

ACTA
ORIENTALIA
ACADEMIAE SCIENTIARUM
HUNGARICAE
(ACTA ORIENT. HUNG.)

TOMUS XVI



AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ, BUDAPEST

1963

ACTA ORIENTALIA

Tomus XVI

~~Page 3~~

INDEX

ÉVA APOR, Ossetic Material among the Literary Remains of Bernard Munkácsi...	225
A. BODROGLIGETI, A Collection of Turkish Poems from the 14th Century	245
V. DRÓSZEGI, Ethnogenic Aspects of Darkhat Shamanism	55
M. ISTVÁNOVITS, Georgian Data Bearing on the History of the Petchenegs	319
SUZANNE KAKUK, Poésie populaire tatare recueillie par I. Kúnos	83
G. KARA, Un glossaire üjümüčin	1
L. LIGETI, Notes sur le vocabulaire mongol d'Istanboul	107
L. S. PUČKOVSKIJ (Leningrad), The Date of the Composition of the <i>Bolor Toli</i>	227
A. RÓNA-TAS, Felt-making in Mongolia	199
NADEŽDA O. ŠARAKŠINOVA (Irkoutsk), Les contes du Cadavre Ensorcelé chez les Bouriates	45
A. SCHEIBER, Kondolenzschreiben des Eli Hamumche b. Abraham an Chesed b. Jaschar	99
Z. TAKÁTS, Supplement to the Bántapuszta Hunnic Warrior	241
K. THOMSEN (Kopenhagen), Bemerkungen über das türkische Vokalsystem der zweiten Silbe	313
B. CH. TODAEVA, Einige Besonderheiten der Paoan-Sprache	175

Comptes rendus :

<i>St. Kałużyński</i> , Mongolische Elemente in der jakutischen Sprache (L. Ligeti) — Kalmückische Lieder. Aufgezeichnet von <i>G. J. Ramstedt</i> . Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von <i>Š. Balinov</i> und <i>Pentti Aalto</i> (L. Lőrincz) — <i>Ardyn aman</i> <i>zochioloos</i> . <i>D. Dašdorž</i> , <i>I. Ğür-Réncén</i> nar émchtgév (L. Lőrincz) — <i>A. I. Vos-</i> <i>trikov</i> , <i>Tibetskaja istoričeskaja literatura</i> (A. Róna-Tas) — <i>Chou Tsu-mo</i> , <i>Kuang-yün chiao pen fu k'an chi</i> (B. Csongor) — <i>P. Chatard</i> , <i>Michel Bernard</i> , <i>La tradition des Tsiganes</i> (J. Vekerdi)	325
<i>Livres reçus</i>	341

ETHNOGENIC ASPECTS OF DARKHAT SHAMANISM

BY

V. DIÓSZEGI

The Darkhats live in North Mongolia, west of Lake Khówsgól¹ *nūr* and south of the Eastern Sayans. They lead a nomadic existence driving their cattle, sheep, goats and horses up and down the territory of three *sums*² Rinčínlhümbe in the north, Bayandzürkh in the south and Ulān-ül in the middle.

G. D. Sanžeev's report includes the following passage: «Ethnographic literature contains no reliable data concerning the Darkhats, and it is for this reason that so many suppositions and conjectures have been advanced regarding the historical-ethnological relationships between Darkhats and Buriats. Notwithstanding the data published by M. A. Castrén (Путешествие в канском округе до Иркутска, 1860) and A. Fr. Büsching (*Erdbeschreibung*, Hamburg 1787, Th. I) investigators have assumed that Darkhat shamanism, as also certain phenomena of Darkhat social culture, are identical with those of the Buriats. Especially those ethnologists were ready to accept this theory who studied the 'northern Buriats' shaman mythology containing a great number of geographical names connected with the Sayan region (Присяянский округ).»³

Although more than three decades have elapsed since Sanžeev's observations, the interethnic relationships of Darkhat shamanism are still not elucidated: the postulated close connection between Darkhats and Buriats has been neither proved nor disproved, and it has likewise remained obscure whether Darkhat shamanism was similar to, or perhaps identical with, that of some other peoples (e.g. the Khalkhas, Oirats or Tuwas). These problems are still unsolved because, on the one hand, Sanžeev himself failed to attempt a clarification of the matter and contented himself with presenting a mere description

¹ The official Mongolian place names are transliterated in this paper. We use, for instance, the name Khówsgól *nūr* instead of the numerous foreign terms like Kosogol, Khubsugul-dalai, etc.

² In Russian: сомон.

³ G. D. Sanžeev, Дархаты. Этнографический отчет о поездке в Монголию (Ленинград 1930), pp. 1—2.

of Darkhat shamanism in his monograph, while — on the other hand — other investigators also omitted to attempt a comparative analysis — if not on the evidence of freshly collected material, at least by means of the already existing one.⁴ It was on account of such considerations that, having been given the opportunity of investigating the problems of shamanism in Mongolia in 1960,⁵ I decided to study, among others, the interethnic aspects of Darkhat shamanism.

I did my field work from 20th June until 16th July, 1960 among the Darkhats and their neighbours, i.e. the Tuwas ("Uriankhais", "Soyots"). The following statements are based on the results of this field work⁶ as also on the comparative material we had previously collected in Siberia in 1957 and 1958,⁷ and among other Mongolian peoples in 1960.

In order to be able to draw ethnogenic inferences from the phenomena of Darkhat shamanism it is necessary to become acquainted first with the phenomena themselves. Let us begin with a brief description of the fundamental features which characterized the religious beliefs of this people.

It was at the behest of spirits (*ongod*) and through an illness that a male or female Darkhat assumed the profession of shaman (*bō ~ dzaḡrin*) or shamaness (*udagan*), the same as in the case of Siberian shamans. The disease afflicting the person elect and sometimes his or her family did not cease until he or she had accepted the vocation.

A new shaman (henceforward, if not stated otherwise, the word "shaman" means both male and female) began his activity by playing a *Jew's harp* (*χūr*)⁸. If the illness did not abate it was interpreted by the Darkhats as a sign that the afflicted person had really been chosen to become a shaman, whereupon he was provided with a shaman staff which was then used by him in all ceremonies.

⁴ The lack of analytic works in this field becomes more understandable if we consider that literature on Darkhat shamanism is insufficient, consisting, as it does, of a single publication concerning the subject at issue, namely that of Sanžeev. He writes the following in this connection: „We cannot but admit that our researches have hardly extended to all aspects of Darkhat shamanism, since an exhaustive study of the subject would have required a longer stay among shamans and shamanesses, as also a personal observation of all shaman ceremonies etc., while I have not participated even in a single one. The reader should take this into account.” Sanžeev, *op. cit.* p. 41.

⁵ Cf. V. Diószegi, *Problems of Mongolian Shamanism: Acta Ethnographica* X (1961), pp. 195—206.

⁶ Apart from our descriptions and drawings, we rely also on the objects and photographs collected and made during the study-tour which are now in the Budapest Ethnographical Museum (Nos. 60.96.1—71 and F. 149.923—150.710 respectively).

⁷ V. Diószegi, *Bericht über eine Forschungsreise nach Südsibirien: Sociologus* IX (1959), pp. 60—66.

⁸ For the drawing of the Darkhat *χūr*, see Sanžeev, *op. cit.* p. 61, Fig. 2.

Shaman staff: it was called *tayag* (staff) or *morin tolgoïtaiḡ tayag* (horse-headed staff).

Tayag means a staff or stick which ends in forklike branches. The two prongs of the fork on the staffs of the shamans belonging to the *ḡar darḡat* clan were connected by a cord, and a metal ring (*cagiriḡ*), was attached to the middle part of the cord and to the prongs of the fork one each. Three meta-



Fig. 1. — Tridentate Darkhat shaman staff. Ethnographical Museum (Budapest). No. 60.96.8



Fig. 2. — Horse-headed shaman staff. Ethnographical Museum (Budapest). No. 60.96.42

cones (*ḡongḡinūr*) and three rolled strip bundles (*mandḡag*), i.e. cotton strings wrapped in textile strips, were suspended from each of the rings. The rolled strips, terminating in a tassel, were of different colours: white, yellow, red, green, blue or black. Staffs terminating in three-pronged forks were also in use among Darkhat shamans. A staff of this description was owned by *Gūngin Baldḡinnḡam*, a male shaman of the *cagān ḡūlar* clan (Fig. 1).

The *morin tolgoïtaiḡ tayag* was a staff which terminated in the shape of a horse-head. A staff of this kind was used, among others, by *Toli*, a male

shaman of the *ḡar ḡūlar* clan and *Edge*, a female shaman who lived at the river *Kharmajın-gol*. That same old Darkhat who had once carved the staff of *Edge* prepared for us a model of it. Not only the head of the horse but also its hoofs and tail are carefully elaborated as can be seen in Fig. 2. There is a bundle of rolled strips at the height of the neck, with seven metal cones hanging from it (*gaḡinūr*). According to my informant, the original staff was additionally



Fig. 3. — Head-dress of Darkhat shaman, adorned with representation of human face. Ulsyn Töv Muzej (Ulan Bator), w.n.

