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Guest Editors

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Front cover: The Chepang *pande* Dam Maya in trance, traveling to the underworld with her drum (Nepal). Photograph: Diana Riboli, 1994.

Photograph from: *"We Play in the Black Jungle and in the White Jungle."* The Forest as a Representation of the Shamanic Cosmos in the Chants of the Semang-Negrito (Peninsular Malaysia) and the Chepang (Nepal) by Diana Riboli

Back cover: After a Sakha (Yakut) rock drawing, from A. P. Okladnikov, *Istoriia Iakutii*

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Paiwan Shamanic Chants in Taiwan: Texts and Symbols

HU TAI-LI ACADEMICA SINICA, TAIPEI, TAIWAN

The main features of the chants of the female Paiwan shamans of Kulalao village in southwest Taiwan are the high degree of fixedness of the chanting texts and the low degree of dramatization in the ecstatic chanting performances. The difficult and highly valued texts are carefully examined, and important ritual elements such as wild animals and domesticated pigs, and the personified entities of house and village referred to in the chanting texts are analyzed, with an attempt to reveal the symbolic relations and structures of the Kulalao village society. The concept of "entextualization" is adopted to provide a better basis for cross-cultural comparison.

In the article "Chants and Healing Rituals of the Paiwan Shamans" (Hu 2010), I provided basic information about female shamans and their chanting rituals in Austronesian Paiwan society, exemplified by Kulalao village in southwestern Taiwan. The more I compare the chanting texts (*rada*) and performances of Paiwan shamans (*puringau* or *marada*) with those of other areas, such as those in Siberia (Simoncsics 1978; Balzer 1997), Korea (Walraven 1994; Kendall 1996; Kister 1997), Mongolia (Somfai Kara et al. 2009; Dulam 2010), Indonesia (Atkinson 1989), and Niger (Stoller 1989), the more I find that the high degree of fixedness of the chanting texts and the low degree of dramatization present in the ecstatic chanting performances are distinguishing characteristics of Paiwan Kulalao shamanic chants. This leads me to ask whether there are reasons for these phenomena, and what they

might be. Is Paiwan shamanic chanting speech an extreme case of "entexualized language," as described by Joel C. Kuipers (1990)?

In the study presented here I will further reveal the content and features of fixed Paiwan Kulalao chanting texts, giving special attention to the most important ancestral spirit, *Lemej*, and *lingasan*, the most important chanting chapter. The situations, and significant ritual elements, such as "house," "village," the domesticated pig, and wild animals, used in chanting texts and their context will also be discussed to show the relationship between shamans, spirits, and villagers in the symbolic system of Kulalao village.

Nondramatic Chanting Performances of the Kulalao Shaman

It is noted that female shamans in Kulalao village practice various kinds of rituals, including the annual sowing and harvesting ceremonies, the five-year ancestral ceremony, individual healing, growth, and funeral rituals, hunting and headhunting rituals, and contemporary military service rituals. In the village, both female shamans and male priests (*parakalai*)[1] recite ritual texts, although only the female shamans chant with fixed texts and fall into trances when chanting. The shaman's chanting texts are called *rada*, and in Kulalao the word *marada* means the act of chanting. The shaman sings or chants (*semenai*) the *rada* (*si laiuz*) with a special vocal tone (*zaing*).

When a Kulalao female shaman performs a ritual, she always starts by preparing many units of mulberry leaves (*lisu*), three leaves being piled together as one unit, in front of the wooden ritual plate on the floor inside the house. She then picks up an old pig bone and exhales a breath on to it.[2] Next she scrapes the bone with a small knife over each

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[1] The Kulalao male priest practices rituals dealing with hunting and protection of the village from enemy attacks and natural disasters.

[2] Exhaling a breath on the pig bone signifies giving it life.

unit of leaves[3] and starts to recite the text used to expel evil. If the ritual is an initial, simple one, she continues to recite the text during the main part of the ritual that follows. For more advanced and important rituals, which are usually accompanied by the slaughter and offering of a pig, the shaman sits in front of the selected and well-arranged portions of the pig and the ritual plate, recites the ritual to expel evil, and then sits down holding in her right hand a cluster of mulberry leaves and a slice of pig meat concealed in the leaves with eyes closed and chanting the following main section of the ritual.

There are altogether eight chanting chapters.[4] When the Kulalao shaman chants in the first chapter:

A qadau, a ki puravan, a ki vusukan, a ki patengetengi anan,
sun drunk intoxicated chant in trance
a na metsevutsevung anga itjen, na ma pazazukezukerh anga . . .
meet we face each other

The sun makes me drunk, makes me intoxicated, causing me to chant and fall into a trance.
We have met, we have faced each other . . .

she enters a state of ecstasy (*tjetju tsemas*, literally, "inhabited by the spirits") to deliver the spirits' messages. We note that her right hand begins to shake the cluster of mulberry leaves horizontally or vertically along with the rhythm of the chant until the chanting ends. The texts, melodies, and the shaman's seating position do not change throughout the chanting. Almost no unexpected sounds or actions occur when she is possessed by the spirits. During the second section of the fourth

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[3] Each unit of mulberry leaves is used like a plate to hold a representative portion of the pig.

[4] In most rituals that require chanting, the Kulalao shaman chants the entire eight chapters; however, in rituals of divination, such as the selection of a male priest and discerning the reason for sickness, or rituals for calling back the souls of the dead (*zemara*), only the first three chapters, including the *vavurungan* chapter, are chanted.

chapter, *dravadrava*, however, the shaman stretches forth her hands three times to expel the bad and she calls out "*se! se! se!*"

Although the voice and tempo of the shaman's chants reveal various characteristics of the possessed spirits, in general the spirits do not express strong emotions during the chanting, nor do they interact or dialog with the audience, except in the ritual to call back the dead (*zemara*).[5] A Kulalao shaman told me that when she chants with her eyes closed, she does not see the creating and founding elders; rather, she sometimes hears the sound of chanting. She feels that she is filled by spirits from head to chest, and then in her mouth, causing her to chant words continuously. When she enters a state of ecstasy, she hears almost nothing around her.

The eight chapters of the chanting texts are quite long. If several Kulalao shamans perform a ritual together, they divide into two or three teams to reduce the time taken to chant. For example, if there are two shamans, after chanting the first and second chapters together, one chants the third and the first two sections of the fourth chapter, while the other chants the third section of the fourth chapter and the fifth and sixth chapters, and then they chant the last two chapters together.

Shamanic chanting has to be done in the house. Participants include the person who arranges the pig offerings, ritual assistants, the male priest (in village-level rituals), and a few family members and villagers. Audiences sometimes listen carefully to the chanting texts, though they may at times talk to each other and walk around with no perceptible changes in their emotions.

I. M. Lewis explains that the meaning of the word *shaman* among the Tungus people is "one who is excited, moved, or raised" (2003: 45), and Margaret Stutley (2003: 20) states that "much of the shamanic ritual is frenzied, with blood-stirring rhythmic drumming." In contrast, the

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[5] Wu Yen-ho (1965: 132–135) describes a case of shamanic chanting of the eastern Paiwan. In addition to the ritual calling back of the soul of the dead, in the ritual of contacting the soul of the living in a faraway place the possessed shaman had a dialog with the client. The Kulalao shaman told me that this kind of ritual is called *rimuasan*, but that it is no longer practiced by the Kulalao shamans, as it is not good for the called living person.

chanting performances of the Paiwan Kulalao shaman are rather quiet, predictable, and nondramatic.

Priority of the Ritual Founder *Lemej* in Fixed Chanting Texts

Chanting has a special meaning in Paiwan legends. There are two types of legend: real legends (*tjautsiker*), and fictional legends (*mirimiringan*) (Wu 1993; Hu 1999a: 187–188; 2002: 69–72). The Paiwan people only recite real legends that tell of actual historical events, but they chant fictional legends that often consist of amazing and incredible stories. In fictional legends, singing or chanting causes miraculous transformation and makes the impossible possible. Chanting might cause a baby to grow up in a matter of a few days, or bring the dead back to life. In the same way, magical transformations occur when a Paiwan shaman chants ritual texts. In chanting, this world departs from the normal state of reality and enters another space and time. Chanting texts are the "road" (*jaran*) that links this world (*katsauan*) and the spirit world (*makarizen*). Founding ancestors appear on the road and talk through the shaman's chants to deliver their messages.

The main bodies of reciting texts (*tjautjau*, *kai*, or *sini qaqiv*) and chanting texts (*rada*) are rather fixed. Short and changeable texts (*patideq*) are inserted into the fixed main text (*jajuradan*) to describe the purpose of a specific ritual. The order of the road of recited and chanted texts is as follows:

I. Road of recited texts (*jaran nua tjautjau*)
   vavurungan (the creating and founding elders)
   1. *Qumaqan* (House)
   2. *Drumetj,* (the founder of the first house in the Village), *Qinalan* (name of the Village)
   3. *Naqemati, Linamuritan* (the life creator and the assisting female creator of life)
   4. *Lemej, Lerem* (the founder of rituals, the first shaman in this world)
   5. *Saverh, Jengets* (the original shamans in this world)

6. *Tjagarhaus* (the first male priest)
7. *Drengerh* (the original shaman in the spirit world)

II. Road of chanting texts (*jaran nua rada*)
1. *si patagil = tjesazazatj* (beginning)
2. *papetsevutsevung* (meeting)
3. *vavurungan* (creating and founding elders)
   a. *Qumaqan* (House)
   b. *Lemej* (the founder of rituals)
   c. *Drumetj* (the founder of the first house)
   d. *Naqemati, Linamuritan* (the life creator and the assisting female creator of life)
   e. *Tjagarhaus* (the first male priest)
   f. *Qinalan* (Village)
4. *ravadrava = saraj* (ancestral shamans)
   a. *nametsevutsevung* (meeting)
   b. *sisuaraarap = sarhekuman* (dispelling)
   c. *tsatsunan* (exhorting)
5. *lingasan* (announcing)
   a. *kumali* (connecting)
   b. *Qumaqan* (House)
   c. *puqaiaqaiam* (the bird)
6. *puqaiaqaiam* (the bird)
   a. *Tjakuling* (the hunting ancestor)
   b. *Druluan* (the stammering ancestor)
7. *marhepusausau* (farewell)
8. *kauladan* (ending)

We can see that both reciting and chanting texts contain the *vavurungan* (creating and founding elders) chapter, and *Qumaqan* (personified house) is the first founding elder mentioned in the *vavurungan* chapter. The role of *Qumaqan* will be discussed later. Here, I would like to highlight two founding elders *Drumej* and *Lemej* to show their different styles for reciting and chanting texts on the one hand, while calling attention to the altered rule of priority in the chanting texts on the other.

According to Kulalao legend, three brothers *Drumej*, *Lemej*, and *Dravai* discovered the land where Kulalao village is located, and the eldest brother *Drumej* built the first house and called it *Girhing*. According to Paiwan tradition, the first-born child is the main successor in the family and has the highest position. The reciting texts of the *vavurungan* chapter reflect the general rule that *Drumej* is placed before his younger brother *Lemej*; however, that order is reversed in chanting texts, where *Lemej* appears before *Drumej*.

When the Kulalao shaman recites the *Drumej* and *Lemej* paragraphs, she says:

a qinalan a sinitsekedr sa Drumetj i Girhing,
village inserting the sign (name) (family name)
a pu tjinatjasan, a pu rinuqeman,
very power owner with spiritual power
i maza i qinalan…
here village

Drumetj of the *Girhing* family inserted the sign of the village,[6]
is a very powerful person, with strong spiritual power,
here, in the village . . .

and

a tia sa Lemej a tia Lerem, nu avan anga su vineqats, su inegeeg,
(name) (name) you create establish
a ika tja sasu qatsan su jalavan . . .
can't we simplify in a hurry

Lemej and *Lerem*, the rituals created by you, established by you,
cannot be practiced in a simplified and hurried way . . .

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[6] The senior shaman *Laerep* explained that *Drumetj* was the founder of the village and that he inserted the first stone sign and built the first house, which he called *Girhing*.

In the chanting *vavurungan* texts, when *Lemej* and *Rhumej* appear the shaman chants:

au tiaken anga tisa Lemej i Rivurivuan,
I am (name) (place name)
a pu vineqatsan, a pu inegeegan,
initiator founder
a pu sinu rhengerhengan, a pu pinarhutavakan,
one who removes the barrier one who gives careful thoughts
tu nanguaq, tu kemuda i katsauan, a i makarizeng . . .
for good for doing this world the spirit world

I am *Lemej* in *Rivurivuan*,
the initiator, the founder,
the one who removes the barrier, the one who gives careful thoughts,
for good things, for doing things,
in this world, in the spirit world . . .

While possessed by *Drumetj*, the shaman chants:

au tiaken anga tisa Drumetj i Girhing
I am (name) in (family name)
a pu tjinatjasan a pu rinuqeman
power owner one with strong spiritual power
i maza i qinalan…
here village

I am *Drumetj* of the *Girhing* family,
the one who controls power, the one with strong spiritual power,
here, in the village . . .

The reciting *vavurungan* texts are the second and third person's statement about the role and concerns of each founding elder; and the chanted *vavurungan* chapter, with the first person "*au tiaken anga tisa* (I am) . . ." pattern at the beginning of each section, indicates the presence of the creating and founding elders who deliver messages

themselves. The personified existence of *Qumaqan* (represented in this article as House) and *Qinalan* (similarly, Village) is indicated as they say "I am *Qumaqan* . . ., I am *Qinalan*."

The priority of *Drumej* over *Lemej* in the reciting of *vavurungan* texts is in accordance with the general Paiwan rule of the superiority of the first-born. The Kulalao shaman *Laerep* explains that in reciting *vavurungan* texts, *Lemej* shows respect to the eldest brother *Drumej*, who built the first house in Kulalao village. However, in the chanted *vavurungan* texts, ritual founder *Lemej*'s important role is emphasized, highlighting a change in that general Paiwan rule.

In Kulalao real legends, *Lemej* is the key person initiating rituals and shamans. It is said that one day *Lemej* was carving a knife sheath and using the wood scraps to kindle a fire. *Drengerh*, the daughter of the life creator *Naqemati*, saw the smoke from where she was in the spirit world. She burned millet stalk and followed the smoke to this world, where she made an appointment with *Lemej*. On *Drengerh*'s instructions, on the morning of the third day *Lemej* followed the smoke of the burning millet stalk and entered the spirit world. In addition to millet seeds, *Drengerh* gave *Lemej* two sets of pig bones (from the head, spine, ribs, and toes) and asked him to build two pig houses after he returned the world, one in the east and one in the west. He was then to place one set of bones in each pig house. On the third day, the two sets of pig bones became a male pig and a female pig. Pigs would later be used for ritual offerings.

Lemej went to the spirit world several times to learn such rituals as the five-year, wedding, and shaman's initiation ceremony. He was later urged by *Drengerh* to stay in the spirit world to be her husband. They had four daughters—*Lerem*, *Saverh*, *Jengets*, and *Lian*—and one son, *Tjagarhaus*. *Lemej* often went back and forth between the two worlds. When the children grew up, *Drengerh* told *Lemej* to bring all the children to this world. Three daughters, *Lerem*, *Saverh*, and *Jengets*, were initiated as shamans, and the only son *Tjagarhaus* was installed as the first priest. The youngest daughter *Lian* was not fully initiated to be a shaman and could not fall into trance. Making a pig offering, they set up the village to protect villagers. The eldest daughter *Lerem* succeeded the *Qamulil* family "house" built by *Lemej* and stayed in

Kulalao village practicing shamanic rituals. The younger daughters went to other villages to teach rituals.

As the founder of rituals, *Lemej* played a unique role in linking this world with the spirit world. On the road of chanting and transformation, *Lemej*'s priority exceeds that of *Drumej*, the eldest child of the family. In the hierachical Paiwanese society, the chief's line is maintained through the succession of first-born children from one generation to the next. The superiority of the first-born is an almost cast-iron rule in hierarchical Paiwan society, but on the road of chanting, that is, neither in this world nor in the spirit world, this rule can be broken and the role of the founder of rituals can take precedence over the priority of the first-born.

The Most Difficult and Valuable Chanting Texts: The *Lingasan* Chapter

Every Kulalao female shaman reports that of the eight chapters of the chanted texts, the *vavurungan* chapter is the most basic and much the easiest to learn, and that the most difficult and valuable one is the fifth chapter—the *lingasan* (announcing). In order to overcome the difficulty of learning the *lingasan*, before the formal shaman initiation ceremony the apprentice has to buy the chapter with three to five bunches of hemp (*rekerek*) from the *Qamulil*, the family of the founder of rituals *Lemej*. Hemp represents the road of the spirits, linking this world to the spirit world. *Keleng Tjadraqadian*, who is in charge of rituals for *the Girhing,* the chief family, said that only after she followed this custom of buying the *lingasan* was she able to chant the entire texts of this chapter. *Lingasan* is a very important part that is linked to the *vavurungan* chapter to make the "road" of chanting flow without obstruction.

Why is the chanting chapter *lingasan* considered so difficult and valuable? Senior shaman *Laerep* from the *Qamulil* family explains that it is so valuable because texts about *qimang* (wild animals and human heads) are all concentrated in this chapter. Ancestral spirits announce in the *lingasan* that they have brought all kinds of animals to the hunting fields to

be hunted by their descendants in this world. All other good things like crops (*vusam*) and people (*tsautau*) accompany *qimang*.

The *lingasan* chapter contains three sections: *kumali* (connecting), *Qumaqan* (House), and *puqaiaqaiam* (the bird). In the first section, *kumali*, *Lemej* and his youngest daughter *Lian* are mentioned, and the creating and founding ancestors want to remove the filth and badness caused by the violation of taboos during pregnancy from the house and village.

The content of the second *Qumaqan* section of the *lingasan* is closely related to the *qimang*:

Arhidai anan, lemingasan itjen i qumaqan, i taquvan, . . .
want to again announce we in house at home
ki marhu masu veleng i zalum, i tsunuq,
just like remove block in water in landslide
tu tja kini avangan, tu pinutsevulan,
for we prayed for called in smoke
a marh timalimali, a kaian, a quvalan . . .
each different language hair

Again we want to announce in the house, at home . . .
just like removing the block in the water, in the landslide,
we have prayed (for you), we have called in the smoke (of the millet stalks for you),
to get *qimang* with different languages and hairs . . .

Senior Kulalao shaman *Laerep* explained to me that the phrase "with different languages and hairs" refers to all kinds of animals in the forest and human heads (*quru*). Then a few names such as *natju*, *reneg*, *atjaq*, and *duris*, which are unknown to the Kulalao villagers, appear in the text. They are, in fact, animals' names in the spirit world. In this world they are referred to by such names as *vavui* (wild pigs), *sizi* (goats), *venan* (deer), and *takets* (Formosan barking deer). The end of the *Qumaqan* section of the *lingasan* chapter describes the accumulation of many *qimang*:

na ma paqaquliqulis, i tjanu ta rinaulan, i tjanu tavengevengan,
gathered in one mountain in a mountain range

na ma palaluvaluvaq i paling
to rush on to be the first in door

Many animals have gathered in the mountain, in the mountain range,
They rush on to be the first in the door.

