

ŠAMANIZEM  
LJUDSTEV  
SIBIRIJE

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SHAMANISM  
OF THE PEOPLES  
OF SIBERIA





SLOVENSKI ETNOGRAFSKI MUZEJ



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# ŠAMANIZEM LJUDSTEV SIBIRIJE

## SHAMANISM OF THE PEOPLES OF SIBERIA

Vodnik po razstavi  
Exhibition guide

Ljubljana 2019

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Gostujoča razstava Ruskega etnografskega muzeja, Sankt Peterburg  
in Ministrstva za kulturo Ruske Federacije  
Visiting exhibition of the Russian Museum of Ethnography, Saint Petersburg  
and Ministry of Culture of Russian Federation  
17. april – 20. oktober 2019 / 17 April – 20 October 2019

**Vodnik po razstavi / Exhibition guide**

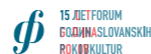
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Šaman pri svetem drevesu (cedra), Hanti (Ostjaki)  
Zahodna Sibirija, Tomska regija, Narimsko področje,  
zbiratelj A. V. Adrianov, 1888

Shaman at a sacred tree (cedar), Khanty (Ostyaks)  
Western Siberia, Tomsk province, Narym region,  
collector A. V. Adrianov, 1888



## Predgovor direktorice Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja

Slovenski etnografski muzej je strokovni dialog z Ruskim etnografskim muzejem iz Sankt Peterburga vzpostavil že pred leti. V razpiranju aktualnih tematik o človeku in njegovi povezanosti z naravo, družbo in svetom smo se odločili, da slovenskemu občinstvu predstavimo del obsežne in izjemne zbirke o šamanizmu v Sibiriji, ki jo ruski kolegi proučujejo že od začetka 20. stoletja. Vsebina gostujoče razstave *Šamanizem ljudstev Sibirije* sledi enemu glavnih sporočil Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja in stalne razstave *Med naravo in kulturo*. Ta govori o enoviti skladnosti človeka z naravo in o posameznikovem razumevanju in sprejemanju sveta kulture v kontekstu celotnega univerzuma, tudi med demonskimi, svetimi, nadnaravnimi in pravljničnimi, mitičnimi, mitološkimi in mističnimi svetovi.

Celovita uresničitev projekta je bila vsestransko zahtevna naloga, ki je ne bi uresničili brez visokega medsebojnega strokovnega zaupanja in usklajene partnerske ambicije po sodelovanju. Že letos jeseni Slovenski etnografski muzej namreč gostuje v Sankt Peterburgu z razstavo o tradicionalnih panjskih končnicah. *Imaginarij svetega in posvetnega* bo razkril posebnost in izjemnost slovenske ljudske likovne umetnosti in bogato motiviko odsevov časa.

Gostujoča razstava *Šamanizem ljudstev Sibirije* odstira dolgo tradicijo šamanizma v Sibiriji in njegove značilnosti, opozarja na starodavne prakse in moč, ki izhaja iz narave in h kateri se v času »vrednostnega nihilizma«, kot je moderni čas poimenoval Mircea Eliade, končno vračamo. Hvala vsem, ki ste pripomogli k uresnitvi projekta, avtorski ekipi, predvsem vodji projekta muzejski svetnici Nini Zdravič Polič, avtorici razstave Valentini V. Gorbachevi in njenim sodelavcem. Hvala za izkazano zaupanje.

*dr. Tanja Roženberger*

## Foreword by the Director of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum

The Slovene Ethnographic Museum established a professional dialogue with the Russian Museum of Ethnography in Saint Petersburg some years ago. In opening up topical themes about humankind and our connectedness with nature, society and the world, we decided to present to the Slovene public part of the extensive and exceptional collection about shamanism in Siberia, which our Russian colleagues have been researching since the early twentieth century. The content of the visiting exhibition entitled *Shamanism of the Peoples of Siberia* is in line with one of the main messages of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum and its permanent exhibition *Between Nature and Culture*. That exhibition speaks of the uniform harmony of humankind with nature and of the individual's understanding and acceptance of culture in the universal context – including demonic, sacred, supernatural, fairy tale, mythical and mystical worlds.

The overall realisation of the project was a demanding task, which would not have been achieved without a high level of mutual professional trust and coordination of the partners' desire for cooperation. And this autumn, the Slovene Ethnographic Museum will be a guest in Saint Petersburg with an exhibition about traditional beehive panels. *Images of the Sacred and the Secular* will uncover the exceptionality and special features of Slovene folk art and the rich motifs that reflect the times.

The visiting exhibition *Shamanism of the Peoples of Siberia* throws light on the long tradition of shamanism in Siberia and its characteristics, draws attention to ancient practices and the power that comes from nature, to which, in our modern age of "spiritual nihilism" as Mircea Eliade labelled it, we are finally returning. My thanks to all those who helped realise the project, to the project team particularly its leader, Museum Counsellor Nina Zdravič Polič, and to exhibition curator dr. Valentina V. Gorbacheva and her colleagues. Thank you for the trust shown.

*dr. Tanja Roženberger*

## Predgovor direktorja Ruskega etnografskega muzeja

Danes, v 21. stoletju, se zdi, da ni več strokovnega področja oz. vede, o kateri se ne bi mogli natančneje poučiti na svetovnem spletu ali v strokovnih publikacijah. Zanimanje za pojavnost v duhovni kulturi, kot je šamanizem, se s časom le še poglablja. Dela Jamesa G. Frazerja, Lea Sternberga in Mircea Eliadeja o šamanizmu so enako kot nekoč še vedno zelo priljubljena in brana. Življenjska sila šamanizma ima močno vlogo: ne glede na kruto represijo, ki jo je proti šamanizmu izvajala sovjetska oblast v Rusiji, se je med sibirskimi ljudstvi ohranil kot del njihove tradicionalne kulture. Šamani iz Sibirije in osrednje Azije, znani tudi kot *govoreči z vetrom* in *švigajoči s strelami*, so obenem arhaični in tudi sodobni simboli kulture tam živečih ljudstev.

Šamanizem vključuje strukturo edinstvene mitologije, na katero se vežeta dve skupini pomembnih obredov: iniciacija šamana in različne obredne prakse, vključno z zdravlilstvom. Šamanski pogled na kozmos, razdeljen na tri svetove (zgornji, srednji in spodnji) se ujema z opisi, ki jih najdemo v skandinavskih runah, finsko-karelijski epski pesnitvi Kalevala in celo v Homerjevi Odiseji.

Od ustanovitve Ruskega etnografskega muzeja leta 1902 so etnologi skrbno zbirali redke eksponate in fotografije o šamanizmu ljudstev Sibirije in Daljnega vzhoda, raziskovalno delo pa se nadaljuje tudi danes. Neizmerno se veselimo, da prebivalcem Ljubljane in obiskovalcem Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja predstavljamo razstavo *Šamanizem sibirskih ljudstev*. Upamo, da bo razstava vsakomur omogočila, da se bo seznanil z dragocenim etnografskim gradivom, ki predstavlja šamanizem v luči edinstvenega pogleda na svet in poudarja povezanost človeka z naravo in družbenim okoljem, ter da bo obiskovalca hkrati popeljala v svet novih odkritij.

*dr. Vladimir M. Grusman*

## Foreword by the Director of the Russian Museum of Ethnography

Today, in the 21st century, it seems that there is no longer an academic field or discipline that cannot be researched more thoroughly on the Internet, or in academic publications. Interest in the spiritual cultural phenomenon of shamanism can only get deeper over time. The work of James G. Frazer, Leo Sternberg and Mircea Eliade on shamanism have long been and still are very popular and widely read. The life force of shamanism has a powerful role: in spite of the ruthless suppression that shamanism was subjected to by the Soviet authorities, the peoples of Siberia managed to preserve it as part of their traditional culture. The shamans of Siberia and Central Asia, also known as *speakers with the wind* and *whistlers with lightning*, are both archaic and contemporary symbols of the culture of the peoples who live here.

Shamanism has a unique mythological structure to which two important groups of rituals are connected: initiation of shamans, and rituals connected with healing and other practices. The shamanic view of the cosmos, divided into three worlds (Upper, Middle, Lower), coincides with descriptions that can be found in Scandinavian runes, the Finnish-Karelian epic poem Kalevala and even Homer's Odyssey.

Since the establishment of the Russian Ethnographic Museum in 1902, ethnologists have carefully collected unique examples of rare items and photographs of the shamanism of the peoples of Siberia and the Far East, and this research work continues today. It is with great joy that we present to the residents of and visitors to Ljubljana the exhibition *Shamanism of the Siberian Peoples*. We hope that the exhibition will enable people not only to experience the precious ethnographic material that presents shamanism in the light of its unique worldview, emphasising the mutual connection of humankind with nature and the social environment, but also that it will take the visitor into a world of new discoveries.

*dr. Vladimir M. Grusman*

# ZEMLJEVID SIBIRIJE

## MAP OF SIBERIA







## Razstava Šamanizem ljudstev Sibirije

**Ruski etnografski muzej iz Sankt Peterburga**, zasnovan kot etnografski oddelek Ruskega muzeja carja Aleksandra III., je bil ustanovljen leta 1895 na povelje carja Nikolaja II. in postal samostojen muzej leta 1902. Je eden največjih etnografskih muzejev v Evropi. V zbirkah muzeja je več kot 500.000 predmetov in 220.000 fotografij, ilustracij in arhivskega gradiva o zgodovini in kulturi kar 158 narodov in etničnih skupin, živečih na ozemlju Rusije in v sosednjih regijah.

Več kot 60.000 muzejskih predmetov in 20.000 fotografij predstavlja kulturo prvotnih ljudstev Sibirije in ruskega Daljnega vzhoda. Med njimi imajo posebno vrednost zbirke šamanizma od konca 19. stoletja do danes, ki omogočajo pogled v domala vse njegove značilnosti. So ene najboljše ne le na ozemlju Rusije, temveč tudi zunaj njenih ozemeljskih meja (zbirka vsebuje več kot 60 šamanskih oprav, okoli 70 bobnov in 105 tolkal, številne figurice podob duhov, amulete in druge predmete).

Razstava **Šamanizem ljudstev Sibirije** razkriva šamanizem kot edinstven fenomen tradicionalne predstave o svetu avtohtonih ljudstev Sibirije in ruskega Daljnega vzhoda, katerega nosilci so šamani – posredniki med nebom in zemljo. Šaman je veljal za osebo, ki so jo izbrali duhovi, bil je posrednik med človekom, naravo in svetim svetom, bil je skrbnik redkih znanj in tradicij.

Na razstavi je osemdeset redkih etnografskih predmetov in štirideset arhivskih fotografij iz zbirk Ruskega etnografskega muzeja, ki odlikavajo duhovno kulturo 15 (od 45) avtohtonih sibirskih ljudstev iz poznega 19. stoletja in prve polovice 20. stoletja. Seznanja z mitološko podobo sveta, s predstavami o duši, z vlogo šamana in njegovim obredjem (na primer povezanim z lovom, zdravljenjem, družinskim življenjem) ter odstira povezave šamanizma s krščanstvom in budizmom.

Osrednja žarišča razstave ustvarjajo obredne oprave šamanov Evenkov, Čukčev in Udehov ter kakazijske šamanke. Okrašene so s podobami duhov in z amuleti, ki so imeli v njihovi praksi poseben pomen, dodani so jim pripomočki (boben, tolkalo, paličice in drugo) kot ponazorila šamanovega statusa in svete moči. Izjemno dragoceno je poslikano ogrinjalo iz ribje kože z antropomorfnimi liki šamanskih prednikov in duhov, ki si ga je šaman nadel za obred, namenjen porodnici – materi bodočega šamana. Med razstavljenimi predmeti so tudi risbi šamanke, ki predstavlja mitološko strukturo sveta in rojstvo njene moči, raznovrstni predmeti in šamanski atributi (figurice podob duhov – pomočnikov in šamanovih varuhov), šamanska naglavna pokrivala in maske.

Košarice iz lubja za shranjevanje posteljic po porodih na svetem drevesu, Hanti (Ostjaki)  
Zahodna Sibirija, Tobolska regija, Berezovski okraj,  
zbiratelj S. I. Rudenko, 1909/10

Boxes of bark used to keep afterbirth on a sacred tree, Khanty (Ostyaks)  
Western Siberia, Tobolsk province, Berezov Uezd,  
collector S. I. Rudenko, 1909/10

Predstavitve svetih predmetov skupaj s fotografijami in zvočnim filmom o šamanskih ekstatičnih obredih prikazuje navdihujočo značilnost sibirskega šamanizma, ki se kaže v nerazdružljivi povezavi človeka, narave in kulturnega izročila.

Radikalne spremembe, ki smo jim v zadnjih nekaj desetletjih priča v življenju in odnosih med državo in različnimi veroizpovedmi v Ruski federaciji, so pripomogle k temu, da je šamanizem danes uradno priznan. Tako imenovani novi šamani (*neo šamani*), ki so se pojavili v republikah Burjatija, Tuva, Hakasija, Altaj in Saha (Jakutija), si pri svojem delovanju prizadevajo spojiti tradicijo z novo interpretacijo duhovne izkušnje. Pri uporabi zdravilskih tehnik, tradicionalnem vedeževanju in obredih se novi šamani južne Sibirije naslanjajo na ljudsko medicino držav jugovzhodne Azije. V Burjatiji, kjer so novi šamani še posebej dejavni, so ustanovili celo svoje združenje. Dandanes je religija in s tem tudi šamanizem sibirskih ljudstev pomemben dejavnik v družbenem življenju Rusije in v delovanju države.

Upamo, da bo razstava Šamanizem sibirskih ljudstev obiskovalcem Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja omogočila na nov način spoznati razvejano in posebno kulturo staroselskih narodov Sibirije in ruskega Daljnega vzhoda, sredi katerih zavzema šamanizem pomembno mesto.

## The exhibition Shamanism of the Peoples of Siberia

**The Russian Ethnographic Museum of St Petersburg**, formed as the ethnographic department of the Russian Museum of Tsar Aleksander III, was established in 1895 on the orders of Tsar Nicholas II and transformed into an independent institution in 1902. It is one of the largest ethnographic museums of Europe.

The museum collections contain more than 500 thousand objects, as well as 220 thousand photographs, illustrations and archive materials on the history and culture of as many as 158 nations and ethnic groups living on the territory of Russia and neighbouring regions.

