second phrase being the repetition of the first one a fifth lower. All three characteristics are the same as those of the ancient Hungarian folk songs and it is very similar to one Hungarian folk song called "Fölszállott a páva" (Example 4): both use the same pentatonic, the same Yu mode, have the same melodious construction and even their ending notes are the same.

Example 3 and 4 are just like two different variations of one melody:

Example 4: "Fölszállott a páva" (Olsvai 1987:144)

Hungarian folk song

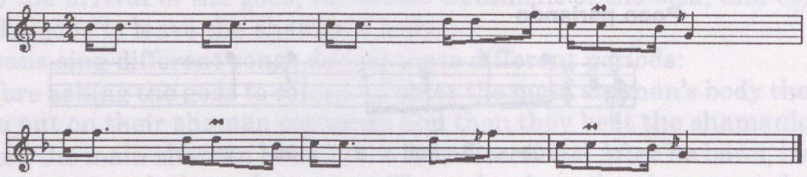


2. When the gods' soul enters the main shaman's body, the words to the shamans' songs become more simple, and phrases are short and repetitive. Generally speaking, the songs of this period only have one phrase and the melodies are very closely linked to the intonation of the texts. The main shaman's movements become quicker and stronger. Finally he becomes very agitated and runs out of the house or tent and falls to the ground. That means the gods' spirit has entered the shaman's body. After the shaman wakes up, he can treat the sick people.

Example 5, an Oroqen shaman song from this period, uses the fourth and fifth pentatonic belonging to the tonal pentatonic and adopts the Yu mode. It has no fifth construction since it has only one phrase. However, but it uses the long-fore and short-rear rhythm pattern which is very common in ancient Hungarian folk songs.

Example 5: Gods come

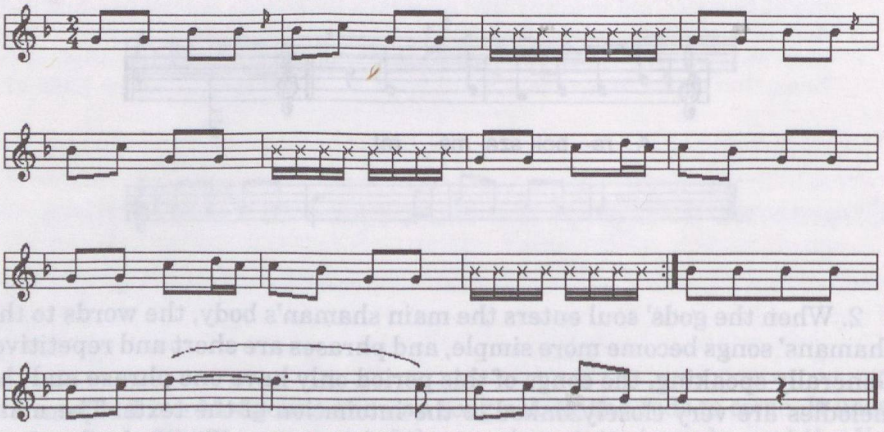
Oroqen shamanic song



Now the shaman is ready to treat the sick person. Taking him by the arm, the assistants help the main shaman come into the room or tent. After the shaman sits down, he has to discover which devil or demon is in the sick person's body , causing the trouble. When he identified the demons, he will sing songs to drive them away. Example 6 is a Mongolian shaman song for driving away a demon having three eyes:

Example 6: Go away, devil

Mongolian shamanic song

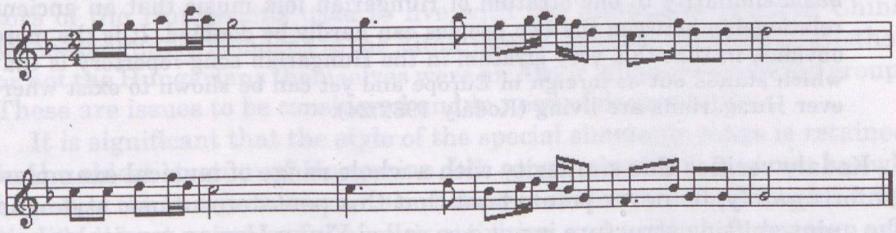


This song is accompanied by a drums and it has only one phrase just like Example 5. Its melody is connected to the intonation of the texts.

4. When the sick has been treated, the shaman will ask people if they have other problems which need the help of the gods. If the people say no, the shamans will ask the gods' souls to leave him. This time the shamans sing some very beautiful melodies again. The style is very similar to the songs asking the gods to come:

Example 7: Seeing the gods off

Mongolian shamanic song



From example 3, 5, 6, and 7, we can know that the styles of the shamans' songs can be divided into two categories. The first category can be called 'melodious style' and they are quite beautiful. They have two phrases and use the fifth construction. The second category can be called 'speech style' and the melodies in this category are composed by a simple phrase and its variations.

The first category is the most important part of shamanic songs since the shaman's duty is to be the link between the people and the gods. If he cannot succeed in inticing the gods to come, the shaman can not treat the people thus failing in his calling, and without the departure of the gods the shaman can not become himself again.

The ancient stratum of Hungarian folk songs are very similar to the first category, these most important shamanic songs. They use the same pentatonic scale, same mode, same melody construction. There is only one difference in the form: while the shamanic songs have two lines, the majority of Hungarian folk songs today have four lines. Exceptions to these are the two line songs of the Csángos. According to Bartók's research the songs having two lines are older than those having four lines, so we know the oldest form is kept in the shamanic songs as well as a few Hungarian tunes.

The Question and the Answer

A nationality's music is linked with her history. The history of Hungarian music, however, cannot have been different from that of the people. Kodály said, "Wherever the people went, and at whatever pace they developed, music went with them" (Kodály 1982:23). Therefore, we can trace the history of the Hungarians through their folk songs.

In his book *Folk Music of Hungary*, in tracing the course of development of the Hungarian people and language, Kodály's attention was captured by

the music of the Cheremiss (Mari), living in the Central Volga region. He stated:

> What has so far been discovered of their music has shown such surprising basic similarity to one stratum of Hungarian folk music that an ancient relationship between the two peoples can hardly be doubted. It is the more obvious, in that this very stratum in the Hungarian song-repertory is that which stands out as foreign in Europe and yet can be shown to exist wherever Hungarians are living (Kodály 1982:24).

Kodály verifies this similarity with a whole range of musical examples. Unfortunately, he never pointed out that this pentatonic music style and the quint-shifting structure is not a so called Finno-Ugrian musical inheritance (to use the linguistic term for peoples given them by linguists).

Among the Finno-Ugrian language speaking nationalities, this music style can only be found among the Cheremiss, and according to Bálint Sárosi's study, indeed only among part of the Cheremiss people — the mountain Cheremiss (Sárosi 1986:46).

László Vikár did his field work in the easternmost perimeter of the European part of the Russia between 1958 and 1979. He published a series of records and several books about Finno-Ugrian and Turkic folk music in the Volga-Kama-Belaya region. According to his study, the pentatonic scale and descending melodic lines, have been transmitted by Turkic peoples to the Finno-Ugrians. Those peoples of the Finno-Ugrian language-family who live in areas not infiltrated by Turkic populations have, up to the present, no knowledge either of pentatony or of descending lines (Vikár 1971:21).

Although Vikár never states it clearly, his observations point to the conclusion that the music style of Hungarian and Cheremiss folk songs is not the heritage of the Finno-Ugrian language speakers, and the Volga valley is not the original home land of this style. It also shows the Hungarian music culture does not belong to the Finno-Ugrian language family, and therefore further suggests that the Volga valley was not their original homeland, either.

According to my study, the fifth construction is an archaic layer of the musical tradition of the Altaic family (Du 1992), and according to Vikár's research we can know that Cheremiss people received the musical tradition from Turkic people. The question is how could the Hungarians have become members of the Altaic musical community?

We have mentioned that ancient Hungarian songs are similar to the most important shamanic songs of the northern Chinese minorities. This fact shows that both Hungarian and north minorities of China belonged to a very special musical tradition and both of them have kept this tradition for thousands of years. The Hungarians kept the tradition in their folk songs, and the north minorities kept the tradition in both their folk songs and shamanic songs. The similarity between Hungarian folk songs and shamanic songs would strongly suggest that the Hungarians, together with

a fragment of the north minorities of China, acquired this musical style in their original home and preserved it practically unchanged ever since.

Because of this new evidence of the style of shamanic songs from north Chinese minorities, we must consider the strong possibility that the ancestors of the Hungarians used to live with the minorities of north China whose languages belonged to the Altaic family. Another question is whether or not the Hungarians themselves were an Altaic language speaking group. These are issues to be considered and in need of deeper study.

It is significant that the style of the special shamanic songs is retained in the oldest stratum of Hungarian folk songs, since it is common knowledge that the Hungarians were also believers of shamanism. Though Christianity did not approve of shamanic activities, and much documentary evidence exists of its persecution by the Church, this music style did not disappear after more than 1000 years. It is also worthy of mention that according to the research of Roheim and Diószegi, the shamanic tradition of the Hungarians is more closely linked to that of the Altaic peoples than to the Uralic groups.

Conclusion

Some shamanic songs use the fifth construction, and careful examination and analysis has demonstrated that the shamanic songs of only those nationalities whose most ancient homeland was located around the Baikal, Outer Baikal, Mongolian Plateau, the Amur an the Erguna Rivers, have this unique construction. Moreover it can be demonstrated that the ancient peoples who lived in the northern area of the Mongolian plateau and the Northern bank of the Amour River were the creators of the descending quint shift (Du 1993).

According to Chinese traditional music theory, the Yu mode belongs to the north. In ancient times (at least as early as Warring States) the north referred to the areas outside the Great Wall, and the Mongolian Plateau including the Baikal and Outer Baikal. The Baikal Lake was called 'Beihai" that meant 'the sea in the north" in ancient Chinese (Feng 1982:9). And indeed, it seems the ancient Chinese were right; it is exactly in these areas that the Yu mode is widespread even today.

It is amazing that the homeland of the fifth construction and the homeland of the Yu mode cover the same area. I think this is also the area of the Hungarians' 'original home". I have even more reason to think this, since the most ancient stratum of the Hungarian folk music is the one shared with the minorities of north China, and not with the Finno-Ugric traditions. This fact cannot be simply explained away by claiming that the Hungarians lost their original Finno-Ugric musical tradition when about 500 B.C. they became part of the Turkic cultural sphere. Such claim needs to be verified. Thus far no such verification exists.

Kodály said that

> time may have wiped away the Eastern features from the face of the Hungarian community, but in the depth of its soul, where the springs of music lie, there still lives an element of the original East, which links it with peoples whose language it has long since ceased to understand, and are today so different in mind and spirit (Kodály 1982:38).

The similarities between Hungarian folk songs and shamanic songs that look back upon great antiquity in north China give us much information about Hungarian ancient history. These shamanic songs are such 'an element of the original East". We need to pay more attention to these new data when formulating ancient Hungarian history.

Although there is a relationship between music and language, music does not equal language. We have to research music according to musical methodology, allowing the data and facts to speak for themselves. Music research cannot be — indeed it must not be — dictate by linguistic conclusions.

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Why Does Nanai Shaman Chant?

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According to the most popular conception a shaman beats the drum and chants to draw spirits attention. Indeed, the bearers of the tradition affirm, that if someone would like to be heard by spirits he should not speak appealing to them, but sing. Spirits do not take in a usual speech, but they hear incantation and chanting and melodious speech well. The shaman recitative chanting *yayaory* reaches them most easily. It is so reliable a means to attract the spirits attention, and its intonations power is such, that shamans are fearful to use it in vain. A person, who is not a shaman really, never sings the way a shaman does. The spirits as if see to it themselves. It occured for example that some young atheisticly-minded people (amateur actors) dared to sing on the stage in the shaman way and they fainted away just there. Thus the spirits having responded to their unconscious call, expressed their displeausure, that uninitiated people disturbed them for nothing.

The shaman *yayaory* chanting intonations and those of the available *dzariory* lyric singing easily understood by everybody are considerable different. *Yayaory* is a recitative and improvising singing. Intonation reiteration often is not used in it, and every melodic line forms itself as a new one. But *dzariory* is melodious, it is based on reiteration. Knowing this difference contemporary amateur actors do not altogether refuse to perform shamans on the stage, but limit themselves to the drum and clanging with metal pendants on the belt. But they avoid naming the spirits and singing as a shaman does, resorting to the combination, which is absurd from the point of view of the tradition, but quite safe for the actors: to the singing *dzariory* tunes to the accompaniment of a drum.

In spite of the fact, that *dzariory* is not addressed to the spirits it is still a singing, and any singing, according to the bearers' oppinion, is open to the spirits' perception. That is why, singing even ordinary not shaman tunes, a singer takes some precautions that manifest themselves in certain vetos. It is not permitted, for example, to sing while eating, because the spirits having been attracted by singing could pass into the singer's or of the hearers' body together with food and cause some diseases. It is prohibited to sing after darkness has come on, when the spirits most dangerous for people rise from their places and liven up. It is not allowed also to

sing during a wedding. The spirits drawn by the sounds of music may cause the newly-married couple some grief later. (The special wedding chanting incantation did not belong to the *dzariory* style and were not considered songs as such.)

Thus any Nanai singing and first of all Nanai shaman chant can draw the spirits attention. And yet, it is not the only singing function. It is obvious in such cases when the shaman makes use of magic to do harm to some souls, or by such manipulations with spirits that are against the spirits' will. In these cases it is rather the influence on the spirits and not talking with them, that is important. As in the long and complicated shaman ceremonies both of the shaman chanting functions (conveying some information to them and the influence on them) supplement each other and get entagled it would be better to deal with them showing simpler pre-shaman rites[1] as examples.

There is no singing as such in the Nanai pre-shamanic rites. They are not intoned like speech or like song. It is pre-song. One can notice two forms of such pre-song intonations: there is melodious speech intoning of ritual invocations and lamenting one of burial and funeral rites. Lamenting intonation is the means of talking with a soul of a dead person. Even the expression of the performer's own mood is appealed to this soul, being a means of intercourse. Performing ritual invocations with different hunting, fishing, medical and such like purposes performers attach not much importance to that part of the text that is pronounced like a speech. It is possible to reduce this part. The main part of the text is the special non-semantic words-tunes. (They always are pronounced melodiously and are never used in other cases beyond the rite.) Just these words-tunes combined with certain ritual gestures influence the spirits.

Thus, wishing to prevent or to stop a rain some Nanais capable of it performed the rite *pulediury*. A performer appealed to the animated clouds, constantly interrupting his speech with melodiously pronounced word *puaeh* that was accompanied by gestures as it dispersing the clouds with alternating movements of the arms.

Tugde, puaeh, holiru.	Rain' *puaeh*, go round.
Horgialy-gda holiru, puaeh.	Go round with the thunder, *puaeh*.
Puaeh, yaogily-gda yaliru.	*Puaeh*, Go away with the rolling.
Puaeh, yaogily-gda yalikany.	*Puaeh*, it has gone away with the rolling.
Pueah, gorola holiru.	*Puaeh*, go round far.
Gorola enuru, puaeh.	Go far, *puaeh*.
Puaeh, holiru, yaogili-gda yaliru, yaliha.	*Puaeh*, go round, go away with rolling. it has gone away.

1. The dividing line between pre-shamanic and shaman rites was made by G. M. Vasilevitch (Vasilevitch 1974) on Evenk material and then by A. V. Smolyak (Smolyak 1971) on Nanai material.

Puaeh, holiru.
Puril mangalaha.
Pueah, yaliru, yaogily-gda
yaliru.

Puaeh, go away.
(We, your) children have got tired.
Puaeh, go away, go away with
rolling.[2]

It is considered that the animated clouds can perceive first of all the alliteration in the text (it attracts their attention) and the word-tune *puaeh*. Performers assert, that this word is intelligible to the spritis. This word and similar ones are as if words of the spirit tongue. The phonetic and intonation pattern of this word refelcts and complements the trajectory of the gestures driving the clouds away.

Performing the *tsecteriury* rite a person feeds some spirit (for example, the owner of hunting forest *Podza* placed in the flame of the fire). He throws into the fire a pinch of boiled rice or sprays some vodka in its direction. Every throwing gesture is accompanied with the word-tune *tseah*.

Tseah, Podza, baro.
Tsecteriy. Boa pulcidueny embe dzakangoy-da lak-lak icheundu.
Tseah, Podza, hay unguesy, hamacha unguesy edy mangasoanda.
Tasok-tasok, tseah, bavando.

Tseah, Podza, take it.
I feed you (perform the *tsecteriury* rite). While I go about my hunting forest show me something at least by chance.
Tseah, Podza, whatever you answer me, however you answer me, do not make me troubles.
Let (the animal) be given me, *tseah*, just in the right time.[3]

The melodious intonation of the word-tune is the indispensable result of the syncretic blending of the gesture trajectiry and the sound pattern of the word. It as if lengthens the gesture, makes it longer, enabling it to penetrate the other world. It makes it capable of reach in not the cloud or the flame along, but the animated substance of this cloud that is placed beyond the material world, and the spirit *Podza* dwelling in the flame. So the musical intonation is the means to overcome the barrier separating the worlds, it is the way to penetrate the other world. But both the possibility to be heard by the other world dweller and the chance to influence it is the only a consequence of such a penetration.

It should be noted, it is only relatively superficial penetration into the spirits world, that pre-shamanic rites are capable of. Both the performer and the addresse of the rite stay in their respective worlds, not daring to move into the opposite one. It is caused by the fact that pre-shamanic rites

2. The rite was recorded from Ulyana S. Beldi in Iskra village of Khabarovsk region of Russia in 1981.
3. The rite was recorded from the shaman Toyo P. Beldi in Sinda village of Khabarovsk region in 1981.

are performed, as a rule, for preternatural beings (animate nature, human and animal souls, which are fixed in space and linked with definite material objects).

The dissemination of shamanism among Nanais opened them the opportunities to associate with another category of spirits that are moblie to a considerably greater degree and are not permanently attached to any material object. So the shaman ceremony performer was required not only to overcome the barrier, separating the worlds, but also to adapt himself to the spirits mobility. This task was coped with in two different ways. Either the performer brought the spirit into a material object (into the spirit's image or into the performer's body) and thus made him stop. Or the person (his spirit) penetrated the spirits' world and moved there himself running the addresse down and pursueing him.

The shaman rite magic action remained the same as in the pre-shaman one, but was intensified. (The performer did not just need to reach the other world, but penetrate inside it.) That required the appropriate intensification of those traits of the structure, which were regarded as magically active by the tradition's bearers. The drum and the shaman belt with the clanging metal pendants began to be used. Incantated speech was replaced by chanting, but this chant intonations bear a resemblance to the incantation and lament intonations of the pre-shaman rites and differ from them only by the scale and the rhythmic organisation coordinated with drum strokes.

Such a way to intensify the magic contained in the transition from incantation and lamentation to the singing could be one of the ways of the musical intonation origination.

The bearers treat the shaman chant as something issued from the spirits. Chant does not depend on a shaman's ability, knowledge and strength. Even those shamans, who hardly put their thoughts into words, become eloquent and for hours improvise the text which is quite satisfactory in the artistic respect, having taken the drum. The shaman A. Kotkin spoke about it in the following way:

> When I play the drum, my tongue gets loosen, I know everything that should be said. The worlds run of their own accord. But when I do not shamanise I speak little, slowly and badly (Smolyak 1991:236–237).

The shaman Gara Geyker said:

> Where could all these words come to me from? The *seven* (spirit) utters them himself. But for him, I would never chant so much and well.[4]

4. The information was recorded from the shaman Gara Geyker in Daerge village of Khabarovsk region in 1984.

Not knowing other languages at all, the shaman can chant for a long time in Manchurian or in Udekhe or in some other tongue. The chant becomes as if an instrument, whose aid enables a spirit to act inside the shaman body. Even being weak because of the old age and diseases, the shaman feels a burst of energy by alter he begins shamanising and for a long time chants, dances and surprises a stranger by his power.

One of the rites, that are attended by introduction of spirits into the material world is sacrificing. According to Nanai ideas, the spirits like to regale themselves on blood and entrails of a sacrificed animals, on vodka, spider's web, rare roots and some other quite material substances. One can pass such food to them only by introducing them into the material world. Some of the spirits involved in that feast of a rite, are placed at a small laid table as their images (carved out of wood clad and decorated with shavings). Other ones move by turn into the shaman body and receive food at the moment an assistant puts a pinch of food into the shaman's mouth. Such alternating incarnation of spirits in the shaman body is quite obvious for the people around, for each of them behaves so differently. One of them champs greedily, and with relish, another one is not able to keep on his legs because of old age, some gets tipsy after a single sip of vodka and reels, some guest feels himself the master of the situation and sits down straight on the floor and waits for the food without vouchsafing the people by coming to the laid table himself. Dyring this rite the shaman chants, beating the drum, and goes from the door to the table and back dancing and clanging with metal pendants. The beating of the drum should be permanent. Even at the moment when the shaman puts his drum aside to give the assistant the opportunity to put a pinch of food into his mouth he should not interrupt the drum sound. Not being able to strike in the middle of the drum at that time, the shaman continues to knock on the drum rim, thinking at that moment not about the uniformity of the rhythm, but about duration and continuousness of the drum sound. Beating the drum is the shaman's means to keep the spirit inside (or near) him. Even a momentary stopping of this sound causes the spirits (according to the shaman's oppinion) to leave the shaman having had no time to get the food intended for him and leave being unsatisfied, hence eager to revenge himself on the unlucky shaman.

Just as the spirit's presence in the shaman body is involuntarily manifested in his behaviour, the shaman chanting and drum beating are also something that issues not from the shaman himself, but independently of his will come from the supernatural participants of the feast. The most noticeable musically is the appearance of Manchurian spirits who bring ethnically original, evidently not Nanaian rhythm along with them. The other spirits' tunes are more neutral. But among them there are some individual ones as well. For example, the spirit *ngewen*, dwelling in the mountains comes with the specific exclamation *hogogo-hogogo*, inherent in him alone. Having come into the shaman's body and approached the laid

table, some spirits are as if unable to supress their impatience and willing to taste the food prepared for them, and loudly (with ascending glissando) scream out, chant out the word-tune *hey*. All this looks like the spirits' involuntary audible manifestations, their presence outward manifestation.

The contrary shaman method use of chanting as a means of penetration into the spirits' world and of advance there — is employed first of all when the shaman has to look for the soul of a sick person or of a dead one lost in the spirits' world. Such a rite travel through the spirits' world is the rite *taochiory*. During it the spirit of the shaman, who chants in a dark room, with assistance of spirits gets to the patient's yard and finds himself there in the sphere of the patient's dreams and at the same time in the past which is significant for his illness progress. He searches out the being, who has taken the sick person's soul, in his corresponding dream. Then the shaman follows in the tracks of this being farther through the space of the patient's dreams, through different events of this various dreams. Having found the lost soul the shaman spirits run with it from the pursuit and places it in a special safe refuge. The *ningmachiory* fortune telling belongs to the rites of this type, with the shaman continuing himself to making a 'diagnosis', identifying the whereabout of the soul of a lost or a sick person. Some episodes of the big shaman *kasa* ceremony (sending the souls of the deceased to the world of death *buni*, namely searching for the souls of the dead or travel with them along the road to the *buni* apertain to rite-travels as well.

In rite-travels not a spirit, but man himself (a shaman) overteps the border separating the worlds. The sacrifice and other rites connected with involving spirits into the human world are performed by light. They are full of motion and of different manipulations with things. On the contrary in rites-travels to the other world consist in reducing to the minimum all the manifestations of the visible real world, as far as it is possible. They are performed in darkness only. The shaman keeps his eyes closed and does not move along the room. He either sits or stands shifting from foot to foot making metal pendants clang. All the intereset of such a rite is concentrates not on outward actions, but on what happens beyond the human world.

There are a lot of data to witness that beating the drum is regaded in such rites as an original 'transport', a means of conveyance in the spirit world. "The shaman Cholo Dzatala affirmed: One is not able to fly during the ceremony without a drum" (Smolyak 1991:236). According to Smolyak datas, in the 1920–1930s when the reorganisation of the traditional life began and religious beliefs were declared harmful survivals that should be rejected, many shamans performed ceremonies without a drum, but with a bundle of ledum. Some shamans "cut three fir branches off and during the ceremony beat on the floor with them. In this case the shaman could not fly. He shamanised but stayed at home" (Smolyak 1991:237). Beating the drum was a means of conveyance, and the shaman belt clanging with pen-

dants hastened this conveyance. Providing the opportunity to overcome long distances in the other world quicker and easier.

The meaning of a shaman chant can become clearer, if we try to answer the question, if it is possible to perform the above mentioned rites and to achieve the same results without a drum and without a chant at all. The materials on Nanai shamanism permit to affirm that it is possible. Why in this case does a shaman sometimes chants, but sometimes prefers not to sing at all? Why sometimes do we deal with silence instead of chant?

Performing the sacrificing ceremony and feeding the spirits the most proficient Nanai shamans did not need singing and dance, they were able to bring spirits into a human world in silence. What is more, they did not need to use some material objects like a temporary receptacle for spirits. They brought spirits into the material world directly, making them visible. Thus, the shaman Chongida Oninka, well-known in the beginning of our century, chanted and danced only before the feeding of his spirits. Then he asked to extinguish the fire, sat down on the floor, having put a drum aside, and screamed out by turn the names of his assistant spirits, inviting them to the feast. The people present saw the door open and close at its own accord, and small figures of the coming spirits moved toward the laid table. When someone of the people present tried to touch such a figure out of curiosity he felt a strong stroke on his hand. After the ceremony was finished and the light was on again, everybody could make sure that each dish on the table has been touched by the spirits and the raw blood of the sacrificed animal, prepared for the spirits, had been drunk up.[5]

Shaman ability to materialise his spirits was quite a rare one. It was used for different purposes. Thus, being a jealous woman and trying to frighten her seeming rivals and to scare them away from her house, the shaman Maria P. Beldi sent to them a spirit who became visible like a man with a black face.[6] This ability was used also in surgical treating with the help of spirits which on the whole is not typical of Nanai culture. For example some shaman could materialise a hawk of a spirit. Curing patients with festaring wounds he called this spirit by means of a drum and chant. Then before the hawk came, the shaman put the drum aside, asked the sick man to move the window, put a wooden bowl near him and to extinguish the fire. Then the fish skin stretched over the window instead of glass was broken with noice and the hawk suck the pus out of the wound and pour it out to the bowl. All this time the shaman was not chanting, he was only holding the sick person.[7]

5. The information was recorded from Ely Oninka in Daerge village in 1990.
6. The information was recorded from Irina Suslova in Naikhin village of Khabarovsk region in 1991.
7. The information was recorded from Ivan T. Beldi in Daerga village in 1991.

The rites-travels in the other world can be performed without chant as well. Such a way of performance is also rather an exception to the rule. Only the most skilled shamans are capable of it. Reducing the outside world manifestations to the minimum reaches such a degree that a shaman gets detached from everything and falls asleep. He falls asleep performing the rite and continues to act in his dream the way it is necessary for the achievement of the rite's aims. Such purposeful dreams in which a shaman fulfilled everything he had decided to do were part of the *kasa* ceremony. At a certain point on his path to the world of the dead *buni* the shaman stopped chanting and went to sleep without taken off his ritual garments including the fur hat with nine bells on it. Without a drum and chant he overcame in his dream the next difficult stretch of the road. It should be noted that even this way of travelling through the spirits' world is accompanied with some musical sounding. While the shaman sleeps, swaying his head regularly and slowly, one (only one) bell on his hat rings. The people around him understood it as the ringing of the bell on the neck of one of dogs (or one of reindeers) that was working that moment and carrying the sledge loaded with the souls of the deceased and with their goods and chattelled further to the *buni*. If someone of the people got bored of waiting and snatched this ringing bell with his hand to make this sound stop, it did stop, but that very moment another one began ringing miraculously. It meant that another dog (or a reindeer) joined in the work in the shaman dream. One could count all the nine bells this way and all this time the shaman was conveying the souls by a dog team (or by reindeers) in his dream at will. After the last ninth bell began to ring, the shaman awoke, took the drum and continued the rite-travel in the usual way.[8]

Such a performance of a ritual task in dream is not typical of the Nanai shaman practice on the whole. But it is one of basic kins of *tudin* practice. According to Smolyak dates, *tudins* excel shamans in power, and there were considerably fewer *tudins* than shamans among the Nanais (Smolyak 1991:47). *Tudins* achieved 'better results in healing and fortune telling not shamanising at that'. They were able "to see the road along which the shaman went while shamanising" (Smolyak 1991:47). And it should be added, he could go along the roads of the other world on his own.

In February 1993 I was making my way to the Lidoga village to Kada Kile who was considered a *tudin* by someone. Having learned about it some inhabitants of the Naikhin village requested me to ask her about the young Russian man. S., who had vanished as early as in November 1992. After she looked at the photograph of S., Kada said that he had been killed, and carefully made inquiries about the location of his house with respect to the river and to the forest. She did not shamanise, but in the morning it became known that Kada has found S. in her night dream. This Kada's dream

8. The information was recorded from Nicolai P. Beldi in Naikhin village in 1993.

bore a great resemblance to the shaman rite *ningmachiory*. At the beginning of the dream Kada called her mother (that is her spirit) to help. Then together with this mother she left for S.'s house that she had made inquiries about the night before. Having been carried into the November night (such transfer is a common thing for shaman ceremonies), she saw four men binding S.'s hands and feet and carrying him along the Naikhin channel ice toward the polynis. After that Kada and her mother spirit followed the dead-gody movements under the ice up to the place where it got frozen into the ice and stopped. Kada indicated precisely the whereabout of the dead body and described its posture in detail, as if she really had seen it. In the beginning of the summer of 1993 the body was found. It was just in the place and in the posture Kada had indicated.[9]

Tudin fulfils the tasks given to him in different ways and with different speed. Sometimes it was enough for *tudin* to think a little and he (his soul) was transfers to the point of the other world he needed. But sometimes he needed to overcome the road to this place in his dream and it required more of his efforts. But it took a shaman still more strain to achieve the same purpose. He had to shamanise, chant and clang with a drum and metal pendants in order to comparatively slowly advance along the roads of the other world. Nicolai P. Beldi, who had had a tudin's gift but sacrificed it for the Communist career's sake, told me that in his dreams he had often looked down on the world from somewhere above, and observed for example how some times a shamaness, dancing, beating the drum and chanting slowly moved along the curves of channels and small rivers. Seeing her road as a whole, realising that it would be better to straighten it, and feeling himself capable of making this travel considerably quicker, Nicolai P. Beldi looked with regret at it how hard this singing shamaness was working.[10]

Thus, chanting and drum playing are comparatively available practical means for accomplishment of the same purposes that could be achieved without them as well. And it is important that the travel performed in a dream is often accompanied with certain musical sounds. It was said already about the ringing bells on the ritual hat of a sleeping shaman while he was driving in his dream to the world of the dead. Such a specific phenomenon as the chanting of sleeping *tudins*, travelling about the other world in their dreams should be added. If the singing helps to achieve some magical purpose, it may be assumed that a *tudin* starts chanting just at moment when his power becomes weaker for some reasons and he is in nedd of some means that can support him.

One can try to answer at last the question why shaman chants. It may be assumed that shaman chants to compensate the insufficiency of his

9. The information was recorded from Kada Kile in Lidoga village of Khabarovsk region and from S.'s relatives in Naikhin village in 1993.
10. The information was recorded from Nicolai P. Beldi in Naikhin village in 1990.

mystical capacities, of his ability to overcome the barrier between the worlds. The natural ability is a more effective means. But chant is an instrument of and a means for penetration into the other world and for perception of the spirits and animation of material objects with them even for those who have not enough natural power for such an action.

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The Shaman in Myths and Tales

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1. There is among today's 'shamanologists' a growing interest in the oral traditions surrounding shamans and their activities. Shamanic folklore has been studied since the last century, but there has never been as lively a scholarly interest in the topic as in the last while. The poetry born in the course of shamanic séances — which Meuli (1975, 2:865) has characterized as "the primeval forms [Urformen] of poetry" — is one of the areas that has been assiduously investigated.[1] I shall, for the moment disregard this creative mode, where the shaman himself plays the role of poet and singer,[2] not because it is unimportant — for it is not – but because as a researcher of shamanism as a religio-magical complex, I have more to gain from the study of the prose traditions of shamanism. What follows here is a synopsis of the ways in which such traditions from different parts of the world reflect the contemporary notions of shamans and shamanism.

The study of prose traditions surrounding shamanism is a new trend in shamanic research, and a product of many developments. Some of the most important ones will be mentioned here. First of all, there is the new theoretical interest in shamanism. Mircea Eliade (1951) opened wider vistas when, ignoring the common restriction of shamanism to Siberia and the Arctic regions, he included the Americas, the Indo-Europeans, Southeastern Asia and Oceania in his discussions of the phenomenology of shamanism. His symbolistic approach was no less of an innovation.[3] Anna-Leena Siikala (1992b:24 f.) sees as Eliade's finest contribution his establishing of shamanism as an integrative concept of 'the basic religious experience of mankind'. The great Romanian scholar has certainly argued convincingly for the significance of shamanic ideas for our understanding of a number of religious manifestations.

1. Diószegi (1968:169) characterizes this creativity as follows: "If there ever was a freely associative creation at all, then it is the shaman chant." (Cf. also Diószegi 1960).
2. See e.g. Siikala 1992c:41 ff. and Hoppál 1992a:127 ff. For ethnic examples, see Hajdú 1978, Joki 1978 and Simoncsics 1978.
3. See the evaluation of Eliade's theories on shamanism by Narr 1983, Ozols 1983, Hultkrantz 1983, Lewis 1983, Ridington 1983, Basilov 1983 and Te Paske 1983. The theoretical implications of the more recent research on shamanism, including Eliade's, have been analyzed by Motzki 1977.

Eliade's opus has inspired an intensified study of shamanic ideology, and a fresh dedication to further research in the field. Today, shamanic studies are being conducted in many countries where little interest in shamanism has been shown in the past.[4] At the same time, the study of shamanism has acquired a new impetus in countries that have a legacy of shamanic research, such as Russia, Hungary, Germany, Finland and Sweden. The Hungarian efforts to escalate all phases of research on shamanism and to coordinate the work being done in different countries deserves particular attention.[5] All this means that there is now the chance that shamanic phenomena, including oral narratives and recollections of shamans, will be fully covered.

Secondly, there has been an increase in the popular interest in shamanism. It seems that the general public has discovered the shaman as a vatic personality, as well as his enormous importance for the formation of religion. Today, shamans, or persons who consider themselves shamans, travel widely throughout the countries of the West where until recently shamanism was next to unknown. All over the world, the anthropologist Michael Harner has introduced what may be called 'the new shamanism', an opportunity for everybody to regain harmony and health through exercises modeled on the practices of traditional folk shamans (see Harner 1980, Ingerman 1991, Horwitz 1989, 2:373 ff. and Hoppál 1992b:200 ff). In this connection, both narratives and eye-witness reports have proved valuable.

Thirdly, the disappearance of old-time shamanism has given rise to what might be called shamanic 'memory folklore' (patterned after 'memory ethnography'). Whatever we might think about the present state of shamanism and its future, it is, without a doubt, an institution that is on the verge of becoming eclipsed by magic arts of a more simple kind in many cultures, if it has not already disappeared. From the time of my own investigations among the Wind River Shoshoni of Wyoming, North America, I recall that there were stories circulating about some really great shamans who lived at the beginning of this century. They were credited with having undertaken soul journeys in a deep trance even to the realm of the dead, whilst their latter-day successors who lack this ability could, at best, be characterized as mediocre medicine men. Of course, there was inevitably a certain degree of aggrandizement in the story-tellers' description of the perfection and dexterity of the old-time shamans, and the stories probably had little basis in reality. However, that fact itself would bear out what we have found to be the case time and again: when shamanic abilities decline and disappear, the inspiration to create legends will flourish.

4. Italy could be mentioned as a good example, with names such as Ernesto de Martino, Ugo Marazzi, Marcello Massenzio, Roberto Mastromattei and Elémire Zolla.
5. Among present-day Hungarian scholars, we need to mention Vilmos Diószegi, Mihály Hoppál, László Vajda and Vilmos Voigt.

Folkloristic and linguistic methods allow the investigation of narratives dealing with shamans and shamanic deeds from a great many points of view. In this study, we shall adopt an anthropological and religio-scientific perspective, and address the issue of how various types of stories correlate with the various types of shamanism.

2. Since shamanism is so widespread, it is self-evident that the tales told about shamans will be colored by the narrative traits and modes of cultural expression specific to the various regions. In this respect, shaman tales tally with the other tales investigated by folklorists. From our point of view, there is one important difference that is directly related to the kind of shamanism that happens to be prevalent in a particular region: the difference between the rather inchoate, 'spontaneous' shamanism of most hunting societies, and the fairly institutionalized and ritualized shamanism of the Siberian and North Eurasian peoples. Siberian shamanism in particular is quite sophisticated: it tends to be a more dominant cultural force than shamanism elsewhere, bearing as it does the imprint of a higher civilization and its religions (Buddhism and Lamaism) (Hultkrantz 1978:53 ff., cf. also Hultkrantz 1992:83). In part, the difference between the two kinds of shamanism corresponds to the distinction between hunting shamanism and pastoral shamanism in Roberte Hamayon's system.[6] The structural differences between these two forms of shamanism — which are not always clearly delimited from one another — are mirrored in the types of oral traditions (see further Hamayon 1990:151 ff).

Most of the recorded oral narratives about shamans are part of the Siberian and Eskimo legacy of developed shamanism. However, there are also some fascinating shamanic tales that have come down to us from that historical cradle of shamanism, the palaeolithic and mesolithic hunting religions of America and Eurasia.[7] Let us first look at the kind of prose traditions that they afford us.

Very often we find among hunting peoples tales of shamanic wonder workers who have passed on and whose abilities grow more miraculous with every telling as time goes by. The tales told by the Guajiro Indians living on the border between Colombia and Venezuela are certainly a case in point. As the ethnographer, Michel Perrin (1992:22), tells us, the local raconteur even exaggerates the feats of living shamans: he multiplies their powers, and magnifies their deeds. We could say that the tendency to mythologization is already there, but since the shaman referred to is still living there are limits to the fantasy.

6. See Hamayon (n.d.). Mme Hamayon further refers to a third category of shamanism found in more acculturated societies; see also Basilov 1976:149 ff.
7. The establishment of the age of shamanism does not allow us to infer the age of shamanic tales. Eliade assesses the story of the 'magic flight' as 'probably the oldest narrative motif' in shamanism; see Eliade 1961:154. Eliade interprets the story as representing ascension ecstasy. However, there is no certainty about its age.

The raconteur has greater liberty if the shaman has been dead for some years. Perrin tells us how a young Guajiro recounted the deeds of a shaman who died in the 1960s, some time before he himself first visited Guajiro country. The events that the Indian described transpired in a milieu which Perrin has described as the place where 'mythology has its roots'.

Eeyasi, so the story goes, was a very powerful shaman, ready to help out the people of his local group. Among them was an old couple who were close to starvation. They went way up into the mountains to gather cactus fruit. Equipped with a sack, they reached the place, picked the fruit and ate it. However, Pulowi, the mistress of animals and wild plants, dwelt there underground. In the shape of a gigantic snake she devoured the elderly couple. Soon their neighbours back home missed them and started to search for them. They searched the mountains with torches, but did not find the lost couple. The old shaman was, however, a man with great powers, and discovered the remains of the man and his wife. All at once the giant snake Pulowi who lived close by showed her enormous head. He shot her with his arrows, and she died after much writhing and coiling. The shaman should have died too, for he had seen Pulowi; but he did not, so much power had he.

