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# THE SHAMAN DRESS OF THE DAGURS, SOLONS AND NUMINCHENS IN N. W. MANCHURIA.<sup>1</sup>

BY MISS E. J. LINDGREN, HARSTON.

With 8 Plates.

Several types of shaman dress are still found among Mongol and Tungus tribes in Eastern Asia, and a careful study of them should reveal important trends of cultural borrowing. As a small contribution to this problem I shall describe a type of dress which is worn by Dagur, Solon and Numinchen shamans<sup>2</sup> in N. W. Manchuria. Although no two shaman costumes are identical, certain features clearly distinguish this type:

1. A head-dress surmounted by a metal bird perched between iron antlers.
2. A large, separate collar decorated with cowries.
3. Epaulettes with streamers, each surmounted by a stuffed cloth bird.
4. Sleeves with decorated cuffs and, usually, arm-bands.
5. Many Chinese bronze mirrors, covering the upper part of the front and back of the dress.
6. Six decorated bands, with sleigh-bells hanging from them, covering the lower part of the front of the dress, three on each side of the opening down the centre.
7. A rectangular piece of cloth which fastens to the back of the dress and has at least twelve long streamers.

The costume reproduced on Plates I—III<sup>3</sup> is a very complete example of this type of shaman dress. I acquired it from a group of Khingan Tungus<sup>4</sup> living on the upper courses of the Chol and Imin rivers, near the watershed of the Great Khingan Range. Although they began appearing in this region at least forty years ago, they still call themselves *Numinchen* [numintʃen]<sup>5</sup> after the Numin River, in the north, from which

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Professor A. C. Moule, Professor E. H. Minns and Dr. G. Montell for helpful advice in connection with several points in this article.

<sup>2</sup> S. M. Shirokogoroff writes in «Northern Tungus Migrations in the Far East», *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, LVII (1926), p. 153, n. 68, that «there are at least four types of shaman's costume in the Far East», one of which is found among «Tungus of Manchuria (Dahurs, Solons? except the Reindeer group)»; he gives, however, no description of it.

<sup>3</sup> Now in the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

<sup>4</sup> I use Shirokogoroff's term for this group (see *Social Organization of the Northern Tungus*, Shanghai, 1929, pp. 64—66) instead of the more familiar «Orochen», a name which has been applied to many Tungus tribes and thus causes confusion. «Kingan Tungus» includes the Ganchens and Numinchens, but not the Kumarchens («Manegri»).

<sup>5</sup> For the sake of simplicity I here give the Tungus words which I have recorded in a broad phonetic transcription, using the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association; and when quoting from the vocabularies in N. N. Poppe's *Dagurskoe Narechie* (Leningrad, 1930) and *Materialy po Solon-skomu Yazyku* (Leningrad, 1931), in Shirokogoroff's *Soc. Org. of the N. Tung.* and Owen Lattimore's «The Gold Tribe, 'Fishskin Tatars' of the Lower Sungari» (*Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, No. 40, 1933), I also transcribe them broadly into I. P. A. symbols.

they came. Since 1903 the Chinese Eastern Railway has interposed a barrier of increasingly deforested country between the Numin basin and these emigrants, who now number about twenty-five households.

The costume had belonged to a Numinchen shamaness who died<sup>1</sup>, probably of consumption, at the age of twenty-five, three years before it came into my possession. She was described as a tall Amazon who excelled in the manly arts of hunting and horsemanship, and conducted most of her father's public and private business. He was formerly the *Guzda* (chief official) of his tribe, appointed by the Mongol Government in Hailar, but lost his office because of flagrant and extensive horse-stealing. He mourned his daughter bitterly and was loath to part with her shaman dress, which would have passed to a young, newly 'called' shaman if there had been one in the tribe. It was only on my second visit to the Numinchens on the Imin, in 1932, that I succeeded in obtaining it. Some months later all the Imin Numinchens, including the ex-Guzda, were reported to have been massacred by the Buriats of the Shinke River, in revenge for repeated thefts of horses.

The Imin Numinchen costume and accessories (which I shall refer to as *Num. 1*) consist of: a head-dress; a collar, with epaulettes attached; a dress in one piece; a »tail» which buttons to the back of the dress; a second, alternative »tail»; a drum; a drum-case; a drumstick; and a pair of cymbals. The only article of a shaman's equipment which is lacking is a necklace, which may have been buried with the shamaness.

In describing the various features of the Dagur-Solon-Numinchen type of shaman dress, I shall first give any details of *Num. 1* which cannot be seen in the drawings, and then refer briefly to the following costumes and accessories:

- Num. 2.* The costume of a Chol Numinchen shamaness, which I was allowed to examine very briefly.
- Num. 3.* Some accessories of another Chol Numinchen shamaness, which I saw in use.
- Num. 4.* Some accessories belonging to a Chol Numinchen woman (formerly a shamaness, who had become insane), which I saw from a distance.
- Sol. 1.* The costume of an Imin Solon shamaness, which I saw in use twice and photographed (see Plates VI, b, and VII, b), but could not examine closely.
- Sol. 2.* The costume of a Hailar Solon shaman, which I saw in use twice but could not photograph nor examine closely.
- Sol. P.* The parts of shaman dress and accessories the names of which are included (with some description) in Poppe's Solon vocabulary<sup>2</sup>. He recorded this in Urga, Outer Mongolia, from Solons and solonized Dagurs of the Hailar region, some of them probably members of the communities I studied.
- Sol. S.* Costumes photographed by members of Stötzner's expedition to the Solons near Haritun (on the Moloho River, a left tributary of the Nonni)<sup>3</sup>. These

<sup>1</sup> See the photograph of her grave, Plate VI, a.

<sup>2</sup> *Materialy po Solonskomu Yazyku*.

<sup>3</sup> See Walther Stötzner, »A Journey to the North-East of Mergen», *Izvestiya Ob-a Izuch. Man'chzhurskogo Kraya* (Harbin), No. 7 (Dec. 1928), Plate IV; and Frithjof Melzer, *Malaria Gold und Opium* (Leipzig 1929), photographs opp. pp. 168, 169, and 176.

Solons have a culture very similar to that of the Numinchens, but not closely resembling that of the mongolized Solons of N. W. Manchuria whom I have studied.

- Dag. 1.* The costume of a Hailar Dagur shamaness, which I saw in use twice and photographed (see Plates VII, a, and VIII), but could not examine closely.
- Dag. P.* The costume and accessories of Dagur shamans as described by Poppe<sup>1</sup> on the basis of information given him in Urga by Hailar Dagurs, one of them a first cousin of the Dagur shamaness who wore *Dag. 1.*
- Dag. T.* The costume of a Dagur (? possibly Solon) shaman photographed at Mekerte, near Hailar, by Mr. Tokmakoff of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

It is of interest to note that the costumes *Num. 1* and *Dag. 1*, which belonged to shamanesses of wealthy and influential families, were more complete and attractive than *Num. 2* and *Sol. 1*, which were owned by shamanesses of humbler means and station.