The third, *puqaiaqaiam* section of the *lingasan* chapter is also concerned with giving and obtaining *qimang*. Three male ancestral figures, *Kanatj*, *Kariqevau*, and *Kemaraukau*, combine into one figure with one mouth speaking the same language and with the same soul taking care of all kinds of animals in the forest. They express their concern for their birds, which are leaving, and announce that they will release many animals to people in this world:

i-e-e la qari ti kanatj, ti kariqevau, ti kemaraukau,
male partners (name) (name) (name)
na masan ta kaian, ta ringaringavan,
become one language one soul
ki tjulipaipar aken, tu ku qaiaqaiam
leave me my birds
a Kemadangilan, a Tjemarautjau, sa Dapung i Daremedem,
(mountain name) (mountain name) (name) (place name)
ku sinu rhukurhukutsu, ki marhu masu takev,
I selected animals just like remove palisade
a vukid garhasigas, i pa gadu rereng a pa Kavurungan
forest sound of steps pass mountain pass highest mountain
aia anga la ku qaiaqaiam, a ku si kilialivak,
Ah! my birds I protected
tu rhema dangasan, tu rhema tsunuqan,
pass dangerous break pass landslide
tu rhema qutsalan, tu pina karutsukutsan,
pass wilderness birds on the branch

Male partners, *kanatj*, *ti kariqevau*, *ti kemaraukau*,
with one language, with one soul.
My birds are leaving me.

On the mountain *Kemadangilan*, the mountain *Tjemarautjau*, and in *Dapung* in *Daremedem*,
I selected animals (for you), just like removing palisades (to let the animals out).
The sound of animals' steps in the forest, passing the mountain, the highest mountain.
Ah! my birds, protected by me,
will pass the dangerous break, pass the landslide,
pass the wilderness. The birds are on the branch (to prevent them being hurt).

lakua dri! la qari ki ken a aia sa tje kuda
but male partners I say we what to do
ku pina qungaqungalan, ki na rhema zemezeman,
wild pig walk in darkness
a ku pinapu sapuian, a ku pinapu garhangan
I prepare fire I give strong power
lakua la qari ki ken a aia sa tje kuda,
but male partners I say we what to do
ku sisu qajaian anga, ku sisu tirungan anga
I unfasten knotted rope I loosen tied rope
ku si patjarha qutianai anga, ku patjarha ta taravai anga,
I each field hunting animals I each field catching animals
ku sisu rhupiriqa anga, tja sisu marhasujan anga,
I select chosen animals we select prepared animals
tja sisu letsegan anga, a tja si parh ekatsaquan anga,
we select stability we each other secretly discuss
tja si parhe paserimedan anga, tja si patje rikudran anga,
we each other secretly give we in the back
a tja si parhe patarataraq, a tja si parhe laleqeleqer, a tja Sadraudralum. i-a-i
we each other secretly destroy we each other quarrel we (name)

But male partners, I want to say what else can we do?
Wild pigs walk in the darkness.
I have prepared a fire; I have given strong power.
But male partners, I want to say what else can we do?
I have unfastened knotted rope; I have loosened tied rope (to let animals go).
I tell each hunting field to let you go hunting animals

I tell each hunting field to let you go catching animals.
I have selected chosen animals; we have selected prepared animals.
We have selected animals for maintaining stability. We secretly discuss with each other;
We secretly give (you animals); we are in the back (secretly giving you animals), for we want to prevent the destruction and quarrels caused by *Sadraudralum*.

Without chanting *lingasan*, the shaman cannot make the ancestral spirits come and bring the desired *qimang* to their living descendants. It is believed that only people with strong spiritual power (*ruqem*) can hunt many animals. By chanting the texts of the complete eight chapters and making the pig offering, the shaman is more confident that ancestral spirits will reply to her request for *qimang* and *ruqem*.

Domesticated Pigs Exchanged for Wild Animals

In the previous section, we saw that wild animals in the forest are kept and controlled by the ancestral spirits of the Kulalao villagers. In Siberian "hunting shamanism" (Hamayon 1994: 79–80) the shaman's main function is to make an agreement with animal spirits to hunt animals or take fish, and the shaman must ritually marry the daughter or sister of the game-providing animal spirit. For the Paiwan Kulalao people, however, animals are not spirits with whom the shaman has to negotiate. The Kulalao way of obtaining the desired wild animals is to kill a domesticated pig (*dridri*) and to carefully prepare it as an offering for a shamanic chanting ritual, in expectation that the ancestral spirits will take the domesticated pig in exchange for (*sivarit*) wild animals. The Kulalao shaman also uses the term "to buy" (*sivenri*) wild animals with the domesticated pig from the ancestral spirits.

Domesticated pigs (*dridri*) and wild pigs (*vavui*) are clearly two categories in Paiwan Kulalao classification. I mentioned that in the Kulalao origin legend of rituals, when *Lemej* went to the spirit world, the Lady *Drengerh* gave him two sets of pig bones to bring to this world. He put one set in the newly built east pig house, the other in the

west pig house. On the third day, the two sets of pig bones transformed into one male pig and one female pig, i.e., the first two domesticated pigs in this world. With the domesticated pigs and pig bones, rituals could now be practiced.

In the *vavurungan* chapter, when each founding elder appears, the shaman's chanting texts includes the same sentences:

tu sika uzai a sinauvereng, a kiniavang, a pinutsevulan…
for there is rich offering (pig) pray burn (the millet stalk) to call

for there is the rich offering (pig), you pray (to me) and burn (the millet stalk) to call me . . .

Most terms for animals in the chanting texts are different from those used in daily life. Domesticated pigs, *dridri*, when referred to in the texts are described as "*sinauvereng*," meaning "the rich offering"; and wild pigs, *vavui*, are called "*qungaqungalan*" in the texts.

For a chanting ritual, a pig is slaughtered and carefully cut into parts by an experienced man. The best and most representative parts of the pig—generally speaking, the right, front, and upper parts—are selected and put on a plank in front of the shaman inside the house. They also cut the pig's right lung (*qatsai*), liver (*va*), and upper-right part of the chest skin (*qerhidr*) into small squares and cook them to add to the raw parts of the pig offering. The procedures for pig killing and offering are very intricate and complicated, and I will not go into detail here.

When the shaman finishes chanting, she asks a man to bring a unit of mulberry leaves with pig meat from the wooden ritual plate and puts it on a high place on the outside of the house itself. It is put there as an offering of *lingasan* to thank the ancestral spirits for bringing wild animals (*qimang*), spiritual power (*ruqem*), and good fortune (*sepi*) to villagers. After preparing more similarly constituted offerings, the shaman walks around first to the men in the room to perform *papuruqem*, which she does by placing her hand along with a unit of offering on the person's head as she recites texts to enhance their spiritual power. After she has finished with the men, the shaman does the same for the women inside the house.

As a matter of fact, enhancing spiritual power is mentioned quite often in many chapters of the chanting texts. Specifically in every section of the *vavurungan* chapter, we find sentences like these:

saka na ma papu garhang, saka na masan ruqem anga,
indeed give defensive power indeed become spiritual power
saka na ma patje ringau anga . . .
indeed enpower soul

Indeed the defensive power is given; indeed, it has become the spiritual power,
indeed the soul has been empowered . . .

But why do Kulalao men receive spiritual powers prior to the women at the end of a chanting ritual? The spiritual power is said to originate from the life creator *Naqemati*. It is like a defensive power. With it, one can resist invasion by bad spirits. Without *ruqem*, one becomes weak. If a person hunts a lot of animals, it is believed that he as well as all of his family members must have strong spiritual powers to influence each other. Men are responsible for hunting animals and fighting enemies. As such, they are often exposed to danger and, therefore, require more spiritual power for protection than women do. Human beings are born with *ruqem*, but *ruqem* decreases due to contact with bad things. Ordinary people have to constantly pray for the enhancement of *ruqem* by offering expensive domesticated pigs which they use to "buy" or exchange for *ruqem* and *qimang*. But the exchange of domesticated pigs for wild animals reflects the unequal and hierarchical relationship between Kulalao ancestral spirits and villagers, including the shamans. Despite the difficulty and expense of raising the offered pigs, whether one actually receives the hoped for *ruqem* and *qimang* is completely up to the ancestral spirits. In the case of Siberian hunting shamanism (Hamayon 1994), the shaman tries to imitate, seduce, negotiate, and even trick animal spirits. The Paiwan Kulalao shaman has no such control over ancestral spirits. She merely delivers messages one way from ancestral spirits by chanting the fixed texts, and praying that they grant *qimang*, the key to all kinds of well-being.

The Protection of "House" and "Village"

The importance of the house (*qumaqan*) in hierarchical Paiwan society is well documented by researchers (Wu 1993; Chiang and Li 1995). It is commonly known that each Paiwan house has a name, and everyone's last name is that of the house in which he or she was born. A first-born child continues to live in the house in which he or she was born after marriage. In the past, although other siblings married out, when they passed away their bodies were returned and buried in their house of origin. The first house to be built in a village was that of the chief family, and when, after many generations, many descendants of married-out siblings had become commoners, they still liked to trace their ancestry back to the original house of the chief family. Each Kulalao chief has a designated shaman to practice rituals in his or her house for all villagers who can trace their origins back to the chief's house. I pointed out (Hu 1999b) that, in most Paiwanese literature, the house was considered a material existence or a unit of social organization. It was through the recording and translating of Kulalao chanting texts of the *vavurungan* that I began to realize that the House is a personified figure,[7] as is the Village. Hence, when these terms are used in this way, I have given them an initial capital letter.

Another thing that drew our attention is the fact that shamanic chanting is always performed in the house. After falling into a trance and before the start of the *vavurungan* chapter, the shaman chants: "We begin to chant in the house, at home, gathering (here), meeting (here) . . ." (*tjesazazatj itjen i qumaqan i taquvan, rhedretengu, rhetsevungu* . . .) What are the reasons for performing rituals inside the house? A knowledgeable Kulalao shaman replied:

We have to do rituals in a safe, well-guarded place. *Qumaqan* is like a person with life (*nasi*) and spiritual power (*ruqem*). At the beginning of each ritual, we recite texts to call for the protection of the House. When construction is

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[7] In the *vavurungan* chapter, House (*qumaqan*) is the first founding elder to chant: "I am House, you have waited for me, you have burned (the millet stalk) to call me . . ." (*tiaken anga qumaqan, kalava mun, putsevul mun* . . .)

completed on the house, the owner kills a pig and prepares an offering consisting of representative pig bones and iron pieces to tie to the main crossbeam to enhance the spiritual power (*papuruqem*) of the House. It has to be a man who ties on the offering and recites the ritual text. The House is like a man protecting all people in the House.

Toward the end of a chanting ritual, the shaman puts three units of offerings on a place in the inner part the House (*tjai qumaqan*) and two offerings near the door of the House (*tjai paling*) to enhance the spiritual power of the entire House.

"Village," an extension of "House," is another founding elder that guards villagers. As I have just described, the House has two important parts: *tjai qumaqan* and *tjai paling*. Similarly, the Village consists of the significant parts of *vineqatsan* (the first house), *tsiniketsekan* (the part where the sign of the village is inserted), *tsangal* (the part for holding the bottom of the village), *qajai* (the part for fastening the top of the village), *ajak* (the part for handling the heads of enemies), *and parharhuvu* (the part for gathering wild animals). In the chanting texts for the magnificent Kulalao five-year ancestral ceremony (*Maleveq*), changeable texts inserted into the main fixed texts often mention the parts of Village, such as:

tu tarhang, tu lakev, nu tja qinalan, nu tja tsineketsekan,
for protection for defense our Village our inserted sign of Village
nu tja vineqatsan, nu tja ajak,
our first House our part to take care of the enemy's head

For protection, for defense, our Village, our inserted sign of Village, our first House
of Village, the part to take care of the enemies' heads in Village.

The male priest, who practices rituals related to the defense of Village and hunting, plays the most important role in the Kulalao five-year ancestral ceremony (Hu 1999a). After the female shaman performs the chanting ritual, the male priest brings the offerings to all parts of Village to enhance its spiritual power. The core of the five-year ancestral

ceremony is the activity of catching and piercing rattan balls with very long pointed bamboo poles held by males sitting on wooden stands in a circle. The male priest standing in the middle throws the balls. The entire activity is a symbol of obtaining wild animals and human heads bestowed by ancestral spirits. In the five-year ancestral ceremony, the first male priest, *Tjagarhaus*, is also highlighted. *Tjagarhaus* is a person with very strong spiritual power. From the chanted texts of the *marhepusausau* chapter, we find that due to *Tjagarhaus*' strong spiritual power, the road he passes is without enemies or darkness.

No matter how strong a person's spiritual power is, every founding elder warns villagers in the *vavurungan* chapter not to overuse their spiritual power for inappropriate things. If they leave the protection of Village, the founding ancestors don't know how to help them:

saka maia semagarhang , sema rinuqeman,
wish don't strong power use spiritual power
a nu qaiam , nu venatjes,
your bird your bird of divination
nu sinu arangan, nu ki kamarau anga mun, nu ki parhaketj anga mun,
when lose face look when to be startled you when to be peeked at you
nu sema tjai rikuz mun, nu qetseqetsengan,
when go that back you when palisade
maia anga nu i ne katsaqu a kemuda aiai ken.
not not know what to do say I

I hope you don't use strong power, use spiritual power inadequately.
Your bird, your bird of divination (already warned you).
When you lose face look, being startled, being peeked at (by the bad spirits);
When you go to the back, when you leave the palisade (of Village),
I don't know what to do (to solve your problems).

From the chanting texts, we realize that Kulalao rituals have their limitations. Villagers are better protected inside the ritually strengthened Village, especially inside House. Outside of Village they are exposed to the threats of bad spirits and enemies, and even Kulalao's founding elders have no way to help them. In the sixth chanting chap-

ter, *puqaiaqaiam*, the hunting ancestor *Tjakuling* appears and chants "I am *Tjakuling*, disappeared in the seat . . ." (*tisa tjakuling aken, a na maqurip i qirajan* . . .) The Kulalao shaman explains that *Tjakuling* was a very famous hunter with a record of 1,000 hunted animals. The reason for his disappearance was that he went to an inadequate hunting field. The purpose of the *Tjakuling* section is to remember this great hunter and warn villagers not to leave the boundaries of Village, thereby incurring disaster.

Conclusion: The Entextualization of Chanting Texts and Performances

Up till now, we have seen that shamanic chanting texts in the Paiwan Kulalao village are highly fixed in terms of content and structure. Kulalao female shamans (*puringau*) have no room or right to change chanting texts to meet different situations. Comparing the song words of Iban shamans with Paiwan chanting texts has stimulated my thinking. Clifford Sather (2001: 1–12) describes the songs of shamanic rituals of the egalitarian Saribas Iban society in west central Sarawak, Malaysia, noting that the words are composed and sung in a highly structured form. However, unlike the Paiwan Kulalao, once Iban male shamans (*manang*) have mastered a song repertoire, they are expected to manipulate texts to fit the particular context of each performance. The Iban *manang* are also expected to use their poetic skills to create or elaborate on imagery, internal dialog, and narrative drama and changes of tempo. There is no single, unalterable text for any individual ritual, and every song is constructed around an identifiable *jarai* ('journey' or 'pathway') of the Iban shaman's soul to the unseen world, to invite the shamanic gods to this world to assist him in his healing work. The Iban chanting words consist of dialogs of the *manang*'s soul with other human beings, gods, and even birds and animals on the journey. Iban shamans remain fully autonomous actors and are never seen as passive mediums, possessed by powers external to themselves. In con-

trast, Paiwan Kulalao shamans selected by the ancestral spirits[8] chant to fall into trances, and the fixed words of the chants are mainly statements, messages, teachings, warnings, and blessings from ancestral spirits. They are authoritative, monologic, and entextualized speech.

In fact, the words of Paiwan Kulalao chant are very like the ritual speech of the Weyewa in eastern Indonesia, studied by Joel Kuipers (1990). Weyewa ancestors give descendants fixed, inscribed, monologic, authoritative, and couplet-based ritual words (*li'i*), and ritual performance of the words of ancestors evokes an enduring, ancestrally established order. Weyewa ritual speech is regarded as a case of "entextualization." The concepts of "entextualization" and "contextualization" used by Joel Kuipers (1990: 7) are explained as follows. Entextualization refers to the ways by which the intertextual, cohesive, and authoritative aspects of a performance are foregrounded (Briggs 1988), i.e., it refers to a process in which a speech event is marked by the increasing thoroughness of poetic and rhetorical patterning and growing levels of detachment from the immediate pragmatic context; and contextualization refers to the sociocultural patterns by which actors link discourse indexically to the immediate circumstances of utterances. Thus, we can identify Paiwan Kulalao shamanic chants as "entextualized speech," and the words of Saribas Iban shamans' songs as composed with a great deal of dialog as "contextualized speech." In Kulalao chanting texts we do find many poetic couplets, but the texts are not based purely on couplets—we also find many triplets and rhetorically patterned parallel words and lines.

In this article, since my focus is on shamanic chanting, the entextualized speech has to be discussed in its chanted form and in the context of chanting performances. What difference does it make when entextualized speech appears in chanting, rather than in reciting? Chanting does have special significance. Jonathan Hill (1993) states that the

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[8] A prerequisite to becoming a Kulalao shaman is either to be born with a sacred bead (*zaqu*, the nutlet of a *Sapindus saponaria* plant) appearing in her bed, or from a family with shamans in its history. Then, in the process of initiation rituals, three sacred balls have to appear at different stages to confirm that she has been selected to be a shaman by the founding shaman *Drengerh*.

performances of shamans' songs and chants in rituals of the Wakuenai in Venezuela poetically construct the mythic space–time of relations between powerful mythic ancestors in the sky-world and their living human descendants in this world (Hill 1993: 158); and the shaman chants so that he can undertake a journey to retrieve the body-spirits of

Fig. 1. Paiwan Kulalao shamans perform ritual chanting inside the house. Photo: Hu Tai-li, 2004.

their patients from the dark netherworld of recently deceased persons (Hill 1993: 187). A "journey" or "road" is often linked with the shaman's chanting. P. Simoncsics finds that the magic song of the Siberian Nenets is the shaman's journey to the other world and his return from there (Simoncsics 1978: 400). Kulalao shamanic chanting is better described as a "road" than as a "journey" through mythic space–time that links founding ancestors to their living descendants in this world. The Kulalao shaman does not talk about her soul's journey to the spirit world. While chanting, it is the ancestral spirits that take the road to meet the shaman and deliver messages to the living through the shaman's mouth. Entextualization is reflected not only in Kulalao chanting texts characterized by the high degree of fixedness and monologic

speech, but also in chanting performances in which the shaman and ancestral spirits are unaffected by and nonconversed with people in the surrounding environments.

Let us go back to the questions I raised at the beginning of this paper: what are possible reasons for the high degree of fixedness of the chanting texts and the low degree of dramatization of the ecstatic chanting performances of Paiwan Kulalao shamanic chants?

I am amazed to see that the main figures in the Kulalao origin legend of rituals are in accord with the founding elders in the chanting texts, and that all Kulalao shamans chant the same texts, although some perform rituals for different chiefs' families. The Kulalao shaman told me that the fixed, unchangeable chanting texts are like strong, inscribed evidence of the origin of the Kulalao people to remind descendants not to forget the founding ancestors' teachings. Origin, the first-born, and founders are emphasized a great deal in hierarchical Paiwan society. Fixed chanting texts emphasize that value. Nonetheless, it is noted that the order of priority in chanting texts can be somewhat changed from the general rules of this world. As the highly valued hunting and headhunting activities of the past are no longer prevalent in contemporary Kulalao society, the obtaining of wild animals and human heads remains at the core of chanting texts that serve as reservoirs of historical memories and traditional values.