We would say that the old couple died of hunger, adds Perrin (1992:167 ff.), but to the Indians the story was confirmation of their belief in the great power of the shaman. Similar stories abound among Native American peoples in different parts of the Americas. For instance, we are told that at the beginning of the last century, a famous Tlingit shaman from Sitka (on the northwest coast) wanted to acquire a new guardian spirit. It is said that he allowed himself to be thrown into the sea. He was first wrapped in a mat and tied with an otter-skin strap, this animal being his shamanic power. Thereafter he was lowered into the sea. He had been fastened to a line at the end of which his shipmates had tied the bladder of a land otter. However, he sank to the bottom faster than a stone, and there was no further sign of life from him. His friends gave him up for dead. On the fourth day after the event, however, they heard the sound of a shamanic drum and saw the shaman hanging on a steep cliff, his face streaming with blood. His friends took care of him, and he regained consciousness and returned home. He had acquired a new spirit.[8]

In this tale the treatment the shaman endures, particularly his being wrapped up and bound, reminds us of the Shaking Tent and Spirit Lodge shamanic ceremonies (cf. Hultkrantz 1967:32 ff., see also 1992:37 ff., 96).

The interesting Orpheus tradition, widely diffused in North America, has a shamanic background. This story, which generally involves a human married couple (and thus may be termed a tale), but sometimes portrays the relationship between a god and his consort (and thus should be called a myth) varies, naturally, from culture to culture, but usually expresses

8. Krause 1956:196, in the German original 1885:286 f.

one central theme: a loving husband's pursuit of his deceased young wife as her soul steers toward the land of the dead. Sometimes he succeeds in bringing her back to life, sometimes, like the Greek Orpheus, he does not, and this is the most common version. The tale is an important source for our knowledge of North American Indian eschatology. It is evidently built on the experiences of the shaman who discharges his soul to the realm of the dead in order to fetch a sick person's soul. For the details of this thesis, I refer the reader to my exposition in a book on the American Orpheus tradition (Hultkrantz 1957:229 ff., 240 ff).

I know of only one other tale of shamanic origin that has had such popularity outside the Siberian and Central Asian area, and that is the tale about the first shaman and the sun. This tale is known from northern Asia to the Eskimo and American Indians (Thalbitzer 1928:419 ff).

3. We may designate Siberia with Mongolia and Central Asia as an area of intensified shamanism with features that reveal influences from southern and eastern high cultures (Hultkrantz 1978:54). In this vast area one can find inspired tales of shamanic magic and of the great shamanic figures of the past. Such tales are often shrouded in mystery, and endow their heroic shamans with a consequence more of less akin to that of princes, spirits and gods. It is from this large area that the myths of the first shaman (Urschaman) have been recorded. The long historical perspective has certainly contributed to this mystification. However, it seems that these myths have developed on the basis of the cult of shamans.

The cult of shamans is a form of the cult of ethnic heroes that is widespread among the Volga Finns and the Siberian peoples (Holmberg 1927:139 ff., Honko 1971, 1:192 ff). In these areas, great ancestors, political and military leaders and shamans were remembered and hallowed by sacrifices of horses, cows and sheep. The heroes were considered to be protective spirits or gods who cared about the welfare of the community, its corn fields and cattle. Shamans who had passed on were brought to mind with the help of idols or simple images in sacred groves or lodges (Holmberg 1927:140 f). Sometimes these images come close to the pictures used in elementary ancestor worship. When a shaman of the Yurak Samoyed dies, a manlike doll is made out of a plank of his coffin to represent him. The family gives this doll food for five or six years and then places it beside the coffin. Some of these dolls have their own little hut. Now and then people visit the doll, make offerings to it and ask it to counsel them on important matters of daily life (Lehtisalo 1924:141 ff).

The dead shamans are often powerful supernatural beings. Among the Buryat, for example, both male and female shamans were worshipped after their death. Their images, or *ongon*, were placed on the heights where they were buried. They were thought to be protective spirits (Holmberg 1927: 499). The guardian spirits of the Yakut shaman, or *ämägät*, are dead shamans (Holmberg 1927:497 f., cf. also Friedrich and Buddruss eds. 1955:36 f).

Cults and ideas of this kind have given rise to the supernatural aura surrounding North and Central Eurasian shamans in oral tradition. The longer such a shaman has been dead, the more mysterious and powerful he (or she) becomes. The same rule holds here for shamans as for princes and chiefs of extraordinary qualities. The high social position of the shaman is a fact all over the Arctic area, but has certainly been enhanced in parts of Siberia through the growth of clan organization and, in places, of chiefdoms (Graburn and Strong 1973:36 f., 51 f., Siikala 1992a:2 ff). The exalted political role played by some Mongolian shamans in medieval times was part and parcel of the Mongolian imperialistic expansion of those days.

The myths of the first shaman are an obvious expression of these cultic and socio-political conditions. The first shaman is often portrayed as begotten by heavenly powers and capable of performing the most impossible feats. We hear, for instance, of a Yakut shaman whose father was the son of the god of heaven. He was capable of transforming himself into other shapes, and easily healed himself and others from mortal wounds and diseases (Friedrich and Buddruss 1955:107 ff., cf. 115 ff). A Buryat tradition tells us that the gods sent an eagle — which in many tales in Siberia and North America is supposed to be the messenger of the gods — down to earth to help the first human beings rid themselves of the diseases with which the evil spirits plagued them. Man, however, did not appreciate the presence of the eagle, so he had to return to heaven. At the order of the gods, the eagle then approached a woman sleeping under a tree; she conceived, and gave birth to a son. The rest of the story has a number of variations: some say the woman, some say her son could see spirits, and was the first shaman.[9]

The first shaman, thus, is attributed direct heavenly descent in many quarters. No wonder, therefore, if he was a master of magic. An example was Dokh, the first shaman of the Ket (or Yenisei Ostyak). He was a great shaman and lived in mythical times, it is said. Once the death goddess of the underworld devoured one of his sons. In great anger he demanded that his people make an iron hammer and some cord of iron for him. However, all they delivered was a wooden hammer and some cord made of roots. Equipped with these, the shaman went to the island at the mouth of the Yenisei River where the goddess of death lived. He attacked her with his hammer, but it split into a thousand pieces. Then he threw the cord around her neck to choke her, but the brittle cord broke. Through the failure of his own tribesmen, death had come to stay.

At the order of the goddess the shaman and half of his people sacrificed a hundred reindeer, made new fur coats and fur boots, and steered their new sledges to the land of the sky. They wanted to build tents there, but there was no wood in that place.[10] Dokh then beat his drum until the spir-

9. Holmberg 1927:505, quoting N.N. Agapitov and M.N. Khangalov.
10. The tents of the Ket are covered with strips of birch bark.

its arrived, and made trees grow. Now the Ket could construct their tent., However, after a fortnight, they were struck by thunder and lightning so terrible that it destroyed them all, except for Dokh's wife, who became a star in the sky (Findeisen ed. 1970:333 f).

Wondrous stories of this type are myths rather than legends, if we may use the terminology I have been following in my works: myths are stories (sometimes sacred stories) of gods and spirits operating at the beginning of time; legends are stories of spirits, animals and humans from supposedly historical times (Hultkrantz 1984:152–156). Myths often set the patterns of life, as in the Ket tradition just mentioned: we are told how the failure of the first shaman to bring his dead son back to life, or to kill the goddess of death, decided the mortality of mankind.[11] In similar myths from other parts of the world, the party at fault is usually a divinity of some sort, such as a primordial trickster (Boas 1917). In this light, the first shaman appears as more or less an equal of the gods, a divine person.[12]

Several Siberian and Central Asian myths illustrate how shamans could widen their specific sphere to nature mythology. The Samoyed relate that a young man who was hunting in the taiga met a man in a white blanket. The man admonished him to sacrifice seven reindeer to Num, the god of heaven. The young man did so. His father realized that the son was now a shaman and gave him a drum. The new shaman started a journey to the sky through the smoke-hole. He arrived up there and saw the white-clad old man he had met in the taiga. The man, who was evidently a spirit, guided the young shaman through the different heavens until they reached the seventh golden heaven where Num was sitting in his golden tent. So dazzling was his light that the shaman could not bear to look at him. The god of heaven told him that he wanted to install him as a god of the earth, as a gesture of gratitude for the sacrifices. Then the young shaman fell through the heavens for seven days and landed at the upper part of the Ob (Lehtisalo 1924:92 ff).

The tale gives a good picture of the Samoyed upper world, with the high god seated in the uppermost of the seven heavens. It is to this upper world that the shaman has access by flying through the smoke-hole in ecstasy. The tradition also establishes how a shaman was selected to become the local supernatural ruler of the earth. This is the highest rank that a mythic shaman could achieve. It is no mere coincidence that the tradition of such a divine transformation comes from the highly shamanistic North Eurasian area.

11. The connection between the first shaman and the origin of death is told in several Siberian myths; cf. Massenzio 1984, 2:203 ff., 207 ff. On the general connection between shamanism and death, see also Mastromattei 1981:1 ff.
12. Dokh is actually represented in one mythological tale as the god of the great primeval waters; see Campbell 1959:275 (after V.I. Anuchin). See also Hultkrantz 1978:54 n. 145.

Though in ways that are difficult to identify, the divinization of the shaman in mythology may even have played a role in high-cultural areas. The presence of this mythologem seems to be conspicuous in Japan where, as Manabu Waida has pointed out, the emperor's ceremonial dress is almost identical with the Siberian (Tungus) shaman's (Waida 1976:103, 107, cf. Hultkrantz 1989, 1:48).

On the other hand, there is the possibility that both the shaman dress and the imperial dress originated in the stream of southern elements that flowed up with the expansion of high cultures.[13]

In fact, shamanic mythology may be behind some of the expressions found in ancient Near Eastern mythology. A.T. Hatto recognizes shamanic traits in the Sumerian myth of Gilgamesh. He reminds us that Gilgamesh went to fight the leafless tree of the goddess Inanna, a tree which housed a serpent at its routs and an eagle in its crown, and the wind demon Lilith on its trunk. Gilgamesh handed the tree over to the goddess who, it is said, made a drum from the roots and a drumstick from the crown.[14] It is obvious that the whole scene is shamanic. Here we find the world-tree with its antagonistic forces, the eagle and the serpent, a dualistic concept spread from Scandinavia over Siberia, North America and Mexico. There is also the North Eurasian idea of the drum being created from the sacred tree. Thus, behind the myth we can see the beginnings shrouded in a shamanic milieu in the Middle East, fantastic as this notion might seem. As Hatto (1970:19) has pointed out, "Most if not all high religions owe something to historic shamanism, so that when the shamanistic cultures of Northern Asia were overtaken by high religions, a refusion of elements, like to like, took place".

If, now, we turn to the legends and common tales of shamans of the alleged historical past we shall find that they are legion. Many of them 'improve' the reputation of well-known shamans, particularly of shamans who lived long ago and had no living descendants with reminiscences of their own. The two main sources of these tales are the recollections of the shaman's accounts of his trances and ritual experiences and the observations and imaginings of the people who had attended shamanistic acts.

The tales of shamanic soul flights do not always reflect a particular shaman's experiences; they may generalize shamanic experience. An example of this is the Tungus tale of the sky-journey of a young man's soul. To escape a cannibal who had devoured his brothers and sisters, his shaman father, his mother the young man hid in a sack. Peeking out of it after a while, he found that he was in the sky where the Thunder lived. However, nobody noticed him, for he was now a soul. Only when he lay down beside Thunder's beautiful daughter did she see him. She recognized him

13. See for instance Eliade 1951:501 f.
14. Hatto 1970:3 f. The text is taken from Kramer 1963:197 ff

as being a great shaman, since he had managed to enter the upper world. The girl gave him a horse on which he could ride back to earth. Alas, the cannibal, in disguise, was awaiting him, and devoured him (Suslov and Menges 1983:85 ff).

In the above, we see the shamanic soul-journey function as the background to the dramatic action, but no particular shaman can be referred to since the hero died before returning to life.

Another Tungus tale narrated by the same story teller furnishes evidence of how legendary interpretation can permeate modern shamanic accounts. A nephew of the narrator, himself a young shaman, went out for the autumn hunt. He met another Tungusian shaman, and the two of them decided to compete in flying as high as the trees. They both flew up, and each landed in a tree top. The contest went on the whole night; they flew like squirrels from top to top. By early morning they were tired and went to sleep on the ground. The woodland god then appeared and killed them. The story teller commented that everybody knew that shamans can no more fly than other human beings. But those two shamans had vaunted their powers, and were, therefore, killed by the god, he added.[15]

If the story teller was not just having a little joke on the field researcher, it certainly testifies to the speed with which historical shamans turn into miraculous beings after their death.

Reminiscences of shamanic soul-flights of yore probably lie behind a well-known story current among the Saami (Lapps) since the middle of the nineteenth century. The Swedish Archbishop of Uppsala, together with a small clerical commission, stayed some days with a rich and reputable Saami conjurer in Lapland. The Saami offered his guests a demonstration of his magical powers. He would, he said, send his soul to the archbishop's home to see what the church leader's wife was doing. At the same time, he would leave evidence of his having been there. The archbishop accepted the man's proposal. After having inhaled the smoke of some charred herbs, the Saami sank into a trance and was gone for an hour. Then he revived, and recounted what had happened to him. He had visited the archbishop's residence and found the latter's wife busy in the kitchen. While she was preparing the meal, her wedding ring slipped off her finger. The invisible Saami picked it up and hid it in the coal box. Then he returned to where his body was. Having heard this report, the archbishop wrote a letter to his wife asking her what had happened to her that morning. Fourteen days later he received a reply to his letter. She confessed that at that time she had lost her ring and could not find it again. She was afraid that it might have been stolen by a welldressed Saami who had suddenly come into the kitchen and then left without saying what errand he was on. Some time later, the ring was recovered in the coal box (Arbman 1955:52 ff., 84 f).

15. Suslov and Menges 1983:94. Suslov found a living shaman who had the widespread reputation of being able to leave his tent through the smoke-hole by flying (Suslov and Menges 1983:73).

Some shamanic legends associate to the supposed initiation rites of the new shaman-rites that took place not in this world, but were part of the shaman's dream-fulfilment. One famous tale concerns the Yakut shaman Bükäsh Ülläyän, himself the son of a legendary shaman. The story runs as follows. Before he became a shaman, Bükäsh Ülläyän and a fellow traveller were in a boat making their way to an island. Dark clouds arose in the west; rain, thunder and lightning followed. The two travellers were obliged to wait on the beach for the storm to abate. However, a frightful burst of thunder suddenly exploded, and Bükäsh Ülläyän was torn apart. His companion collected the strewn pieces and went to call the others to help bury the corpse. Some time later, he returned together with another tribesman. To their surprise, the two found the dead man alive and well at a camp fire. He explained to them that he had revived. The Thunder god had come down from the sky and reduced him to pieces, but had then put him together again and made him a shaman (Friedrich and Buddruss eds. 1955: 175 ff.; Findeisen 1970:339 ff).

This tale is a mythological interpretation of the idea common in Siberia that in order to function as a shaman, a person has to be reduced to a heap of bones, or to pieces of flesh, and then be reborn. As is well known, this transformation expresses the belief that a would-be shaman has to go through a death and resurrection experience in order to be accepted as a shaman.[16] In North America, the same thought has been supplanted by the belief that the spirit plants a precious stone, such as a quartz crystal, in the shaman candidate's body (cf. Okladnikova 1989, 2:343 ff).

In areas where shamanism has long been a thing of the past, many tales contain only vague, piecemeal or inaccurate recollections of shamans and their like. The whole North Eurasian field offers illustrations aplenty. I have chosen here an example from the Saami, one of many. In the southern Lapmarks, there is a big copper kettle, called the magic kettle of Atjiken. It is said that the Saami who put it there was rich, powerful and highly skilled in magic. He wanted a kettle big enough to serve him and his neighbours at feasts. So he went to the coastal town of Umeå and ordered a kettle of the appropriate size. When the kettle was ready, remarkable things started to occur. The first Thursday evening, there was a ticking inside the kettle.[17] The second Thursday, it lifted slightly off the ground, and the third Thursday evening it flew out of the tinker's house and travelled with the speed of the wind westward to the place among the mountains where the powerful shaman lived (Pettersson 1979:79 f).

This story instances the idea of the shaman as a wonder worker, but his relationship to the kettle is not explained, and I do not know of similar

16. For a brief introduction to the subject, see Eliade 1951:158–165.
17. Thursday was a holy day among ancient Scandinavians and Saami, the day of the Thunder god.

moves of big kettles through the agency of shamans in the extant literary material.[18]

4. Our cursory survey of the types of folktale surrounding shamanism shows that there is a characteristic difference between the tales current where shamanism is a more democratic institution — where the shaman is distinguished only by his distinctive nervous disposition and talents — and the tales told in a structurally more differentiated society, which also reflect the shaman's superior status. In the former case, we are dealing with the lowly shamanism of primarily hunting societies;[19] in the latter case, with the professional and ritually developed shamanism found in hunter and nomad societies that have, for the most part, been strongly influenced by high civilizations. Such peripheral groups as the Saami and the Eskimo we can count among the latter societies although their shamanism was touched by higher civilizations only tangentially. In Siberia, shamanism has such strong hold that many authors refer to the entire religious system of the North Siberian peoples as shamanism. No wonder that the person of the shaman has received so much attention in the myths and legends of this area: cult and myth have elevated him to divine rank.

In the simpler forms of shamanism, its representatives are regarded with a certain awe, but they have never been deified. It is another matter that in some cultures, shamans, like other human beings, may achieve status as powerful spirits after death.

18. Another characteristic Saami story deals with a bear who turns into a human person, and vice versa. This transformation story could be a changeover from an original soul-flight story if, as Juha Pentikäinen thinks (I presume correctly), the bear man involved is supposed to be a shaman. See Pentikäinen 1978:223 f. The current Saami ideas of the bear's anthropomorphism (his features when skinned, his behaviour) may have contributed to the story. So also possibly has the circumpolar legend of the marriage between a human and a bear, see Edsman 1956:36 ff.
19. This form of shamanism should not be confused with what I have called "general shamanism" which refers to the activities of any medicine man (who is not necessarily an ecstatic shaman); see Hultkrantz 1967:35 f. The 'lowly shamanism' is a more genuine form of shamanism, but could be classified under general shamanism.

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A Comparative Study of the Shamanistic Motifs in Hungarian and Turkic Folk Tales

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Today in Central Europe there live a population of about 12 million people whose early history and origin is shrouded in mystery. These are the Hungarians. The time of their settlement into the Carpathian Basin is still the subject of heated debates. Of late, Gyula László — a well-known Hungarian archaeologist — proposed the acceptance of the view, based on archaeological research and early documentary evidence, that the first wave of Hungarian-speaking groups came into the Carpathians around 670 A.D. These were the Onogurs. A later group, the Magyars, led by Árpád, came in 859 A.D. (László 1978).

According to the prevailing linguistic view, the Hungarian language belongs to the Finno-Ugric language family (Bartha 1988:13). The members of this language family who are the closest relatives of the Hungarians are the Khanty and Mansi, peoples living on the east side of the Ural Mountains today. Based on this hypothetical linguistic affinity , Hungarian linguists have rigidly insisted — for over a hundred years now — that the Hungarians originated not just linguistically, but also ethnically and culturally, together with the Khanty and Mansi — the Ob-Ugrians — in an ancient hypothetical Finno-Ugric cultural sphere.

This view, however, ignores the fact that ethnically (László 1988:24), and culturally (Érdy 1987; Révész 1991; Horváth 1992) have much closer relationships to the grassland peoples than to the Ob-Ugrians. The details of these we shall list later.

No peoples' early history can be based upon the results of only one discipline, as has been the case of Hungarian history until today. Attention must be paid to documentary evidence, ethnographic, archaeological, and anthropological data as well. Only taking as many aspects of human culture into consideration as possible can we hope to gain closer approximation of the early history of the Hungarians.

In light of this, it seems ironic that while the Hungarian linguists insist on the Finno-Ugric origin of the Hungarians, claiming language as the sole base for their conclusions, it is this very language — the Hungarian oral tradition under examination in this study — that upon closer scrutiny yields close affinities and parallels to the Turkic literary tradition.

Hungarian ethnographers have been collecting folk tales, legends, and folk poetry since the middle of the last century, and from that time onwards. There is a great collection and a large literature that grew up around it. The present study will show the parallels that exist between one such Hungarian folk tale-type, called Son of White Horse, and folk tales of the same construction in Osmali Turkic, Uigur, Kazak, Yugur, and Kirgiz oral traditions.

The well-known Hungarian folk tale specialist, János Berze Nagy, whose monumental work on systematizing Hungarian folk tale-types appeared in the late 1950s (Berze Nagy 1957), found this folk tale of Son of White Horse to be of the oldest among the collected tales and he found parallels of one of the main motifs of the story in Tatar and other Turkic folk stories. This motif was that of the role of the eagle (or big bird) living on the top of a huge tree.

My attention was drawn to the story and its possible further eastern parallels in 1990 when I was working on another topic, the occurrence and role of the griffin-like creature-image in the art of the grassland cultures, among them the Hungarians (Horváth 1992). I wanted to know that if one significant motif could be found to exist in this folk tale, whether there were others.

To my surprise I found not only motifs but the entire folk-tale-construction of Son of White Horse in Osmanli Turkic, Kazak, and Uigur folk tales. The Kazak and Uigur material provided me by Du Yaxiong (Beijing) has not yet appeared in Western literature nor has it been studied or compared to other folk tales.

In June 1990 I had the occasion to introduce the comparative work between the Hungarian, Uigur and Kazak versions of the story of Son of White Horse at the annual conference of the Hungarian Historical Society of Zurich, held in Germany. At that time my attempts were the only ones made comparing complete story constructions of folk tales.

However to my delight, upon arriving in Beijing in 1992, I discovered that Zhong Jinwen, a Yugur folklorist, was working on comparing folk tale motifs between Hungarian and Yugur stories (Zhong 1992). Having been told the story of Son of White Horse, he recognized it immediately as one existing among the Yugur folk tales which he collected (Zhong 1988). Zhong, being a native Yugur, has done extensive field work among the Western Yugur population in China's Gansu Province. The Yugur folk story is entitled: Son of Stone I, Son of Tree II, and Son of Horse III. This Yugur folk tale is yet another new piece of data hitherto unknown to Western scholarship

To make the results of my comparisons easier to understand, I provided a chart (see Chart 1). The events of the story-type are listed in chronological order, summarized in 10 points. The occurrence of a motif is marked by shaded squares. The more shaded squares there are in each column the more motifs can be found present in the story of each nationality listed.

Chart 1. **Parallels in construction and sequence of motifs between Hungarian and Turkic Son of White Horse-story type**

Sequence of motifs in the stories	H	O	U	Y	Ka	Ki
1. Boy, born of animal / has super-human strength; leaves home	●		●	●	◖	●
2. Has (finds) strong companions; / wrestles them	●	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖
3. Looks for kidnapped girls underground	●	●	●	●		◖
4. Only hero is brave enough to descend to underground (underworld)	●	●	●	●	●	●
5. Hero rescues girls, / kills enemy (dragon, monster)	●	●	●	●		●
6. Hero sends girls to upper world. He remains trapped in underworld	●	●	●	●		
7. Big bird of prey helps hero return to upper world	●	●	●	●	●	●
8. Hero feeds birds his own flesh during journey to upper world	●	●	●	●		
9. Bird replaces hero's cut flesh, / making him stronger	●	●	◗	●		
10. Hero marries one of the rescued girls / becomes king of girl's land	●	●	◖	◖		●

H = Hungarian O = Osmanli Turk U = Uigur
Y = Yugur Ka = Kazak Ki = Kirgiz

Story titles (for full references see bibliography)

1. Hungarian: Fehérlófia (Son of White Horse) — Arany 1958
2. Osmanli Turk: Cinder Boy — Kunos 1969
3. Uigur: Ali Kurban — Liu 1980
4. Yugur: Son of Tree I, Son of Stone II, and Son of Horse III — Zhong 1988
5. Kazak: Hero II Tushtek — Jiao and Zhang 1982
6. Kirgiz: Seven Khan's Story — Wang 1981

When I worked on the chart, what surprised me was not that certain elements of the story were missing or were different from the Hungarian version, but that so many elements and the sequence of events were similar, at times exactly the same. What I consider important here is that though details may be missing in the stories, the construction remains constant. The story-type, therefore is more than just a random collection of motifs. A definite pattern exists and we shall examine it below in detail.

Now let us look at the sequence of the story that can be characterized in ten points.

1. A boy, born of an animal (horse, sheep, bear); has superhuman strength. He is the hero of the story.

2. He has (or finds) two or three equally strong companions and wrestles them.

3. They all go to look for kidnapped girls (wives, princesses). They discover that the abductor and the victims live underground (underworld). They look for the entrance to the underworld.

4. Only the hero of the story is brave enough to descend to the underworld.

5. Hero rescues women and kills the enemy (monster, dragon).

6. Hero sends rescued women to the upper world. His companions take the women but leave him in the underworld.

7. A big bird — griffin bird, eagle, or goose — helps hero to return to the upper world.

8. The journey to the upper world is difficult. Having run out of food to feed the bird, the hero cuts a piece of his own body to give the big bird during the flight from the underworld.

9. The bird arrives successfully in the upper world. The bird spits back the hero's flesh, making him stronger than before.

10. The hero takes the youngest of the rescued women as wife and they live happily, becoming the ruler of the kingdom of the wife's father.

Now there are two basic questions:

1. Why are these stories from the Turkic tradition so similar to the Hungarian story, the two cultures being so far from each-other in space.

2. What is the significance and meaning of this story type? Are these only tales merely to entertain children, or can they hold significance cultural and historical information?

I would like to begin with the second question, and using information from ancient documents and the results of archaeological and ethnographic research, attempt a possible interpretation for its construction.

It seems that this story-type exhibits certain basic features of the grassland societies shared even today by those peoples whose roots go back to these very cultures, and these were retained in their oral tradition. One such basic feature that functions on the political, religious, and kinship levels is intricately interwoven in the story. This feature is the shamanic experience, specifically the shamanic initiation, and his role as the soci-

ety's predestined intermediary between the real and the spirit world. At the same time superimposed upon this is the role and image of the sacred ruler also imbued with shamanic qualities.

Let us examine each of the ten points of the story.

1. (The hero is the offspring of an animal, generally a horse; he possesses superhuman strength in childhood.)

We know from ethnographic material that the shamans of the grassland cultures claim various animals as their ancestors, which are often the specific totem of a shaman's clan. A shaman is also in close relationship with other animals, especially the four most powerful shamanic spirit animals the eagle, the horse, the bear, and the elk or deer (Holmberg 1927:507). From various chronicles we know that the royal clan of the Hungarians, the Uigurs, the Seljuks and the Osmanli Turks all claimed the turul falcon — the most powerful celestial deity (Roheim 1917:58–59 — as their ancestor. The big bird — eagle, griffin bird — plays a major role in the destiny of the hero of the stories.

V. Diószegi, who did extensive work on shamans in Hungary reported that in one Hungarian village he was told about a boy, — believed to be a *táltos* (shaman) candidate — who was kidnapped by a horse and died. After some time the horse brought him back, 'he woke up', and was then a full *táltos* (Diószegi 1967:38), that is, an initiated shaman. The relationship between the shaman's 'birth' and the horse is concrete in the above data.

Another quality of the hero, in the Hungarian and the Turkic stories is that he is already unusually strong in his childhood. Shamans and kings of the grassland cultures, according to ethnographic and documentary data, are considered to have superhuman strength and power. In Hungarian legends and chronicles the early Hungarian kings and heroes are described to be unusually strong and physically superior to others (Ipolyi 1854:166–183). The same features characterize not only the Turkic stories we are examining in this study, but also the heroes of the Turkic epics (personal communications with Professor Lang Ying, Beijing, 1992).

2. (The hero, going on a quest, has equally strong companions and when challenged, beats them at a wrestling match.)

This wrestling match can be found so far only in the Hungarian versions of the story-type. In the Turkic stories the companions agree that the hero be the smallest brother, as it turns out, always the strongest and most clever character of these folk tales.

However, the wrestling matches recall the shamans, heroes and kings of the Turkic and Hungarian legends who encounter powerful enemies and vanquish them. The feature of wrestling as a means of doing battle is a curious one. The hero is said to take the enemy (his strong companions, or the dragon) by the belt and throw him so hard that he sinks into the ground up to his neck, that is, he cannot get up for another round. The Mongolian wrestling technique specifies that the opponents grasp each other by the belt thus trying to smash the other contestant onto the ground. These

wrestling matches can be seen even today at the great Mongolian Games held annually in Inner Mongolia. The Hungarian shamans *(táltos)* battle other shamans to match strength with them. In this they are similar to the Altaic and Turkic shamans (Diószegi 1967:108–122).

The hero must also go on a quest, even though he himself does not know where, and though his mother or father tries hard to keep him home, he is adamant about going. He seems to be controlled by mysterious forces to perform a particular action from which nothing can deter him. In the Hungarian tales the hero goes "to wander in the world", or "to try his luck in the world" (Illyés 1972:252). On his way he encounters many adventures, among these one typical one is to help an animal or a person in trouble, demonstrating his kindness. All these remind us of the roles of the shaman — as well as the sacred ruler — both destined to be helpers, intermediaries, and benevolent as well as fearless in the face of danger, to benefit their society. This role of the ruler is clearly stated in the Orchon Turkic runic inscriptions (Dümmerth 1977:110–111).

As protectors, their effectiveness depends on their strength. Shamans engage in matches of strength (as mentioned above) and even today often boast of their power, climing it is greater than that of a rival shaman's. This boasting of one's shamanic powers is practiced even today among Manchu shamans in the northeast province of Liaoning in China (personal communications with Liu Guiteng, Liaoning Province, 1992.

3–4. (The hero looks for the entrance to the underworld. He is the only one with enough courage to descend alone. He goes there to look for the kidnapped women.)

The shaman knows he must go to the underworld to recover the stolen souls of the sick. Sickness is caused by the evil spirits having taken the sick person's soul to the underworld (Eliade 1974:203, 218). In the stories under examination the hero finds the entrance to the underworld at the foot of a mountain, or a big tree. It is a great dark hole which leads straight down. Each of the companions try to decend (usually in a big basket) but none have the courage to go all the way down to the underworld. Half way through the descent they ask to be pulled up. Finally the courageous hero succeeds an arrives in the underworld.

Only a very powerful shaman can take such a dangerous journey, report the ethnographers (Eliade 1974:227). During the descent, the shaman goes vertically down a hole in the ground, located at the foot of a mountain. Such a journey to recover the soul of the sick have been described by Russian ethnographers Potanin (1881–1883), and Anokhin (1924), who did fieldwork among Central Asian groups.

After the hero's descent there is a curious question in the Hungarian version which occurs when the hero reaches the underworld: "What are you doing in this place where not even a bird of your homeland flies ?" (Hol jársz itt ahol még a hazádbeli madár sem jár?) This question is asked of the hero by another character in the story who lives in the underworld

(Illyés 1972:435–437). This rather enigmatic expression becomes clear when we realize that during the shamanic descent to the underworld the Altaic shaman describes how he must cross the yellow deserts of China, and says to his audience that he crosses lands "across which not even a magpie or crow can fly" (Eliade 1972:201). So this question in the folk tale refers clearly to the journey of a courgeous shaman to the underworld frught with dangers, and where no creature from the upper world dares venture, save a strong shaman. However, notes Eliade (1972:201–202) being a capable shaman, he uses songs (that is, the chanting and drumming during a shamanic ceremony) to arrive at his destination.

Thus we can see that both strength and courage are essential to the shaman and to the folk-tale hero (sacred ruler).

5–6. (The hero successfully rescues the women (princesses) and sends them to the upper-world through the same hole through which he descended, but he remains trapped in the underworld from where he can escape only with the help of a supernatural being.)

This sequence of events clearly shows the purpose of the shaman's descent: to rescue the abducted spirit of the sick. In the tales the spirits of the sick are represented by the helpless women, and the evil spirits in the folk tales are represented by formidable, malevolent antagonists. These are the Hungarian human-like dragons and the Yugur "Mangases" or the evil witch in the Kazak story. In the stories they go to the upper world to kidnap the daughters of the king and drag them back to the underworld. There the women must live as the unwilling wives and prisoners of the monsters. These monsters appear in the Hungarian and Turkic tales with equal emphasis, their imminent demise at the hand of the hero forming one of the major reasons for the hero's quest.

Although the shaman can recover the spirits (an event equivalent to the hero's saving the women), and thus cure the sick, this results in his placing himself in danger and he himself suffers further, being trapped in the underworld. Ethnographic data shows that the shaman takes the sufferings and pain of the sick upon himself, thereby removing the sickness of the patient (Eliade 1974: 229). That is to say, the shaman takes it upon himself to deal with the forces — evil spirits — that threaten the life — abduction of the spirit — of the sick. He then needs the help of his shamanic animal helper which is also his ancestor spirit to be able to return to the upper world (Holmberg 1927; also Eliade 1974:221). If a shaman is also a ruler, his ancestor spirit will be the falcon or eagle — as it is in the stories under discussion. The Yakut shaman has a Bird-of-Prey Mother who helps him return to the world of the living from just such underworld journeys (Eliade 1974: 36).

7–9. (Having spent some time in the underworld, the hero finds the large bird and with its help returns to the upper world. The hero feeds his own flesh to the bird. In the upper world the bird returns his flesh and makes the hero even stronger than before.)

Indeed, these steps in all the stories examined follow the events parallel to the shaman's struggle to return to the real world. Since the shaman is trapped in the underworld he needs the help of the big bird to get out. In a sense this is the conclusion of the shaman's quest. Now his job is done.

Yet, in another sense this descent an delay in the world of the spirits occur also when he is initiated (Eliade 1974:36). During the initiation a shaman experiences the dismemberment of his body by his shamanic ancestral spirits of the underworld. The end of the initiation experience often lasts for three days. During this time the shaman lies unconsciously, and in this sense he is not in the real world. The Hungarian folk belief says that at times like these the shaman has hid himself *(elrejtezett)*. After this period the dismembered body of the shaman is put back together again by his ancestral spirits and only after having suffered this does he gain his shamanic powers (Eliade 1974:36). The Yakut shaman's flesh is put back on his bones by the Bird-of-Prey Mother, thereby giving him the power of shamanhood (Eliade 1974:30, 42–43). In the Son of White Horse folk stories the cut off arms, legs, and flesh of the hero's body is returned to the hero and made whole again by the powerful celestial bird, his ancestor, similar to the process in which the shaman's body is put back together by his ancestor spirits.

10. (The hero marries and become king in the Hungarian, Osmanli and Kirgiz versions.)

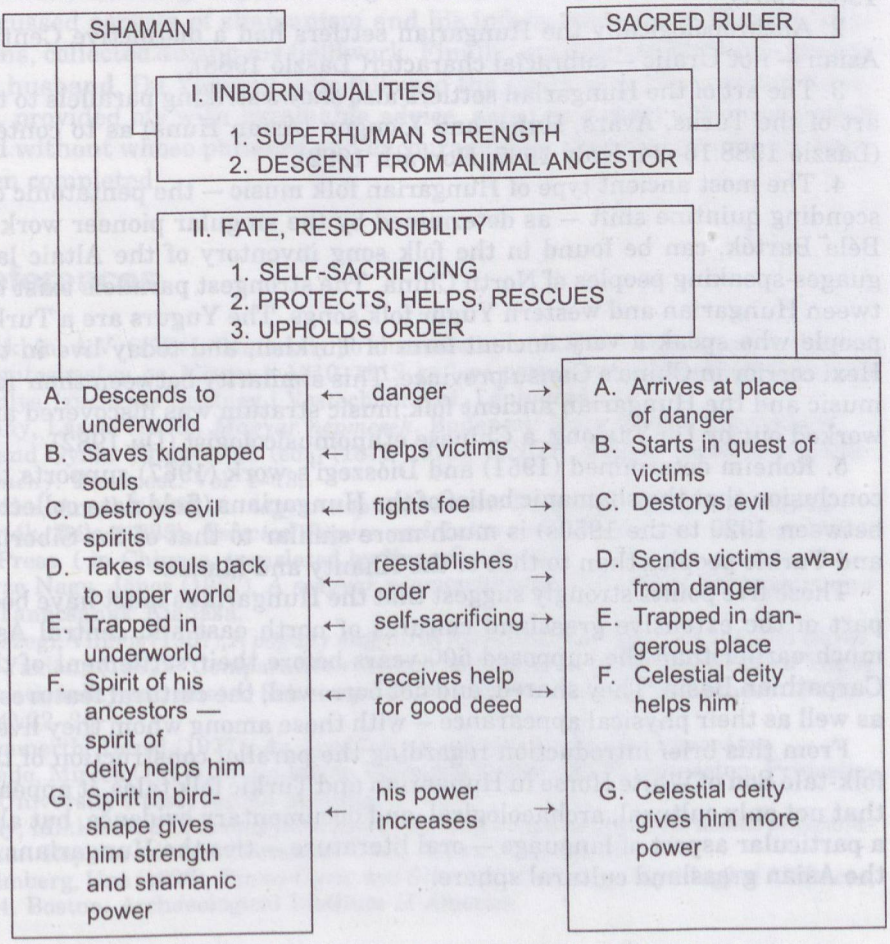
In the Hungarian chronicles and folk legends we can read that the early kings (from the House of Árpád) were cast in the role of super-heroes with many shamanic qualities. King László, called Bátor László, was brave, physically stronger, taller, and bigger than normal men. He could speak the language of animals , and had a magic horse that could fly. He vanquished many enemies and was unbeatable (Ipolyi 1854:166–183). László was an Árpád, the descendant of the first and sacred royal house of Hungary, whose totem was the turul falcon. This falcon was also the totem ancestor of a number of Turkic groups, among them the Seljuks and their successors the Osmanli Turks (Roheim 1917: 58–99) — who curiously enough, share the story of Son of White Horse with the Hungarians. To further support this point, it is worth mentioning that in the epic poetry of the Mongol and Turkic peoples the heroes (called 'bátor's) all of whom possess the superhuman talents and powers discussed above , do become rulers and kings (khans) in the end (Lőrincz 1981).

In the above discussion we have tried to demonstrate that in the story-type Son of White Horse, we are not dealing with a list of unrelated and coincidentally similar motif-clusters. Rather, there exist a parallel and ordered sequence of events in the stories which mirror a cohesive account of a strong shaman's ability, power, and duty as well as his celestially preordained rights as the intermediary between earth and the spirit world. The story reflects his initiation to shamanhood, as well as his duty and role as a benevolent helper to his community specifically his healing role, presum-

ably a vital function, since the survival of the clan is at stake if disease threatens.

This is one level of the story. Layered upon this is the description — the prescription, we might say — of the duties and role of the sacred ruler, also commanding superhuman shamanic abilities to enable him to fully perform his duties. It is important to note here how similar the role and the duties of the shaman and the sacred ruler are. Chart 2 delineates the close parallels between the two as they exit in the character of the folk story hero. While the duty of the shaman is to deal with the powers beyond human reach, the sacred ruler's duty is to protect and rule over his people

Chart 2. **The dual role of the hero of son of white horse folktale type**



in the physical world. Yet both are chosen and controlled by ancestral powers, predestined to act in the prescribed capacity.The story is ingeniously constructed of these two social function, reflecting the world views so vital to the grassland peoples' ideology, encompassing the political, kinship, and belief systems. Upon these strata is the embellished layer of the beautiful narration of the storytellers, who cleverly wove the romance, adventure, and excitement of the chivalrous hero, his beautiful lady, and the treacherous enemies. The analysis of the literary merits of these folk stories is the topic of another study waiting to be done.

So much for the second question.

The answer to the first question, explaining why the Turkic and Hungarian stories share a basic story pattern, is a lot more difficult. To attempt an explanation we need to remember the following data:

1. The Hungarian settlers in the Carpathians had a distinctly grassland culture. Archaeology substantiates this (László 1988:16–240; Révész 1989–1991).