# 1. HEAD-DRESS (Num. and Sol. awun, Dag. P. magal; both terms mean »hat» in general).

The crown of *Num. 1* is covered with a circular, slightly concave iron plate, to which the antlers are riveted. The cloth sides of the hat are partially covered by two old, cracked pieces of skin (sealskin?). The hat is lined with part of a coarse cotton flour bag, once white, on which is printed »MANCHURIAN FLOUR» and some Russian letters.<sup>2</sup> *Num. 2*, *Sol. 1* and *Sol. 2* have as foundation a red cloth skull-cap (that of *Sol. 2* being decorated with cowries and triangular pieces of cloth), and to this is fastened a frame made of tin (*Num. 2*), iron (*Sol. 1*), or copper (*Sol. 2*). The frame consists of a ring or crown and two strips which intersect at the top of the head, where they support the antlers.<sup>3</sup> But in the case of *Dag. 1*, the antlers seem to be sewn directly onto a black skull-cap, which is decorated with silver thread. On *Dag. T* also no frame can be seen, and none is mentioned for *Dag. P.*

The antlers (Sol. *ijəɬur*, »antlers») of *Num. 1* are iron, and one of the four prongs has broken off; although similar in shape, the two antlers are not identical. The *Num. 2* antlers (tin?) are four-pronged, have blunt ends and are crudely made. *Sol. 1* has five-pronged antlers, somewhat larger than those of *Dag. 1*, which are, however, six-pronged. *Dag. P* has iron or copper five-pronged antlers. *Sol. 2* has antlers with eight small prongs of twisted, slightly yellowish metal (iron?). A Hailar Dagur confirmed the statement

<sup>1</sup> *Dagurskoe Narechie*, pp. 9—10.

<sup>2</sup> Many parts of the *Num. 1* costume are lined with flour bags, on one of which there is written besides some Russian letters, »flour» and »Fire Brand» in Chinese characters. These bags probably belonged to a Harbin firm, and in any case can scarcely antedate the building of the Chinese Eastern Railway (1900—1903); see *North Manchuria and the C. E. R.* (Harbin, 1924), p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> G. Nioradze, *Der Schamanismus bei den Sibirischen Völkern* (Stuttgart, 1925), p. 77, reproduces a drawing of a similar helmet as the head-dress of a Yenisei shaman. Buriats used to wear an iron frame of this shape, see M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia* (Oxford, 1914), pp. 222—224; and I have seen one worn by a shaman of the Transbaikalian Tungus (a strongly buriatized group). Apparently the Golds also have it (see Lattimore, op. cit., p. 61).

of a Transbaikal Tungus to the effect that »there is nothing higher than a twelve-prong<sup>1</sup> shaman», but he quoted this Solon shaman as saying that he was »an old man and a great shaman and had shamanized much in these parts», and therefore had raised himself to the rank of sixteen prongs!<sup>2</sup>

The bird (Num. *käku*, Sol. *xäku*, Dag. P. *gäku*, all meaning »cuckoo») on the head-dress of Num. 1 has a brass or copper body, with iron wings and tail. It is held in place by a wire which passes through the bird's breast and the sides of a forked iron support and winds around the antlers above the first prong. If the supplementary holes in the bird and support had been used for another wire, the bird would be held in a more forward-tilting position. Num. 2 has a tin bird and Sol. 2 a very small one (copper?). Dag. 1 has a copper-coloured bird with outstretched wings, which tilts forwards and downwards. Of Dag. P it is said: »Between the antlers extends a little stick, on which sits a cuckoo . . made of copper or iron.» A Hailar Dagur well versed in shamanistic matters told me, however, that the bird on the Dagur shaman head-dress is not a cuckoo but a small bird of prey, and that it warns the shaman of the approach of a shaman with evil intent.<sup>3</sup>

The chin-straps of Num. 1 are made of two thicknesses of the same red cotton twill as the main dress; those of Dag. 1 are leather.

The fringe of Num. 1 consists of six strings of black glass beads strung on black cotton and ending in tassels of black cotton and silk thread. Num. 2 has three 2-inch-long strings of wooden beads, with imitation corals at the top. Sol. 1 has five chains of small red and black beads attached to the »diadem». Sol. 2 (?) and Dag. 1 have no fringe, and a Hailar Dagur told me that formerly Dagur shamans wore one which came a little way down on the forehead, but have now ceased doing so. Poppe says, however, that at the front of the Dagur shaman head-dress a fringe of wire hangs down to the eyes.<sup>4</sup> Dag. T (who may be a Solon) has a fringe of some soft-looking material, perhaps threads, hanging down to the eyebrows.

The streamers on the Num. 1 head-dress consist of dirty, torn and knotted pale blue *xadaks*,<sup>5</sup> which are tied through two of a row of six holes along the back of the bird's tail. Ordinary pieces of cloth about 1 ft. long are attached to the antlers of Num. 2, a red

<sup>1</sup> He was adding the prongs of the two antlers together.

<sup>2</sup> See the six-pronged antlers on the Yenisei shaman head-dress, Nioradze, op. cit., Abb. 33. Nioradze writes (p. 76), »Das Hirschgeweih symbolisiert die Fähigkeit der Schamanen, sich schnell fortzubewegen», but it is not clear to which tribe this refers. Lattimore (ib., p. 61) mentions antlers on Gold as well as Manchu and Chinese shamans, while Nioradze (p. 74) speaks of a pair of small metal horns (»Hörner») on Gold shaman head-dress as described by Lopatin.

<sup>3</sup> Chinese shamans in Manchuria have two very large birds on their head-dress (see Melzer, op. cit., photograph opp. p. 216), but the small metal bird between antlers seems distinctive of the Dagur-Solon-Numinchen type.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.* I know of no other reference to the use of wire for fringes, but long and heavy fringes of leather (Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria), silk (Golds, see Lattimore, *ib.*, p. 61) and other materials are worn by shamans, including the Buriat and Soyot (see Nioradze, op. cit., p. 77 and Tafelbild 14). There are fringes on the Chukchee shamanistic caps, according to Bogoras (quoted by Czaplicka, op. cit., p. 206), who also notes that the Chukchee shaman imitates the Tungus shaman in many ways. For fringe on Altaian shaman cap see below, p. 370, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Xadak* is the Mongol term for the ceremonial cloths offered alone, or with gifts, to honoured persons, obos, lamaistic deities, etc. throughout Mongolia, and they are usually made of cheap, pale blue Chinese silk.

and a blue to one and a red to the other. *Sol. 1* and *Sol. 2* have *xadaks* attached to the antlers between most of the prongs. From the back of the *Dag. P* head-dress »*xadaks* hang like a tail». *Dag. 1* has many silk cloths and *xadaks* tied to the antlers, of various colours: white, blue, pink, red and green.<sup>1</sup>

The cloth 'diadem' (*Sol. dərbəxi*) worn only by *Sol. 1* (see Plate VII, b) is a separate piece which ties together at the back; it has six sections tapering to points above.<sup>2</sup>

It is interesting that the shaman head-dress of the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria is called 'dərbəki', the term 'awun'<sup>3</sup> being confined to ordinary head-gear; the Imin Solons thus attach what is perhaps one of the early Tungus names for the whole shaman head-dress to a part of it which is probably an innovation.