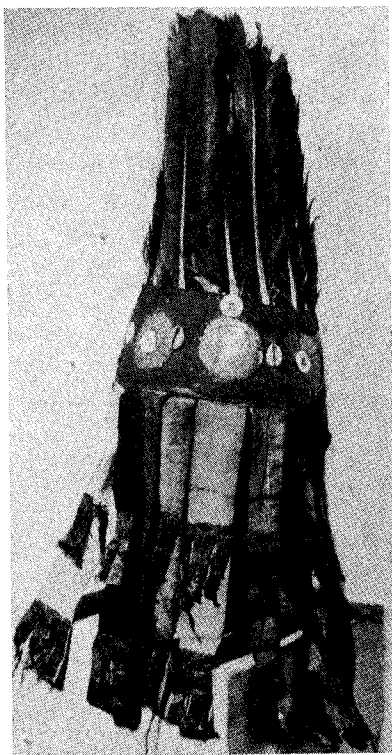


Fig. 4. — Head-dress of Darkhat shaman adorned with discs. Ethnographical Muzeum (Budapest). No. 60.96.18

decorated with differently coloured ribbons (*seter*). Besides these double horse-headed staffs were also used. They were called *ḡoyir morin tolḡoḡtaḡ tayag*, and a former shaman of the *ḡar (ulān) ḡūlar* clan, *Džambin Damdin*, drew me the picture of such a staff. A metal bow (*num-sum*) was attached to the upper third of the staff.

Shaman staffs were made of birchwood or juniper (*arc*). New shamans who were too poor to afford a full shaman outfit, performed their ceremonies with the staff but usually donned the shaman garb after the third year. The shaman staff was, according to the notion of the Darkhats, something in the

nature of a riding animal. Shamans performing their duties with a staff did so while standing, and beat it with a drumstick. Such shamans wore a ritual head-dress but no cloak.

Head-dress (malgai)

Darkhat shamans wore a belt-shaped frontlet ("headband") made of brown, green or blue textile material; it had a length of 32 to 53 and a width of 9 to 10.3 cm. A number (5 to 9) of feathers (eagle *etc.*) were stuck into its upper rim, while textile strips were sewn on to the lower edge. Pendants hanging before the face were cylindrical (10 to 16), those left and right of them were flat (5 to 16). Headbands were embellished with appliqué work and embroidery, usually in the shape of "human faces" (*χūnī nūr*). Eyebrows (*χūmseḡ*), eyes (*nūd*), nose (*χamar*), mouth (*am*) and ears (*čič*) were indicated on these "faces". Sometimes the moustache (*saxal*) and ear-rings (*sōχ ~ ēmeg*) were also represented (Fig. 3).

Apart from this general type there existed another, isolated, type of head-dress on which disc-shaped appliqué work, cowrie shells and mother-of-pearl buttons replaced parts of the face, while the "human face" was represented on the middle disc. A headband of this pattern was, for instance, worn by *Gungin Galin*, a female shaman of the *šarnūd* clan (Fig. 4). To this type belongs the head-dress described by Sanžeev, which shows a human face of copper on the front part⁹. It should be noted that, apart from the bundle of feathers, also an antler of copper with three tines (*ewer*) was attached to the upper rim of Darkhat shaman headbands.

Shaman cloak (bō χuyag, bō dēl)

Its material was usually coloured (blue, steelgrey or white) textile fabric, or reindeer skin; it was adorned with embroidery, painting, appliqué work and textile or iron pendants. The representation of a hand (painted or made of the hair of reindeer dewlap) was at the end of each sleeve (*gar*, *sawar* 'palm'), and a similarly worked representation of the backbone (*nurū*) at the back of the cloak. Three bundles of feather were attached to the upper part of the back (*mōrnī būrḡed* 'eagle of the shoulder') beneath which two parallel iron arcs (*dzel*) with suspended metal pendants (*χonkinūr*) run across the back. A number of rolled textile strips (*mandžag*) hung at the height of the waistline; superposed flat textile strips (*sūl mandžag* 'tail strip') covered the line of the backbone on which the embroidered figures of animals or vertebrae could be seen (Fig. 5).

⁹ Sanžeev, *op. cit.*, pp. 61—62.

Shaman footgear (gutal)

Made of reindeer skin, its legs were obliquely cut and adorned with the hair of reindeer dewlap, textile appliqué work and textile pendants (Fig. 6). A characteristic feature of the boot was a strip along the legs and five strips on the cap (*χurū* 'toes'). To this same category belong the names of the rolled strips: *bulčín mandžag* 'muscle strip', *ósǵi mandžag* 'heel strip'.



Fig. 5. — Cloak of Darkhat shaman, adorned with figures symbolizing parts of the human body. Ethnographical Museum (Budapest) No. 60.96.12

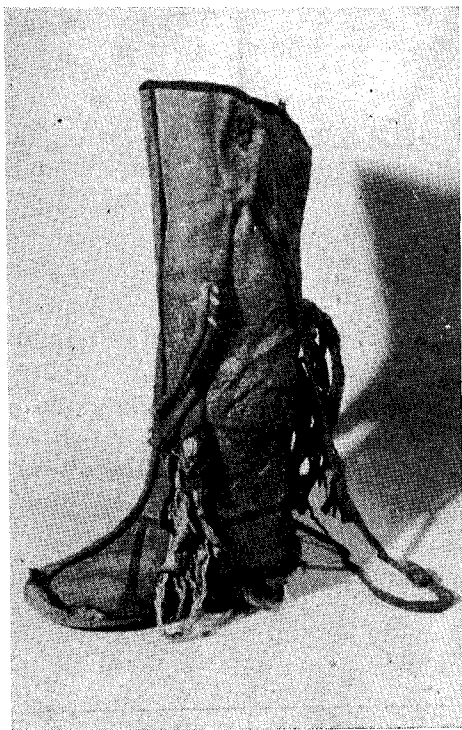


Fig. 6. — Footgear of shaman, adorned with figures symbolizing bones of the leg and foot. Ethnographical Museum (Budapest). No. 60.96.20.2

Shaman drum (χengereg)

This was usually approximately circular in shape. Five or seven wooden resonators (corresponding to the bridge of violins, called *buldrū* 'protuberance') provided with three heads (i.e. projections) or a two-headed bone resonator (*šagaǵi* 'ankle bone') were attached to the outside of the rim (*χūrē* 'frame', *χengerenī χūrē mod* 'wood of the drum frame') by means of wooden nails (*χadās* 'nail'). Three threads, passing around, connected the three heads of the resonators: one consisted of horse hair (*mornī χǵalgas*), the second of reindeer

sinew (*górōsnī šūrmōs*), while the third was a simple red cotton thread (*ulān utas*). The skin of a male or female reindeer (*górōsnī ayas*) was stretched across one side of the drum. A vertical wooden handle (*baržūl* 'handle') was mounted in the open interior on the other side: it was pierced by two oblong apertures in the lower (and sometimes also in the upper) part, and adorned with carved

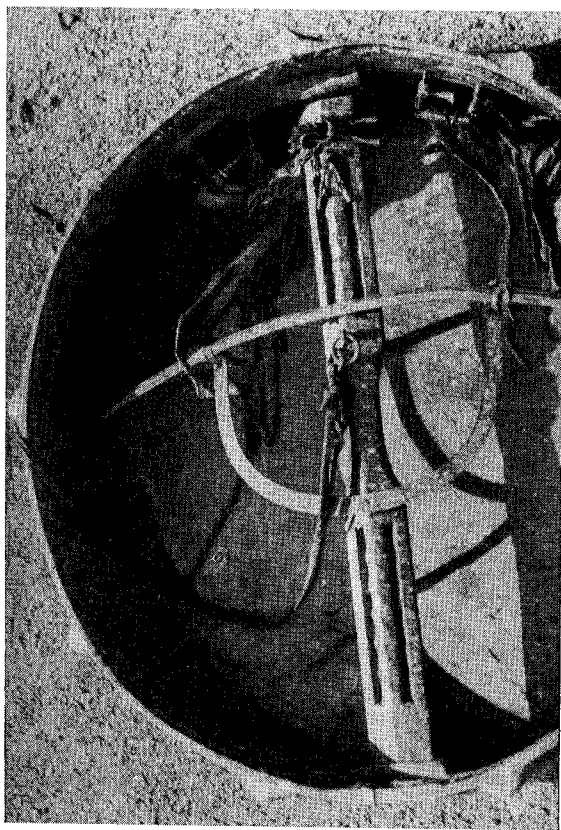


Fig. 7. — Darkhat shaman drum. Ulsyn Tóv Muzej (Ulan Bator) w. n.