In chanting, the nature of the spirits which the Kulalao shaman encounters influences her performances. Although wild animals appear in the chanting texts, they are not animal spirits to pray to, but are controlled by or are in the company of the ancestral spirits. Founding elders, including the personified "House" and "Village" that appear in chants, are all authoritative and protective figures. The Kulalao shaman has no control over ancestral spirits and only plays a passive role, offering domesticated pigs in exchange for wild animals and spiritual power bestowed by the ancestral spirits, especially by the life creator *Naqemati*. The Kulalao shaman is the medium for delivering messages from ancestral spirits. There is no need for her to imitate the dramatic actions of animals or have dialogs with ancestral spirits during the chanting. The entextualization of chanting texts and performances

reflects the steady and well-guarded relationships in the symbolic system of hierarchical Paiwan society.

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Crossing the Seas: Tai Shamanic Chanting and its Cosmology*

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In a mountainous Tai-speaking village along the Sino-Vietnamese border, two female shamans and a group of Daoist priests carried out a Killing a Pig for Ancestors rite in a Nong family's stilt house. Daoist priests recited Chinese ritual texts at a temporary altar they had set up in front of the family altar, while two female shamans undertook their spirit journey by sitting on cushions, representing riding on horseback. It was past 6 o'clock in the morning and the female shamans were crossing the seas. I filmed the complete ritual using a camcorder set up alongside the shaman's altar. After the section of crossing the seas, a member of the audience, an old lady, kindly told me that the female shamans had called my souls back.

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Local people, shamans, and I have different ideas about the chanting of crossing the seas. To me, crossing the seas is the most notable section of the shaman's journey because its melody mimics the sounds of rolling sea waves and traveling on seas by boat. For local people, the biggest concern is with whether the souls of their family or community members drop into the seas. To shamans, crossing the seas tests their ability to access sprits and renews their power. In short, the crossing of the seas is the tensest moment in Tai shamanic practice because it is dangerous but also powerful for both shamans and ritual participants.

Tai shamans cross four kinds of sea or, speaking more specifically, four bodies of water in their spirit journeys: the *Longva* Sea (Sea of the Dragon Flower), the *Taemgyang* Sea (Sea of the Middle of the Lake), the *Yahva* Sea (Sea of the Flower Goddess), and the *Zojslay* Sea (Sea of the Ancestral Ritual Master), depending on the purpose of the ritual they undertake. In general, shamans visit and cross the *Longva* Sea to collect the souls of living people every time they make their journey. In the Building a Flower Bridge rite for pregnant women, shamans cross the *Taemgyang* Sea, where women who died in childbirth gather. In the flower rituals, which relate to matters of children's well-being, shamans cross the *Yahva* Sea to make offerings to the flower goddess. In the Delivering Fermented Wine rite in the household of ancestral ritual masters, shamans must cross the *Zojslay* Sea to display and renew their power through the obtaining of magic and talismans.

Descending or ascending to another world is a key shamanic practice, but for a mountain people descending into seas raises several questions. Has this population living in a mountainous area borrowed songs about crossing the seas from seaside dwellers, as Sun Hang (2003) suggests? What similarities or differences are present between the shamanic seas of mountain dwellers and the seas of coastal peoples such as Eskimos (Rasmussen 1995 [1929])? Are the seas real, or are they a metaphor to the mountainous people? Why and how did Tai people borrow the Chinese term *hai* in the creation of shamanic chanting? How does the Tai shamanic practice of dealing with difficulties in childbirth differ from the practice of the Cuna Indians of South America (Lévi-Strauss 1963)? Why do women who died in childbirth sink and suffer in the water? Why and how do Tai shamans cross the seas to obtain ritual power?

In this article I answer the above questions. I suggest that, on the one hand, the Chinese loan term *hai*, used in shamanic chanting in reference to bodies of water, indicates a long-term interaction between the Tai people and Han Chinese; on the other hand, the local terms for bodies of water reflect the local geography and landscape. In addition, I argue that seas, signified by either the Chinese loan term *hai,* or by the indigenous terms for bodies of water *dah* (river), *moq* (spring), *vaengz* (deep water), and *naemx* (water), refer either to dangerous or to otherwise powerful places. In terms of danger, common people may lose their souls in the *Longva* Sea, where dangerous springs are located, and pregnant women may lose their life in the *Taemgyang* Sea to the ghosts of women who died in childbirth. In contrast, shamans gain their power through and display their ability by crossing the *Yahva* and *Zojslay* Seas.

The article is divided into three sections. First, I offer a brief and select literature review on shamanic chanting and practice related to seas and childbirth. I clarify both the historical and geographical approaches that I take to analyze Tai shamanic chanting. In other words, to comprehend this chanting, one must know how the Tai people have interacted with Han Chinese and where they live. Therefore, there follows a brief history of Tai–Han Chinese interaction. Next, I give an overview the landscape in which a specific Tai people, the Zhuang, are located in southwest China, and in which the shamans make their spirit journeys. Finally, I offer an analysis of the four different kinds of seas that are visited or crossed in Tai shamanic journeys. The analysis is based on three rituals observed in two townships, Dajia and Ande, in Jingxi County, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, China, between 1999 and 2005. These rituals were: Delivering Wine to Ancestral Ritual Masters in Shaman Bei's household, in Dajia, 1999; Killing a Pig for Ancestors in a Nong family, in Dajia, 1999; and Delivering Wine to Nong Zhigao, in Ande, 2005. The concluding section responds to the questions I have raised.

Shamanic Chanting on Seas and Childbirth

Shamans, whether they live in coastal regions or in mountainous areas in America, carry out journeys to the sea and perform rituals to deal with personal and community crises. Rasmussen's (1995 [1929]) report gives a vivid description of how Iglulik Eskimo shamans descend underwater to the bottom of the sea in order to beg the sea spirit for forgiveness and to release marine animals or the souls of people who have broken taboos. Lévi-Strauss (1963) analyzes a shamanic song of the Cuna Indians in South America which deals with difficulty in childbirth. He argues that the efficacy of the song is due to the sick woman's familiarity with the chanting and its accompanying myth.

Shamanistic studies have shifted from simple comparison between shamans in different cultures to further consideration of the influences of political or colonial power on shamans and the interaction between shamanic practice and other institutional religions (Bacigalupo 2007; Brewer 2004; Thomas and Humphrey 1995). Two pieces of research provide a first-hand account of Eskimo (Rasmussen 1995 [1929]) and Cuna Indian (Lévy-Strauss 1963) shamanic rituals and detailed analyses of shamanic chanting, but they both treat their subjects as individual groups that had not interacted with other people. This is even despite the fact that the Cuna Indian's shamanic song was recorded and translated into Spanish during the colonial period (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 186–187).

Sun Hang (2003) takes an ethnomusicological approach to investigate the melodies of the female ritual specialist (Ch. *tianpo*) among the Pian people in a mountainous area of Fangchenggang in Gunagxi and argues that the melodies used in the section of crossing the seas is borrowed from people living in coastal areas. In her observations, the Pian people carry out purely agricultural activities and their everyday life contains nothing relevant to the sea. However, in local memory a famous Vietnamese female ritual specialist brought in a string instrument. Sun Hang suggests that it is not surprising that, with the adoption of the stringed instrument, the *tianpo* also adopted the coastal peoples' melodies and lyrics of crossing the seas.

Both mountain-dwelling and coastal groups have shamanic chanting about crossing or traveling to seas or bodies of water to resolve personal

or community crises, but their concepts about these seas and the causes of difficulty in childbirth differ. The differences reflect not only their environment and myths, but also their history of interaction with other groups. Among the Indians of North and South America, shamans overcome crises in a separate journey in which they go directly to the sea spirit in an ocean or to the evil spirit inside a woman's womb. In contrast, Tai shamans in southwest China, both male and female, include traveling to the seas and ensuring trouble-free childbirth in a single journey. For the Tai, the cause of childbirth problems is located outside the woman's body.

The phenomenon of using loan words to create couplets in shamanic chanting is very common among Austronesian people and has been well discussed (Fox 1989). I take the Tai people's experience of traveling to bodies of water to explain why I do not completely agree with Sun Hang's argument that the Pian people are not at all familiar with seas.

Brief History of Tai and Han Chinese Interaction

Tai and Han Chinese have been interacting for centuries through the Chinese state's military and civilizing projects. The most significant military event occurred when the Qin troops defeated one of the Tai's ancestors, the Qi'ou tribe, in the year 219 BC. The Chinese state has carried out both civilizing and military projects among ethnic groups in marginal areas of the state. Some groups escaped from the state, but others accepted state rule. Compared with the Miao and Yao peoples, who escaped from the expanding Chinese state, Tai people make up one of the groups who accepted Chinese culture.

The Chinese state used two main administrative systems to manage ethnic groups: the *jimi*[1] and *tusi* systems. These systems also created a

[1] The empire-wide *jimi* policy began in the Tang dynasty. The term *jimi* can be found in Sima Qian's *Shiji*, wherein *ji* means 'horse halter' and *mi* refers to the rope used to tether a cow. In the Lingnan region, the policy was largely applied in western Guangxi where people were less sinicized. The influence of the policy was limited, and powerful tribal leaders still succeeded in developing their power and causing harm to the Chinese state.

local ruling class native chieftains. Tai native chieftain families were willing to learn the Chinese script and dress in Chinese clothes. During the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), emperors required a native chieftain's successor to be sent to the capital to receive a Chinese education; otherwise, such persons were not eligible to inherit the chieftain's position. In addition, the central court asked every native chieftain to provide genealogical diagrams as a means of confirming the status of their successor. As a result, the native chieftains began to compile genealogies in Chinese. The Chinese state also ordered local officials to establish Confucian schools, and some native chieftains aggressively built Confucian schools in their domains. Furthermore, the Ming and Qing governments encouraged native chieftains to participate in the imperial examination. This was a way in which they could obtain prestige and maintain their status, but it also resulted in the policy of replacing native chieftains by officials assigned by the Chinese courts, a movement known as *gaitu guiliu*. Government-assigned officials eventually replaced the last Tai native chieftain during the early 1950s.

The long-term Tai–Han interaction and the presence of these Chinese state systems resulted in two culture systems, a Chinese administrative system and a Tai culture system. These two systems intertwine on different scales among different professions of the Tai people. Both the ruling class and Daoist priests are familiar with the Chinese administrative system and are masters of the Chinese script. The ruling class compiled Chinese genealogies and hired Daoist priests to transcribe Chinese Daoist texts and recite them in Southwest Mandarin. In contrast, the ruled class, or ordinary people, and shamans communicate with people and spirits, respectively, in their everyday life or religious practice in the local dialect without using Chinese texts. The third kind of Tai ritual specialist, male vernacular ritual practitioners called *bousmo*, display a high hybridity of these two systems. They read the texts written in Zhuang script, which itself is based on Chinese script and local dialect.

The history of Tai–Han interaction is much more complicated than what I have introduced here, but this brief description gives an explanation of why Chinese script and loan terms appear in Tai society. Although shamans do not master Chinese script, they do live in a

society in which Chinese texts and language are available. This feature of parallelism in Tai shamanic chanting must be considered within the history of Tai–Han interaction and the practice of two systems.

Landscape and the Tai Shamanic Journey

The Zhuang, named such by the People's Republic of China in the 1950s, is one of the Tai-speaking peoples distributed across southwest China. In this article, when I refer to the Tai people I speak specifically of the Zhuang people. The Zhuang are the most populous ethnic minority in China, with a population of about seventeen million (China census in 2000). A Chinese saying reflects the distribution of ethnic groups in southwest China. It is said that Han Chinese inhabit areas near markets, Zhuang people live close to water, and Miao (or Hmong), Yao, and Yi people dwell in mountains (Fan and Gu 1997: 1). However, the saying does not reflect the current distribution of the Tai people. Ideally, the Tai rely on rivers for irrigation and carry out paddy-field farming in open and flat plains, but some have emigrated to more remote mountainous areas, in which irrigation is not available.

Water is essential to life, but also has the ability to take life. Whether Tai people live close to water along the flat plain or in a narrow valley and far away from water, they all rely on water but often suffer from both flood and draught. Locating a spring is a prerequisite for establishing a settlement in a mountainous area. Although water from springs is limited during the dry season for villages in remote mountainous areas, these villagers may still drown in seasonal rivers or, more precisely, flash floods during the rainy seasons. In the Tai religious system, bodies of water such as rivers, springs, ponds, and lakes are dangerous places because people's souls may fall into them or be kidnapped by their guardian spirits. A vivid story tells how a guardian spirit of water kidnapped a lady:

> My grandma saw a handsome young man passing while she was doing embroidery on the balcony. She disappeared. The whole family looked for her for a couple of days, but in vain. Then they consulted a Daoist priest. He

suggested that we go to the cave of the Dragon King (in Ande) and throw a bamboo rice sifter into the water. Surprisingly, grandma's body gradually floated up to the surface. (Interview with *Mehmoed* Mei's son, March 2005)

The story is an extreme case of a life that was taken by a guardian spirit of a spring in a cave. However, more usual cases are that the souls of one or perhaps several people are pulled into springs, rivers, or ponds when they pass by and do not return home with their body. If the loss of souls causes illness, people consult ritual practitioners and carry out rituals to call them back. Ritual practitioners also need to pacify the souls of those whose death was caused by floods, considered by the Tai to be a bad death, to prevent them from causing more accidents.

Several kinds of ritual practitioners undertake rituals in Tai society, but only female shamans (*mehmoed)* and male shamans (*moeddaeg*) can see and call the souls of the living back during their journey. Daoist priests (Ch. *daogong*), ritual masters (Ch. *shigong*), vernacular ritual practitioners (Ch. *mogong*), and Buddhist Daoist practitioners (Ch. *fogong*) are male. Female shamans number many more than male shamans. The male practitioners have written ritual texts in Chinese or Tai scripts, while shamans perform rituals without reciting any written texts but with the assistance of ancestral masters and tutelary spirits. Here, I focus on the chants of Tai female shamans, or *mehmoed*, as they are performed in three rituals in Jingxi.[2]

The *mehmoed*'s spirit journey is called *lohmoed*, or "the *moed*'s road." For most of the journey, *mehmoed*s travel on horseback. The horse-riding image is presented either in sound or by some visual means. *Mehmoed*s have two copper instruments that are used together to make rhythms imitating horse-riding: these comprise five copper chains and a copper mirror (pl. 1). When they start making the horse-riding rhythms by striking the chains against the mirror, their journey formally begins. The *mehmoed*'s tutelary spirits are called *beengmax* (*beeng* 'soldier,' *max* 'horse'), and they take the form of spirit soldiers with horses. When the temporary altar is set up for the shaman's

[2] For further description of how ordinary women become *mehmoed* and their initiation ceremony, see Gao (2002).

ritual, it is necessary to have on it a bowl of rice with paper-cutting horses. While the ritual is proceeding, *mehmoed*s make the sounds of horses neighing to order ritual assistants to burn paper-cutting horses to replace the previous horses which were too exhausted to continue to run. *Mehmoed*s take several breaks during a long journey. Chanting segment 1 illustrates that tethering horses is a signal to take a break.

Chanting Segment 1:

deih	*deenx*	*meiz*	*go*	*dao*	*lamh*	*max*	
place, land	this	have	CL.*	palm	fasten	horse	

There is a palm tree to tether horses in this place.

bak	*dou*	*meiz*	*gveiq-*	*val*	*lamh*	*leyz*	*nar*
mouth	door	have	sweet olive tree		fasten	horse	PRT.

In front of the door there is a sweet olive tree to tether a horse.

*The following abbreviations are used through this article: AUX., auxiliary word; CL., noun classifier; PRT., particle; O.P., ordinal prefix; INTERJ., interjection.

A *mehmoed*'s spirit journey is divided into two main parts: visiting the human world on the earth, and visiting the spirit world in the sky. The whole journey takes more than six hours and is indicated by speech rather than by physical movement in that *mehmoed*s say or speak out (*gangj*) what they see and do in their journey. Before *mehmoed*s start their journey, they have to summon deceased ancestral ritual masters, *bah*s; then they put on ceremonial dresses. A journey cannot begin until the *mehmoed* makes the sounds of a horse neighing. First, they travel through the human world, passing houses, villages, fields, vegetable gardens, hills, forests, rivers, ponds, springs, caves, streets, and temples. Each place has its guardian spirits, who may or may not possess the *mehmoed* and make speeches. The *mehmoed*'s duty in traveling the human world is not only to mediate between spirits and human beings, but also to call back human souls that have been lost.

After traveling through the human world, *mehmoed*s ascend to the sky, where the spirit world is located. Crossing the seas takes place in the spirit world. Where *mehmoeds* travel in the sky depends on the purposes and the scale of the ritual. The places include tombs, flower

gardens, markets, and seas. When passing the celestial cemetery, ancestors communicate with their descendants through the mouth of the *mehmoed*. *Mehmoed*s also look after children's souls in the heavenly flower gardens (Gao 2002; Kao 2011). In addition, they take the souls of everyone in the household, or of all ritual representatives of the community in which the ritual is taking place, to purchase goods in the heavenly market. In the sky, *mehmoed*s take people's souls together with them when they cross the seas by boats. I will elaborate further on crossing the seas in the next section. Finally, the fermented wine and offerings are delivered to deities, such as the Jade Emperor and the Dragon King, before *mehmoed*s can take all the souls to return to the human world. The journey is completed when the *mehmoed*s stop hitting the copper instruments, burn the remaining paper-cutting horses. and leave the cushions upon which they sit.

In the previous two sections, I have given a brief history of Tai–Han interaction and introduced the landscape, a belief system of the Tai people, and the *mehmoed*'s journey. In the next section I will illustrate the *mehmoed*'s words and actions while crossing the seas.

Crossing the Seas

Shamanic chanting on crossing different categories of sea illustrates different levels of crisis that Tai people experience and which involve both birth and death in their society. At a general and personal level, everyone has experiences of losing souls and of bodies of water. Crossing the *Longva* Sea to search for souls is the *mehmoed*'s primary ability. Shamanic chanting makes unseen souls visible. Dropping into the *Taemgyang* Sea might be a pregnant woman's fate and result in a household crisis and further disruption in the community. Not only *mehmoed*s, but also the pregnant woman's natal and husband's family need to make efforts to overcome this danger. The *Taemgyang* Sea marks the second-level crisis. At the higher level, *mehmoed*s renew and display their power by crossing the *Yahva* and *Zojslay* seas. The ability to access the goddess who protects children, and the ancestral

ritual masters who trained the *mehmoed*s, ensures the continuity of Tai society in general and the ritual specialists as a group.

The *mehmoed*'s chanting conjures up a vivid picture of sailing on seas in boats. In *Mehmoed* Bei's household ritual, a *mehmoed* described what she saw when she visited the Dragon Emperor of the Great Sea (*lungzvengz dajhaiq*). First, she described the fine wood carving of the boat they were taking (chanting segment 2, lines 2–3). They could not voyage until construction of the boat was finished and candles were lit to show the road (lines 5–6). They transferred to another boat (lines 7–8), and then she described the appearance of the rolling sea waves, with active fish and shrimp (lines 9–12). The sailing was not always smooth. It was very dangerous to pass a spring and difficult to avoid hitting big rocks (lines 15–17). Eventually, they came ashore (lines 18–19).