More than 60 thousand museum objects and 20 thousand photographs present the culture of the indigenous peoples of Siberia and the Russian Far East. Particular value is held by collections on the theme of shamanism, from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to today, which offer an insight into almost all its characteristics. These are not only among the most extensive in Russia, but also beyond (more than 60 shamanic costumes, around 70 drums and 105 percussion instruments, numerous images of spirits, amulets and many other objects).

The exhibition **Shamanism of the Peoples of Siberia** focuses on shamanism as a unique traditional worldview among the indigenous peoples of Siberia and the Russian Far East, which is carried out by shamans who are intermediaries between the sky and the earth.

The exhibition features 80 rare ethnographic objects and 40 archive photographs from the collection of the Russian Ethnographic Museum, which portray the spiritual culture of 15 (out of 45) indigenous Siberian peoples from the late 19<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It introduces the mythological image of the world, with presentations of the soul, with the role of the shaman and his ritual ceremonies, (e.g. connected with hunting, healing, family life) and reveals the connections of shamanism to Christianity and Buddhism.

The central focus of the exhibition is represented by the shaman costumes from the Evenks, Chukchi and Udehe people, as well as from a woman Khakassian shaman. They are decorated with images of spirits and with amulets that had a special significance in practice, and the accessories (drum, percussion instruments, sticks, etc.) as an illustration of the shaman's status and sacred power. One exceptional object is a painted fish skin cloak with anthropomorphic figures of the shaman's ancestors and the spirits, that was put on for a ceremonial ritual at birth giving – for the mother of a future shaman. The exhibited objects also include drawings of a woman shaman, which represent the mythological structure of the world and the birth of her power, other objects and shamanic attributes (figurines of spirit helpers and shamanic guardians), shamanic headwear and masks.

The presentation of sacred objects together with photographs and film of shamanic ecstatic rituals reflects the inspiring characteristics of Siberian shamanism, which is made manifest in the inseparable link between man, nature and cultural tradition.

The radical changes that have occurred in the life of the peoples of the Russian Federation in recent decades, as well as in official attitudes towards religion, have favoured official recognition of shamanism. The *neo-shamans* of the Republics of Buryatia, Tuva, Khakassia, Altai and Sakha (Yakutiya) try in their practice to combine tradition with a new interpretation of spiritual experience. In healing practises the *neo-shamans* of southern Siberia apply the medicine of South-East Asia alongside traditional divination and ecstatic rituals. In the Republic of Buryatia, where *neo-shamanic* activity is especially widespread, they have their own association. Today, religion, including the shamanism of the peoples of Siberia, has become an important factor in Russia's social and national life.

We hope that the exhibition will help to throw a new light on the multi-faceted and unusual culture of the indigenous peoples of Siberia and the Russian Far East, in which shamanism plays a fascinating role.

**Šamanova oprava, Evenki**

Semiš, jelenje krzno, kovina, Vzhodna Sibirija, konec 19. stol. – zač. 20. stol.,  
zbiratelj E. V. Bliznyak, 1914

**Shaman's costume, Evenks**

Suede, reindeer fur, metal, Eastern Siberia, late 19th – early 20th c.,  
collector E. V. Bliznyak, 1914





#### Šamanov boben, Hakasi

Les, rdeče jelenova koža, baker, bombažna tkanina, barvilo, Vzhodna Sibirija, 19. stol. – zač. 20. stol., zbiratelj A. V. Adrianov, 1909  
Za Hakase je bil boben sredstvo premikanja po svetovih. Boben je simboliziral čoln, jelena, konja ali losa, na katerem je šaman jezdil na daljnih potovanjih. Model vesolja je upodobljen na zgornji strani bobna.

#### Shaman's drum, Khacass

Wood, red deer skin, copper, cotton fabric, dye, Eastern Siberia, 19th – early 20th c., collector A. V. Adrianov, 1909  
Among Khakhas, the drum was a means of transport through the worlds. The drum symbolised the boat, the deer, the horse or the elk, which the shaman rode on his distant journeys. A model of the Universe is depicted on the front of the drum.



## Mitološka predstava o svetu in koncept duše

V tradicionalni kulturi prvotnih sibirskih ljudstev na koncu 19. in v začetku 20. stoletja so bila pojmovanja o resnični in mitološki sestavi sveta nerazdružljivo povezana. Mitološko zavedanje ni ločevalo med delom in celoto.

Sibirski miti pripovedujejo o stvarjenju sveta, zemlje in ljudi, o izvoru prvih šamanov in njihovih atributih, o junaštvih kulturnih herojev, ki so ustvarili ogenj in vzpostavili vzorce vedenja in odnosov v družbi. Človek je med opisovanjem zunanjega sveta izhajal iz lastne izkušnje, zato je pojavom in predmetom pripisoval lastnosti, kot so sposobnost čustvovanja, govora in spreminjanja.

Območja, ki so jih naseljevala sirska ljudstva (tundra, gore, reke, tajga in tako naprej), so bila okolje, v katerem se je izoblikovala njihova predstava o modelu sveta. Vesolje je po tradiciji večine teh ljudstev sestavljeno iz treh svetov: srednjega (zemeljskega), zgornjega (nebeškega) in spodnjega (podzemnega). Vse tri svetove je povezoval *svetovni stolp* sredi svetega vesoljnega prostora. Simbola svete navpičnice na Zemlji sta bila sveta gora in sveto drevo. Poseben pomen so pripisovali predstavam o *svetovni reki*, ki je simbolizirala sveti prostor po vodoravnici.

Zgornji svet so naseljevali božanstva, junaki in duhovi - gospodarji elementov. Vrhovni položaj je zasedalo najvišje božanstvo, stvarnik človeka: pri Evenkih se je imenoval Ekšeri, pri Altajcih in Tuvincih Uljgen, pri Nencih Num in pri Hantih Torum. V nebesih so prebivali duhovi, ki gospodarijo elementom in naravnim pojavom: sonca, lune, zvezd, groma in vetra. Ozvezdja so si predstavljali v podobi mitoloških likov. Mlečna cesta je pri Evenkih, Nanajcih in Ketih prispevala sledove smuči kozmičnega lovca, ki je s psi zasledoval mitičnega losa. Pri Evenkih se je ohranil arhaični mit o junaku Mainu, ki je losu Heglenu vzel sonce, ki se ga je bil polastil, in ga vrnil ljudem. Ta mit se navezuje na menjavanje dneva in noči ter na začetek novega leta. Čukči so verovali, da je ozvezdje Oriona grbav starec, ki strelja z lokom na dekleta, ozvezdje Kasiopejo pa predstavlja pet jelenov, ki stojijo sredi nebeške reke.

Po predstavah Nencev je bila ženska – sonce zadolžena za sajenje dreves, trave in mahu. Z bližanjem zime se je sonce začelo skrivati in sukati z nebesnim obokom, nato pa je nastopila noč. Grom so si razlagali kot zvok sani, na katerih so se sinovi Severa peljali na bitko z Jugom, da bi mu vzeli hčer, ki je bila nekoč poročena s sinom Severa, in jo očetu po njegovi smrti vrnili.

V skladu z miti sibirskih ljudstev elementi, kot so voda in ogenj ter voda in zemlja, prvotno niso bili ločeni. Stvarnik v podobi ptice je iz oceana najprej ustvaril zemljo, nato luč in šele nato rastlinski in živalski svet ter človeka. Na začetku je bila samo voda in živela sta brata (pri nekaterih ljudstvih sta bila starejši in mlajši brat, pri drugih pa sta bila dvojčka). Pri stvarjenju



**Šamanovo obredno oblačilo, Udegejci**

Ribja koža, poslikava, Daljni vzhod, konec 19. stol. – zač. 20. stol., zbiratelj E. R. Schneider, 1927

Risbe na oblačilu upodabljajo tri svetove veselja (nebesa, zemljo in podzemlje), označene s tremi vrstami kač in zmajev, ter na sredini z antropomorfnimi liki šamanovih prednikov in duhov pomočnikov. Oblačilo si je šaman nadel za obred, namenjen porodnici, materi bodočega šamana.

**Shaman's robe, Udege**

Fish skin, paint, Far East, late 19th – early 20th c., collector E. R. Schneider, 1927

Drawings on the robe depict the three worlds of the Universe (Heaven, Earth and the Underworld), marked with three rows of snakes and dragons, and in the centre with anthropomorphic figures of the shaman's ancestors and the spirits - helpers. The robe was put on for a ceremonial ritual at birth-giving involving the mother of a future shaman.

zemlje sta imela različne pomočnike: pri Nanajcih tri labode ali dva orla, pri Nencih sta jima pomagala ponirek in vidra, pri Hantih pa ponirek in raca. Ko so se živali potopile v vodo, so z dna prinesle blato in ga izpljunile v vodo. Iz blata je začela rasti zemlja. Tako je nastal svet, v katerem živijo ljudje. Altajci, Burjati in Nanajci so verjeli, da sta svet ustvarili kača in žaba. Ljudi in živali so ustvarili bratje – gospodarji zgornjega in spodnjega sveta: oblikovali so jih iz gline, zemlje ali slame.

Včasih so se duhovi zgornjega sveta spustili v srednji svet. Ljudi so obdarili z magičnimi močmi; lahko so jih bodisi pomladili ali ponovno oživili. Če pa se je pojavil duh spodnjega sveta, je s sabo prinesel bolezn, nesrečo in celo smrt.

Srednji svet, kjer živijo ljudje, je bil tudi prebivališče duhov – gospodarjev pokrajine, tajge, gora, vode, bivališč in domačega ognjišča. Bili so zelo priljubljeni, saj so bile prav od njihove naklonjenosti odvisne vse človekove dejavnosti in življenjska gotovost. Duh gozda ali gora je lovcu pošiljal plen, duh vode pa je v reko ali morje metal ribje luske ali ikre, ki so se nato spremenile v ribe.

Legende Uljčev in Negidaljcev opisujejo gospodarja tajge kot starca v podobi losa ali medveda. Nivhi so verovali, da je gospodar gora ogromen večgrbi medved, Oroki pa so si gospodarico vode predstavljali v podobi velike lastovke, delfina ali ribe bokoplavutarice. V tradiciji Evenkov je gospodarica ognja bdela nad človeškimi dušami in jih varovala vse življenje.

Na zemlji pa so bivali tudi zli duhovi, ki so oprezali za človeškimi dušami. Ljudje so prav v njih iskali vzrok za svoje bolezni, pa tudi za smrt. Pred zlimi duhovi jih je lahko rešil le šaman.

Nebeški in podzemni svet sta bila kopiji srednjega sveta, pri čemer je prvi posebej pozitivni princip, drugi pa negativnega. Božanstva zgornjega sveta so ljudem zagotavljala življenje v blaginji in bogastvu, vendar so jih lahko strogo kaznovala in jim odrekla podporo, če so kršili pravila vedenja v družbi.

Bolezni in človekova smrt so bile povezane z božanstvi in duhovi spodnjega sveta. Šamani so bili posredniki med človekom, božanstvi in duhovi zgornjega in spodnjega sveta; samo oni so lahko raziskovali mitološki prostor (lahko so potovali po vesoljnih svetovih). Pri mnogih sibirskih ljudstvih je Polarna zvezda (*nebeška luknja*, *nebeška palica*) predstavljala vhod v zgornji svet; soteske, odprtine v zemlji, brlogi in ustje svetovne reke pa so bili vhodi v spodnji svet.

Sveti predmeti sibirskih šamanov – oblačila, bobni, atributi, upodobitve različnih duhov – odslkavajo mitološko sliko sveta prvotnih sibirskih ljudstev.

Predstava o svetu sibirskih ljudstev je bila tesno povezana s konceptualizacijo duše, ki je imela posebno mesto in je bila bistvo človeka in njegovega obstoja. Ob koncu 19. in na začetku 20. stoletja so se oblikovale ideje o obstoju človekove *zunanje* in *notranje* duše. Prva je bila povezana s človekovim ovojem, senco in zunanostjo, drugo so povezovali zlasti s človekovim dihanjem in krvjo. *Zunanja* duša je lahko spreminjala obliko, *notranja* pa je bila povezana z življenjsko pomembnimi funkcijami človeškega organizma. Verjeli so, da odsotnost slednje povzroča bolezen, nočno moro, omedlevico, norost ter privede celo do smrti. Odsotnost duše so si razlagali tako, da jo je ukradel duh ali pa da se je duh vselil v telo in iz njega izrinil dušo. Samo šaman je lahko ugotovil, kdo je ugrabil dušo in kam jo je odvedel, in samo on jo je lahko vrnil. Da bi jo našel, je potoval v spodnji ali zgornji svet in izvajal različne zvijače. Dušo je skrtil v gube svojega oblačila ali pa jo *vdihnil*.

Večina sibirskih ljudstev si je rojstvo človekove duše predstavljala v podobi ptic, ki so živele v zgornjem svetu na rodovnem drevesu ali *drevesu življenja*, s katerega so v obliki zarodka prišle v maternico. Šamani so imeli dar prinesiti dušo še nerojenega človeka na zemljo.



**Mjad Puhucja, duh varuh žensk, Nenejci**

Les, jelenovo krzno, volna, Zahodna Sibirija, zgodnje 20. stol., zbiralec S. I. Rudenko, 1909/10  
Kultni predmet, amulet, ki predstavlja staro žensko, gospodarico šotora, odeto v več krznenih oblačil, zavezanih s pasom. Je podoba Janebje (matere zemlje), žene boga Numa, ki je bila duh varuh žensk, otrok in družin.

**Myad Pukhutsya, the guardian spirit of women, Nenets**

Wood, reindeer fur, wool, Western Siberia, early 20th c., collector S. I. Rudenko, 1909/10  
A cult object, an amulet representing an old woman, the mistress of the tent, wearing several fur garments, tied with a belt. It is an image of Yanebya (Mother Earth), the wife of the god Num. Yanebya was the guardian spirit of women, children and families.



**Duh - gospodar medvedov in tajge, šamanov pomočnik, Oroči**  
Les, medvedja koža, kroglice, Daljni Vzhod, zgodnje 20. stol., zbiratelj V. K. Arseniev, 1911  
Lesena figura, pokrita s kosom medvedje kože. Oroči so verjeli, da ta duh živi na luni.

**Spirit - master of bears and taiga, shaman's helper, Orochi**  
Wood, bear skin, beads, Far East, early 20th c., collector V. K. Arseniev, 1911  
Wooden figure of bear covered with a piece of bearskin. Orochi believed that this spirit lives on the Moon.



**Risba šamanke, Nanajci**  
Tekstil, barvilo, Vzhodna Sibirija, pozno 19. stol. - zač. 20. stol., zbiratelj D. K. Soloviev, 1909/10  
Risbo je izdelala osemnajstletna šamanka. Predstavlja šamanovo potovanje v zgornji svet in sprejem daru vrhovnega božanstva.