2. Anthropologically the Hungarian settlers had a distinctive Central Asian — not Uralic — subracial character(László 1988).

3. The art of the Hungarian settlers also shows striking parallels to the art of the Turks, Avars, Huns, and Xiongnu (Asian Huns) as to content (László 1988:16–24; Érdy 1987; Horváth 1992).

4. The most ancient type of Hungarian folk music — the pentatonic descending quintine shift — as determined by the singular pioneer work of Béla Bartók, can be found in the folk song inventory of the Altaic languages-speaking peoples of North China. The strongest parallels exist between Hungarian and western Yugur folk songs. The Yugurs are a Turkic people who speak a very ancient form of Turkish, and today live in the Hexi corrior in China's Gansu province. This similarity between their folk music and the Hungarian ancient folk music stratum was discovered and worked out by Du Yaxiong, a Chinese ethnomusicologist (Du 1982).

5. Roheim determined (1951) and Diószegi's work (1967) supports the conclusion that the shamanic belief of the Hungarians (field data collected between 1920 to the 1950s) is much more similar to that of the Siberian and Turkic peoples than to that of the Khanty and Mansi.

These five points strongly suggest that the Hungarians must have been part of the extensive grassland cultures of north east and central Asia much earlier than the supposed 500 years before their settlement of the Carpathian Basin. They shared, and not borrowed, the cultural features — as well as their physical appearance — with those among whom they lived.

From this brief introduction regarding the parallel construction of the folk-tale Son of White Horse in Hungarian and Turkic folk tales, it appears that not only cultural, archaeological, and documentary evidence, but also a particular aspect of language — oral literature — ties the Hungarians to the Asian grassland cultural sphere.

I think the method of comparing the construction of events in folk tales deserves more detailed and deeper study and need to be applied to other folk tale types in order to shed more light upon the history and relationship of the grassland peoples, in this case the Hungarians.

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The Poetry of Shamanism*

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In 1991, I made a personal and professional pilgrimage to a young Sakha (Yakut) shaman of the Viliuisk region, of the newly sovereign Yakut-Sakha Republic (now Sakha Republic) in Northeastern Siberia.[1] He had mixed feelings about seeing a foreign anthropologist, but agreed through mutual friends, to meet at his parent's cottage in a small, remote village. After hours of talk, during which we discussed many aspects of my pilgrimage, including a medical problem, I confessed that I was also interested in the aesthetic power of shamanic chants as poetry. Expecting him to dismiss this as absurdly isolated from the core of his curing purposes, I was delighted by his broad grin. Ironically, it was this, more than my medical problem, that convinced him to bring out his drum. He agreed to sing parts of an introductory seance song, although not to call his helper spirits in a true seance at this stage of our relationship.

This young shaman, removed from specific intellectual trends of the urban Sakha intelligentsia, was nonetheless also caught up in the cultural and political revival of the Sakha people, who prefer this name for themselves rather than the outsider's term Yakut. This village shaman was both pleased and wary that some urban Sakha have rediscovered the beauty and power of shamanism, and it appealed to him that texts of memorized

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1. The Yakut-Sakha declaration of sovereignty was made Sept. 27, 1990, published in *Sotsialisticheskaia Yakutia* Sept. 28, 1990, p. 1. The official hyphenated form "Yakut-Sakha" was a compromise, acknowledging that Yakut is the term most outsiders use for this farthest North Turkic people, who call themselves Sakha. The official version is now "Sakha Republic (Yakutia)". I am enormously grateful to the young Viliuisk region shaman for agreeing to see me, and hope to work with him in the future. At this stage in our relationship, and in the current, still not entirely stable political climate, he has requested I not use his name. Many Sakha also believe that this particular man's powers are so extraordinary that speaking his name calls his attention to them, wherever they are.

yet sometimes improvisational chanting could be appreciated, even touted, as aesthetically worthy by a foreigner. His own view of the seance as a performance on many levels, for many listeners (spiritual and human, Sakha and non-Sakha), meant that he is fully aware of the dramatic and poetic value of his art. With neither cloak nor fire, he sat in a straight-backed chair and produced a low, moaning, repetitive and intense song describing himself, an *oiuun* (one of the Sakha words for shaman), as having two loyal helper spirits, a dog and a raven.

Before discussing details of both richly symbolic and intensely functional Sakha shamanic texts, it is necessary to put these texts into social and political contexts (Atkinson 1990; Metcalf 1989). The seance is then discussed as an art form. Finally, a preliminary analysis of selected Sakha chant fragments is then presented, to weave together, yet not confound, themes inspired by introspective Sakha friends, and various theorists of symbolic anthropology [e.g. Bruner (1984); Fernandez (1988; 1991); Friedrich (1991); and Turner (1977: 52)].

The Social and Political Context of Shamanic Revival

In Spring 1991, a sensation was caused amongst the Sakha intelligentsia when a newspaper interview appeared, entitled "She Comes in the Form of a White Horse." The interview was with a renowned shaman named Zoia Duranova, whose helper spirit, the white horse, is one of the most powerful multivocal symbols of the traditional (farthest North Turkic) Sakha culture. In the interview, Zoia explained that she becomes at one with her helper spirit during seances, and when she senses friends are in need. She also related how she had found her husband when she arrived in a particular town for a public seance (sometimes broadcast on local Sakha language TV). She had been invited to a banquet in her honor. Near her was an empty seat, and she decided to see if she could sense who was missing. She sent one of her souls to a nearby house where she saw a man lying drunk on a couch. When she came to herself at the table, she apologized for having seemed out of the conversation and requested that someone go wake up the man two houses down and bring him to the banquet. He became her husband, as she knew he would. As she showed me in 1992, he had the proper mark on his forehead, just under the hairline.[2]

2. This story reveals that trance does not have to be accompanied by poetry or performance for some practitioners. Female shamans, traditionally common but usually considered not as strong as male shamans, are called *udagan* by the Sakha. I was able to work with Zoia in August 1992, and am grateful to her for sharing this story. For some more purist Sakha, Zoia has overstepped the bounds of approved shamanic practice with her large audience seances, and her press and television publicity.

People who read or heard this story were divided as to its validity. Many believed Zoia can turn herself into a horse, and a few told further stories about the harm she reputedly had done to a Soviet Russian doctor who doubted her power. Some, including one who came from her home village, scoffed and said she has always just been crazy, even as a little girl. But no one could deny the sensation she has caused with her public seances, during which people are supposed to feel better after auditorium-sized bouts of communal solidarity with her, and with her spirits. Some attending these all-purpose, unconventional seances claimed they were indeed healed of various illnesses.

Far from being politically hounded and underground, shamanism has reemerged as a force to be discussed, if not admired, in the deconstructivist post-Soviet world. In the Sakha Republic, shamanism is one of many idioms through which people are struggling to recapture a culture perceived as nearly lost and profoundly unique and special (cf. Balzer 1983, 1987, 1990, 1992). Exuberant, dramatic, mind-bending shamanism is part of the backlash against rigid, grey and stultifying Soviet rule. This does not mean, however, that people are paralysed by nostalgia or pedantic about precise cultural reconstruction.

Far from every shaman gives public seances, and some are still quite cautious about revealing their talents to outsiders (defined by some as even non-local Sakha). Memories of official Soviet persecution are still painful for families of shamans. And numerous shamans have died, whether in Soviet jails, psychiatric clinics, or by natural causes, without passing on their esoteric knowledge and poetry to children, apprentices or spirit-selected survivors. But a newly constructed shamanic revival is evolving, to the point where the Sakha Ministry of Culture is considering funding a shamanic school, thus officially sponsoring training in ancient curing techniques for children identified as having special psychological proclivities. The Ministry helped sponsor an international conference on shamanism in 1992, to reinforce the reborn credibility of shamanism 'as religion'. An Association of Folk Medicine was founded in 1990 by a self-professed *oiuun*, Vladimir Kondakov, who is controversial but widely acknowledged to have both curing talent and a dramatic flare. Kondakov, who is trying to legitimize shamanism and unite traditionally competitive and secretive shamans, explains "We need better conditions, social, material and spiritual... We also need contact with the earth, and a hearth, not a second story office. We need access to upper and lower worlds."[3]

The public grounding for receptivity to shamanism is diverse and diffuse. In some remote areas, people never lost their belief in local shamanic wisdom and power, even from beyond the grave. In a village of the Viliuisk

3. I saw Vladimir Kondakov several times, and am enormously thankful for his help and insights into shamanism. My interest in him began with an interview he had with a journalist friend Nadezhda Senkina (1991), to whom I am also grateful.

region, for example, one secretly practicing shaman, Spiridon, managed to also become the Regional Committee president at the height of the Stalin terror in the late 1930s. He died in 1940, was buried in accord with ancient shamanic practice, and in the 1980s local villagers still vehemently kept intruders from finding the site, which was perceived to be extremely sacred and dangerous.[4] In contrast, some urban intelligentsia have returned to the shamanism of their roots, despite having been Sovietized atheists. One young ethnographer explained in 1991 "I'm much more spiritual than I was when you met me in 1985. I've changed a lot. It is partly because I now see the ancient power of shamanism, and believe in some shamans' ability to cure, but it is also because I myself saw a spirit last year at a sacred lake."[5]

A spiritual revival, more general and profound than the specific revival of shamanism, has been nurtured by a fledgling Sakha society called *Kut-Siur*, which roughly translates as 'Soul-Reason'. They have delved into the traditional philosophy behind shamanic cosmology, debating and explaining it in newspaper columns, monthly rituals, public meetings, calendrical art and prayers. They too are controversial, with some critics accusing them of creating banal versions of old rituals with not enough academic or spiritual foundation. Yet some of their very sincere members consider themselves apprentice shamans searching for both healing and artistic energy. Their concerns parallel those of some semioticians and socio-linguists, as they search for a language to express complexities of the spirit world in its explicitly Sakha form. Indeed some of them are themselves linguists.[6]

4. Spiridon's stilt-house resting place was finally discovered by a young Sakha ethnographer working for the Ministry of Culture, who removed valuable shamanic objects from the site for the local museum only after making apologies to the spirit and leaving a bottle of vodka. As his helicopter was taking off, a highly localized rain storm began at the site, believed by the nervous Sakha pilot to be caused by the angry deceased shaman. I am grateful to ethnographer Aleksei Mikhailov for this account, and for his generous help sharing his private shaman archives.
5. Being uncertain as to whether this speaker would want direct attribution, I am erring on the side of discretion.
6. An example is Lazar Afanas'ev, one of the founders of *Kut-Siur*, whose conversations in 1986 and 1991 I value greatly. *Kut-Siur* ideas and ideals are explained in Afanas'ev, Romanov, Petrov, Petrov, and Illarionov (1990). I participated in one *Kut-Siur* ceremony, dedicating a huge rock for the year of the eagle (1991) and commemorating another for the year of the horse (1990). The ritual was presided over by the elder Ksenofont Utkin, who chanted *algys* (sacred prayers), wearing traditional but non-shamanic dress. The rocks, carved with sun, eagle and horse symbols, are placed at a lovely site overlooking the Lena River near Pokrovsk.

The Seance as an Art Form

The core of most shamanic seances is a shamanic journey, either to upper or lower worlds, so that the intermediator shaman can effectively communicate with spirits of the supernatural for a specific purpose. Passing a number of heavens, only the most powerful of the Sakha shamans are able to reach the highest, ninth heaven, common in the cosmologies of Siberian Turkic peoples. To reach these heavens, the shaman goes into "a kind of religious ballet [...] a combination of dance, song, and extempore poetry, together with a considerable amount of mimesis" (Chadwick 1942:16–17). Such a ballet is possible only through an enormous amount of control, energy and training, but, as with all art forms, a degree of impromptu, inspired loss of full consciousness is also quite common. The Sakha *oiuun* Vladimir Kondakov described one of his first seances in which he indeed, feeling at first fully rational and in control, nonetheless remembered only the beginning and end of the seance.[7]

A true (not simulated) trance in which the spirits are perceived by the shaman and the seance audience to either be inside the shaman or escorting the shaman may result in a lack of conscious manipulation by the shaman. Shamans exhibit degrees of control and letting go, just as they have degrees of skill by which participants judge a seance. The poetry and even foreign tongues that emanate from a shaman at the height of a seance are not pre-meditated, although they are usually based on a shamanic repertoire of learned songs. Chanting may be both a way into ecstasy and a manifestation of it.

Different levels of skill, of ability to create the shamanic ballet, have been noticed by almost all of the researchers of Sakha shamanism.[8] The Polish exile-ethnographer Sieroshevskii (1901:105) for instance, explained:

> Observation justifies the division of shamans into great, middling and petty. Some of them dispose of light and darkness in such a masterly fashion, also of silence and incantation; the modulation of the voice is so flexible; the gestures so peculiar and expressive; the blows of the drum and the tone of them correspond so well to the moment: and all is intertwined with such an original series of unexpected words, witty observations, artistic and often elegant

7. The seance in question was not for healing, Kondakov admitted, but involved mildly scaring someone who had threatened him. This is not how Kondakov usually uses his powers, but the case reveals the diverse nature of seance purposes, and the difficulty of categorically splitting black and white shamanism. Amnesia after trance is common but some shamans also try to train themselves to remember full details of their spirit journeys.
8. See, for example Jochelson (1910, 1933), Sieroshevskii (1901), A. E. Kulakovsky (1979), G. V. Ksenofontov (1929). Shamans should also not be confused with untrained and far less controlled, albeit sometimes possessed *'menerick'*,who are often but not always women. I am grateful to Anastasiia Lavrentovna and Anastasiia Sivtseva for accounts of menerick. See also I. M. Lewis (1971:85) who claims that women, often the most down and out people in their communities, use possession outbursts to get attention and make uncharacteristic demands.

> metaphors, that involuntarily you give yourself up to the charm of watching this wild and free evocation of a wild and free spirit.

Clearly Sieroshevskii's description is quintessential romanticism. Yet he captures a tone of abandon that not only the shaman, but his or her audience share. Together, they enter an alternate consciousness which makes both more receptive to creativity. Even my own experience joining in hours of chanting during Sakha line dances, called *okhuokhai*, may be relevant to the issue of the creation and reception of meaningful poetry during trance.[9] As I repeated phrases of a dance leader's improvisational poetry, the power of the words poured over me, so that I felt I understood more vocabulary, more deeply.

Neither in the trance-like *okhuokhai* nor in the seance (sometimes called *kyryylara* or travel to the edge) is symbolic meaning divorced from phonics, but rather the combination stimulates, in a kind of synergism, the aesthetic imagination of creative initiators and audience-participants alike. Nonetheless, not every moment in a seance must have specific decipherable semantic meaning. Some shamans use animal calls, rhythmic vocal sounds and even a kind of jazz-like scat to enhance their performance. This was one of the trade-marks of Sergei Zverev, a Sakha shaman's assistant *(kuturukhsut)* who then became a performer of seances on the stage. At times shamans also produce fragments of languages they do not normally speak, explaining that the spirits themselves brought those languages. The spirit world that they are tapping into is one they themselves perceive as having wide-ranging cross-cultural commonalities, reaching well into North America and India.[10] Sieroshevskii's main shamanic informant, 'the-man-who-fell-from-heaven', had acquired his guardian spirit from having accidentally camped at the burial of a deceased Tungus (Evenk) shaman. Thus during his seances, Tungus words and gestures were com-

9. *Okhuokhai*, usually performed as part of major yearly and personal life-passage rituals, consist of long, circular lines of hand- and arm-linked dancers repeating phrases of chanted poetry called out by leaders who alternate and spell each other. After a male or female leader sings a phrase, it is repeated by the crowd, giving the leader a chance to think of the next one. Themes are current, situational and traditional, often sacred evocations of nature and of cultural heroes. Some Sakha are concerned that the sacred power of *okhuokhai* is being diluted because in the last few years it has been performed weekly at night in a club in Yakutsk. In July, 1991, I was with one group of *okhuokhai* dancers affiliated with the Sakha cultural movement *Sakha Omuk* (The Sakha People), who waited until dawn before they allowed themselves to begin, for true *okhuokhai* inspiration is supposed to come from benevolent solar energies.
10. Sergei Zverev's seance fragments can be heard on a Melodiia record, recorded by ethnomusicologist Edward Alekseev. I have been consulting with two friends, Chief Sings Alone and Buffalo Woman, who are Cherokee healers (and also trained psychologists) about some of my Siberian shamanic materials. Their sense of commonality with the spirit contacting trance experiences of Siberian shamans is considerable. They too explain the commonalities as based on the similarity of the spirit worlds they are encountering.

mon, for the Tungus shamanic spirit "took possession" (Sieroshevskii 1901: 103). This particular shaman also had a 'Russian devil' and two very bawdy male and female 'demons' as helpers who could both terrify and titillate his audiences.[11]

Whether they used momentary inspiration, bawdiness or blatant ventriloquial performances, shamans could not produce a fully effective or satisfying synergistic seance-ballet unless they were known for spiritual depth. Within their own cosmological-philosophical systems, shamans were and still are respected as wise spiritual advisors and keepers of a huge range of sacred knowledge, not just religious ballet masters or charlatan actors. In Sakha reasoning, a truly powerful and effective shamanic performance is the very mark of spirituality. In other words, the medium gives the message of spirituality. The purposes of a given seance define whether it is 'black' or 'white' shamanism, rather than the identity of a particular practitioner. Most shamans are neither purely 'black', using dark forces for evil intent, nor 'white', using only benevolent spirits for benign purposes.[12] The Sakha *oiuun* Vladimir Kondakov explained his goals, as expressed through seances, as reflecting and enacting a rich shamanic 'philosophical system', in which he tries 'to balance forces of the three worlds and of evil and good'. To do so, a good shaman should personify through poetry what the Sakha call *kut-siur*, or the nexus of the soul with reason.

Sakha Shamanic Poetry

A shamanic chant fragment from the opening of a seance, which beautifully illustrates the synergism of phonics, semantics and polytropy, was collected by one of several talented Sakha native ethnographers, Gavril Ksenofontov in the early 1930s:

Kunum kunum keuteurdeureun
Kunum kunum suurərdərə
Bəttəkh- bəttəkh buolutsər
Kha, kha, kha... Khaakh-Khakhak
Khuuk khuuk kush tik
Chek chekh chekh

A very rough translation, allowing for all that has ever been said or written about the impossibility of translation, and more, is :

11. Cf. Sieroshevskii (1902:318; 1901:102–108; 1896) for a fuller context for Sieroshevskii's analysis of shamanism.
12. Cf. Alekseev (1990, 1984, 1975), Basilov (1990, 1989), Balzer (1990), Popov (1947, 1949), Shirokogoroff (1935) and Troshchansky (1903) among many others for discussions of the validity of the black/white distinction.

Drive, drive, like a raven rise
Drive, drive, open the way
Closer, closer, come, appear
Kha, kha, kha... Spit, cackle
Khuuk khuuk Sting, bite
Chek, chekh, chekh

When this first, helper spirit arrives, a lively dialogue ensues between it and the shaman, with the shaman voicing both parts. Later a significant and typical moment occurs when the *oiuun* enjoins multiple spirits:

To this middle world homeland of our people
Bring lasting good fortune
Spirits purify us.[13]

During another seance from the 1920s, Ksenofontov recorded the calling for an evil female spirit, in order to banish it from a specific patient in great pain:

Arise now, show yourself
Even to your slender waist
Because I with the shaggy head
The stallion shaman
Sing and perform the ritual
Do not dare to pluck away and carry in
From the hallowed earth
A piece the size
Of a goodly island
Relax, then, the burning bout of pain
Turn away your jagged fangs.

In this, a key metaphor involves human flesh, by definition precious, being likened to sacred earth from which not one bite may be taken. There is also a sexual tension here between the stallion shaman and the female spirit. The seance builds intensity, enabling ecstasy and inspiration, until the shaggy stallion shaman dance-rides and thus unifies himself with his sacred drum-horse.[14]

Broader purposes, combined with symbolism of the familiar horse and an ancestral spirit snake, are characteristic of yet another historical chant

13. The root of the Sakha word for 'purify', clearly a complex concept much analyzed in anthropology (e.g. Douglas 1966, 1977), is *sul*, meaning clear, cleanse, strip bare. My version of this seance in the Sakha language comes from the archive of Aleksei Mikhailov. A version was also printed in Ksenofontov (1935). Concepts stressing evolving sociopolitical context, multivocal symbols, polytrophy, and synergism of tropes used here to decipher the aesthetic power of the poetry owe much to the writings of Atkinson (1990); E. Bruner (1984); Fernandez (1988; 1991); Friedrich (1991); Metcalf (1989); and Turner (1977:52).
14. This fragment comes from Ksenofontov (1929:135), is analyzed in Alekseev (1984:183), and translated and reprinted in Balzer (1990:54). The sexual tension mentioned here is

attributed to a seance performed by the great Spiridon of the Viliuisk region (who doubled as a Communist Party official) :

Breath into and strengthen the land
Make its expanses inhabitable
Multi-colored circular snake
Do not crush the wide retinue of your ancestors
With cries bring me forth
Open the doors of the homeland for this horse rider
Mother of our homeland fling wide our entrance
Place the homes of our homeland in safety
Protect our home hearths...[15]

In Spiridon's poem, the shaman seems to be reborn with birth cries during the seance, out of the womb of the mother of the Sakha homeland. The focus on the hearth is also significant, for many Sakha prayers are addressed to the fire spirit.

An equally famous, creative and good-willed shaman nicknamed Kuruuppa (from the word 'always') was extensively recorded by the Sakha folklorist Konstantinov in 1941. One of his seances was held to combat a tragedy that had befallen many Sakha communities during World War II:

Spirits by pairs from the forest
Following our family
Banish the bitterness descended...
Honored one circling
Well-being it seems fleeing
Apportioned fate
Growing up warm
Now internal misfortune
Has crept in
My human speech beseeches
Let the people's good fortune return
The tree there grows and protects
Show me the road to fight hunger...[16]

In this chant the slippery concept of fate is introduced, in order to be combatted. The word used here, from the root *teulkeuleun*, is less defini-

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more subtle than that in some shamanic chants. Discussion of sexual symbolism in Siberian shamanism is far rarer than its occurrence. Cf. Shternberg (1904) on Amur River Nivkh shamanism and the Tuvinian ethnographer Kenin-Lopsan (1987) for Tuvinian shamanism texts. See also Austerlitz (1984).

15. Spiridon's poetry is reported in a paper on his life given to me by Nikolai Ignat'ev (1990) of Viliuisk, to whom I am very grateful.
16. This comes from the 'Iakovlev-Kruuppa' archive, Institute of Languages, Literature and History, fond 5, op. 3, ed. kh. 537, page 57. I am thankful to the Sakha ethnographer Ekaterina Romanova for steering me to Nikita Petrovich Iakovlev's shamanic texts, handwritten in Sakha by Sakha folklorist Kristofor Konstantinov in 1941. The translation is mine.

tive than another subtle Sakha term for fate, *d'ylkha*, which can be glossed as destiny. The very soul of a shaman's mission is exposed in this poetic and poignant moment, for the *oiuun* is supposed to be able to thwart, adapt, or counterbalance individual or community fate through proper intercession with the spirits. The costs of interceding can be high in a cosmological world believed to have intertwined and balanced good and evil energies, which, once set in motion, are difficult to stop. Spirit intercessors, usually called *aiyy*, must fight with evil spirits, called *abaahy*, and yet the intercessors themselves are far from predictable. The shaman appeals to forest spirits, who, like humans, come in pairs, and he evokes the growing, nurturing cosmological tree, which links his world with the upper heavens and lower levels of spirit existence. Through the tree, he must find the road, which for him and his audience is quite literal, to travel to ever greater spirits in search of food, plenty, and health for his people.[17]

One of the institutionalized Sakha ways to influence and insure a balance of cosmological forces is a once-a-year fertility festival celebrating the opening season of fermented mare's milk *(kumiss),* summer plenty, youthful strength, mating, networking and community solidarity — among many other things. This exuberant 2–4 day festival, called *yhyak*, is opened with chanted shamanic prayers, preferably by an *oiuun* with a 'white', or at least generally benevolent reputation. While the festival declined in most places through the 1930s and in World War II, it had a dramatic comeback just after the war, when returning soldiers were feted at mass revival *yhyak* ceremonies. In 1990 the festival was declared a national holiday of the Yakut-Sakha Republic. I have participated in seven of these festivals, in 1986, 1991 and 1993, and found them to have varying degrees of theatricality and spirituality. By a bonfire in a field, the controversial deep voiced curer Vladimir Kondakov at the 1991 Namsk region festival poured *kumiss* from a sacred carved wooden cup *choron* (shaped as a woman's breast with horse hoove legs) onto the sacred living earth in the four directions. He chanted these time-hallowed lines:

> Spirits of our homeland
> Spirits labor for us
> Five-fingered spirits
> Sacred head of the horse
> Unified with this shaman
> Spirits of the homeland
> Riding horseback
> To you spirits I give prayers

17. The tree described here relates to the cosmological world tree much discussed in shamanic literature (cf. Eliade 1972:271). I have been in seven spirit groves in which special, sacred trees are given offerings of ribbons and money. Such groves are common in many rural regions, and their location is usually kept secret from outsiders.

My tongue speaks for us
Understand my speech
The Sakha person
Strains to ask an important favor
That the spirits bring good fortune to our people
Assuage and banish evil spirits and enemies
From our homeland
Dispel the darkness
Dispel all knowledge of terror.

In this poem, an archaic word, *yrangkhai*, is used for 'person' in conjunction with 'Sakha'; and this word is sometimes even substituted for 'Sakha' in epic tales. Enemies of the Sakha have of course changed over time and are not specified here, but there is a strong sense of an us/them division being cultivated — one that the Sakha notice and the few Russians attending the festival might miss (cf. Codrescu 1990:110).[18]

In Sakha tradition, only one human can compete with the prestige of a shaman, and that is a blacksmith. His power comes from knowledge of the same spirit world and cosmology as the shaman's, and he too has a tradition of performance of poetic songs as a way to reach this spirit world. One Viliuisk blacksmith, Ivan Zakharov, bragged in 1991 that he had continued his sacred family smithing traditions into the especially sacred ninth generation, maintaining knowledge of sacred songs sung to the fire spirit. The popular and cheerful Zakharov in his youth was also a shaman's helper, *kuturukhsut*, and he has recently been simulating shamanic performances for *yhyak* festivals, museum openings and other events. He chants his family 'forge prayer' with a drum, dancing, in full shamanic dress:[19]

Strong beautiful
Unbroken hammer
With Flame complete the task
Noisy frightening
Grandfather spirit
Oh chief ancient one

18. In this archaic chant of Kondakov, learned from a now deceased shaman, there is little room for improvisation, actual trance, or a dramatic moment of inspiration. However, new meaning is easily 'read' into the old text. And ambiguous language about 'enemies' can be viewed variously by participants. The Romanian poet Andrei Codrescu (1990:110) explains: "The tonal ambiguities developed by oppressed cultures to communicate different things in the same words to friends and foes become urgently important." In addition, Kondakov felt something special happened as he sang this chant in June 1991, when a light gentle localized rain descended on the field where the *yhyak* took place, as a mark of the spirit's acceptance of his ceremony. (In accord with Kondakov's wishes, I have a transcript, but not a tape of this chant.)
19. This chant is printed in a Sakha pamphlet about Ivan Zakarov (Utkin 1991: 28–29), and I also taped it in June 1991 at his Viliuisk smithy. Zakharov is renowned as a maker of the Sakha national instrument, the *khomus*, or jaw harp (also called Jew's harp), which is associated by some Sakha with shamanic tradition.

Leader tall and great
Of wondrous fate
Do not mistake this prayer
Be fair to this master
Seven centuries you have come to us
Preserve me.

Conclusion

There is a large range of improvisational ancient chants within a broadly defined Sakha sacred spirit calling tradition. Smithy and *yhyak* prayers, considered together with multi-purpose seance dialogues and improvisational recitative during *ohuokhai* dances add up to at least four sacred Sakha traditional genres of poetry with relative degrees of improvisation and trance permitted within and among them. This initial typology does not even begin to capture the full extent of traditional sung Sakha poetry related to shamanism: the enormous semi-sacred epics, called *olonkho*, have become a famous symbol of Sakha cultural pride. Within these epics, once sung by special travelling singers, *olonkhosut*, are parts for many voices, including hero and heroine-shamans. Another less sacred genre is the improvisational song, called *toiuk*, in which shamans are sometimes featured.[20] In addition, several recent young poets, including some talented women, have been tapping into the shamanic symbolic, lyric (effusive and musical) tradition in a secularized highly literate way. A few are so successful that literate practicing shamans themselves admire the published work, acknowledge the shamanic roots, and even joke about their sexual shamanic metaphors.[21] And to muddle any typology even further, a few shamans interested in community psychic curing are struggling with entirely new media, including theater and film, into which ancient shamanic myths, prayers and poems may be syncretised (cf. Hoppál 1992).[22]

20. *Olonkho* collections and analyses include Oiunsky (1975), and Mirbatalaeva with the singer Timofeev-Teploukhov (1985). *Toiuk* sources include E. Alekseev (1976) and the multivolume series Ergis et al (1976, 1977, 1980, 1983).
21. Examples of some of the new-style poets using shamanic themes and symbolism are Ivan Gogolev (1989), Sargilaana Gol'derova (1987), and a group of young poets called 'the white horse' (1991), including Aisen Doidu (whose penname means homeland), Anatolii Shvetsov, Oleg Chermyshentsev, Vladimir Orosutsev, and Kirill Alekseev. The poet Omsurra, whose penname is from the Sakha root for questing, is not widely published but is especially popular for her daring sexual symbolism. On theoretical issues related to literacy and its embeddedness in specific cultural contexts rather than general great cognitive shifts, see Schousboe and Larsen (1989).
22. An example is Aleksei Romanov's 1989 film called *Maappa* (the name of a beautiful suicide ghost), which has been shown on Sakha television. Romanov is a founding leader

Typologies are often attempts to impose order on phenomena that are inherently disorderly. As shamanism, its language and even its media changes, purist concern about the dilution of Siberian shamanism may be misplaced and futile. If we broaden our understanding of what shamanic language and inspiration can become for people reaching for a new-found spirituality, it is clear that within Sakha tradition are already the roots of a regenerated and adapted shamanism (cf. Metcalf 1989; Halifax 1979; Chadwick 1942). Prayers *(algys)*, for instance, as well as seances are very much part of inspirational poetic speech, enabling a broader potential constituency for spirituality, beyond shamans in their communities.

There are degrees of inspiration, degrees of the sacred, and degrees of dramatic participation. By these degrees, followers judge their shamans and shamans judge each other. Because of these degrees, shamans are in constant competition with each other. One manifestation of this competition is poetic creativity, embedded within extravagant sacred performances.

The multiple tropes and multivocal symbols which form the basis of Sakha poetic construction are drawn from a deep, archaic and rich cultural reservoir of Sakha ideas, philosophies and cosmology. Horse-drums, shaggy stallion shamans, fermented mare's milk, multicolored snakes, sacred trees, five-fingered fire spirits and paired forest spirits all come from a three-part, cosmologically complex world still having resonance for many Sakha. But the concept recurring most often in the poems, and in the thoughts of Sakha intelligentsia and villagers is the concept of homeland. It is as tangible as flesh, and just as precious. It is the basis of an evolving Sakha nationalism consciously being stimulated by the society *Kut-Siur*, which is also, not accidentally, one of the sponsors of shamanic seance revivals.

In a seance, poetic metaphors become 'real' to all those involved and the easily metaphorical Sakha language comes alive. The spirits are believed to appear: the poetry would not work without them. The shaman is believed to become one with his horse-drum: he could not travel without it. Here one of the Sakha terms for the seance itself, *kyryylara*, or travel to the edge, becomes relevant. A middle-aged Sakha actor who often plays shamans on the Sakha-language stage in Yakutsk had a frightening insight into the nature of 'the edge,' as he had experienced it. He has a superb reputation for having done solid research into shamanic seances, texts, dancing and music, and has recently been using rhythmic breathing and drum therapy on patients, working in conjunction with a trained psychologist. He has become quite popular as a lesser folk (non-official) curer, but he confesses that he has stopped doing full seances because he nearly 'slipped

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of *Kut-Siur*, has a reputation for folk-healing, and is extraordinarily knowledgeable about Sakha shamanic tradition. I am very grateful to him for many insightful conversations.

over the edge' several times into such a deep trance and such a compelling spirit world that he felt he might not return. When he performs, even just on stage, he gets carried away with the poetry he has memorized, sometimes using it as the core of further improvisation. He fears for the health of his family, since those who make mistakes evoking helping spirits of dead shamans sometimes find that these spirits come back to haunt them or their loved ones.[23]

For participants, shamanic poetry is a mode of transport, not just beyond the mundane and into the sacred, but into other realities and dimensions where capricious spirits may possibly — nothing guaranteed — be harnessed to help humans out of very ordinary and concrete problems such as sickness and hunger. The way the poetry is produced, and precisely its inspirational nature, in a ballet of symbolic codes, clues both human and spirit audiences into the spirituality, or depth of *kut-siur*, of its creator. Poet shamans of the Sakha Republic are today tentatively traveling into this realm of hard-won spiritual knowledge and delight along accepted ancient paths, the seance, and totally new ones, written verse, drama and film. Some of the ancient paths have become overgrown with disuse, but shamans like one young Viliuisk man whose helper spirits are the raven the dog say they have rediscovered the paths with the guidance of elderly living shamans and the spirits of deceased shamans. Both old-style and new-style shamanic poets have in common the root of the Sakha word for shaman, *oiuun*, from *oi*, meaning intelligence and conscience together.

23. The actor is Afanasii Fedorov, whose help in 1991 and 1992 is gratefully acknowledged. When he constructed the basic text for his seance simulation, he was careful not to use the opening calling chants of any one particular shaman, but rather syncretised an archival sampling, so as not to offend any deceased shamans, nor mis-signal helping spirits. A separate group of actors call themselves *Oiuun*, i.e. 'Shaman,' 'an original stage-circus synthetic theater,' under the direction of Sergei Rastorguev.

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The Puyuma's 'Language of the Spirits' (South-East of Taiwan)

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The Puyuma, numbered 6000 inhabitants, live in the Taitung plain in southeastern Taiwan. The entire society of the village of Nanwang, 1300 people, is organised around complementary dyads in which both men and women play an important role. The men are priests in charge of the socio-cosmic unity of the society as a whole. They invoke far-away, mythical ancestors. The women are shamans, *temaramaw*[1]. Six shamans out of eleven 'work' daily, the others are either too old or sick. They take care of the human being, of his/her biological and social equilibrium. They invoke recent ancestors.

In ordinary rituals, accomplished daily, the woman plays the role of a medium. However, for extraordinary rituals — calling back a soul and the annual 'voyage' — the woman is a shaman. In such rituals she uses a smal bell — otherwise kept in her bag- to travel in supernature. She is the musician. In her activity as medium or shaman she is the creator of the ritual. Each new problem generates a ritual previously unknown. In reality the arrangement of the sequences of a seance is always the same: summoning of the spirits, diagnosis, cure, thanksgiving and sending back the spirits. It is only the body of the invocation which particularizes the ritual. In similar conditions, however, she will conduct the session differently. For example, if she knows the patients retribution will be meagre, she will conduct a briefer session with less eagerness, almost mechanically. In any case, the Puyuma take no interest in the officiant's gestures, words and caresses, which they say are enigmatic. For them the ritual is necessary for the restoration of biological or social order.

In general the session of an ordinary ritual will take place in the patient's home. In the main room, facing the ancestor's altar, the officiant prepares the areca nuts — the metaphorical language for speaking with the spirits. Then, on the doorstep, the shaman calls the spirits using their 'language' by means of small oven-baked clay beads. In a monotonous voice she enumerates the names of all the spirits — the enumeration of all the

1. *temaramaw* : < *tara* : to hold the hand upwards, *maw* : identical, /*-em-*/ infix indicating the actor focus. When they 'work', they hold their left hand, holding the areca nuts, towards the sky, where stands the supernature which is 'identical' to them.

spirits play an important role as it is a divinatory procedure. The offended spirit manifests itself as soon as it is called. This intense moment when the spirit manifests itself is signaled by a burst of tears and an expression of suffering on the officiant's face. It is impossible to speak with her or to question her, it is the moment when she leaves this world for that of the ritual. During this sequence the ancestor's spirits reveal the cause of their discontent, which brought about the disturbances. During the cure she confirms the diagnosis. Outside the contexte of the ritual the simple fact of pronouncing the name of certain spirits such as the name of the first shaman or of the elector-spirit triggers an uncontrolled trance. The spirit then enters her through yawns. The shaman shakes to avoid being possessed. She tries to chase away the spirit by reciting an invocation and offering it some wine. The spirit may refuse to leave and, in that case, the uncontrollable trance is unavoidable: the 'ancestors'spirits come', she says. On the other hand, the annual 'voyage' takes place after a long physical and psychological preparation. After a day of relaxation and a soothing bath on the last night of the annual festival, *pualasakan*[2] — the time during which she renews contact with her auxiliary-spirits, she shuts herself up in her dimly-lit sanctuary. With the help of her small bell her soul enters 'the world of the spirits', *kaqaulasan,*[3] making its way along roads lined with flowers, climbing tree-covered mountains: 'she is in the world of auxiliary-spirits, *'yaulas'*[4].

I here propose to present the spoken language and then the metaphorical language used by the officiants.

The Spoken Language

In a society with no writing system, memory is essential for the transmission of acquired knowledge. In fact the ability of people to memorise is quite suprising. Orally transmitted knowledge has the value of an initiation by a word which is alive and active. The spirits which possess the knowledge transmit it to the novice. This acquisition is carried out through the mistress who will share a bed with her disciple during the month following the ceremony of investiture. Thus, the 'spirits' language' is a revealed language. It is perhaps easier now to understand why ordinary people consider this language, which is reserved only to officiants, priests and

2. *Pualasakan* lasts 7 days but the most important day is the 3rd of the 3rd month of the lunar calendar. That day, the ritual bag fell down from 'the Up' onto Samguan, the first shaman according to them, who was working in the fields.
3. *kaqaulasan* : < *aulas* : the world of the spirits, the circonfixe *ka-...-an* means the archetype of.
4. *yaulas* : < *aulas* : the world of the spirits, *i-* / locatif. The litterate transcription is : 'to be in the world of the spirits'.

shamans, to be incomprehensible.[5] The shaman calls out to and invokes the spirits, She is the key figure, the interpreter. She does not monopolize the spirits speech for she shares it with the priest, but she has every right to penetrate the 'world of auxiliary-spirits'. The form and rythm help her memorize the invocations which she pronounces in short, rhythmic phrases: the melodic element of the tonality or the assonances and alliteration play an important role. All these formulas, repeated daily, insure a relative automatism. It is true that it takes the beginer a few years of attentive listening to her elders to acquire this stream of thorougly mastered language and for her word to become active.

The Stylistic Forms of Spoken Language

It may be necessary, first, to remember that the Puyuma language belongs to the occidental branch of the Austronesian family. It is therefore of the agglutinating type and allows insertion of all types of affixes — affixation is theoritically limitless in Puyuma. Plus, each nouns or noun phrase must always be linked to the verb or any other words or phrases in the sentence by the appropriate construction marker (which is comparable to articles in European languages).

The stylistic analyse of the language shows clearly that each invocation proceeds of five different types: systematic doubling, borrowed words, archaisms, assonances and metaphors.