II. COLLAR (*Num. dʒaxapton*, *Sol. dʒaxoti*, »shaman collar»; *Dag. P. dʒaxard*, »shaman jacket»; cf. *Sol. P. dʒaxa*, »collar» in general).

All the collars, or jackets, are of the same shape, and the decorations differ only in the case of *Num. 2*, a rather poor costume.<sup>4</sup> This lacks cowries and has instead, at the back of the neck, a piece of chain mail (*kəl*) about 3 inches square, made of small wire links. At the front there is a Russian double eagle made of gilt brass, with »Nikolās II» inscribed on it, measuring about 2 by 3 inches.<sup>5</sup> It is called 'jindan', and is said to be a 'burxan' (»god» or »spirit»). There are numerous small ribbon streamers at the shoulders, but no birds.

The *Num. 1* collar is made of black cotton cloth, while the material of *Dag. P* is said to be silk or velvet.

The cowries (*Sol. xət*, »cowry», cf. *Khin. Tung. Shiro. ketta*, »the shell-fish»; *Dag. P. tʃigan jogos*, »little shell, cowry») are sewn onto the *Num. 1* collar, the backs of the shells having been cut away, and the cowries on the other dresses look as if they had been treated in the same way. Those on *Num. 1* number 24 at the back, 63 on one side (including one which has been lost) and 61 on the other at the front, or 148 in all. *Sol. 1* has much fewer, arranged in a few groups of 3 or 4 each. *Sol. 2* has 19 cowries on each side at the front, arranged end to end in three vertical lines, while parallel rows of shells

<sup>1</sup> On the Gold head-dress described by Lattimore (ib., p. 61) »the tines of the antlers are usually hung with thin wispy silk streamers».

<sup>2</sup> Hexagonal hats appear with certain traditional costumes in the Chinese theatre (see L. C. Arlington, *The Chinese Drama*, Shanghai, 1930, Figs. 47, 68, and esp. 181). But Dr. Montell has called my attention to the five-sectioned head-dresses or 'diadems' often worn by lamas (as well as Chinese Buddhist priests), which are well represented in the Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm. Some are painted, some embroidered; the sections taper, by several 'steps', to points above, and the 'diadem' does not extend around the back of the head. As there are several lama temples near Solon territory in N. W. Manchuria, I think it very probable that the Solon 'diadem' was inspired by this strikingly similar type of lama head-dress.

<sup>3</sup> 'awun' is used by Solons for the antlered head-dress without the 'diadem', as well as for hats in general.

<sup>4</sup> The son of the shamaness who owned it would not consent to sell it because of its incompleteness, of which they seemed ashamed.

<sup>5</sup> Professor Minns thinks that it probably formed part of a Russian military uniform, from the time of the Russo-Japanese War. I have seen several gilt buttons with Russian double eagles on them in use among the Numinchens.

go all the way around the collar, which is smaller than that of *Dag. 1. Sol. S* seems to have a large collar with many cowries. For *Dag. 1* see plate VII, a; there are over 85 shells on each side at the front. The cowries on *Dag. T* are similarly arranged, but the collar is smaller and there is only one row of 'stars' down the centre of each side at the front. Of *Dag. P* we are told that the »shells are placed in a line along the edges, and in the centre like a little star», and that they are »108 in all (according to the number of beads in a rosary)».<sup>1</sup>

The piece at the back of the *Num. 1* collar has a foundation of green cotton cloth embroidered in blue, orange, pink and magenta, and is bordered by black cotton velvet. Two lions and two suns (or balls?) embroidered in gilt thread on black sateen, which are obviously of Chinese workmanship,<sup>2</sup> are sewn to the green cotton. At the back of the *Dag. 1* collar is a rectangular piece embroidered with birds (phoenixes?) and dragons (?) in Chinese style. The corresponding part of the *Sol. 2* collar is decorated with coloured cloth bands, which also occur instead of embroidery on other parts of the dress.<sup>3</sup>

The birds (*Sol. xäku*, »cuckoo») sewn to the *Num. 1* epaulettes are made of stuffed cloth. The head and body are in one piece, covered with green cotton damask (the eyes and a collar are stitched in with magenta silk thread), while the wings and tail are covered with a Chinese silk brocade which has light blue and dark green feather-like patterns on a magenta background.<sup>4</sup> The corresponding birds on *Sol. 2* are blue, with stitches of other colours on the tail. The *Dag. 1* birds look as if made of carved and painted wood.

The streamers (*Sol. xalbayko*; cf. *Sol. P. xalbayxa*, »tape», »ribbon», and *Dag. P. xalbayxa*, »the tail of the Dagur shaman dress») decorating the *Num. 1* and *Dag. 1* epaulettes number six on each side, the upper ones being shorter. On *Num. 1* the upper ones have embroidery on coarse red cotton cloth, while the lower ones are covered with a pink and blue Chinese cotton print; the *Dag. 1* upper streamers are black, the lower ones

<sup>1</sup> Nioradze (op. cit., p. 72) mentions cowries among the decorations of South Siberian shamans, and Czaplicka (op. cit., p. 219) says that »a fringe made of string and shell-fish» hangs from the lower edge of the Altaian shaman's cap. I know of no other contemporary use for cowries in north-eastern Asia, but they were one of the very early media of exchange in China (see Sir James H. Stewart Lockhart, *The Stewart Lockhart Collection of Chinese Copper Coins*, Shanghai, 1915, pp. iv, viii). A. Salmony writes (*Sino-Siberian Art*, Paris, 1933, p. 11): »The Cauri shell appears in China as well as in Siberia imitated in metal. It may be found realistically represented on a Chou bell that otherwise has only strictly stylised ornamentation. . . This motive may be the survival of a more ancient tradition, but it may also be connected in some way with the north.»

<sup>2</sup> Lions, appearing in the centre of the square pieces of embroidery sewn to Manchu official coats, indicate a military official of the second class. The cheaper kinds of embroidered pieces have a blank space left in the centre, and the appropriate bird or quadruped is sewn on afterwards. A sun of gilt thread has also been pasted onto one of the embroidered pieces in the Etn. Mus., Stockholm. The Numinchen ex-Guzda said that his daughter's shaman costume had been embellished with his official dress (after he lost his office?), which probably explains the origin of the lions and suns.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. O. Mamen observed that these were arranged as horizontal stripes with blue at the top, then red, yellow, white and black, and that these coloured bands are in the same order wherever they occur on the costume, although elsewhere the yellow is not sufficiently fresh to be distinguished from the white.

<sup>4</sup> The pieces of brocade have been so cleverly chosen that the design (which might be part of a phoenix) appears as if made for the present purpose.

<sup>5</sup> which also has streamers; thus *xalbayko*, etc. are probably only the terms for »ribbon» or »streamer» in Solon and Dagur.

red, and all are embroidered. The *Sol. 1*, *Sol. 2* and *Dag. T* epaulettes also have streamers.