**Drawing of a shaman woman, Nanai**  
Textile, dye, Eastern Siberia, late 19th - early 20th c., collector D. K. Soloviev, 1909/10  
The drawing was done by an eighteen-year-old women shaman. It represents a shamanic journey to the Upper World and the receiving of a gift from the supreme deity.



**Šamanova oprava, Evenki**  
Semiš, jelenje krzno, kovina, Vzhodna Sibirija, konec 19. stol. – zač. 20. stol., zbiratelj E. V. Bliznyak, 1914  
Obredna oprava predstavlja vesolje. Trije križi in trije kovinski obeski so simboli zgornjega, srednjega in spodnjega sveta.

**Shaman's costume, Evenks**  
Suede, reindeer fur, metal, Eastern Siberia, late 19th – early 20th c., collector E. V. Bliznyak, 1914  
The costume represents the Universe. The three crosses and three metal pendants are the symbols of the Upper, Middle and Lower Worlds.

## A Mythological Worldview and Concept of the Soul

In the traditional culture of Siberian indigenous peoples in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the real and mythological structure of the world were inseparably linked. The mythological consciousness did not distinguish between the part and the whole.

Siberian myths told of the creation of the world, the Earth, humankind, the origin of the first shamans and their attributes, and the deeds of cultural heroes who, according to the mythological tradition, made fire, and organised and established norms of behaviour and relationships in society. In describing the outer world, a man started from his own experience, so all phenomena and objects were attributed specific qualities such as the capacity to feel, speak and change.

The area settled by Siberian peoples (tundra, mountain, rivers, taiga, etc.) was the environment where their notions about the model of the world were formed. According to the mythological beliefs of most Siberian peoples, the universe consisted of three worlds: the Middle World (earthly), the Upper World (heavenly) and the Lower World (underworld). They were connected by the *world pillar* at the centre of the sacred universal space. On Earth, the symbols of the sacred vertical were the sacred mountain or the sacred tree. Notions about the World River, which symbolised sacred space in the horizontal dimension, were of particular importance.

The Upper World was inhabited by deities, heroes, and spirits – the masters of the elements. The dominant position belonged to the supreme deity, the creator of man: Eksheri for Evenks, Ulgen for Altai and Tuvinians, Num for Nenets and Torum for Khants. The spirit masters of the elements and natural phenomena such as the sun, moon, stars, thunder and wind lived in the celestial sphere. The constellations were perceived as mythological creatures. For example, for Evenks, Nanai and Kets, the Milky Way is the ski tracks of the cosmic hunter pursuing the mythical elk with his hounds. The Evenks conserved the archaic myth about the hero Mayn, who took from the elk Heglen the sun, which he stole and returned to humankind. The change of day and night and the start of New Year is associated with this myth. Chukchi believed that the constellation of Orion is a hunchbacked old man shooting arrows at girls and the constellation of Cassiopeia is five deer standing in the middle of the Celestial River.

According to Nenets beliefs, the Woman-Sun cultivated trees, herbs and moss. With the beginning of frost the sun hid, turning together with the sky dome, after which the night started. The thunder was perceived as the noise of the sledge in which the sons of the North came to fight with the South to take back the daughter who once married a son of the North and to return her to her father after his death.



According to the myths of the peoples of Siberia, water and fire, and water and earth, were not initially divided. Having transformed himself into a bird, the Creator at first made the earth of the ocean, then the light and only after that did he create the world of plants, animals and people. There was only the water at first and two brothers lived: an older and a younger one, or twins. Their helpers in creating the Earth were three swans or two eagles in the myths of the Nanai, a loon and an otter in the tales of the Nenets, and in the Khant mythology a loon and a duck that dived, brought some mud from the bottom and spat it into the water. The Earth started to grow from the mud and thus the world where humans live appeared. Altai, Buryats and Nanai believed that a snake and a frog created the world. The people and animals were created by two brothers – the masters of the Upper and the Lower Worlds, who moulded them out of clay or earth and straw.

Sometimes the spirits of the Upper World descended in the Middle World. They gave men magical powers, they could rejuvenate them and return them to life, but if the spirit of the Lower World appeared, he brought diseases, misfortunes and even death.

The Middle World, where people lived, was also inhabited by spirit-masters of localities, woods, mountains, water, dwelling and hearth. They were the closest beings to people, and economic activities and a stable life depended on them. The spirit-master of woods or mountains sent the hunter his prey and the spirit-master of the water threw caviar or fish scale in the river or in the sea, which turned into fish.

The tales of the Ulchi and Negidals described the Master of the Woods as an old man who transformed himself into an elk or a bear; Nivkhs believed that the Master of the Mountain is a huge bear; Orochs imagined the Mistress of Water as a great orca, a dolphin or a sun-fish. According to an Evenk legend, the spirit-Mistress of Fire preserved human souls and protected them during their life.

The earth was also inhabited by evil spirits who hunted human souls. It was they who were considered to be the cause of illness and even death, and only a shaman could save a possessed person.

The Heavenly World and the Underworld were copies of the Middle World, but in the first case the real world personified the positive principle and in the second the negative one. The deities of the Upper World guaranteed people a prosperous and wealthy life, but they could punish severely those who violated social behavioural norms and refuse them their protection.

Human illness and death were associated with the deities and spirits of the Lower World. Shamans were intermediaries between humankind and the deities and spirits of the Upper and Lower Worlds; only they could explore the mythological space (travel across the worlds

of the universe). Among many Siberian peoples the Polar Star (*celestial hole, celestial stick*) was believed to be the entrance to the Upper World and ravines, holes in the earth, dens and the mouth of the World River were entrances to the Lower One.

The traditional worldview of Siberian indigenous peoples is reflected in the sacred objects of Siberian shamans: clothes, drums, attributes, images of various spirits, and so on.

The conceptualization of the soul held a special place and played an important role in the worldview of Siberian peoples. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century ideas were established about the existence of *outer* and *inner* souls. The first was associated with the human shell, the shadow and physical appearance, the second was linked to breath and blood. The *outer* soul could change its appearance; the *inner* soul was associated with vitally important functions of the human organism. It was believed that the absence of the inner soul caused illness, nightmares, fainting, madness and even death.

A person could lack a soul if it had been stolen by a spirit; according to another tradition, a spirit could occupy the body and evict the soul. Only the shaman could determine who had stolen the person's soul and where it had gone. It was also in the shaman's power to return the soul. To do this he would travel to the Lower or Upper World and, finding the soul, would resort to various tricks, such as hiding it in the folds of his clothing or *inhaling* it.

Most Siberian peoples imagined the birth of the human soul as a bird living in the Upper World on the lineage tree or the *tree of life* from which they entered the maternal womb as embryos. Shamans had the gift of bringing the soul of the yet unborn person to the earth.

## Šamanova osebnost in oblikovanje

Pojem šaman in izpeljanke, kot sta šamanizem in šamanstvo, danes večinoma razumemo v povezavi s svečenikom, posebnim mojstrom ali vsemogočnim človekom, za katerega so značilni prepoznavni atributi, predvsem boben in tolkalo. Beseda šaman, ki izvira iz tunguško-mandžurskih jezikov, je prek ruskih popotnikov in raziskovalcev Sibirije postala znana po vsem svetu. Domnevajo, da je izvor besede povezan z glagolom *sa* v pomenu *vedeti*. Različna ljudstva so šamane različno poimenovala: Nenci so jih imenovali *tadebija*, Hanti *elta-ku*, Burjati *zarin*, Altajci pa so jih imenovali *kam*. Ta poimenovanja so poudarjala tudi posameznikovo izbranost in sposobnost, da v posebnem stanju navezuje stike z duhovi. Iz turške besede *kam* (šaman) izhaja tudi beseda *kamlanje* (izvajanje ritualov, obredna praksa).

V tradicionalnem pogledu so imeli sibirski šamani v življenju svojih rojakov pomembno vlogo, saj so veljali za varuhe in posrednike med svetom ljudi in svetom duhov. V osnovi šamanstva se skriva ideja o medsebojni odvisnosti človeka, narave in sveta, v katerem prebivajo duhovi: po šamanski tradiciji je posameznik verjel v obstoj mogočnih duhov in si prizadeval najti način, kako bi si pridobil njihovo naklonjenost.

Sibirska ljudstva so imela šamane za posebne ljudi, ki so znali komunicirati z božanstvi in duhovi. Šamanskih sposobnosti se ni bilo mogoče priučiti po svoji volji, temveč jih je posameznik podedoval, najpogosteje po eni ali dveh generacijah po moški in ženski liniji. Bodoči šaman, ki so ga za izvajanje šamanskih obredov izbrali duhovi, te vloge ni smel zavriniti. Izbiro šamana je spremljalo posebno psihološko stanje, tako imenovana *šamanska bolezen* ali *šamansko trpljenje* mladostnikov v starosti deset do dvanajst let. *Bolezen* je pomenila, da so se duhovi polastili mladostnikove duše z namenom, da bi jo učili in jo *ponovno ustvarili*. V tem času je posameznik dajal vtis, kot da je izgubil razsodnost, govoril je drugim nerazumljiv jezik, še posebej v snu, in želel je biti v samoti.

Preobrazba novinca v šamana je trajala več let. V tem obdobju ga je v uk pogosto vzel izkušen šaman, mu predal znanje o mitologiji, prednikih, predstavah o človeku, razumevanju naravnih pojavov in preživetvenih veščinah ter z njim delil tudi del svojih atributov, ga vpeljal v obrede, ga seznanjal s tehnikami ekstaze ter ga poučil, kako pasti v trans. Za bodočega šamana je bilo zelo pomembno, od katerega predhodnika se je naučil šamanskih pesmi in kateri glasbeni motivi so se prenašali iz roda v rod.

Po iniciaciji prek sanj oziroma po tem, ko ga je eno od božanstev opazilo ali pa je premagal svojega duha, je najprej postal *mali šaman*. Potrditi so ga morali vsi drugi, njegova avtoriteta pa je bila odvisna od ozdravitve bolnih, verodostojnosti njegovih prerokb in modrih

Šaman med obredom, Tuvinci (Sojoti)  
Kitajsko cesarstvo, Severozahodna Mongolija, porečje zgornjega Jeniseja,  
zbiratelj F. J. Kon, 1903

Shaman during a ritual seance, Tuvinian (Soyote)  
Chinese Empire, Northwest Mongolia, Upper Enisei river basin,  
collector F. J. Kon, 1903

nasvetov. Če je rod sprejel njegovo pravico, da je bil izbran za šamana, so izvedli iniciacijski obred, v katerem so blagoslovili vsak novinec atribut in mu dodelili sveto moč.

Sibirski šamani so svojo vero razlagali kot *pot znanja in osvojitve moči*. Šamanovo moč so prepoznali po njegovih atributih. Prvi prepoznavni atributi šamanskega začetnika so bili palica, palčne rokavice, podveza za obutev, tolkalo, boben, naprsnik in upodobitve duhov pomočnikov. Po pridobitvi moči, ki je bila odvisna od uspešne prakse, je moral šaman dokazati, da so mu duhovi naklonjeni. Kolikor več svetih izkušenj je doživel, več atributov in več raznolikih funkcij je imel.

S pomočjo tolkala so šamanski začetniki vedeževali, prerokovali in zdravili. Pri Evenkih in Ketih je tolkalo simboliziralo posebnega duha – pomočnika, za Hakase pa je bilo pripomoček za boj, s katerim so odganjali zle duhove. Tuvinci, Burjati in Altajci so ga uporabljali v obliki žlice; z njo so med hranjenjem duhov narave izvajali obredno kropljenje. Prav tako je tolkalo simboliziralo šamanov korobač. Z njim je *priganjal* svojo vprežno žival, ki jo je poosebljal boben.

V šamanski tradiciji boben ni le glasbilo oziroma zvočilo. Boben je osrednja šamanova sakralna moč, verjeli so namreč, da ta, podobno kot veter, *piha neposredno iz bobna*. Obenem je boben simboliziral jelena, konja ali losa – žival, s katero se je šaman odpravil na svoja daljna potovanja. Med premagovanjem vodnih ovir se je boben *spremenil v čoln*. Predstavljal je tudi bojno orožje – lok, s katerim je šaman s puščicami napadal sovražne duhove. Pri altajskih šamanih so prečniki na bobnu simbolizirali tetivo, železni obeski pa puščice. Prepoznavna značilnost bobnov ljudstev južne Sibirije so bile upodobitve duhov – šamanovih pomočnikov in mitskih svetov, kar se je v simboličnem pomenu nanašalo na življenje lovcev in živinorejcev. Altajski šamani so verjeli, da se lahko zahvaljujoč bobnom zanesejo na svoje varuhe – zemeljska božanstva (gospodarje živali, gora, tajge). Bobnov ročaj je v podobi prednika (umrlega šamana) simboliziral gospodarja bobna, ki ga je šaman – naslednik ves čas *hranil*, tako da mu je s hrano mazal usta.

Zelo pomemben šamanski obred pri številnih ljudstvih je bil *oživljanje* bobna. Brez tega se novega bobna ni smelo uporabljati, kajti zaradi neupoštevanja *šamanskih poti bi se lahko uničil*. Glede na izraženo šamansko moč in večino se je povečevalo tudi število bobnov: pri Selkupih, Nencih, Evenkih in Jakutih je število naraslo do 7, pri Burjatih pa do 27.

Sredstvo šamanovega *potovanja* po svetovih, ki je simboliziralo njegovo moč in status ter bilo obenem kazensko orodje za tistega, ki se je pregrešil, so bile pri Burjatih, Evenkih in ljudstvih iz porečja reke Amur šamanske palice in trstike. Včasih, predvsem pri prvi posvetitvi, so nadomeščale boben.

Eden temeljnih šamanovih atributov je bila upodobitev njegovega duha – prednika. Ta je šamanu svetoval med izvajanjem obredov, mu pošiljal nujno potrebne *pesmi* in ga usmerjal na poti *popotovanja*. Tovrstne upodobitve so veljale za žive: šamani so podobe duhov *hranili*, jih okajali z dimom in se z njimi pogovarjali. Pri Burjatih, Evenkih in Jakutih so znane zgodbe, ki so se iz roda v rod prenašale več kot dvesto let.

