

on the shaman himself. It is also perfectly true that the costume has a symbolic meaning, as has been shown in the analysis of the costume. But the question is: what is the purpose of having such symbols and various instruments

which are not symbolic? This cannot be answered before we analyse the psychological conditions of the audience and the shaman during the performances, I shall therefore leave this question unanswered for the time being.

CHAPTER XXV

SHAMANISTIC PERFORMANCES (DESCRIPTION)

The present chapter is devoted to a description of various forms of shamanistic performances and to special cases which we shall need later. Indeed, I bring first these facts which perhaps will not be fully understood without reading the following chapters; but as I have no other means to expound the facts, I have to follow the chosen way, namely, to proceed from facts to their analysis. Thus the present chapter will deal only with the statement of facts. It should be noted that I shall not give all cases observed, for a great number of facts are subject to a classification, and it will be sufficient to give only some typical cases, and some special cases which cannot easily be classified. In exposing the facts I shall not give all details in every case, but shall give only schemes, for the details are repeated and recombined, according to single cases of shamanizing and to the shaman's personal choice.

The verbal forms for "to shamanize" may be derived in the various dialects from *saman*. Thus we have in RTM *sama* (+suff.), in Mank. *sama+da*, in Bir. *samda*, in Tum. *samal*, in Lam. *samandal*, and in Manchu *samdamb'i* all of which may be translated—"to shamanize". However, this term is lacking in several dialects, e.g. in Barg. Nerč. Khin, apparently also in Kum. In Bir. *samda* is certainly a loan-word from the Manchu *samda*, which is a contracted form of *sama+(n)+da*, where *da* is a common suffix, *n* and *a* of the stem have been contracted. It should be noted that the final *n* is subject to omission in all cases except Lam., where the stem *saman* is increased by two suffixes (+*da+l*). It is also curious that in Mank. the stem *samal* is a plural form of *saman*. These facts complete my discussion of the etymology of *saman* in Tungus. Besides these terms there are other various terms used by the Tungus and Manchus for "to carry out such and such a shamanistic performance". As far as I know, there is no special and general term. These terms will be analysed in due course.

110. SHAMANIZING TO THE SPIRITS OF THE LOWER WORLD Among the Barguzin and Nerčinsk Tungus a special form of shamanizing is distinguished in which the shaman enters into contact with the spirits of the lower world. The occasions for this form of shamanizing are usually troubles among the clansmen, which may assume greater or smaller dimensions according to the number of people affected and the intensity of individual sufferings. The troubles may differ in character and consist in psychomental disequilibrium, psychomental unrest affecting hunting ability, various sicknesses, and even "lack of luck" in everyday's life. A shaman may be asked to find out the cause. In a special per-

formance, when the shaman calls into himself a spirit, he would find out, with the help of the spirit, the nature of troublesome spirits and ways to neutralize them. In this "small shamanizing" he finds out what has to be done. Thus it may be found out that the spirits of the lower world are responsible, and the only way to neutralize them is to offer them a sacrifice in the lower world and to speak to them "nicely".

As shown, besides various spirits the lower world—*orgi dunda*—is also peopled by the ancestors' and recently deceased people's souls. The latter have an especially great importance, for these persons may be known personally to the living people, and it is very likely that they may raise particularly strong emotions, especially in children, widows and widowers.

This form of shamanizing is defined by the term *örgiski*, which is used as a "noun", although the literal meaning is "in the direction of *örgi*" or "lower, western (side)" (cf. my "N. T. Terms of orientation", p. 179). The chief action is a sacrifice. The only sacrificial animal which can be used is an adult reindeer. Special preparations for a sacrifice must be made, including temporary placings and the shaman's instruments. During the day or early evening the following things are prepared of larch tree wood:

1. Four narrow planks, about 140—160 centimetres long with a symbolized head; these are four "fishes" (*oldól*) which form a raft on which the shaman crosses the sea (Lake Baikal) for taking the sacrificial animal to the lower world.
2. A piece, 60 centimetres long and 8 or 10 centimetres in diameter, with an end sharpened like a tail and another one supplied with two horns; it symbolizes *tóli-jóli*,—"the taimen" (Lenok Taimen of salmo), which breaks through the rocks, clears up the road from stones and also helps in the sea-voyage; it is put between *oldól*—fishes.
3. Two stylized bears which go ahead of the shaman, and two stylized boars which keep the raft afloat, if it sinks on the way; and on the land they clear the road through the thick forest.
4. Four small fishes which go ahead of the raft in the sea.
5. Four elks (*Alces Alces*)—in the form of a piece of a young thin larch tree, about 60 centimetres long—which show the way when the shaman is coming back and which help to row on the raft.
6. Four pieces, wooden planks about 30 centimetres long and 10 centimetres wide, put together to form *gula*—the house in which the people live in the lower world (It should be noted that in the lower world people are living in houses instead of wigwams!).