Chanting Segment 2:

dej	*gvaq*	*loh*						
about to	pass	road						
gauj	*Veenf -*	*lanf*	*gvaq*	*haij*	*noh*	*langz*	*har*	
nine	person's name		pass	sea	PRT.	boy	PRT.	
We are going to cross the ninth road, Veenf-lanf, cross the sea, boys.								1
du	*du*	*du*						
(Sound of horse neighing)								
. . .								
tu	*lioz*	*gyamx*	*mak*	*gak*	*mak*	*gam*		
head	boat	carve	fruit	anise	fruit	orange		
The front of the boat is decorated with a woodcarving of anise and orange.								2
tang	*lioz*	*gyamx*	*fuengh*	*va*	*fuengh*	*va*		
tail end	boat	carve	phoenix	flower	phoenix	flower		
The stern of the boat is decorated with a woodcarving of phoenix and flower.								3
. . .								
ai	*lioz*	*dos*	*rengz*	*gor*	*air*			
INTERJ.	boat	make	strength	PRT.	PRT.			
	or	air	dos	lioz	air	dos	lioz	

	PRT.	PRT.	make	boat	PRT.	make	boat	
We made efforts to build boats, to build boats.								4
demj	*daeng*	*gvas*	*ngiomz*	*ndaem*	*ngiomz*	*ndaem*		
light (v.)	light (n.)	cross	cave	dark	cave	dark		
Turn the light on and pass a dark cave.								5
zang	*lab*	*gvaq*	*ngiomz*	*byongs*	*ngiomz*	*byongs*		
set	candle	cross	cave	arrive	cave	arrive		
Light candles, we are crossing and arriving at a cave.								6
. . .								
Loengz	*naemx*	*ues*	*gvas*	*gwr*				
descend	water	turn	cross	here				
				dangs	*lwz*	*dangs*	*lwz*	
				each	boat	each	boat	
Descend into the water and transfer to another boat.								7
kwenj	*maek*	*dos*	*bae*	*gwr*				
ascend	dry	make	go	here				
		dangj	*max*	air	hair	*dangj*	*max*	
		stop	horse	PRT.	PRT.	stop	horse	
Once ascend dry land and stop horses.								8
. . .								
naemx	*lej*	*lae*	*loengz*	*gvas*	*doyj*			
water	PRT.	flow	descent	pass	under			
		lunh	*kao*	*pumj*	*kao*	*pumj*		
		say	white	white	white	white		
The water flowing under the boat is white.								9
loengz	*doyj*	*lioz*	*kao*	*pyayj*	*kao*	*pyayj*		
descent	under	boat	white	white	white	white		
The water or waves under the boat is/are white.								10
bya	*mbaen*	*haet*	*ndang*	*nyaoh*	*ndang*	*nyaoh*		
fish	fly	make	body	shrimp	body	shrimp		
Fish and shrimps are flying in the water.								11
bya	*nyaoh*	*haet*	*ndang*	*aen*	*ndang*	*aen*		
fish	shrimp	make	body	CL.	body	CL.		
Fish and shrimps are jumping in the water.								12

. . .

kvaenj	*deenx*	*gar*	*aen*	*mbos*	*aen*	*mbos*	
step	this	being	CL.	spring	CL.	spring	

This step is a spring, a spring. 13

langz	*gur*	*maz*	*gvas*	*hoj*	*gvas*	*kaem*	
boy	also	come	cross	difficulty	cross	bitter	

Boys overcome difficulties and bitterness in this step. 14

. . .

kanj	*teen*	*gar*	*aen*	*kyays*	*aen*	*kyays*	
piece	stone	being	CL.	egg	CL.	egg	

The stone is as big as an egg. 15

. . .

vid	*der*	*taeng*	*vid*	*naek*	*vid*	*naek*	
more	about to	arrive	more	deep	more	deep	

The water is getting deeper and deeper. 16

vid	*dej*	*taeng*	*vid*	*vaengz*	*vied*	*vaengz*	
more	about to	arrive	more	danger	more	danger	

The water is getting more and more dangerous. 17

. . .

doengh	*deenx*	*kuenj*	*deih*	*mboek*	*deih*	*mboek*	
valley	this	ascend	place, land	dry	place, land	dry	

Ascend to the dry land in this valley. 18

doeg	*lioz*	*ler*	*kuenj*	*deih*	*rengx*	*deih*	*rengx*
pull	boat	prt.	ascend	land	dry	land	dry

Pull the boats ashore. 19

Crossing the four major categories of seas, especially the *Longva* Sea, reveals the Tai people's concept of souls and demonstrates that only *mehmoed*s have the ability to search for and call back lost souls. According to the *mehmoed,* people have twelve souls which dwell in different parts of the body, but they can easily become lost when people travel or are frightened. Losing too many souls causes serious illness or even death. People hire *mehmoed*s if an illness is diagnosed as caused by the loss of too many souls.

In the *mehmoed*'s ritual, souls are identified not by their owner's name but by the owner's current age, and *mehmoed*s place returning souls in a bamboo-woven container, known as an *aengyeong* (Gao 2005). In *Mehmoed* Bei's household ritual, a *mehmoed* reports the age of the soul they have seen and then calls them back immediately after crossing a sea (chanting segment 3).

Chanting Segment 3:

vaenz	*geiq*	*byag*	*liz*	*va*	*hoij*	*toiq*	*yo*	*langz*
day	today	apart	boat	flower	let	return	PRT.	boy

Today, let them leave a flower boat and return, boys.

. . .

bei	*nuen*	*naej*	*seiq*	*haj*
year	month	have	forty	five

The one aged forty-five.

bei	*nuen*	*naej*	*seiq*	*sam*	*haz*
year	month	have	forty	three	PRT.

The one aged forty-three.

Shamans cross the *Taemgyang* Sea (*taem* 'lake,' *gyang* 'middle') when they carry out rituals for pregnant women in order to ensure an uneventful childbirth. The Tai believe that women who die in childbirth suffer in water, known as *Taemgyang*. If someone's destiny is that she will die in childbirth, *mehmoed*s must save them by crossing the *Taemgyang* Sea. In this kind of ritual, a duck and a chicken have to be prepared to save her soul. The duck can carry her across the sea and the chicken is an offering to the spirits. *Mehmoed* Tao explained in her chant why and which people prepare for the ritual of crossing the *Taemgyang* Sea (chanting segment 4).

Chanting Segment 4:

baengh	*nih*	*hoyj*	*du*	*baet*	*voz*	*reiz*
side	you	give	CL.	duck	neck	long

Your (husband's) family gives you a long-necked duck.

meh	*nih*	*hoyj*	*du*	*gays*	*voz*	*laiz*
mother	you	give	CL.	chicken	neck	spotted

Your mother gives you a spotted-necked chicken.

ndang	*nih*	*tai*	*taem -*	*gyang*
body	you	die	lake	middle

(Otherwise) you will die in the middle of the lake.

ndang	*moyz*	*tai*	*taem -*	*gyang*
body	you	die	lake	middle

You will die in the middle of the lake.

Water harms pregnant women but benefits a fetus. In shamanic chanting, the water (*naemx*) also refers to amniotic fluid. In the rite of Killing a Pig for Ancestors, *Mehmoed* Hong describes the process of a fetus growing in water (chanting segment 5).

Chanting Segment 5:

Hoir	*lor*	*langz*	*langz*
INTERJ.	INTERJ.	boy	boy

Oh, boys, boys.

slam	*ndun*	*naemx*	*tumj*	*kvaet*
third	month	water	over	crus bone

In the third month, water is over (the baby's) lower leg.

zaet	*ndun*	*naemx*	*tumj*	*kaus*
seven	month	water	over	knee

In the seventh month, water is over (the baby's) knees.

gauj	*ndun*	*naemx*	*tumj*	*voz*
nine	month	water	over	neck

In the ninth month, water is over (the baby's) neck.

sleep	*nduen*	*naemx*	*tumj*	*bo*	*tumj*	*mbas*
ten	month	water	over	(unknown)	over	shoulder

In the tenth month, water is over (the baby's) shoulders.

Hoir,	*ner*	*langz*	*langz*
INTERJ.	INTERJ.	boy	boy

Oh, boys, boys.

ndok	*nir*	*daoh*	*doek*	*fag*	*caemr*	*caemr*
flower	this	then	fall	mat	soon, fast	

Then, in a short time, the child was born.

The chanting describes how water gradually reaches the different parts of a baby's body. According the *Mehmoed* Bei, the child's soul will move to the place of the Flower Goddess, which is located in the *Yahva* Sea, and the Goddess will pick up the soul. Finally, the child will be born.

Seas or other bodies of water are also a metaphoric place for *mehmoed*s to display and renew their power. Only *mehmoed*s can travel the *Yahva* Sea and the *Zojslay* Sea (*zoj* 'ancestor,' *slay* 'master') to access the two kinds of spirit, the Flower Goddess and ancestral ritual masters, which engage the continuity of the Tai community and the specialist's lineage. When the rite of Delivering Wine (to Ancestral Ritual Masters) is performed for the families of professionals, *mehmoed*s cross the *Zojslay* Sea. Tai people use the term *zojslay* to address different kinds of specialists (blacksmiths, carpenters, medicine men, geomancers, ritual specialists) in order to show their respect to them. The families of these professionals are required to carry out rituals for their ancestors annually or every few years.

*Mehmoed*s obtain, display, and enhance their power when they cross the most complex and dangerous sea, the *Zojslay* Sea. Both ritual experts and common people identify crossing the *Zojslay* Sea as the most difficult part of the Tai shamanic journey. In general, there are thirty-six parts of the *Zojslay* Sea. *Mehmoed* Hong and her fictive younger sister chanted "Oh, this is the sea of a group of ancestral masters who have much magic; this is a sea of civil and military ancestral masters," when they crossed the third part of the *Zojslay* Sea.[3] Several kinds of ancestral masters are referred to in the chanting, including the ancestral master of

[3] The two *mehmoed*s conducted a rite of Killing a Pig for Ancestors for a family with the surname Nong in Jingxi in 1999. Due to space limitations here, for the complete chanting segment on crossing the Zojslay Sea, see Appendix I in the conference paper (Gao 2010).

magic power, civil and military masters, a geomancer, and *fengshui* specialists. The shamans use a symbol to describe how ancestral masters are powerful, such as having a bright eye (*zojslay taruengh*). *Mehmoed* Mei's chanting offered additional information on how powerful ancestral ritual masters are when she conducted a communal ritual to deliver wine to a hero's spirit (Kao 2009). In crossing the fifth sea, she could see ancestral ritual masters who had numerous magical abilities and talismans. They carried this powerful magic and their talismans to help her cross the sea (chanting segment 6).

Chanting Segment 6:

gao	*gvas*	*kyuem*		*daih*	*haj*	*daih*	*haj*
row	cross	deep	water	O.P.	five	O.P.	five

Row to cross the fifth, the fifth deep water.

lah	*taen*	*bah*	*goek*	*fouz*	*goek*	*fouz*
watch	see	bah	root	talisman	root	talisman

See the root of the talisman of *bah*s.

lah	*taen*	*buz*	*goek*	*fap*	*goek*	*fap*
watch	see	buz	root	magic	root	magic

See the root of the magic of *buz*es.

fap	*bah*	*meiz*	*gij*	*kon*		*gij*	*kon*
magic	bah	have	several	carrying	pole	several	carrying

*Bah*s have several carrying poles of magic.

fouz	*bah*	*bay*	*gvas*	*haij*	*gur*	*o*	*gur*
talisman	*bah*	go	cross	sea	also	great	also

*Bah*s with talismans are good at crossing the seas.

fouz	*bah*	*bay*	*gvas*	*vaengz*	*guj*	*ak*	*guj*
talisman	*bah*	go	cross	deep water	also	great	also

*Bah*s with talismans are good at crossing the deep water.

Mehmoed Hong and her fictive younger sister's chanting also demonstrates their shamanic power and fulfills their duty in the spirit journey. In terms of demonstrating power, the successful journey shows that they had learned how to reach the seas and cross them; otherwise, they

cannot carry out a major ritual such as delivering fermented wine to deities or ancestors. Audiences judge *mehmoed*s by whether they are able to carry out a journey without losing their way. In terms of fulfilling their duty, *mehmoed*s have to call spirit-soldiers with horses, *bah*s, ritual participants, assistants, and the two Tai groups, the Iang and the Iayj, to follow and ensure that they cross the seas without mishap.

Discussion

Tai shamanic chanting on crossing the seas reflects the Tai people's history of interaction with the Han and a cosmology that is based on their landscape. In terms of Tai–Han interaction, Tai shamanic chanting on crossing the sea uses both Chinese loan terms and several indigenous words to refer to bodies of water. In terms of cosmology, crossing the seas is dangerous, involves the Tai concept of souls, and demonstrates a shaman's power while at the same time enhancing it. The seas are both real bodies of water and metaphoric space to the mountain-dwelling Tai people and shamans.

In Tai shamanic chanting we see not so much the influence of the Chinese administrative system as that of the Tai culture system. The chanting deals wholly with local geography and landscape. However, both systems appear at the poetic level. Chinese loan terms and indigenous words are both utilized in the composition of shamanic chanting. The Chinese loan terms have been internalized in Tai shamanic chanting and represent Tai cosmology.

Although the mountain-dwelling Tai borrow the Chinese word *hai*, it does not follow that only coastal peoples can create a melody that mimics the sound of sailing on the seas. It might be a coincidence that both coastal and mountain peoples create melodies that imitate sailing, either on seas or in rivers. It might be true that the Pian people adopted a famous Vietnamese female ritual specialist's ritual instrument and melodies and lyrics of crossing the seas. However, not all of the Tai people have been living in the mountainous areas generation after generation for hundreds or thousands of years. Among them, many move back and forth through the wide and narrow valleys, depending on the

current political situation. In wider basins or on the plains, there are rivers and lakes on which boats are used to transport goods, people, and troops. Some Tai people traveled along rivers, such as the Shui people in Guizhaou (Holm 2008). Several historical accounts tell us that Nong Zhigao's and Lady Wa's troops traveled from mountainous valleys along the West River down to the coastal areas during the Song (960–1279) and Ming (1368–1644) dynasties, respectively (Barlow 1987; 1989). In addition, practices of making seafood offerings among the mountainous Tai people show that their ancestors must have had a close connection to the sea or to rivers.

The usage of Chinese loan words in Tai shamanic chanting is very common and illustrates a long history of interaction between the Tai people and Han Chinese (Kao 2011). Among the Tai, the Chinese loan word *hai* is used to refer to a big river or lake. The Cantonese dialects also borrow the term to refer to big rivers, and Southwest Mandarin uses *haizi* to refer to big lakes. The Chinese loan words have their function in creating a couplet, as James Fox (1989) found in his work on the parallelism adopted in ritual speech in Austronesian. There are plenty of examples in Tai shamanic chanting of creating a couplet or a phrase by using both Tai and Chinese words.[4]

Why the Pian people borrowed the coastal people's melody and why their ritual specialists used a coastal people's instrument to conduct rituals are topics worthy of further exploration. Do they use the chanting and music in order to communicate with coastal spirits? The shaman plays an important role in communicating with spirits, and ritual speech reflects the way ancestors talk (Fox 1989; Wagner 1977). To answer this question, one must consider the Pian people's history, but Sun Hang (2003) does not explore this important link. My studies on the Tai people's shamanic chanting provide a possible answer to this question. The usage of Chinese loan terms illustrates that the Chinese language does have an influence on indigenous Tai people on the margins of the Chinese state, but the influence has its limitations. Tai shamans communicate with local spirits and ordinary people's ancestors

[4] For more examples and discussion, see Kao (2011).

and souls. The Tai language is still the main language used in shamanic chanting. Tai shamans use Chinese loan terms to enrich their chanting and to display their ability to switch into different languages when facing local deities that are the result of the long-term interaction between the Tai and Han Chinese (Kao 2009).

Shamanic practices involve the production and reproduction of society and employ different bodies of water as metaphors. Among the Cuna Indians in South America, the road that shamans travel is the woman's vagina and the destination, a dark whirlpool, is the uterus. Among the Eskimo, an abortion causes a lack of sea animals. A failure of childbirth causes a lack of food. Tai shamans use a lake or water as a metaphor of either death or birth. Women who died in childbirth gather in the *Taemgyang* Sea and suffer. A fetus grows in water and waits to be born at the *Yahva* Sea.

Shamans also maintain their professional status by visiting a metaphoric space, the *Zojslay* Sea. Among different ritual specialists, only shamans can travel back and forth between the human world and another world and see invisible spirits. Crossing the *Longva*, *Taemgyang*, and *Yahva* seas involves the death and birth of Tai people, while the Zojslay Sea enhances the *mehmoed*'s/*moed*'s career. Annually or once every few years in the ritual of Delivering Wine to Ancestors of the ancestral master family, shamans display and enhance or renew their power by crossing the *Zojslay* Sea.

It is a cliché to say that shamans preserve the authentic Tai culture and act as mediators between sprits and human beings, but it is meaningful to say that shamanic chanting reveals not only a cosmology which concerns the life and the death of Tai people, but also the history of interaction between them and the Han Chinese. In this sense, shamans have embodied colonial history (Strathern 1996).

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The *Itako*, a Bridge Between This and the Other World

PETER KNECHT NAGOYA, JAPAN

The author discusses the pronouncements that an itako (miko), *a shaman typical of northern Japan, makes in her main ritual. In this ritual,* kuchiyose, *she makes two quite different kinds of pronouncements. In the ritual's introduction, in order to summon her guardian spirit who will assist her, she uses a fixed text, a sutra. In its main part she changes her manner of speaking to address the audience in ordinary language. The author suggests that the first part of the ritual is directed toward the spirits in the other world, while the second and longer part is addressed to living persons in this world. In this manner, the* itako *functions as a link between the two worlds.*

In this paper I am going to discuss a type of Japanese shaman, whom I will call *itako*, although locally there are a considerable number of terms by which people refer to them.[1] There is also a more inclusive Sino-Japanese term for 'shaman' that does not conjure up images of a local or specialized type. In the case of a female shaman this term is *fujo*

[1] *Itako* is a name used for mainly female blind shamans in the northern Prefectures Aomori and Akita. The material I am going to use comes from Miyagi Prefecture, where these shamans are usually called *ogamisan* (see Sakurai 1988: 448–451). However, I prefer to use the term *itako*, because among anthropologists it has become customary to call them by this originally local term, making it into a technical term for a particular kind of Japanese shaman. Scholars of Japanese folklore object to this sort of usage, probably because it disregards local usage, but even if local terms differ considerably from one another it does not mean that the subjects they designate, namely the shamans, differ substantially from one another.

(巫女), meaning 'woman with spiritual power.'[2] Since this term refers to any type of shaman, I prefer to use the more local term *itako*, because it is used for the particular kind of female shaman I am about to discuss.

At the outset I need to draw attention to two features of the article. First, although it is part of a collection dedicated to studies on shamanic chanting and symbolic representation, I am unable to present a study on chanting for reasons I will mention later on. Second, although I refer to other studies to support my own findings, I will mainly make use of material I was able to collect during fieldwork in a village of Miyagi Prefecture in the early 1980s. I was fortunate enough to be allowed to participate in and to record an extended session of *kuchiyose* (口寄せ) in the family at whose home I was a guest for many months during fieldwork.