Fig. 9. — Darkhat shaman drum stick with indented head. Ethnographical Museum (Budapest). No. 60.96.15

geometrical or undulating patterns (*nurū* 'backbone'). An iron ring was attached to the upper end of the handle from which three iron cones (*džürx xonkinūr* 'heart bell') were suspended with textile ribbons beneath them (*seter* 'sacificial ribbon'). A curved wooden stick was mounted across (*tevχ* 'stretching rod', *bōgdž* 'hoop', *amgajvč* 'snaffle'), and a horseshoe-shaped iron rod beneath (*džudzaž* 'snaffle rings'). One or two rolled strip bundles (*culbar* 'halter', *džolō* ~ *sožlt* 'rein') were passed through a metal ring below the intersection

of the handle and the transverse arc. A — or —-shaped iron rod could be seen on each side in the upper part of the rim (*gorxi* 'clasp', *čix* 'ear') to both of which three iron cones were fixed (*χονκινūr* 'bell', *sōχ* ~ *čignī sōχ*, *ēmeg* 'ear ring') (Fig. 7).

The Darkhat drum, described by Sanžeev, essentially belongs to this type. It is different in respect of the resonators only: there are the ankle bones of two horses or deers as also those of 21 lambs and rams between the rim and the skin stretched across it.¹⁰

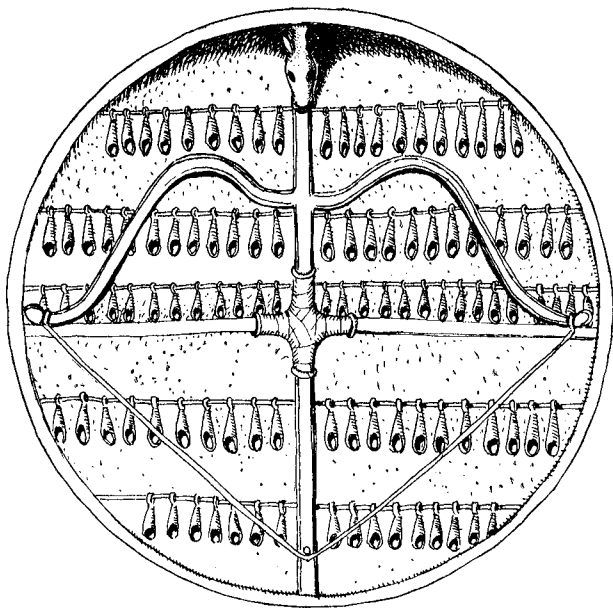


Fig. 8. — Darkhat shaman drum with horse-headed handle (drawing collected by the author)

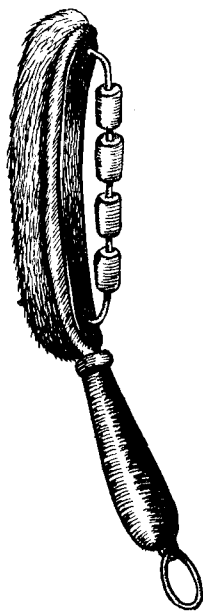


Fig. 10. — Darkhat shaman drumstick with smooth head (drawing collected by the author)

There existed shaman drums of quite a different structure, too. *Toli*, a shaman of the *χar χūlar* clan, used a drum with a cross-shaped vertical handle which was adorned with a wooden horsehead at its upper end (Fig. 8).

The Darkhats conceived of the drum as a riding animal, as proved by the material and the name of its various parts, e.g. horsehair, the sinew of reindeer and even the red cotton thread which represented the blood vessel, the ankle bones, the "ear", the "heart" (bell), the "backbone", the "sacrificial ribbon" with which the neck or mane of the animals to be sacrificed to the spirits were trimmed; even the "spots" symbolized those of the reindeer, while the "snaffle",

¹⁰ Sanžeev, *op. cit.*, p. 61, Figs. 6—7.

„snaffle rings”, „halter” and „rein” likewise pointed to corresponding parts of saddle horses or reindeers. It was either the shaman who mounted the drum to ride to the spirits, or the spirits rode the drum on their way to the shaman.

Shaman drumstick (orow)

Carved of wood, its handle was cylindrical, its head elliptical. In a lateral view, drumsticks looked slightly curved: the convex side was covered with the leg-hair of some forest animal (wild goat, etc.), while the mildly concave side showed V-shaped indentations. A metal plate appeared on the longitudinal axis of the head; there were on this plate either three metal loops with three iron rings in each, or there was just a single longer iron rod with nine iron rings. The end of the handle was pierced and a leather thong with suspended textile strips was passed through the aperture (Fig. 9).

Apart from this general type, there occurred also other forms of drumsticks among the Darkhats. To such a different type belonged both the drum and the drumstick of *Toli*, a shaman of the *ḡar ḡūlar* clan. Viewed laterally, the drumstick showed the form of a moderately curved S, and its head was not ellipsoid but 8-shaped, not indented but covered with a metal plate (Fig. 10).

After outlining the principal characteristics of Darkhat shamanism in the foregoing, we may proceed towards the elucidation of genetic interconnections by the examination of interethnic analogies.

Shaman objects, as presented above, were not exclusively restricted to the Darkhats: objects of a similar type were used also by the shamans of certain Mongolian and Siberian ethnic groups.

Ceremonial staffs were used not only by Darkhat shamans in Mongolia. A one-time Darkhat shaman of the *ḡar (ulān) ḡūlar* clan, *Džambin Damdin*, gave us the following information about the shaman staff that had been in use among the «Uriankhais», i.e. Tuwas (in their own language: *uḡyurs*): „*ḡūlar* shamans did not cover the *tayag* with a white cloth, while those living on the *Dayin Dirkh*-side of the lake (i.e. the Tuwas) did so”.

Shamans of the Tuwa (in their own language: *Toha*) people, who lived in Darkhat territory west of Lake Khōwsgöl, also used staffs during the first years of their office. I heard the following story at Ulān-ūl from *Maksarīn Badam*, a 60 year-old member of the *sariḡ ḡoydu* clan: “When a person became ill, a shaman (*ḡam*) was invited to see him in order to tell whether he had just an ordinary disease or fallen ill because he was to become a shaman. In the latter case, the shaman became the teacher (*baḡši*) of the diseased person and gave a Jew’s harp (*ḡomus*) to the shaman to-be. This instrument had been made by the father or a kinsman of the patient. It was first played by the

teacher and then by the disciple. If, while playing, the disciple went delirious (*dinmirār*), the instruction was continued, if not, the instruction had to be stopped because it meant that the patient was not destined to become a shaman. The lessons lasted a year: they took place, first, once a week or every ninth day and, later, once a month. The time of instruction over, the new shaman had a drum and shaman dress prepared; if he could not afford them, a shaman staff sufficed. The latter was prepared by the kinsfolk of the new shaman: the wood was carved by his father, and the rolled strip bundles were sewn by the mother. It was only for a short time (from one to three years) that the new shaman performed ceremonies with a staff: he wore just a shaman head-dress during this time and was called "shaman with staff" (*tayaqtıy ɣam*). After that, he had a drum and a shaman dress made, except if he still lacked the means of doing so, in which case he may have kept and used the shaman staff until his death. The staffs of Toha shamans was trifurcate, to each of the branches a ring (*sırya*) with three hanging iron cones (*ɣonkinōr*) was attached. Two rolled strips were at the trifurcation of the staff (*tın* 'rein'). It was further adorned with nine notches (*čüs* 'joint'). This object was regarded by the Tohas as the saddle reindeer of the shaman.

Staffs for ceremonial uses were employed not only in Mongolia but also by the shamans of certain Siberian peoples.

New shamans commenced their activity with a shaman staff (*tayaq*) among the taiga Tuwas (*tiwa*), i. e. those reindeer-raising Tuwas who live in the northwestern mountains of the Tuwa ASSR which borders on Mongolia. The staff was always made of birchwood and usually painted red. The shamans there officiated with the staff alone during two to three years and were called 'shaman with staff' (*tayaqtıy ɣam*) during this time. Several kinds of shaman staffs were in use among the taiga Tuwas: they differed in respect of the number of the terminal branches. The branches were called "heads" (*baş*), and a human face was usually represented on them. There were "two-headed" (*iji baştıy tayaq*), "three-headed" (*üş baştıy tayaq*) and "nine-headed" staffs (*tōɣ baştıy tayaq*). They were embellished with metal cones (*ɣonōra*), bells (*sırriy*, *serɣonlur*), two or three cylindrically-rolled long ribbons (*tın mandɣaq* 'rein') and a number of short similarly shaped ribbons (*mandɣaq*)¹¹ (Fig. 11). This was — according to the belief of taiga Tuwas — the "animal" ridden by the shaman.