Small sleigh-bells (see below, p. 373) are attached to the epaulettes of *Num. 1*, four in all, and there are a few along the edge of the *Sol. 1*, *Sol. 2* and *Dag. 1* collars.

Chinese copper cash are used on *Num. 1* for fastening the collar, the pieces for the back and the largest mirror to corresponding loops of thong on the main dress, which also has cash for some of the fastenings down the front. There are fifteen coins in all, of which fourteen are small, have Chinese characters on the obverse and Manchu on the reverse, and date from Ch'ien Lung (1736—1795)<sup>1</sup>; a larger, ten-cash piece dates from Hsien Feng (1851—1862)<sup>2</sup>.

### III. MAIN DRESS (*Num. samafik*, *samafix*, *Sol. dzawa*, *Dag. P. dzawa*, »shaman dress» as a whole).

The *Num. 1* dress is made of a heavy red cotton twill,<sup>3</sup> bordered with black cotton cloth and lined with white canvas<sup>4</sup> except for the upper portion, which is lined with indigo cotton at the back and purple cotton at the front. There is a fringe of tanned leather along the lower hem of *Num. 1* and *Num. 2*. *Num. 2* is made of dark cloth, but the owner said it should be skin. The *Sol. 1*, *Sol. 2* and *Dag. 1* dresses are made of tanned skin, with a chamois finish; *Sol. S* and *Dag. T* look the same, and *Dag. P* is deerskin (*Dag. P. nairs*).<sup>5</sup>

The weight of the *Num. 1* dress, with the collar and the piece for the back, is 40 lbs.,<sup>6</sup> and the *Dag. 1* dress may be even heavier.

The sleeves (*Dag. P. xantji*) of all the dresses have cuffs<sup>7</sup> (*Dag. P. bugujan*) and arm-bands, of which *Sol. 2*, *Dag. 1* and *Dag. T* have two on each arm. The cuffs and arm-bands of *Sol. 2* are decorated with bands and triangular pieces of coloured cloth<sup>8</sup> instead of embroidery.

The iron pendants (*Num. tfurəktə*; cf. Rein. Tung. of Manch. *tfurakta*, »leather tassels» decorating a box, and Gold L. *tfurəktə*, »cloth streamers on the horned head-dress of a shaman»;<sup>9</sup> but Gold. L. *jisa*, »long iron jingles on girdle worn by shaman»)

<sup>1</sup> They correspond to the following numbers in Stewart Lockhart (op. cit.): 1496—1505 (Board of Revenue Mint); 1516—1518 (Soochow Mint, Kiangsu Province); 1519—1521 (Chéchiang Prov. Mint); 1506—1515 (Board of Works Mint); 1526—1531 (Kueichou Prov. Mint).

<sup>2</sup> Stew. Lock. Nos. 1786—1792 (Board of Revenue Mint).

<sup>3</sup> The relatives of the dead shamaness said that she preferred cloth as prettier and also less heavy to dance in. Nioradze (op. cit., p. 61) says that North Siberian tribes (including the Tungus) make the shaman dress of skin, while the South Siberians (including the Buriats) use cloth.

<sup>4</sup> of Chinese or Japanese make, used in N. Manchuria for raincoats, etc.

<sup>5</sup> It is said that three bands of cloth serve as a belt for *Dag. P*, but I know of no belt being worn with this type of shaman dress.

<sup>6</sup> The head-dress weighs 1 lb. 2 ½ oz. . Czaplicka (op. cit., p. 215) says that a good Yakut shaman dress requires about 35 to 40 lbs. of iron.

<sup>7</sup> The shape of the *Num. 1* cuff and the central motif of the embroidery on it find a striking parallel in the Chinese theatrical costume called *mang-p'ao* (see Arlington, op. cit., Fig. 1). Manchu official coats and some lama robes also have cuffs of this shape.

<sup>8</sup> as on the *Sol. 2* cap and collar, see above, p. 370, n. 3.

<sup>9</sup> 'tfurəktə', etc. possibly mean »decorative pendants» in general.



on *Num. 1* and *Num. 2* consist of rough cone-shaped pieces of iron<sup>1</sup>. The cloth pendants on *Num. 1* are attached to the same brass rings as the iron pendants, and consist of a piece of Chinese blue cotton damask on the left side and a cheap print<sup>2</sup> on the right. *Sol. 1* has long pieces (apparently of cloth) which hang from under the arms to the hem and end in several 'tails'; these pieces are clutched by the shamaness when performing, while a dirty cloth hanging on the right side of *Sol. 2* is used to wipe the face. The skin pendant, bound with cloth, which hangs on one side (at least) of *Sol. 2* is sewn into a coil at one point, and on either side of *Dag. 1* there is a rope of braided skin ending in a long leather tassel. These tassels were clutched by the shamaness during the performance. A Dagur said, when comparing a Transbaikal Tungus shaman costume with *Dag. 1*, that the latter had »only two snakes».<sup>3</sup>

The mirrors (*Num. tol*, *Sol. toli*, *Dag. P. tol*, *Khin. Tung. Shiro. toli*, Gold L. and Nioradze toli) of *Num. 1* number 38 on the front and 7 on the back of the dress. The son of the shamaness owning *Num. 2* said that there should be 32 in all. *Sol. 1* has much fewer than *Dag. 1*. *Dag. P* has »30 on each side, altogether 60. These give the impression of scales, and represent armour».<sup>4</sup>

All the *Num. 1* mirrors have double rims at the back, and 32 of the smaller ones are almost identical, with four very indistinct Chinese characters on them. These characters appear to be the same as those on the largest mirror: 五子登科 *wu tzu têng k'o*, »may your five sons succeed at the examination for graduate». On this large mirror there are also some figures, eight of which Professor Moule has identified as the *pa hsien* (the Eight Immortals of Taoism). Another one of the larger mirrors has the inscription: 狀元及第 *chuang yüan chi ti*, »graduate first at the Palace Examination». On another are four Buddhist symbols (including the two fishes and the 'mystic knot'). Three mirrors are plain, one has what appears to be Tibetan writing (very indistinct) around it, others have only decorative patterns.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> They are very much like those on Gold and Manchu shaman girdles. Nioradze (op. cit., p. 64) calls them iron bells; they also occur on Buriat shaman dress and staves (Czaplicka, op. cit., p. 223).

<sup>2</sup> It has greenish-blue and white flowers on a dark grey background; although the pattern looks foreign, it is certainly a modern Chinese print.

<sup>3</sup> Czaplicka (op. cit., p. 222) mentions »thirty snakes, made of white and black skin» on Buriat shaman dress.

<sup>4</sup> Nioradze (op. cit., p. 64) says that the mirror on the breast of the Gold shaman »als Abwehrschild für die Feinde dient», and quotes a legend about the origin of these mirrors; he also says (p. 85) that the Yakuts refer to the whole shaman dress as a cuirass. For Chinese folk-lore connected with metallic mirrors see C. A. S. Williams, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motives* (Shanghai, 1932), pp. 272—275.