Izkušeni in vplivni šaman je imel v življenju več različnih pokrival: ta so se lahko začela z navadno kapo in se končala s posebno krono. Pri Selkupih, Evenkih in Burjatih je vplivni šaman nosil železno krono z rogovjem, s katerim se je *bodel* z zlimi duhovi. Sprva so k pokrivalom prišli pravo jelenje rogove, kasneje pa so ga nadomeščali z imitiranim. Pri Burjatih je bilo na rogovih šamanske krone tudi do dvanajst parožkov in pogosto so bili izdelani iz srebra.

Glavni šamanov atribut je bilo oblačilo, v katerem so bile zbrane vse njegove moči in moči njegovih prednikov. Šaman, ki je imel naprsnik, naglavno pokrivalo in tolkalo z bobnom, je nosil dolg plašč z obeski. Oblačilo je simboliziralo glavnega duha – pomočnika, ki je dobro poznal pot do božanstev in je vodil šamana med potovanjem po vesoljnih svetovih. Duh – pomočnik v podobi živali, ptice ali plazilca, ki je izbral bodočega šamana, mu je svetoval in vodil njegova dejanja, zato je veljal za njegovega sočasnega dvojnika. Med ekstatičnim plesom ali obrednim spancem je šaman padel v trans, priklical svojega duha pomočnika, ga *vselil* vase in na ta način prevzel njegove lastnosti. V podobi svojega dvojnika je izvajal *polete* v vesolje, v poseben svet svetega. Dolžina potovanja in duh, ki ga je šaman lahko izbral v času obreda, sta bila odvisna izključno od njegove moči, v tem primeru tudi telesne. V obredih se je pogosto obračal na šamane in prednike, ki so sodelovali pri njegovi preobrazbi. Pogosto so upodobljeni na oblačilih.

Z rastjo šamanove svete moči so bila njegova oblačila vse bolj večplastna in nanje so upodabljali nove podobe duhov – pomočnikov, ki so ga spremljali med izvajanjem uspešnih obredov. Šamani so svoje attribute hranili bodisi v vsakdanjem bivališču, šamanskem šotoru, na svetih saneh ali na kraju, namenjenemu molitvi.



**Borto Ongon – duh varuh ljudstva, Burjati**

Les, kovina, ovčja koža, Vzhodna Sibirija, pozno 19. stol., zbiratelj M. N. Khangalov, 1908

Lesena maska predstavlja starca Borto, po legendi velikega šamana in vodjo ljudstva Hangin, ki je v 17. stoletju migriralo iz Mandžurije. Burjati so verjeli v poseben pomen glave, zato so jo po njegovi smrti pokopali skupaj z majhno masko.

**Borto Ongon – tribal guardian spirit, Buryats**

Wood, metal, sheep skin, Eastern Siberia, late 19th c., collector M. N. Khangalov, 1908

A wooden mask represents the old man Borto, who according to legend was a great shaman and the leader of the Khangin tribe, which migrated from Manchuria in the seventeenth century. After his death, his head was buried as the Buryats believed that the head had a special significance, with it was buried a small mask.



**Šamanova palica, Tuvinci**

Les, tekstil, barvilo, semiš severnega jelena, Kitajsko cesarstvo, Severna Mongolija, pozno 19. stol. – zač. 20. stol., zbiratelj F. Ya. Kon, 1903

Med prvimi atributi šamanove moči, ki jih je šaman začetnik prejel od svojega učitelja šamana, je bila palica. Med svojim prvim ekstatičnim obredom jo je uporabljal namesto bobna.

**Shaman's staff, Tuvinians**

Wood, textile, dye, reindeer suede, the Chinese Empire, Northern Mongolia, late 19th – early 20th c., collector F. Ya. Kon, 1903

Among the first attributes of shaman's power, which novice shaman received from his teacher shaman was a staff. A staff was used instead of the drum during his first ecstatic seance.

**Šamanov duh pomočnik – kukavica, Tuvinci**

Les, tekstil, Kitajsko cesarstvo, Severna Mongolija, zgodnje 20. stol., zbiratelj F. Ya. Kon, 1903

Kukavica je bila eden izmed glavnih šamanovih duhov pomočnikov. Tuvinci so verjeli, da ima kukavica posebno sposobnost, zaradi katere je lahko šamanu med obredom kazala pot, in zato so jo pred začetkom rituala poslali naprej, da bi pot poiskala.

**Shaman's helper spirit – a cuckoo, Tuvinians**

Wood, textile, the Chinese Empire, Northern Mongolia, early 20th c., collector F. Ya. Kon, 1903

The cuckoo was one of the shaman's main spirit - helpers. Tuvinians believed that the cuckoo had the special ability to choose the shaman's path during a ritual, which is why the cuckoo was sent ahead before the start of ritual to seek out this path.





**Duh šamanovega prednika, Udegi**

Les, medvedja in lisičja koža, tekstil, kroglice, barvilo, Vzhodna Sibirija, pozno 19. stol. – zač. 20. stol., zbiratelj E. R. Schneider, 1927  
Prednik šamana v obliki antropomorfne figure z masko in s simboli šamanove svete moči, vrezanih na nogah. Prednik šamana je imel pomočnika tigra, ki je bil simbol njegovega živalskega duha dvojnika.

**Spirit of shaman's ancestor, Udege**

Wood, bear and fox skin, textile, beads, dye, Eastern Siberia, late 19th – early 20th c., collector E. R. Schneider, 1927  
A Shaman ancestor in the form of an anthropomorphic figure, with a mask and with symbols of the shaman's sacred force carved on the legs. The ancestor of the shaman had a helper, a tiger, which was a symbol of his animal spirit double.

## The Shaman's personhood and formation

For most contemporary people, the term shaman and the word shamanism are associated with an image of the magus – the powerful man whose indispensable attributes are a drum and a drumstick. The word shaman, borrowed from the Tungus-Manchu languages, became known across the world through the intermediary of Russian travelers and explorers of Siberia. It is believed that its origin is related to the verb *sa* – to know. Every people had their own term for shaman, for instance *tadebdya* among Nenets, *elta-ku* among Khants, *zarin* among Buryats and *kam* among Altai. These terms also indicated the selectiveness of this person, his capacity to contact spirits in a specific state. The term *kamlanie* for a shamanic ritual was derived from the Turkic word *kam*.

The Siberian shamans traditionally played an important role in the life of their tribe; they were protectors and mediators between the world of humans and the world of the spirits. The basis for shamanism was the notion of the mutual relationship between man, nature and the spirit world; humankind believed in the existence of powerful spirits and looked for ways to gain their favour.

The shamans of the peoples of Siberia were seen as special individuals, able to communicate with deities and spirits. The shamanic gift was not acquired voluntarily, but was inherited, usually through one or two generations via the male and female lines. The future shaman, chosen by the spirits for shamanic practice, could not refuse the role. The selection was accompanied by a special psychological state, known as *shamanic disease* or *shamanic suffering*, which was manifested in adolescents at the age of ten to twelve years. *Illness* meant that his (or her) soul was taken by the spirits for training and *re-creation*. At this time, the individual gave the impression of one who had lost his mind, who spoke an incomprehensible language, especially in sleep, and preferred to be alone.

The transformation of the convert continued for several years. During this period, he would often learn from a more experienced shaman, who transferred not only knowledge of mythology and ancestry, ideas about humankind, understanding natural phenomena, and survival skills, but also part of his attributes, ritual methods, ecstatic techniques and the ability to fall into a trance. Of particular importance to the neophyte was from which shaman he learned shamanic songs, since there was a continuity of musical motifs.

Having passed through the dream initiation, or being marked by one of the deities or having defeated his spirit, the neophyte first became a *little shaman*. The shaman needed to be recognised by others and his authority depended on the outcome of the treatment of the sick, true predictions and wise advice. If the clan recognised the right of the chosen one to be a shaman, then an initiation ceremony was held, during which each attribute of the neophyte was consecrated and endowed with sacred power.

Siberian shamans defined their belief as the path of *knowledge* and *gaining power*. The power of the shaman was recognised in the attributes. The first attributes of a novice shaman might be a staff, mittens, a garter for shoes, a percussion instrument, a tambourine, a waistcoat, or images of spirit-helpers. As he gained strength, which was dependent on successful practice, the shaman also had to prove that the spirits were favourably inclined towards him. The stronger the shaman was in sacred terms, the more attributes he had and the more varied his functions.

Novice shamans told fortunes, foretold the future and healed with the help of a percussion stick. Among Evenks and Kets, it symbolized the particular spirit-helper and among the Khakas an instrument for struggle, it was used to repel evil spirits. Tuvans, Buryats and Altai used a percussion stick in the shape of a spoon; they used it to perform the ritual sprinkling or feeding of the spirits of nature. The stick also symbolised the shaman's whip; he used it to *speed up* his harnessed animal, which was symbolised by the drum.

In the shamanic tradition, the drum is not merely a musical and sound instrument. It is the focus of the shaman's sacred power; it was believed that the shaman's power *blows straight from the drum* like a wind. At the same time, the drum symbolised the deer, the horse or the elk which the shaman rode in his distant *journeys*. When crossing the water, the drum *turned into* a boat. It could also be a weapon – a bow with which the shaman shot arrows at hostile spirits. For instance, for Altai shamans the cross bars of the drum symbolised a bow string and the iron pendants were arrows. One distinctive feature of the drums of the peoples of South Siberia was representations of spirits as the shaman's helpers and the mythic worlds which symbolically reflected the life of hunters and herders. Altai shamans believed that thanks to drums, they had their own guardians – the earth deities (the masters of animals, mountains and woods). The drum handle was seen as a symbolic representation of the master of the drum in the image of an ancestor (a deceased shaman) which the successor-shaman constantly *fed*, smearing its *mouth* with food.

Among many peoples, *animating the drum* was an important shamanic ritual. A new drum could not be used without this ritual, otherwise it could be *broken* due to the absence of the *shaman's paths*. With the growth of powers and mastery, the number of drums used by the Selkup, Nenet, Evenk and Yakut shamans increased to seven and among Buryat shamans as many as twenty-seven.

Among Buryats, Evenks and the peoples of the Amur River, the shaman's staffs and canes were a means of transport through the worlds, the symbol of his power and status, as well as an instrument for the punishment of culprits. Sometimes, particularly at the first initiation, they replaced a drum.

One of the main shamanic attributes was an image of the ancestral spirit who advised the shaman, giving him the requisite *songs* and showing him the way to *travel*. Such images were believed to be animate: they were *fed*, incense was burned around them, and people talked with them. There are stories in which Evenks, Buryats and Yakuts transmitted them from generation to generation over more than two hundred years.

An experienced and influential shaman had several headdresses in his lifetime, the first one was a simple hat, and the last a special crown. The headdress of an influential Selkup, Evenk or Buryat shaman was an iron crown with antlers which the shaman used to *butt* evil spirits. Initially, genuine antlers were fastened on the headdresses, later they were replaced with imitations. Among Buryats the number of branches of the shaman's crown antlers could be up to twelve and they were often made of silver.

The main attribute of the shaman was his costume, in which all the vital forces of the shaman and his ancestors were concentrated. A shaman who had a waistcoat, a headdress and a drum wore a long kaftan with pendants. The costume itself symbolised the main helper spirit, who knew well the path to the deities and directed the shaman during his journey through the worlds of the universe. The helper spirit in the shape of an animal, bird or reptile, who chose the future shaman, giving him advice and guiding his actions, was seen as the shaman's temporary double. During an ecstatic dance or ritual sleep, the shaman fell into a trance, summoned his helper spirit and drew it into himself, thus acquiring its properties. In the image of his double, the shaman made *flights* through the universe, to a special sacred world. The length of the journey and the choice of the spirit that the shaman could turn to during the time of the rite, depended solely on his strength, including physical strength. During the ritual, the shaman often turned to the shamans and ancestors who had participated in his conversion; they were often depicted on the costume.

As the shaman gained sacred power, his costume became ever more complex, featuring new images of guardian spirit who accompanied him during successful rituals. Shamans kept their attributes in an ordinary dwelling, or in a shaman's tent, on a sacred sled or on a prayer site.



Selitev jelenorejcev iz tajge na novo nomadsko postojanko, Evenki (Tungusi)  
Vzhodna Sibirija, Jenisejska regija, zbiratelj A. A. Makarenko, 1907/08

Reindeer breeders migrating from taiga to a new nomad post, Evenks (Tungusi)  
Eastern Siberia, Enisei province, collector A. A. Makarenko, 1907/08

## Šamanski obredi, povezani z načini preživljanja

Staroselskim ljudstvom Sibirije in ruskega Daljnega vzhoda je znanje o okolju, prostoru in času omogočilo ne le osvojiti ozemlje življenjskega pomena, temveč so znanje s pridom uporabljali tudi za izkoriščanje naravnih virov.

Evenki so verjeli, da je bil Mukhun duh - gospodar pokrajine in naravnih virov. Pisvus'yn so bili gospodarji divjih severnih jelenov in drugih živali pri Čukčih in Korjakih. Jakutski gozdni duh Bai Baynai je varoval lovce in ribiče. Pomorski Čukči in azijski Eskimi so verjeli, da je uspešen lov odvisen od morskih duhov Keretkun in Iman Almys, ki so vladali morskim živalim.

Nadloge pri opravljanju različnih dejavnosti so sibirski ljudstva povezovala z voljo Vrhovnega božanstva, duhov, ki gospodarijo pokrajini in vodnim virom, ter duhov, ki gospodarijo živalim. Naklonjenost božanstev in duhov narave so si skušala pridobiti z upoštevanjem številnih prepovedi in izpolnjevanjem predpisov in pravil. Lovci na primer niso smeli žvižgati, kričati ali se pogovarjati na prepovedanih območjih, ubijati živali med spanjem, grdo govoriti in razmišljati o njih ter se bahati z uspehi. Rejci severnih jelenov in živinorejci so si prizadevali, da domačim živalim ne bi zadajali trpljenja. Skrben odnos sibirskih ljudstev do naravnega okolja se je kazal tudi v tem, da so ulovili le toliko divjih živali, ptic in rib, kolikor so jih nujno potrebovali za preskrbo svojih družin.

Če naj bi ljudje od božanstev in duhov – gospodarjev dobili tisto, kar so si želeli, ni bilo dovolj, da so jih le prosili, ampak so jim morali izkazovati tudi potrebno pozornost. Pri prečanju težkega gorskega prelaza so Jakuti duhu gospodarju kraja v zahvalo pustili koščke mesa, olje, izdelke, ki so jih prevažali, in koščke tkanine. Tako je ravnal vsak lovec prostranega sibirskega območja. Od tega pravila so bili izvzeti le izdelki in predmeti, ki so jih puščali na mestih točno določenih duhov – gospodarjev.