Kuchiyose is a ritual where a spirit, meaning either a deity (*kami*) or an ancestral spirit, is called down and made to speak to its audience through the mouth of the person, a kind of shaman, who performs the ritual. The great majority of these persons are women who, with a few exceptions, are either blind or have weak eyesight (Katō 1992). Most of them are active in prefectures north of Tokyo, in Japan's northeast, the *Tōhoku* region. The expression used for this activity is *orosu* (降ろす), meaning 'to bring down.' Depending on whether the spirit called is a deity, *kami*, or the spirit of a dead person, *hotoke*, the rite used to call it is either a *kami oroshi* (神降ろし) in the first case or a *hotoke oroshi* (仏降ろし) in the latter. Although an *itako* can usually also call a divine spirit, *kami*, her real specialty, which she calls her "trade" (*shōbai* 商売), is to call forth a *hotoke*, the spirit of a dead person. In order to better understand what an *itako* is, and what the ritual *kuchiyose* is, I first outline the background of why and how a person becomes an *itako* because in this way it should be possible to show the characteristics of an *itako* and the *kuchiyose* ritual.

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[2] *Fujo* is the term for a female shamanic practitioner in general. The parallel term for a male shaman is *geki* (覡), translated as 'diviner' or 'medium.' Neither of these terms pays attention to local usage. For a discussion of the significance of these terms in Japanese scholarship, see Bouchy 2000.

As mentioned before, most *itako* are women who suffer from poor eyesight or blindness. Because of this physiological condition, a young woman herself or, what is more likely, a member of her family may suggest one day that she should become an *itako*. The reason for such a suggestion is most often the practical consideration that a blind woman cannot look after herself and could, therefore, be a burden to her family. If she became an *itako*, she could, with some luck, earn her own living and be independent. For such practical reasons an *itako* sees her activity as a "trade." It is, therefore, not surprising that one of them said: "The people in the town hall consider my work to be counseling, and me to be a counselor."[3] However, an *itako*'s clients see her in a quite different light, although the aspect of counseling may not be entirely absent from this picture, as we will learn later. The clients believe the *itako* to be a person capable of dealing with spirits, in particular with the spirits of the departed and, above all, the ancestral spirits of their household. For them she functions as a bridge to the other world that allows their ancestral spirits an alley of access to this world.

The *itako* herself explains that in a *kuchiyose* ritual a spirit speaks through her mouth. When I asked the *itako* who had performed the rite mentioned briefly at the beginning whether she could recall anything of what she had said, I got the somewhat annoyed answer: "How could I? It was not me who was speaking, it was the spirit." It is for such a reason that the *itako* is believed to be possessed by a spirit during a session of *kuchiyose*. According to Sasaki Kōkan, her state of possession is one of a type, in which she acts as the spirit possessing (and speak-

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[3] On the day this article was finished the *Asahi* newspaper carried a long article under the title "Vanishing *kuchiyose miko*." The article included a column about a research project instituted at the Prefectural Health University of Aomori Prefecture. The project is to study the influence of *miko* (*itako*) and their counseling on the minds of families of people who have committed suicide. The head of this publicly funded project says that he was made to think about such a study because *itako* had told him that among their clients were many from families where someone had committed suicide, and who wanted to know why such a tragedy had happened. In his findings, 34% of the persons studied had consulted a *miko* and 80% of these stated that their minds were healed (Anonymous 2010: 31). I thank my colleague Ishibashi Taisuke for having drawn my attention to this article.

ing through) her (Sasaki 1996: 249). The next question now is, how or under what condition can she become possessed by a spirit? In order to answer this question we need to proceed in two steps.

It is widely accepted that the first symptom suggesting a shamanic calling is a sickness that resists ordinary medical treatment. Eventually the patient will come to realize that the cause of the sickness is a spirit who intends to use the person to embody itself in her. In other words, in this view the sickness is a sign, even a necessary one at that, of a shamanic calling. The shamans I know in Inner Mongolia, for example, all agree that there can be no shaman if the person has not experienced a "shamanic sickness." But there might be sufficient reason to ask whether such a sickness is the condition *sine qua non* for becoming a shaman. For an *itako* it does not seem to apply, because the *itako* does not experience a sickness in this way. Even in the case where she has lost her eyesight as the result of an illness, her sickness is not interpreted as an indication of her being called by a spirit. Her physical handicap is rather the cause for a matter-of-fact reasoning in order to find a way to guarantee her an income, even if only a modest one, that will allow her to live economically independent from her family. If she finishes her apprenticeship successfully, she has a chance to pursue a profession that guarantees her that income. This is one of the reasons why the *itako* refers to her activity as a "trade" (*shōbai*).

However, in the course of an apprenticeship that lasts several years she is to acquire two quite different kinds of capabilities. For one, she is made to look after the daily chores in the house of her teacher. In this way she learns the practical skills of housekeeping which she will need to master in order to eventually keep her own house. Parallel with this practical training goes another, where she has to learn the ritual texts to be used when practicing as an *itako*. She learns these texts directly from her teacher, whose words she has to repeat again and again until she has them correctly memorized (Gotō 1971). Once she is considered to be sufficiently advanced in her training, she is taken along to assist at her teacher's rituals. However, throughout her apprenticeship she does not experience possession, nor is she explicitly taught how to perform a *kuchiyose*. The experience of both constitutes the culmination of her

time as an apprentice *itako*. Both are the central events in her initiation rite as an *itako*.

When the teacher feels that her apprentice is ready for that experience, a day is set for it to happen. In preparation for the event, the apprentice has to follow an increasingly rigorous regime of fasting and of cold water ablutions for several weeks. The culmination of this preparation is reached on the day when the decisive ritual takes place. Physically weakened by the austerities that have lasted for long weeks and carried away by the intense recitations of the *itako*s attending the ritual, the candidate finally falls unconscious. While in this state she is closely observed by those conducting the ritual to see whether she utters words or performs certain gestures that can be interpreted as a hint that reveals the deity who has taken possession of her and which will from now on be her guardian. The ritual is called "attaching a *kami*" (*kamitsuke* 神ツケ). Because this ritually induced experience is proof that the deity, whose name has been revealed during the ritual, will henceforth assist and guard the candidate, she is publicly acknowledged as a new *itako*. In order to offer further and concrete proof of her new status, the *itako* performs her first *kuchiyose* in which she calls the spirit of one of her own ancestors, who then speaks through her mouth. In all future performances of *kuchiyose* a spirit, either a deity or an ancestral spirit, will enter, i.e., possess her, and speak through her in the same way. Yet this, her first *kuchiyose*, differs from all future ones in two significant points: first, in the initial *kuchiyose* she calls one of her own ancestors, while in later performances she will call an ancestor of her client; second, in the initiation ritual the ancestral spirit addresses the new *itako* herself, and in a wider sense the audience of established *itako* who assist at the ritual.

The apprentice *itako*'s first *kuchiyose* presents still another peculiar aspect. Although the candidate has learned a great number of various ritual texts and has assisted her mentor in various rituals while still an apprentice, she has never explicitly learned how to perform a *kuchiyose* (Sakurai 1988: 468). Therefore, her first *kuchiyose* is literally a "first" in the sense that it demonstrates for the first time a certain degree of idiosyncrasy in her rituals that will be the trademark of her future performances of *kuchiyose*. Yet, this is probably only partially so because

in conducting a *kuchiyose* the *itako* does not only follow a rather general set sequence of steps shared with other *itako*, but she also uses certain characteristic terms for the persons whom the spirit addresses or talks about. These terms are not of her own making, they are passed on to her by her teacher.

Finally, I wish to add one more observation of a rather general kind concerning an *itako*'s initiation and to mention the consequences the observation may have in order to decide whether she is a real shaman or merely one with no genuine authenticity. To make the observation I make a detour to Inner Mongolia.

As I have mentioned earlier, all of my acquaintances among shamans in Inner Mongolia left no doubt that for them a "shamanic sickness" is the sign of a spirit calling them to become a shaman, so much so that no one without such an experience could be considered a true shaman. In other words, one cannot *want* to become a shaman as one might want to become a carpenter. However, right at the outset of my search for shamans in Inner Mongolia, an old man was introduced to me as being "the most powerful shaman in the area. The others who claim to be shamans are nothing but fake shamans." Eventually I had an opportunity to meet with this man. In the course of our conversation he told me how, early in his youth, he wanted to be a shaman and how he learned from an old shaman how to perform the rituals and recite the invocations. He then added that now he was old and had retired as a shaman. At one point I asked him if he had ever experienced something like a "shamanic illness." He laughed at me and said: "If illness were a reason for becoming a shaman, then every sick person could become a shaman, right?" At the time his remark took me off guard, but later on I came to think that it might not be entirely wrong. Although my shaman acquaintances did not think he was a true shaman, many ordinary people considered him to be shaman, even a quite powerful one. In Japan, too, there are persons who are considered to be shamans because they can make contact with spirits despite the fact that they have not experienced a mysterious sickness as a sign of their calling. Because they learned what is needed to function as a shaman, they are called

"shamans by learning" (*narai shaman* 習いシャマン).[4] In a certain sense, an *itako* falls into this category. Certainly, a sickness or physical handicap, namely blindness, is the motivating cause that made her start on the way to become an *itako*. Yet the sickness is not considered to be induced by a spirit's action. On the other side, having memorized long texts she is able to chant at a ritual, and she has learned what she needs to do for a ritual, but this alone does not make her an *itako*. It is a necessary condition, but not the only one. The decisive event which proves that she is indeed an *itako* is her first possession experience, the climax of her initiation rite of *kamitsuke*. Only from that moment on is she able to deal with spirits and work under their guardianship as a *fujo* (巫女), a female shaman in her own right.

With this we are now in a position to consider the second step in the conditions that make it possible for an *itako* to become possessed by a spirit. She has to take this step in preparation for any *kuchiyose*. It means that in order to be able to call a spirit the *itako* has first to implement certain mostly material conditions. Although the possessing spirit can be a divine as well as an ancestral one, depending on whether the *kuchiyose* performed is a *kami oroshi* in the first case or a *hotoke oroshi* in the latter, I will discuss only *hotoke oroshi*, because it constitutes the bulk of an *itako*'s "trade," her professional activity. In a *hotoke oroshi* the *itako* is assumed to be possessed by an ancestral spirit, i.e., the spirit of a departed person. In order to show what this second step entails I briefly describe the situation of the ritual I was able to witness.

It was August 15, 1982. The morning of that day was unusually busy for my host family. Breakfast was taken earlier than would have been expected for that day, the main day of O-Bon, the festival for the departed of the family. Usually, people take time to eat and to chat and so make the most of the visiting relatives. But on this morning everybody, family and guests alike, was busy preparing the main rooms of the house for a special guest. The guest, who was expected to arrive any moment, was an elderly blind woman, whom the young head of the household had gone early to pick up at her home in a somewhat

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[4] Sasaki Kōkan, personal communication.

distant town. When she arrived, she was first led to meet the family and invited to share a cup of tea with them, but she refused saying that she could not drink tea now because later it would be terrible for her. The reason given for her refusal was that the ritual she had come to perform would probably take a long time and she could not afford having to go to the toilet while it was going on. Therefore, she had only a short conversation with the family and soon asked to be shown to the room where the ceremony was to be held. There, in front of the Buddhist altar, the *butsudan* (仏壇), a low table had been put up. The woman took her place between the altar and the table so as to face the people who also had moved into the room after her. Without losing any time she immediately began to prepare the setting of the ritual.

It fell to the family to arrange a number of items on the table: the mortuary tablet of the person whose spirit was to be called; an incense burner with some sticks of burning incense in it; fruits, sweets, and a cup each of tea and water, because, as the *itako* said, the spirit would become thirsty when it had to speak for a long time. The mortuary tablet had to be put up in such a way that the departed person's posthumously given Buddhist name would face the audience. A small wooden box shaped like a box into which people place their monetary offerings at a temple was put close to the table's edge. During the ritual no money was used, but a woman in the audience, who also served as interpreter, was to put a chip into the box whenever a pronouncement, i.e., a *kuchi*, was finished. The clear sound caused by the chip falling into the box was the signal for the spirit that the people were asking for another *kuchi*. A basket filled with polished rice was placed on the floor at the table's right side. Two leafy twigs were thrust into the heap of rice, one from a willow, the other from a peach tree. This item was particularly important for the rite because it was to be the road by which the spirit the *itako* was going to call would arrive. Finally, a tray filled with roasted beans was placed next to the basket. At the end of the ritual the *itako* threw the beans into the room and everybody rushed to pick up as many of them as they could.

All of these items were arranged according to instructions given by the *itako*. While the family prepared the table, the *itako* herself readied the tools she was going to use for the ritual, mainly a bow and a large

rosary made of large beads interspersed with animal bones and old coins. She had brought these items with her in a wooden box. After she had assembled the three pieces of the bow, she attached the string to it. To the right end of the bow she bound some dried fibers of hemp, and to the opposite left end some white cotton wool. As soon as she had finished these preparations she put a stole (*kesa* 袈裟) around her neck, took the rosary into her hands, rubbed it between the palms of her hands producing a rushing sound, and began murmuring an incantation in a very low, almost inaudible voice. The incantation lasted for about five minutes. Next, the *itako* put the rosary aside to pick up the bow. Striking its string rhythmically, she continued her invocation, but again in such a low voice that the words were barely recognizable. In fact what she was chanting at this time was incomprehensible. After the ritual she said that what she chants in this initial stage is a text the *itako* learns during her apprenticeship with her teacher. She called it a "sutra," yet often it is not a formal sutra as it would be used by a Buddhist priest, for example. When I asked her what the "sutra" was, the *itako* did not mention a particular name for it. She only said that this initial invocation served to implore her guardian deity, the Buddhist deity Fudō, to assist her during the ritual.[5] This deity Fudō was to bring forth in turn an ancestral spirit, not identified by name, from an older generation of the family. This spirit addressed the attending family with a first *kuchi*, yet its main function was to act as a guide for the spirit of the recently departed family member, who was the principal reason for the ritual's performance and whom the family was eagerly waiting to meet. Suddenly the *itako* stopped striking the bowstring. Her voice grew louder, the words more articulate, and she began a regular kind of speaking. The introductory chanting accompanied by the sounds of the *itako* rubbing her rosary and then striking the bowstring

[5] Although this *itako* did not name any particular sutra, others report that they learned such texts as the Heart Sutra, the Kannon Sutra and others (Gotō 1971; Sakurai 1988: 103). However, Gotō also reports that *itako*s whom he interviewed told him that in a *kuchiyose* for the spirit of a departed person they use other special texts to call the spirit, such as *Ōyorikuchi* and *Koyorikuchi* (1971: 1, 5). Unfortunately I do not have any direct information on this matter from the *itako* whose ritual I was able to attend.

lasted perhaps for twenty minutes. During this time the family members had taken up their seats facing the table with the offerings, and the *itako* was seated behind it. The family's Buddhist altar, the *butsudan*, served as the overall backdrop for the whole scene.

The woman who was to monitor the ritual had taken up a seat on the right side of the table so that she had the wooden box for the chips in front of her. She was a relative of the family and the only person in the group who had some knowledge about how a *kuchiyose* would proceed. She was, furthermore, to some extent familiar with the particular terms the *itako* would use, so she could function as interpreter. Both of these roles are important because they guarantee the smooth progress of the ritual (Knecht 1996).

If any part of a *kuchiyose* can be labeled as chanting, I believe it would be the introductory incantation.[6] However, I have to say that nobody among the people present, including myself, was able to understand what the *itako* was murmuring. She herself did not offer any further explanation except to say that she had recited some sutra and that as a consequence of this the spirits had arrived. In other accounts of *kuchiyose* I have examined I did not come across any text that would present the words the *itako* uses in this section of the ritual. The only explanation I can offer for this fact is that the *itako* usually does not articulate the words in this part of the ritual so that they could be recognized and understood. Although I had hoped to understand at least part of them in the recording I made at the session, this hope turned out to be vain because her voice is barely audible. On the other hand,

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[6] At the conference in Taipei, Hu Tai-li wondered whether any part of the ritual described in my paper could qualify as "chanting." Compared with the contributions of other participants that contained transcriptions as well as translations of chanted texts, I had nothing of that kind to offer. My answer to her enquiry must therefore have appeared to be very vague. I believe, though, that the introduction is a chant, in the sense that it represents an established text recited in a particular manner. However, I am not able to understand what the *itako* was actually chanting. I do not quite understand the reasons for this state of affairs, but I imagine that she considers these texts to be a formalized and fixed introduction necessary for the ritual she is about to perform. They are, therefore, the same for each *kuchiyose,* so she sees no need for these texts to be identified or their content to be understood. However, this is only an assumption on my part.

she recites these texts in a monotonous but singing manner. They are apparently fixed texts, meaning that they are used in the same form and manner every time the *itako* performs a *kuchiyose* ritual. In this sense the section is one of chanting.[7] As such it differs clearly from the pronouncements (*kuchi*) that follow it, once the older ancestral spirit and then the main spirit to be called have arrived. Although these spirits speak somewhat monotonously in the regular singing voice of the *itako*, they speak in the manner of somebody who is telling a story.

Let us return to the ritual. In the course of the lengthy introductory chanting of the *itako*, the family had somewhat relaxed its attention. Therefore, they did not notice the moment when the first spirit, that of an older ancestor, arrived and was ready to address them. This prompted the *itako* to suddenly interrupt her regular reciting and say in ordinary voice: "The spirit has arrived. Please begin asking for a *kuchi*." With this the interpreting woman hurried to throw the first chip into the box and to ask for the first *kuchi*. Upon this the *itako* lowered her bow and began to utter the *kuchi* in a regular, somewhat singing voice. At the same moment the attending family members directed their attention to the *itako*, trying to catch her words, i.e., the words of the spirit they believed to be their recently departed member talking through her.

Depending on what kind of spirit is called, there is a certain "division of labor" in that one type of shamanic practitioner specializes in calling exclusively a divine spirit, a *kami*, while others can call a divine spirit as well as the spirit of a departed person. An *itako*, however, is first of all a specialist for calling the spirit of a dead person, but she may also answer requests to call a *kami*. In the kind of *kuchiyose* in question here, the spirit of a departed person, a *hotoke*, is called. For that reason it is called a *hotoke oroshi*, a *kuchiyose* to "bring down the spirit of a dead person."

According to folk belief, the spirit of a departed person does not leave the place where it used to live immediately after death; rather, it only

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[7] If she uses a formal sutra, for example the Heart Sutra, it is probably assumed that the text is known and therefore does not need to be quoted. The Heart Sutra in particular is well known by many people.

gradually loosens its ties with that place after death occurs. During this time the spirit is believed to gradually move away from this world and into the other. This first period may be taken to last up to a year. During this period the spirit of the departed is called a "new *hotoke*" (*shin-botoke* 新仏), but once the spirit has passed beyond this first period it becomes an "old *hotoke*" (*furubotoke* 古仏). Accordingly, there are two different kinds of *hotoke oroshi* ritual depending on whether a "new" or an "old" *hotoke* is called.

The performance of a *kuchiyose* takes this division between old and new spirits into account. If it is held to call an old spirit, it is an "old pronouncement," *furukuchi* (古口). Otherwise, when a still new spirit is to be called, the ritual is a *shinkuchi* (新口), a "new pronouncement." The two kinds of *kuchiyose* are similar in so far as in both of them spirits of departed persons are called forth. However, in many other ways they differ significantly from one another.

When people want to have an "old spirit" called, it can be done at almost any time and without much effort on the part of the *itako*. To request the ritual the clients visit the *itako*. She will perform the ritual in her home in front of the permanent altar for her guardian spirit using a sound instrument such as a bow or a one-string *koto*. Because her guardian spirit is believed to be present at the altar, she does not need to chant a long introduction to have it arrive. The old spirit the clients want to have called will appear without delay. Furthermore, the family may not only ask for several *kuchi* from one and the same old spirit in that kind of rite, they are free to request the *itako* to call several of the family's old spirits, one after the other. The ritual may also be held at a public place accessible to everybody. Most famous as such a place is Mount Osore in Aomori Prefecture. Each year in summer, in the last days of July, people from every region of Japan flock to the mountain on the festival of the Bodhisattva Jizō to have the *itako* gathered there call the spirits of their family.