<sup>5</sup> The problem of the date of these mirrors deserves more study than I have given it, but it seems unlikely that any of them were made before the 18th century, their juxtaposition on a shaman dress accounting for their worn and damaged condition. An 18th century painting of a Manchu lady having her mirrors burnished on New Year morning is reproduced by the Ven. A. E. Moule in *The Chinese People* (London, 1914), facing p. 406, and Prof. Moule has been told that the cry of the mirror-sharpener was heard in the streets of Hangchow in 1850 or later. Mr. G. T. Moule writes from Hangchow (22 July, 1934), »According to my gatekeeper, they (metallic mirrors) are still made; and used, - by a few people.» However, China was a market for glass mirrors as early as 1700 (see P. Pelliot, *Le Premier Voyage de «l'Amphitrite» en Chine*, Paris, 1930). In any case, bronze mirrors were probably at least as rare and valuable in N. Manchuria in the last century as they are now. The Numinchen ex-Guzda

The six decorated bands on the skirt of *Num. 1* consist of embroidered pieces of red cotton cloth, bordered with black cotton velvet and lined with several layers of material. The *Num. 2* bands are of white satin, embroidered in Chinese style. On *Dag. 1* and *Dag. T* there is a black background for the embroidery, which seems to depict only flowers. The bells on *Dag. P* are said to be »strung on embroidered ribbons».

The sleigh-bells (*Num. koŋakta*, *Sol. xoŋatə*, solonized *Dag. P. xoŋattü*, *Dag. P. xoangart*; cf. *Gold L. koŋguxta*, »small bells attached to shaman's costume») of *Num. 1* are attached by thongs to the lower edges of the decorated bands, which hang free. It is clearly intended that the bells in the lower rows should be larger than those above them,<sup>1</sup> but this arrangement is not consistently carried out, and many of the bells are cracked and broken. There is one plain iron bell; all the rest are brass. The bells number, top to bottom, 9, 8, 5 (including one that has been lost) on one side and 8, 8, 5 on the other. Some of the *Num. 2* bells are missing, but I was told that there should be 5 in each row, or 30 in all. *Dag. P* is also said to have 30 bells, but *Dag. 1* and *Dag. T* clearly have more. *Sol. 2* has fewer than *Dag. 1*.

All the brass bells on *Num. 1* are of the same model,<sup>2</sup> and have 王 *wang* on each side, below the line around the middle of the bell. The characters above the line vary, most of the bells having 太 *t'ai* and 和 *ho* on opposite sides, while a large bell has these characters side by side. Some bells have 奐 *huan* and 元 *yüan*; another has 正 *cheng*; a very old one has 順 *shun*, and another old one has the seal character for son 子 beside 双 *shuang* (»twins»).

Other ornaments appear on some of the dresses. A big iron padlock, closed and without a key, is hung on each side of the neck opening of *Num. 2*. A large boar's tusk is attached to each shoulder on *Sol. 2*, and a large tooth (probably the same kind) on each side of the breast, of *Dag. 1*. In the middle of the top row of sleigh-bells, on each side of the *Sol. 2* skirt, hangs a brass animal (a horse?), facing towards the centre. An iron stirrup about 1 inch high hangs from under the *Sol. 2* collar on each side, at the front, and

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said that he paid twenty local dollars for the largest mirror on *Num. 1*, and from nine to twelve dollars for some of the smaller ones.

Since this article went to press, Mr. G. T. Moule has called my attention to the Chinese custom of hanging a metallic mirror at the back of a bride's sedan chair, while a smaller one is suspended from her buttonhole — for magical reasons in both cases; see H. Doré, *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine* (Shanghai, 1911), Pt. I, Vol. I, p. 34 and Fig. 20, which shows such a mirror (about 8 in. diam.). It has a double rim and the inscription *wu tzü têng k'o* (see above).

<sup>1</sup> On the other costumes the bells appear to be all of the same size.

<sup>2</sup> Brass sleigh-bells of this kind are used on the collars of horses and donkeys in China (see A. C. Moule, »A List of the Musical and other Sound-Producing Instruments of the Chinese», *JNCBRAS*, XXXIX, p. 44). They appear on the Gold shaman head-dress (see Nioradze, op. cit., Tafelbild 17), and according to Nioradze (p. 66) the Yakuts believe that the little bells on the shaman dress represent the spirit of a famous shamaness. Czaplicka mentions »little bells and tambourine-bells» on the Buriat shaman dress (op. cit., p. 223). There are two sleigh-bells like the *Num. 1* ones, with *wang* on them, in a 'shaman's bag' used at the Manchu sacrifice to ancestors, and collected by Dr. Montell from Peking Manchus.

<sup>3</sup> Czaplicka says of the Buriat »horse-staves»: »To make it look more realistic miniature stirrups are also attached» (op. cit., p. 224).

there is also one (iron?) bow, which is drawn and has an arrow across it.<sup>1</sup> There is a cockle-shell on each shoulder of *Dag. 1*, and there are several bells of the open type<sup>2</sup> on the breast of *Sol. 2* and at the sides of *Dag. 1*.

#### IV. THE 'TAIL' (Num. *irgində*, *Dag. P. xalbaŋxa*;<sup>4</sup> cf. *Sol. P. irgi*, »tail»).

The *Num. 1* 'tail' shown in Plate II consists of a piece of embroidered brown cotton damask, bordered with red and dark blue cotton, and 15 streamers. Of the nine cloth streamers, six are covered with red, two with blue and the central one with dark grey-blue cotton; all are embroidered. There are three white horse-skin (?) streamers decorated with pieces of a similar dark brown skin, and three shorter streamers consisting simply of marten (?) perhaps *Kolonocus sibiricus* Pall.) skins, from one of which the end of a short cloth streamer emerges.

The upper portion of the second *Num. 1* 'tail', shown in Plate III, a, consists of an embroidered piece of coarse black cotton cloth, bordered with bands of red cotton and black cotton velvet; but the central part of it is covered by a piece of black satin with Chinese gilt embroidery.<sup>5</sup> Of the 13 streamers, the nine long ones have leather tassels at the ends; they are all covered with ordinary cotton except for the green ones, which are cotton twill.

The *Num. 2* tail has 12 streamers, about one third of them covered with the skin of sheep's legs, the others made of coloured strips of cloth only. *Sol. 1* has 12 long and a smaller number of short streamers, and their decoration consists in designs cut out of the upper layer of cloth. Above the streamers is a piece of flowered print (not embroidered), bordered with blue, white and black cloth bands. The corresponding part of *Sol. 2* has a circular piece of cloth in the centre, and on material of another colour, on each side, there are black crosses. The *Sol. 2* streamers also have no embroidery, being decorated with pieces of cloth sewn at angles to each other. The *Dag. P* 'tail' is said to begin with a square on which a deer and a crane are depicted, and in fact two deer and two cranes<sup>6</sup> are embroidered on the rectangular piece at the top of the *Dag. 1* 'tail' (see Plate VIII). *Dag. P* has 12 streamers, and one of the animals of the Duodenary Cycle of Symbols<sup>7</sup> is pictured on each. *Dag. 1* has 12 long and 12 short streamers,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have seen a bow and arrow on the shaman dress of the buriatized Transbaikalian Tungus, and Czaplicka mentions among the pendants on the Altaian shaman dress »a small bow and arrow to frighten hostile spirits» (op. cit., p. 218). See also C. G. Seligman, »Bow and Arrow Symbolism», *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, IX (1934), pp. 353—354.