Obrednost pri različnih dejavnostih, ki je bila razširjena med sibirskimi ljudstvi ob koncu 19. in na začetku 20. stoletja, je bila neposredno vezana na spoštljiv odnos do rastlinskega in živalskega sveta, ki so jim bili osnovni pogoj za obstoj. Obredi so bili lahko individualni ali skupinski. Med izpolnjevanjem domačih obredov s svetimi predmeti ali neposredno pri opravljanju različnih dejavnosti se je moški obrnil na duhove pokrajine in jih prosil, naj mu pošljejo žival in ga obdarijo s srečo pri lovu. Da bi uslišali njegovo prošnjo, jim je na mestu, kjer je opravljal molitev, pustil nekaj tobaka, ščepec čaja, trakove bele tkanine ali kaj drugega.

Skupinski obredi, ki se jih je pogosto udeleževal šaman, so potekali na posebej za to namenjenih svetih krajih, na primer na mestih sakralnih pokopov ali v svetiščih. Obredi, ki



Šamanov prostor za molitev - Holay, Ketj (Jenisejski Ostjaki)  
Vzhodna Sibirija, Jenisejska regija, zbiratelj P. E. Ostrovskih, 1902

Shaman's prayer ground, Holay - Kets (Enisei Ostyaks)  
Eastern Siberia, Enisei province, collector P. E. Ostrovskih, 1902





**Duh varuh lova in ribolova, Mansi**

Les, bombažni tekstil, Zahodna Sibirija, pozno 19. stol. – zgodnje 20. stol., zbiratelj S. I. Rudenko, 1909/10  
Ta duh varuh je igral pomembno vlogo pri lovu in ribolovu; navadno so jih postavljali na molitvenem prostoru ljudstva. Figuram, ki so jih najbolj častili, so darovali koščke tkanine, kovance.

**Guardian spirit of hunting and fishing, Mansi**

Wood, cotton textile, Western Siberia, late 19th – early 20th c., collector S. I. Rudenko, 1909/10  
This guardian spirit played an important role in hunting and fishing; they were usually placed at the tribal prayer ground. The most worshipped figures were offered pieces of cloth, coins.

so spremljali različne načine preživljanja, so potekali v obliki rednih ceremonij, usklajenih z naravnimi cikli koledarskega leta; z začetkom lovske ali ribolovne sezone, nomadskimi selitvami jelenorejcev in živinorejcev na poletne pašnike in z vrnitvijo v kraje zimske paše.

Pred ribolovno sezono, na dan poletnega solsticija, so opravljali obrede, ki so pomenili začetek gospodarskega cikla – šlo je za obnovitev stikov z duhovi, ki gospodarijo pokrajini, rekam in njenim prebivalcem. Skupinske rituale, pri katerih so duhovom prinašali obredne jedi in darove (koščke tkanine, steklene kroglice), so zaključili z obredom, s katerim je šaman prosil gospodarje ozemlja, naj obvarujejo ljudi pred zlimi duhovi ter jim pošljejo iz nebes blaginjo in srečo pri ribolovu, na katerega se pripravljajo.

Za rejce severnih jelenov in živinorejce so bili jeseni po vrnitvi s poletnih pašnikov in spomladi po telitvi in novem prirastu živine značilni skupinski zahvalni obredi. Vrhovnemu božanstvu so kot žrtevno daritev darovali severnega jelena ali konja in se mu zahvalili, da je med poletnimi nomadskimi selitvami obvaroval živino. Šaman se je obrnil na božanstvo in se za vse prebivalce na določenem ozemlju priporočil za uspeh, zaščito in srečo pri dejavnostih.



**Duh severnega jelena, Nenets**

Krznno severnega jelena, usnje, Zahodna Sibirija, zgodnje 20. stol., zbiratelj S. I. Rudenko 1909/10

Po tradiciji se je *Ilebyam`pertya* (božanstvo, ki je dajalo ljudem severne jelene in zagotavljalo uspešen lov) na željo boga Num lahko pretvoril v severnega jelena. Figuro duha, ki je pomagal varovati družinske domače severne jelene pred smrtjo in boleznimi, so hranili na svetih saneh.

**Spirit of the reindeer, Nenets**

Reindeer fur, leather, Western Siberia, early 20th c., collector S. I. Rudenko, 1909/10

According to tradition the *Ilebyam`pertya* (a deity giving people reindeer and success in the hunt) could be transformed by the will of the god Num into a reindeer. This figure was kept in a sacred sledge and helped to protect a family's domestic reindeer against livestock deaths and disease.

## Shamanistic rituals related to economic activities

Knowledge of the environment, space and time enabled the indigenous inhabitants of Siberia and the Russian Far East to master the territory they depended on for their survival, but also to use the natural resources there to their benefit.

According to Evenk beliefs, Mukhun was the master - spirit of certain places and natural elements. Pisvus'yn of Chuckhi and Korayks were masters - spirits of wild reindeer and other animals. The forest spirit Bai Baynai of Yakuts protected huntsmen and fishermen. Maritime Chukchi and Asian Eskimos believed that the sea spirits Keretkun and Iman Almys ruled the sea animals, and the successful hunting depended on them.

The people of Siberia connected difficulties in carrying out various activities with the will of the Supreme Being, and the spirits that were masters of the landscape, water sources and animals. In order to win the favour of deities and natural spirits, people were obliged to take into account a number of prohibitions and obey certain rules and regulations. So, for example, hunters were not allowed to whistle, shout or even talk with each other in forbidden areas, to kill sleeping animals, to say bad things or have bad thoughts about them, or to boast of their successes. Reindeer and livestock herders should strive to ensure that domesticated animals did not suffer in any way. The attentive attitude of the peoples of Siberia towards the natural environment can also be seen in the fact that they hunted only as many wild animals, birds and fish as they really needed to provide for their families.

In order to receive what was desired from deities and spirit-masters it was necessary not only to pray them, but also to give them tokens of regard. When crossing a difficult mountain pass, Yakuts always left to the spirit-master of the place pieces of meat, butter, fabric and imported goods. Every hunter of the Siberian region did the same. The only difference was in the food and goods left in the places of particular spirit-masters.

The ritual involved in various activities that was widespread among the peoples of Siberia in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century was directly connected to the respectful attitude to flora and fauna that for them was a basic condition of their very existence. Ritual could be either individual or collective. While carrying out home rituals with sacred objects or indirectly during different activities, a man would turn to the spirit masters of the landscape and ask them to send him an animal, as well as to grant him good fortune in hunting. So that his wish would be granted, it was usual to leave the spirits at the prayer site a gift of some tobacco, a pinch of tea, a white ribbon, or something else.

Collective rituals, which often involved a shaman, unfolded in special holy places, such as sacred burial sites or shrines. The rituals that accompanied various significant activities took the form of regular ceremonies harmonised with the natural cycles of the calendar year: the



### Oblačilo šamanke, Hakasi

Bombažno blago, kovina, usnje, krzno divje koze, svilene niti, kavri školjke, peresa, Vzhodna Sibirija, pozno 19. stol. – zgodnje 20. stol., zbiratelj A. V. Adrianov, 1909

Razkošje dolgih raznobarnih trakov, pršitih na obrobo črnega bombažnega plašča, in krona stožčastega pokrivala simbolizirata ptičje perje in namigujeta na ptico, glavnega duha varuha šamanke. Sovje perje na hrbtni strani oblačila in na vrhu pokrivala poudarja pomen sove kot glavnega duha varuha šamanke Karakyz pri njeni ritualni praksi. Kavri školjke na pokrivalu so simboli plodnosti in šamankine moči, zvončki v obliki kroglic na zadnji strani oblačila so šamanki med ekstatičnim obredom pomagali zbrati duhove pomočnike.

### Female shaman's costume, Khakas

Cotton cloth, metal, leather, wild goat fur, silk threads, cowry shells, feathers, Eastern Siberia, late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> c., collector A. V. Adrianov, 1909

An abundance of long multi-coloured strips sewn on the hem of the black cotton cloak and the crown of the conical hat symbolises bird plumage and alludes to the bird – the main guardian spirit of the female shaman. Owl wings on the back of the costume and the top of the hat stresses that the owl is the main guardian spirit of the shaman Karakyz in her ritual practice. The cowries on the hat are symbols of fertility and shamanic power, and the ball-like bells on the back of the cape helps the shaman to gather her helper spirits during ecstatic rituals.

start of the hunting or fishing season; the nomadic movement of reindeer and livestock herders to summer pastures, and their return to winter pastures.

Once a year, before the fishing season, on the day of the Summer Solstice, the rituals were carried out that signified the start of the productive cycle, which involved renewing contact with the spirit masters of the landscape, the rivers, and their inhabitants. Collective rituals which involved them *feeding* the spirits by bringing them ritual foods and gifts (pieces of fabric, glass beads) concluded with a ceremony in which the shaman asked the Masters of the Earth to protect people against evil spirits and to send them from heaven prosperity and good fortune in the fishing for which they were preparing.

For reindeer and livestock herders returning in the autumn with their animals from summer pasturing, and in the spring following calving, there were characteristic collective ceremonies of thanksgiving. A reindeer or horse was sacrificed to the Supreme Being in order to give thanks for protecting the herd during the summer's nomadic movements. The shaman would turn to the deity and request for all the inhabitants of a particular territory success, protection and good fortune in all their activities.



Šaman, Altajci (Telengiti)  
Zahodna Sibirija, Tomska regija, Bijski okraj, zbiratelj D. A. Klementz, 1903

Shaman, Altai (Telengit)  
Western Siberia, Tomsk province, Biisk region, collector D. A. Klementz, 1903



Šamanka s skupino Korjakov, Korjaki  
Vzhodna Sibirija, Primorska regija, Petropavlovski okoliš, zbiratelj V. K Arsenjev, 1915

Female shaman with a group of Koryaks, Koryak  
Eastern Siberia, Primorsk region, Petropavlovskaya district, collector V. K Arsenjev, 1915

## Družinski šamanizem

Šamanizem ljudstev Korjaki in Čukči je oblika družinskega šamanizma, za katerega je bilo značilno, da so se obredov udeleževali vsi člani patriarhalne družine in da je imel vsak zakonski par svoj boben. Uporabljali so ga lahko tudi odrasli sorodniki in otroci.

Za šamana so se najpogosteje izurili v obdobju odrasčanja, včasih pa so duhovi k izvajanju šamanskih obredov poklicali tudi odraslo osebo. Poimenovanje šamana pri ljudstvu Korjaki *en'enyalan* (človek, navdahnjen z duhovi) je vsebovalo pomen, da nihče ni mogel postati šaman po svoji izbiri. Glavna naloga korjaških šamanov je bila boj s pogubnimi duhovi, glavnimi krivci za bolezen in smrt. Pri zdravljenju bolnih in obujanju mrtvih so se šamani s prošnjami obračali k *vrhovnemu bitju*.

Čukči so poznali več kategorij šamanov. *Preroški šamani* so človeku napovedovali prihodnost. Pri Čukčih je bil med šamanskimi pristopi še posebej spoštovan *notranji vpogled*. Izkušen šaman je lahko videl nevarnost, ki je grozila človeku, kakor tudi uspeh, ki se mu je obetal. Poznali so tudi šamane, ki so znali priklicati ali ustaviti nevihto, če pa so tolkli na boben in pri tem izgovarjali posebna zaklinjanja, se je vreme izboljšalo. Nasprotno so s stresanjem jelenje kože priklicali sneženje. Pri Čukčih so bili zelo znani tudi šamani *uivel/eneneny't* ali *uivellytkyl'yt* (ime izhaja iz besede *uivel* – uročitev, zli urok), a teh so se ljudje bali in so se jih izogibali.

Posebna kategorija šamanov pri Čukčih so bili šamani *spremenjenega spola*. Poznali so več stopenj preobrazb: 1. posnemanje nasprotnega spola s spletnjem in česanjem las; 2. nošenje oblačil nasprotnega spola; 3. popolno opuščanje navad svojega spola. Moški *spremenjenega spola* se je imenoval *ženski podoben*, ženska v podobnem primeru pa *moškemu podobna*. Med obredi so nosili oblačila nasprotnega spola: moški so nosili ženska oblačila, ženske pa kratke plašče *kukhljanka* in hlače. Svetost šamanskih oblačil so poudarjali detajli, neznačilni za moška ali ženska oblačila: sprednji izrez, okrasne resice in obšivi ter upodobitve duhov – varuhov. Naprsni solarni znak okrogle oblike iz strojene jelenje kože, izvezen iz bele jelenje dlake, je bil edinstvena sestavina šamanske oprave.

Omenjeni šamani so veljali za zelo močne, zato so se ljudje najraje obračali prav nanje. Skorajda vsi šamanski rituali Čukčev in Korjakov so potekali ob zaklinjanju. Uživanje posušenih mušnic med obredi je šamanom dajalo moč obnove in uvida v prihajajoče nevesočnosti, omogočalo jim je prepoznavanje vzroka nesreče v družini in pri sorodnikih, lahko pa so tudi komunicirali z umrlimi in potovali v zgornji in tudi v spodnji svet. Čukči in Korjaki so verjeli, da so se ljudje v daljni preteklosti lahko neomejeno dvigali v nebeški svet in se spuščali v podzemlje. Po izgubi te sposobnosti so se tako lahko premikali le še šamani.



### Oblačilo transspolnega šamana, Čukči

Koža, semiš in dlaka severnega jelena in tjulnja, pasje krzno, barvilo, Daljni Vzhod, zgodnje 20. stol., zbiratelj N. P. Sokolnikov, 1904/07

Obredno oblačilo sestavljajo ženska oblačila – pokrivalo, kombinezon z naprsnim simbolom in ženska obutev. Na zgornjem delu pokrivala je odprtina, značilna za pokrivala Čukčev. Na prsnem delu kombinezona je solarni simbol, narejen iz kože severnega jelena. Takšni naprsni znaki so bili redki atributi šamanov Čukčev, ki so imeli transspolnega šamana še za posebej močnega.

### Costume of a transgender shaman, Chukchi

Reindeer and seal skin, suede and hair, dog fur, dye, Far East, early 20th c., collector N. P. Sokolnikov, 1904/07

It consists of woman clothes – hat, jumpsuit with chest symbol and female footwear. The upper part of the hat has a hole, which is characteristic of Chukchi headdresses. On the front of the jumpsuit is a solar symbol made of reindeer skin. These breastplates were rare attributes of Chukchi shamans. The Chukchi believed the transgender shamans to be particularly strong.