The *kuchiyose* I had the opportunity to observe, together with the family that had asked for it, was of a quite different kind because it was held for two "new" *hotoke* of the family at the first O-Bon festival after the two persons' death. At the time of the ritual more than one hundred days had passed after each person's deaths. Although a hundred days

is often considered to be the limit for the holding of a *shinkuchi kuchiyose*, in this case the family as well as the *itako* thought it was still appropriate to have a *shinkuchi* ritual for them, since a full year had not yet passed since they had died. A *shinkuchi* characteristically differs from a *furukuchi* in various ways. First, the *shinkuchi* takes place at the house of the departed person, where the *itako* comes to visit and perform the ritual. Second, only one spirit, that of the recently departed person, is called and is made to utter as many *kuchi* as the family wishes to ask for. And third, the *kuchi* are addressed to the surviving members of the family in an order that reflects the actual structure of their household. In the present case there were two spirits from whom the family wanted to ask for *kuchi*, but because they cannot be called in the same ritual an entirely separate ritual was held for each spirit.

The *shinkuchi* takes place in the exclusive and intimate space of the family's own house. In every sense of the word it is a family affair, where nonmembers are not expected to attend. But "family" means here more than just the immediate family of the departed, namely the surviving spouse, along with the children and grandchildren who actually live in the house. Here "family" means the *ie*, that is, the household, which includes also those who have moved out and live elsewhere. In the case of those who have married into other families, their spouses may be included too. Close neighbors with whom the family entertains an intimate social relationship, or close friends of the dead, may join the family for the ritual, but otherwise outsiders are not expected to be present. Therefore, both the privacy of the location where the ritual takes place and the restricted group of people participating in it contribute to creating an atmosphere of a high degree of intimacy as the distinguishing character of a *shinkuchi* ritual.

If we consider the atmosphere that pervades at a *kuchiyose*, another difference between the two types mentioned is clearly noticeable. For lack of space it is impossible to introduce in detail what is actually said by the spirit. A few things may, nevertheless, be mentioned concerning the audience's reactions. A *furukuchi* may provoke emotional reactions such as weeping on the part of the listeners, but in general the *furukuchi* happens in an open, matter-of-fact atmosphere that seems to work against the outbreak of strong emotions. The spirit appears readily,

speaks about its situation, expresses its gratefulness for being called, and usually warns or admonishes the family about matters to happen in the future. A *furukuchi* may take only a few minutes, especially on Mount Osore. On other occasions it may last considerably longer. A *shinkuchi* session, on the contrary, is not only considerably longer because it may last for hours, but its atmosphere is tense and most emotional. Here, too, the spirit begins by talking about its own situation, but once it begins to speak to members of its family they react strongly and allow their emotions free expression. They may simply ask for protection by the spirit, but they also might agree or disagree with what it says and engage with it in a spirited or at times even violent dialog. There are moments of great excitement. It is therefore quite understandable that the family does not want to have outsiders participate in such a session where family emotions are laid bare. The session winds up with admonitions for individual members of the family. The spirit promises protection and in return asks the family to support it by performing the customary commemorative rituals (Knecht 1990).

In conclusion it can be said that in performing a *kuchiyose* the *itako* begins the ritual by chanting given texts. These texts are not available in writing as they would be of little use to her because of her physical handicap. They are learned by oral transmission from her teacher. Since they are hardly audible for the audience and mainly serve as a preparation for the spirits' coming, they may be said to belong to the *itako*'s own world. The *kuchi*, i.e., the addresses of the spirit, are made in ordinary speech and are appropriate for the situation of the listening family. Although they are often not easily understood, they are part of the listeners' world and the listeners have at least the impression that what the spirit says coincides with their memory about it and with their actual situation. In the case I observed this was clearly the case because the wife of the dead man said that now she knew why he had suddenly died and that she had found peace of mind. In this sense it may be said that the chants belong to the other world while the *kuchi* belong to this one. The connection is provided by the *itako*, who thus serves as a "bridge" between this and the other world.

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Beguiling *Minan:* The Language, Gesture, and Acoustics of Disease-Spirit Extraction in Temoq Shamanic Ritual

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Temoq shamanic performance (smyum) *involves the shaman taking a patient's subtle body on a journey to the cloud-mountains where it is cleansed in a celestial bathing pool. Simultaneously, the embodied shaman in the ritual house extracts disease-spirits from the patient's body. The Temoq shaman* (puiyang) *transforms the ritual setting into a metaphorical cosmos so overwhelming in beauty, and so convincing, that beguiled disease-spirits leap from the patient's body into the tassels of the shaman's whisk, to be pulled off by the tight grip of the shaman's hands. Drawing on excerpts from a* Teng Kijai *shamanic performance, the discussion illustrates how the shaman uses song, gesture, and acoustic images to deceive and extract disease-spirits.*

> Whoever goes to the bottom of reverie rediscovers natural reverie, a reverie of the original cosmos and the original dreamer. The world is no longer mute. Poetic reverie revives the world of original words. All the beings begin to speak by the names they bear. . . . In the cosmic reverie, nothing is inert, neither the world or the dreamer; everything lives with a secret life, so everything speaks sincerely. The poet listens and repeats. The voice of the poet is the voice of the world.
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> Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Reverie* (1971: 188)

> What is important . . . is *the course and direction of the journey itself*, its tenor and import, whatever its precise path may be. To demand literalism of the path, whether in word or in image, is to convert the plasticity of places into the rigidity of sites . . .

> What matters on a journey is not movement as such but the *form of motion*. At the limit, one can travel without moving. (Author's italics)
>
> Edward S. Casey, *Getting Back into Place* (1993: 306)

Temoq shamanic performance (*smyum*) involves the shaman taking a patient's subtle body on a journey to the cloud-mountains where it is cleansed in a celestial bathing pool. Simultaneously, the embodied shaman in the ritual house extracts disease-spirits from the patient's body. Moving between subtle and embodied forms linked by singing and drumming, and sometimes enwrapped in the cloak souls of animals, insects and birds, the Temoq shaman (*puiyang*) transforms the ritual setting into a metaphorical cosmos so overwhelming in beauty, and so convincing, that beguiled disease-spirits leap from the patient's body into the whisk tassels, to be pulled off by the tight grip of the shaman's hands. The aesthetic quality of the shaman's "composition in performance" is thought to determine the depth of altered consciousness (*asik*) that effects all the participants, including the disease-spirits. *Asik* is induced by drumming and singing, and disease-spirits only become tractable when in this state. The state of *asik* can be easily determined simply by looking at people's faces. A staring look with eyes focused in the distance is the initially desired effect on the shaman, participants, and disease-spirits. The subjective state of *asik,* feeling spaced out with a loss of visual accommodation, is interpreted by participants to mean their astral forms have joined the shaman's entourage in the heavens.[1]

The focus of this paper is on the strategies used by the shaman to beguile *minan* the disease-spirit into leaving the patient's body.[2] It is obvious that the performance text is much more complex than por-

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[1] My ethnographic research on Temoq shamanism lies at the intersection of anthropology, ethnopoetics, and religious studies. The overall approach is, broadly construed, phenomenological and hermeneutical. Post-doctoral fieldwork on *Teng Bnum* (Mountain Journey) shamanism was carried out from 1981 to 1983. There were also extended field trips in 2007 and 2008.

[2] *Minan*'s identity is somewhere between a proper name and a referential term for any disease-spirit.

trayed in the following discussion. However, it is clear that to understand the extraction of disease-spirits requires a comprehensive appreciation of almost all facets of a performance. The poetics of the text, melodic rhythmical drumming, and the expressive devices employed by the shaman in his compositions are devised to effect both patients and disease-spirits in equal measure. The efficacy of the shaman's vision is measured by his capacity to trick the disease-spirit into leaving the patient's body, and the veracity of his journey is measured by the drowsy altered state of consciousness that draws the participants into the sky bound entourage trekking towards the healing waters of *Puteri Bungsu's* cloud-mountain pool.[3]

Shamanic performances are only held at night and begin between 8.00 pm and 1.00 am, and often end just before dawn. The shaman composes as he performs, and every performance reflects the vagaries of his skyward journey, the condition of one or more patients, and the number of tractable disease-spirits to be extracted. The following discussion is based on a *Teng Kijai* performance of six *teng*[4] by *pui-yang* (shaman) Paq Loong who began singing at 1.08 am and finished around 5.35 am.[5] The *teng* range from 22 to 57 minutes in length, and overall shaman Paq Loong sang for three and a half hours. There are 1,396 utterances ranging from vocables and onomatopoeic expressions, to long strophes. During this performance there were three patients, a senior male and female, and a younger adult female. Nine disease-spirits were extracted in nine separate sessions that lasted for 67 minutes in total (table 1). The shaman spent one third of the performance extracting disease-spirits from the patients in the *balai*. During the entire performance the patient's astral forms were carried under the hind legs of carpenter bees flying at the front of the entourage. At the end of

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[3] *Puteri Bungsu* is a beautiful young woman who dwells in the cloud-mountains and is the shaman's initiator and teacher.

[4] A *teng* is a journey segment metaphorically likened to gibbon brachiation (*koh*) or the leap of a monkey. A *teng*, irrespective of length, is imaged as a single leap or measure. However, Temoq frequently use *teng* to mean a sung journey segment that refers to both regions in a named itinerary, and to the itinerary itself such as *Teng Kijai*.

[5] The *Teng Kijai* performance was recorded 22 May 1982 at *Teng Jong* which has since been destroyed by logging and the establishment of the Chin Tek oil palm plantation.

the performance the patients were free of disease-spirits, their bodies ministered in the house with cooling neutralizing agents to destroy the poisons created by the disease-spirits, and their subtle bodies likewise purified, cooled, soothed, and spiritually revitalized by the waters of the cloud-mountain bathing pool.

Note on Methodology

In the 1980s I recorded ritual performances using two Sony field decks in tandem to ensure no limits on recording duration. The shaman's singing was recorded on the right track, and my commentary on the shaman's gestures and photo registration on the left track. The synchronous commentary allows for a tight correspondence between the shaman's singing and behaviour thus giving detailed insight into his therapeutic actions on the patient, the creation of the microcosmic illusion, and the dialog and the expulsion of *minan* the disease-spirit. The transcribed tapes were checked for accuracy with the shaman and others, and then used as the basis for extended interviewing.

The Temoq

The Temoq are one of nineteen Aslian (Austroasiatic) speaking *Orang Asli* (Aboriginal) ethnolinguistic groups in Peninsular Malaysia. Although declared "extinct" several times by the Malaysian Government, and subsumed in the latest census figures under the neighboring Semelai *Orang Asli*, the dispersed Temoq still occupy patches of their traditional lands. Until the massive deforestation of Southeast Pahang (Pahang Tenggara) in the 1970s and 1980s, the Temoq lived in the upper catchments of the Rompin River including the Jeram River, the Cabang Kanan and Cabang Kiri Rivers, and the Kepasing River. Temoq also lived on the west facing catchments of the Bertangga Hills including the Batu, Kumai, and Sebertak Rivers, and on the Kepal and Beruang Rivers flowing around the southern reaches of the Bertangga Hills. All of the rivers originating in the Bertangga Hills flow into

the Bera River and thence the Pahang River. A small group of Temoq live on the Mentenang River that flows directly into the Pahang River. The Temoq were the exclusive inhabitants of these areas until the 1970s. Deforestation and the establishment of oil palm plantations has destroyed the original lowland dipterocarp rain forest that extensively covered this region.

The Temoq have always been low in numbers and Collings (1949), the first ethnographer to contact these people in 1940, and then again in 1947 surmises that their population may have been severely impacted by the influenza epidemic of 1918. The first published mention of the Temoq is in Schebesta (1928/1973) who thought the "Temo" may have been Negrito (as did Collings in 1940) although he only visited the neigboring Semelai on the Bera River. An even earlier handwritten report by H. S. Sircom who carried out a census of the Pekan District in 1911 reports contacting several Temoq communities. Interestingly, a few of the communities contacted by Sircom in 1911 and Collings in 1947 were still extant when the author carried out field research in the 1970s and 1980s.

In the early 1970s the Temoq population was about 50 according to census records. Unlike their Semelai neighbours with whom they share many cultural and linguistic features, the Temoq did not live in villages but in dispersed swiddens along creeks and rivers as the map in Collings 1949 so clearly shows. Eschewing village living as too stressful and noisy, it is possible that the Temoq were primarily hunter-gatherers and forest product collectors in the 1800s. This is in part born out by the extensive repertoire of hunter-gatherer knowledge and skills still in use by many Temoq.

Traditionally each local area of one or more swiddens was protected by a shaman, often an elder younger brother pair who performed either singly or together. Temoq shamans (*puiyang*) protected the health and well being of community members, and the moral and spiritual integrity of the local territory. The shamanic praxis of each local area is a dialect of a wider shamanic ritual complex that extends beyond the Temoq to include their Aslian speaking Semelai and Semaq Bri neighbors, and the Austronesian speaking Jakun of this region. This is discussed at length in Laird (forthcoming a).

Temoq Shamanism

The Temoq are Aslian (Austroasiatic speakers) but the language of shamanism is overwhelmingly Austronesian. The Temoq shaman composes as he performs, and the worst insult one shaman can make against another is "he just sings."[6] The mountain journey and world tree journey shaman's sung vocabulary exceeds 900 linguistic forms including words (roots and affixed forms), short and extended vocables, and bird and animal calls.[7] There is also divinatory incantations at the beginning of a performance, and cooling incantations that always occur at the beginning and end of a performance, and often between songs as well. At critical junctures the shaman growls when he enwraps himself in the cloak souls of his tiger and malayan sun bear guardians, or calls out in the language of hornbills, fruit doves, flying foxes, and many other species when he visits or passes by their realms.[8] To hide himself from danger the shaman may cloak himself in wispy clouds so that he cannot be seen by other traveling shamans.

Temoq shamanic language is a nocturnal language of sono-visionary intimations.[9] Sung in the *balai* (ritual house) where only shadows are discernible by a small lamp placed in a corner, but emanating from far off towering cloud-mountains drifting across the night sky, the performance takes place within a rich night time lowland rain forest soundscape of frogs, insects, and the occasional "kuow" of argus pheasants in the early dawn. The fundamental objective is to heal by the powerful evocation of intoxicating beauty, and the shaman's singing moves between loud epic narrative and the quiet lyricism of deep revery often in the same strophe. The *Teng Kijai* performance is replete with loud

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[6] This jibe refers to shamans whose singing sounds like the reproduction of a learnt song which lacks the compositional virtuosity understood to be derived from visionary experience.

[7] Extensively discussed in Laird (a) forthcoming.

[8] An excellent source for Malaysian birds is http://www.birdinginmalaysia.com/

[9] "There is no doubt that voice constitutes an archetypal form in the human unconscious: a primordial and creative image, both an energy and a configuration of features that predetermine, activate, and structure our first experiences, feelings, and thoughts. It is not at all a mythical content, but a facultas . . ." (Zumthor 1990: 5)

vocables and these function to frame attention whether of a new vista that suddenly appears to the shaman, or to switch to and from the celestial path and the patient's body in the *balai*. Vocalization is therefore a key poetic device used by Paq Loong to differentiate strophes and groups of strophes into aesthetic frames that demarcate his praxis.

The shaman's singing, metaphorically likened to the warbling of the white-rumped shama (*Copsychus malabaricus*) who leads the entourage (pl. 2 *a*), can be differentiated into several forms which have key poetic functions. First, there is language per sé which alternates between epic narrative and quiet lyricism.[10] Second, there are vocables which frame the beginning and end of disease-spirit extraction and expulsion. Third, there are vocables which are directed towards the disease-spirit held in his clenched hand. Fourth, there are multiple frame switching vocables which move the performance along from one frame (e.g., cosmos) to the next (e.g., patient's body). Fifth, there are onomatopoeic expressions indicating his encounter with special *gunig* or *genius loci*, and sixth, onomatopoeic expressions which formally signify the end of a *teng*. Commenting on the significance of vocables in Native American poetry, Rothenberg (1983: 382) states "As with most Indian poetry, the voice carried many sounds that weren't, strictly speaking, 'words.' These tended to disappear or be attenuated in translation, as if they weren't really there. But they were there & were at least as important as the words themselves." Further on he states "I also realized (with Navajo especially) that there were more than simple refrains involved; that we, as translators & poets, had been taking a rich *oral* poetry & translating it to be read for meaning, thus denuding it to say the least." (Author's italics)

Temoq shamanic ritual is composed of many different itineraries, each identified by its destination, although some like *Teng Kijai*, by point of departure at an upstream *kijai* (resin) tree (*Trigonochlamys griffithii*) in the first *teng* (song). Some shamans specialize in the journey across the seven seas, encountering dangerous challenges, while others journey to the stoney blue sky vault on which live deities

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[10] For a discussion of lyric as a poetic genre see Preminger and Brogan (1993).

and shaman ancestors. Each shaman has his own set of itineraries, and singing and compositional styles. Recently (2007) a new shaman emerged whose singing style and itineraries are quite different from his deceased teacher who performed the *Teng Kijai* in 1982. For people who are radically egalitarian, and who were probably still hunter gatherers at the beginning of the 20th century,[11] this openness allows for the expression of spiritual sensibilities that are both distinctively individual, and which can bring any aspect of their tropical rain forest experience into their shared religious understanding of the world.

The most extensive itinerary, but not the highest flying, is *Teng Gaduq* the Mother Rite. *Teng Gaduq* involves a seven night journey to the Land of the Bearded Pigs. Beyond a far distant forest boundary, bearded pigs and tigers throw off their cloak forms and become beautifully dressed and adorned young men and women. From their fields the shaman collects different types of *padi* (rice) which become the flower blossoms of the lowland rain forest. In this performance the Temoq shaman and his spirit companions become co-creators of the forest, a process which sustains all life. The sequential structure of the *Teng Gaduq* performance is viewed as a metaphor of the flowering and fruiting cycle of the tropical rain forest.[12] *Teng Gaduq* is rarely performed, and most shamanic performances are focused on a single night's itinerary of six or seven regions chosen by the shaman as most efficacious for healing the afflicted.

Guided by his visionary sight, which is a *cermin* (lit: mirror) that "blazes like the fires of hell" from the center of his forehead, the Temoq shaman travels the vast pellucid realms of *this earth*. The wondrous earth glitters and shimmers under his penetrating gaze.[13] The cosmos is shaped like a bowl with the earth at the center surrounded by one or seven seas that extend to the rim on which lies a giant snake

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[11] Paul Schebesta (1928/1973) identified the Temoq as Negrito and some Temoq do have Negrito features such as hair type. Of greater interest, the Temoq ritual cosmos seems to share some features with Negrito cosmology (Schebesta 1957). Available in English as a HRAF publication (1962).

[12] When discussing the sequence of flowering and fruiting of the forest a remark was made that this natural process was like a huge *Teng Gaduq*.

