

ful for children, who may live better when marked by the attention of this complex spirit. When children fall sick the Manchus seem to be happy. According to the Manchus, there is no mortality, due to these diseases. However, as shown, preventive methods for a further propagation of infection are taken. When children succumb owing to the complication, this is explained as malevolent influence of various spirits, e.g. *jafan mafa*, *jun fuč'k'i*, *takto mafa* and even other spirits, so that the Manchus have to deal in these cases with a conflict between the spirits and their mutual relations. Naturally these are treated by the competent specialists. When it is found that there is a real "disease", the Chinese doctor will come; when there are Manchu spirits, they are dealt with by the shamans, or at least *axa mafa* and *p'oryun saman*.

In some Manchu clans there used to be practised a special ritual sacrifice served to *t'iyen endür'i*. Such was, for instance, the case of *nara* clan in which there was given a special sacrifice of nine pigs for expression of thanks on the occasion of good hunting. However, this practice is now given up and the ritual is forgotten. It is quite possible that the sacrifice "in the mountains," still per-

formed in some clans, originally was connected with this complex and its loss may be explained as due chiefly to poverty,—the Manchus cannot now afford such a rich sacrifice. But without denying the possibility of influence of the "poverty factor" the giving up of this practice may also be understood as due to a further disintegration of the hunting complex amongst the Manchus, which process is seen in many other manifestations.

In the above description of the cases and methods of dealing with various spirits we have made reference chiefly to the cases of sickness. However, the spirits *takto mafa*, *jun fuč'k'i* and *jafan mafa* are also kept responsible in the case of troubles with vegetable-garden plants and with cattle. Owing to this, a great number of cases of this type requires sacrifices to these spirits, which may be also benevolent and useful for assuring family prosperity. A great number of methods may be used in connexion with the regulation of the activity of these spirits; some of these methods may appear to be "magic," while actually they are methods of communication with the spirits by means of "gesture" language. Some of these methods have already been indicated in the previous chapters, but their detailed description in particular cases will not reveal any new aspects of the psychomental complex. In the ritual practised they may also occupy an important place and yet the whole operation may be confined to the ritualism only.

CHAPTER XIX

SPIRITS AND VARIOUS CASES DEALT WITH BY THE SPECIALISTS

79. SPECIALISTS In the previous chapters I have already mentioned, besides the *p'oryun saman*, the existence of specialists who may and sometimes must deal with some cases of spirits' activity and generally with the defence of men against sickness, death and various forms of misfortune affecting individual life and that of groups. In these groups I do not now include the shamans for the following considerations. First of all, the shamanism forms a complex by itself which must be treated separately; second, other forms of dealing with the spirits have been partly created under the influence of a reaction against the shamanism for which, as will be shown, there are very serious reasons; third, other forms are not so elaborate as the shamanism, and they are subject to great variations, in the degree of specialization and differentiation among different ethnical groups. I do not now need to bring evidence for supporting my approach to shamanism as a special complex,—this can be seen from the description of special shamanistic spirits and a brief characterization of methods to deal with these spirits. But conditions which are responsible for a negative reaction on the shamanism, and consequently, for creation of a new form and new methods for dealing with the spirits ought to be pointed out.

It is believed that the shamans in dealing with the spirits sometimes become instruments of the spirits and as instruments they may be used against the people by the malevolent spirits. Yet, as will be shown, the shamans fight between themselves causing by this a great harm to the

people, and if shamans have bad personal character, they may be very dangerous for the people, even of the same clan or group. Owing to these conditions, many Tungus and Manchus are inclined to avoid shamans' intervention and generally prefer to keep themselves away from the shamans. Since such a *negative reaction* on shamanism has appeared amongst the groups, especially Manchus and Tungus of Manchuria, new hypotheses have also made their appearance. These hypotheses are of two orders, namely, (1) there are spirits which cannot be mastered by the shamans and who are responsible for various troubles which had been formerly dealt by the shamans; and (2) there are other methods of neutralizing spirits and even of turning them to be benevolent towards the individuals and groups. As soon as these two hypotheses had been recognized, it was not difficult to elaborate a new system of spirits and methods in compensation of a great decrease of shamans' protective activity. Indeed, it ought to be pointed out that an increase of spirits' activity, even with a maintaining of the former limits of shamans' activity, might also happen but, as a matter of observation confirmed by the Tungus, it may be said that the shamanism has somewhat decreased. To this question I shall return again, but what is now stated will suffice for demonstration of the conditions under which the introduction of new forms was possible. In connexion with this it will be timely to point out that the interethnical pressure in the form of cultural borrowings regarding spirits did act along the same line. In fact,