Also Tofa¹² shamans used staffs for their ceremonies. *Elena Mikhailovna Kongaraeva* of the *qara čoydu* clan told us, in 1958 at Alıgdžer, the following about the shaman staff of Tofas: "Earlier, there existed shaman staffs (*tayaq*),

¹¹ V. Diószegi, *Der Werdegang zum Schamanen bei den nordöstlichen Sojoten: Acta Ethnogr.* VIII (1959), pp. 281—290.

¹² In earlier literature they were called "Karagas"

I saw them. Blue, white and red shreds were hanging from the end of the staff, and there were also three bells on it (*gaḡinōr*). The shaman was seated waving it. He shamanized in a sitting position, I saw it. All this was long, long ago. One needed a shaman staff, the other a shaman drum.”

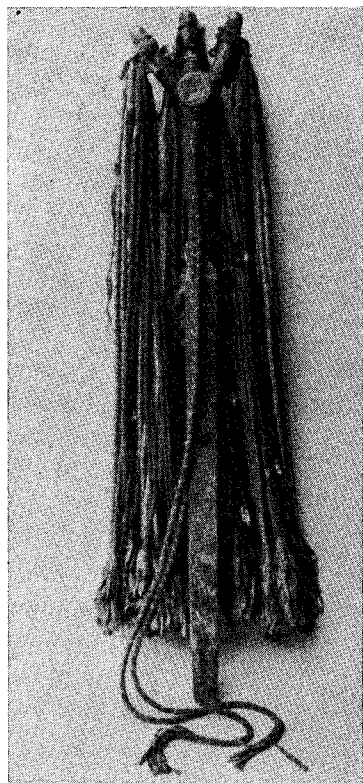
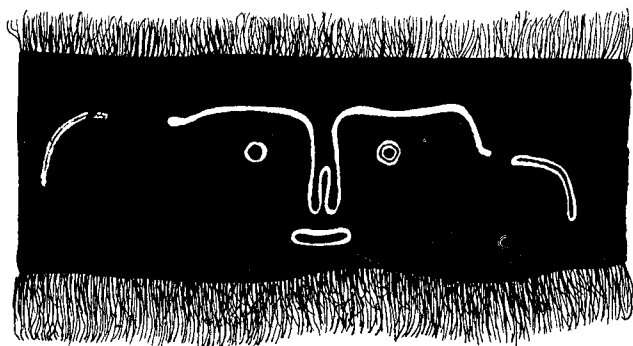


Fig. 11 — Staff of taiga Tuwa shaman. Museum of Kyzyl. No. 1.140

Fig. 12 — Head-dress of Tofa shaman. Museum of Irkutsk. No. A-329-2



Tofa shaman songs include references to the shaman staff. Let us, by way of example, quote a passage from the song of *Vasilij Mikhailovič Amastaev*, a member of the *aq čoydu* clan:

üdžüi baštīγ čoḡyan tayaq
üdžüi baštīγ üdžüi baštīγ
qizil suḡaiḡ xola tayaq
 „three-headed pine stick
 three-headed, three-headed
 red tamarisk brass stick”.

Analogies between taiga-Tuwa and Tofa shaman objects were not restricted to the staff.

Shaman head-dresses adorned with the human face were not a speciality of Darkhat shamans: similar headbands were also worn by the shamans among the Tuwas east and west of Lake Khówsǵól, further among the taiga Tuwas of Siberia and also among the Tofas¹³ (Fig. 12). The parts of the human face had corresponding Turkic names

In Tofa language	In taiga Tuwa language	In the language of Tuwas west of Lake Khówsǵól	In the language of Tuwas east of Lake Khówsǵól	English equivalent
<i>ḡabaq</i>	<i>ḡabaq, kirbik</i>	<i>ḡabaq</i>	<i>ḡimüski</i>	eyebrow
<i>qaraq</i>	<i>qaraq</i>	<i>qaraq</i>	<i>qaraq</i>	eye
<i>ḡai</i>	<i>dumdžuq</i>	<i>dumdžuq</i>	<i>dumdžuq</i>	nose
<i>ās, aysi</i>	<i>ās</i>	<i>ayzi</i>	<i>āz</i>	mouth
<i>qulaq</i>	<i>qulaq</i>	<i>qulaq</i>	<i>qulḡaq</i>	ear
<i>čas</i>	<i>čazi</i>	—	—	hair
<i>sirya</i>	—	—	—	ear-ring

The upper rim of the headband was likewise adorned with feathers: those of eagles and owls were used by the Tuwas on both sides of Lake Khówsǵól, feathers of eagles, capercaillies, buzzards and wild geese by the taiga Tuwas, those of eagles, owls, capercaillies, grouse, wild geese, cranes or hawks by the Tofas. Rolled strip bundles (*mandžaq*) were suspended from the lower edge of the head-dress.

The counterparts of Darkhat shaman cloaks were likewise to be found among the Khówsǵól and taiga Tuwas as also among the Tofas. The human skeleton was much more completely represented by embroideries and the hair of reindeer dewlaps on the shaman cloaks of these peoples than on those of the Darkhats (Fig. 13). The names applied to the representations were those of the corresponding parts of the body but, of course, in the Turkic language:

In the Tofa language	In the language of the taiga Tuwas	In the language of the Khówsǵól Tuwas	English equivalent
<i>qol</i>	<i>qol</i>	<i>qol sǵü</i>	arm, humerus
<i>ärgäk</i>	<i>ärgäk, salā</i>	<i>ärgäk</i>	bone, finger
<i>džarın</i>	<i>džarın</i>	<i>džarın</i>	shoulder blade
<i>orya sǵi</i>	<i>orya sǵi</i>	<i>orya sǵü</i>	backbone
<i>ägi</i>	<i>ägi</i>	<i>ägi</i>	rib
—	<i>üttüg džarın</i>	<i>džan sǵü</i>	hip bone

There were one or two iron arcs (*čälä*) also on the back of the Khówsǵól and taiga Tuwa as well as on that of the Tofa shaman cloaks; iron pendants were hung from the arcs, called *ḡonkinor* by the Khówsǵól Tuwas and *ḡonḡora*

¹³ V. Diószegi, *Tuwa Shamanism: Intraethnic Differences and Interethnic Analogies*: *Acta Ethnographica* XI (1962), pp. 143—190.

by the taiga Tuwas and Tofas. As among the Darkhats, a number of rolled textile strips were mounted at the height of the waistline (*mandžaq* in all languages), while a thick cylindrical or broad flat trifurcate textile strip (*qudru*, *qudru mandžaq* in all languages), adorned with the representations of the vertebrae, ran along the backbone.

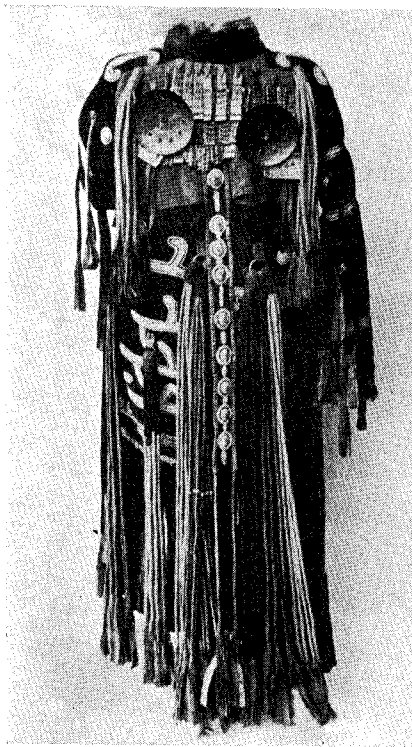


Fig. 13. — Back side of taiga Tuwa shaman cloak. Museum of Kyzyl. w.n.



Fig. 14. — Footgear of taiga Tuwa shaman. Museum of Kyzyl. w. n.

The footgear of the taiga and Tofa shamans, too, was exactly similar to that worn by Darkhat shamans (Fig. 14). This similarity applied not only to the material, cut and adornment of the boots but also to the signification and name of the embroideries and pendants:

Khòwsgòl Tuwa
čòda sògü
ärgäk
diskäk mandžaq
čüs

Taiga Tuwa
čòda sògü
ärgäk
diskäk mandžaq
čüs

Tofa
čòda sògü
but ärgä
—
but džüsü

In English
skin bone
finger, toe
knee strip
ankle joint

The counterpart of the general type of Darkhat shaman drums was likewise to be found among the taiga and the western Khówsǵöl Tuwas, while also the drums of Tofa shamans were essentially similar (Fig. 15). Since these people, too, looked upon shaman drums as mounts, the names of the drum-parts were likewise mostly the same among all these peoples.