## Family Shamanism

The shamanism of the Koryak and Chukchi people belongs to the family type, which is distinguished by involvement of the entire extended patriarchal family in rituals; moreover, every married couple had a drum, which could be used by all the adult relatives and children.

The formation of a shaman most often started during adolescence, but sometimes the spirits called an adult to serve as a shaman. The Koryak word for shaman, *en'enyalan*, meaning *man inspired by spirits* stressed that a man became a shaman not by his own free will. The main activities of Koryak shamans were focused on the struggle against the malicious spirits that caused illness and death. When healing the sick and resurrecting the dead, shamans addressed the Supreme Being in their prayers.

There were several categories of shamans among the Chukchi. A *shaman soothsayer* could predict a man's future. The shamanic action of *looking within* was particularly respected by the Chukchi. An experienced shaman could see the peril threatening a man or the success awaiting him. Among the Chukchi there were shamans who could call up or stop a storm. By beating a drum and uttering incantations, such shaman could improve the weather. By contrast, shaking a reindeer skin helped to bring snowfall. The shamans known as *uivel'enenenyl't* or *uivellytkyl'yt* (the names derived from the word *uivel* – a spell, evil magic) were widely known among the Chukchi, who feared and tried to avoid them.

The so-called *transgender* shamans comprised a particular category among the Chukchi. There were several stages of gender change: 1. imitation of the opposite sex in the manner of braiding and combing the hair; 2. cross-dressing; 3. complete abandonment of the skills and habits of one's sex. A *transgender* man was called *the womanly one* and *transgender* woman *the manly one*. During ecstatic rituals, they put on the clothes of the opposite sex: men dressed in a woman's jumpsuit, and women wore a short coat or *kukhlyanka* and pants. Details uncharacteristic of male and female clothes, such as a cut in the front, a decorative fringe or hem, and images of spirit-helpers, emphasized the sacred nature of these shamanic garments. The unique element of a shaman jumpsuit was a round solar sign on the chest made of reindeer skin and embroidered with white reindeer hair.



### Obredno oblačilo velikega šamana Kupiga Kimonka, Udegejci

Bombažni tekstil, ptičja peresa, les, krzno, poslikava, Daljni Vzhod, pozno 19. stol. – zač. 20. stol., zbiratelj E. R. Schneider, 1931  
Sokolja peresa na oblačilih šamana Kimonka odražajo ornitomorfni simbolizem sokola kot šamanovega duha pomočnika. Krznene rese so kače kot simboli poti, zoomorfne podobe so šamanovi pomočniki, antropomorfna figura predstavlja šamanovega rodovnega prednika.

### Ritual costume of the great shaman Kupige Kimonko, Udege

Cotton textile, feathers, wood, fur, paint, Far East, late 19th – early 20th c., collector E. R. Schneider, 1931  
The falcon feathers on the shaman Kimonko's clothes stressed that this bird, the shaman's spirit-helper, gave the clothes ornithomorphic symbolism; the fur pendants are snakes - symbols of roads, the zoomorphic images are the shaman's helpers, an anthropomorphic figure represents the ancestor of the shaman's lineage.

The shamans of this category were believed to be very powerful, which is why people would turn to them for help. Almost all the ecstatic rituals of Koryak and Chukchi shamans were accompanied by incantations. The consumption of dried fly agaric during ecstatic rituals gave a shaman a renovating force and the capacity to see future adversities, to know the cause of misfortune in a family or among kinsmen, to communicate with dead relatives and to travel not only in the Upper World but also in the Lower World. According to Chukchi and Koryak mythologies, in the distant past people could freely rise to Heaven and descend to the Underworld. However, they later lost this capacity and only shamans could perform such movement.



**Duh pomočnik popolnoma iniciiranega šamana, Udegejci**

Les, steklo, kroglice, tekstil, barvilo, železo, Daljni Vzhod, pozno 19. stol. – zač. 20. stol., zbiratelj V. K. Arseniev, 1911  
Tiger kot šamanov vodnik po svetovih ga je lahko v vsakem trenutku ponese na katerokoli točko veselja. Upodabljali so ga z dvema kačama na hrbtu, simboloma njegove magične moči, in z dvema diskoma na bokih, ki sta odbijala puščice zlih duhov. Teunki tiger je bil šamanov zoomorfni dvojnik, povezan z njegovo dušo, duhovnim življenjem in varovanjem. Bil je simbol šamanove največje moči, simbol ognja in energije.

**Spirit-helper of fully initiated shaman, Udege**

Wood, glass, beads, textile, dye, iron, Far East, late 19th – early 20th c., collector V. K. Arseniev, 1911  
As the guide of the shaman through the worlds, it could instantly bring the shaman to any point in the Universe. It was depicted with two snakes on its back – the symbols of magic power; the two shields on the sides deflected the arrows of evil spirits. The Teunki tiger was the shaman's zoomorphic double and was connected with his soul and spiritual life, offering protection. The tiger was a symbol of the shaman's greatest power, a symbol of fire and energy.



**Maska popolnoma iniciiranega šamana, Udegejci**

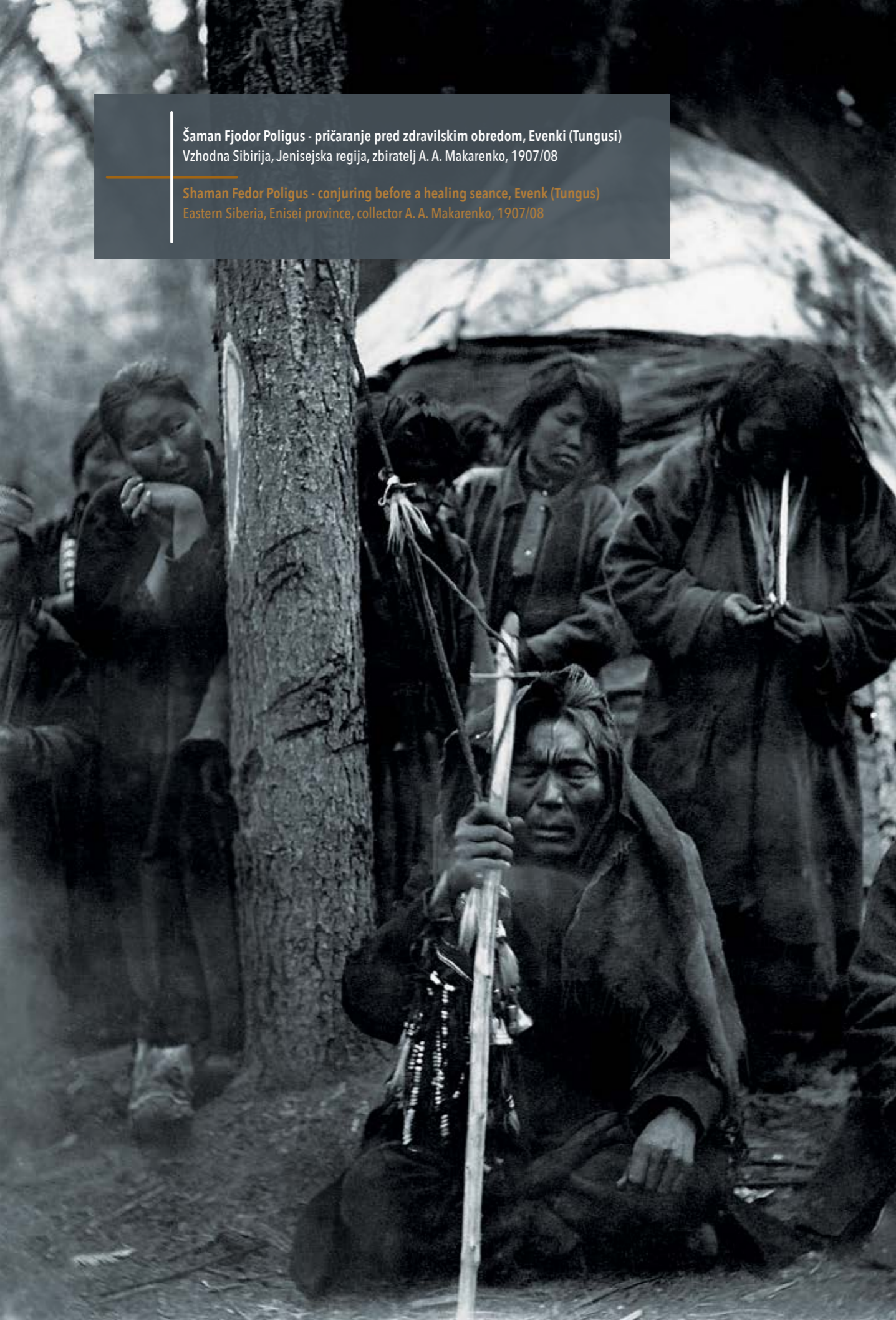
Les, neobdelana koža medveda in psa, kovina, poslikava, blago, semiš severnega jelena, Daljni Vzhod, pozno 19. stol. – zač. 20. stol., zbiratelj V. K. Arseniev, 1909/10  
Na čelnem delu maske so izrezljane podobe pajka (simbol jasnovidnosti in šamanove moči) in dveh žab (simbol življenjske moči). Na zgornjem delu pokrivala, pritrjenega na masko, so podobe šamanovih duhov pomočnikov (ptica in plazilci). Šaman si je nadel masko za praznik *Undi*, posvečen obnovitvi narave, rodovitnosti in *obnovitvi* šamanovih atributov.

**The mask of a fully initiated shaman, Udege**

Wood, hide of bear and dog, metal, paint, cloth, reindeer suede, Far East, late 19th – early 20th c., collector V. K. Arseniev, 1909/10  
Images of a spider (the symbol of clairvoyance and shaman's power) and two frogs (the symbol of life force) are carved in the forehead of the mask. A bird and reptiles, the shaman's spirit-helpers, are depicted in the upper part of headdress fastened to the mask. The shaman would wear the mask at the festival of *Undi*, dedicated to renovation of nature, fertility and *renewal* of the shaman's paraphernalia.

Šaman Fjodor Poligus - pričaranje pred zdravilskim obredom, Evenki (Tungusi)  
Vzhodna Sibirija, Jenisejska regija, zbiratelj A. A. Makarenko, 1907/08

Shaman Fedor Poligus - conjuring before a healing seance, Evenk (Tungus)  
Eastern Siberia, Enisei province, collector A. A. Makarenko, 1907/08



## Obredno zdravljenje v zamaknjenosti

Za zdravilske prakse prvotnih sibirskih ljudstev so bili značilni tako razumski kot nerazumski načini zdravljenja. Zdravljenju in najpreprostejšim oblikam preprečevanja različnih bolezni so se posvečali na podlagi poznavanja osnov ljudske diagnostike in splošnega znanja o značilnostih bolezni. Zaradi strahu pred nerazložljivimi in neznanimi naravnimi pojavi se je sočasno razvilo verovanje o tem, da je človekova usoda v rokah dobrih in zlih duhov. Zli duhovi v sibirskih mitih smatrajo človeka za svoj plen. Pri napadu nanj uporabljajo enako orožje in orodje kot ljudje.

Strah pred zlimi duhovi je bil tako močan, da so Čukči in Korjaki, ko so šli iz hiše, obvezno vzeli s sabo svoje *varuhe* – amulete in varovala. Nošenje amuletov in zaščitnih predmetov je pri sibirskih ljudstvih še danes zelo pomembno in nepogrešljivo, kar še posebej velja za nosečnice, mlade matere in dojenčke. Med amulete so šteli različne predmete, od lasnih dodatkov, uhanov, zapestnic do ogrlic iz steklenih kroglic, kajti v skladu z njihovimi verovanji se je človeška duša pred nevarnostjo lahko skrila v odprtino steklene kroglice. Na rokav ali ovratnik otroškega oblačila so privezali antropomorfnu figurico, izrezljano iz vrbovih vejic. Podobne figurice so obešali tudi na pas starejših otrok in moških, predvsem pastirjev – jelenorejcev, ki so bili dlje časa daleč od svojih domovanj. Kot amulete so uporabljali tudi manjše kamne nenavadnih oblik, ki so jih našli na obrežjih rek in morij ali v tundri. Zašili so jih v košček tkanine ali usnjene oblačila.

Pri izganjanju zlega duha iz bolnikovega telesa (*ninvita, kalav*) so korjaški šamani uporabljali manjši nožiček, s katerim so zarezali v njegovo telo in skozenj izvlekli *zlega duha*. Duh je bil videti zelo različno: figura, narejena iz trave, mesa ali drevesa, je še najpogosteje spominjala na človeka. Takšno *ninvito* – zlega duha je šaman *pojedel*, kajti sicer bi se bolezen lahko preselila na drugega človeka. Drug način izganjanja bolezni je bilo vdihavanje zraka, s čimer je šaman iz bolnikovega telesa *izsesal* duha bolezni. Včasih so korjaški šamani *nin'vitan'an'yl'y* pri zdravljenju bolnika uporabljali tudi psa, v katerega so preselili dušo obolelega človeka.

Ob pojavu bolezenskih znakov so tradicionalna sirska ljudstva poiskala pomoč pri šamanu. Njegova glavna in najpomembnejša naloga je bila skrb za duše sorodnikov od rojstva do smrti. Evenkovski šaman je bolezen prepoznal tako, da je pod bolnikovo vzglavje čez noč položil nož in v sanjah od svojih duhov – pomočnikov izvedel za vzrok bolezni. Glede na vrsto obolenja je svetoval izdelavo živalske podobe in njeno namestitev v bližino bolnika. Nanajski šamani so bolezen diagnosticirali s pomočjo amuletov, s katerimi so *videli* duhove; pri zdravljenju so uporabljali upodobitve duhov in mitoloških zgodb. Altajski, burjatski, tuvinski in hakaški šamani so vrsto bolezni in način zdravljenja določali iz simboličnih znakov, ki so jih na bolnikovem telesu puščali sledovi biča. Za Nence in Jakute je bilo značilno, da je



Šaman pri opravljanju zdravilskih obredov sklical duhove – pomočnike, jih *vselil* vase, *pogostil* s tobakom, mastjo ali živalsko krvjo, nato pa je ob metanju tolkala začel obredno vedeževati in ugotavljati vzroke bolezni. Poleg tega je pomočnike duhove povabil v telo obolele osebe, da bi izbrali primeren način zdravljenja. Znano je bilo tudi pošiljanje duha bolezni v posebne figurice iz trave in lesa, pri Čukčih in Korjakih pa tudi v žrtevno žival, najpogosteje v psa. Nanajci in Korjaki so za uničenje zlih duhov v šamanski praksi kot obredno orodje uporabljali kopje. Po šamanovem navodilu so Eveni, Nanajci in Evenki za težko bolne naredili *zdravilna* oblačila. Korjaki, Čukči in Oroči pa so za bolezni glave uporabljali posebne povoje.