1. Systematic doubling through use of synonyms

In the long enumeration of the names of the spirit, the systematic doubling combined with the omission of the construction markers generate a rapid pronunciation and bring the patient to an idle listening, e.g.

pakaladam ku, paseltu ku,
miaqlup, miakelup,
mibabungai, mibabuyul
reberebe, adaqadaw
benabalis, demadulum
mibanisin, misalikid....[6]

I inform (the) spirit of creation, (the) spirit of earth, (the) spirit 'fireman', (the) spirit of 'changes', (the) spirit of the doors... Here, all the con-

5. They forbade me to register any invocations when they found out that I was able to decipher the texts.
6. The names of the spirits are different according to the invocation, e.g. if the patient is a man she calls the spirits of the forest, of the hunters.

struction markers have been erased... But all the doublings do not proceed so, e.g. a short excert of the long invocation semirap, 'to clean' :

sasirap ku, sasapud ku
to sweep I to pick up I
kandi p-en-a-ka-ban-an, kandi p-en-a-ka-bekal
here the to get up here the new
kandi kana kubaw, kandi kana ruma.
here the old house, here the house
puqeremqerem ku, pukasakasa ku,
to gather I to put together I
da palepe, da padulan
the invisible things.
I clean here the new house. I put together all the invisible thing.

This systematic use of synonyms or pseudo synonyms flourishes the style. The second term, if known, does not bring a new information, according to the officiants. Its existence is conditioned by verbal prosody. It is put into synonymy even if its meaning is somewhat different, for example the doubling : *t-em-alu-mata, t-em-alu-seqer* where :

t-em-alu-mata is formed of : *mata* : eyes + the verbal base *tala* : to stop + /*-em-*/ the infix which indicates the actor focus ;

t-em-alu-seqer is formed of: *seqer* : to look away + the verbal base *tala* : to stop + /*-em-*/ the infix which indicates the actor focus.

For the two terms, the shaman translates : 'to see not clearly'.

2. Words borrowed from neighbouring languages

Some of the terms are borrowed to express modernity, for example, when the shaman informs the spirits of her using a machine for sewing the ritual bags : *kana misi, kana kikai* : the sewing machine < Japanese.

For some other words, the origin is known, for example in the doubling : *kana biki, kana puran* where *puran* is a Puyuma's term and *biki* is borrowed from the Paiwan neighbours.

3. Some archaisms

Archaisms are certainly the most difficult to detect. Whenever the invocations mention men, the shamans say : *kan bangsar, kan manasaw*, where *bangsar* is a commonly used term for male adult and *manasaw* keeps its secret. Still in some doublings such as *datar, dekal* : village, the second term is daily used and the first belongs to an older linguistic substratum as we find in Malayan language, *datar* : a flat land (a part of my work consists in searching through Austronesian dictionaries). It would seem

that certain words are the product of the imagination or simply of transformation: e.g. *i lawili, i lawalan* in which *lawili* is a word used daily meaning left, *lawalan* seems to have been created by using the suffix */-an* indicating the prepositional case and linked up to the form *lawili*, which means: to the left, of places located on the left. Another example may bring to a better comprehension, *pinalemalemakan* means 'that which made one skilfull' and is formed of : *pa-/* causative form, */-in-/* infix indicatif the accomplished, *lema* would be in fact *lima* : the hand, the reduplication of the base is emphatic. Let's have one more look at the above example, *t-em-alu-mata, t-em-alu-seqer;* the base *tala* is recited *talu*. At my questioning, the officiants just reply 'that is the way we recite', it is clear here that it only helps at the creation of the esoteric language.

4. Assonances

Assonances which facilitate memorization are combined with a trend in consonantal or vocalic alliterations

Examples are numerous, e.g. the doublings *na kuku, na kukue* : 'a puppy', *miaqlup, miakelup* : the spirit of creation — trees, mountains —, but here she plays with the glottal stop, accentuating it until one hears the voiceless stop consonnant *k*. The repetition of the words accompanies this custom.

The alliterations are often accompanies or are themselves *onomatopoeic*, e.g. *a gutgut* : 'incisive teeth', but in the invocations it means scandalmongering, — in English one would say 'blab' —; *a nirangrang, a demdem* : 'heart', — in English one would say thump-thump, in French boum-boum.

5. An extended use of metaphor

The real meaning is dissimulated by a symbolic image, for example, the doublings :

da amian, da butelan : 'one year' ; *da amian* : 'the duration of a year', *da butelan* : 'bamboo inter-nod'.

dawai, dere : 'human body' — in the sense of creation —, in which dere is a deformation of dare : the earth which material permits creation.

da tematagep, da murabarabak : 'deceased shamans' where : *tematagep* is formed of the verbal base *taqep* : to lie down + the reduplication of the first syllable is emphatic + the infix indicating the actor focus *(-em-)*,

murabarabak is formed of *rabak* : to encircle + the reduplication of the base is emphatic + the prefix *mu-/* to go to.

The translation is: 'those who laid down', we could add 'for ever', those who are 'encircled with'.

The prayers are in any case adaptable to the problem which needs to be resolved and, therefore, infinitely extendable. The rythmic word coupled with the game of doubling makes a perfect matrix for the overuse of synonyms. The automatism of doubling gives the feeling of poetry and seems to leave the words nothing else but their sonority. The patients let themselves be carried away by the rapid fluidity of the words, which they do not wish to remember anyhow, for they are reserved to priests and shamans. In reality, the language is not specific although it had to look so; it belongs, rather, to another level; the affixation and phonological processes belong to common language, but it is the specialized lexical corpus and the sequencing of terms without construction markers which render this language dense and obscur. The aesthetic aspect is necessary to the content to make the performance efficient.

The power of the invocatory word is re-enforce by the voice and the gestures. The officiant's vocal technique allows her to switch from a chest voice for the calling and the sending back of the spirits to a head voice which creates the emotional tension when she encounters them. She uses a strangled voice to reveal the apex of ther emotion when she 'extirpates' a curse (symbolized by a rotten areca nut) from a place or a body. Some use a functional dysphonia — such as nodes on vocal cords — to change the tone of her voice for each encounter with a different spirit, especially during the annual voyage (they refuse any medical attention). The voice perfectly transmits the ritual and emotional trajectory of the shaman. As for the gestures, they are codified. This accentuates the specificity of each prayer. The latter bears the name of the ritual of which it constitues the central part.

Metaphorical language

There is a correspondance between the uttered invocation and the objects used in the ritual. The products and the material used — such as the sickle, the small bell, the wine — are exemplary objects whose names when pronounced have power. The areca nut offering carried out to thank the spirits at the moment they are sent back is accompanied by the name of each part of the areca tree supposed to be active, the roots and the pendant leaves.

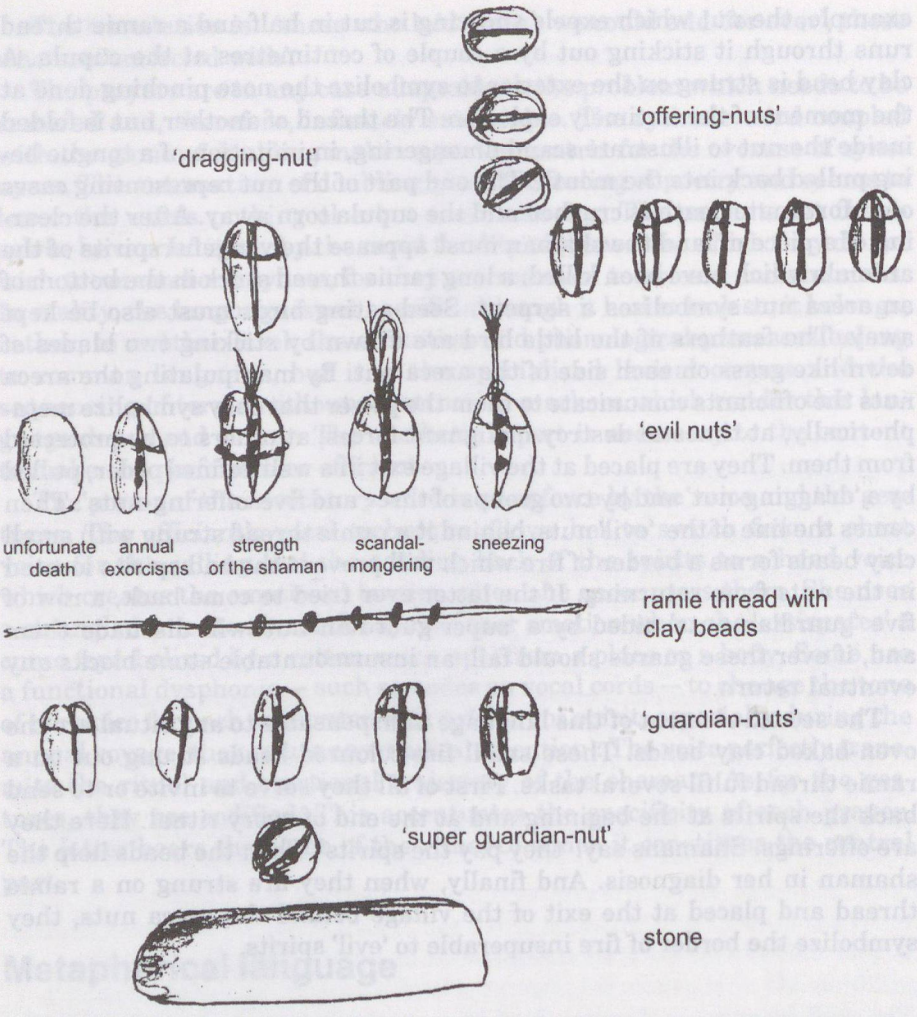
The ritual is built around two objects: the areca nuts, *puran*, and the small oven-baked clay beads, *inasi*. The areca nuts, indispensable element in any ritual, serve as a metaphorical language to comunicate with the spirits. Using them is like speaking. It is not necessary that they represent the object perfectly; only the intention counts. At the beginning of each ritual they are carved to represent what they are to exorcize. For

example, the nut which expels sneezing is cut in half and a ramie thread runs through it sticking out by a couple of centimetres at the cupula. A clay bead is strung on the exterior to symbolize the nose pinching done at the moment of the untimely explosion. The thread of another nut is folded inside the nut to illustrate scandalmongering, in imitation of a tongue being pulled back into the mouth. The end part of the nut representing cases of unfortunate death is crushed and the cupula torn away. After the clearing of a piece of land the shaman must appease the vengeful spirits of the animals which have been killed: a long ramie thread stuck in the bottom of an areca nut symbolizes a serpent. Seed-eating birds must also be kept away. The feathers of the little bird are drawn by sticking two blades of down-like grass on each side of the areca nut. By manipulating the areca nuts the officiants comunicate to them the power that they symbolize metaphorically, at times to destroy malignant forces, at others to be protected from them. They are placed at the village exit in a well defined order, pulled by a 'dragging-nut' and by two groups of three and five 'offering-nuts'. Then comes the line of the 'evil' nuts, behind it a ramie thread strung with small clay beads forms a border of fire which will prevent the bad spirits located in the nuts from returning. If the latter ever tried to come back, a row of five 'guardian-nuts' aided by a 'super-guardian nut' will dissuade them and, if ever these guards should fail, an insurmountable stone blocks any eventual return.

The second element of this language indispensable to any ritual are the oven-baked clay beads. These small fire-coloured beads strung out on a ramie thread fulfil several tasks. First of all they serve to invite or to send back the spirits at the begining and at the end of every ritual. Here they are offerings. Shamans say: 'they pay the spirits'. Then the beads help the shaman in her diagnosis. And finally, when they are strung on a ramie thread and placed at the exit of the village behind the areca nuts, they symbolize the border of fire insuperable to 'evil' spirits.

Conclusion

The 'language of the spirits' is certainly not the sum of unused ancient elements of contemporary language, even though the Puyuma say it is an 'ancient language' which only spirits and officiant understand. Some words are probably words or nouns of the past more or less transformed and used only for their phonic value. This 'language of the spirits' is not a secret one. The fact that people are unaware of its meaning does not result from a prohibition but simply from ignorance even of the officiants and especially from the indifference of those who do no use it. Shamans have a love for words as words, for the synonyms and for the metaphors.



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Translating the Ineffable into Ritual Language:

A Comparison of Singapore Chinese and Northern Thai Shamanic Rituals

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Before we can discuss two rituals in their ethnospecific context, we have to agree on the nature and function of rituals.

Rituals are also performed by animals, e. g., to mark territory or during courtship. In this essay, however, I want to look at rituals as specific human activities which reflect interior procedures, supported by outward behavior.

It has been said that rituals are symbolic actions which express something ineffable. Coomaraswami found rituals "indispensable for those who – being on their way – have not yet reached [liberation]" (1978:4–6). As Fried and Fried pointed out, rituals are, in fact,

> signboards of life. We have seen something of their variety in a number of cultures of varying scale and degree of technological complexity. Except in the simplest societies, homogeneity of transition rituals is broken by differences of status or by ethnic heterogeneity of the population. Nonetheless, rituals of recognizable form take place to mark at least some, if not all, of the significant points in the life cycle distinguished in the culture (Fried and Fried 1980:256–257).

The earliest documentation on rituals can be found at burial sites, more than 40,000 years ago. There are traces of rituals having been performed for the dead (e. g., breaking of skull, offering of flowers; Fried and Fried 1980:269). We can, therefore, assume that rituals were known already to early hunters and gatherers.

It should, however, be expected that rituals kept changing with each form of society – whether horticultural, nomadic-pastoral, agricultural, or urban. Yes, rituals are still performed by people living in highly modernized and technologically advanced, multi-cultural and multi-ethnic cities.

With the first ritual performed in mythological times, Robertson Smith, in his "Lectures on the Religion of the Semites", said that

> In all the antique religions, mythology takes the place of dogma [...] these stories afford the only explanation that is offered of the precepts of religion and the prescribed rules of ritual. But strictly speaking, this mythology was no essential part of ancient religion, for it had no sacred sanction and no binding force on the worshippers [...] Provided the worshipper fulfilled the

> ritual with accuracy, no one cared what he believed about its origin. Belief in a certain series of myths was neither obligatory as a part of true religion, nor was it supposed that, by believing, a man acquired religious merit and conciliated the favor of the gods [...] So far as myths consist of explanation of ritual, their value is altogether secondary [...] in almost every case the myth is derived from the ritual, and not the ritual from the myth (quoted in Reik 1946:17–18).

Reik, expanding Smith's statement, suggested that

> Myth is older than religion; it is one of the oldest wish compensations of mankind in its eternal struggle with external and internal forces [...] it is of highest importance for our understanding of the first psychological conflicts of primitive people (Reik 1946:18).

Reik, however, continued to perpetuate Freud's mistake by using observations made of 'obsessional neurotics' to draw conclusions about the mental foundation upon which rituals rest. For Reik, "neuroses represent an individual attempt to solve the identical problems [which are] the object of the great institutions of human society" (1946:16).

It took thirty years until Gay finally refuted the Freudian view about the repressive nature of rituals (Gay 1975). It was now scientifically acknowledged that rituals have an empowering quality and 'enhance social solidarity", thereby providing "an adaptive advantage. Societies lacking such rituals were less integrated than those that developed or borrowed them" (Fried and Fried 1980:271).

People do not actually reinvent certain forms of rituals, "they hold elements of their old ways while taking over a number of things from the new people among whom they now live and whom they wish to emulate" (Fried and Fried 1980:258). We have to keep in mind that the "social world is a world in becoming, not a world in being" (Turner 1974:24). (For further discussion of the syncretization of rituals, I refer to my book, *Shamans of the 20th Century*, 1991.)

In the 1960s, Sir Julian Huxley invited scholars to "A Discussion of Ritualization of Behavior of Animals and Man" at the University of Oxford. More conferences on rituals have been held since then (see, e. g., D'Aquili et al. 1979). The American Academy of Religion established a Ritual Studies Group in 1982.

> Because ritual studies comprise a newly consolidated field within religious studies, a high degree of methodological and bibliographical self-consciousness is necessary. And because this subject's aspirations are interdisciplinary, it is obligated to differentiate and relate its task to several other disciplines such as liturgical theology, symbolic anthropology, art criticism, history of religions, and psychology of religion (Grimes 1985:1).

Studies of rituals have to "mediate between normative and descriptive, as well as textual and field-observational methods," so that "the ground-

work for a coherent taxonomy and theory" can be laid. The full range of symbolic behavior runs from ritual behavior of animals through interaction rituals to highly differentiated religious liturgies as well as civil ceremonies. We should, therefore, not automatically assume that rituals are "dependent variables" (Grimes 1985:1).

To establish a basis for discussion, I will now present statements about the functions of rituals made during the last thirty years. Leach called all "culturally defined sets of behavior" rituals (1968:574) and Lorenz outlined the functions of rituals as follows:

> The first and oldest function is that of communication. [...] The second, which in the case of phylogenetic ritualization probably derived from the first, consists of the 'channeling' of certain behavior patterns into specific areas as a result of their ritualization, in the same way one can channel a river in the direction one requires. In phylogenetic ritualization it is principally aggressive behavior that is channeled in this manner; in the cultural process it is virtually the whole of social conduct of both phyletic and cultural ritualization. [...] The third basic function of both phyletic and cultural ritualization is the creation of new motivations which actively influence the complex of social conduct (Lorenz 1977:209).

Lorenz' hypothesis is based on the point when "a phylogenetically adapted motor pattern which originally served the species in dealing with some environmental necessities acquire[d] a new function, that of communication" and a bond is formed "which keeps together two or more individuals." Rituals then constitute this bond (Lorenz 1977:272–284).

In his *Ritual Process*, Victor Turner already spoke of the 'raw energies' which are 'released in overt symbolisms of sexuality and hostility between the sexes.' These 'raw energies' are then

> channeled toward master symbols representative of structural order, and values and virtues on which that order depends. Every opposition is overcome or transcended in a recovered unity, a unity that, moreover, is reinforced by the very potencies that endanger it. One aspect of ritual is shown by these rites to be a means of putting at the service of the social order the very forces of disorder that inhere in man's mammalian constitution. Biology and structure are put in right relation by the activation of an ordered succession of symbols, which have the twin function of communication and efficacy (Turner 1969:63).

Or, in other words,

> The exchange of qualities makes desirable what is socially necessary by establishing a right relationship between involuntary sentiments and the requirements of social structure. People are induced to want to do what they must do. In this sense ritual action is akin to a sublimation process, and one would not be stretching language unduly to say that its symbolic behavior actually 'creates' society for pragmatic purposes (Turner 1974:57).

I will only briefly mention the issue of 'fixed action patterns' which are assumed to be 'hardwired' into individual members of a species and which "are seen to surface in other exchanges [...] to effect cooperation between one or more individuals" (Dubin-Vaughn 1989, referring to Chomsky and others). We certainly inherit behavior patterns because they are imprinted in our genes, but we also make choices in our life. Anthropologists, however, are mainly 'concerned with forms of behavior which are not genetically determined'. They want to know what kind of behavior regulates, in which way, relationships inside a specific society as well as modifies relationships with outsiders.

Leach went one step further and looked for content. He distinguished three types of behavior:

> (1) Behavior which is directed towards specific ends which, judged by our standards of verification, produces observable results in a strictly mechanical way. [...] we can call this 'rational technical' behavior.
>
> (2) Behavior which forms part of a signaling system and which serves to 'communicate information' not because of any mechanical link between the means and the ends but because of the existence of a culturally defined communication code. [...] we can call this 'communicative' behavior. [What is communicated may not be apparent to outside observes and may remain a mystery to some participants as well, see anthropologist Gilbert Lewis who said that rituals "may aim at clear, explicit symbolism or aim at mystery" (1980:8–90).]
>
> (3) Behavior which is potent in itself in terms of the cultural convention of the actors but not potent in a rational–technical sense... [it] is directed towards evoking the potency of occult powers even though it is not presumed to be potent in itself ... we can call this 'magical' behavior (Leach 1972:334).

In their multi-disciplinary study, Laughlin, McManus, and D'Aquili used a biogenetic structural approach and said,

> The spectrum of ritual [...] comes in a vast array of forms and colors. [...] Ritual is never random behavior but is highly organized, encompassing myriad discrete and symbolic elements intertwined in a complex behavior matrix. Like the spectrum, ritual is structured by a set of organizational principles that are only partially, if ever, comprehended by participants and includes both observed and unobserved elements. Furthermore, there are certain preconditions for ritual, just as there are conditions prerequisite to the appearance of the spectrum (D'Aquili 1979:1).

This reminds of Lévi-Strauss' discussion of 'surface and deep structures'.

We are obviously facing a wide range of rituals. Rituals mark the transition from one stage in the life cycle to another (birth, initiation into adulthood, marriage, death). Rituals can be seasonal, cyclical, weather-making, divinatory, and there are rituals of affliction as well as curing rites.

Wallace distinguished between

technological rituals: to control non-human nature (divination, intensification rites to increase food supply);
protective rituals: to avert misfortune;
therapeutic/antitherapeutic rituals: to cure or inflict injuries;
ideological rituals: to control social groups and values (rites of passage and territorial movements);
social intensification rituals: to renew group solidarity (Sunday services, rebellion rites which bring about catharsis);
salvation rituals: to cope with personal difficulties (possession, shamanic and mystic rites, expiation);
revitalization rituals: to cure societal difficulties and identity crises (millennia movements; see Eliade, XII, 1957:413).

Grimes used a different classification system:

rites of passage (couvade, birth, baptism, initiation, puberty, circumcision). He lists marriage and funerary rites (mortuary, death, mourning, unction, burial, cremation) separately, although they are rites of passage too;
festivals (celebrations, feasts, carnivals, contests, sports, games);
pilgrimages (quests, processions, parades);
purification (fast, pollution, taboo, sin, confession) ;
civil ceremonies (royal rites, enthronement, legal ceremonies, warfare);
rituals of exchange (hunting, agricultural/ecological, food offerings, potlatch);
worship (liturgy, prayer, sacraments);
magic (fertility, divination, sorcery, oracles);
healing rites (shamanic, psychedelic, exorcism, illness, therapy, dream incubation, possession);
interaction rites (habit, secular);
meditation rites (possession, conversion, trance);
rites of inversion (rebellion, clowning, joking, obscenity, revitalization);
ritual drama (pageantry, experimental and entertainment rites, Grimes 1985:2).

These classifications overlap due to the transformative nature of rituals. All participants expect to come into the presence of the Divine. Eliade spoke of hierophanies and found rituals rooted in archetypes (1957:406). Rituals are, indeed, transformative while ceremonies are confirmatory.

Barbara Myerhoff, Linda A. Camino, and Edith Turner further defined van Gennep's 'rites of passage' (1960/1909). They viewed 'rites of passage' as

> a category of rituals that mark the passage of a person through the life cycle, from one stage to another over time, from one role of social position to an-

> other, integrating the human and cultural experiences with biological destiny in birth, reproduction and death. These ceremonies make the basic distinctions, observed in all groups, between young and old, male and female, living and dead (Myerhoff, Camino, Turner 1957:380).

Van Gennep spoke of three major steps: separation, transition, and incorporation. Separation

> comprises symbolic behavior signifying the detachment of the individual or group either from an earlier fixed point in the social structure or a set of cultural conditions. During the intervening liminal period, the state of the ritual subject ... is ambiguous; he passes through a real that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state; in the third phase the passage is consumated (Turner 1967:94).

Turner (1962, 1967, 1969, 1974, 1982) wrote extensively on the 'liminal' stage during which participants experience 'communitas', transcend worldly hierarchies and meet the sacred. He distinguished between

(1) existential or spontaneous communitas, the direct, immediate, and total confrontation of human identities which tends to make those experiencing it think of mankind as a homogenous, unstructured and free community;
(2) normative communitas, where, under the influence of time, the need to mobilize and organize resources to keep the members of a group alive and thriving, and the necessity for social control among those members in pursuance of these and other collective goals, the original existential communitas is organized into a perduring social system — this is never quite the same as a structured group whose original *raison d'être* was utilitarian, for normative communitas began with a nonutilitarian experience of brotherhood and fellowship the form of which the resulting group tried to preserve, in and by its religious and ethical codes and legal and political statues and regulations; and
(3) ideological communitas, which is a label one can apply to a variety of utopian models or blueprints of societies believed by their authors to exemplify or supply the optimal conditions for existential communitas.

I want to remind the reader that rituals are physical symbolic actions. Rituals include the body, because without a body we wouldn't have any awareness of the world at all.

The five steps of the ritual learning process are:

prelearning and anticipation,
separation (sensory deprivation, monotonous music, extreme physical stress, etc.),
suggestion (high control of trance and dissociation, sometimes conversion or possession),

execution (achievement of a new cognitive structure),
maintenance (through repetition or reinforcement, occasionally involving a resynthesis; Eliade, 1957:383).

These steps have been analyzed by Jean Achterberg using a healing ritual:

(1) The lengthy preparations usually required before the healing ritual provide something for the relatives to do to show concern;
(2) ritual preparations and participation are a way for both the patient and the community to feel control of what appeared to be hopeless situation;
(3) relationships within the community are cemented and group solidarity is enhanced;
(4) the drama and esthetics of the ritual are soothing and distracting;
(5) the features of the ritual cement the ties between patient and a group from which she/he may have felt alienation;
(6) the patient can sense relief through believing that harmony between him/herself and the spirit world is established;
(7) the rituals and symbols serve to interpret the meaning of disease, as well as the patient's role in a cultural context;
(8) the patient is stirred emotionally by the intensity of the ritual and this further increases hope or expectant trust that something important will happen;
(9) the cost of healing rituals is considerable in most cultures ... and may entail the preparation of more prized and nutritious food, again enhancing the self-esteem, hope and pride of the patient;
(10) when psychoactive preparations are used or when altered or dissociative states are entered into as a consequence of the ritual, the power of the healer is validated in such unusual experiences and these reinforce the spiritual belief system (Achterberg 1985:157–158).

Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* has no separate entry for rituals, but mentions, under the heading of "Prayer and Worship", the following four phases of a ritual: (1) washing of hands; (2) prayer; (3) sacrifice; (4) pouring of libation (Hastings 1921:154–205).

We recognize the importance of purification. All over the world, purity of practitioners, participants, and space is absolutely necessary to ensure the efficacy of the ritual. Muslim wash their feet before entering a mosque, American Indians use the sweat lodge because the "purification of self is the first step in any major sacred undertaking, regardless of time and culture" (Wallace Black Elk/Lyon, 1990:xv).

Drawing from my field data on hundreds of rituals I attended in Southeast Asia, I find that, although they were performed by practitioners of different ethnic groups inside different belief systems at different occasions, all rituals had the following seven steps in common:

(1) staking (outlining) and purifying the sacred space as well as all practitioners and participants;
(2) ritually entering the sacred space;
(3) evoking the sacred;
(4) meeting the sacred;
(5) celebrating the presence of the sacred;
(6) thanking and sending off the sacred;
(7) closure and ritual leaving of the sacred space.

Necessary was also that all participants agreed on the purpose of the ritual and that the experience was processed afterwards.

During the year I conducted research in Singapore on a Fulbright-Hays research grant (1978–1979), I found that the rituals performed by Chinese spirit mediums occur in the context of Folk Taoism based on the belief that the highest deities cannot be approached directly but that deified heroes and other spirits can act as intermediaries and fulfil similar functions like the saints of the Catholic Church. Mediums will, therefore, evoke these spirits to descend. Did Singapore ritualists follow the seven steps, discussed above?

Spirit mediums and their clients were in perfect agreement about the purpose of the ritual. Their goal was to come into the presence of the Sacred so that questions could be asked and assistance elicited for personal problems (whether these were issues of health, career or business, disputes between spouses, parents, children, in-laws or concerns about fertility or longevity).

(1) The sacred space was clearly delimited by altars situated in the four directions. A black flag on the outside altar indicated that a spirit medium was present in the temple. The medium, if a man, would wear yellow trousers and an apron-like cloth with the insignia of the deity. If a woman, the medium would be clad in white though this was not mandatory. Women clients were expected not to enter a temple during their menses. Also all in whose house somebody had died within the last four weeks were supposed to stay away from sacred places.
(2) All participants took off their shoes and left them outside the temple. They would light incense sticks and put them in the urns on the different altars to indicate that they were ritually entering the sacred place and offerings were put on the altars.
(3) The mediums would evoke the deity, mostly in silent prayer, barely moving their lips, while the clients waited with baited breath, preparing themselves to meet the sacred.
(4) The mediums would begin to shiver and roll their head. Their breathing seemed to reverse. After some gulping sounds, their facial expressions would change. Speaking with a voice different from their normal voice, a deity would announce his/her arrival. Clients would

come up one by one, state their questions and listen eagerly to whatever the deity had to say, convinced that the sacred was present.

(5) It was assumed that the deity was savoring the aroma of the offerings. At times, mediums would consume some of the hard liquor brought by clients and placed on the altars together with fruit, rice, and several cups of tea. Fruit and rice would be taken home by the clients later on because it was believed that these fruit and rice carried the blessings of the deity.

(6) After all clients had received individual answers from the deity, the mediums would thank the deity and ask the sacred to return to heaven for the next call.

(7) The mediums would assure a safe closure of the ritual, sometimes by extinguishing incense sticks in their mouth. Clients would light more incense sticks when leaving the temple to thank and also to reinforce the blessings they were taking home.

Instructions how to interpret the words of the deity and how to use the blessed water and charm paper were offered by the mediums' assistants. Clients would stay together after the session for a while to compare notes. Success stories made the rounds and reinforced the belief in the efficacy of the ritual which had been designed to call the sacred into the body of the mediums so that messages from the ineffable could be obtained.

After describing a Chinese spirit medium session in Singapore, I will now report on a Thai ritual, a *tham khwan nag*, which was performed by two spirit 'doctors' for a *nag* (monk-to-be) at the eve of his ordination in Chiang Mai, northern Thailand, in summer of 1972.

All participants had agreed that the *khwan* (soul, life force) of a novice had to be persuaded to enter monkhood with the young man so that his continued well-being would be assured. His mother had sent for two *mo khwan* (spirit doctors) from Bangkok to perform this 6-hour ritual which costed about the equivalent of the monthly salary of a school teacher.

(1) The grocery shop of the mother had been emptied, cleaned, and blessed. The novice and the two spirit doctors were dressed in white. The novice's head had already been shaven.

(2) Everybody sat down in a circle and a Thai orchestra cleared the air with traditional tunes, intended to assure protection of the space and to attune everybody present.

(3) After having paid respect to the Triple Gem (the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Sangha), the two spirit doctors called *devata* (Hindu gods) down on the different levels of the *bai si* (auspicious tray) to protect and bless the ritual. (The *bai si* can be compared with the World Tree or the *axis mundi*, see Heinze 1982:69–75). It was necessary also to assure the presence of the novice's *khwan*.

(4) The spirit doctors proceeded to liken the life of the novice with that of the Buddha. They reenacted the novice's birth and reminded him

of what his parents had done for him. The deities were placated and asked to protect the novice. Then the spirit doctors pleaded with the *khwan* to stay with the young man during monkhood.

(5) The purple covering of the *bai si* was removed and some food offerings from different levels (their aroma having been enjoyed by the deities) were fed to the novice.

(6) The deities were thanked and sent off ritually.

(7) An unspun woolen string was passed around and held by those present in a circle. Lighted candles were also passed around and their smoke was waived by each participant toward the novice. This ritual closure was important to protect the departure of the Sacred. To seal the 'contract', all participants tied each other's wrists with unspun woolen strings which have to be worn until they fall off naturally.

The orchestra played a parting tune and participants began to discuss the efficacy of the four-hour ritual. Everybody felt refreshed and elated, having been in the presence of the Sacred and "having participated in a purifying, reinforcing, and reassuring act" (Heinze 1982:16).

Do other scholars share my interpretation? Anuman Rajadhon, who wrote an account of a traditional *tham khwan*, mentions its four important phases:

(1) invocation,
(2) waving of the lights (*wien thian*),
(3) feasting of the *khwan*, and
(4) tying of the wrists (*phuk khwan*, 1962; also, Heinze 1982:57).

In both rituals, among Singapore Chinese as well as northern Thai, we find the ineffable expressed, supported and protected by a seven-step ritual.

Let us look more closely at the function of rituals. Sapir speaks of "highly condensed forms of substitutive behavior for direct expression" where the condensation is saturated with emotional quality. He sees

(1) condensation of many meanings in a single form,
(2) economy of reference,
(3) predominance of emotional or erotic quality; and
(4) associational linkages with regions of the unconscious as important components (Sapir 1968:492–493).

Perhaps every science must start with metaphor and end with algebra; and perhaps without the metaphor there would never have been any algebra (Black 1962:242, quoted in Turner 1974:25). For Nisbet,

> Metaphor is [...] a way of proceeding from the known to the unknown. It is a way of cognition in which the identifying qualities of one thing are transfered in an instantaneous, almost unconscious flash of insight to some other thing that is, by remoteness or complexity, unknown to us (quoted by Turner 1974: 25).

Investigating Eleusian and Orphic mysteries, Jane Harrison found that the communication of the 'sacred' has three components:

(1) exhibition (what is shown),
(2) action (what is done), and
(3) instruction (what is said) (Harrison 1903:144–160).

Turner mentioned that in ritual

(1) The verbal part and the behavioral part are not separable.
(2) As compared with written or writable speech the 'language' of ritual is enormously condensed; a great variety of alternative meanings being implied in the same category sets. This is also an attribute of mathematics. Primitive thought is transformational in the sense that mathematics is transformational (Turner 1965:337).

I personally resent the use of the adjective 'primitive'. Although Turner is not using it in a derogatory sense, modern science tends to shy away and rejects the idea of 'transformation'.

Returning to the explicit and implicit goals of rituals, "Unconscious goals cannot be verbalized but betray themselves in the form of ritual symbolism and in the comparative study of discrepancies in the meaning of symbols given by informants in different ritual contexts" (Turner 1967:275). I experienced the same phenomenon and am sure that many other researchers have recorded contradictory explanations from those who participated in the same ritual. We have to acknowledge the 'Rashomon effect'. Everybody obviously experiences rituals according to his/her spiritual, intellectual, social, emotional, and physical state of mind.

According to Turner, there are three levels of explanation,

(1) the level of indigenous interpretation (exegetical meaning),
(2) the operational meaning, and
(3) the positional meaning when a ritual "makes intelligible what is mysterious and also dangerous" (Turner 1967:50 and 1969:15).

Horton reminded us of Turner's description of the Chihamba ritual (1962) in which Turner discussed

> the structure of this luxuriant symbolism. Its chief features are: (a) that elementary symbols tend to be organized and used in complexes; (b) that each elementary symbol tends to have a large 'fan' of diverse potential meanings; and (c) that different selections from this fan of meanings are mobilized when a given symbol features in different complexes. Hence, though a given symbol has restricted overt significance in any given context of use, it carries with it a vast penumbra of dimly apprehended latent meanings. It is these latent meanings, ... which make people react with fear and awe to some of the more commonly recurring symbols, and which lead them to think of such symbols as charged with a mysterious power (Horton 1972:350).

In brief, Singapore spirit mediums are shamans because they not only call spiritual entities into their body but also go on 'magical flights'. Spirit doctors in Thailand are professionals, but they are not shamans because they don't enter different states of consciousness. However, in their approach of the sacred, they employ 'shamanistic' techniques.

The *tham khwan* is a rite of passage. In the above case, a young man makes the transition from civilian life to the status of a monk. Spirit medium sessions are not concerned with transitions but attempt to fulfil mainly mundane needs. In both cases, the nature of the ritual is protective, therapeutical, ideological, leading to 'salvation' and intensifying the ethnospecific belief system of the participants.

At the close of the 20th century, we still feel the need for "meaningful rituals which bond families and communities; invoke a feeling of awe and connection, and continuity; and celebrate life's passage" (Achterberg 1990: 62). Rituals often become mechanisms for social control, assisting in the resolution of social conflict and maintaining social solidarity, social stratification, and the power structure.

> At times, particularly in politically sophisticated societies, a regime decides that rituals once performed are now to be abandoned, but among the people are those who choose instead to put them aside for possible later retrieval. ... Rituals may be in neat harmony with other aspects of a culture, but they may also show disjuncture. It is likely that all cultures are perpetually in change, but some alter at rates so infinitesimal that they seem unchanging. In others, the rate of change is so fast that people coming to rituals may not know how to behave. There is an irony in this, because one of the functions of ritual is to codify behavior and sanctify it, and thereby make it more probable that people will know how to act (Fried and Fried 1980:257).

We, therefore, recognize the role of ritual

> as a supportive organ in the self-regulation of organic, cognitive, and social systems and the interaction of these systems with the Eo [operational environment]. It operates through its effect on the empirical modification cycle of individual and collective cognitive systems by controlling the transformations undergone by those systems. Over all, this constitutes the process of equilibration by which information from the Eo is assimilated into the Ec [cognitive environment] while simultaneously conserving the integrity of the E (Manus in d'Aquili 1979:212).

Faced with the search for meaningful rituals in our time, we should not take pieces of other rituals without looking at the context in which they have been performed in the past. We have also to consider the context in which we want to perform the ritual and make sure that all participants have expressed agreement about the ritual's purpose. Expectations, even fears, give a ritual an emotional charge which reinforces its efficacy. Efficacy is, furthermore, assured when participants 'move through' the seven steps discussed above: (1) purification of space and participants, (2) ritual

entry, (3) evocation of the sacred, (4) meeting of the sacred, (5) celebration, (6) thanking and sending off the sacred, (7) closure, and ritual leaving of the sacred space. Then the processing and integration of the ritual experience into the daily life of all participants needs to be facilitated by the ritualist. In other words, not only the expectations and intent of all involved, the necessary purification, the conscious shift of attention, the opening and surrender to the sacred, the mystical union and its celebration are important, we have also to facilitate the conscious shift back to ordinary consciousness. We have to provide a careful closure to protect the sacred from pollution. We have to translate the ineffable into ordinary language in whatever context, based on whatever belief system, a ritual is performed.

For the future, I suggest more detailed studies of ritual components

(1) action (movement, dance, performance, mime, music, rhythm, gesture, play, work [because we have to include the body]);
(2) space (environment, architecture, shrines, sacred places);
(3) time (season, holiday, calendar, repetition);
(4) ritual objects (masks, costumes, fetishes, icons, art);
(5) symbolism (metaphors, cosmology);
(6) group (kinship, class, caste, family, hierarchy, ethnicity, acculturation);
(7) self (body, feeling, states of consciousness, gender);
(8) divine beings (gods, demon, spirits, saints, ancestors, animals);
(9) language (sound, song, poetry, word, story, myth);
(10) quality (color, shape), quantity, theme (beneficiary, harming; Grimes 1985:1–2).

Documentary, longitudinal, rather than interpretive studies may tell us more about is changeable in rituals and, indeed, keeps changing for the simple reason to increase the effectiveness of rituals. Future studies will confirm also the main purpose of any ritual – the connection with the sacred, the divine source.

This essay has been written to establish a vocabulary for the discussion of rituals. With our modern technology, we are now equipped to measure the effects of rituals on the physical-biological, psychological-emotional, social, mental, and spiritual level of the participants. For example, in neuropsychoimmunology, the effect of shifts in attention and of emotional charges on the chemistry of the brain can be measured and applied to healing techniques. However, only when researchers recognize the complexity of the issues and use interdisciplinary approaches, tangible results can be expected.

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Shamanistic Story and Song Cycles in Polynesia

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This paper accepts the argument that Polynesian traditional religion and culture derive from ancient shamanic beliefs and practices and that this ancient shamanism was largely replaced by cults with their own priests and developed mythology. There is some evidence to suggest that there may have been two distinct types of shamanistic experience and practice introduced or developed within Polynesia.[1]

The earlier type was probably the result of melding between Austronesian speaking Melanesian peoples and early Southeast Asian immigrants. The shamanic characteristics of this type included spirit possession, 'flying' and out of body experiences, hallucinogenic experiences, ecstatic dancing, and bonding and identifying with animals. Central to this system was the world-tree symbolism most developed in Scandinavia, Central and Southern Asia, and Central America. The presumed later tradition, also originating in the Austronesian language region of Southeast Asia, was closer in type to East Asian 'animism' where the spirits inhabited 'inanimate' objects and totemic animals. There also tended to be a 'great spirit' god and less evidence of other higher gods. Cross-dressing, sitting on tops of trees, flying, and hallucinogenic experiences were also common. This type dominated in Samoa and appears to have influenced some of the islands penetrated by Samoan colonists.