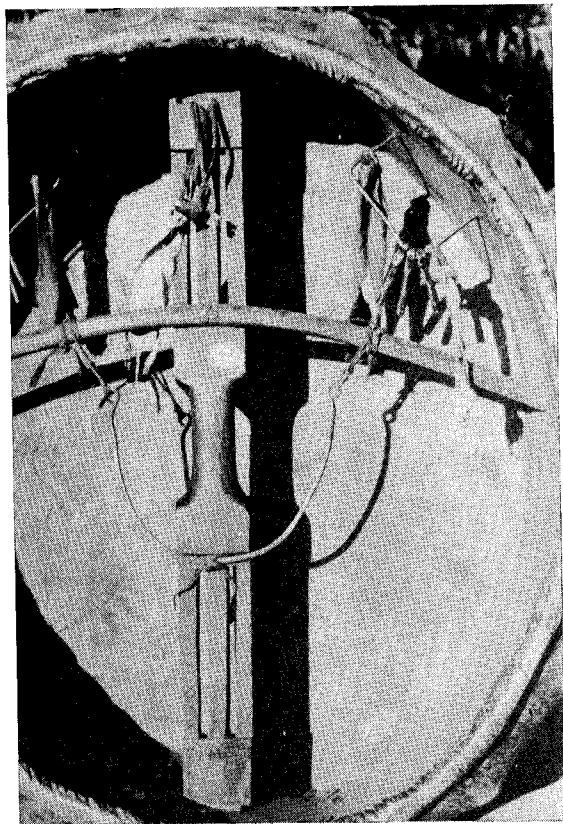


Fig. 15. — Drum of taiga Tuwa shaman. Museum of Kyzyl, No. 1. 139



Fig. 16. — Drumstick of taiga Tuwa shaman. Museum of Krasnoyarsk, No. 1570—130

The drums of the western Khówsǵöl Tuwas showed the representations of the ears, ribs, sinews, those of the taiga Tuwas the representations of the ears, upper and lower ribs and the jaw as embellishments, while the figures of 'ears', 'lungs', 'heart' and 'blood vessels' were applied to Tofa drums. Like Darkhats, these three peoples provided the drums with a "breast harness" for holding the saddle of the reindeer, as also with a "crupper" and the "rein", indispensable for driving the "animal".

On the other hand, shaman drums provided with two cross pieces and embellished with carved horseheads were unknown among the western Khówsgol and taiga Tuwas as also among the Tofas¹⁴.

The general type of Darkhat drumsticks had likewise its analogy among the taiga Tuwas and Tofas: their shamans used drumsticks adorned with V-shaped indentations and iron rings (Fig. 16).



Fig. 17. — A: Representation of Darkhat spirit, bird-headed human figure. Ethnographical Museum (Budapest). No. 60.96.7



B: Figure of bird-headed man, symbolizing a spirit as represented by Tuwas on the western shore of Lake Khówsgól. Ethnographical Museum (Budapest) No. 60.96.39

To sum up: a comparison of Darkhat shaman objects with those used among the taiga Tuwas and Tofas makes it evident that most of them — from the staff of the new shaman to the dress, drum and drumstick of the senior shaman equipped with all the paraphernalia of his office — were significantly similar to one another. This similarity seems to justify the conclusion that a close interrelation existed between the shamanism of the Darkhats on the one side, and that of the taiga Tuwas and Tofas on the other. Of course, the fact that, apart from a few exceptions, it is possible to trace similarity between

¹⁴ On the other hand, drums with handle were used by shamans among the Oka Tuwas. Cf. Museum of Irkutsk, No. 261—1 d.

the respective shaman objects of the said peoples does not mean perfect identity, since their different historical development made certain deviations inevitable. For instance, the trifurcate shaman staff of the taiga Tuwas had a "ribbon rein" which was absent from the corresponding Darkhat object; Darkhat shaman cloaks did not show the representations of as many parts of the human body as did the cloaks of taiga Tuwa or Tofa shamans. In some respects, however, Darkhat objects showed a greater variety than the corresponding pieces used by the other peoples. For example, there existed among the Darkhats not only branched shaman staffs but also staffs terminating in a horsehead; their head-dress was decorated with a metal antler; two or three feather bundles were attached to the back of Darkhat shaman cloaks; their drums were adorned with the painted pictures of reindeers, trees or of the sky, and even a new, isolated, type of drum existed among this people.

Yet all these differences were negligible in comparison with the fundamental and essential analogies that existed between the shamanistic phenomena of the Mongolian-speaking Darkhats on the one side and the Turkic-speaking taiga Tuwas and Tofas on the other.

The question arises now as to the possible cause of such striking similarities between the respective shaman objects of the Mongolian and Turkic groups. Was it due to a borrowing of cultural phenomena on a large scale or to ethnic amalgamation?

A parallelism between the respective representations of ancestral spirits (Darkhat: *oṅgod*, Tuwa: *ārān*) seems to point to a past process of amalgamation concerning Darkhats and Mongolian Tuwas (Tohas). The spirits of ancestors were represented by human or animal figures which — cut out of tin-plates or made of cloth — used to be attached to rectangular pieces of textile fabric and fixed to the wall of the yurt or the cone-shaped tent, opposite the doorway, at the place of honour. Sacrificial food or drink was offered to the symbols of the spirits at certain occasions.

One of the representations of *Gūngin Baldžinnjam*, a former Darkhat shaman of the *cagān xūlar* clan in the Rinčinhumbe district, consisted of a square-shaped piece of cloth to which a human figure with the head of a bird looking to the left, cut out of a tinplate, was attached (Fig. 17 A). Our Darkhat informants ignored the meaning of this peculiar representation: all they kept repeating was that it was the shaman's ancestor. There was — among the representations of *Doldžin*, a female shaman of the Tuwa clan *sariy čoydu* in the region of *Ulān ūl* — an *ārān* from which two human figures of cloth were suspended, and one of them had likewise a bird-head turned left (Fig. 17 B). Our informants knew this *quš baštij ārān* ('representation of bird-headed spirit') very well and regarded the two figures as the first shaman ancestors of the *sariy čoydu* clan. It was the first-named figure that showed the head of a long eared owl (*sariy quš*).

We think it is not too far-fetched to assume that the two bird-headed figures, both looking to the left, represented one and the same ancestor. Now, if a Tuwa clan and a Darkhat clan derived from a common ancestor, it is reasonable to suppose that the Darkhats were originally Tuwas and had become Mongolized subsequently.

The possibility of the Darkhats' Tuwa origin seems to be borne out by the names of clans also: there can be no doubt that the Darkhat names *cōdu*¹⁵ and *χūlar* (*cagan χūlar* and *χar χūlar*) are the same as or just derivatives of the Tuwa names *čōdu* and *qūlar*. However, the problem is not quite simple. I demonstrated in another paper¹⁶ that the shamanism of the Siberian Tuwas was sharply divided: objects, notions and actions connected with shamanism among the Tuwas who lived in the steppe and raised horse and cattle were fundamentally different from those of the Tuwas who lived in the taiga and raised reindeer. Darkhat shamanism was akin to that of the taiga Tuwas. According to Dulov,¹⁷ part of the *čōdu*, a Tuwa clan, lives in the steppe region (in the historical Ojunnar sumun and the Mongolian Dā-waŋ khošūn), while its major part raises reindeer in the taiga, so that the group settled in the Darkhat basin must have brought those features to the new abode which used to characterize shamanism among the taiga, i. e. reindeer raising, Tuwas. On the other hand, neither Dulov nor the other earlier sources make any reference to the *qūlar* clan except among the steppe Tuwas. It is clear that that group of the *qūlar* clan which had migrated to the left shore of Lake Khōwsgöl could not carry with itself such phenomena that are characteristic of shamanism among taiga Tuwas alone.

The matter becomes less of a problem if we assume that earlier knowledge regarding the geographical distribution of the clan in question was faulty. It should be noted that a group of the clan is still living in Northwest Tuwa, along the Ij-khem, north of the river Tora-khem.¹⁸ Shamanism among these *qūlars* showed, of course, taiga Tuwa features. It seems safe to assume that it was from here that the ancestors of the Darkhat *χūlar* clans migrated to the west shore of Lake Khōwsgöl and so transplanted the features of taiga Tuwa shamanism to this side of the lake.

It is, however, not necessary to resort to conjectures in the matter of Darkhat ethnogeny, since the Darkhats' notions of spirits supply in this respect a rich source of historical value.

¹⁵ According to a record of Sanžeev: *чжона* (op. cit. p. 12)

¹⁶ V. Diószegi, *Tuwa Shamanism: Acta Ethnographica* XI (1962), pp. 143—190.

¹⁷ V. I. Dulov: *Пережитки общинного-родового строя и родового быта у тувинцев в XIX — начале XX века. Советская Этнография* 1951, No. 4, p. 62.

¹⁸ S. I. Vajnshtejn, *Род и кочевая община у восточных тувинцев. Советская Этнография* 1959., No. 6, p. 81.