<sup>2</sup> These also occur on the Transb. Tungus shaman dress.

<sup>3</sup> It is clear from the Numinchen name which I have recorded, and from the description of *Dag. P*, that this piece is regarded as a 'tail'.

<sup>4</sup> But see above, p. 370, n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> I have not succeeded in identifying this as part of any Manchu official dress; see above, p. 370, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> See Williams (op. cit.) for Chinese folk-lore about these animals, both of which are associated with longevity (Crane, p. 100; Deer, p. 114).

<sup>7</sup> or, The Twelve Branches; see Williams, op. cit., p. 407. Poppe lists them as: mouse, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, chicken, dog, pig, and gives the Dagur term for each.

<sup>8</sup> The arrangement in tiers and the pointed ends of the Dagur-Solon-Numinchen 'tail' streamers may have been inspired by the very similar narrow panels, all with borders, on »Palace Skirts» (see Arlington, op. cit., Fig. 38), worn in the Chinese theatre. But there is a Chinese bride's skirt (in the

and a series of animals is embroidered on the ends of the long streamers. The three animals which I was able to identify correspond to those of the Duodenary Cycle, the series beginning on the left.

#### V. DRUM (Num. untuwun, Sol. untü, Dag. untur, Gold L. untə).

All the drums are round and of the same type, with handles consisting of four pairs of thongs joined by one or more iron rings in the centre of the back of the drum.<sup>1</sup> The *Num.* 3 drum is covered with wapiti hide and the Numinchens said they had made it themselves, while the *Num.* 4 drum had been bought from the Butkha Dagurs. The *Sol.* 2 and *Dag.* 1 drums are covered with goatskin. The *Sol.* 1 drum is smaller, cruder, less resonant, and has the Chinese *yin-yang* symbol<sup>2</sup> painted in black on its outer surface (the other drums being unpainted). The *Dag.* P drum is said to be covered with roedeer skin.<sup>3</sup>

#### VI. DRUM-CASE (Sol. golantja).

All the drums seen have cases, which sometimes hold two drums. The *Num.* 1 case (see Plate V, c) is made of summer roedeer skin, the *Num.* 4 one of calf-skin; all the fur cases have the hair side out. The *Sol.* 1 drum-case is cloth, the *Dag.* 1 one of tanned leather with a chamois surface.

#### VII. DRUMSTICK (Num. gisuwun, gifəwun, Sol. gisün, Dag. P. gasur, Gold L. gidso, gifji).

There was said to be no drumstick belonging to the *Num.* 1 shaman dress, but on unpacking it I found a broken one of willow, partly covered with green silk, and with a coarse green cotton rag attached to it (see Plate V, b). The *Num.* 3 drumstick has tendons inside the tanned leather covering, and the bone handle is decorated with a zigzag pattern. The *Num.* 2 drumstick is also made of sinew, partially covered by red cloth. The *Sol.* 1 drumstick is made of bamboo, some of which is left uncovered as a handle, to which three coloured streamers are attached; the rest is

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Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm) to which Dr. Montell called my attention, which has 12 narrow streamers and 2 broader ones, all hanging free and with black satin borders. The streamers are of six colours, symmetrically arranged. The pattern made by the black satin border at the base of each streamer recalls a motif on the ends of some of the first *Num.* 1 'tail' streamers. Some of these features may have a common Manchu origin.

<sup>1</sup> These drums seem to be a local variation of the oval type which Nioradze calls eastern (op. cit., pp. 79—83) and Czaplicka calls southern (op. cit., p. 207). See also the Gilyak drum reproduced in »Sibiriske Troldmænd» by Kaj Birket-Smith (*Fra Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* 1933, Copenhagen), Fig. 3, a, which is oval and is held by an iron ring and leather thongs; and the Gold shaman drum, Fig. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See Williams, op. cit., p. 454.

<sup>3</sup> Lattimore (op. cit., p. 60) says that the Gold drum is always oval, and »always made of roedeer hide stretched over an elmwood frame».

covered with a roedeer leg-skin.<sup>1</sup> The *Dag. 1* drumsticks also have a roedeer skin covering, and *Dag. P* drumsticks are described as made of bamboo and covered with deerskin. All the drumsticks I saw were 1 ft. long or more, except for the *Sol. 2* drumstick, which was only about 6 inches long and covered with black hair (undoubtedly bearskin).

### VIII. CYMBALS.

A pair of brass cymbals<sup>2</sup> was acquired with the *Num. 1* dress, and was said to have something to do with shamanism. A Dagur stated that the shamaness who owns *Dag. 1* has cymbals, but that other Dagur shamans have not; it depends on the kind of god a shaman serves, some requiring cymbals and others not.

### IX. NECKLACE (*Sol. naxirə*, »large copper cash attached to necklace»; cf. solo-nized *Dag. P. nexər*, »iron breast-piece of a shaman»).

The son of a Solon shamaness told me that the absence of a necklace rendered the *Num. 1* shaman dress, which I had just purchased, very incomplete. The *Sol. 1* costume (owned by his mother) includes a necklace of beads with a large copper cash attached to it. *Num. 3* has a chain of large wooden beads, interspersed with some coloured (glass?) ones, and rags hang from it at several points. Both these necklaces were worn by the shamanesses who owned them over their ordinary dress, when performing a minor ceremony or during the introductory part of a long one. *Sol. 2* has a chain like the *Num. 3* one, and the shaman wore it during an interval in a long performance. On a former occasion I saw a large copper cash<sup>3</sup> hanging from the shoulder of the full *Sol. 2* shaman dress, and the same on *Dag. 1*. I never saw any *Dag. 1* necklace, but *Dag. T* (who may be a Solon) wears a chain of what look like wooden beads interspersed with a few larger glass ones.<sup>4</sup>

Although the evidence is fragmentary, I think it probable that all Dagur, Solon and Numinchen shamans have necklaces, which seem to be the special repositories of their powers. Although the necklace is apparently an adequate substitute for the full dress, it does not appear to be worn with the dress on all occasions.

### X. SHAMAN HAT BOX

The *Num. 1* and *Num. 2* shaman head-dresses were kept in round birch-bark boxes with cone-shaped lids (*Num. murətfun*), and some part of the *Num. 3* shaman dress,

<sup>1</sup> Gold drumsticks appear to be similar (see Birket-Smith, *ib.*, Fig. 5), roedeer leg-skins being sometimes used as a sheath (see Lattimore, *op. cit.*, p. 60), but the Siberian ones described by Nioradze (*op. cit.*, pp. 83—84) are of a different type.