[13] Images reminiscent of those found in the poetry of Gerard Manly Hopkins.

with its head resting on its tail at the place of sunrise. Shaman Paq Loong, with whom I worked extensively during the early 1980s, told me that he once heard the deep reverberating "thunder" of the serpent's shifting head. At the center of the earth there is a mountain (*bnum*) to which the mountain journey shaman travels. Facing east, the shaman travels into the northeast quadrant of the world between *penayar* (east) and *lintang prebaq* (north). He also images his journey as an upward counterclockwise spiral from the ritual house which is projected to the center of the world. Spiraling around the center of the world the shaman images disease-spirits streaming down from the heavens merging with the striated *kijai* incense plume rising up from the censor. This is the *pusat dunia*, the center of the cosmos, the *axis mundi*. The world mountain of the shaman's narrative is a metaphor for huge cumulus clouds traversed by the shaman and his entourage. The shaman's sonovisionary recital, sung to the intense beating of drums, vividly portrays his experience as he traverses the myriad paths created by ancestral shamans. Everywhere he sees the foot prints and stopping places of creation as he ascends *gunung asik* (mount ecstasy) where he meets the creator grandmothers and grandfathers. The phenomenal world is a skein of song lines, for the shaman repeatedly sings that the epic narrative inheres in the very substance and form of created things. Flying to towering cloud-mountains at the centre of the world, and descending to verdant sacred groves, the Temoq shaman is an expert navigator of over 130 realms that are the epiphanous manifestations of natural species, landforms, meteorological processes, and ancestral beings. Each realm has its own distinctive drum rhythm, and the drummer, whose subtle form moves ahead of the shaman, must be skilled and knowledgeable less the shaman lose his way.

The Temoq live at the bottom of a vast atmospheric ocean. Celestial fisher folk sail this ocean, and looking down into the depths do not see humans. They see playing children as schooling fish, and smoke filtering through thatch as turbid water. Their misperception is humanity's misfortune, and their jetsam becomes afflicting agents. When this affliction type is determined by the shaman model carved boats with figurines are used to lure *minan* out of the patient and back into the

heavens.[14] Life in the upper realms of the atmospheric ocean with its islands of floating cloud-mountains is a rich pageant in Temoq thinking about the causes of affliction and the sources of healing.

I noted that Temoq shamanic language is a language of sono-visionary intimations. It is an "as if" language for everything is "like" something "else." It is a language that is instrumentally used to deceive disease-spirits, functionally used to cool and heal the afflicted, and expressive of deep mystical insights into the nature of the world. The three frames of cosmos, house, and patient are not only phenomenologically convenient descriptive categories, but are ethno-epistemological domains which merge in the cosmic illusion created by the shaman to trick the disease-spirit out of the patient. Limen separate the disease-spirit (in the patient) from the house, and the human participants (in the house) from the entourage (in the cosmos). The shaman moves across these limen, for he can see into the patient as well as navigate the cosmos, and his skillful composition using a complex play of tropes (mostly metaphor) allow him to merge all of the domains into a singular metaphorical world that is the ultimate test of his veracity and efficacy.[15] This "single" world is an acoustic field in which timbral listening plays a central role. The limen are transformational boundaries, and what is "heard" on one side is represented as different when "heard" from the other side. For example, the rustling of the whisk tassels in the *balai* are the swishing sounds of flying birds in the heavens, and the flicking of the whisk tassels are the form and sound of the tails of the shaman's traveling guardians. Similarly, the loud resonating timbre of drum music is the buzzing of carpenter and giant honey bees forging ahead of the entourage. The shaman uses many terms denoting specific acoustic qualities of the various members of the entourage, and meteorological events like gusting winds. Sound also undergoes

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[14] Once when casually chitchatting with Temoq someone suddenly said they had just heard the clucking of the fisher folk's chickens. When this happens you must say out loud that you are leaving in a direction opposite to the path you intend to take. The celestial fisher folk bring particularly bad colds and respiratory infections.

[15] The interpretation and translation of Temoq shamanic songs presents many problems, and these are discussed at length in Laird (b) forthcoming.

transformation not just in terms of metaphor, but also "qualitatively"; in the cosmos the loud drum of the *balai* becomes the soft plucked strings of the rattan stringed zither, and a dog bark under the house becomes a loud clap of thunder—enough of a shock to the traveling shaman as to warrant the intervention of participants to get him back on track via entering the cloak soul of tiger, bear, or hornbill guardians.

Teng Kijai Overview

The *Teng Kijai smyum* is composed of six *teng* (table 1) which constitute Paq Loong's itinerary to the celestial *kolam* (pool). Paq Loong could have chosen many different itineraries as he had an extensive repertoire nearing one hundred regions. However many regions are too far away (Land of the Bearded Pigs) or too specialized (Lair of the Scaly Anteater) to be included in a regular healing performance. The core images of each region exist within the overarching context of the traveling entourage following ancestral trails through vast cloudscapes that also descend as heavy mists drifting through the rain forest canopy, and often descending to ground level as *jandom* or thick fog.

Each *teng* begins with the summoning of entourage members to get moving, and images of the verdant green landscape spread out below. After some progress along the path the shaman encounters the numinous realm by which the *teng* is identified. The whole experience of vast earthscapes glowing with health and verdancy under the bright blue sky vault mediated by colorful cloud formations is the usual context in which the presiding epiphanous forms, the *genius loci*, display their heightened numinosity to drum rhythms that embody their primordial vitality. These numinous beings, the shamanic ancestors, wreathed hornbills, sacred groves, jambu fruit doves, helmeted hornbills, and *Puteri Bungsu's* pandanus fringed pool are intimately involved in affliction and healing. The shaman's visit to the sources of affliction is also a visit to the sources of healing. After passing through the region the song returns to focusing on asperging, absterging, and lustrating the patient in both house and cosmos, and on the travelling entourage moving through open vistas. The

Table 1. Teng Kijai Itinerary (1,396 utterances).

Teng ("Song")	Region	Core Image	Drumming / Style	D-S Extraction duration & patients*
Kanjar 35.26 mins 251 utterances	Traveling upstream to a *kijai* resin tree *(Trigonochlamys griffithii)* from which he ascends into the heavens.	Garland way—lined with flowers, framed by distant vistas. Images the handiwork of creator ancestors. *The cuttings and trimmings of creation become disease-spirits.*	Traveling gait—walking on level surface or trudging uphill.	1: 6 mins ("Pak Banai") 2: 5 mins ("Mak Banai")
Langsir 56.51 mins 385 utterances	Wreathed Hornbill *(Aceros undulatus)* stratus clouds. Presence indicated by shaman calling out: "ek ek ek ek" table 3 2.47	Guardian Spirit—takes on its cloak soul to travel great distances. Images streaming lice falling from preening hornbills—*falling lice become disease-agents.*	Wreathed Hornbill wing beat rhythm (rapid)	1: 10 mins ("Mak Banai") 2: 5 mins ("Mak Alias") 3: 8 mins ("Pak Banai") 4: 8 mins ("Pak Banai")
Dusun 31.48 mins 212 utterances	Sacred Groves planted by shamanic creator ancestors.	Sacred Groves—heavy with fruit and singing birds, and buffeted with mists and gusting winds. Intense focus on ancestors who planted the verdant earth. *Cloud poisons.*	Gusting wind style.	1: 10 mins ("Pak Banai")
Rangut 28.57 mins 204 utterances	Jambu Fruit Dove *(Ptilinopus jambu)* Presence indicated by shaman calling out: "hoo'ooooooooooooooo hoo'ooooooooooooooo hoo'ooooooooooooooo" 4.52	Jambu Fruit Dove imaged flying up stream and down stream collecting twigs, building nest, laying eggs, and the tap tap of hatching chicks. She is a manifestation of Mak Sidik. Preening jambu fruit dove—*falling lice become disease-agents.*	Jambu fruit dove wing beat rhythm	1: 8 mins ("Pak Banai")
Lilin 27.09 mins 197 utterances	Helmeted Hornbill *(Rhinoplax vigil)* Presence indicated by shaman calling out:"ngang ngang" 5.77	Cannonading sounds of "wooden tops" as distant hornbills strike their casques. Preening helmeted hornbills—*falling lice become disease-agents.*	Helmeted hornbill wing beat rhythm	1: 7 mins ("Pak Banai")

* Mak Banai, Pak Banai, and Mak Alias are patient psuedonyms.

shaman finalizes the *teng* by calling the entourage to regroup and wait for the next stage of the journey.

The shaman heals the patient, and liberates the disease-spirit by invoking a powerful aesthetic response. Beauty heals, and beauty couched in deep enchantment is the ultimate state towards which the shaman moves himself and all participants both corporeal and incorporeal.

Turning to table 1 and the *Teng Kijai* itinerary, we can see that the shaman visits six regions, the first leg (*Teng Kanjar*) being an overall context in which the shaman images the creation of the whisk, world creation, and ancestral realms. Following wind currents he begins his ascent of the sacred *kijai* tree up river from the ritual house. The flower bordered path is like "cursive writing" which are the forms of flowers and foliage showing the handiwork of the ancestors. The trimmings and cuttings of creation become disease-spirits and in this *teng* the shaman extracts two of the more tractable ones.

In the second *teng*, (*Teng Langsir*) the shaman ascends to a great height in the garb of his wreathed hornbill guardian, and it is from this lofty place that he is able to extract four difficult disease-spirits. The etiological imagery is of preening hornbills casting out lice that falls, like strands of rain, onto humanity below. In the following *Teng Dusun* the shaman descends, and the image of the sacred grove is of heavily laden trees under a thick misty mantle. The sacred grove is imaged as both durian groves and the tropical rain forest. The shaman sings of pausing his journey just to admire the beauty of the sacred groves. Like everything else, the patterning of this floristic domain is everywhere a revelation of ancestral creativity and disease-spirit creation.

In *teng* four and five, *Teng Rangut* and *Teng Lilin*, Paq Loong returns to empowering avian realms. Paq Loong regarded *rangut*, his jambu fruit dove familiar as an embodiment of *Mak Sidi* a principal female creator ancestor. In this performance there is an indirect reference to falling bird lice, but this is unusual since in other performances Paq Loong presents *rangut* and her nesting behavior as a powerful image of the generativity of life without mention of lice. In *Teng Lilin* the shaman further ascends and he images the helmeted hornbills, white flecks against huge cloud-mountains, clashing their casques, like the impact of spinning wooden tops. Against this beautiful imagery, Paq

Loong sings of their preening, and of lice falling down in streams. In the last *teng*, *Teng Kolam* Paq Loong finally makes it to the *Puteri Bongsu's* pool on the far distant cloud-mountain. Surrounded by wind buffeted fragrant pandanus trees, the cooling waters heal the patient's afflicted subtle form.

Yet the nest built by the jambu fruit dove, and the cloud-mountain bathing pool, as well as all of the other images are just that; they take shape in the insubstantial but ever changing forms of clouds, mists, and fogs and are numinous revelations gifted to the shaman's visionary sight by his tutelary *Puteri Bungsu* and the shamanic ancestors. And the shaman's singing makes these images manifest, and their manifestation can be refracted both in the cloud-mountains, and metaphorically in the clouds of *kijai* incense in the ritual house. Singing like a white-rumped shama, the shaman calls out in the language of hornbills and jambu fruit doves and makes their presence felt in the ritual house (fig. 1). All of the *teng* are embodied in the acoustic field of the ritual *balai*. *Minan*, hiding in the patient's body, and high on both the patient's blood and the shaman's imagery and drumming, will only leave if it is convinced of the reality of the shaman's imagery. For *minan*, the palpable world beyond the patient's skin is the distant cloud-mountains.

Fig. 1. Shaman whisking *kijai* over patients. Photo: Peter F. Laird, 1981.

Smyum (Performance): The Scenario to Extract *Minan*

Given the length and complexity of the *Teng Kijai* performance I will focus on the language of two *teng* only. *Teng Kanjar* begins the performance and excerpts give some insight into the overall structure of the *teng* from the initial ascent through to the end of the *teng*. *Teng Langsir*, the second *teng*, involves the shaman's visit to the wreathed hornbill stratus clouds, and here I will focus on affliction imagery, the construction of the illusory cosmos, some aspects of *minan's* character, and the extraction of one of four disease-spirits. For participants there is nothing "new" in what the shaman is singing at the most general level. Most adult Temoq have participated in hundreds of performances, and when people are prone to illnesses at certain times of the year, there may be two or more performances a week. Yet each new ritual is a virtuoso performance, and despite participant's deep familiarity with Paq Loong's repertoire, there is always the unexpected, the new experience, the unusual encounter, current weather conditions, a special invitee, and innumerable other events that contribute to the originality of each performance. For example, at the beginning of *Teng Kanjar*, a dog under the house was stung by a wasp and let out a loud screech. As soon as this happened the shaman stopped singing, and participants began singing to make sure that the link between the shaman's body and traveling soul was not severed. He came back on track uttering the growling sounds of his malayan sun bear guardian. In the following *Teng Langsir*, the dog was stung again, but this time he had a disease-spirit in his hands which escaped much to the consternation of all assembled. It took almost three minutes for the shaman to regain his composure, and to continue by taking on the cloak soul of the wreathed hornbill guardian. Earlier in *Teng Langsir* the shaman had unexpectedly invited *Tuan Puteri Kayu Mruhum* the female spirit of the *tabak* tree (Aquilaria sp.) to participate in healing the patient.[16]

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[16] Some species of Aquilaria are the source of fragrant aleos wood (Malay gaharu). *Mruhum* alludes to the fragrance of this resin which is produced by the tree as a response to a fungus infection.

Before beginning the discussion of the first two *teng* there is a brief outline of the various communal tasks involved in preparing for a performance and short description of the divinatory *berteh* incantation which determines the tractability of the disease-spirits.

Preparation and Preliminary Incantations

A shaman usually announces his intention to conduct a performance by about midday thus allowing time for community members to collect various plants from the forest. Women collect *palas* palm (Licuala sp.) shoots which are stripped into strands for making the shaman's whisk, headband, and sash. The selected *palas* palm shoots must be oriented so that when opening the fronds would have faced the north-east quarter of the world like supplicating hands. Women also collect *ceput* plants (a type of ginger) which is macerated, mixed with water, and placed in a small ceramic bowl (*daq ceput, ceput* water). Women are also responsible for sourcing dried *babaq cong* (hill rice) which is made into *berteh* or parched rice used for divining whether the disease-spirit *minan* will be tractable during the performance. Men are responsible for obtaining the drum and *kijai* incense, and for making a *kelundang* (single bar xylophone) if no drum is available. A plate or *palas* leaf container (*limas*) to contain glowing embers from the hearth is provided by household members (pl. 2 *b*).[17] These are the minimal requirements for a performance, but if called upon, participants can also make elaborate puffed rice decorations, spirit houses and rafts, world trees decorated with birds and fruit, wild rubber models of tigers and pigs, carved bees nests, and large bathing platforms under which all the participants shower just before sunrise by rupturing the lower septa of bamboo tubes filled with 100 litres or more of fragrant purifying plant extracts.[18]

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[17] Most of the photographs in pls. 2–7 are from different performances but accurately convey the gestural repertoire of all Temoq shamans.

[18] Photographs of shaman Paq Loong dancing with a spirit boat, and a ritual assistant daubing paint on a wild rubber model of a tiger is in Laird 2005.

A performance takes place in a house usually occupied by the patient and their family. As noted previously, a major objective is the extraction of disease-spirits achieved through a cosmic illusion created by the shaman. The traditional structure of the Temoq house becomes the metaphorical cosmos (pl. 2 *c*). The house beams become the undergirded earth and the perimeter beams become the cosmic snake. Similarly, the fringing thatch becomes the fringing sky at the edge of the world, and clouds of incense become the cloud-mountains. And, all beings are present through the sonic field that stretches out, like layer upon layer, to the very edges of the world.[19] The house is projected to the center of the world, and the patient, sprinkled with macerated *ceput* leaves, becomes an undulating forest canopy seen from a great distance. The shaman sits facing east with the the censer, *berteh*, and bowl of *daq ceput* in front of him. Further away lie the patients, usually males on the left and females on the right with infants in the center.

Before he begins singing the shaman imbues the ritual accoutrements with incantations. The incantation placed in incense is infused in the clouds of thick white smoke that rise from the censer. Incantations placed in the whisk, headband, and sash drive out any malign influences in the *palas* palm strips harvested from the forest only hours before. These are also dipped in *daq ceput* to neutralize any remaining negative influences, and the whisk is used to sprinkle *daq ceput* over the entire ritual space. The drum is also infused with incantations, and tuned with a rattan strip and heat from the hearth. Clouds of incense also seal off the household that becomes a sacred precinct for the duration of the performance and for three days after. There is usually an extended period of conversation, chatter, and coffee before the formalities begin (pl. 3 *a*).

After treating all of the ritual accoutrements with incantations, the shaman begins divination with parched rice grains (fig. 2). He takes a handful, incants (pl. 3 *b*), holds them over *kijai,* shuffles them with his thumb in the palm of his hand, then throws several over the patient, and places the rest on the floor. The *berteh* is then sorted into pairs by an

[19] The image of sound as travelling out in layers is a Temoq metaphor.

assistant and sometimes the shaman, and if the result is evens (*ganap*), it bodes well for the patient. If *gasai* (odds) it means that *minan* will be difficult to extract. After each round of divination the shaman picks up the *berteh* and throws it over the patient. *Berteh* can be animated to deadly effect by ill disposed shamans. The following incantation for *berteh* from the *Teng Kijai* performance strongly suggests the Malay world.[20] Temoq say that many of their incantations, along with the *berjin* spirit possession rite, are borrowed from the Malays and Jakun.[21]

selinggang nama daun	swaying (is the) name (of its) leaves
seluyuk nama batang	drooping[a] (is the) name (of its) stems (i.e., hill rice)
setimang nama anak	rocking (is the) name (of the) child
Sri Fatima tuh Sri aku	Sri Fatima's breast (fed) me
mana Sri Nujum anok anok Malim	where (is) Sri Nujum[b] this this Malim[b]
kau tolong kau pelekat kau tolong pelekat	you help you fix you help fix
kau tolong beler kau tolong piara	you help take care you help (sick) "fostered" one
kau tolong lurut tolong rilang Siti Fatimah aku	you help "shuffle"[c] help "bright ones" Siti Fatima mine
Sri berteh tujuh kuntung	Sri *berteh* (of) seven buds
bunga bunga tujuh kuntung	flowers (of) seven buds

[a] Heavy with grain.
[b] Shamanic ancestors.
[c] Lit: "run the grains through your fingers."

Fig. 2. Incantation for *berteh* (parched rice)

In this incantation the shaman is asking *Sri Fatima*, and hopefully *Sri Nujum*, for a true result since the *berteh* can deceive if under the influence of malign beings. In world tree journey shamanism the shaman bluntly commands the *berteh* not to lie, not to cheat, and not to deceive. The actual interactive process of divination between shaman, patient, and assistants who count the *berteh* grains, is outside the scope

[20] Importantly, the *berjin* spirit possession rites performed by Temoq shamans, often as a preliminary to a *smyum* earlier in the evening, involve songs, drumming, and accoutrements strikingly different from shamanic performances. In this way the Temoq sharply differentiate between their world and the surrounding "Malay world." Each world has different etiological paradigms and modes of therapeutic praxis: shamanic for the Temoq cosmos, and spirit possession for the forested Malay world.

[21] The Jakun are Austronesian speaking Orang Asli. Many groups were Austroasiatic speakers in the recent past.

of this paper. After the divination, which turns up odds, the shaman exclaims *"lepas hawa bala*" (be gone pestilence!) as a prelude to the performance. The publically known results of the *berteh* divination are communicated to *minan* by throwing the sorted grains over the patient.