Šamanski zdravilski obredi v zamaknjenosti so najpogosteje potekali na bolnikovem domu, v šamanovem šotoru, včasih tudi na mestu za molitev in so po potrebi trajali tudi več dni. Nazorno obredno izganjanje duhov bolezni in ponovno vračanje duše v bolnika sta človeku pomagali premagati strah in nemoč pred vsakodnevnimi preizkušnjami ter oblikovati prihodnje vedenje udeležencev obreda. Koncu obreda v zamaknjenosti sta sledila obredno očiščenje vseh prisotnih in zahvalno žrtvovanje.



**Ayami – šamanov glavni duh pomočnik, Nanajci**

Les, Daljni Vzhod, zač. 20. stol., zbiratelj E. R. Schneider, 1927

Antropomorfna lesena figura šamanovega iskalca poti na njegovih potovanjih po vesolju. Duh pomočnik Ayami je šamanu razkril skrivnosti in je bil vedno prisoten pri glavnih šamanskih obredih zdravljenja, prebujenja in lova. Devet figuric na njegovi glavi predstavlja šamanove duhove svetovalce.

**Ayami – the shaman's chief spirit-helper, Nanai**

Wood, Far East, early 20th c., collector E. R. Schneider, 1927

An anthropomorphic wooden figure of the shaman's pathfinder during his journeys through the Universe. The spirit-helper Ayami told the shaman secrets and was always present at the main shamanistic healing, wake and hunting rituals. The nine figures on its head are the shaman's spirit-advisers.



**Zdravilski amulet (proti bolečinam v hrbtu), Nanajci**

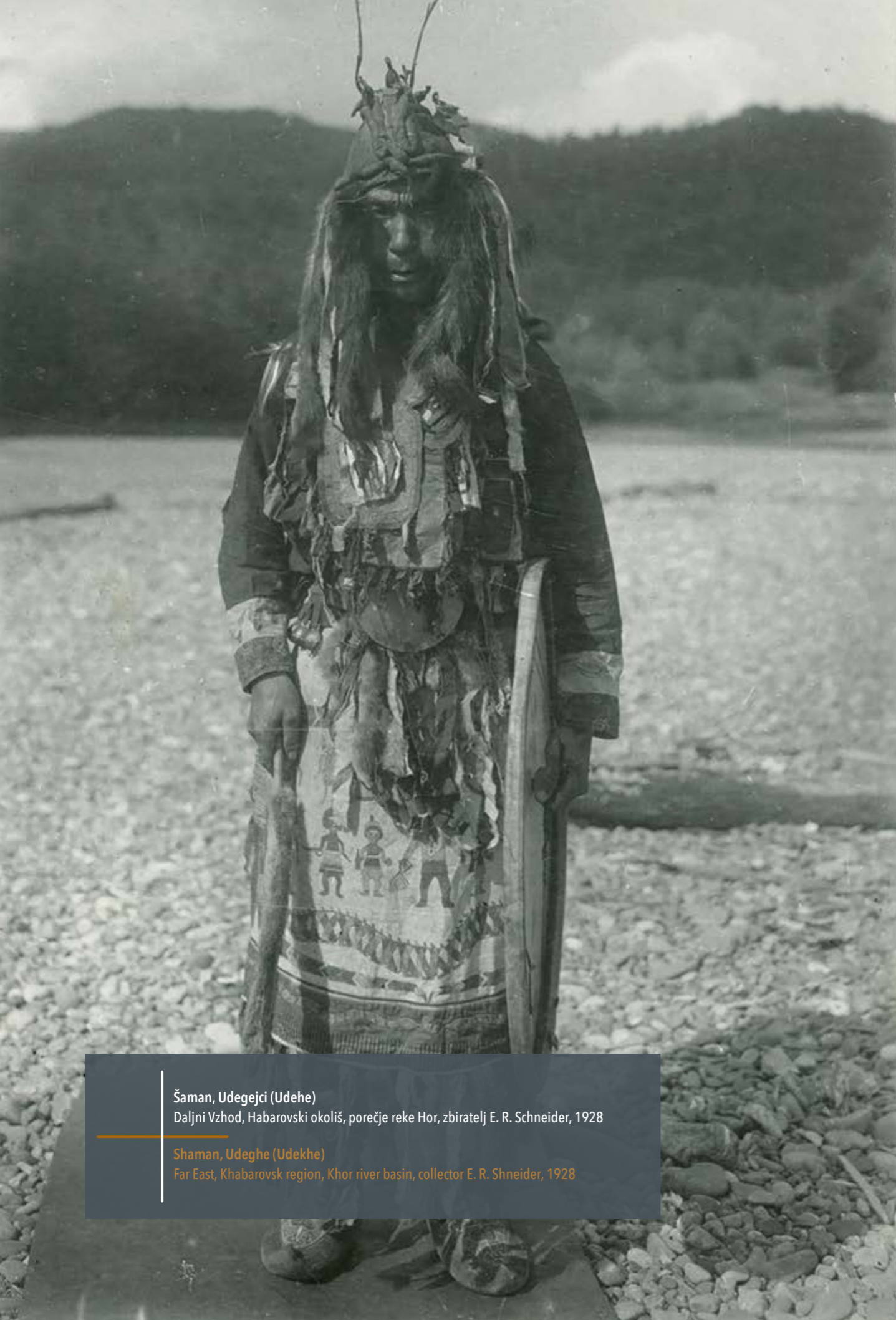
Les, kroglice, Daljni Vzhod, zač. 20. stol., zbiratelj V. K. Arseniev, 1911

Lesena antropomorfna figura z grbo in brez rok ali nog. Med šamanskimi obredi so jo obesili na bolnikov pas in šaman je vanjo vložil izgnano bolezen.

**Healing amulet (against back pain), Nanai**

Wood, beads, Far East, early 20th c., collector V. K. Arseniev, 1911

A wooden hunchbacked anthropomorphic figure without arms or legs. During shamanic rituals, it was hung on the patient's belt and shaman put the exorcised ailment inside it.



Šaman, Udegejci (Udehe)

Daljni Vzhod, Habarovski okoliš, porečje reke Hor, zbiratelj E. R. Schneider, 1928

Shaman, Udeghe (Udekhe)

Far East, Khabarovsk region, Khor river basin, collector E. R. Shneider, 1928

## Ecstatic Healing Ritual

The healing practices of Siberian indigenous peoples included both rational and irrational methods. With a mastery of basic folk diagnostics and general knowledge about the nature of diseases, they focused on treatment and simple preventive methods. At the same time, the fear of inexplicable and incomprehensible natural phenomena created the belief that human fate depends on the will of good and evil spirits. In Siberian myths evil spirits regard people as their prey. When attacking them, they used human weapons and tools.

The fear of evil spirits was so strong that when leaving their home, Chukchi and Koryaks always took with them a *guardian* – various amulets and talismans. Even today, the carrying of amulets and talismans is considered to be important and indispensable, in particular for pregnant women, young mothers and breast-feeding children. The amulets take the form of plaited adornments, bracelets and bead pendants because, according to their beliefs, in times of danger the human soul could hide in the bead hole. An anthropomorphic figurine carved from a willow twig was tied to the sleeve or the collar of the child's clothing. Similar figurines were hung from the belts of the older children and men, especially of the reindeer herders who were far from home for long periods. Small stones of unusual shape found on the shores of rivers and seas, and on the tundra, were used as amulets. They were sewn into a piece of textile or leather which is seen as clothing.

To extract the evil spirit (*ninvita, kalav*) from the patient's body, Koryak shamans used a small knife to make a cut and then they extracted the *evil spirit*. It had different forms, the most frequent being an anthropomorphic image of grass, meat or wood. Such a *ninvita* was eaten by the shaman; otherwise the disease could pass to other people. Another way of extracting the disease was by the shaman inhaling, as if he was *sucking up* the spirit of the illness. Sometimes, the Koryak shamans *nin'vitan'an'yl'y* used a dog to heal disease. They put the *soul* of patient in this animal.

When symptoms of illness appeared, the peoples of Siberia consulted a shaman. His main duty was the care of his kinsmen's souls from birth to death. The Evenk shaman put a knife under the head of his patient at night to determine the type of disease and established the cause from his spirit-helpers in his dreams. Depending on the type of illness, he advised the creation of zoomorphic images and placing them near the patient. Nanai shamans made a diagnosis with the help of special amulets capable of *seeing* the spirit world, and in healing they used pictures of spirits and mythological subjects. Altai, Buryat, Tuvan and Khacassian shamans determined the illness and healing methods by symbolic marks left on the patient's body by a whip. During ecstatic healing, a Nenet or Yakutian shaman would *summon* his spirit-helpers, *transfer* them into his body and *feed* them with tobacco, fat or animal blood; then, tossing his drumstick, he would conduct a divination ritual and identify

the cause of the illness. He also guided his spirit-helpers into the patient's body to choose a suitable treatment method.

Another method involved putting the spirit of the illness in small grass and wood figurines specially made for this purpose; the Chukchi and Koryaks would use a sacrificial animal – most often a dog. In their practice, Nanai and Koryak shamans used a spear as a ritual weapon to destroy evil spirits. With the guidance of a shaman, Evens, Nanai and Evenks made special *healing* clothes for the seriously ill, and Koryaks, Chukchi, Orochi used special headbands to cure diseases of the head.

In most cases, the shamanic ecstatic rituals were carried out in the patient's home or the shaman's tent, sometimes in a prayer site, and if necessary, could last several days. The ritual of exorcising the spirits of illness and returning the soul to the patient helped the person to overcome his fear and impotence before everyday challenges as well as shaping the future behaviour of ritual participants, particularly the patient. At the end of the ecstatic ritual, a special purification rite of all those present was performed and a thanksgiving sacrifice was made.



Obred zdravljenja bolnika, Hakasi  
Območje Krasnojarska, Hakaška pokrajina, zbirka Minusinskega muzeja, 1939

A ritual healing seance of a sick man, Khakas  
Krasnoyarsk area, Khakas region, Minusinsk Museum collection, 1939

## Šamanizem in svetovne religije

Krščanstvo in budizem sta se med staroselskimi ljudstvi Sibirije razširila med 17. in 19. stoletjem. Ljudstva zahodne in vzhodne Sibirije, Itelmeni, Korjaki in Eveni s Kamčatke so na začetku 20. stoletja sprejela pravoslavno vero, Burjati, Kalmiki, delno tudi Tuvinci, Altajci in ljudstva zgornjega Priamurja pa so sprejeli budizem.

Pokristjanjevanje je potekalo brez ostrih soočanj med tradicionalnimi verovanji in pravoslavnim krščanstvom, zato ni sprožalo odpora med sibirskimi ljudstvi. Zaradi posebnih okoliščin regije so misijonarji nosili s seboj ne le bogoslužne knjige, duhovniška oblačila, cerkvene pripomočke, ikone in naprsne križe, temveč tudi zdravila za medicinsko pomoč prebivalcem. V pridigah so poskušali pojasniti bistvo krščanskega izročila, vendar so bile predstave o obstoju edinega Boga za religiozno zavest sibirskih ljudstev, ki so izhajali iz osnov animizma, neoprijemljive.

Na zgornjem delu ženskega naprsnika, značilnega za Evenke, ki ga v svojih depojih hrani Ruski etnografski muzej, je pritrjenih sedem obeskov s križi. Izbrano mesto na naprsniku ni naključno, kajti po predstavah sibirskih ljudstev so človeške prsi, še posebej pri otrocih in ženskah, najbolj izpostavljene vplivu zlih duhov – povzročiteljev različnih bolezni. Bakreni naprsni križ so Nganasani pritrčili k pokojnikovim lasem in pogrebnim oblačilom, Oroči pa k odstriženim lasem pokojnega moškega, ki so jih nato za zaščito pokojnikove duše pritrčili k zglavju groba. Križa, ki ga je že načel zob časa, Evenki niso zavrgli, temveč so njegove ostanke obesili na ženske torbice. Krščeni šamani Čukčev in Korjakov so nosili križe skupaj s svojimi amuleti. Na oblačilu nanajskega šamana z začetka 20. stoletja so našli avtorsko izdelan bakreni križec, ki ga je ljudstvo pojmovalo kot zaščitni predmet, saj ga je lastnik nosil ne samo kot varovalo pred zlimi duhovi, temveč tudi kot zaščito pred puščicami drugih šamanov. Burjatski šamani so naprsni križ privezovali na bombažni trak h koštrunovim lopaticam, ki so jih uporabljali, ko so vedeževali rojakom. Hakaški šamani, ki so jih krstili v dobi otroštva in so za vratom nosili obesek s križem, so menili, da simbol pri izvajanju šamanskih obredov ni združljiv z duhovi. Križec so zato, preden so si nadeli šamansko opravo in začeli obred, vedno sneli, ko pa so končali, so si ga ponovno obesili okoli vratu.

V 19. in na začetku 20. stoletja, ko je bila misijonska dejavnost v Sibiriji sredi svojega drugega aktivnega pohoda po deželi, so se zelo razširili naprsni križi, ki so jih izdelovali lokalni staroselski mojstri. Priljubljen material jakutskih zlatarjev je bil tako imenovano jakutsko oziroma poljsko srebro – zlitina srebra, bakra in cinka v različnih razmerjih. Jakuti so imeli do srebra poseben odnos; razumeli so ga kot *čisto kovino* in če so se želeli o lepoti izraziti v presežniku, so uporabili besedno zvezo *kot srebro*. Med jakutskimi ženskami je bilo zelo razširjeno naprsno okrasje *sjureh*, na osnovi katerega lahko iz pomena besede v jakutskem jeziku (*srce, gorečnost, vnema*) sklepamo na neposredno povezavo s pojmom

Hišni duhovi - varuhi doma pri obedu in krščanska ikona v svetem kotu, Nanajci Daljni vzhod, Nikolajevski okoliš, Nomadski tabor Jamikta, zbiratelj E. R. Schneider, 1927

House spirits - home guardians at the meal and a christian icon in the sacred corner, Nanai Far East, Nikolajevski district, Nomad camp Yamikta, collector E. R. Schneider, 1927

skrivnosti krsta *sjurekhtenyi*. Očitna podobnost okrasja *sjureh* v obliki večjega križa, ploščice za pritrnitev in verižice s telesnim križem je raziskovalce napeljala k domnevi, da gre za prototip naprsnih križev, ki so jih nosili pravoslavni duhovniki. Domneva, da *sjureh* prvotno ni bil del ženskega okrasja, temveč so ga kot naprsni križ nosili premožni možje, je našla potrditev v verižici, ki jo hranijo v depojih Ruskega etnografskega muzeja. Njena lastnica (jakutsko–evenkijskega rodu) je okoli leta 1950 s te verižice snela križec in ga položila v grob pokojnemu možu – kristjanu. *Sjureha* niso nosili vsak dan, temveč so si ga nadeli nad oblačilo ali na vrhno obleko, pri čemer naprsnega križa niso sneli z vratu. Cenen okras *sjureh*, ki ni bil pretirano težak, so še posebej rade nosile mlajše ženske. Danes imajo dekleta in ženske, ki so od matere ali drugih sorodnic podedovale *sjureh*, do tega okrasja navdve spoštljiv odnos; nadenejo si ga v času državnih praznikov.