<sup>2</sup> Such cymbals appear in the orchestra of a Chinese theatre, and are also used by lamas, who can buy such temple accessories in Hailar shops.

<sup>3</sup> This may have been attached to the *Sol. 2* chain mentioned. A cash might also have been overlooked on the *Num. 3* necklace, as none of the necklaces could be examined closely.

<sup>4</sup> The two male shamans wore the chain over the right shoulder and under the left arm, the Solon shamaness wore it over her left shoulder and under her right arm, while the Numinchen shamaness wore it around her neck.

probably the head-dress, was kept in the same kind of box.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting that the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria use a round box called 'murutjun' for the images of their gods and other precious objects.<sup>2</sup>

No Solon hat boxes have been seen, and the *Dag.* 1 head-dress was kept in a square, unpainted wooden box.

## XI. CASE FOR SHAMAN DRESS.

The *Sol.* 1 dress was kept in a long narrow case with an opening down the centre; it was made of roedeer skin and goatskin. The *Dag.* 1 dress was packed into a long black leather saddle-bag of Mongol type.<sup>3</sup> I saw no special cases for the other shaman dresses.

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What tribe originated the present form of Dagur-Solon-Numinchen shaman dress, and when did its distinctive features crystallize? A study of the decorative motifs on *Num.* 1 and the other dresses in relation to Gold, Manchu and Chinese designs<sup>4</sup> should yield valuable clues, but these questions cannot be fully answered without investigations in the Nonni River area, from which a few hundred Dagur and Solon colonists were sent to N. W. Manchuria in 1732.<sup>5</sup>

On the basis of the evidence presented above, however, I think it extremely likely that this type of shaman dress was evolved by the Dagurs, and that the Solons and Numinchens have borrowed it from them. The divergent features of the *Sol.* 2 dress may be attributed to the influence of the Buriats, with whom the Solons in N. W. Manchuria have lived in close contact for two hundred years. The Solons probably make their own shaman dresses, which have less embroidery than the Dagur ones; while the Numinchens either have very poor costumes (*Num.* 2), or handsome dresses purchased from others (*Num.* 1<sup>6</sup>), perhaps always from the Dagurs, who have expert needlewomen.

I think it possible that the Dagurs developed this type of shaman dress a long time ago, for when Poyarkov found them on the Amur, in 1644, they already practised agriculture and possessed a sedentary civilization of Chinese type.<sup>7</sup> They had an extensive and profitable trade with the nomadic Tungus tribes on both sides of the Amur, and lived in close association with the Solons, especially after the Manchu government removed the Dagurs to the Nonni basin.

<sup>1</sup> One Numinchen used such a box for his stiff official hats.

<sup>2</sup> The Reindeer Tungus box has no lid, however, being covered with deerskin chamois and closing with draw-strings.

<sup>3</sup> according to Mr. Mamen, who pointed out that the costume could thus be taken easily on horseback.

<sup>4</sup> For comparative material see B. Laufer, »The Decorative Art of the Amur Tribes», *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, VII (1902).

<sup>5</sup> See E. J. Lindgren, »North-Western Manchuria and the Reindeer-Tungus», *The Geographical Journal*, LXXV (June, 1930), p. 521.

<sup>6</sup> The ex-Guzda said that he paid three horses for the costume originally, then bought the collar and some of the mirrors separately. I think it highly probable that he bought it from Dagurs, either in Hailar or the Numin River settlements. The 'tail' shown in Plate II, however, might have been made by the Numinchens.

<sup>7</sup> See L. v. Schrenck, *Die Völker des Amur-Landes* (St. Petersburg, 1881), pp. 158—175.

Although long exposed to alien influences, Dagur culture has shown great stability, incorporating many new elements without sacrificing the old language<sup>1</sup> and religion. The type of shaman dress here described, with features of diverse origin combined in a well-established form, is probably an example of the integrating action of Dagur culture.

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#### SHAMAN-DRÄKTERNA HOS DAGURERNA, SOLONERNA OCH NUMINCHENERNA I NORDVÄSTRA MANCHURIET.

Shamanerna hos Dagurerna, Solonerna och Numinchenerna i nordvästra Manchuriet bära alltså omsorgsfullt utarbetade dräkter, som alla tillhöra en och samma typ. En shamandräkt från Numinchenerna beskrives i detalj, och jämföres med andra dräkter från nämnda folkstammar. De drag hos dessa dräkter, som synas sakna motsvarigheter i Sibirien och Central-Asien, äro sannolikt av kinesiskt ursprung. Den åsikten framställs, att denna typ av shamandräkter, som innehåller element av växlande ursprung sammanfogade till en väl fastställd enhet, torde vara ett exempel på Dagurkulturens skapande förmåga.

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<sup>1</sup> N. N. Poppe's study of the Dagur language has shown it to be an archaic Mongol dialect, not a Mongol-Tungus jargon or Tungus dialect, as was previously thought (see *Dagurskoe Narechie*, pp. 2—4).

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I. Dress of Numinchen shamaness, collected on the Imin R., March, 1932. (Painting by EDITH KING.)

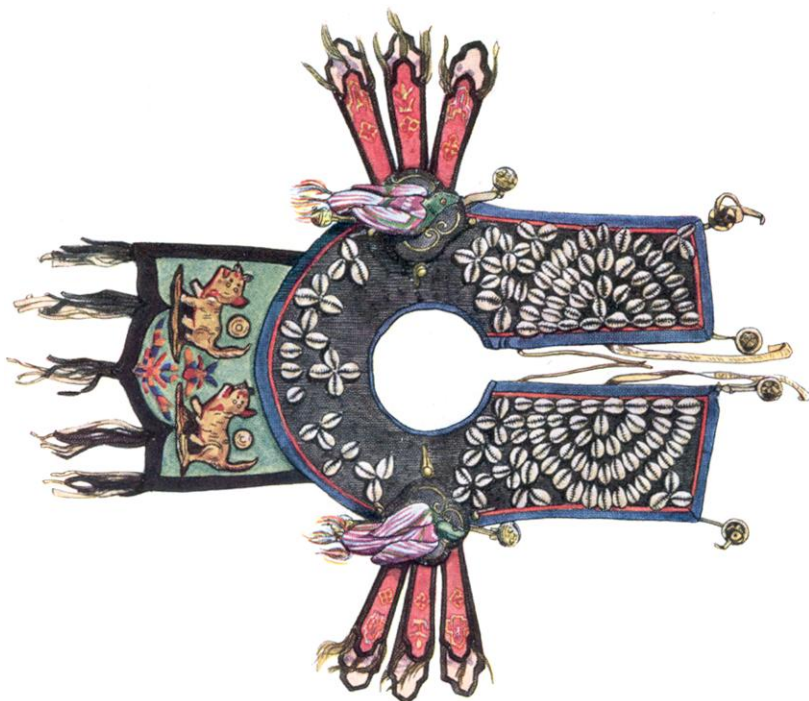




II. Back view of Numinchen shaman dress. (Painting by EDITH KING.)



III *a*. Alternative piece for back of Numinchen shaman dress.  
(Painting by Edrui King.)



