

conceptions. We have seen that Manchu *bušku* is a complex in the manifestations of which we may include various diseases, while amongst the Birarčén this spirit produces, in so far as I could see, trouble of bones and blood chiefly. Thus there may be perhaps included: syphilis, leprosy, tuberculosis, which actually may affect several generations, and are very often manifested at the age of puberty. Yet, the imagination does its work too. Among the Manchu *bušku* occupies a very important part in the folklore, while it is very rare in Tungus folklore. Among the Goldi this spirit seems to be also known under the name *buseu* (*bus'eku*—*buseu*). However, I. A. Lopatin and evidently P. Šimkevič did not pay due attention to the character of this spirit and I. A. Lopatin (op. cit., pp. 211-212) identified it with *amba*,

and called these spirits "devils" (*vide supra* p. 158 f.). *Amba* actually is not the name of a spirit or a group of spirits, but merely is "great" used for avoiding the name the calling of which may awaken the activity of the spirits named. It is essential that *buseu* looks for blood when fed by the shaman (?) and "it tortures the people and drinks their blood" (op. cit. p. 212), which gives the same details as *bušku* and *bus'eku*. Indeed, the change of shamanistic spirits into *buseu*, and the turning of the souls of people who had committed suicide into *buseu* is not very likely. Probably different spirits are confused, and I. A. Lopatin has designated too many spirits under this general term. In fact, the Goldi may use this term in a wide meaning as the Manchus do with *xutu* and Tungus do with *s'irkul*.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SPIRITS MASTERED

52. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THESE SPIRITS. TUNGUS TERMS

The present chapter is devoted to a detailed description of the Mastered Spirits which I have separated into a special group. It ought to be pointed out that these spirits are not at all "protectors" or "benevolent spirits" of the shamans. These spirits are those which are *mastered by the shamans*. Among all ethnical groups here discussed, the shaman is their *ojan*, *ějèn*, etc. i.e. "the master." The relation between the shaman and the spirits will be discussed later, when the nature of shamanism and functions of the shaman are described.

In the Northern Tungus dialects of groups here discussed the spirits mastered by the shamans are called by different terms which may be brought to the common stem *seva*, while amongst the Manchus there is another term, namely, *vočko*.

Among the Tungus of Transbaikalia, the Barguzin group, the Khingan group and the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria the term is *seva*; among the Khingan, Kumarčén and Birarčén Tungus it is *sěvèy*, *sěvèn*; the latter is known among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria and Mankova Nomad Tungus. According to I. A. Lopatin (op. cit. p. 219) the Goldi term is *seon*, in an evidently approximate transcription.* S. Poniatowski twice gives *sewo* for Goldi spirits. However, among the Goldi C. Maximowicz recorded *sěwa*, *s'euwa* (W. Grube, p. 91.) in the sense of "idol", i.e. evidently a "placing" for some spirit. In Olča we have seen *sevo* "an idol, god" (P. P. Schmidt). Also, L. von Schrenck mentions "idols" *seva*** among the Samagir group of Goldi and among the Olča.*** S. Brailovski (op. cit. p. 184) says that the Udehe divide their spirits into two groups namely, "good" spirits,—*syn*, and "evil" spirits,—*sakxa*, *ánači*. Indeed, this is not true for "good" and "evil" are not evidently of Udehe complex. Here *syn* undoubtedly is *sèn*, i.e. contracted form of *sěvèn*. As a matter of fact,

the Udehe have inclination for contraction of certain words.**** Indeed the final *y ~ n* in Tungus may be of a secondary origin, as a suffix which is very common. Thus, the stem is *sVvV*.

We met with this stem when we discussed the name for "God" and the term for "placing", and even the term for the "box" in which the placings are preserved. Since the analysis of these words may help us, I shall proceed to give it. We have *šovok'i*, *šovok'i*, *savaki* (Enis.) and contracted forms *xaúh'i*, *xeuk'i* (Lamut, Schiefner) (perhaps, *xōki*) used in the sense of "God" (introduced probably by the Orthodox missionaries); *sevek'i* (Barguz. Nomad Tungus, Poppe) is "idol made of rugs"; *sěvèki* (Mank.), *savak'i*, *sāvak'i*, *sěvèki* (Bir. Kum. Khin.) is "placing in general"; *sevek'i*, *sevek'i*, *sevoki*, *sōk'i* (Bir.) is "spirits of burkan type"; *savaki*, *šavak'i*, *s'avak'i* (Barg. Nerč.) is "spirits of burkan type and placings for spirits"; in Goldi, Oroči, Olča we meet with *sevoki*—"idol, a god (according to P. P. Schmidt); *heñunn'i* (Lamunxinskii, P. V. Olenin's record is not sure) is "placings", which when cleared from suffixes will be *hewu*=*sevu*. With the above indicated variation *sōk'i* (Bir.) probably we ought to connect Oroči *seka*, and perhaps Goldi *seka**, Oroči *šaka* (Margaritov), *s'aka* (Leontovič).** I. A. Lopatin also gives *sekka*,—"devils", etc. supposed to have been borrowed from the Oroči. *Sekka* looks like either emphatic or imperfectly perceived *sěka*.***

Let us now classify these data. We have thus *sVvV*, and *sVvV+ki* with their variations and contracted form *sV+ki*. It is evident that the forms with suffix-*ki* are based upon the same stem *sVvV*. Let us remark that the con-

**** In the transcriptions of Tungus sound *ě* by the Russians the sound *Y* is often encountered since for Russians it is acoustically near to *ě*.

* Cf. Poniatowski in the compound name *seka+ni sela+ni mama*,—the wife of enduri, where *seka* and *sela* with suffixes are referred to the spirit enduri.

** They usually palatalize, e.g. *s'ama* ~ *sama*, the shaman.

*** Perhaps in the same group there ought to be included Manchu *soko* ~ *soku*,—the "spirits" (the spirits of the earth and heaven, the penates spirits to whom the shamans pray, according to I. Zaxarov). However, in Manchu Sp. I have never met with this term where it evidently is obsolete.

* He says that the Goldi term is nearer to "seon" than to "sěvèn" of my approximate transcription.

** It should be transcribed *seva* and not *zeva* as it is figured in the Russian translation of Schrenck's work.

*** Cf. his work "On Natives, etc.", Vol. 3, pp. 113, 120.