These shamanic practices and beliefs survived throughout eastern and western Polynesia but only had full flowering in areas where strong dynastic cults did not develop particularly Niue and the Marquesas.[2] Shamanic story and song cycles have left their mark on the general oral literature of Polynesia but persisted longest in the more remote areas and in the Marquesas. They were particularly important on the Marquesan island of Hivaoa where some of the very ancient ones were taken down and described by interested Europeans.

1. This paper draws on a larger work in progress, Oceanic Shamanism, Part One of a history of Religion in Polynesia.
2. For shamanism in Niue see Loeb 1924:393–402; for the Marquesas see Thomas 1990:109–128.

In this paper I look closely at what survives of these cycles in recorded literature, particularly the cycle preserved by an English beachcomber in the Marquesas, T. C. Lawson, dating to 1861–1862, and others described from the same island by H. Rambke, a German trader between 1900 and 1915.[3] These cycles were recited or performed during rites of passage such as the birth, coming of age, and death of chiefly persons. Amongst the issues examined are the typology of the cycles especially their permanent shamanic features, the nature of their composition, the way in which new material is incorporated and the degree of dramatisation in the oral performance.

While there are marked differences between the mythologies and cultural values of western and eastern Polynesia the earliest story and song cycles, like the languages, have much in common. The heroes are often tricksters, masters of illusion or deception, or soul travellers *extraordinaires*. The soul travellers originally would have had bird names such as Lupe (the dove) in western Polynesia, which became Rupe in eastern Polynesia,[4] and Kura (the crimson tropic bird) of eastern Polynesia. As voyaging through the heavens was equated with voyaging through the sea it should not be surprising that Rupe and his derivative 'Upe or Kupe'[5] have been memorialised in the records of prehistory as traditional navigational ancestors.[6] Kura's shamanic role is well preserved in the Tuamotus where, as Te Kura i te Atua (the medium of the god) usually translated as 'the messenger of the gods', this spirit is responsible for fishing up the islands of the Tuamotus from the Ocean depths (see Luomala 1941:86–89).

In most surviving cycles Lupe and Kura have been replaced by Maui, the trickster *par excellence*, the most famous Polynesian shaman figure responsible for snaring the sun, pulling up islands, lifting the heavens and inducing sexual ecstasy.[7] In some cycles Maui is identified with Rupe and either flies to the heavens or sails the ocean (which is the same thing) to find his abducted sister. In some cycles Rupe is identified with Maui-mua, Maui's elder brother.[8] Generally in eastern Polynesia Maui replaced Kura

3. The most complete version of Lawson's text and 'translation' is held in the Polynesian Society Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. All quotations are from this version. Rambke's descriptions are contained in his letters to Dr H. E. Gregory, Director of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, in 1935.
4. For Rupe as soul-traveller see 'Rupe's Ascent into Heaven', Grey 1956:62–68.
5. For the likely transition from glottal stop to 'k' in Marquesan see Tryon 1987:31–37. For the likelihood that stories of Kupe reached New Zealand from the Marquesas via Rapa, see Green 1966:30–33.
6. In the Society Islands Rupe was evidently confused with (or the same as) Ru, the supporter of the heavens. As Edward Tregear suggests (1891:430), the story of Ru and his sister Hina who 'explore the earth' is a version of the Rupe story. See Henry 1928:459–462; for Maori stories of Kupe the navigator see Best 1982, *passim*. Kupe was regarded as an ancestor by the Ngapuhi.
7. Maui or Tikitiki is sometimes identified with Tiki, the phallic god of the Tuamotus.
8. See Grey 1956:63. For other bird transformations see Grey 1956:12–44 and Best 1982, *passim*.

as the fisher-up of islands, a role well established for him in western Polynesia (see Best 1982, particularly 376).

Another shamanic cycle hero was Tafaki (Tawhaki, Tafa's, Kaha'i) famous for his ascension to the highest heaven. Noted anthropologist and folklorist Katherine Luomala regarded Tafaki as the 'perfect Polynesian aristocrat' or hereditary chief while Maui was his antithesis (Luomala 1941:185). I would argue, rather, that Maui was the prototype of the popular shaman while Tafaki was the model of the master shaman similar to the Welsh Taliesen, the Irish Fintann or the Tongan Lo'au. The Maori scholar Hare Hongi found 30 parallels between Tafaki and Jesus Christ and thought there was a good case for believing that Polynesian mythology contained a genuine memory of early Christianity (Hongi, MS) Hare Hongi argued that the widespread, multi-variant nature of the Tafaki myth and its genealogical antiquity meant that it could not be a late introduction due to exposure to Christian teachings. On the other hand he did not find all the parallels in the same variants and most of the more convincing parallels are to be found in Maori versions suggesting that Maori composers may have incorporated stories of Jesus, known to them before the arrival of missionaries, in the Tafaki cycle.[9]

Many of the parallels with Jesus are more like parallels with other master shamans including the myth of virgin birth. In one Maori version Tafaki's father prophesies that his yet unborn sons shall 'have power to ascend the heavens' thus establishing the hereditary nature of the master shamans or *ariki* (White 1887, I:88). In an Efatese version it is the mother who has wings and flies (MacDonald 1898:816–833). In many versions Tafaki is slain by his jealous half-brothers and afterwards ascends to heaven, a story almost identical with that of 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga, who was slain by his half-brothers, dismembered and subsequently resurrected.[10] This, of course, is the classic description of a shamanic initiation experience.

The core of the Tafaki cycle is the ascent of the hero into the heavens. The clue that he is a master shaman is the fact that the number of heavens is frequently emphasised and Tafaki does reach the highest level suggesting that he has passed all the grades of initiation. Also, in some versions, including both Efatese and Maori variants, Tafaki reaches the heavens both by arrows and the roots or branches of a tree, widely known means of shamanic soul travel.[11] In one of the elaborate Maori versions Tafaki begins his ascent by climbing up a vine, the crimson-flowering Rata, which

9. These stories could have been learnt from early beachcombers and whalers or, as Robert Langdon suggests, from shipwrecked Spaniards in their homeland.
10. See Gifford 1971:25–29. For dismemberment in shamanic initiation see Eliade 1964:33–66; and Halifax 1979:12–13, 50.
11. Hongi (MS, *passim.*). "An arrow went up to heaven and stuck fast in the roots of a *Namanga* tree. Another arrow sent after it stuck in the end of its shaft. And so on and so on until the chain of arrows reached from heaven down to the brothers' foreheads" (MacDonald 1898).

towers above its neighbours in the New Zealand forest and attains a diameter of some ten feet. From a small tendril it develops into a gigantic world-tree which takes the initiate to the highest level of consciousness. Tafaki's prayer is given:

> Tawhaki climbs to the first heaven,
> An obedient calm prevails.
> Tawhaki climbs to the second heaven,
> An obedient calm prevails.
> Tawhaki climbs to the third heaven,
> An obedient calm reigns.
> Tawhaki climbs to the fourth heaven,
> An obedient calm reigns.
> Tawhaki climbs to the fifth heaven,
> An obedient calm prevails.
> Tawhaki climbs to the sixth heaven,
> An obedient calm prevails.
> Tawhaki climbs to the seventh heaven,
> An obedient calm prevails.
> Tawhaki climbs to the eighth heaven,
> An obedient calm prevails.
> Tawhaki climbs to the ninth heaven,
> An obedient calm prevails.
> Tawhaki climbs to the uppermost heaven.
> I cling, I cling; I dwell at peace;
> At the uttermost parts of heaven (White 1887, I:88)

Polynesian shamanic cycles were not simply confined to soul travel and initiation but to all aspects of human life. From Tikopia and New Zealand to Hawaii there were ritual cycles and chants for all the rites of passage and all the specialist occupations such as canoe and house building.

The cycles and chants recorded by Thomas Lawson and H. Rambke on Hivaoa in the Marquesas were closely related to rites of passage. They appear to have been recited or dramatised on important occasions such as the birth or death of a chief of major lineage though only parts may have been invoked on lesser occasions. Lawson, like Hare Hongi, was immediately struck by the apparent biblical parallels and, in the 1860s, was convinced that the cycle of the Take, or Marquesan people, was an independent record and positive proof of the authenticity of the Christian Bible.[12] Unfortunately, when attempting to translate the Marquesan text, he made numerous arbitrary associations and assumptions so that his text, with its fanciful gloss, was never taken seriously.[13] Even the British and Foreign Bible Society did not want to know about it and he eventually abandoned his claim of having made a great biblical discovery.

12. He wrote in this vein to the British and Foreign Bible Society in London and the Hawaiian Evangelical Association in Honolulu.
13. The Polynesian Society published a section of the Marquesan text without translation in its *Journal*.

Nevertheless the damage was done. Some of his material relating to a universal flood was used by Professor Alexander and Judge Fornander (see Fornander 1969, I:90 and Appendix no. 4) only to be dismissed in this century as fabulous material absorbed by Marquesans from biblical stories learnt from beachcombers and sailors or even from the Hawaiian missionaries operating on Hiva oa before 1861 (Barrère 1967:114–117). But flood, like famine, was a universal theme and in a shamanic work all floods and all famines were automatically reduced to one flood and one famine in the context of human experience and its necessary rituals. Moreover, it can be assumed that Lawson was dealing with an authentic text since the Marquesan 'priests' or *tahuna* (the ritual experts lower in rank than the *tau'a* or shamans proper) objected to him converting the deluge myth into a version of the biblical flood:

> you have a very strange way with you in transforming an Atua [god] into a ship... and a stinking sea into a generation of stinking men... and making us believe them, but one thing [...] don't use any more of your logic in trying to make us believe that the two great Atuas Tanaoa and Moeopo are two birds.[14]

Lawson, of course, had introduced the raven and the dove from the Noah story into his translation, perhaps with more justification than he and his critics realized since shamanic gods were often identified with birds.

The ritual nature of the material is clearly evident particularly in the sections dealing with the creation, natural disasters, 'festivals', house and canoe building, birding, and human sacrifice. The gods are invoked and then dismissed. While Lawson's translation is very arbitrary it nevertheless captures the mood of the occasion:

> Now clap your hands and raise the cry!
> Ye Gods, descend down from on high!
> Clap, clap your hands and beat the Drum!
> The Gods, the Gods, Behold they come!
>
> O Lord, O Lord our God,
> O Lord, thou upright Lord,
> Bring, bring thy axe with thee
> To cut down from amongst us
> The bitter, bitter Noni tree,[15]
> The bitter Noni tree come cut away;
> Descend, descend ye Gods, I say.

The various gods are then itemised, the sacrifice takes place and the gods depart.

14. Lawson to Damon, 29 April 1863, quoted Barrère 1967:116–117.
15. The *noni* was a berry bush.

The sacrifice ended, the Gods they are gone.
Disperse now and go, the feast it is done.
The Rain is at hand, the prize it is won.
Now the Gods they are gone,
The Gods they are pleased,
The Gods they have gone,
The Gods are appeased.

Also of interest in the Lawson text, which runs to nearly 150 typescript papers in translation, is the permanent shamanic structure which moves from the birth of a male chief through all the rites of passage, the journey of the soul being paralleled by the journey of the ancestors in two streams of migration through various homelands. A genealogy is included near the end which is in three parts; the ancestral genealogy, 'the genealogy of the present age' and 'generations yet unborn', closing, as it were, the ritual cycle.

While it is difficult to tell from Lawson's text, and the difficult Marquesan original, the extent to which other shamanic features are present, the long nature passages and the graphic accounts of famine and hurricane reveal that closeness to nature which characterises shamanic culture.

The Moon it has the Bugs,
The Moon it has the Beetles,
The Moon it has the Cockroach,
The Moon it has the Midges,
The Moon it has the Lice,
The Moon it has the Springers [fleas],
The Moon it has the Soft Skin things,
The Moon it has the Hard Skin things,
The Moon it has the Line fish,
The Moon it has the Shell fish,
The Moon it has the Small moving things,
The Moon it has the Creepers.

In the cycle chants recorded by Rambke, which he claimed to be extremely ancient, the shamanic features are even more evident. As the original texts and his translations into modern Marquesan have been lost or concealed we have only his notes and reconstructions to draw on.[16] He refers to two related chants which told of the destruction of ancient homelands and the drowning of the original inhabitants.[17] They may well be the same as Lawson's deluge account since Rambke also refers to the stinking waters and also gives long lists of fish names. According to Rambke's in-

16. Rambke was an official of the Société commerciale de l'Oceéanie, a subsidiary of the German company, Godeffroys. His private papers which he was unable to find may have been seized by the French government at the outbreak of the first World War and could have been sold in 1924.
17. H. Rambke to Herbert E. Gregory, 12 Oct. 1935, Honolulu, Bishop Museum.

formant the people were converted into fish. The story of these fish and their failure to keep the taboos was told in great detail culminating in further destruction:

> In two version the former countries and their inhabitants being dead (mate Hawaii and gone back to their home land in marine forms) were declared taboo, their names not [to] be mentioned any more and the new or remaining lands were given the names they bear today.[18]

After the second destruction, Rambke tells us, 'the population emigrating from this home island to the others is called crawfish and Tunas for one and sharks for the other one. (In Ua Uka [Ua Huka] crawfish and Tunas are numerous and taboo at certain seasons, the same applies to sharks in Ua Pou. Both are called relations during the taboo season).'[19] Elsewhere, in referring to the settlement of Ua Huka and Ua Pou, Rambke tells us that the first settlers were called 'some times *e nata*, people, some times sharks or Tunas or crawfish' while at Nukuhiva, 'the immigrants had no marine name, but were called ANTS'.[20] These ants defeated the original inhabitants and their chief celebrates his victory by eating the choice pieces of the turtle, representing the defeated party.

Bonding and identifying with animals is, of course, one of the most ancient of shamanic practices and there is certainly much evidence from the entire Pacific region to support the close relationship between people and the living creatures in their environment. A Melanesian in New Guinea might use the correct rituals and believe himself to become a crocodile while swimming across a crocodile-infested river.[21] Shark, whale and dolphin calling was commonplace and there seemed to be a remarkable rapport between certain men and certain creatures.[22] Shamans, no doubt, also knew a few tricks to get what they wanted.[23]

Irish mythology has a similar story of a universal flood and the survival of the superior shaman Fintann, also known as the Salmon of Knowledge, who swam around the coast of Ireland and appeared in human form at times of crisis to give advice (and heal) (see O'Grady 1881, 1:77–81) rather like his equivalent Lo'au appears at widely separated intervals in Tonga to give similar advice (for Lo'au see Gifford 1924:41, 73 and *passim*.).

Not a great deal can be learnt about the composition of the cycles except that the form was very ancient and contained permanent features which

18. Rambke to Gregory, 30 Oct. 1935.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. An informant told Dr Hank Nelson that on one occasion during the second World War he became a crocodile. Pers. comm.
22. Stories are told of sharks being associated with certain chiefs, while some heroes are supposed to have ridden on the backs of whales.
23. The properties of certain berries were known only to a few, while certain lures and other devices were kept within particular families.

may have been altered from time to time to include new detail.[24] There was probably a fixed form passed down by the custodians of knowledge. Lawson's principal source for the Take cycle was Vehi-iti of Hana'ahi who was named in connection with the deluge story (Palmer 1877:13). Others were the chiefess Tahia Toho Tie and a 'one-eyed female traditionist' named Hina.[25] Rambke did not name his informants except in general terms such as 'different old parties',[26] a very old and very wise old native woman, living all alone in a valley near Hanamenu'[27] who was a skilled herbalist and surgeon, and 'old men and women, born in the middle of last century.'[28]

The language of the cycles appears to have been archaic.[29] Lawson found some of the sentences 'so obscure that, though he is a perfect master of their talk, he cannot at all understand them' (Palmer 1877:12) and he reports that a young chief admitted their obscurity:

> all we know is the words and everybody puts their own meaning to them and some hard old meanings they do put to some [of] them they almost beat Baron Maunchausen.[30]

According to Rambke they had to be translated from old Marquesan into the modern dialect of Hivaoa. He said of one chant that it must be very old 'as it is in [the] main composed of words which are not any more in use in the modern Marquesan language. I found only two old people who were able to explain [to] me a meaning of the different words.'[31] He also said that these chants were 'probably used in religious rites' and 'were in set form' so that he was able to memorise them.[32] Others of a more recent date had different versions.

The way new material was added to the repertoire seems to have been to include new songs in the cycle for set performances. Presumably they only became fixed features if they stood the test of time or appeared to fill a social need. Lawson referred to these incidental compositions as 'fugitive pieces'. Those included in his major collection mainly dealt with house songs.[33] Others were on recent topics and may have been regarded as ephemeral. One traced the descent of Queen Victoria from the ancestral figure Piki. Another told of the coming of the Roman Catholic mission to Nukuhiva.

24. Mathias (1843:64 ff) stressed that the chants were very often improvised to suit the occasion.
25. Lawson to Dr. W. D. Alexander, Taihae May 1865, Honolulu, Bishop Museum.
26. Rambke to Gregory, 17 Oct. 1935.
27. Ibid.
28. Rambke to Gregory, 27 Nov. 1935.
29. Both Mathias (1843:65) and Stewart (1831, I:272) allude to the difficulty of understanding the chants, many of them being intelligible only to the priests.
30. Lawson to Damon, 20 Dec. 1862.
31. Rambke to Gregory, 12 Oct. 1935.
32. Rambke to Gregory, 30 Oct. 1935.
33. Part 13, 'Fugitive Songs and Atea in Havaii on House Building'.

A short humorous one memorialised the common fly while another told of the introduction and unfortunate consequences of veneral disease. Rambke was struck by the beauty of many of these songs, particularly those which did not relate to war and nature's forces. He refers to a love poem which describes the 'development of two flower buds; their first sight of each other, at the opening of their petals; then their full love by the combination of the aromatic scent of both'.[34]

Finally, we might consider the ways in which the cycles were presented and the degree of dramatisation in the oral performance. The American chaplain, C. S. Stewart, who visited the northern Marquesas in 1829, described a festival or *koika* composed and performed by the *kaioi* or professional singers for occasions such as the breadfruit harvest or the ratification of peace. These festivals took place on an elaborate dancing ground, the individual dancing and acting parts lasting 20 or 30 minutes, alternating with singing by a seated chorus — in this case "a company of young females, forty or fifty in number [...] in the dull and monotonous repetitions of the same intonations of voice characterizing all their songs — accompanied by a loud and simultaneous clapping of the hands ...". These songs were new ones and had been learnt over a period of months (Stewart 1831, I:260).

Early nineteenth century accounts state that only the priests took part in religious chanting. About ten priests would sit cross-legged in a circle, one would lead the chant, and the others would respond while two or three men beat time with their hands on large drums, the entire ceremony lasting a whole night or several nights or even a week (Mathias 1843:64 ff.) The English missionary, William Pascoe Crook, said a chant was spoken in 'much prolonged' notes, "and towards the close, the voice is shaken in a hoarse undulation" (quoted, Stewart 1831, I:273).

Lawson's cycle of the Take appears to have been chanted and performed at the birth of a chief of the Tane clan. He prefaced his English translation with his own poetic introduction which tells of his arrival in the shadow of Puamau on Hivaoa where he saw the newborn baby and listened to the highborn women singing the ancient stories.

> They sang a Lady's great heraldic story
> In honour of her newborn Bud of glory;
> They sang the history of their Clan
> And traced their great descent from Tane.[35]

The ancient chants recorded by Rambke were mostly sung at deaths. The one on the destruction of the ancient homeland he heard 'only once at

34. Rambke to Gregory, 30 Oct. 1935.
35. Lawson identified Tane (he preferred to write Tani) with the leader of the Hebrew tribe of Dan.

a deathbed, when only a few old people assisted in its recital'.[36] He described it as 'a song of woe, a recitation with a few stanzas of notes by the foresinger at the beginning of each verse.'[37] The repeated refrain or lament sounded like 'Au Wee' and accompanied each stanza.

> The citation was a ritual with the movements of bodies and hands, expressing the disaster. It was accompanied by screeches of the women of their "Au Wee". It made a terribly weird impression on me.[38]

A similar chant was described by Crook who said the priest

> declaims with the utmost violence of voice and action, concluding with a sharp sound like the bark of a dog, directed toward the audience, who return a suitable response, in general chorus resembling a low growl (quoted, Stewart 1831, I:273).

Rambke also refers to a 'death wail which was sung, when women were dying' which repeated the name of Morieve,[39] a famous *vehine hae* or wild woman, a great number of times.[40] He said this chant was composed 'at the time when she laid on her deathbed' which he estimated genealogically as being 250 or 300 years before the present (1935).[41] He also said it was sung at a wake in Hanaiapa and also in Hanapaoa.

Rambke's hint that body and hand movements were part of every performance would fit in with the nature of Lawson's lengthy text as many of the episodes are highly suitable as action songs. One can imagine the verve with which a group of men sang the song called by Lawson 'The War Canoe Matahou of Havaii'.

I stood upon a Brow. *E! Hina ti naku E*
I stood upon a Brow. *E! Hina ti naku E*
I stood upon a Brow. *E! Hina ti naku E*
The Brows o' the land *E! Hina ti naku E*
Are called in Vevau and Havaii *E! Hina ti naku E*
O Fiti tona tapu *E! Hina ti naku E*
O te Pua o the Ao *E! Hina ti naku E*
O Ao-ena O Ao-oma. *E! Hina ti naku E*
I stood awaiting long, *E! Hina ti naku E*
At last there came along *E! Hina ti naku E*
A double war Canoe. *E! Hina ti naku E*

Besides the foresinger and chorus there was probably a measure of dancing. At the 'naming' ceremony for a high chief's daughter on neighbouring

36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Rambke also gives the variants Moni Eve and Moi Eve.
40. Rambke to Gregory, 27 Nov. 1935.
41. Ibid.

Tahuata the missionaries who witnessed it said the besides the 'singing, chanting and beating [of drums]' there was a single male dancer — perhaps a clown acting as a foil to show off the beauty and nobility of the chiefly woman.[42] Clowns were again a direct link with the shamanistic tradition of the trickster and they were important throughout Polynesia.[43] They delighted in sending-up the powerful and important[44] and appearing to overturn the rules of society. Like court jesters, drunken persons and madmen they enjoyed social immunity. Drums would have been used for summoning the spirits and male falsetto voices would have helped to create an atmosphere of shamanic trance.

The display of the single male danger could also have been a special treat for a chiefly woman in a society where women took secondary husbands. In the *koika* or festival witnessed by Stewart the main dancer was a young chief eighteen or twenty years old who danced to the accompaniment of four drums, handclapping, and about 150 singers (Stewart 1831, I:258). Stewart thought him 'uncommonly handsome, both in face and figure — of great roundness of limb — and though not large, admirably proportioned.' His skin had been rendered fair by the juice of a vine called *papa* and his style was 'more that of and Adonis than of an Apollo'. This dancer was accompanied by two boys in 'striking and fanciful' costumes. While Stewart admired the artistry of the performance he was offended by the 'language and allusions' of the songs (ibid.).

The Marquesan cycles probably never developed into the dramatic representations of the famed 'Arioi society of Tahiti, described by early European observes as 'strolling players'. The dramatic productions of Tahiti and the Cook Islands appear to have been more sophisticated performances combining high art with erotic and comic features. Like the clowns the principals of the 'Arioi society acted out the roles of the real chiefs and sacred rulers. They were the main vehicles for social comment.

As in other parts of the world all song, dance, drama and artistic expression in Polynesia ultimately derived from shamanic practice. The song and story cycles of the Marquesas, however, were the cultural expression of a society which still lived close to its shamanic religious origins, where the inspired priests of spirit-anchors brought the spirits directly into the performance of their ritual.

42. David Darling, Journal 24 October 1834, London Missionary Society South Seas Journals no. 105, Council for World Mission Archives, School of Oriental and African Studies Library, University of London. I am indebted to Wendy Pond for suggesting the possiblity of the clown foil.
43. Vilsoni Hereniko completed a doctoral thesis on 'Polynesian Clowns and Satirical Comedies' at the University of the South Pacific in 1990.
44. Bradd Shore has noted the comic treatment of the Duke of Edinburgh's visit to Samoa in the early 1970s, see Sinavaiana 1992:204.

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The 'Dancing Religion' in Hawai'i

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Odoru Shukyo, the 'Dancing Religion', with the official name Ten-sho-Kotai-Jingu-Kyo, is a so called new religion in Japan, which is centered around its former leader Kitamura Sayo who went through a traumatic life crisis in 1942. As a *kyoso*, or founder of a new religious sect, she first showed symptoms of something like 'arctic hysteria', then her sickliness gave way to strength, a magnetic personality and supernormal powers. Kitamura Sayo was initially controlled by the possessing elements, but after a while she could control her spirits, and she was able to communicate with another world without being the instrument of the *kami*. Kitamura Sayo was able to act purposively within her trance condition and was thus clearly distinguishable from a possessed medium who does not retain control of the altered state and frequently has no recollection of what has occured.

From early times strong elements in popular faith grow together with mountain worship and related beliefs with a background in Tantric Buddhism. Kitamura Sayo learned that through spending periods in isolation and undergoing various physical austerities such as fasting, going without sleep, pouring ice-cold water on her head, etc. she could attain the powers necessary to aid others. In 1944 she became possessed by Tobyo, a snake spirit that took its abode in her stomach. The supernatural being in her abdomen demanded absolute obedience. Whenever she failed to perform what was commanded, the snake spirit caused acute pains in her stomach or head. When Kitamura Sayo acted on the snake spirits behalf she was well aware of the duality of her ego. Unlike some people labelized as schizophrenics, she did not totally identify herself with the supernatural, but only communicated with it. This sense of personal identity is, according to Anthony Wallace, what successful prophets maintain. Kitamura Sayo also started to control Tobyo, but in comparison with a Tungus shaman who had a snake as a helping spirit, who attempted to imitate the reptile's motions during the seance, she danced ordinary formalized bon-dance steps, but, in a wild way.

My story starts on Hawai'i where Kitamura Sayo arrived in 1952. The first Japanese immigrants arrived in June 1868, a group of approximately 150 people. They came to better their means of livelihood by working on sugar cane plantations. Life on the plantations was extremely difficult.

The immigrants had to adjust to a new physical and cultural environment as well as coexist with immigrant workers of other ethnic backgrounds and life styles. They worked more then ten hours a day and were lucky if they got away with twenty-six days of work a month. Most of them spoke no English.

When the Japanese became ill they depended solely on faith healers. Odaishisans, miracle-working intercessionary people that linked the world of spirits with this world, who had the power of Kobo Daishi, were highly respected in the immigrant community and served as spiritual comforters to the suffering and bereaved. They blessed, healed, warded off the evil, gave protection, slipped into a trance and spoke to the dead, had visions, divined omens, etc. according to my informants. When Kitamura Sayo arrived in Hawai'i they all thought she was an Odaishisan.

She also resembled a *kuchiyose miko* (female shamans wandering from village to village, closely connected with a given deity whom they serve as mouthpiece). In certain areas those women are called *ichiko* or *okamisama*, 'honourable deity', so Kitamura Sayo got the epithet Ogamisama, and because of the ecstatic dances she performed she was called 'the Dancing Goddess'.

The trance dance, *muga-no-mai*, is a focal point of the religious ritual. In Tensho-Kotai-Jingu-Kyo muga is employed to mean the absence of selfishness, ego, willfulness etc. When Takie Lebra observed the 'Dancing Religion' in 1965 the dancing and singing was supposed to be spontaneous, but she could see some frequently observable patterns: the dancers were clapping hands, spinning on one spot with arms streched out, or waving arms downward left and right. It was a seven-hour long ceremony, with a lunch-break at noon. In my case study I found the same procedure, but the 'temporal aspect' had changed. My informants are between 55 and 85 years old and prefer three hours of dancing. I danced together with them in front of a huge taperecorder playing songs sung by Kitamura Sayo, just above the beach where Captain Cook was killed in 1779.

According to the members of the 'Dancing Religion' one of the most important thing Ogamisama tought them was *akurei-saido*, redemption of evil spirits. The dance is an important ritual considered to secure for believers the redemption of evil spirits and the amelioration of ill fortune. The unseen inhabitants of Hawai'i among Japanese Americans bear a strong relationship to the spirit population described in Japanese folk traditions. Every living person has a soul, *ikimitama*, capable of detaching itself from the body. The ancient Japanese had according to Obayashi a dualism of the souls, consisting of a free soul and a body soul. Among the Japanese in Hawai'i the expression *tama-geru* is used when someone is frightened and this is a colloquial form of *tama kieru* which according to Obayashis etymological interpretations means the loss or disappearance of one's soul. Departure of the soul from the body of a living person, *tama sakaru*, was often described in literature during the Heian period.

In the 'Dancing Religion' *ikiryo* is a free soul. The malevolent *ikiryo* is another form of the soul of the living than *ikimitama*, and thought to be capable of doing great harm to enemies and rivals. When it comes to concepts like 'souls' and 'spirits', in Tensho-Kotai-Jingu-Kyo, it is to a great degree a matter of linguistic contaminations. *Ikiryo* plays an important role as a subclass in the class of *rei*. It is a soul defined as an evil spirit, belonging to the *akurei* category and therefore unredeemed. My informants often told me about periods of illness, when they had gone to see Ogamisama to find out why they were sick. Kitamura Sayo could immediately tell a person the reason why, since she saw the *ikiryo* of someone who was jealous or envied the victim. The free soul, or 'evil spirit', looked exactly like the person to whom it belonged and Ogamisama could describe the *ikiryo* to the possessed, and thereby identify the cause of illness. *Ikiryo* can be avoided or sent back to its origin by concentrated prayer, a magic formula, 'stolen' from the Nichiren sect, will force a possessing spirit or soul out. Then the possessing element leaves through 'the gassho'. Gassho is used to describe the gesture used in salutation, time- and space-bounding, and when the members join their hands in prayer. In other words a possessing soul or spirit leaves through the finger-tips.

When a living person sends his free soul to possess someone, Ogamisama can exorcise *ikiryo*, but she can not redeem the possessing element, only send it back. If the person, to whom the soul belongs, converts and becomes a member of the 'Dancing Religion', then the character of the free soul changes. When it is a saved soul, thanks to the magical formula, *ikiryo* transforms into a *tenshi*, similar to *kokyu-rei* or redeemed spirit. In other words, a dead persons spirit changes from *akurei*, unredeemed and evil, to *kokyo-rei*, redeemed and good, through magical *na-myo-ho-renge-kyo* (the signs of the Nichiren-formula were changed after a lawsuit). A living persons soul changes from *ikiryo*, an evil free soul, to *tenshi*, an 'angel' (from Christianity) working for a 'spiritual homeland', *kokoro no furusato* (home of the heart), through the formula.

In the state of *muga* a believer can redeem evil spirits, this state of selflessness or egolessness is what the ideal human being exemplifies. It is through the prayer the members put themselves in a *muga* state before they start dancing the so called trance dance. The prayer ends with *na-myo-ho-renge-kyo*, 'repeated indefinitely'. It becomes vociferous, while developing a singsong rhythm it tends to induce a hypnotic frenzy. After the recitation of *na-myo-ho-renge-kyo* comes the 'ecstasy dance'. When the follower is in this emotional state his prayer have the power to exorcise instantly all evil spirits including malignant free souls of living persons. According to the members they sometimes 'speak in tongues' during the times of spiritual ecstasy activated by dancing. Phrases in Chinese, English, or other languages are uttered, believed to be the words of spirits which have entered the speakers' bodies to express gratitude for having been saved. Upon recovering from this hypnotic state, the subjects stated that they

were unable to recall having said anything while participating in the ecstasy dance.

Every third sunday, and on designated holidays, the followers in a community will gather for an all-day session of dancing and testimony, preaching and exhortation, praising Ogamisama and giving thanks. During the dance my informants go into something like controlled ecstasy. I prefer to call it hypnagogia.

After the dance none of my informants felt the pains they had felt before. The dance had been a pain killer. Perhaps because hypnagogia acts as an anxiety-reducer, periodically drawing a person away from the tension-producing activities of the sympathetic system. It also serves a trophotropic function (relaxing) by providing the individual with opportunities to conserve and maintain physical and psychic energy, and restore, regenerate and energize himself. An induced state of relaxation and detachment from the realities of the immediate environment can also have therapeutic consequences.

When it comes to the 'Dancing Religion' we can look upon the dance in different ways. It may serve as an activating agent for giving oneself temporarily to a supernatural being, i.e. embodying the supernatural in inner transformation, in other words, personal possession. Or it can be a way of merging with the supernatural toward enlightenment or self-detachment. The first way mentioned was exemplified by Kitamura Sayo. Concerning her, and with regard to a shaman, it was a matter of 'invited spirit mediumship possession dances'. In the case of my informants it is more a question of merging with the woman they have apotheosized. They strive to detach themselves from the world and divest themselves of ties to self in order to unit with a personified God, or deified person.

The 'Dancing Religion' in Hawai'i is a manifestation of a transformation. Here the institutionalized dance is relaxed, and in my eyes a 'hypo-dance', since the ecstasy is rather on the low side. It is a transformed version of the wild, ecstatic dance that Kitamura Sayo performed when she acted like a shamaness. Because of her background in Jodo Shinshu Buddhism, the dance is historically connected with the bon-dance performed in the seventh month to salvage souls from the agony of being hanged head down in the preta-world,* and therefore works as a means to generate benefits for the departed. Today, among the members in Hawai'i, any influence of Buddhism is denied, and so is shamanism and folk traditions, but still, the dance is a prophylactic exorcism of baleful influences from the bodies of the potential victims, and the spiritual communion embraces the souls of ancestors. I think of Kitamura Sayo as a shamanistic Buddhist *(ubasoku-zenji)*.

* Skt. *preta*, 'a dead person'. According to an early text in Pali *pretas* reside in one of the anterooms of hell; since they search for food they are called 'hungry ghosts' in China. On the fifteenth of the seventh lunar month a special festival, Ullambana or O-bon, is held to relieve their misery. Provided with food and being venerated *pretas* might be born in a higher realm in their next birth.

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The Absence of 'Performance' in the Shamanic Rite

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Introduction

My active interest in shamanism began in the early seventies as a result of research I did during my last year at the university. At that time, I came to the conclusion that shamans, basically, were stone-age psychotherapists, and that they came to this position because the various societies in which shamanism was practiced realized that sensitive people could be a benefit to the group. Rather than pushing them out, keeping them alienated, and possibly draining energy from the group, their powers were put to positive use (Horwitz 1993:39).

Instinctively, I felt that there was something more to the shaman's way than was expounded by the social scientists and missionaries whose works I had read while doing my research. I was fascinated by what the shamans themselves told of their work (cf. Handelman 1967a, b, 1972), yet being trained to think in the social sciences, I did have a hard time rationally understanding what they were saying, and this was because I could not accept what they were saying as being possible. Still, I did get beyond the barrier of thinking of shamans as schizophrenics, or, worse, lying charlatans who tricked the suffering for personal gain. It was clear to me that cures were being effected, which we, in our society, would call unusual coincidences or even miracles. These cures were being realized, and the scientific investigators from the outside world had no way to explain them except by weak hypotheses such as sleight-of-hand, or placebo effect. Back then, I had no way of explaining them either. Now, after investigating and working with shamanism in a personal way for more than twenty years, I no longer feel the need to doubt the statements of shamans which before seemed so impossible or mystifying.

Definitions

While I realize that the debate over the definition of what a shaman is will continue through the years — I revise my own from time to time — for the purpose of this paper I define a shaman as follows: a shaman is someone who purposefully changes his or her state of consciousness at will, in order to contact and/or journey into another reality, a 'non-ordinary reality', the world of the spirits. There she meets with her spirit helpers to ask for help, power, or knowledge for herself and/or others. Mission accomplished, the shaman returns to ordinary reality where she uses or dispenses the newly gained knowledge and/or power (cf. Eliade 1964; Harner 1980; Hultkrantz 1992; Horwitz 1993). Following Hultkrantz's (1983:253) definition of religion as a 'faith in the existence of a supernatural world'. I do not consider shamanism, in itself, to be a religion as it involves no faith or belief system. Shamanism is based on experience. However, it can be, and often is, a part of a religion. Also, the practice of shamanism often gives what are loosely termed 'religious experiences', that is, experiences of the supernatural, as well as providing a set of values and practices by which the shaman lives (Handelman 1972).

I define the shamanic rite as any action or series of actions made by the shaman with the definite purpose of bringing the power of non-ordinary reality (the world of the spirits) to ordinary reality (the material world). It is the bridge the shaman builds between our world and the world of the spirits. The ritual is not the source of power, but the vehicle for bringing the power to the recipient(s). It is the means, not the goal. In other words, that which is really going on in the shamanic rite is going on in non-ordinary reality. The ritual is the form. The power and spirit are the content.

To do shamanic work it is absolutely essential to be able to experience the reality of non-ordinary reality. Almost everyone has experienced non-ordinary reality, for example as *deja vu*, out-of-body and near-death experiences, or precognative dreams and visions. But in our society, because of the reluctance to accept non-ordinary reality as a reality, the majority of people suppress these experiences in one way or another, mainly for fear of what others may think, and sometimes for fear of what they themselves may think. Fortunately, this is changing and people are now more open to investigating their experiences and even openly talking about them (Moody 1977).

What is this non-ordinary reality, this reality that the shaman is operating in when she or he is shamanizing? The Mazatec shaman Maria Sabina describes non-ordinary reality as

> a world beyond ours, a world that is faraway, nearby, and invisible. And there it is where God lives, where the dead live, the spirits and the saints, a world where everything has already happened and everything is known. (Wasson et al., quoted in Halifax 1987b:130)

As Michael Harner explains,

> All the phenomena that characterize the so-called material world will appear just as real and material there (in non-ordinary reality] as they do here.... But the shaman does not view these non-ordinary phenomena as mental in the sense that they are regarded as a projection of one's own mind. *Rather, the mind is being used in order to gain access, to pass through a door into another reality which exists independently of that mind.* (Harner and Doore 1987:4. Italics added.)

The world of the spirits is at least as rich and varied as the material world we are used to moving in, but not everyone's experiences of non-ordinary reality are as Maria Sabina describes it. Instead they are often involuntary glimpses or moments when non-ordinary reality breaks through the barriers into ordinary reality. In our culture, these breakthroughs are referred to variously, depending on how they are viewed, as 'psychotic episodes' on the one extreme, to 'miracles' and 'revelations' on the other, with 'inexplicable events' being a more neutral nomenclature, if they are not dismissed as 'imagination' or 'fantasy.' The difference between a shaman and someone who fears his sanity is that the shaman knows how to get to non-ordinary reality when he wants to, he knows how to move there, how to communicate with the spirits, how to get the power, and how to bring it back and use it successfully in ordinary reality. In order to shamanize, the shaman must know non-ordinary reality for the reality that it is.

Previous Research Strategies

Because of the way shamanic rites have been studied in the past, much emphasis has been put on the performance, that is the superficial appearance, of the rite. There are many reasons for this, some of which I have discussed before (Horwitz 1993). To re-capitulate briefly, until recently it has generally been that western researchers of shamanism have actively avoided going deeper than studying the form of shamanism, avoiding the content, mainly because to study the content would necessitate accepting the point of view of the people being studied as being more than valid. More succinctly, it would mean that the field researcher would have to accept the fact that the purpose of the shamanic ritual was to bring non-ordinary power to the people. To do so would be tantamount to 'going native,' and as Edith Turner, in her ground breaking article "The Reality of Spirits" (1992), points out, the simple truth is that "if a researcher 'went native,' it doomed him academically" (Turner 1992:28). This sad fact is probably one of the main reasons that today the shamanic healing rite is considered by many to be a 'performance', because even if the field researcher did become involved in the ritual on a spiritual plane, even if he did 'feel something happening', even if he did 'see something' that was not

part of the material world, he would not publicly say so for fear of his academic credentials being forever lost.