III *b*. Collar for Numinchen shaman dress.  
(Painting by Edrui King.)

Plate IV.



Plate IV. Head-dress of Numin-  
chen shamaness. (Drawing by  
EDITH KING.)

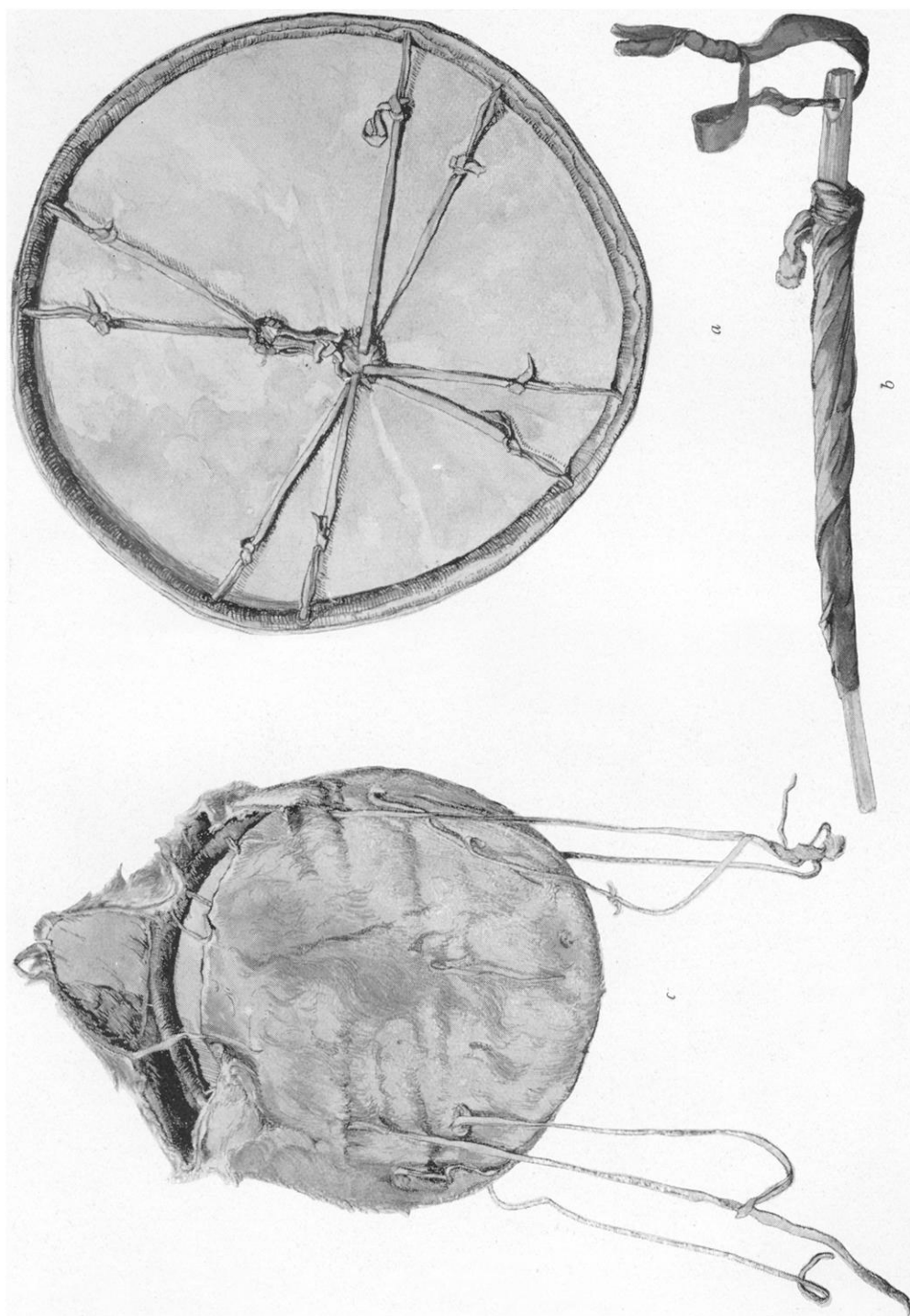


Plate V *a.* Numinchen drum (diameter 61 cm.). *b.* Numinchen drumstick (length 41 cm.). *c.* Numinchen drum-case.  
(Drawings by EDITH KING.)



Plate VI.



Plate VI a. The grave of the Imin Numinchen shamaness. (Photo E. J. LINDGREN.)



b. A Solon shamaness during a performance, March, 1932. (Photo E. J. LINDGREN.)



b. A Solon shamaness during a performance (see Plate VI b). (Photo E. J. LINDGREN.)

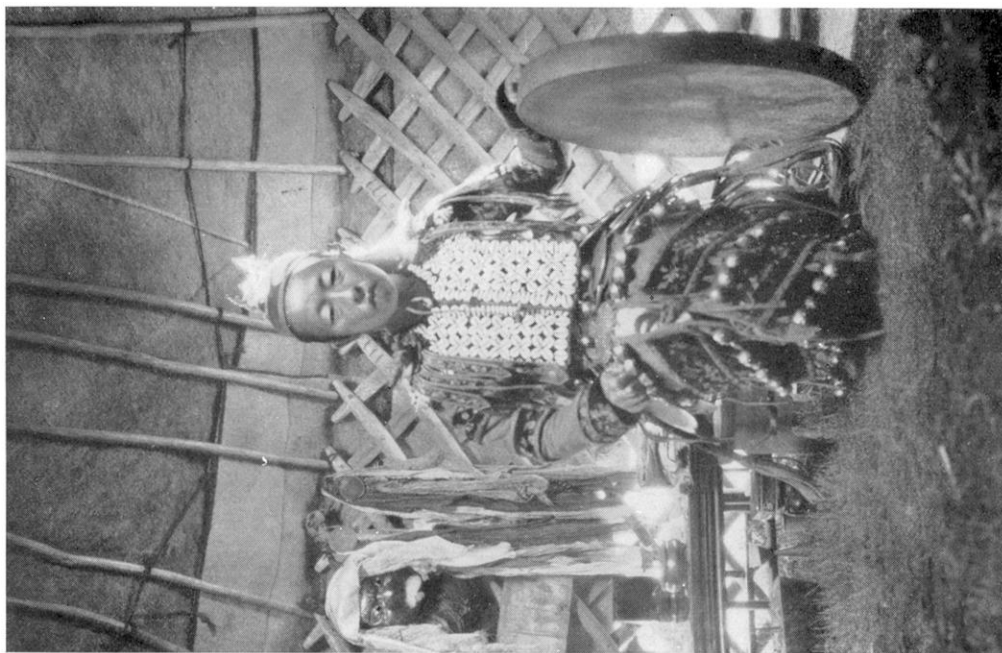


Plate VII a. A Dagur shamaness after a performance, July, 1931. (Photo O. MAMEN.)

Plate VIII.



Plate VIII. A Dagur shamaness (see Plate VII a). (Photo O. MAMEN.)