Pripadniki tradicionalnih verovanj so krščanstvo sprejemali brez večjega nasprotovanja. Krščanski misijonarji so jih seznanjali z naukom, po katerem krst človeka osvobodí pogubnega vpliva demonov, zlih duhov in hudiča. Zle duhove, ki naj bi bili krivi za bolezni, so odganjali s križcem, ki so ga za zaščito prejeli ob krstu.

Križca niso nosili le za vratom, temveč so ga tudi prišili na ženska ali otroška oblačila, k ženskemu naprsnemu okrasju in celo na šamanovo obleko. Hakaški šamani, ki so bili krščeni v otroštvu in so za vratom nosili obesek s križem, so menili, da simbol ni združljiv z duhovi pri izvajanju njihovih šamanskih obredov, zato so ga vedno sneli, preden so si nadeli šamansko opravo.

Sestavine verskega sinkretizma so prisotne v odnosu pripadnikov sibirskih ljudstev do ikon in svetih podob. Tisti, ki so sprejeli krščanstvo, so k ikonam pogosto postavljali posodo z žrtvenimi jedmi – ribami, jelenjim mesom in podobno – poleg njih pa so obesili še figurice družinskih varuhov in bobne. Med atributi Evenkov so bile pogoste svete podobe. Na enem od njihovih šamanskih pokrival z začetka 20. stoletja je bila ob figurici duha – varuha, izvezeni iz steklenih kroglic, pritrjena kovinska ploščica s podobo nadangela Mihaela. Pri Evenkih iz porečja Podkamene Tunguske so bile med šamanskimi atributi pogoste ploščate ali reliefne kovinske ploščice z upodobitvami Jezusa Kristusa in škofa Nikolaja, ki so mu rekli Mikola. Te ročno izdelane ploščice so predstavljale posebno vrsto ikon, ki so jih šamani v upanju na pomoč svetnikov po potrebi obešali na obredna oblačila.

Verski sinkretizem je postal sestavni del religioznega kulta sibirskih ljudstev, ki so sprejela budizem. Burjati, Tuvinci in Manegri so poznali *džoče* (prevajalce), *sagaan bo* (bele ali budistične šamane) in *gurumče* (zaklinjalce), ki so pri obredih združevali funkciji šamana in lame. Glavni šamanski atribut Manegrov in zabajkalskih Evenkov je bilo oblačilo, pri izdelavi katerega je bil viden vpliv obrednega oblačila tibetanskih šamanov lam prerokov. Vse podrobnosti šamanske obleke (kovinska zrcala *toli*, našiv v pasu, pridelek s školjkami *kauri*) so predstavljale ptičje perje, celotno oblačilo je simboliziralo ptico garudo. Pri burjatskih

šamanih – lamah so se poleg novih oblačilnih sestavin pojavili še glasbilo, trizob, bakrene žrtvene posodice in molek. Burjatski *džoči* so pri izvajanju ritualov po *črnem obredu* uporabljali bič *tašuur*, bronasta zrcala *toli*, bobne in železno naglavno opremo *tajhabši*, nepogrešljive za šamanske obrede. V zrcalih *toli* so burjatski šamani videli simbol vseh moči in veseljih sil.

Kljub relativno stabilni uveljavitvi budizma in krščanstva med sibirskimi ljudstvi se je šamanizem s svojim svetom predstav, navad in tradicij ohranil v zavesti in življenju ljudi, še posebej predstavnikov starejših generacij, ki se še danes zatekajo po pomoč k šamanom.

#### Naprsno ogledalo lamaističnega šamana, Burjati

Bron, bombažni tekstil, svila, usnje, medvedji čekani, Zabajkalsko okrožje, pozno 19. stol., zbiratelj Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano, 1905  
Zrcalo v obliki diska je po kitajskem vzoru iz bron izdelal burjatski kovač. Prepoznavna značilnost zrcala je podoba orla s široko razprtimi krili na prednji strani zrcala. Orel je veljal za enega najmočnejših šamanovih duhov prednikov in njegovih duhov varuhov, zato se njegova podoba pogosto pojavlja na šamanskih oblačilih. Na hrbtni strani zrcala so zmaj in 12 simbolov letnega cikla. Z usnjenega jermena naprsnega zrcala visijo trakci in svileni robčki, ki so mnoge daritve vernikov.

#### Breast mirror of a Lamaist shaman, Buryats

Bronze, cotton textile, silk, leather, bear fangs, Zabaikalskaya region, late 19th c., collector Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano, 1905  
The disc-shaped mirror was made of bronze by a Buryat smith as a replica of a Chinese model. A distinctive feature is the image of an eagle with outstretched wings on the face side of the mirror. The eagle was considered one of the most powerful ancestor spirits and shamanic guardians; this is why its image often appears on shaman's costumes. On the other side of the mirror, a dragon and the symbols of 12 years almanac are represented. Numerous offerings of the faithful (ribbons and silk scarves) hang from the leather loop of the breast mirror.





**Koledar pravoslavnih praznikov, Jakuti**  
**Les, Vzhodna Sibirija, zač. 20. stol., zbiratelj A. I. Popov, 1908**

Koledar sestavljata dva povezana kroga: manjši predstavlja tedenski koledar, večji krog pa letni koledar. Jakuti so s prestavljanjem lesenega zatiča iz ene odprtine v drugo označevali praznike, dneve v tednu in letu.

**Calendar of Orthodox festivals, Yakuts**  
**Wood, Eastern Siberia, early 20th c., collector A. I. Popov, 1908**

It consists of two joined circles: a smaller one represents a weekly calendar and a bigger circle a early calendar. Yakuts marked annual festivals, days and weeks of the year by moving a wooden peg from one hole to another.

## Shamanism and World Religions

Christianity and Buddhism spread among indigenous peoples in Siberia between the 17th and 19th centuries. In the early 20th century, the peoples of western and eastern Siberia, the Itelmens, Koryaks and Evens from the Kamchatka Peninsula, accepted Orthodox Christianity, while the Buryats, Kalmyks, and to some extent the Tuvans, the Altays and the people of Upper Priamur'e accepted Buddhism.

The Christianization was carried out without severe confrontation between traditional beliefs and the Orthodox Christianity, that's why it didn't provoke resistance of Siberian peoples. Taking into consideration the region's specifics missionaries brought with them not only the church books, priestly garments church paraphernalia, icons and body crosses, but also medicines to provide medical assistance to local population. In their sermons missionaries tried to explain the essence of the Christian doctrine, however, the conception of existence of the only god was incomprehensible for the animistic religious conscience of Siberian peoples.

Seven body crosses are fastened to the upper part of the Evenk woman's breast piece which is kept in the RME storage. Their location in the upper part of breast piece isn't occasional because for according to the beliefs of Siberian peoples, human breast, particularly in the case of children and women is the most vulnerable part of body for the penetration of evil spirits – the culprits of illnesses. Nganasans tied a copper body cross to their plaits and funeral clothes, and Orochi did the same with the plait cut off from the dead man which they fixed at the head of his coffin for protection of the soul of the deceased. Evens didn't throw the cross damaged with time in the thrash; its pieces were hung on the female bags. The baptized Chuckchi and Koryak shamans wore body crosses adding them to their personal amulets. In the early twentieth century the copper cross made by a shaman hung on his clothes which was considered as the object protecting his owner not only against the penetration of evil spirits but also against the arrows of other shamans. The Buryat shamans tied the body cross with cotton to lamb blades which they used to tell fortunes and foretell the future to their kinsmen. The Khacass shamans who were baptized in childhood and wore the body crosses regarded them as incompatible with contacting spirits in their shamanic practice. Therefore, before donning the clothes for shamanic rituals they always took off their body crosses off and finishing the performance of rituals they put them on again.

In the nineteenth-early twentieth centuries, when the missionary activity in Siberia was in the second more active stage, the body crosses made by local craftsmen of the indigenous population became widespread. The preferred material of Yakut jewelers was the so-called Yakut and Polish silver – the alloy of silver, copper and zinc in various proportions. Yakuts had special regard for silver, it was considered to be the pure metal and wishing to express the



**Šamanovo pokrivalo s figuro nadangela Mihaela, Evenki**

Semiš in dlaka severnega jelena, tekstil, kroglice, kovina, Vzhodna Sibirija, pozno 19. stol. - zač. 20. stol., zbiratelj P. E. Ostrovskikh, 1903

Podoba krščanskega svetnika na pokrivalu kaže na sinkretizem religioznih predstav Evenkov.

**Shaman's headdress with a figurine of the Archangel Michael, Evenks**

Reindeer suede and hair, textile, beads, metal, Eastern Siberia, late 19th - early 20th c., collector P. E. Ostrovskikh, 1903

The image of a Christian saint on the headdress is a sign of syncretism in the Evenks' religious beliefs.

highest degree of beauty they said as silver. The breast adornment *syurekh* was common among Yakut women in which name meaning heart the direct association with the mystery of baptism *syurekhtenyi* is traced. The obvious similarity of *surekh* consisting of a big cross, an open-work plate, and an open-work chain with the body cross gave reason for researchers to suppose that its prototype was the breast cross of Orthodox priests. The open-work chain from the Russian Museum of Ethnography collection confirms the hypothesis that initially the *surekh* was not a woman's adornment but the breast cross of well-to-do men. In 1950s its owner of Yakut-Evenk origin took off the cross from the chain and put in the coffin of her deceased husband - a Christian. The *surekh* was not worn every day and it was put on over dress or outdoor clothes. An inexpensive and relatively light adornment *surekh* was especially popular among young women. Today girls and young women value much the *surekh* adornments inherited from their mothers or female relatives and put them on at the national festivals.

The bearers of traditional beliefs accepted Christianity without any great opposition. Christian missionaries familiarised them with the teaching that Christian baptism frees man from the malign influence of demons, evil spirits and the devil. The associations with evil spirits, which received most of the blame for various illnesses, led to the wearing of a pendant with the cross that was received at baptism as a protective object. A cross would be worn not only around the neck, but might also be stitched onto women's and children's clothes, worn on a woman's chest as decoration, or even on a shaman's clothes. Khakas shamans, who were baptised in childhood and wore a cross pendant round their neck, believed that the symbol was incompatible with the spirits when carrying out their shamanic rituals. For this reason, they always removed the cross before the ritual began.

The ingredients of religious syncretism are present in the attitudes of Siberian peoples to icons and holy images. Those who have accepted Christianity often place next to an icon a dish of sacrificial food such as fish or reindeer meat, and next to it they hang figurines of family guardians and drums. Among the attributes of the Evenks, holy images were often present. On one of their shaman's headwear from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was a figure of spirit protector covered in glass beads, and next to it a metal disc with an image of the Archangel Gabriel. Among the Evenks from the catchment area of the Podkamennaya Tunguska River, shaman's attributes often include a flat or relief metal disc with images of Jesus Christ and Bishop Nikolaj, who they called Mikola. These hand-made discs represented a particular kind of icon, which shamans hung as needed on their ritual clothing, hoping for the help of the saints.

Religious syncretism became an integral part of the religious cult of the Siberian peoples who accepted Buddhism. The Buryats, Tuvans and Manegirs had *džoče* (translators), *sagaan bo* (white or Buddhist shamans), *gurumče* (swearers), who in their rituals combined the

function of shaman and lama. The main shaman attribute of the Manegirs and Zabaykalsky Evenks was an costume in which was visible the influence of the ritual clothing of Tibetan shaman lama prophets. All the details of the shaman's clothing (a metal mirror known as a *toli*, stitching on the belt, an accessory with cowrie shells) represented avian feathers and the whole costume symbolised the bird Garuda. Among Buryat shaman-lamas, in addition to new clothing elements, there appeared musical instruments, a trident, copper sacrificial dishes and a rosary. Buryat *džoči*, in carrying out rituals after the *black rite*, used a *tashuur*

whip, a bronze *toli* mirror, drums, and iron headgear known as *tajhabši*, which were an essential part of shaman ceremonies. In the bronze mirror, a Buryat shaman would see the symbol of all powers and elementary forces.

In spite of the relatively stable establishment of Buddhism and Christianity among the Siberian peoples, shamanism and its world of ideas, customs and traditions was preserved in people's minds and lives, especially among the older generations, who even today turn to the shaman for help.



Šamanski in budistični kulni objekt, posvečen krajevnomu duhu, Tuvinci (Sojoti)  
Kitajsko cesarstvo, Severozahodna Mongolija, porečje zgornjega Jeniseja, zbiratelj F. J. Kon, 1903

Shaman's and Buddhist cult objects dedicated to a local spirit, Tuvinian (Soyote)  
Chinese Empire, Northwest Mongolia, Upper Enisei river basin, collector F. J. Kon, 1903





15 LET FORUM  
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Mednarodna ustanova Forum slovanskih kultur, s sedežem v Ljubljani, je nastala leta 2004 na pobudo slovanske kulturniške srenje, danes pa povezuje že 300 milijonov Slovanov iz desetih držav članic, Belorusije, Bolgarije, Bosne in Hercegovine, Črne gore, Hrvaške, Severne Makedonije, Ruske federacije, Slovenije, Srbije in Ukrajine ter treh držav opazovalk, Češke republike, Poljske in Slovaške.

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OŽIVČUJEMO  
KREATIVNOST  
SLOVANSKIH  
KULTUR

NERVING  
THE CREATIVITY  
OF SLAVIC  
CULTURES

# ŠAMANIZEM LJUDSTEV SIBIRIJE

## SHAMANISM OF THE PEOPLES OF SIBERIA

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SLOVENSKI ETNOGRAFSKI MUZEJ