However, if one does not include the presence of power in the analysis of the shamanic rite, the most one can hope for is either a description of events, or an analysis at some theoretical level, but still an analysis based on speculations, and this is what most attempts to understand the shamanic rite are. I feel certain that most scientists, at least until recently, would agree that one of the criteria of good scientific work is what has been referred to as objectivity, and that in order to be objective it is necessary to be removed, to stand outside the observed, to maintain an academic distance. Another hallmark of science since the enlightenment, until recently, has been the separation of the physical from the spiritual. Partly, this was because it was felt to be impossible to accurately describe the spiritual in physical terms, and also because in many cases the spiritual element is not recognized as existing.

Mainstream science today is understood to be rational. Shamanism, on the other hand, is non-rational. However, it is not irrational. The shaman on his journey acts in a very rational way, but it is a rationale based on his experiences of non-ordinary reality. In fact, it can be said that the shaman was the first scientist, because like the modern scientist, the shaman is interested in, and investigates, the nature of things. Unlike the modern scientist, the shaman does not limit that nature. From the shamanic point of view, one cannot describe the physical without describing the spiritual, because the spiritual is a part of the physical. Not only is it a part of the physical, it is the essence. It is what gives life — to all things.

As the title of this paper indicates, there is no performance in the shamanic healing ritual. Or stated another way, performance, like beauty and ugliness, is in the eye of the beholder. For example, Lopatin (1946–1949) describes what he entitles "A Shamanistic Performance for a Sick Boy." When Lopatin arrives at the scene of the séance, the shaman is singing a plaintive song. Now, what some might refer to here as a performance, the shaman may refer to as a gift, or an offering, to his spirits. One could even call it making oneself accessible to power (Castaneda 1972:116). However, after the attention of the helping spirit has been gotten and it has arrived, the interaction between the shaman and his spirit helper is much too intimate to be regarded as a performance, and it is interesting to note that the shaman in this ritual acknowledges the fact that it is his helper who has the power, crying

> 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! [...] 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 (Castaneda 1972:366).

But what concerns us most here is that the day after the healing ritual, while talking with Lopatin, the shaman asked him "Did you not see how I

brought it [the boy's missing soul] in the shape of a sparrow?" Lopatin, who had been busy noting the ordinary reality aspects of the ritual, had to admit that he had missed seeing the sparrow, but the interpreter, as well as the parents of the boy, assured him that they had seen the sparrow quite plainly because they had also been aware of the nonordinary reality aspects of the séance (Castaneda 1972:367–368).

It is because of descriptive accounts like this that investigators like Honko (1964), Siikala (1978), and others since them have been interpreting the shamanic séance by using role analysis. As far as I can see, such a methodology yields an in-depth analysis of one of the superficial aspects of shamanism, that is, what is considered to be the show of shamanism, and its effect on an audience. Assuredly, the clever researcher can come forth with some very interesting and stimulating hypotheses. But it is a gross exaggeration to say that

> the shamanizing séance, the ritual performance embodying the shaman's public activity, is *the key to understanding the whole ideology behind shamanism*" (Siikala 1977:28. Italics added)

For the shaman, the most important aspect of the ritual is the presence of, and the successful cooperation with the spirits, which are manifestations of the power of the Universe. As Turner puts it,

> These manifestations constitute the deliberate visitation of discernible forms that have the conscious intent to communicate, to claim importance in our lives (Turner 1992:31).

When working, the shaman is aware of ordinary reality, but it is the non-ordinary aspects of ordinary reality which the shaman is aware of. Of course, he is aware of the patient before him, as well as his patient's family and friends who have gathered there to give their support, but he is also aware of the slimy centipede who is devouring the bowels of his patient, as well as being aware of the spirit power the family is lending to the situation. Therefore, the key to understanding the whole ideology behind shamanism is understanding the relationship between the shaman and the spirit world, especially his spirit helpers, understanding the flow of power between non-ordinary and ordinary reality which is helping to restore health to the individual and balance to the community, and understanding on the deepest level how the shaman flows with that power. Anything short of that is only understanding half of what is going on. Of course, the ordinary reality half is very important, and this is what researchers have been investigating for more than a hundred years. Now is the time to start investigating the other half, the Spirit half, and putting the two halfs together. As Turner noted,

for me, 'going native' achieved a breakthrough to an altogether different world view, foreign to academia, by means of which *certain material was chronicled that could have been gathered in no other way* (Turner 1992:28; italics added)."

Toward a Holistic Methodology

More and more, anthropologists are calling for a new way of investigating, a way which not only respects the peoples being investigated, but also tries to understand their understanding from their point of view in order to learn from it (cf. Jackson 1989; Rose 1990; Turner 1990, 1992). Turner quite bluntly states: "We anthropologists need training to see what the Natives see" (1992:31). In the case of the shamanic ritual, this would necessitate getting beneath the surface of the antlered crown, the beautifully decorated work clothes, smoke-stained drum, and the 'role' played by the shaman in the ritual 'performance.' It would necessitate the recognition of spirit power as existing and actually being present in the shamanic ritual (Sommarström 1989; Turner 1990, 1992; Horwitz 1993). But how does one do that? If the scientific investigator keeps an open mind, which he has not done if he has decided in advance that the ritual is a merely a performance, then he risks experiencing the spirit world. Consider the words of Holger Kalweit (1992), describing a Tibetian shaman's séance:

> Now what one hopes for from a great seance has taken place: a person has wound himself so deeply in concentration that he has even drawn the onlookers into this vortex of self-oblivion [...] *I have long since given up my aim of observing carefully.* I am too deeply moved by the selfless abandon of this man, the felicity with which he follows the ebb and flow of the drum rhythm, entirely looses himself in the waves of sound (Kalweit 1992:94. Italics added).

I am certain that many anthropologists have had experiences similar to this one which Kalweit describes so beautifully. He continues: "Anyone who does not deliberately fight against the spectacle can for at least a time let himself be drawn into the vortex of this wild symphony" (1992:99). But although he allows himself to be drawn into the vortex during the séance, he apparently stops just short of allowing himself to go into a shamanic state of consciousness. Turner goes one step further when, while describing a healing ritual in Africa she participated in, she actually reports:" I saw with my own eyes a large grey blob of something like plasma emerge from the sick woman's back" (1992:28).

In writing of her experiences with the Eskimo of Point Hope, Alaska, Turner further investigates the effect of the spirits (in this case the Spirit of Whale) in daily life — or as she puts it, "...its [the spirit's] intentionality, above our feeble intentionality" (1990:41). She goes on to point out that

when we start to investigate the spirits scientifically we start to deal with material that is said not to be empirically verifiable, but is, on the other hand possible to experience. She asks: "What is the difference? Empiricism, after all, is founded on what people actually experience" (ibid.). She then suggests that radical empiricism, which counts non-ordinary reality experiences as valid experiences, "... may take one so much further into the heart of the experience [being investigated) that one may even approximate the field people's own understanding of events (ibid.)."

This certainly was my experience in October, 1992, when I was fortunate enough to be taken by anthropologist Lisa Ann Mertz to the Acorn Festival of the Kashaya Pomo, in the forest covered hills of northern California (Mertz 1991; Mertz and Smith 1990). The Acorn Festival is a ritual of Thanksgiving. It is given each year by the shaman Loren Smith and his sisters, who are also spiritual leaders of the community.* The main purpose of the ceremony is to give thanks for all the blessings of life, and to ask for continued help and power in the coming year. On this particular occasion it was also to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the coming of *weya* to their ceremonial Roundhouse. The ritual's form is a simple one, consisting mainly of singing and dancing and praying. This goes on for several hours in the traditional Roundhouse. Eventually, there is a break, during which food, prepared by the participants, and non-alcoholic drinks are consumed, and the participants chat and visit together. The most important of the foods is the acorn mush, as acorn was the staple of the Pomo diet in pre-contact times up into this century. After the eating, there is again the singing and dancing. Eventually, at a moment decided by the spirits, the ceremony ends with a closing prayer, and the people go home after more eating and socializing. I have not deliberately tried to dedramaticize this ceremony. It was very low key — to outward appearances.

I once heard the Lakota medicine man Norbert Running remark that the minimum necessary requirement for the participation in a ritual was to be open to the idea that it was possible for the ritual to help the patient. In other words, the participants in the ritual, who may or may not have been Lakota, don't have to believe in all the associated cultural baggage, but merely in the possibility of help being given. As I felt myself to be a participant of the lowest rank, I had decided to stay out of the way as much as possible, to try to learn the songs and sing along when appropriate, and to try just to be there, in both realities. And it wasn't that hard. The people were friendly, the songs simple and powerful, and looking around in the firelit Roundhouse, one felt easily transported away from the time and space limitations of late twentieth century California. The melodic chanting of the songs accompanied by the gentle clapping sound of the split

* In consideration of their wish for anonymity, I have not named Loren's sisters by name, but referred to them as 'Loren's sisters.' It should be noted that the sister mentioned in the description of the first night, was the ceremonial leader on the second night.

elderwood 'bats' the thumping of the floor drum, the eruptions of sparks from the bonfire as leafed branches of bay laurel were thrown on — all these things added to the feeling that something enormously important was taking place right here. And it was.

The shaman wore a sweatshirt, but after the break he took on a special powervest with the initials of the people he had helped embroidered onto it. He did this to dance the Big-head Dance. The Big-head is a head-dress consisting of wands radiating out from the crown. To these wands are attached tufts of feathers, black, white, or mixed, at ten centimeter intervals. They give the effect of a hemisphere, but to me they seemed more like antennae to attract power. I was later told that the Big-heads were among the most sacred of the power objects of the Pomo. Loren Smith wore one of them, another was worn by one of his assistants known as Mongoose. The singing started. Loren and Mongoose started their dance around the fire. Around the periphery danced one of Loren's sister, and several other women she and the spirits had chosen. The singers sat on a bench in the middle. The rest of us sat around the walls. It was all very peaceful, yet something was happening. Something unseen. The room seemed to be more and more brightly illuminated. *Weya*, power, was filling the room. Through my almost closed eyes the dancers seemed to be floating, the men seeming to be on invisible rockers, the women gently bobbing and swirling on cushions of air, their arms out, softly waving. I became aware of Loren's sister dancing toward me, closer and closer she came. The light in the room became brighter and brighter. 'Get up and dance,' said my friend sitting next to me. Suddenly, I was back in ordinary reality. Loren's sister's hand was just in front of me. I reached out my hand and was drawn onto my feet. At first I tried to dance in the way I thought I should, but soon gave over to the power that was coming through my dance partner. The dance became easier, I felt as if I had a fever, yet was filled with energy, and the room became brighter and brighter. Eventually the song and the dance ended.

For me, it was an enormously energizing experience. Later, driving back to the hotel by the coast with my friends, I felt I would stay awake all night. In fact I slept like a stone until dawn, when I got up to watch the waves and seals.

The second night of the Festival started like the first, but I noticed that Loren seemed to stay in the background. After the pause, his sister, who was the ceremonial leader that night, announced that again the Big-heads would be danced. She called out Mongoose, and another one of Lorin's assistants, Davy Garcia. Then she said, 'Now I want that fellow who danced last night. Jonathan. See! I remembered your name. You stand here.' I stood there as she called out some women to dance around the periphery. Davy put a Big-head on. Then he put one on Mongoose. I expected Loren to come out and take the third. But then Davy walked over to me and put it on my head. I couldn't believe what was going on, but this was actually happening. The crown of the Big-head was made of thin braided branches.

One of the places where two branches crossed pressed into my forehead — hard. Even harder after he tied the strap under my chin. The song started. The women started dancing. Davy and Mongoose started dancing. I started trying to dance. I wanted to do it right. I really concentrated. The frustration I felt at my inability to dance these strange steps was almost overwhelming, and I kept trying and trying, feeling more and more frustration. I was afraid the Big-head would fall off. It didn't fit right, and it hurt where is pressed into my forehead.

But, then, at some point, a switch happened. I somehow realized what was really going on without realizing it. I remembered that this was a dance for the whole community, for the whole world, to bring us power, and I felt the *weya*, the power, flowing into the Roundhouse, weya coming in, *weya* radiating out from the Roundhouse, just as the roof beams radiated out from the huge redwood centerpost, just as the rays radiate out from the Sun bringing life to the Earth. I experienced again the room becoming more and more brightly lit. The hard packed earthen floor seemed farther away, as if I had suddenly grown, as if I were floating, my legs moving effortlessly beneath me.

Then Loren's sister's arms were gently drawing us dancers off the dance floor to behind the singers. The dance was over. I put my hands on the huge redwood trunk which held up the Roundhouse, which held up the world. Far away I heard Loren's sister's prayer, giving thanks for twenty years of weya in the Roundhouse, giving thanks for being able to do the work they were doing, giving thanks for the preservation of their culture in the face of overwhelming forces, and I felt the power rolling over me like the huge waves of the Pacific.

Although at the time of the Acorn Festival I had no thoughts of presenting this material, I have used my own personal experience as an example of a new/archaic holistic research model in action. When one stops thinking of the shamanic rite as a performance, it is surprisingly easy to use. First, leave behind academic distance, the role of the detached observer, the illusion of objectivity, and the fear of going native. Second, participate in the ritual as much as is possible or appropriate without overstepping your host's hospitality. They will appreciate this much more than the flash of your camera. Don't worry about what you or the other participants at the ceremony look like, rather concentrate on the stated purpose of the ceremony and what you can do to achieve that end. Third, avoid thinking within the frameworks of ordinary reality, listen to the singing and the drums and allow your consciousness to change. Don't think about all you know from your previous research. Be where you are. Try to learn, as thousands of extraordinary women and men before you, from the world of the spirits. Finally, use your new experience and new knowledge, and let it be an integral, recognized source of information in your analysis.

As a result of my experience at Kashaya, not only was I able to 'approximate the field people's experience' — something which, I must admit, I had

no intention of doing when I went there — but I also gained great insight into their humble yet greatly powerful way of gaining direct access to the power of the Universe. In fact, I can say that the 'insight' I gained has had a positive effect on my life which I can still feel today.

Conclusion

It is interesting to note that modern theater in some cases recognizes the possibility, or even the necessity, of audience involvement. But if the division between the audience and the actors disappears, where then is the performance? It, too, has disappeared. That is, in order to have a performance, it is necessary to have both actors and audience. If the *audience* becomes actors — that is, *participants* — then there is no performance, and this is exactly the case with the so-called shamanic healing performance.

The shamanic healing performance ceases to exist almost from the moment it starts and becomes a life-event in which the peoples of the spirit world and the material world interact in a very familiar way. The shaman does not separate himself from the participants by thinking of them as an 'audience,' as many western scholars would have it, because he is much too dependent on the spirit help the participants give.

The participants have several functions which they share. They are there not only to sing the songs of the shaman, which in themselves contain much spirit power, but the spirits they call by their full participation lend power to the shaman to complete his tasks to contain the power of the Spirits, to remove the spirit cause of illness, to bring back the lost soul. The participants are also there to witness the work of the shaman and the Spirits, to joyfully welcome back the sick one to health, and, because they know that all things are connected, they are also there to be healed, as the healing of one member of the group has a healing effect on the entire fabric of the society.

The great Oglala Holy Man Black Elk, recalling his own initiatory experience, said:

> Then I was standing on the highest mountain of them all, and round about beneath me was the whole hoop of the world. *And while I stood there I saw more than I can tell and I understood more than I saw; for I was seeing in a sacred manner* the shapes of all things in the spirit, and the shape of all shapes as they must live together like one being. And I saw the sacred hoop of my people was one of many hoops that made one circle, wide as daylight and as starlight, and in the center grew one mighty flowering tree to shelter all the children of one mother and one father. And I saw that it was holy (Neihardt 1972:36. Italics added.).

If we are to understand, on the deepest levels, the shamanic rite, then we must go beyond the surface. To do this, it is necessary to accept the

truths of the people we are investigating, to see not only with their eyes as they look at the shamanic rite, but, as Black Elk says, *to see in a sacred manner*. To stand behind the wall of academic distance is primarily disrespectful in relation to the people with whom we work in the field, who are, as Richard Nelson points out, our teachers (1983:ix). Secondarily, it stops the flow of understanding. If the work of humanistic sciences is to have any far reaching effects, which it should, can, must do, and sometimes does, then it must recognize as the shaman does the sources of power which exist in the world, and in the Universe, and, just as the shaman does, tap those sources of power and spread the power around. There is only one way to get to these sources of power, and that is to allow ourself to become accessible to them. Fortunately for us, there are many points of access.

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Ethics and the Neo-Shaman

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Until recently the practice of shamanism was confined to intact indigenous communities or to rare outsider individuals who gained the confidence of native practitioners and were thus taken into their inner world, trained or initiated by them, and adopted into their tribe. The work of the shaman was the heartbeat of the social and spiritual fabric of the community. The shaman both unleashed and contained powerful spiritual forces and energies on behalf of the society of which the shaman was a integral part.

> Traditional societies possess a language, grammar, world view, and set of symbols and rituals that focus, contain, protect, and guide members as they enter other worlds and encounter the various forces and spirits that surround them (Peat 1993:53).

Today for complex reasons, a growing number of persons have undertaken what they call a practice of shamanism without belonging to a culture or community that recognizes or supports a shamanic perspective. In contrast to our own societies, we cannot afford to forget, as the physicist and scholar F. David Peat reminds us that:

> Many traditional societies believe in the realities of spirits and other nonmaterial beings that have an existence and a will independent of the individual human mind and body. These traditions stress the need for purification, ritual, ceremony, and a long period of discipline and training before a person attempts to enter these other realms and converse with the beings that live there. (Peat 1993:55)

Many of the new shamans are ill-equipped to engage in their practice of working with clients who come to them with a variety of physical, psychic, and spiritual ailments. The traditional indigenous shaman has the accumulated cultural experience and wisdom of generations of healers connected to a cosmology that gives meaning to both the illnesses and the shaman's processes of curing them. By contrast, many of the new shamans have but limited knowledge of any cosmology that could inform them and surround them with a sense of rootedness and ultimate meaning. Many of them receive but limited training, some only from second or third hand sources, such as anthropologists who once came in contact with shamanism during

their field work, or from persons who have had no direct or primary personal experience of the shamanic craft. Perhaps worst of all, some new shamans believe such information and experience can be gleaned from books, without any human teacher whatsoever. Spirit teachers are another matter, and I will deal with them later. All of this results in the new shaman being isolated from a conceptual and contextual community that has an integrated world view and mythos that is incomplete without the role of the shaman.

This isolation from the checks and balances that a supportive and also critical community provides places these new shamans in the ethically questionable situation of doing certain traditional shamanic practices, such as attempting to heal illnesses of the body, mind, or spirit, outside of the bonds that informed and tied the earlier shaman to a cultural community. They are, in fact, outside of any long standing tradition altogether. This same isolation is the cause of many problems that face the new shamans. Especially this is true in issues of ethics, which depend on a cultural context for their resolution. The purpose of this discussion is to identify certain ethical problems in the practice of new shamanism and to suggest certain strategies for dealing with these problems.

Appropriation of the Term Shaman

In our adaptation of the Tungus word 'shaman' to refer cross-culturally to any person of any nationality or tribal identity who does healing work, we have lost sight of the importance of context for understanding the role of the shaman. In doing this, anthropologists, ethnographers, and historians of religion have blurred, slighted, even denied the essential qualities and characteristics of the cultural identity of the practitioner, particularly in the indigenous or traditional context. Among the Shoshoni, for example, the medicine person, the one we call the shaman, is known as a *puhagan* or 'possessor of power.' According to Åke Hultkrantz:

> 'medicine man' is a white concept. To the Shoshoni *puhagan* with great *puha* is a more adequate expression, implying that the great *puha* may be used for the help of others, whether for curing or for a collective antelope hunt. [...] Together with his tribesmen such a *puhagan* would go out to the antelope flats carrying a gourd decorated with antelope hooves. Standing on a hilltop, the *puhagan* shook the gourd and sang the 'antelope song.' This song called the animals and ended with a sound imitating them. The animals drew near and were surrounded by the hunters, who easily caught or killed them. (1987:57–58)

It is no service to the Shoshoni to ignore and neglect the highly charged Shoshoni meaning wrapped up in their term *puhagan* by calling this person by the generic term shaman.

Perhaps as scholars, the perspective of the operational definition of the shaman is useful to us, so long as we do not substitute shaman for the indigenous term with its special and culture specific meanings. Even though no less a scholar than Mircea Eliade applies the term shaman more or less across the board to any one who undertakes 'magical flight,' who "specializes in a trance during which his soul is believed to leave his body and ascend to the sky or descend to the underworld," Eliade does add this essential qualifier which we would do well to remember:

> As for the shamanic techniques of ecstasy, they do not exhaust all the varieties of ecstatic experience documented in the history of religions and religious ethnology. Hence any ecstatic cannot be considered a shaman. (1972:5)

Does this leave us with a clear picture of who the shaman is or of what the shaman does with regard to trance or magical flight? No, and this is the point. The picture is not one but many, because of the incredible richness and diversity of cultural experiences throughout the world. This makes it both hard and easy to use the term shaman. Hard because it is not always readily apparent who among the various practitioners in a society are the shamans, or healers, dreamers, witches and wizards, priestesses and priests, etc. The lines between these categories and others are not the same among the many peoples of the world. Easy because the word 'shaman' can thus be readily slipped on, like a second-hand sweater, even when there may be no justification for it.

Despite the restraint of scholars, the situation today is that the word 'shaman' has been usurped by the popular imagination and the popular marketplace, and is now superimposed on all manner of persons who bear little or no resemblance to a traditional shaman in any culture. Without a community that recognizes the new shamans as an integral part of the culture, what makes these people in fact shamans at all except that they so call themselves? Attendant on this is the issue of what techniques and practices the new shaman is competent to carry out, and how the new shaman avoids the problems of ego inflation, lust for power, greed, and other psychological issues that can arise to test the new shaman's integrity.

Penobscot Shamans

The American anthropologist Frank Speck describes the medicine man and medicine woman among the Penobscot, an Algonquian people living primarily in Maine and southeastern Canada in his monograph, *Penobscot Shamanism* (1919). Such a person was known as a *mede'olinu*, for a man, and as a *mede'olinas.kwe*, for a woman. These terms are believed to derive from the archaic meaning of *mede*, thought originally to mean 'sound of drumming'. In old Delaware, a closely related Algonquian language, *mete'u*

means 'one who drums,' referring to 'the practice of medicine men of beating drums to drive away evil spirits.' In modern Delaware *meteu* 'denotes a turkey-cock (or ruffed grouse) which drums with its wings.' The male of this colorful woodland bird has the peculiar courtship habit of rapidly beating his wings producing a deep resonating sound as a means of enticing the female to him. Thus the *mede'olinu / mede'olinas.kwe* is the person who sounds the drum, "whose power, (at least in part), lies in the drum" (1919:241). By analogy, drumming is the medicine person's way of enticing the spirits, of calling out to them to come. According to Speck's description, he found that shamans among the Penobscot, as well as among the related neighboring tribes were

> accredited with the power to kill or injure creatures by pointing the finger at them, to prove their strength over rivals either in combat or in contest, to escape their enemies by magic means, to spy on enemies, to imprint their footprints in hard surfaces, to increase or diminish their size, to spoil the luck of trappers and hunters, to cause thick ice to heave, to pass through barriers (doors and the like), to roll away a heavy rock, to lift themselves from the floor, to foresee the approach of strangers, to remain beneath the water, to force rivals to throw off their animal disguises, to render themselves invisible, and so on (1919:256).

Here we have a Penobscot *mede'olinu* or *mede'olinas.kwe* manipulating the natural order of things. These are not ordinary activities, but feats made possible because of what Mircea Eliade calls the shaman's 'magic flight' which occurs in a state of trance. What distinguishes this trance state from the non-trance state is that the person experiencing the trance, who takes on or becomes the trance mind, finds they are able to speak with spirits, receive instructions from them, and take on abilities and powers that would be impossible in the ordinary mind.

That this is so is attested to over and over from the first ethnographies to the present. Mircea Eliade himself speaks of the shaman as a magician. Yet what observers of the shaman's trance discovered long ago, and continue to discover today, is that while the shaman may be the expert in entering the trance state and in using the trance mind, that the experience of trance is in no way limited to the shaman. Regrettably the present mechanistic, reductionist state of western Euro-American culture denies the efficacy and validity of trance as a normal and necessary human state. As Felicitas Goodman says (1988), we are all 'ecstasy deprived'. Small wonder then certainly in America, and I suspect as well throughout Europe, that people are hungry to learn the techniques of entering the trance state, and are willing to commit themselves to courses or workshops or religious groups that promise to give them this experience. This is not just the result of 'New Age' fantasies, but comes from a deep human yearning to connect with our ancestral and archetypal mythos, to bond again with the spirits of nature, the spirits of our ancestors, and the powers of the universe beyond the limitations of the every day world.

Moreover, there is ample evidence from people like ourselves who regularly meditate, or who by other means (including the ingesting of psychoactive drugs such as peyote) regularly change their state of consciousness for the trance mind, that the experience of this altered state of consciousness is beneficial for inner development and growth. Today we all suffer because we have lost a coherent sense of our cosmology, and mourn the fragmentation, the shattering of our deepest sources of personal and cultural mythos. When we experience the ecstasy that the trance state can bring, we glimpse in a momentary way the compelling nature of this lost coherency and wholeness. The problem arises not from desiring this state, nor from practicing it for the purpose of introspection and personal transformation, so long as we work to integrate the experience both into our own psyches and "into the social environmental, spiritual, and cosmological worlds we inhabit." (Peat 1993:54) Rather, the problem occurs when any such experience of trance, or altered state of consciousness, is equated with the shamanic seance.

It is clear from our reading of history that the shamanic trance is rooted in an integrated cultural matrix that interlaces both the social and the spiritual, the material and mythic worlds in which the shaman lives. The shamanic trance is not performed per se to gain enlightenment or to foster inner growth. The shamanic trance is a tool that enables the shaman to connect the worlds, to talk with spirits in other realms and to bring back those spirit words for the benefit of the community that is the shaman's home place. Jerome Rothenberg (1969) has aptly called the shaman 'a technician of the sacred.' One hopes that the shaman will emerge from the accumulated experience of many years of work having gained in knowledge, understanding, and wisdom. But the urge for self-discovery, self-development, or the desire for personal growth are not the motivating factors for the traditional shaman.

Further, the culture of the traditional shaman is rooted in the world of the shaman's ancestors, the world which the shaman hopefully knows better than any other. Today for those of us who live in a country such as the United States that has for its 'dominant' culture a recent mixing of elements from many peoples, it is not such an easy matter to connect with one's roots or ancestral beginnings. As a result, many of us drift toward the Native American Indian as representing the closest we can come to rootedness. The connection between an outsider and an indigenous people's world is most appropriate when the outsider totally respects their indigenous cultural ways, and does not regard them as commodities that can be appropriated. If we go back into our personal histories far enough, we are all tribal people. This means we all have a blood connection with our tribal roots. Before we latch onto some culture other than our own ancestral one, we should first explore in whatever ways we can our own beginning place. At least we have that tradition genuinely in our personal and family history. We must avoid at all cost following "the dominant culture's tradition of appropriating everything that has belonged to indig-

enous people world-wide" (Mertz 1993). This is a culture of privilege, and has little to do with uncovering or discovering our spiritual heritage.

An integrated cultural web that includes all aspects of the physical and spiritual realms must serve as a map for the would-be shaman to follow. Not a map like the simple road map, but a geodetic survey map that shows the contours of the land, the heights of the mountains, the locations of swamps, forests, level plains, etc. with the places marked that are relevant and important to remember, ancient monuments, burial grounds, holy places, places sacred in the culture of the shaman's world. Without a map like this where does the shaman go and how does the shaman navigate when the beating of the drum calls him, calls her away from this world and into another? Without a map into the mythos, how do shamans transform into magical beings who can do magical things?

> At Bucksport, Maine, where the Indians usually camped the second night in going by canoe to 'salt water,' there is a fine spring of water. On one occasion they found that a big rock had slid down the bank and choked it up. The party had to camp without water that night. But a *mede'olinu* in the party told them that he would make it all right. The band made camp and went to sleep. In the morning it was found to be true. The rock had been removed, although no one had heard it done, and the water was flowing freely again. (Speck 1919:265)

Now this is a fine story, just the sort of thing it is handy to have a shaman around to do. If the power that comes from the spirit realm to the petitioner were only of this benevolent kind, there would be no issue of ethics concerning the behavior of the shaman. Those who seek to manipulate the day to day ordinary world by reaching their hands into the other world of the spirits to bring back other worldly powers open themselves to the possibility of encountering spirits that harm as well as spirits that heal. Dare we doubt that this can be so? Frank Speck told us that among the Penobscot, the *mede'olinu*, the *mede'olinas.kwe* was 'accredited with the power to kill or injure creatures by pointing a finger at them'. The power to do such malevolent work comes from the dark side of the spirit world which one can also encounter in trance, and which one can call to oneself if one is taken over by the motive to seize power for harm. The shaman can be possessed by the greed for power over others, the power that injures, just as much as the shaman can be motivated to work with spirits who provide power on behalf of others, the power that heals.

Power to Heal/Power to Harm

Let us look at this carefully. Power is directed by the shaman's own inner will for evil or for good. In this sense, power itself is neutral and available to the shaman who shapes power by his own, by her own intention, desire,

motive, drive, and will. Especially for the new shaman isolated from a watchful community, it is more difficult to remain pure in heart with regard to issues of power. The fact that the petitioner receives information or direction from the spirit world to act in a certain way or to do a certain thing does not in and of itself justify that action or guarantee that that action will be benevolent. All manner of spirits are there to lead those who turn to the spirit world. But *which* spirits come to the petitioner depends totally on the integrity and intention of the one who is seeking them. When the shaman holds clearly the map of the community's mythos, then the shaman is able to discern even among the spirits, to perceive the meaning or truth of the messages the spirits deliver.

The person who talks with spirits must be able to tell what is good information from what is not good information. Here the purpose, the reason for seeking spirit aid means everything. The shaman, according to Eliade, is able 'to communicate' with spirits in the other world "without thereby becoming their instrument" (1972:6). We must also add to this, that the shaman is able first to identify who the spirits are who respond to the drumming call, and then, second, not to be seduced by these spirits or possessed by them. Possession by spirits in trance does occur, even among shamans, but the main distinguishing mark of the shaman is that he, that she is able to be in two worlds at once, in this world and in the other world simultaneously.

The issue of what kind of spirits choose to speak to the practitioner does not arise when the person is disciplined, aware of the dangers, is being clear with themself about their own underlying motives, and is paying attention to *who* the spirits are who are speaking in reply.

The problem is more likely to happen when the practitioner forgets or ignores the discipline, and allows their vigilance to wander or waver. Under these circumstances, such a person may well be unaware of how difficult it is to recognize or acknowledge that the spirit who visits them may be a projection of their own mind and not a genuine vision visited on their trance mind from the spirit world. Either consciously or unconsciously, each of us can be facile in duping ourselves into thinking or believing whatever serves our ends.

Without a map of the cultural, contextual mythos to which the practitioner belongs, how can such a person possibly evaluate what comes through from the so-called spirit world? How can such a person discriminate between wishful thinking, wishfulfillment and the genuine thing? Only vigilance and the constant discipline of honestly examining one's own motives, of bringing one's deepest urges for power and control to light can one get beyond one's own shadow self

Today where is the community that is consciously wakeful to what the magician, the shaman is doing and so is able and ready to hold up the mirror of critique or censure?

Bonding with the Helping Spirit

Among the Penobscot the spirit helper is known as the *baohi'gan*, which Speck explains as being an "instrument of mystery" (1919:249). Direct information from Speck's Penobscot informants says that

> the *baohi'gan* could be sent to fight or to work for his (or her) master the shaman. It could be sent on any mission whatsoever according to the shaman's will. We are told, too, that the owner remained inert while his (her) *baohi'gan* was away. (1919:251)

Most frequently, the *baohi'gan* assumed animal form.

> Every magician had his helper which seemed to have been an animal's body into which he could transfer his state of being at will. The helper was virtually a disguise, though we do not know whether the animal was believed to exist separately from the shaman when not in the shaman's service or whether it was simply a material form assumed by the shaman when engaged in the practice of magic. (1919:249)

In every case, whatever the animal, it was a known local creature native to the land where the Penobscot lived, an animal the *mede'olinu* or *mede'olinas.kwe* would know and would have a personal relationship with. Although a shaman among the Penobscot usually had but one *baohi'gan*, John Neptune, we are told "who was a powerful magician [...] had seven."

> Some of the tribe followed John Neptune one day until he stopped by the shore of a lake. There he sang and sang until an immense eel arose from the water and making its way to the shore crawled to where John Neptune stood. He took its head between his hands and stroked it softly, thus cementing the bond between them as master and servant. The wolf, the beaver, and the bear were some of his other servants and he would never hurt them nor eat their flesh. (1919:252)

This relationship between the *mede'olinu / mede'olinas.kwe* and the *baohi'gan* finally reveals for us how bonded they were to the land where they lived. This bonding is an indelible and integrated interweaving of the external, material and internal, mythic worlds that define the context of the shaman. The shaman did not pay lip service to the natural world; the shaman knew the natural world intimately. The plants and animals were as much as part of the shaman's life as family members. Thus when the shaman heard from the spirit world in the guise of a rabbit or an oak, the shaman already was in harmony with the rabbit or the oak, knew where to find them, knew about their habits and life cycle.

Unfortunately, today fewer people than ever before live within the natural world knowing it as a part of themselves. Thus the trend in spirit animals among many new shamans is away from the common indigenous animals,

and toward what are perceived by us as big, powerful spirit animals, like the lion, the eagle, and the bear, animals not many people ever see even once in a lifetime in the wild, much less have an ongoing personal relationship with. This tells us that these new shamans have lost their bond with the ordinary natural world, and consequently have lost the means of experiencing the integrated wholeness and balance of the material and mythic aspects of life. Without this experience of wholeness, how diminished and demeaned is their relationship with spirit beings that take the form of creatures from the natural world.

Perhaps the new shamans should consider whether it is important or useful in any way to call themselves shamans in order to practice whatever techniques they have mastered for the benefit of others. For some few perhaps who are willing and able to make the lifetime commitment to the discipline that is required, it is appropriate. But for most others, the mantle of the shaman is only a veneer, an outer covering, which they put on and take off as convenient. Better, and more honest, to think of themselves, and call themselves by some other name than by the name that carries with it the weight and responsibility of shaman. However, by whatever title one assumes, the ethical issues remain. As soon as one presumes to be in contact with spirits and powers in the other world, in the world one can contact through trance, then one takes on at the very least the responsibility to act with ethical clarity.

Conclusion

When all is said and done, there will still be persons today who genuinely believe they have received a call from the spirit world to act as a healer on behalf of their community. How best might such a person respond? What should such a person do? Unfortunately, probably none of the fragmented cultures we represent have any ready answers or advice for such a person other than to admonish them to be grounded, disciplined, and restrained. The many roles of the ancient shaman will never totally be acted out again, the world is too much altered and changed. Yet there are aspects of the ancient work that are still valid today because all people share basic human needs for the nourishment and well-being of the body, mind, and spirit. So long as these aspects of life remain ephemeral and uncertain, there will always be a place for the person who can provide relief from the illnesses, pains, and insecurities that humans suffer. The challenge for the new shaman today, if indeed there must be new shamans, is to maintain a strong personal ethical balance, free of self delusion. This requires wisdom and knowledge and a lifetime commitment to this awesome responsibility. For some few this may be possible. For most, it is better to use their abilities in more contained but equally effective ways, as doctors, psychotherapists,

teachers, artists, writers, priests, and others for whom having a relationship with the spirit world is essential for the fulfilment of what they do. For this kind of life, the title shaman is both misleading and unnecessary. Yet the ancient techniques of the healer from every culture may turn out to be essential for this work, for both the earth itself, and the peoples of the earth desperately need the healing that restores our lost balance and harmony, our lost inner and planetary peace.

In the past, the shaman was the center of a small tightly knit community that saw itself as the people, and who believed their home place was the center of the world. Today no people can afford such luxury. Every people is inter-connected with every other people around the globe. The shaman today, if there are to be shaman today, must break free of the limited, restricted, ethnocentric view of the past, and must regard the whole world as the home place. They must go beyond all national, cultural, and ethnic barriers. The term 'shaman' may no longer be able to carry the additional meaning of the person whose community is the world, and whose duty it is to engage in helping to heal the world. Even if we have some uncertainly about what it is appropriate to call such a globally minded person, we have no hesitation in declaring that all of us who live on this planet are in desperate need of such healing persons, no matter what they are called, to help us stop our wanton destruction of the world. This is the most important meaning we can learn from shamans of old. The world is us, and we are the world. By caring for it as we would for our own hunting and gathering territory, as we would for our own flocks and harvests, we carry on the best of the ancient tradition of the shaman in a new context and in a new way. Such vision calls for a sense of ethical responsibility of the highest order. Few will be called to serve in such a manner. Perhaps some of those few will come from among the ranks of those of us here who study shamanism and who care that the heritage of the traditional shaman, by whatever name he, she is called, never be lost or forgotten.

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Performance, Vision and Transformation in Shamanic Ritual: Healers, Clients and Societies

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A theme common to many of the papers at this conference is the need to take the techniques, words, images and concepts of the shamans seriously in their own terms. A previous generation, confident of the truth of its own understanding of the world, dismissed them as folklore at best, psychopathology at worst. In our time the situation has changed. Philosophically, science's claim to unique access to truth has lost much of its conviction, while the postmodernist turn among the humanities has further weakened the old certainties. Pragmatically, many people in Western societies are beginning to regard shamanism and related techniques as a serious competitor to science in responding to human distress.

There is little need to apologize nowadays for taking the shamans seriously, but there is still a real problem about how we understand what they are doing, or, more precisely, in how we translate between their languages and the everyday language within which we conduct our lives. It seems to me evident that some translation is necessary, if only as a defence against taking everything the shamans say at face value. Shamans may often be caring and altruistic healers, but trickery and deception can have an important place within their repertoire of techniques.

The general position from which this paper is written may be stated as follows: the various modes of practice which we refer to as shamanic can be best understood as working in terms of a description of the universe which is different to that which we assume in our everyday lives, but which is not necessarily less true. The universe is such that it can be described in an infinite variety of possible ways, many of which have significant truth-content but none of which is complete and exhaustive. I have presented this position at length in my book *Mind, Body and Culture* (Samuel 1990), and have looked in detail at what kind of truth might be assigned to, for example, descriptions of human affairs in terms of the action of the spirits.

In today's paper I shall try to sketch this part of the argument of *Mind, Body and Culture* by gradually building up an analytical framework which parallels that of shamanic language. My starting point is one of the most familiar and influential of all analytic approaches to the question of shamanism: that presented nearly half a century ago by the distinguished French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss.

The Analogic Model of Healing: Lévi-Strauss and His Critics

Lévi-Strauss's classic paper, "L'efficacité symbolique," or in its English version "The Effectiveness of Symbols" (Lévi-Strauss 1977), is based on an analysis of a Central American ritual of the Cuna people the function of which was to assist in a difficult childbirth. Lévi-Strauss argued, as is well known, that the shaman brought about healing by presenting the woman in childbirth with a series of images and symbols through which she could reconceptualize her chaotic and unbearable bodily sensations and so make them coherent and bearable. The images centre about a journey made by the shaman with the aid of his helping spirits to the land of *Muu*. *Muu* is a powerful female spirit who looks after the process of childbirth, but who is thought of as behaving improperly and uncontrollably until induced by the shaman to perform her duties correctly. The land of *Muu* is also the woman's body, and Lévi-Strauss's analysis focusses on the analogy between what is happening on the shamanic journey and what the woman perceives as happening within her body. We can refer to the general model assumed by Lévi-Strauss here as the Analogic Model of Healing. Patients, in this model, are provided by the ritual with images through which they can make sense of and control their bodily experience.