Intercourse with helpful spirits constituted the essential function of shamans among all Siberian peoples, and so also among the Darkhats. Contact with spirits was established by conjuring: they were summoned by incantation. To be able to do so it was necessary to know the abode of the spirit to be summoned. Every spirit had its definite and unchanging abode, and it was invariably from one and the same place that a given spirit was called forth. It was believed by the Darkhats that every shaman was destined to become a helpful spirit after death, and that he would be summoned in the same way as he, while alive, had summoned the deceased shamans of the clan. When burying a deceased shaman, his ritual equipment was carried to some near hill or river and suspended from a tree. This spot was usually appointed by the shaman himself before his death. The soul of the deceased became spirit (*ongod*) after all flesh had rotted off the bones, and not before three years had elapsed since the shaman's death. The fact that the deceased had turned into spirit was indicated by diverse calamities befalling his surviving family: its members fell ill or died, the animals began to drop off, etc. As soon as such signs were perceived, a board hut (*asar ongod*) was erected beside the equipment of the dead shaman: the family members transferred the remaining paraphernalia to this new structure before which a shaman offered sacrifices to the new spirit. This became then the definite domicile of the new spirit, and it was thenceforth regarded as the father (or, if the deceased was a shamaness, the mother) (*āw* and *ēdž* respectively) of the hill or the river, and it was from here that active shamans of the clan used to call it forth.

All this goes to show that the shamans kept the shaman ancestors of their clan as also their place of abode in evidence. This ancient usage is highly significant for our present purposes because such places of abode were situated in the area where the former shamans and their families had originally settled.

It was on the ground of such evidence that we tried to construct the genealogy of the *χūlar* clan and ascertain the abode of the spirits of their shaman ancestors. The still living former shamans of the clan are members of the seventh generation descending from the earliest shaman ancestor. Only one branch of this genealogical tree is presented in Fig. 18 which indicates the migrations of the *χūlar* clan. It can be seen that it was from the vicinity of the rivers Khogrog (or Khogorgin)-gol and Kharmain-gol that the spirits of *Gung*, *Sandag* and *Puncog*, i. e. the three most recently deceased shamans, members of the sixth generation, were summoned. These three families had settled in the region of the two rivers since earlier times because also the spirits of their fathers (members of the fifth generation) had stayed there. Again, *Ermeldž*, the father of these three shamans (by the name of *Šorxod*, *Jandžiw* and *Mačir*) used to be called from the river Tengis-gol, so that he must have lived there. The father of *Ermeldž* was no shaman, and so his place of burial is unknown; the spirit of his shaman grandfather (*Xadž*) residence

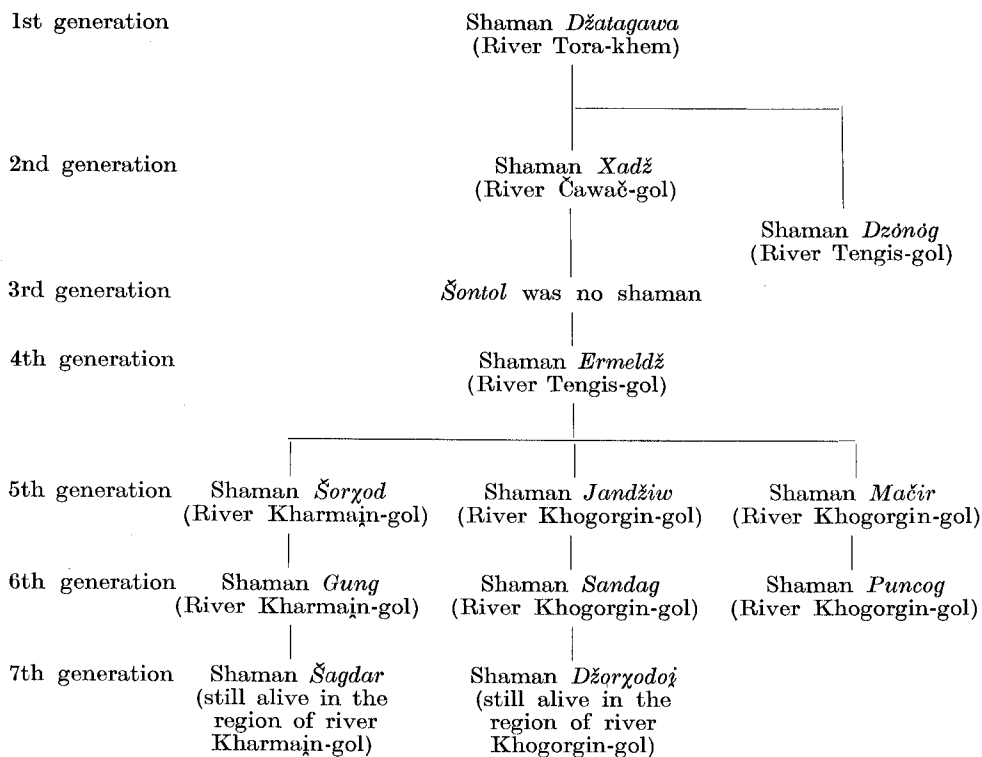


Fig. 18. — Genealogical tree of a branch of *xular* clan. In brackets: the river where the spirit of the former shaman is dwelling

is known: it was the region of the river Čawač-gol. The place of abode of the clan's first shaman ancestor, *Džatagawa*, was likewise elsewhere: in the region of the river Tora-khem, i. e. in Siberia, in the present territory of the Tuwa Autonomous Region. Hence, important shifts of the clan's places of settlement occurred between the time of the first and that of the seventh generation, i. e. during some 210 years: starting from the region of the Siberian river Tora-khem, the clan has migrated to the region of the Mongolian rivers Kharmajn-gol and Khogorgin-gol. If we plot these movements on the map and consider, at the same time, the dates as indicated by the successive generations, we are able to follow the migrations of the *xulars* in space and time alike (Fig. 19).

Etymology, too, confirms that the *xular* clan originated from the region of Tora-khem. The latter is in the immediate vicinity of the river Iy-khem where, as has been noted, a *qular* clan — the *kazäk qular* — is still living. *Kazäk* is a common word in the Tuwa language: it means "part", „group", e. g. *kazäk kiži* 'a group of persons'.¹⁹ The expression *kazäk qular* means, there-

¹⁹ Cf. A. A. Pal'mbakh, Тувинско-русский словарь. Москва 1955, p. 221.

fore, „a group or part of the *qūlars*” which seems to indicate that the members of the original *qūlar* clan separated so that only a part of them has remained in the Iy-khem region. The Darkhat name *χūlar* is inexplicable from Mongolian, while its close affinity to the Tuwa word *qūlar* is quite evident if we remember that it is the sound *χ*-which, in Mongolian, corresponds to the initial *q*-of the Tuwa language, as shown by the following examples:²⁰

Tuwa	Khalkha	English equivalent
<i>qadaq</i>	<i>χadag</i>	silk
<i>qalčan</i>	<i>χalzan</i>	bald
<i>qara</i>	<i>χar</i>	black
<i>quduq</i>	<i>χudag</i>	well, spring, fountain
<i>quluzun</i>	<i>χulsan</i>	reed
<i>qundaya</i>	<i>χundaga</i>	goblet

The etymological analysis of the Tuwa clan-name *qūlar* presents no difficulty. The ending *-lar* is the Tuwa suffix forming the plural, while the word itself, i. e. *qū*, means “swan”. Hence, *qūlar* means “swans”, a by no means surprising clan-name if we remember the totemistic origin of most clan-names.

The Tuwa origin of the Darkhat *χūlar* clan seems, thus, to be obvious. It was from Siberia, from the territory of the taiga Tuwas at the Tora-khem,

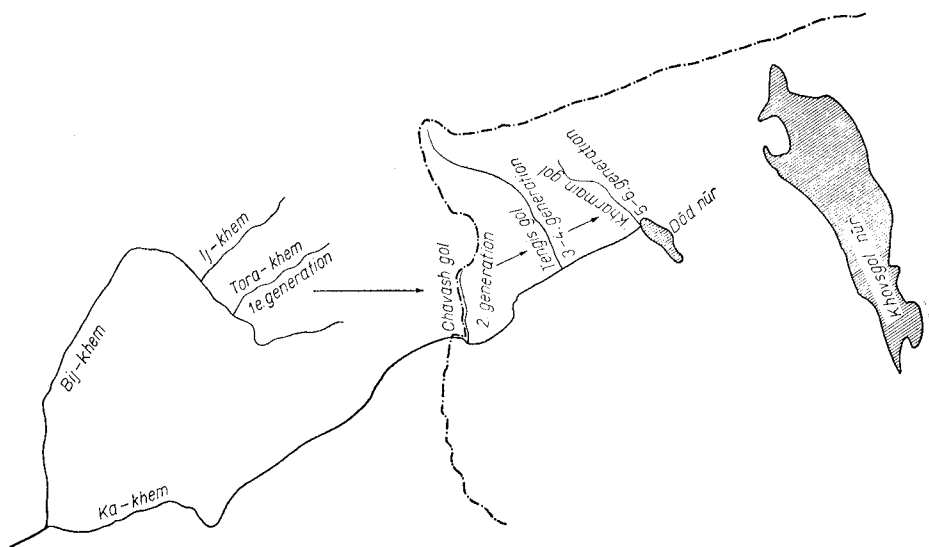


Fig. 19. — Migration of the *χūlar* clan from Siberia to Mongolia

²⁰ Tuwa words are quoted from Pal'mbakh, *op. cit.*, Khalkha words from Luv-sandëndëv, Монгольско — русский словарь (Москва 1957).