Lévi-Strauss's analysis has a number of problems. Joel Sherzer, who worked with the Cuna Indians, pointed out that in the actual ethnographic situation (which Lévi-Strauss had never witnessed) patients do not generally understand the details of the chant. Consequently, they cannot be supposed to follow the imagery of the chant with the precision Lévi-Strauss envisaged, or to reconstitute their experience according to the order he perceived in that imagery (Sherzer 1989). Another critic, Michael Taussig, more radically, asserted that the 'order' recreated by the patient, on Lévi-Strauss's model was in any case Western and structuralist, not to say patriarchal, in nature (Taussig 1992:165–183).

We are obliged, I think, to take on board Sherzer's and Taussig's critiques. We cannot assume that the healing imagery which the patient constructs in response to the shaman's words or actions necessarily creates something that we would recognize as orderly or systematic. We might nevertheless be going too far if we dismiss the model altogether.

Thus Carol Laderman, in an article where she compared Lévi-Strauss's analysis of Cuna chant to her own work on Malay shamanic ritual, took up Sherzer's point (Laderman 1987). She noted, however, that while for Malay chants comprehension might not be total and exact, most people had some familiarity with the analogical language used in the chant. The chant could be seen as providing a fan of meanings and associations out of which the patient constructs positive imagery.

Such 'construction' is not necessarily a fully conscious process. In Freudian terms, it would take place mostly in primary process, the realm of dreams and the subconscious. Once we assume that the imagery does not have a single correct interpretation upon which the cure depends, Sherzer's difficulty about partial comprehension becomes less serious. Laderman's reformulation also provides a more active role for the patient, and so offers a less one-sided model of the healing process. If the patient is seen as an active partner in the process, Taussig's objections lose much of their force.

This revised version of the Analogic Model is close to Victor Turner's influential analyses of how Ndembu (Central African) rituals bring about healing and transformation. The central role in Ndembu ritual is played by physical performance and symbols rather than verbal symbolism, but Turner too implies that the symbols are characterized by multiplicity and ambiguity of meaning such that the participant in the ritual constructs a personal understanding, rather than simply internalizing a prescribed model (Turner 1968, 1969, 1970; see also Samuel 1990).

A Modal State Interpretation of the Analogic Model

There are cases where such an interpretive framework seems to break down, for example where the patient is not even physically present, as in some of Jane Atkinson's examples from the Wana people of Sulawesi (Atkinson 1987). We should not expect a perfect fit to all situations, however, since there is no reason to believe that all shamanic healing works in precisely the same way or, indeed, that only one mechanism is involved.[1] The revised version of the Analogic Model of Healing seems to give a plausible interpretation of a wide range of instances of shamanic healing and similar processes, and we may accept it as a working model.

The relationship between the construction of positive imagery by the patient and the process of healing at a physiological or somatic level still remains to be explained. In addition, the individualistic focus of the model needs to be extended, as Turner's work and Taussig's and Atkinson's critiques remind us, into the social and political dimensions, including the power relations between healer and patient.

If we abandon the Cartesian split between mind and body, and the parallel division between self and relationships, we can see the transformations brought about by shamanic ritual as operating in a 'space' which encompasses both mind and body, individual and social context. This space was sketched out by Gregory Bateson in several of the later essays in his Steps to an Ecology of Mind (Bateson 1973). In my theoretical work, *Mind, Body and Culture* (Samuel 1990), I referred to it as the 'social manifold'

1. A ritual for an absent patient, for example, may still help focus the community's physical and emotional resources on the patient, and act as a general confidence booster.

and suggested that it can be analysed in terms of transpersonal 'states' which correspond both to specific patternings of mind and body of the individuals within a given social context, and to patternings of relationships between them. The ritual operates on these states, and brings about transitions between them. In this framework, there is no separation between mind and body, and the state transition necessarily affects the entire social group, including shaman, patient, and other participants (which does not mean that it necessarily affects them all equally or even similarly).

More colloquially, we can speak of the ritual as operating simultaneously on the patient's mind, body and 'social self,' since these are all seen as aspects of a single identity. Whether the shaman actually enters an 'alternate state of consciousness', a state of ecstasy, trance, or whatever, is less important than whether the shaman manages to facilitate this shift in the overall situation, particularly in relation to the patient.

Healing rituals such as those of the !Kung Bushmen (described by Lee 1968, and Katz 1982) or of the Temiar (Roseman 1991) provide support for this model. In both cases healing imagery, employed in the context of a healing dance involving culturally prescribed entry into 'trance' for some participants, is strongly associated with bodily sensations. Thus the !Kung, who live in the Kalahari Desert speak of the 'heat' of *n/um* rising up the spine and conveying healing power while for the Temiar, Malaysian forest dwellers, conceptualize the cooling liquid of the rainforest canopy spirits pervading the body downwards. In each case the imagery links body and mind, individual and group, and sets up a patterned relationship between healers and receivers of healing.

Case studies of this kind, along with the well-known yogic and *qigong* techniques of South and East Asia, suggest that the human system can fairly readily be induced to shift between states, and that the pathways along which these transitions take place have some similarities between different societies. It should be remembered that we are speaking throughout not merely of states of individuals but trans-individual states which imply the patterning of social relationships around and between individuals. Thus 'pathways' such as those mapped by the acupuncture meridians or by the psychic centres *(cakra)* and channels *(nadi)* of Indian and Tibetan tantric physiology can represent only a partial and limited description of these processes.[2] In any case, it should not be supposed that these pathways are 'hard-wired' or innate in any strict sense, but that they are instantiated differently in each individual in accordance with that individual's genetic make-up and social and cultural environment, and are always subject to change. Physiological factors such as the intake of food or drugs, physical injury, bacterial infection, etc., enter this model as con-

2. The matter is rather more complex than is suggested here, since the processes of Tibetan Tantric meditation for example, can be described as a kind of tuning of the *prana* flows within the *cakra* ancd *nadi* to those characteristic of the Tantric deity, who is as argued below a transpersonal entity (Samuel 1993: 238, 598 n.16).

straints on possible state transitions, but the physiological aspects of healing are themselves affected by the total state.

I suggested in *Mind, Body and Culture* that shamans and related practitioners operate in terms of a language which recognizes and describes these transformations of state of the total situation. This language, I believe, is that of the spirits. This may seem an odd assertion, since spirits have come in Western culture to be perceived as external, not to say imaginary, entities. However, I intend to make my assertion more plausible, in the remainder of this paper, by looking in some detail at two examples.

Example 1: A Tibetan Long Life Deity

My first example is provided by one of a number of Tibetan Tantric deities who are specifically associated with healing and health. In Tibetan Tantric (Vajrayana) ritual generally, practitioners make conscious use of imagery by visualizing and, in some cases, identifying with Tantric deities.

These techniques are clearly related to the 'role-taking' characteristic of classical shamanism (see the work of Siikala 1978, 1992 in particular). They provide the basis for my argument elsewhere that Vajrayana Buddhism may be considered a form of shamanic practice (Samuel 1993). Rather than discussing the technical aspects of these processes in any detail,[3] I shall try to exemplify them with reference to one Tantric deity specifically associated with health and healing. Since Vajrayana gives a very important place to visual imagery in the creation of the divine state, it will be useful if we look at how the deity is represented visually (Fig. 1).

This is Amitayus, one of the most important of Tibetan 'long life deities' (*tshe lha*). Such deities form part of a recognized subdivision of Tibetan ritual practice, the *tshe dbang* or life-empowerment, in which the healing power of the lama is transmitted to his or her followers (Beyer 1975:375-98; Samuel 1993:259–265). Amitayus (Tib. *tshe dpag med*) or 'Boundless

3. It should be noted that the identification with the Tantric deity or *yi dam* is, in Tantric theory, neither a simple adoption of a new personality by the practitioner, nor some kind of possession by the deity. It is conceived of as the bringing together of two elements, referred to technically in Sanskrit as the *samayasattva* (Tib. *dam tshig sems dpa'*) and the *jnanasattva* (Tib. *ye shes sems dpa'*). The *samayasattva* is the practitioner's sense of himself or herself as the deity, created through visualization, mantra recitation, and the power of the Tantric vow *(samaya)*. The *jnanasattva* is the Tantric deity as a real aspect of Buddhahood, and so as a potential form of being which exists both within the meditator but also within all phenomena. The two are brought together and merged as the meditator becomes the deity, in an explicit (and, for the Vajrayana, very characteristic) dissolution of duality into a nondual state (Samuel 1993:164, 235). Thus Padmasambhava advises his consort Ye shes mtsho rgyal in a 12th century *gter ma* text: "Realize that you and the yidam deity are not two and that there is no dam deity apart from yourself." (Schmidt 1990:105). In my terms, the *yi dam* or Tantric deity is a potential state of the social manifold which the individual meditator can be seen as 'tuning in to' through the process of meditation (see Samuel 1990).

Light' is the Buddha-form who presides over these rituals and the principal long life deity. He is closely related to Amitabha (Tib. *'od dpag med*) or 'Boundless Life,' who is one of the five principal Buddha-forms and is of great importance in East Asian as well as Tibetan Buddhism.

Amitayus is represented as a Buddha-figure seated in meditation posture. His body, like Amitabha's, is red in colour, and adorned with royal garments and jewellery (see e.g. Pal 1984:47). The red colour links with the general colour imagery of Vajrayana thought, in which red is the colour of the Padma (Lotus) family, associated with compassionate activity. The associated feeling is of youthfulness, warmth and vitality. Amitayus holds a vase of immortality filled with nectar at the centre of his body. The imagery conveys balance and concentration; energy is being held at focussed at the centre of the body. 'Energy' here refers to *prana* and also to *bodhicitta*, a term which combines reference to the altruistic motivation essential for the attainment of Buddhahood with the internal energy flow of Tantric practices (Samuel 1989).

There are a number of different ways in which the visualization of Amitayus may be used, depending on the specific practice concerned. The



Fig. 1: Amitayus — Buddha of Long Life

practice may be done to heal oneself or for another person; the deity may be visualized in front of one or above one's head, or the practitioner may imagine himself or herself transformed into the deity. Often, the deity is initially visualized externally, but then imagined as merging into the meditator at a later stage in the practice. In the course of the practice the nectar in the vase is activated through mantra and visualization, and overflows from the vase, filling the meditator's body, or that of the person being healed, with health and radiance. Lights may also be radiated outwards to summon lost life-energy and bring it back to the body, in a Vajrayana transformation of the very common shamanic imagery of healing being associated with the recovery of a lost soul (Samuel 1993:264, 269). Both lama and followers may simultaneously imagine themselves in the form of the deity, and visualize energy in the form of lights and nectars travelling between them and linking them. In the context of a *tshe dbang* or life-initiation, these lights and nectars may also be used to 'empower' material substances (liquids and medicinal pills) which are distributed to participants and may be kept for later use.

What is going on in this theatre of the imagination, evoked by a single person or sometimes shared by a large assembly of people? What meaning can we give to these complex transactions between visualized deities, lamas visualized as deities, followers visualized as deities, and of lights and nectars creating an invisible network of connections between them? In the terms I have been speaking of earlier, Amitayus is a representation of a particular state of the total mind-body configuration. He is a potential mode of being for all human beings (indeed for all beings that have consciousness, which in Tibetan theory also includes, for example, animals, local deities and beings in the various hells and heavens).

To state this differently: we all have a potential Amitayus-aspect, and the practice helps us to manifest that aspect, individually or collectively. When we become Amitayus in the practice, it is not only we who are transformed but our entire environment, physical and social, visual and auditory. The world becomes Amitayus's 'pure land,' a kind of paradise within which everybody appears as Amitayus, all sounds are converted into Amitayus's mantra, and all objects become scenery in Amitayus's world. To see the world in this way is a form of 'pure vision' (Tib. *dag snang*) and is one of the techniques and goals of Tantric practice. Within this transfigured world, ordinary social relations are transformed into the ideal relations between Buddha forms, represented by the radiating lights and flowing nectars, conveying health and well being.

Of course, not all practitioners or participants may be able to bring off this imaginative recreation of the social world with equal facility or conviction. In the case of a large *tshe dbang* or life-empowerment much necessarily depends on the lama at the centre, particularly where the other participants are lay people who cannot necessarily be expected to follow the visualizations in great detail. The lama's ability to create a sense of the

deity's presence and to convey the meaning of the visualized processes is at the heart of the exercise, though in a traditional Tibetan context the lama is much aided by the general body of expectations and understandings brought to the situation by the other participants. One does not have to be particularly cynical to see that the lama's status and repute among the body of followers is also at issue here. An effective ritual not only recharges the health and vitality of the audience, but reconstitutes their faith in the lama as teacher and ritual practitioner. In traditional Tibetan society, the lama may also have direct political authority, although this is by no means always the case.

Example 2: Rajasthani Spirit Possession

Can we extend this interpretation of the spirits as state-markers to other contexts outside Tibetan Tantra? I will move to an example which is relatively near geographically (northern India) but dramatically contrasted in nature and style to the Tibetan meditation on Amitayus. This is an exorcistic ritual used in cases of unwelcome spirit-possession in Rajasthan. Here, as in many other places in North India, young women (less frequently, men) are often diagnosed by indigenous healers as suffering from possession by an evil spirit (*bhut*, etc.). Particularly vulnerable to such possession are recently-married women who have typically moved from the relatively indulged status of daughter in their natal household and village to the difficult and vulnerable position of outsider in their husband's household and village. Such patients are frequently taken to shrines where the local deity – usually Hanuman, Bhairav or a form of the Mother Goddess – is known for exorcistic power. At the shrine, the patient goes through a series of possession episodes which are characterized by a conversation between the priests and the possessing spirit *(bhut)* and/or a witch *(dakan)* who may be controlling the spirit (see e.g. Gold 1988a, b; Kakar 1986:53–88).

The whole complex is a good example of the connection noted by Ioan Lewis between some forms of ecstatic religion and female subordination (Lewis 1971). A particularly striking illustration occurs in the documentary film *Eyes of Stone* (Vachani 1989), where a woman is possessed in rapid succession by the healing goddess Bhankya Mata and the negative identities of possession by *dakan* (witch) and *bhut* (evil spirit).

Here again we have a situation which can very appropriately be described in terms of transitions between transpersonal states, which are 'labelled' here by the assumed personalities of *dakan*, *bhut* and Goddess. Possession by a *bhut*, it should be noted, is not just something that happens to an individual. It implies a set of socially-determined positions for the possessed individual and the other family members, along with socially-prescribed relationships between them. The mimetic interchange between *dakan, bhut*, Goddess, priest and family members enables a rene-

gotiation of these positions and relationships. The sanity-restoring influence of the Goddess marks, ideally, a transition to a new, more satisfactory set of relationships between the various parties in the dispute.

These two examples are very different, but both have in common that what may seem on the surface to be a discourse about human beings and external spiritual entities makes much more sense when reinterpreted as being about transformations between transpersonal mind-body patternings of the various participants involved. I believe that this is more generally true of talk about spirits, though elsewhere the state scenario may be more complex, involving a variety of (usually personified) states assumed by several participants (e.g. shaman, assistant and patient). The remarkable aesthetic elaboration of much shamanic and other healing ritual (e.g. Kapferer 1979, 1983 for Sri Lanka, Kendall 1985 for Korea, Laderman 1991 for Malaysia, de Sales 1991 for Magars in Nepal) may be explained in terms of the need to bring about complex transitions within the social manifold.

Theatrical, dramatic and epic forms also bring about processes of state-transformation, and may be considered within the same general model. Contrasts can be made along various dimensions between specific types of healing ritual and performance. One of these dimensions might well be the extent to which state transitions and transformations actually take place among healers, patients, actors, audiences, and other participants. There are, however, no rigid distinctions to be made between shamanic ritual in particular, healing ritual in general, and other performance forms. Shamanic 'ecstasy', 'trance'-states and other ASCs are special cases of state transformation, and may or may not take place in any given instance of shamanic performance. The approach taken here highlights the importance of state-transformation and state-manipulation as general social processes, while avoiding inappropriate reification of 'shamanic states of consciousness'.

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The Revival of Shamanism in the Contemporary North

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In this article shamanism is presented as 'an expression of the northern identity'. Instead of the term 'northern religion', I prefer to use the pluralistic concept of 'northern religions' which, however, cannot be found even in the most recent encyclopedias or handbooks on such disciplines as cultural anthropology or comparative religion. [Åke Hultkrantz, for instance, has recently contributed a comprehensive article 'Arctic Religions' to the new *Encyclopedia of Religion* (1987), and presented his report 'Arctic or Circumpolar Religions' at the IAHR].

The definitions of many concepts used about the North are often different from their western counterparts. The definition of 'religion', for example, must be more holistic and more open than its common counterpart in the Western usage, where religion is just a sector of life among the others. The Northern religion becomes understood only in its relation with the ecological, social, cultural and even political problems of the North. This particularly concerns the very concept of shamanism which will be detailed below.

Ethnic Religions in the Northern Ecological Context

It might be worthwhile to try to find the difference in the meanings among the three concepts of 'Northern', 'Arctic' and 'Circumpolar', which are often overlapping, within at least the religious context.

'Arctic', first of all, is both an ecological and a mythical concept. Since the term is derived from the Greek word *arktos* meaning 'bear', 'Arctic' areas were supposed to be situated under the constellation of the Great Bear. Ecologically, the common definition of the 'Arctic' includes the Polar and adjacent areas which are located beyond the borderline of the average temperature of below 10°C in July.

According to Hultkrantz (1987:393), 'Arctic religions' are practiced by peoples who dwell in the Polar North, mostly living in the tundra (the permafrost zone) and partly in the taiga (the northern coniferous forest

belt that stretches itself around the globe). I fully agree with the author's statement concerning the impact of the severe natural environment on these cultures and religions, being, however, more sceptical as regards the conclusions of many rival schools of archaeology and cultural history using evolution and diffusion as theories explaining the Arctic survival of the Paleolithic hunter-gatherer culture (more thoroughly in de Laguna's article, 1993).

The concept 'Circumpolar' has been another tool mainly used by such archaeologists as Gutorm Gjessing (1944) who wanted to interrelate the Circumpolar traditions historically.

The cultural diffusion was again used to account for the majority of the similarities discovered, in spite of the fact that many common features could rather have been interpreted on the basis of the shared Arctic environment. In my opinion, it might be more appropriate to refer the term 'Circumpolar' to the northern Polar hemisphere for the cultures located within the Polar Circle (up to 66° N.L.). Their 'Circumpolar' comparison has accordingly been practiced in 'cross-cultural' studies dealing with the Arctic zone.

If the 'ethnic' aspect of religion is to be emphasized, the term 'Northern' could embrace the holistic relationship of religion with the environment, economy and social structure. It is typical of any ethnic religion that the religious boundaries basically coincide with the linguistic and ethnological borderlines between the cultures. Ethnic religions, accordingly, seem as if to 'have been born' among the peoples without any name of the founder of the religion mentioned in this connection.

Shamanism and Northern Identity

'Northern' is a geographical concept but its meaning is much broader. In contemporary Russia, for example, northern identity has become extremely important for the 'narody severa', the 26 peoples of the North, in their joint battle for their economic, political, social and cultural rights. Ignoring their linguistic differences, the Samoyeds, Khanty, Mansi or Tungus and other minor national entities simply emphasize to be 'northern peoples', feeling great togetherness and solidarity with other minorities.

In March 1990, the Association of the Northern Peoples of the Soviet Union was founded in Moscow. Later this organization obtained membership in the international body of the indigenous peoples. This international movement has issued a statement that it represents the fourth world whose demands should be allowed for in contemporary debates both in the Old and New World. The concept is, of course, extremely political. Cindy Gilday, an Indian woman from Yellowknife, said: "When an Indian breathes, it's politics" (Brody 1988:236)

It is the feelings of cultural identity and togetherness that are strongly emphasized today. The Arctic peoples themselves are striving to take an active part in the decision-making processes occurring at the world-wide (UN, UNESCO), international (Arctic studies) and nation-wide forums concerning their problems. According to them, the categories used to describe them must definitely be their own.

The United Nations have proclaimed the year 1993 a Year of Indigenous Peoples. This is a clear indication that the problem is extremely important, at least at the level of the international forum. The contemporary question of ethnic death or survival is more than a political issue. Nowadays it concretely concerns the survival or death of the languages and cultures of as many as about 70 Northern peoples (Graburn — Strong 1973).

In the Soviet Union, for example, in the census of 1989, 26 'narody severa' were listed (Janhunen 1990), ten of them undergoing at the moment the painful process of dying out. According to the estimate shared by many scholars, another ten would die in the course of a generation or two if dramatic changes do not take place. After this sequence of ethnic deaths which today are more frequent and rapid than ever before, there might survive half a dozen northern languages — all of them located within the boundaries of Russia. What is relevant in the issue of 'ethnic survival' or 'ethnic revival'? This question basically concerns not only ecology, social and cultural identity, but the Arctic religion and world view as well. The contemporary problems holistically concern all the aspects of human life in the Arctic environments all over the world.

Shamanism as an expression of the ethnic religions seems to have a special appeal to the Northern peoples today. These religions are rapidly developing at the moment because they have a lot to do with sharing the common feeling of the cultural identity, the Northern togetherness of the Fourth World against the pressures on part of the cultures in power, and the attitude of the majority towards minorities.

This ethnic dimension is more important in the definition of 'northern' than such criteria as the geographical position inside the Polar Circle, or the existence of permafrost or low temperatures. Whether a culture or religion is finally included into the 'Northern' category crucially depends on the selfdefinition of the culture itself. In contemporary Russia, for example, many Subarctic peoples living far below the Polar Circle consider themselves to be 'narody severa'. The Ainu in Hokkaido are sharing a similar attitude towards the Athapascan Indians of the western Canadian Subarctic forests, or towards the Algonkians in eastern Canada, for example.

Definition of Shamanism — Psychopathological Disease, Religion or World View?

The concept of shamanism has undergone some kind of devaluation in i recent popular and scientific literature. It has currently been used when describing phenomena of Christianity and idols of, for example, modern rock art. The extended contemporary use of the concept has been transferred even into some scientific texts. In an anthropological Ph.D. dissertation (Söderholm 1990), both Jesus Christ and Jim Morrison, the top figure of 'The Doors', were defined as 'shamans'. Shamanic therapeutic clinics organized according to the principles of their Californian promoter Dr. Michael Harner have been functioning in many western cities, and ' shamanic retreat weekends offering guided trips to make the nuances of the 'other world' accessible to everybody have been arranged both in the Old and New Worlds. Shamanism is nowadays offered as a universal means of penetrating into the depths of human conscience.

Many advanced experts in shamanistic research have not been satisfied with the recent trends. Åke Hultkrantz, Emeritus Professor of History of Religions in the University of Stockholm, criticizes the texts of his colleagues in shamanistic research with the following rebuke:

> There is today, and has been for considerable time, great confusion concerning the import of the term 'shamanism'. This is most regrettable since this is one of the most used terms in comparative religion, folklore and ethnology, and, moreover, it can scarcely be dispensed with.

The criticism of Hultkrantz particularly concerns the over-emphasis on the universality of ecstasy in the religious experiences emphasized by Mircea Eliade among others. Since Eliade wrote his classical work *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (1964), shamanism has often been characterized as an ecstatic phenomenon found almost universally in primitive religions. Because ecstasy and soul-excursions seem to be universal, so is shamanism as well. As a universalist, Eliade, included into shamanism even mysticism and the spirit possession cults of African healers.

Since the mid-19th century another trend has been proposed to explain shamanism as a mental disorder. In making such a statement the problem has, however, often been turned upside down. My field experience among the Khanty in their shamanistic initiation confirms the following statement by Mircea Eliade:

> To obtain the gift of shamanizing presupposes precisely the solution of the psychic crisis brought on by the first symptoms of election or call. (Eliade 1987:203.

The shaman Ivan Stepanovitch Sopotshin, whose repertoire is studied more thoroughly in my other article, was never eager to reveal the sources

of his great folklore expertise. He rather emphasized that the knowledge and the gift had come 'from above', from the gods, ancestors and the guardian spirits: 'I was taught by no one, nobody gave me such a gift.' Some references to contacts with the Nenetz Samoyeds who were migrating across the neighbouring tundra are important clues to his repertoire. Another valuable remark concerns his mother who 'also possessed such a gift' and was not 'fully normal', as he once expressed the matter.

Siberian shamanism is generally interpreted as a 'gift'. It means both an expertize in mythology and folklore and experiencing painful dreams and some kind of madness, too, if not continuously, but at least sometime in a person's life. Abnormal behaviour and experiences are even expected when shamanic initiation takes place as a testimony to the fact that the spirits have accepted the shaman-to-be. Since then the shaman's life may be more or less normal until the old age, when many shamans again may undergo critical moments. Madness is said to be typical of aging shamans, and many of them die or 'go' in their specific way 'along the river of his clan without returning home any more' (e.g., Ohlmarks 1939). Modern society might call this having 'committed suicide', but from the point of view of a shamanic society, it is a 'voluntary departure', a normal end to a life which has been normally abnormal.

According to the well-known model employing both the evolution and diffusion theories, arctic shamanism has been regarded as the basic manifestation of the paleolithic religion (Hultkrantz 1991) of the early hunter-gatherers, its distribution reflecting their continental migrations. Such ethnologists as Findeisen (1957) and Diószegi (1978), for example, consider shamanism as an ancient 'religion' or at least a 'form of religion'.

Towards a More Holistic Interpretation of Shamanism

A great number of ethnological studies of shamanism have been made on the basis of such visual elements as shamanic drums, outfits, bags, masks etc. These material elements also are most common and often the earliest artifacts of shamanism. When early travelers and explorers got into societies which had shamans, their interest was naturally directed to the peculiar elements of the rituals of the aboriginals. The travelers were eager to collect shamanic clothes and drums both for western museums and their own exotic collections.

Early sources often include not enough contextual information about the uses and meanings of the materials in shamanic societies. As far as Saami shamanism is concerned, the earliest records of the shamans themselves can be found in trials arranged by the spiritual and secular authorities against shamans. Many shamans were sentenced to death in the courts

following the wave of witch trials which swept the Extreme North from the Continental Europe. These were quite common in the 17th and even the 18th centuries.

These processes against shamanism led by the Swedish and Danish–Norwegian crowns and churches, were in fact processes against the visible elements of shamanism. The most important manifestation of Saami shamanism was, of course, a troll-drum with a hammer, rings and other implements.

In the early 18th century hundreds of shamanic drums were collected in the capital in Copenhagen in the course of the active missionary work led by Thomas von Westen and his successors from the missionary school in Trondheim in Norway. Most of the drums of this collection, however, perished in the Great Fire in Copenhagen, so that Ernst Manker, a Swedish ethnographer, could describe only 71 drums in his two volumes on *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel* (No. 1, 1938, No. 2, 1950).

The mission of the Church also attacked the Saami shaman's dress. The four-edged Kautokeino Lapp hat symbolizing the four corners of the universe was criminalized (Pentikäinen 1987) to such an extent that it almost went out of use in Finnmark. Wearing it was until recently considered to be a serious sin.

Although the traditional Saami way of singing epical and ritual chants, juoiggat, was also condemned as sinful behaviour, they were, however, transmitted as part of the ceremonies and get-togethers of the clans during their reindeer year, or simply when a Saami was fishing or hunting alone on the fells or at a river bank.

In the course of the active missionary period, shamanic knowledge became a private property of the human mind or an esoteric capacity practised secretly to gain better luck in fishing, hunting, reindeer husbandry, health, and happiness in marital life. In delicate affairs concerning the fortune of the clan in the painful comparison with other clans, it could even be a means of attacking their members and of disturbing their economic and other efforts.

I was quite often able to observe these rituals in my field work of the 1960s and 1970s among the Northern Saami of Norwegian Finnmark, Northern Sweden and Finland. It was then possible to recognize many such ancient pre-Christian practices still in use as, for instance, shamanic *seita* sacrifices.

Talking with my Saami informants, I learned that many shamanic elements had, however, been redefined and replaced with the rich flora of supernatural beings, male and female, bene- and malevolent, both ritually expected and accidentally met, experiential and unexpected.

My observations full agree with the statement of the Saami-born Nilla Outakoski, the first Saami doctor of theology. He concludes his Theol. Dr. dissertation (1991) about the underground spirits in the sermons and ethnographical research of the revivalist minister and scholar of Saami my-

thology Lars Levi Laestadius (1800–1861), and from his own Saami experience as follows:

> Similarly, they (the Saami) broad-mindedly adopted Christian divinity and Christian symbols and added these elements to the figures on the drumhead of the shamanic drum, the 'holy book' of the Lapps. The Christian symbols were, however, placed below the Lappish gods, and the Lapps continued to hold the Christian faith secondary to their own religion. When the rumbling of the drums finally died out, a 'maahinen', i.e., a small pocket-sized underground spirit-figure, easy to hide and endowed with the best Christian values and motives, replaced the troll-drum, frequently appearing to show its good intentions. While other creatures from Lappish folklore, who also appeared in Laestadius' sermons, could be and were easily branded as negative and evil, the underground spirit offered love, help and security.

The Saami drum is particularly complex in its structure, representing in its microcosm the seasonal variation of universe as a macrocosm. Containing a lot of mythical information, it is a kind of a cognitive map for the trip of the shaman's ego-soul between the three levels of the universe (in more detail see in Pentikäinen 1987a, b).

It might also be interpreted as a star chart including such astral phenomena as the twelve star constellation of the Zodiac and the Milky Way (Sommarström 1991). Since Western and Eastern, Northern and Southern stellar maps vary, one of the exciting tasks of future research will be a comparative study of shamanic drums in relation to their mythical background and possible parallels in the skies.

In my opinion, the term shamanism is much broader than just a 'form of religion'. It is a way of life and a culture in which the chosen leader, the shaman, occupies a central role. Shamanism is rather a 'worldview system' than 'religion' in the strict sense of the word. It is so closely related to ecology, economy, social structure, etc., that it is very difficult to define the borders of the concept. Shamanism could phenomenologically be defined on the basis of several criteria and should, for example, include the following dimensions:

1. Ecstatic techniques used to find the way into other worlds or dimensions of reality.
2. The hypothesis of more than one soul: in the state of trance the free soul leaves the body to make trips to other worlds assuming various, e.g., animal, shapes.
3. The belief in a 3-level universe, with the shaman mediating between these levels.
4. The belief in the helping spirits of the shaman.
5. The difference in ritual paraphernalia of shamanism in various cultures: drum, dress, bag, mask, etc.

When using shamanic categories, it is important to make a distinction between the cultures, such as some Mandshu-Tungusian peoples (1) who

have the concept of shaman in their native vocabulary, and those (2) who know similar phenomena but no concept (e.g., the Khanty). Besides, (3) there exist such cultures in the world that have neither the word nor the phenomenon. According to this definition, the Afro-American spirit-possession cults, for example, do not belong to the category of shamanism.

Shamanism as the Grammar of Mind

The phenomenon of shamanism is extremely complex and multi-faceted. When characterizing it, the emphasis should be made on its moral and spiritual, symbolic and mystical, ecological and sociological, aesthetic and political, as well as cosmogonic aspects.

In order to understand shamanism as a religious, social and cultural phenomenon it should, for this reason, be analyzed as a whole, taking into consideration both the visible elements of shamanism, as well as its latent meanings and messages. In the societies where shamanism is practiced, it plays a central role in the lives of the individuals and the clan. The shaman is known to be present in spite of the fact that in everyday life he seems to be an ordinary man, husband, father, grandfather, reindeer keeper, fisherman. It is from this everyday status that he takes his role as a shaman when he is needed; the phenomenon Honko (1964) and Siikala (1978) have called 'the role occupation of the shaman'.

In my opinion, shamanism is a specific permanent state of being that never ceases to permeate the whole existence of the shaman throughout his life. The gift of shamanism does impose certain specific social roles for the shaman to perform. The social roles of the shaman are numerous and diverse: he is a healer and a priest, a fortune-teller and a psychopomp leading the souls of the deceased to the abode, an epic-singer and a politician. This competence and its mythical background is known to the society who elects him and puts him/her into office.

The shaman should be an expert in the folklore of his culture. The corpus of shamanic folklore is an important element of this whole. The importance of the analysis of its generic categories has been emphasized by Kuzmina, a scholar of Buryat shamanism, who attempted this kind of classification. According to Kuzmina (1986), the most typical genres of shamanistic tradition were myths, charms, exorcisms, shamans' oaths, songs and genealogical tales about previous male and female shamans. The shaman's oath is a necessary element of a shaman's initiation in numerous Siberian cultures. In the presence of the community, the shaman vows to become the guardian of their religious customs. Among the Buryats, the oath is as follows:

> Having performed this initiation rite and having been blessed as a shaman, I vow to be the protector of infants, not to avoid the sick and the poor, not to

> seek remuneration, not to avoid aliens, not to favor blood relatives, to walk on foot to a sick person and to the poor, even to travel on oxen, not to rejoice in bounteous gifts and not to be angered by small ones. I shall not withhold the truth with regard to a sick person's identity... Let the father of the high heavens himself know of this vow and let the broad mother-earth be witness to it (Kuzmina 1986).

Such material elements as the shaman's drum, dress, bag, mask, etc. are both important criteria of shamanism and indispensable paraphernalia for his social performances of the roles of a mediator between the worlds, a traveler between the levels of consciousness. As far as Northern Eurasian shamanism is concerned, I fully agree with Siikala (1978) who writes, "The drum may be claimed to be the central symbol of shamanism, and without it a shaman is not a shaman."

Similarly, Honko (1964) emphasizes that "from Altai to Lappland the drum is the liturgical handbook of shamanism." In some cultures drums are more complicated in their motives than in others; from some cultures they are less important than the shaman's dress or are completely lacking (Hultkrantz 1991).

The shaman should be an expert in the ideological tradition in his culture. Generally speaking, the ideological aspect of shamanism has so far been underestimated in shamanistic research. The transmission of the mythical traditions from one shaman to another has been an important element of shamanistic initiation. One of the most important criteria in the choice of a new shaman was certainly expertise in the ideological traditions of the culture. The name of the Finnish sage is *tietäjä*, i.e., 'someone who knows'. It has been necessary for future shamans to spend a great deal of time familiarizing themselves with the folklore related to their task. Those who were most successful in shamanistic skills became practitioners with due respect to knowledge of their people's cultural and religious heritage.

It is important to keep in mind the distinction between two kinds of shamanistic traditions in a society. Some part of shamanic knowledge is collectively owned by rank-and-file members of the clan and the society, but the other part is a private property of the shamans only.

We could speak about the special 'grammar of mind' typical of shamanism. It means competence in certain shamanic ' folklore repertoire, specific skills in performing the ritual acts, knowledge of the 'shamanic' language and the rules of the generic and ritual 'grammar' observed not only in the shamanistic sessions but in the behaviour and everyday life of a shamanistic society.

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Performing Shamanism in Siberian Rock Art

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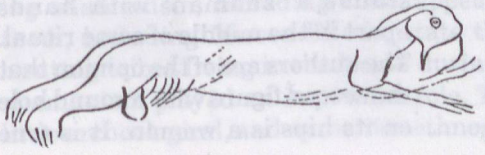
There are explanations on the origins of shamanism based on the notion that behind the 'animal-figure' of the shaman — deer or bird — lies the ancient belief that 'anything animal is holy'. The animal lords of the taiga (bear, moose, etc.) are at the same time the most powerful beings, as they ensure the material existence of man, namely the survival of the community. I believe that it is worth taking into account not just the representation of profane material essentials but other viewpoints as well, for example the development of man's cognitive capabilities, or more precisely the evolution of sign usage (Hoppál 1983, 1992).

This thematic change is what Okladnikov and Martynov (1972) observed on the rock drawings, the appearance of animal-human beings, they believe that this change was elaborated in the field of sign usage and from it conclusion can be drawn. Namely the earlier, simple iconic signs based on similarity to their object, are replaced by — in the first period alongside them — another type of sign usage: symbolic representation, the use of symbols stipulating a greater abstraction of thought for instance the depictions of bird headed men and women. The Paleolithic artist did not dress animals up in human form but just the reserve: they themselves assumed animal shapes (see for example Zintgraff and Turpin 1991:21).

The formation of shamanism in Siberia is dated at the first millennium B.C., that is the period of the developed Bronze Age. The figures of dancing 'bird people' deeply etched in the rock with metal tools are their proof of this, they maintain that one of the types of shaman was the bird shaman. But it is certain that bird people can be found in Western European Paleolhitic art as well, along with phallic symbols as for example in the Altamira cave (Fig. 1). It is worth mentioning that in the Sahara, in the Tassili cave paintings, mysterious bird headed beings appear (female dancers), dating from the third millennium B.C.

Fig. 1



Surprisingly on the rock drawings by the river Tom the human figures — anthropomorphic beings — appear in large numbers: more than sixty have been counted up until today. It must be noted in reference to supposed human depictions that, while in Near Eastern and Central Asian Neolithic cultures the God of reproduction was depicted by a female figure. In the cold North it is a male figure who embodies natural forces as the symbol of productive being. It is also possible that these human figures symbolised clan ancestors. In the ethnographic writings of D. K. Zelenin (1923) it was proved that in the belief world of the Siberian peoples all spirits were animal in form at the beginning, later taking anthropomorphic forms (naturally the spirit in the totem remained animal in form). It is precisely in shamanism that the significance of animal formed helping spirits is primary.

The essence of anthropomorphic representation, although it can be seen as a form of 'native realism', is the manifestation of a more abstract, symbolic tendency. The two compositions from Novoromanovo, on which human figures holding drums can be seen also strengthen this hypothesis. The anthropomorphic figures — however much the depictions are sketchy — carry some sort of big, round or oval object in their hands. On one of them the stick is also visible and two horns decorate the head (Fig. 2). This horned headdress can also be discerned on other drawings (Fig. 3). The drawings also record the 'shaman' figure — the human figures are usually standing above the animals, as if they hold power over the wild animals. One may conclude the pictures are sacred from one small sign: in both of them the symbol of the sun is found, a circle with a point in the middle. Apart from this on the first the sun symbol appears on the back of a wonderfully antlered elk (Hoppál 1983:25).



Fig. 2

In the same composition a barge or canoe can be seen with seven travellers in it, above them stands a 'shaman' with hands apart in the middle of some ritual. The authors are of the opinion that the second figure with a round hole on its hips is a woman. It is true

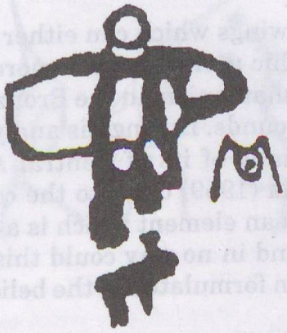


Fig. 3

that female shamans were not rare among the Siberian peoples, in fact it was precisely their physical and psychological sensitivity that was required for this social role, or to be more precise this spiritual vocation.

Certain scholars see shamans as the first artists (Lommel 1965, Marshak 1972). The ethnographic facts convincingly prove that among the numerous functions of the Siberian shamans the role of mediator was the decisive one: their task was to mediate between the peoples of the earth and the powerful sky spirits. This contact was established through the shaman's ecstasy, when the shaman fell into a trance, if they can at all be seen as artists then it is only in the sense that they masterly acted out terrestrial movement. There is no direct proof that the shamans did the rock drawings or the earlier cave paintings, they were the spiritual leaders of the community (Siikala 1984).

On one of rocks at the river Tom a human figure with skis can be seen, in whose right hand there is some sort of round object, presumably a drum. This drawing, if we accept the argument of the authors is one of the earliest depiction of shamans in Northern Eurasia. In the other hand the figure holds a long stick which is perhaps the predecessor to today ski-stick. The figure gracefully moves along on skis. From a cultural historical point of view this is extraordinarily informative about the material culture of Neolithic peoples.