that the Tuwa clan of the *qūlars* began to move eastward in the first half of the 18th century. The areas lying at the banks of the rivers Čawač, Tengis-gol and Kharmaj̄n-gol were the traceable stations of their migration. The last-named had then become the final place of their settlement where the clan came to be exposed to Mongolian influences: its Turkic language changed

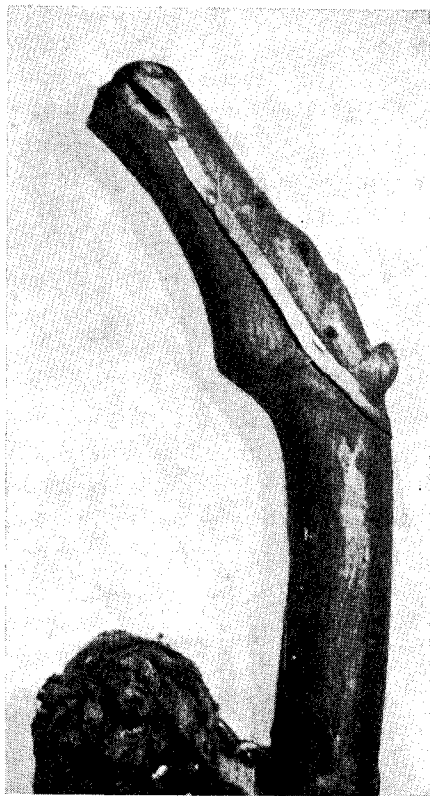


Fig. 20. — Aga Buriat shaman staff, with horsehead (GME 783—31. SA8.728)

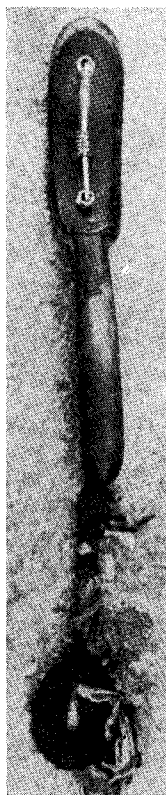


Fig. 22. — Drumstick of Khalkha shaman, covered with tinplate. Museum of Mōrōn, w.n.

into Mongolian and it began to raise horses and cattle instead of reindeer, in other words, it ceased to be *qūlar* and became *χūlar*.

Although the historical process, as outlined in the foregoing, solves many of the problems concerning the origin of Darkhats, it fails to supply information as to which Mongolian ethnic group or groups were responsible for having changed the Turkic Tuwas into Darkhats, i. e. for having Mongolized them.

The best approach to the problem is an examination of those features of Darkhat shamanism which have no analogy in Tuwa shamanism.

We have noted that Darkhat shamans performed cultic duties with the shaman staff during the first years of their office. The staffs terminated sometimes in two, sometimes in three branches, or were carved in the shape of a horsehead and hoof at their two ends. While it was possible for us to trace the analogies of the first among the shamans of the taiga Tuwas and Tofas, they seemed to be ignorant of the second. Nor did the Khotogoits and Khalkhas, neighbours of the Darkhats, know the second type, whereas it was the usual type of staff used by Buriat shamans in Mongolia and Siberia alike (Fig. 20). Literature contains abundant references to,²¹ and the different museums²² possess collections of, Mongolian horse-headed shaman staffs, and we succeeded in collecting drawings of, and information about, Siberian (e. g. Aga Buriat) objects of this kind.

A characteristic piece of the head-dress of Darkhat shamans, i. e. the antler (*ewer*), points likewise to the Buriats. This form of embellishment can be found only among the Tuwas who live in Darkhat territory west of Lake Khówsgöl (the Museum of Mörön possesses a piece of this kind), while it is quite unknown among the taiga Tuwas and Tofas. Antlers, as embellishments of the shaman head-dress, were, therefore, a speciality of Darkhats and West Khówsgöl Tuwas. Since it was unknown among taiga Tuwas and Tofas, it is safe to conclude that antlered head-dresses were first adopted by the Darkhats and not by the Khówsgöl Tuwas who borrowed such head-dresses from the former. That the use of antlers was not a recent phenomenon is proved by the objects that have remained in the *asar orgod*: we found — among others — an antler, originally part of a shaman headband, in a board hut there.

Like horse-headed shaman staffs, antlers applied to the headbands were a characteristic feature of the outfit of Buriat shamans. It was widespread among both Siberian²³ and Mongolian²⁴ Buriats.

Another argument in favour of the Darkhats, connection with the Buriats is their belief in a helpful shaman spirit, namely *ḡarčintin ēdž*, which

²¹ Cf. N. N. Agapitov, Материалы для изучения шаманства в Сибири. Шаманство у бурят Иркутской губернии: ИВСОРОГО XIV, Nos. 1—2, p. 42.

²² Cf., for instance, ГМЭ (Государственный Музей Этнографии Народов СССР, Ленинград Nos. 783—8—31, —36, —46; 1275—4, —5, —6; 1635—104, —105, —106, —107, —108.

²³ Cf., for instance, Agapitov — Changalov, *op. cit.*, p. 42 and Plate 3, Fig. 3; V. Diószegi, *A burját sámánhitkutatás megalapozója, Hangalov M. N.* (= Hangalov, M. N. 1858—1919, the founder of research work concerning shamanism among the Buriats). *Ethnographia* LXX (1959), p. 458.

²⁴ For instance, head-dresses of this kind were, according to our findings, used by the Aga Buriats, and of this description are the Buriat headbands in the Museum of Ulan-Bator.

means "the mother of Kharčint" who used to be referred to also as *burjad ongod* = "Buriat ministering spirit". As performed by *Dugarin Barij*, a shamaness from the region of Kharmaïn-gol, the invocation of this spirit commenced with the following words:

"Oh, thou hoary mother,
the fate of many Darkhats,
Who, in times of yore,
wast captured by the hands of
Dzónóg bõ of the *cagān xūlars*,
when the blue sky waxes angry,
pregnant with golden black water,
oh, thou hoary mother,
oh, thou old hoary mother,
who dwellest on the high Mount Kharčint,
let us partake of thy divine grace!"

The woman, revered after her death by Darkhat shamans as Buriat spitit, was captured by *Dzónóg*, the same shaman who figures in the genealogical table. The reason why she had become a Buriat spirit after death is explained by the following story:

"Loaded with treasures on their way back from the Oka Buriats, two shamans, *Dzónóg bõ* and *Ušgadaïñ xaiřxan*, took a rest at the Mongolian Šarin dawa pass. The young *Ušgadaïñ air an* spoke thus to the old *Dzónóg bõ*: — We regard ourselves as the best Darkhat shamans, so let us match our strength. The old shaman consented. It was the young shaman, *Ušgadaïñ xaiřxan*, who first demonstrated his strength. Before shamanizing, the young shaman announced to the old shaman: I shall fetch the four ribs of the highest bull of the chief of the Oka Buriats. Having thus spoken he began shamanizing. Yet, when it was finished, the four ribs were not seen anywhere. — Why are the four ribs not here, asked the old shaman after he performed his shamanizing. — Look, they are there on the grass, the four ribs are lying there. *Dzónóg bõ* went there, and lo! he beheld the four ribs. Then the old shaman began his ceremony. Before doing so, he spoke thus: I shall fetch *Cerendulam*, the beautiful 18 year-old only daughter of the Oka Buriat chief. Yet, the girl was not there after he had finished shamanizing. So the old shaman said to the young that she would appear there before sunrise. And lo! early in the morning the young girl arrived happy and singing. The three of them went on together. When the shamans, loaded with treasures and accompanied by the beautiful girl, reached their home, the young shaman wished to know who would marry her. — He who conjured her up, replied *Dzónóg bõ*. The young shaman returned home without the girl. After a year, the young shaman visited the old and saw that the girl was pregnant."

The young girl captured and married by *Dzónóg bõ* was, therefore, of Buriat origin according to tradition. Another informant told us that *Ceren-dulam*, the wife of shaman *Dzónóg*, was a shamaness in her own right. It is therefore natural that the Buriat shamaness became a Buriat spirit after her death, and it is likewise natural that Darkhat shamanism reveals Buriat features.

That Buriat customs were adopted by Darkhats was, however, not merely due to the fact that Darkhat shamans had frequently stayed among Buriats and married Buriat shamanesses like *Dzónóg* and others (e.g. *Šarā dzāriṇ*).²⁵ Buriat influences were more deeply rooted, as proved by traditions of Darkhat shamanism.

“*Dzónóg bõ*, called also *Nojo Dzónóg*, was the first Darkhat shaman. He lived very long ago along the river Tengis-gol. He was the head of a part of the Uriankhai *χūlar* clan. A gang of robbers (*χorlomain dainčid*) was planning an attack on the clan, but *Dzónóg bõ* got wind of the plan.

The waters of Tengis-gol began to roar one night. *Dzónóg bõ* asked his wife why the water of the river was splashing and murmuring so wildly. Looking into the night from the yurt, she replied: — I really don't know; perhaps the stud of the lama *Sundew* is wading through the river. Upon which she crept back into the yurt.

But *Dzónóg bõ*, wishing to make sure, came out of the yurt. And he saw robbers, with rifles at the ready sneaking about. *Dzónóg bõ* enjoined his Uriankhais not to make any noise, not to stir and not to shoot. And then he shouted the name of one of the robbers. To his question whether there was one of this name among them they said yes. — If so, we are of the same flesh and blood, why should we fight? And the robbers lowered their firearms.

Yet, one of the Uriankhai warriors, not heeding *Dzónóg bõ*'s warning, began shooting. It caused great disturbance among the robbers who began to shoot at *Dzónóg bõ*'s troop. Only the shaman and his two sons survived: even his wife was killed. They were captured and surrounded by the robbers who were going to kill them. But they fired in vain: it was found that they had not so much as a single cartridge between them. — Hallo there! come to me you fellows, shouted *Dzónóg bõ*. He flung open his cloak: and behold! all the cartridges were there.

— Now then, take back your cartridges. They took them back and fired three times at the shaman. And three times did their cartridges turn back. They were unable to kill *Dzónóg bõ*. Well, if not by shooting, they would kill him otherwise. They thought out a plan to bind him to the tails of two mares and have him torn asunder. They did so and began to drive the fiery wares, but these began to urinate blood and collapsed.

²⁵ Sanžeev, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

Well, if they cannot tear him up, he would be killed otherwise. Three days and nights they busied themselves with keeping a fire going around *Dzónóg bō*. On the third day, when the fire began to burn itself out, they beheld *Dzónóg bō* sitting, his sons on his knees, and icicles were hanging from the shaman's beard.

— Hi, you fellows, hurry up, lay the fire more briskly, I am feeling very cold, shouted *Dzónóg bō*. Well, if he cannot be burnt, they were going to kill him otherwise.

A robber brought a silver gun, loaded it with a golden bullet, pressed it to the shaman's ear and discharged it. *Dzónóg bō*'s ear began ringing a little, but he did not fall down, nor did he lose consciousness. He put his fingers into his ear, took out the golden bullet and handed it over to the robber: — You will surely need it. The enemies were startled: What kind of a man is he who cannot be destroyed by any means?

— He must be of the first water, and we had better befriend him. The shaman accepted their friendship. Upon this, the robbers asked him if he knew of a place where therewas some treasure that could make them rich. — If you cross the Tengis-gol you will find there treasure galore.

— But can we find a ford to cross the river? Of course, you can, I will show you the place — answered the shaman. — Come on then, let everyone piece a raft together and let each of you gather a bundle of sticks. So we can float downstream. You go on, I and the three boys (he took the son of one of the robbers) will follow you.

So they started. All of a sudden, they saw that the man on the first raft lifted his hand. — He must have found the treasure, and is motioning us to hurry along!

And so they hurried on. And each of them waved his hand when he reached that point of the river because there was a waterfall there and the passengers of the capsized rafts were beating the air with their hands. And this was why *Dzónóg bō* needed a bundle of sticks: he knew that he would sweep his enemies off his territory.

But the shaman knew well that neither men nor marmots must be destroyed altogether, and it was for this reason that he saved the life of the 16 year-old son of a robber. And it was thus that the shaman conquered his foes. When the young man had grown up, his descendants, the *xorlomaïš*, became numerous in our Darkhat territory. And this was the origin of the *xorlomaï* clan."

The name of this clan is actually to be found among the Darkhat clan-names. Sanžeev, too, recorded in it the variants *xorlōmā* and *xorōlmē*.²⁶ The Buriat origin of the clan is borne out by other evidence as well. A passage

²⁶ Sanžeev, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

of the above-quoted story is characteristic in this respect: "To his question whether there was one of this name among them they said yes. — If so, we are of the same flesh and blood, why should we fight?" According to oral information received from Badamhatan, a Mongolian ethnologist, the members of two exogamous fratries did not fight one another; on the contrary: they regarded the members of the other fraternity as their kinsfolk. And we know from a former story that *Dzónóg's* wife was of Buriat origin. The fact of kin-

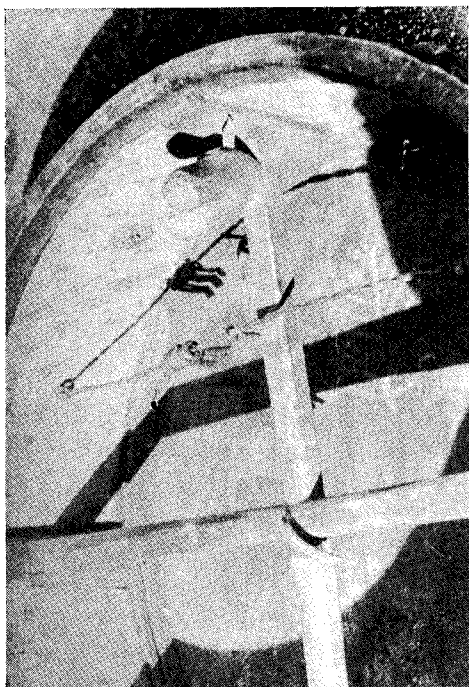


Fig. 21. — Handle of Khalkha Shaman drum, adorned with horsehead. Ulsyn Töv Muzej (Ulan-Bator), w.n.



Fig. 23. — Head-dress of Khalkha shaman, adorned with flat ribbons. Ethnographical Museum (Budapest). No. 60.97

ship is still further supported by the existence of a *χorolmaï* clan among the Buriats.²⁷ Sanžeev refers to the Darkhat clan in question as having originated from the Buriats.²⁸

It seems clear from the foregoing that the Tuwa clans which had migrated to the western shores of Lake Khówsǵöl came to be exposed to Buriat influences. However, not all phenomena of Darkhat shamanism can be explained in terms of Tuwa and Buriat shamanism.

²⁷ Personal communication of Badamkhatan.

²⁸ Sanžeev, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

The horse-headed drum of shaman *Toli*, a member of the *ḡar ḡūlar* clan (cf. Fig. 8) and his metal-plate-covered drumstick (cf. Fig. 10), as also the head-dress of shamaness *Gungin Galin*, member of the *šarnūd* clan (cf. Fig. 4), have already been described in this paper. These objects form a separate category not only because they are less frequent than other corresponding shaman objects, but also because they have no counterparts either among the Tuwas or the Buriats. They are, however, not unique. The Central State Museum of Ulan Bator possesses a number of Khalkha shaman drums which have handles adorned with horseheads carved of wood (Fig. 21). Khalkha influence is displayed by the drumsticks also, since it was exactly among the Khalkhas that these objects used to be coated with tinplates. However, this is not the only Khalkha feature: the whole shape of the drumstick is a precise copy of the corresponding Khalkha objects (Fig. 22). The headband — different from the general type of Darkhat head-dresses — shows, of course, another structure than the hemisphere-shaped caps of Khalkha shamans, yet reveals a special Khalkha feature the pendants hanging from the lower rim of the headband. They are not the usual Darkhat rolled strips (cf. Fig. 3) but flat ribbons such as used to embellish the head-dress of Khalkha shamans (Fig. 23).

There are also other pieces of evidence to support the Khalkha origin of the pieces in question. For instance, the consciousness of their Khalkha origin is still alive among the members of the *šarnūd* clan. Sanžeev, too, refers to this clan as being of Khalkha origin.²⁹

By way of summing up, we can conclude that Darkhat shamanism is essentially Tuwa shamanism which came to be exposed to some extent to Mongolian (apparently Buriat and Khalkha) influences. This applies not merely to Darkhat shamanism but to the entire ethnic group of Darkhats as well: it shows that an analysis of Darkhat shamanism leads to the same conclusion as that reached by Sanžeev on the evidence of clan names.³⁰

A genetic analysis of shamanism enables us to draw conclusions which go beyond the narrower problem of Darkhat ethnogeny. We find that, on the one hand, phenomena of shamanism are so conservative as to make them suitable for the study of ethnogenic problems and that, on the other hand, it is by studying the individual history of each clan of the community that we can obtain insight into the genesis of an ethnic group, since the latter is composed of separate clans with different origins.

²⁹ *Loc. cit.*

³⁰ *Loc. cit.*