The authors put the date of the origin of shamanism at around the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. on the basis of the age of the rock drawings. The development of religious notions — and this also supports their arguments — and the abstraction of rock art, that is the appearance of symbolic depictions fall into the same period.

In the analysis of findings from other Siberian sites (e.g. shaman drumsticks found in a grave near the village of Anosovo dating from the ice age) and of other rock drawings the conclusion can be reached that by the 2–1 millennium B.C. the drum was already a familiar object as an important part of shaman rituals.

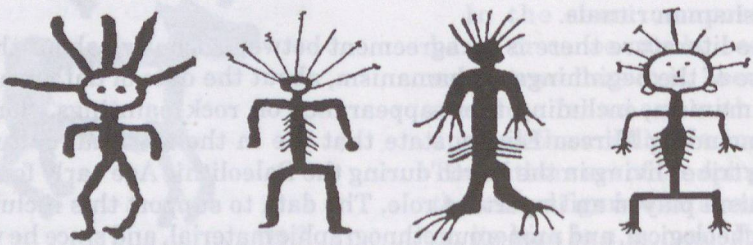
In the literature there is no agreement between scholars about the actual date of the beginnings of shamanism, about the date of data concerning shamanism, including their appearance on rock paintings. Some of them, including Mircea Eliade, state that the in the spiritual culture of hunting tribes living in the North during the Paleolithic Age early forms of shamanism played an important role. The data to support this includes a little archeological, and numerous ethnographic material, and since he wrote

his book three decades have passed in which important material has come to light (Eliade 1964:503–504; Hoppál 1994).

Among other things the Siberian rock drawings which can either prove or disprove earlier hypotheses. In the Neolithic period there is more data but there are those who put the formation of shamanism in the Bronze Age on the basis of religious-phenomenological grounds. During his analysis of the form of Siberian shamanism and especially of its of Central Asian, Tibetan and Mongolian variants László Vajda (1959) came to the conclusion that shamanism in all its forms contains an element which is a much later phenomena in the history of religion, and in no way could this very special and highly organised system have been formulated in the beliefs on the Neolithic hunter communities.

It is a well known fact that among Siberian peoples the shamans had antler shaped headdresses — perhaps this is what is depicted on the Novoromanovo rock too, and by Lake Baikal — which signifies the shamans helping spirit. In the case of the antlers the deer was the spirit helper, while a feathered crown indicated a bird shaped spirit. Already by the end of the thirties the ornament on the stone sculptures found on the Minusinsk Steppes had been published. Martynov and his colleague made a parallel between the remarkably similar mask depictions on the 'antenna' head decorated rock drawing, the etched drawings on the pots belonging to the IV Samus culture and the Minusinsk stone columns and discovered new rock drawing parallels as well (Devlet 1978). It is worth mentioning that on the shaman drums of the Ket people (known by their old name the Jenisei Ostyaks) such antenna headed anthropomorphic figures are found (Ivanov 1954:94). It is probable that the enigmatic drawings on the two shaman drums refer to shaman headdress (Fig. 4). In the territory of Tuva shaman songs collected from the Soyots mention feathered headdresses: "I wrestled with a dragon/ he tore my arms fiercely/ he stuck to me evilly/ he savaged my clothes... My hat is of feathers/ I wheedled it from Kurbustug/ my cloak is multi-coloured/ I brought it on a red skinned horse/ swaying I tremble/ I quiver like a mirage/ red fire, shine/ dancing fire, flame/ my body stretches..." (Kőhalmi 1973:107; see more about Tuva shamanism in Kenin-Lopsan 1993).

Fig. 4



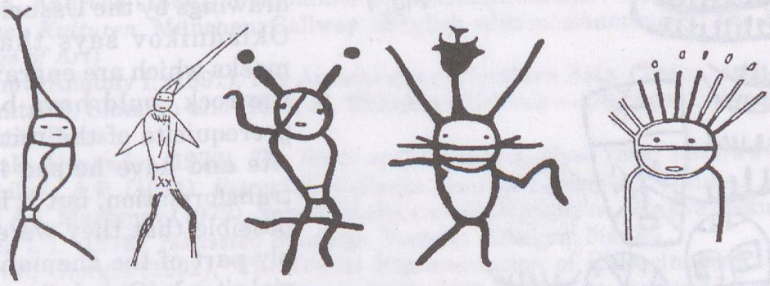


Fig. 5

The radiating-crown headdress in all cases signifies that we are confronted by some sort of special being and it is just one short step from this notion to the idea of a higher power in human form, of God (Fig. 5). From this point of view the 'sun-headed man' rock drawing found in Central Asia in the Tomgala territory is really interesting as a possible transition (Fig. 6) form of this symbol dating from the beginning of the first millennium B.C. (see for examples in Martynov 1991:148–177. fig. 20–49).

The appearance of masks on rocks can be explained as the beginning of the formation of 'human faced' depictions of God — this naturally means a higher degree of abstraction (myths collected from Paleo-Siberian peoples are not complete enough for us to posit the depiction of abstract higher powers — Leontyev 1978:91). However in reference to the Siberian carved stone columns where the masks barely recall the human face this idea makes more sense (e.g. in the Minusinsk Basin, see Rempel 1978, fig. 3) (Fig. 7).



Fig. 6

The essence of the mask is transform people, to make them invisible, to estrange them from the world or rather to take them closer to the supernatural, to the other world, to gods and to make the ordinary man similar to the immortal spirits. The mask mediates between reality and the other world. Its role is similar to the function of ritual columns which like paths, roads, lead the shaman or dead person into the supernatural world, into the sky, to the higher spirits, to God. In his explanation of the mask depictions of the Neolithic rock

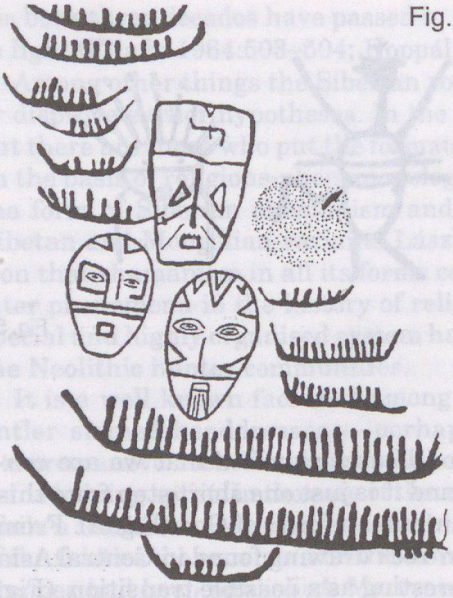


Fig. 7

drawings by the Ussuri river, Okladnikov says that the masks which are engraved in the rock could have been a prerequisite of the initiation rite and have helped in the transformation, but it is also possible that they were simply part of the shaman's burial rituals (Okladnikov 1971: 134, fig. 18 and Hoppál 1984: 36). Recently a great number of new publications have been appeared on Siberian rock-art. It is sincerely that in the future research will be continued concerning the problems of the beginning of Siberian shamanism reflected in rock art.

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Index

abaahy 180
Abuka Hehe 60
Achterberg, J. 203, 208, 210
actors 14, 43, 44, 46, 49, 54
Afanas'ev, L.A. 174, 185
Agapitov, N.N. 150
Ahlbäk, T. 241
Ainu 97, 265
aiyy 180
Alaska 236
Alekseev, E.E. 176, 182, 185
Alekseev, N.A. 177, 178, 185
Algonquian (Algonkian) 245, 265
algys 174
Altaic 271
~ musical community 132
~ peoples 133
~ shaman 165
Altamira 273
altars 6, 64, 73, 74, 82–84, 91, 92, 95, 189, 204, 205
ämägät 149
American Indians 149, 203
Amitayus 258–260
Amur 133
ancestor(s) 105, 127, 163, 166, 189, 218, 246, 267
~ worship 149
ancestral spirits 54, 178
animism 102, 213
animistic rituals 101
Anisimov, A.F. 46, 47, 56
Anokhin, A.V. 164, 169
Anosovo 275
Anuchin, V.I. 151
Arbman, E. 153, 156
archaic ritual theatre 55
arctic hysteria 225
~ religion 263
~ shamanism 267
Asian Huns 168
assistant 73, 75, 118, 128
~ spirits 75, 141
Asuras 89
Athapascan Indians 265
Atkinson, J.M. 172, 178, 185, 255, 261
Avars 168
Austerlitz, R. 179, 185
Avvakum see Pascal
axis mundi 205

Bäckman, L. 16
bai si 205
Baikal Lake 133, 276
balance 244, 251
Balzer, M.M. 173, 177, 178, 185
ban 66
baohi'gan 250
Barrère, D.B. 217, 224
Bartók, B. 123, 124, 127, 131, 168, 169
Basilov, V.N. 145, 147, 156, 177, 185
Bateson, G. 255, 261
bear 97, 155, 163, 250, 251, 273
~ ceremony 98
Beldi, T.P. (shaman) 137, 142
belief 1, 13, 44, 198
~ system(s) 168, 203, 208, 209
bell(s) 64, 80, 90, 111, 112, 115, 143, 189
belt 135
bhut 260
binggus 114
bird 8, 165, 214, 273
~ shaman 275
~ shaped spirit 278
Blacker, C. 229
blacksmith 39, 181
blessing 237
blood 59, 81, 83, 86
~ worship 58
bo 112
Boas, F. 151, 156
Bodhisattvas 89

body 37, 68
~ soul 226
Bogoras (Bogoras-Tan), W. 185
boksi 66, 68, 82
Bourguignon, E. 32
breakers 101
breast 180
~ dance 59
Bronze Age 273, 276
bsangs 92
Buddha 205, 258, 259
Buddhism 89, 104, 120, 147, 228
~, Tantric 225
~, Tibetan 90, 258
Buddhist monk 91
~ saint 90
Buddruss, G. 149, 150, 154, 156
buni 140, 142
Buryat 31, 149, 150, 270
~ shamanism 270

Caillois, R. 27, 31, 32
cakra 256
calling chants 184
Campbell, J. 151, 156
Castaneda, C. 234, 235, 241
catalepsy 75
celestial bird 166
Central Asia(n) 126, 149, 164, 168, 274, 276, 277
~ Eurasian shamans 150
centre 38
Chadwick, N. 175, 185
chant 70, 138, 140, 216, 220–222, 254
chanting 63, 100, 135, 140, 143, 223
chaos 6, 10
Charles, L.H. 43, 56
charms 270
Chavers, R.E. 41
Chepang 82, 84
Cheremiss 132
Cherokee 176
China 6, 127
Chinese musical theory 126
~ spirit medium 205
~ world view 124
Choi Chungmoo 26, 32
choron 180
Christianity 28, 29, 133, 215, 227, 266, 269
circle 87
clan 59, 105, 268, 270, 271
~ ancestors 276
clapping 221, 223, 226, 238
Cole, D. 44, 46, 51, 56
Colombia 147
community 54, 202, 243, 244, 251, 252
~ solidarity 180
consciousness 46, 66, 75, 148, 208, 216
Coomaraswami, A.K. 197, 210
Corradi Musi, C. 39, 41
cosmic order 3, 6
~ trance 50
~ unity 189
cosmogony 49
cosmological forces 180
~ tree 180
cosmology 181, 183, 243, 247
cosmos 5, 10
costumes 37, 39, 209
crown 25, 91, 236, 238
cultural identity 265
Cuna Indians 254
curing 182, 244
~ rites 200

Daerge village 141
dakan 260
dance 1, 31, 37, 63, 67, 70, 73, 85, 86, 105, 117, 118, 175, 176, 182, 209, 223, 226, 228, 238
~ movements 71
~ styles 68, 70
dancing 19, 65, 69, 73, 103, 181, 183, 221, 222, 237, 239
~ religion 225–229
dangu 106, 110, 111, 113, 114, 119
dapu 109
D'Aquili, E. 198, 200, 208, 210
daru 90–93
Daur (people) 123, 127
De Laguna, F. 264, 272
dead 36, 38, 54, 55, 142, 219, 227
~, world of the 143
death 3, 10, 45, 79, 83, 87, 154, 155, 214, 221, 267
~, initiatory 49
deer 163, 273
deity 72, 259
Delaby, L. 18, 32
Deligeaimu Mama 58
devata 205
Devlet, M.A. 276, 278
dhyangro 80
diagnosis 67, 73–76, 189, 190, 195
Diószegi, V. 16, 76, 133, 134, 145, 146, 156–158, 164, 169, 267, 272
disease 47, 93, 150

dismemberment 166, 215
divination 4, 63, 73, 74, 90, 94, 127, 201
divine power 36, 93
dog 172, 184
dongba 104
Doore, G. 233, 241, 242
Douglas, M. 178, 185
drama 1, 11, 44, 48, 55, 89, 223
dream(s) 30, 31, 40, 51, 55, 77, 81, 82, 140, 142, 201, 255
dril-bu 90
drum 37, 39, 58, 60, 64, 69, 73–75, 80, 82, 83, 86, 90, 92, 103, 107, 108, 111, 119, 135, 138, 139, 143, 148, 150–152, 171, 175, 181, 221, 223, 236, 238, 246, 248, 267, 268, 271, 274–276
~, small 94, 130 (see also *dapu*)
~ therapy 183
drumbeats 113, 114, 117
drumming 245
drumstick 39, 64, 109, 113, 114, 275
Drury, N. 229
Du Yaxiong 124, 132–134, 160, 168, 169
dualism of the souls 226
Dubin-Vaughn, S. 200, 210
Duerr, H.P. 156–158
Duranova, Z. (shaman) 172

eagles 8, 60, 150, 152, 160, 162, 163, 251
ecstasy 8, 17, 19, 36, 37, 40, 61, 151, 175, 178, 228, 256, 261, 266, 275
~, controlled
~ dance 227
ecstatic 245
~ dancing 57, 213, 226, 228
~ experience 245
~ journey 36, 39, 54
~ religion 260
Edsman, C.-M. 155, 156
Eliade, M. 4, 16–18, 32, 49, 51–54, 56, 88, 104, 145, 147, 152, 154, 156, 157, 164–166, 169, 180, 185, 201, 203, 210, 211, 215, 224, 229, 241, 245, 246, 249, 252, 266, 272, 275, 278
elk 27, 274
equilibrium 189
Erdoes, R. 241
Érdy, M. 159, 168, 169
Ergis, G.U. 182, 185
Eskimo 147, 149, 155
esoteric knowledge 40
ethnic religions 263–265
Evenk shaman 48, 49
Evenki 61, 104, 108, 123, 136, 176
evil 94, 95, 177, 178, 226
~ spirits 66, 89, 90, 150, 164, 165, 180, 195, 226, 227, 246, 260
exorcism 201, 228
faith healers 226

fasting 30, 225
Fedorov, A. (shaman-actor) 184
female 89
~ dancers 273
~ figure 274
~ organs 59
~ shaman see shaman, female
~-spirit 27, 178
Fernandez, J.W. 172, 178, 185
fertility 204
~ festival 180
Findeisen, H. 151, 156, 267, 272
Finno-Ugric 38, 132, 159
~ musical traditions 133
fire 6, 7, 51, 59, 73, 87, 94, 99, 141, 238, 276
~ deity 100
~ spirits 179, 183
~ worship 60
Foduo Mama 58
folk healing 183
~ performances 11, 12
~ poetry 160
~ songs 126, 132
~ traditions 228
Fontenrose, J.E. 210
food offerings 206
Francis, St. of Assisi 24
free soul 35, 226, 227
Freud, S. 198, 211
Friedrich, A. 149, 150, 154, 156, 172, 178, 186
frog 39, 109
Fürer-Haimendorf, C. 76, 88

Gansu province 160
gestures 20, 21, 31, 57, 60, 67, 74, 75, 137, 175, 189, 209, 227
Geyker, G. (shaman) 138
Gi Shengtsen 104
Giannattasio, F. 64, 70, 76, 88
gift 234, 267
Gilgamesh 152
Gjessing, G. 264, 272
god(s) 30, 44, 92, 117, 148, 213, 217, 267, 277
Gogolev, I. 182, 186
Graburn, N.H.H. 101, 102, 150, 156, 265,

272
griffin bird 162, 163
Grimes, R.L. 198, 199, 201, 209, 210
Guajiro Indians 147
guardian spirit 148, 176, 267

Halifax, J. 186, 215, 224, 232, 241
hallucinogenic experiences 213
hama 114
Hamayon, R.N. 17, 20, 27, 29, 31, 32, 147, 156
hamui 98
Handelman, D. 231, 232, 241
Harner, M. 156, 232, 233, 241, 266
Harrison, J. 207, 210
Hastings, J. 203, 210
Hatto, A.T. 152, 156
Hawaii 216, 225–229
headdress 90–92, 276
healers 176, 243, 245
healing 18, 27, 92, 127, 166, 240, 254–257
~ dance 256
~ goddess 260
~ rites 201
~ ritual 89, 203, 234
~ séance 49
~ techniques 93, 95
health 59, 260, 268
heaven 77, 79, 114, 118, 119, 150, 180, 215, 216
Hebei province (China) 103
Heilongjiang province 108, 110, 115
~ river 106
Heinze, R.-I. 17, 20, 32, 88, 205, 206, 210, 211
hell 77, 79
helping spirits 53, 171, 172, 178, 184, 234, 269, 274, 276
Henry, T. 214, 224
Heusch, L. de 17, 28, 32
hey 140
Hezhen (people) 104, 107, 140
Hinduism 78
Hitchcock, J.T. 88
Hmong shaman 25
Höfer, A. 72, 76
Hokkaido 97, 265
Holmberg, U. 149, 150, 156, 163, 165, 169
holy 52, 240, 273
hongwu 114
Honko, L. 149, 156, 235, 141, 270–272
Hoppál, M. 16, 29, 32, 33, 35, 41, 76, 95, 145, 146, 156–158, 182, 186, 241, 262, 273, 278
horse 65, 109, 163, 173, 179, 276
~-drums 183
Horváth, I. 159, 160, 168, 170
Horwitz, J. 157, 231–233, 236, 241
Howard, K.D. 95
Huizinga, O. 23–25, 32
Hultkrantz, Å. 16, 17, 32, 145, 147–149, 151, 152, 155–157, 229, 232, 241, 244, 252, 263, 266, 267, 271, 272
Hungarian belief 161, 166
~ folk songs 123, 128
~ language 159
~ shamans 164
Huns 168
hunter-gatherer 102
~ culture 264
hunting societies 147, 155
Huxley, J. 198, 211
hypnotic frenzy 227
hypnotization, collective 38

ichiko 226
identity 118, 263
ikimitama 226
ikiryo 227
illness 3, 4, 49, 60, 79, 84, 93, 100, 140, 173, 227, 234, 240, 243, 244
inasi 194
inau 100
incantation 94, 135, 138, 175
Indra 87
Ingerman, S. 157
initiation 37, 40, 45, 50, 55, 69, 154, 166, 190, 200, 215, 216, 259, 270, 271
~ rite 278
Inner-Mongolia 2, 126, 164
intermediary 86, 166
invocation 84, 92, 189, 192, 206
inward journey 51
Irimoto, T. 90, 95, 102
iron 115
Ivanov, S.V. 88, 109, 118, 120, 276, 278

Jackson, M. 236, 241
Jacobi, J. 4, 16
Japan 6, 114, 225
Japanese folk traditions 226
Jaschke, H.A. 89, 90, 95
jawning 19
jhākri 63–76
jhākrini 67, 71
jingles 107, 110, 112, 114
Jochelson, V.I. 175, 186
Joki, A.J. 145, 157

Jones, R.L. 88
Jordan, D.K. 229
journey 37, 41, 51, 151, 234
Jürchen 57, 58

kab-lung 93
Kakar, S. 260, 262
Kalweit, H. 236, 241
kami 225
kamnu 68
kamui 98, 101
kamuinomi 99
Kandinsky, W. 85, 88
Kapferer, B. 261, 262
kaqaulasan 190
kasa ceremony 140, 142
katchina 23
Kazak 127, 160, 161, 165
Kendall, L. 24–26, 33, 261, 262
Kenin-Lopsan, M.B. 179, 186, 276, 278
Ket (Yenisei Ostyak) 150, 276
Khabarovsk 137, 138, 143
Khanty 159, 168, 264, 266
k(h)elna 31
khomus 181
khwan 205
Kile, Kada (shaman) 143
Kim Tae-gon 1, 5, 8, 10, 16
Kirby, E.T. 16, 48, 56
Kirgiz 127, 160, 161, 166
Kleivan, I. 101, 102
knife 74, 80, 94
knowledge 85, 190
Kodály, Z. 123, 124, 126, 131, 134
Kondakov, V. (shaman) 173, 175, 180
Korea 24, 261
Kotkin, A. (shaman) 138
Kramer, S.N. 152, 157
Krishora (shaman) 82, 87
Ksenofontov, G.V. 175, 177, 178, 186
kuchiyose miko (female shaman) 226
kumiss 180
kut 7, 8
Kut-Siur 174, 177, 183, 184
kuturukhsut 176
kyryylara 183

Ladakhi shaman 89
Laestadius, L.L. 269
Lakota 237
lama 93, 260
Lamaism 147
Lame Deer, John Fire 241
Lapassade, G. 40, 41
Lapmarks 154
Lappish folklore 269
~ gods 269
~ shaman 39
Lappland 271
Larsen, M.T. 182, 187
left 64
Lehtisalo, T.V. 149, 151, 157
lei 119
Lessa, W.A. 211, 229
Lévi-Strauss, C. 16, 23, 33, 104, 120, 200, 253, 254, 262
Levy-Bruhl, L. 16, 38, 41
Lewis, I.M. 17, 33, 145, 157, 175, 186, 260, 262
lha 89–95
lha-ba 89, 91
lha-mo 89, 91, 94
Lhôte, J.-M. 31, 33
Liaoning province 110, 112, 115
Lidoga village 142, 143
life crisis 215
lightning 154
Liu Gui-teng 110, 113, 116, 120, 161, 164, 169
Lopatin, I.A. 234, 242
Lorenz, K. 199, 211
lost soul 140, 240
Lot-Falck, É. 18, 19, 33, 37, 41
Lőrincz, L. 166, 170
Luomala, K. 214, 215, 224
Lyon, W.S. 211

madness 23, 267
Magars 82, 261
magic 35, 38, 150, 154, 201, 246, 250
~ drum 107, 115, 118, 120
~ flight 147
magical power 103, 109, 153
Magyars 159
Malaysia 254, 261
see also Malay shamanic ritual
Manchu 57–61, 123, 127, 164
see also shamans, Manchu and shamanism, Manchu
Manchu-Tungus 107
Manchuria 103–120
Manker, E. 268, 272
Mansi 159, 168, 264
mantra 64, 259
Maori 214, 215
Marazzi, U. 146
Marquesas 213, 217, 223
Martino, E. de 146
Martynov, A.I. 273, 276, 279
masks 35, 209, 267, 271, 277, 279

Massenzio, M. 146, 151, 157
Mastromattei, R. 73, 76, 88, 146, 151, 157
Mauss, M. 38, 42
Mazatec 232
Mazzoli, F. 36, 38, 41, 42
meaning 193, 220, 244, 245
mede'olinu 245, 246, 248, 250
mede'olinas.kwe 245, 246, 248, 250
mediator 57, 118, 257, 271, 275
medicine men 146, 237, 244
meditation 28
medium 189, 204
Melchov, G.V. 120
Menges, K.H. 153, 158
mental disorder 266
~ illness 30
Mertz, L.A. 237, 242, 248, 252
metaphor 51, 55, 176, 178, 183, 193
Meuli, K. 145, 157
Mikhailovskiy, V.M. 18, 33
mind 94, 255
Minusinsk 276, 277
mirrors 116
mo 94
~ *khwan* 205
Mongolia/Mongolians 6, 104, 112, 126–128, 130, 131, 149, 150, 166, 276
moon 58, 87, 109, 218
Mother Goddess 260
Motzki, H. 145, 157
mountain 164, 240
~ worship 225
muga-no-mai 226
music 1, 21, 37, 63, 73, 105, 115–118, 183
musician-assistant 70
Muu 254
Myerhoff, B. 201, 202, 211
myth 145, 148, 198, 209, 217, 270, 277
mythic words 247
mythology 3, 148, 213, 219
mythos 244, 249

naadaxa 31
Naikhin village 141–143
naked 58
Nanai 135–144
Narim River 108
narling mendo 81
Narr, K.J. 145, 157
Ndembu 255
necklaces 80
Neihardt, J.G. 240, 242
Neolithic 275
~ hunter communities 276
~ rock drawings 277
neophyte shaman 81, 85
neo-shaman 243–252
neo-shamanism 20
new shaman 244, 245, 251
new shamanism 146
Nepal 63, 78, 261
New Age 246
new religion 246
New Zealand 214
nine 79
~ bells 142
Ningan county 108, 110, 115
Nivkh 179
nolda 31
non-ordinary reality 232, 234, 237
North 274
~ China 61, 168
~ Eurasia/North Eurasian peoples 147, 275
~ ~ shamanism 271
~ Siberian peoples 155
Northeast China 103
northern religion 263
Norwegian Finmark 270
Novoromanovo 274, 278
Num 151
Nüzhen see Jürchen

obscenity 201
Ob 151
Ob-Ugrians 159
Odysseus 48
offerings 5, 6, 90, 91, 101, 105, 114, 149, 205
Oglala Holy Man Black Elk 240, 241
Ohlmarks, Å. 272
ohuokhai 182
Oiunsky, P. 182, 186
oiuun 172, 173, 175, 177, 178, 180, 184
Okladnikov, A.P. 273, 277
Okladnikova, E.A. 154, 158
Olaus Magnus 39
olonkho 182
olonkhosut 182
Olunchun 61
ongon 149
Onogurs 159
Oosten, J. 33
Oppitz, M. 73, 88
oracles 7, 100
oral literature 1, 213
~ performance 214
~ tradition 150, 159, 162

Ordos region 2
Oroqen 104, 117, 123, 127
~ shaman song 129
Orpheus tradition 148, 149
Osmanli 166
other world 72, 142, 143
Ottaviani, G. 38, 42
Outakoshi, N. 272
oyun 7, 31
Ozols, J.T. 145, 158

pain 19, 49, 178, 225, 228
paleolithic art in Western Europe 273
~ religion 267
Paleo-Siberian peoples 277
p'ansori 11, 12
Pascal, P. 18, 33
patal 79, 80
patient 203, 235
paude 78, 80, 83, 85
Penobscot 245, 246, 248, 250
Pentikäinen, J. 155, 158, 268, 269, 272
performance 76, 89, 240
performing arts 3, 11, 14, 15
Perrin, M. 147, 148, 158
personal growth 247
peyote 247
phallic god 214
~ symbols 273
phurba 75
phur-bu 80
pigu 112
pipa 114
poet 48, 145
poetry 171, 178, 183
political function 101
Poly, J.-P. 28, 31, 33
Polynesia 213, 214, 223
Polynesian mythology 215
~ shamanic cycles 216
Pomo festival 237
Popov, A.A. 177, 186
possessed medium 225
possessing soul 227
possession 17, 46, 70, 72, 91, 118, 177, 201, 202, 249
~ dances 228
Potanin, G.N. 164, 170
Pouillon, J. 24, 33
power 194, 232, 234, 238, 248, 277
Powers, W.K. 211
prana 258
prayers 5, 174, 180, 201, 204, 216, 227, 239
praying 31, 237
Prince, R. 16, 262
profane 3, 9, 50
Propp, V.J. 39, 42
pseudo-shamanism 47
psychic crisis 266
~ energy 228
psychoactive drugs 247
psychopomp 36, 43
psychotic symptomps 46
puhagan 244
puledíury 136
puran 194
purification 5, 7, 8, 90, 92, 95, 201, 203, 208, 243
Puyuma 189

Qing dynasty 61, 108, 110, 111, 114–116
quartz crystal 154

raven 172, 178, 184
rdo-rje 90
relaxation 228
religion 1, 3, 198
religious experience 232, 266
~ forms 22
~ ritual 105
Renqin Dorji 123, 134
representations 23
resurrection 154
revelations 233
reversal 43
Rhodes, W. 242
rhythm 38, 70
Riboli, D. 88
Ridington, R. 145, 158
rigs-lnga 90
ring 80, 82, 115
rinpoche 93
rites of passage 1, 49, 52, 201, 208, 214, 216, 218
ritual(s) 14, 15, 31, 35, 98, 189, 197, 217, 222, 223, 226, 256, 260
~ behaviour 19, 199
~ chants 270
~ context 31
~ death 36
~ drama 43, 201
~ form 11
~ framework 27
~ invocations 136
~ sleep 54
~ space 5, 7
~ symbolism 207
~ theatre 43
~ therapy 50

rock drawings 273
Roheim, G. 133, 134, 163, 166, 170
role 49, 272
Rothenberg, J. 247, 252
Rouget, G. 16, 17, 19, 21–23, 25, 28, 29, 33, 37, 42, 63, 64, 70, 72, 76
Roux, J.P. 76

Saami (Lapps) 153–155, 268
~ mythology 269
Sabina, M. (shaman) 232, 233
sacred 9, 15, 31, 35, 50, 206, 207, 209, 247
~ drum-horse 178
~ earth 178
~ knowledge 177
~ performances 183
~ places 209
~ ruler 167
~ space 204
~ stories 151
sacredness 3, 8
sacrifice 81, 83, 86, 105, 114, 127, 151, 203, 217
~ of horses 149
sacrificed animals 139
sacrificial rituals 103–105, 112, 115, 116, 118
Sadovszky, Otto J. von 33, 41, 157, 158, 241
Sakha 171
~ prayers 179
~ Republic 173
~ shaman 175
Sales, A. de 33, 73, 76, 261, 262
Samoyed 151, 264
Samuel, G. 253, 255–259, 262
Sapir, E. 206, 211
Schechner, R. 16, 26, 33
Schmidt, E. 257, 262
séance 35, 38, 41, 47, 48, 63, 66, 68, 72–75, 89, 91, 92, 94, 95, 172, 175–177, 234
seita sacrifices 268
Seppilli, A. 38, 39, 42
serpent 152
seven 58, 138, 151, 203, 274
seventh golden heaven 151
sexual ecstasy 214
~ intercourse 59, 99, 178
~ symbolism 179, 182
Shaking Tent ceremony 148
shaman 13, 39, 43, 44, 46–48, 50, 70, 73, 78, 92, 94, 99, 109, 112, 116–118, 128, 141, 146, 163, 164, 167, 172, 180, 191, 195, 214, 217, 219, 245, 246, 250, 252, 254, 261, 270, 274
~-actor 41
~, Altaic 165
~, as first artist 275
~, deceased 193
~, female 67, 101, 149, 172, 189, 226, 270, 275
~, first 80, 149, 150, 190 (see also Ur-schaman)
~, Hmong 25
~, Hungarian 163
~, Ladakhi 89
~, Manchu 103–105, 110, 111, 114
~, Mongolian 150
~, neophyte 81, 85
~, Sakha 175
~, Siberian 152
~, Tlingit 148
~-to-be 267
~'s costume 92
~'s culturally-defined behaviour 21
~'s dress 270
~'s ego-soul 269
~'s helper 181
~'s initiation 270
~'s speech 93
shamaness 228
shamanic art 85
~ belief 168, 213
~ chant 171, 177
~ cosmology 174
~ dance 57–61, 63, 76
~ experience 152, 162
~ flights 152
~ folklore 145, 270
~ healing 27, 233, 240, 255
~ initiation 162, 215
~ 'memory folklore' 146
~ myths 182
~ poetry 177
~ power 148, 164, 166
~ practices 45, 172, 223
~ repertoire 175
~ revival 172, 173
~ rites 231–234, 239
~ ritual 1, 2, 4, 9, 12, 13, 15, 29, 43, 91, 236, 253, 254
~ seance 35, 53, 92, 183, 235, 247
~ session 77, 81, 82, 84
~ songs 123, 128–132
~ soul-journey 152, 153
~ soul travel 215
~ state of consciousness 236, 261
~ technique of ecstasy 245

~ theatre 35
~ tradition 133, 183
~ trance 223, 247
~ tree 47
shamanism 174, 213, 228, 243, 263, 265, 266, 268, 270
~, as ancient 'religion' 267
~, as a religio-magical complex 145
~, beginning of 275
~, 'black' 177
~, Buryat 177, 270
~, Chinese 127
~, Korean 6, 103
~, Oceanian 213
~, Saami 267
~, Siberian 147, 179, 267, 276
~, 'white' 177
shamanistic exercises 45
~ experience 213
~ symbolism 46
see also neo-shaman, neo-shamanism, new shaman, new shamanism
shamanizing 20
shengjiangs 119
Sherzer, J. 254, 262
shintoism 6
Shirokogoroff, S. 177, 186
Shoshoni 146, 244
Shternberg, L. Ia. 179, 186
Siberia 2, 273, 277
Siberian rock art 273–281
~ shaman 152
~ shamanism 147, 179, 267, 276
~ Turkic peoples 175
Sibo 104
Sieroshevskii (Seroshevsky), W.L. 175–177, 187
Siikala, A.-L. 16, 26, 33, 145, 150, 156–158, 235, 242, 257, 262, 270–272, 275, 279
silence 30, 141, 175
simenawa 6
Simoncsics, P. 145, 158
Singapore 205, 208
singer 145, 182, 239
singing 37, 38, 57, 69, 135, 141, 223, 234, 237, 270
Smith, L. (shaman) 237, 242
Smith, R. 197, 198
smoke 91, 153
Smolyak, A.V. 136, 138, 140, 142, 144
snake 39, 100, 109, 148, 178, 225
social self 256
Söderholm, S. 266, 272
Sommarström, B. 236, 242, 269, 272
songs 31, 84, 117, 118, 128, 175, 209, 213, 220, 223, 234, 270
Sopotshin, I.S. (shaman) 266
soul 35, 82, 87, 129, 136, 140, 143, 190, 205, 214, 218, 226, 227, 269
~ of ancestors 228
~ in blood 58
~ flights 153, 155
~ journeys 146
~ travel 216
Soyot 276
speak in tongues 227
Speck, F.G. 245, 248, 252
Spencer, R.F. 101, 102
Spiridon (shaman) 174, 179
spirit 4, 7, 10, 13, 19, 26, 27, 31, 60, 63, 66, 73, 74, 84, 98, 135, 148, 173, 174, 176, 195, 223, 225, 227, 233, 235, 240, 246, 249, 274, 279
~ doctors 205, 206
~ helper 100, 171, 172, 178, 232, 235 (see also helping spirit)
~ Lodge ceremony 148
~ mediums 204, 208
~ possession 17, 95, 100, 213, 260, 266, 270
~ power 235, 236
~ speech 191
~-spouse 27
~ world 163, 181, 184, 203, 249, 250, 251
spiritual ailment 243
~ purging 49
~ revival 174
Sri Lanka 261
stallion shamans 178, 183
Stanislavski, C. 51, 54–56
state of altered consciousness 13, 21, 30, 247, 256
Strong, B.S. 101, 102, 150, 156, 265, 272
Subarctic peoples 265
subconscious 255
Sulawesi 255
sun 58, 87, 109
~ symbol 274
Sun Yunlai 108, 118, 121
supernatural 47
~ beings 80, 81, 84, 85, 149, 225, 268
~ power 95
~ world 277
survival 265
Suslov, I.M. 153, 158
sutra 92
sweat lodge 203
symbolism 46, 209

symbols 2, 90, 199, 207, 254, 255, 277
symbolic actions 202
~ behaviour 199, 202
~ function 30, 31
~ representation 108, 273

taboo 5, 8, 219
~ breaking 99
taegam 7
taegam kori kut 7
Tahiti 223
taigu 114
taipinggu 110, 120
Taiwan 6, 189
táltos 164
tama kieru 226
tama sakaru 226
Tamang 68, 70, 71, 74, 81, 82
Tancredi, L. 185
Tantric deities 257
~ meditation 256
taochiory 140
Taoism 104, 120
Tatar 160
tau'a 217
Taussig, M. 254, 262
temaramaw 189
tematagep 193
tenshi 227
Thai 205, 206
Thailand 205, 208
Thalbitzer, W. 149, 158
tham khwan 206, 208
~ ~ *nag* 205
therapeutic practice 19
therapy 67, 74, 75
tiaobo 119
tiaodasheng 119
Tibet 93, 236, 257, 276
tietäjä 271
Tlingit shaman 148
toiuk 182
Tom river 274
Tonga 219
torii (altar) 6
totem 162, 274
trance 17, 19, 21, 22, 25, 28, 35, 45, 46, 52, 61, 63, 64, 73, 75, 84, 86, 100, 146, 153, 172, 175, 176, 184, 201, 202, 225, 246, 247, 249, 251, 269, 275
~ dance 226
~ journey 44
transformation 39
tree(s) 109, 152, 164, 215 (see also World Tree)
trembling 19, 64, 66, 75
tren kamui 100
tricksters 214, 223
trishul 74
troll-drum 268
Troshchansky, V.F. 177, 187
tshe dbang 259
tudin 142, 143
Tungus 152, 153, 176, 244, 264
Turk(s) 168
Turkic 160
~ cultural sphere 133
~ literary tradition 159, 161
~ people 132, 166
~ shamans 164
~ tradition 162
Turner, E. 201, 202, 211, 233, 235, 236, 242
Turner, V.W. 52, 56, 172, 178, 187, 198, 199, 202, 206, 207, 211, 255, 262
turul 163
tusu 100
~ *kur* 100, 101
tutelary deity 91
~ spirit 7

udagan 172
Udekhe 139
Uigur(s) 127, 160, 161, 163
Underhill, R. 101, 102
underworld 54, 119, 150, 162, 164, 165
universal mythological oppositions 35
upper world 8, 151, 153, 165
Urformen 145
Ur-forms 43
Ur-meaning 15
Ur-schaman 149
Ussuri river 277
Uzbek 123, 127

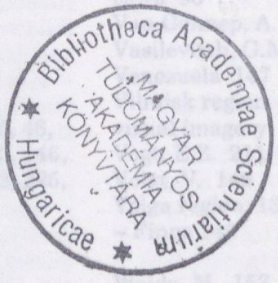
Vajda, L. 146, 276
vajra 90
Van Gennep, A. 18, 34, 201, 202
Vasilevitch, G.M. 136, 144
Venezuela 147
Viliuisk region 171, 173, 179, 181, 184
visual imagery 257
Vogt, E.Z. 211, 229
Voigt, V. 146
Volga region 132
~ Finns 149

Waida, M. 152, 158
waistbells 111, 114, 115, 117, 119, 120
waistmirrors 117

Wallace Black Elk 203, 211
Wana people 255
Wasson, R.G. 232, 242
Watanabe, H. 100, 102
water 6, 7, 91, 92
Westen, T. von 268
weya 237–239
whirling 19
willow worship 58
wind-spirit 82
witch(es) 66, 68, 245, 260
witchcraft 103, 104
world tree 152, 205, 216
~ ~ symbolism 213
~ view 25, 168, 243, 244, 265
wrestling 164
wu 104
Wu Bing'an 108, 109, 121
Wubuxiben Mama 58

Xibo 127
Xinjiang 127
xisha 114
Xiongnu 168
Yakut 8, 31, 66, 69
~ Sakha 171
~ shaman 149, 150, 154, 165, 166
Yama 79
yawns 190
yayaory 135
Yenisei Ostyak see Ket
Yenisei river 150
yhyak 180–182
yi dam 91
Yugur 123, 127, 160, 161, 165, 168
yul-lha 95
Yurak Samoyed 149
Yunnan province 103

zailizi 118
Zelenin, D.K. 274, 279
zhuagu 106, 107, 109, 111–114
Zolla, E. 146
Žornickaja, M. Ja. 66, 69, 76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