Divination sets the scene for the shaman's therapeutic strategies, and once the divinatory results are clear, and the shaman has sprinkled everyone with *daq ceput*, the shaman is ready to begin his ascent. However the shaman often asperges the patient with the whisk dipped in *daq ceput* before he begins singing. Some shamans like Paq Loong in pl. 4, deeply inhale tobacco smoke just before ascending.[22]

Teng Kanjar: Ascent to the Cloud-Mountains

The shaman does not travel alone. At the beginning of the performance in *Teng Kanjar* Paq Loong summons his guardian and familiar spirits to awaken and join the entourage and begin ascending. The shaman continuously flicks the whisk back and forward over his shoulder to signify movement of the entourage in sound (flying birds) and action (whisk tassel tails of guardians). In table 2, 1.1–1.8 the shaman calls on his tiger cat, wreathed hornbill, and carpenter bee familiars, and most importantly the *barau* (white-rumped shama) who flies up front of the entourage along with the carpenter bees. Disease-spirits are extracted with the *labung* or whisk, and he sings of the archetypal whisk first made by the creator ancestors. He then goes on to sing of the whisk's healing powers (table 2, 1.9), ascending shamas, and again the numinous healing power of the whisk fashioned by his tutelary *Puteri Bungsu*.

During the evening there was lightning and thunder and Paq Loong integrated this into the beginning of the song. The shaman continues his ascent and in strophe table 2, 1.15 he sings about drawing near dark stormy thunderheads flickering with lightning. He then goes on to image the ascending entourage (table 2, 1.16), then surveys the wide

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[22] Unlike Southeast Asia, the relation between tobacco and shamanism is well reported for South America cultures (Wilbert 1987).

field ahead and then re-images the ascending whisk. In table 2, 1.18 he loudly exclaims as he again images the entourage passing by majestic thunderheads. In table 2, 1.20 another exclamation as he experiences the revelatory quality (table 2, 1.21–22) of the way.

We can see that within the first twenty utterance units the shaman has established the journey, the entourage, the healing agenda, the numinosity of the revelatory way, and the magnificent cloudscape through which he and his spirit helpers are moving. The poetic structure is also apparent with exclamatory vocables framing significant changes in imagery. These vocables can be interpreted as expressions of aisthesis, the "gasp" and "taking in" of profound beauty (Hillman 1981: 31).

Vocables normatively occur every one to five utterances signaling a switch in compositional frames. Sometimes the shaman will begin with a very loud exclamatory vocable then trail off to a progressively softer voice indicating the descent into *asik* as he is overwhelmed by beauty of his experience which the following two strophes demonstrate. There are an additional three utterances to better contextualize table 2, 1.223 and 1.224. The sonogram (pl. 5 *a*) displays the acoustic and temporal structure of the two utterances.[23] In table 2, 1.223 the shaman sings of the "blurred" (merged) throbbing of drumming and singing shamas way up ahead of the entourage. The merging of different sounds into a single acoustic state is one of the effects of becoming *asik*.[24] He then images the enchanted subtle bodies of the patients (Mak Bonda and

[23] The objective of using sonograms as primary visual documents is to defend the primacy of orality against the strong epistemological and technical pressure of orthographic conformity. For a discussion of these issues see Tedlock (1983) and in particular chapter 7, "Phonography and the Problem of Time in Oral Narrative Events." Regarding the poetics of orality Zumthor (1990: 4) asks, "It is strange that, among all the institutionalized disciplines, there is not yet a science of voice."

[24] The merged sounds are primarily a rhythmical resonant timbre that acoustically embodies the whole ritual process. An excellent discussion of timbral listening is in Levin (2006).

Ayah Papai Junjung)[25] flying along with the entourage following the ancestral way.[26]

Throughout this *teng* the shaman has also imaged the afflicted internal state of the patient using a large number of terms for the effect of the poisons on the body. For example there are over twenty two adjectives used to describe the pathological condition of the blood alone. Similarly, the shaman's action of asperging and absterging the patient with the whisk is repeated throughout the *teng*. The action of asperging is shown in pl. 6 *a*, and absterging in pl. 6 *b*.

Coming to the end of *Teng Kanjar* the shaman continues to apply cool soothing *daq ceput* to the patient, asks the sequestered entourage not to wander away from their bivouac on the cloud-mountains (table 2, 1.246), and vocalizes the alighting of the familiar rhinoceros hornbill with *ok ok ok* and *mmmmm* sounds (table 2, 1.248–251). The acoustic structure of the utterances in table 2, 1.246–251 is displayed in pl. 5 *b*. There were two extractions in this *teng* and the etiological paradigm was evoked at the beginning with the images of shamanic creator ancestors fashioning the whisk. The trimmings and cuttings of creation become disease-spirits as discussed previously. This is an ongoing process, and the Temoq state that you cannot avoid becoming afflicted when stepping away from the the safety of the house.[27] Creation and affliction are ineluctably a part of the same process. Significantly, affliction does not necessarily imply any moral culpability on the part of the patient—it is just an existential fact of human life.

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[25] The use of personal and kin terms are prohibited in ritual. Male patients are referred to as Ayah Papai Junjung ("esteemed" father), female patients as Mak Bonda ("respected" mother), and children as *anak mayang* ("palm blossoms").

[26] The dynamic range of the shaman's singing and drum music was beyond the dynamic range of the Sony field deck and TDK SA-X tapes thus necessitating riding the recording levels during the performance.

[27] There is always a constant rain of fine debris falling from the forest canopy. I discovered this when using a parabolic reflector to record rhinoceros hornbills. Unless the parabolic reflector is covered with a cloth shield, the constant noise of impacting debris makes recordings unacceptable.

Table 2. *Teng Kanjar:* Beginning the Journey to the Cloud-Mountains.

1.1 – 1.11	
mmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm-mmmmmmmmmmmmmm 1.1	mmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm-mmmmmmmmmmmmmm 1.1
mmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm-mmmmmmm 1.2	mmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm-mmmmmmm 1.2
mmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm-mmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm 1.3	mmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm-mmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm 1.3
eeeeeeeeeeeeah lagiiiiiiiiiii eeeeeeee sudah bərjulaŋ na͡iʔ lagi bərjulaŋ maŋkat lagi kuciŋ mo͡iəl 1.4	eeeeeeeeeeeeah nooooooooooooow eeeeeeee still rising ascending, further rising departing, now, Tiger Cat 1.4
mari laŋsir mari mari kuciŋ mo͡iəl laŋyaŋ laŋsir kumbaŋ mari kita bəraduʔ tawar bəraduʔ bəralin 1.5	come wreathed hornbills hither hither tiger cat, wreathed hornbills, carpenter bees let's ready the antidote ready the lustration 1.5
eeeeeeeeeeeh kanjar bara͡u julaŋ maŋkat yeh bawa mɛŋira͡i labuŋ tawar məmbawa mɛŋira͡i labuŋ diŋin lagi suuuuuuuuuu 1.6	eeeeeeeeeeeh skirring shamas whirring aloft yeh bringing the soothing asperging whisk bringing the cooling asperging whisk, now further 1.6
eeeeeeeeeeeeeahlaaaah eeeeeeeeeeh julaŋ na͡iʔ lagi yeh bawa 1.7	eeeeeeeeeeeeeahlaaaah eeeeeeeeeeh rising ascending still yeh bringing 1.7
labuŋ celis putəri buŋsu labuŋ celis pərman labuŋ celis bijaʔ labuŋ celis juaris sudah lagi oh julaŋ bərcikam na͡iʔ lagi 1.8	the whisk shaped by Puteri Bungsu the whisk trimmed by Perman the whisk snipped by Bijak the whisk fashioned by the Ancient Ones now again, oh rising step-by-step ascending, further 1.8
mɛŋira͡i labuŋ mabuʔ mɛŋira͡i labuŋ miaŋ mɛŋira͡i labuŋ leteh mɛŋira͡i labuŋ milu lagi oheh 1.9	asperging whisk to the intoxication asperging whisk to the inflammation asperging whisk to the exhaustion asperging whisk to the affliction, further oh eh 1.9
eeeeeeehaaaaaaah yeh bawa bəralin saroŋ baju bərcikam maŋkat bara͡u bərjulaŋ na͡iʔ bara͡u 1.10	eeeeeeehaaaaaaah yeh bringing lustration to subtle tegmen bodies shamas branch-by-branch upborne shamas rising ascending 1.10
eeeeeeeehaaaaaaah yeh bawa mɛŋira͡i labuŋ miaŋ lagi labuŋ celis putəri buŋsu labuŋ celis Syiati 1.11	eeeeeeehaaaaaaah yeh bringing the asperging whisk to the inflammation, again, the whisk scissored by Puteri Bungsu the whisk trimmed by Shiati 1.11

1.15 – 1.22	
eeeeeeeeeeeah yeh bərjulaŋ na͡iʔ lagi bərjinjar tali mənuŋ tali kuacaʔ mənuŋ gererem tali panas lagi sudah bərjinjar tali kuacaʔ mənuŋ 1.15	eeeeeeeeeeeah yeh rising ascending still drawing near dark currents dark stormy currents moving by flickering thunderheads, further still drawing near dark stormy currents 1.15
yeeeeeeeeeh gererem 1.16	yeeeeeeeeeh rallying 1.16
yeh tentaŋ kiri məkanan lagi julaŋ na͡iʔ labuŋ celis panda͡i labuŋ celis sidi 1.17	yeh ahead left and right still rising ascending the whisk trimmed by Pandai the whisk scissored by Sidi 1.17
yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh lah 1.18	yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh lah 1.18
gererem jalan kuacaʔ mənuŋ jalan kuacaʔ panas lagi 1.19	trooping along the stormy path way of flickering lightning, further 1.19
yoooooooooooeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh 1.20	yoooooooooooeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh 1.20
yeh tambaŋ tiŋgal jalan bara͡u 1.21	yeh the shama's revelatory way 1.21
yeh tambaŋ tiŋgal jalan nengəri 1.22	yeh the earth's revelatory way 1.22

1.223 – 1.227	
yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeee tampaʔ bərsaluʔ di ujuŋ lawaʔ gererem lagi layar bara͡u lagi sudah 1.223	yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeee behold the blurr'd throbbing from the track's far reaches moving along again flying shamas further now 1.223
yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh ah lagi layar maʔ bonda ayah papa͡i junjuŋ belah lagi oh eh tandaŋ nengəri 1.224	yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeehah now fly Mak Bonda and Ayah Papai Junjung its so enchanting oh eh travelling the earth 1.224
ikut jalan bara͡u ikut jalan maʔ sati jalan panda͡i 1.225	following the shamas' way following Sati's way the Seer's way 1.225
yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh bərjinjar saroŋ baju	yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh draw near subtle tegmen bodies
haram taʔ belah lagi sudah 1.226	its impossible not to be enchanted, further still 1.226
peŋhabis heywan mənurut jalan sidi 1.227	in the depths of reverie following Sidi's way 1.227

1.246 – 1.251	
yeeeeeeeeeeh ooooooooo haaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaeeeeeee sedo͡it bərəŋ ko͡it sia͡u bəɲia͡u jaŋan caci rilap jaŋan cecet bəret 1.246	yeeeeeeeeeeh ooooooooo haaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaeeeeeee cool and purifying cooling down don't glitteringly disperse don't splatter away 1.246
kebas papas limboŋ nadi kebas papas limboŋ urat lagi paŋsa sendi lagi tawar bəralin 1.247	absterging the weak pulses absterging the flaccid vessels and joints, further soothingly lustrating 1.247
rrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrr 1.248	rrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrr 1.248
oʔ oʔ oʔ 1.249	ok ok ok 1.249
mm'mmmm 1.250	mm'mmmm 1.250
mmmm 1.251	mmmm 1.251

Teng Langsir: The Cosmic Illusion and the Extraction of *Minan*

Teng Langsir is one of Paq Loong's favorite journeys and he almost always included this *teng* in his performances. The *teng* in this performance is almost one hour in duration and composed of 385 utterances. The excerpts referred to in the following discussion are in table 3, and are acoustically illustrated, in part, by sonograms in pl. 5 c, and 5 d. Unlike *Teng Kanjar* these excerpts include the description of Paq Loong's gestures to illustrate how he creates the cosmic illusion to trick the disease-spirit out of the patient's body.

I will focus mostly on the ten minute disease-spirit extraction from the elder female patient that begins at 10 minutes into the performance between utterances table 3, 2.59 and 2.138. Paq Loong begins the *teng* (table 3, 2.1–2.5) by imaging the entourage moving into formation, warbling shama birds leading the ascent, and the whole entourage following the ancestral way. The shama birds warble they are well ahead (table 3, 2.7–2.10), and announce they are bringing healing to the patient. At the same time the shaman continues to flick his whisk over the female patient on the right. The warbling of the shamas is thought

of as an acoustic aperging and lustration of the patient. The very voice of the shama, like the voice of the shaman, has healing powers. Moving on (table 3, 2.20–2.25) the shaman returns to the image of the shama's healing song that cools and neutralizes poisons in the patient. Then with three framing vocalizations he images the trekking entourage, the fresh blue-green of the forest canopy from a great height, and the lustration of the patient's subtle body on the cloud-mountain. The shaman sings of the flower bedecked way left and right and sees the wreathed hornbill stratus-clouds (table 3, 2.35–2.39). He sings of the "seven girds" and "seven cross-beams" which is not a literal seven but an allusion to the "heptemerous" or numinous quality of creation. He aligns the sounds of the flying birds with the swishing of the whisk as he constructs the illusion to trick *minan*. The shaman sings of the drifting clouds and states that it is impossible not to be enchanted by these visions. There is strong imagery of nocturnal biosphere processes, the formation of dew and mists which gives a shiny fresh washed look to plants and bamboo by early dawn, and which is considered to be a natural healing like process.

Finally Paq Loong is in reach of the hornbill's cloud-mountains (table 3, 2.45–2.47). He sings of hornbills enchantingly winging the mountain realms and then hears their loud calls. On uttering "*ek ek ek ek*" he signifies he has enwrapped himself in the wreathed hornbill's cloak form so that he can cross the huge distance to the far mountain tops. He joins the preening hornbills (table 3, 2.52–2.58) who cast out two types of lice that stream downwards, like rain falling from clouds, to the earth below and afflict humanity. He also images the *kijai* incense streaming upwards to the cloud-mountains. In the next strophe he sings out rejoicings of the magnificent vista and the swish of the hornbills wings (whisk) as they fly across the mountainous earthscape. In 2.55 the swishing is now more energetic and the shaman creates three intense images; glowing luminous realms; drifting cloud-mountains (*kijai* incense); and the last line which fuses the image of the whisk tassels with fringed rain clouds seen from a distance. Having added the final touches, as it were, to the illusion, he then (table 3, 2.56) asks the "cloud poison" to rise out of the patient's body into the heavens. It is now 2.05 am and almost everyone is drowsy and tired. In table 3, 2.57 he commands the disease-spirit not to

cause any further symptoms (gnawing, rasping, stabbing, bloating, distending), and images the "ebbing away" of the patient's afflicted blood. *Minan* the disease-spirit is confused, for on the one hand it knows it is in the patient's body, although more by misadventure than intent. On the other hand it is attracted to the prospect of returning to its home in the heavens if it can only be convinced to leave. Having inadvertently entered a human body in the first place, much of the damage to the patient, as imaged in this performance, is caused by confusion and lashing out.[28] Not all is benign however, for once in the body, *minan* hides in a blood clot, and feasting on the patient's blood, flesh, and subtle body, releases toxins which further weaken the body and give rise to fevers. The asperging and absterging of the patient with the whisk and *daq ceput* neutralizes the toxins, and cools and soothes the patient's inner condition. This process also covers the patient's skin with macerated *ceput* leaves, thus casting the surface of the patient's body as the "forest canopy" seen from a great height, and the body's contours as landforms. This is the earthly realm into which the afflicting agents have fallen and from which the shaman offers redemption.

Yet *minan* is also recalcitrant and difficult, and in table 3, 2.59–2.60 the shaman, holding the whisk over the patient, calls *minan* and sucks the top of his left to extract the disease-spirit into the tassels. Then with two extended vocalizations as he holds the tassels over *kijai* incense, he images himself far away from the entourage and ritual house. In table 3, 2.64 he brings the tassels to his mouth and blows into them with a cooling "sissing" burst of air. The sound is of gusting winds on the celestial way. The function is to weaken *minan* so that he can rub off its invisible cloak, and render it harmless. He sings of shamanizing at the center of the world, the *axis mundi* of the Temoq cosmos. Again, with an extended vocalization, he admonishes the ritual participants for their desultory contribution and then again brings the tassels up to his mouth. *Minan* is powerful and smart, so Paq Loong must maintain the illusion of being in the heavens. In table 3, 2.68 he is back with the entourage and sings of

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[28] In this paper I am only focusing on the etiological paradigm evident in the *Teng Kijai* performance. Temoq ideas about affliction are much broader than the paradigm presented in this performance.

the "clanging clamoring din" (singing, drumming, bird song) as it moves along the celestial way in the region of the wreathed hornbills. The shaman must still maintain the enchanting illusion, and holding the tassels over the *kijai* incense, the shaman sings of the cloud-mountains, so beautifully formed, drifting across the earth. As he does he takes *minan* off the end of the tassels, and clasping his hands tightly, brings them up to his mouth and blows (pl. 7). These images are ancestral revelations, and he sings of manipulating the cloud poisons, the glint of black scudding clouds and gray mists. Then after blowing into his hands again, he vocalizes and sings of the ancestral cloud-mountains "now as in the past." Blowing cooling breezes onto *minan* is a key part of the shaman's dialog aimed at convincing the disease-spirit to depart without rancor (fig. 3).

If the disease-spirit throws off its enchantment (*asik*) it could become very dangerous. So the shaman continues with the cosmic illusion, and in table 3, 2.75–2.77 he blows into his hands, then moves his hands over the *kijai* incense while singing of his visionary gaze traveling the vales, mountains, and clouds. In table 3, 2.98–2.101 Pak Loong springs a special invitee who is *Tuan Puteri Kayu Mruhum*, the familiar spirit of the *tabak* tree. She queries why she has been asked to join the performance, and the shaman replies that he is requesting "fragrant medicines" to heal the patients.

Fig. 3. Shaman in dialogue with *minan*. Photo: Peter F. Laird, 1981.

Moving ahead 10 utterances in which the shaman alternates between the patient, journey, cosmos, and disease-spirit, he sings in table 3, 2.111–2.115 of the male patient's dazed subtle body at the edge of the world and then, holding *minan* in his fingers, he taps the now visible disease-spirit on the inside of the *daq ceput* dish making a clear clicking sound all can hear. Then he sings of lustrating on the cloud-mountains. Often at this point the shaman will open his hand and allow others to see the now impotent *minan*.[29] Now jumping ahead to table 3, 2.130–2.142 the shaman sings of the cacophonous ecstatic way, lets out a loud joyous exclamation, and while placing *minan* back into the whisk tassels, asks the symptoms of gnawing, rasping, stabbing, and spearing not to return. Still maintaining *minan's* deep state of *asik*, he sings that it is impossible not to be enchanted, and then he asks *minan* to return to its origins in the mists, gusts, skirling winds, wispy vapors, and high winds. The shaman continues lustrating on the cloud-mountain imaging the patient's afflicted state, and then asks *minan* to rise up, fly to the cloud-mountains, flutter away to far lands as revealed by the ancestors. Paq Loong then utters a loud trill as he flicks the whisk expelling *minan*. He sings of *minan's* droning sound as it flies away and then changes focus to imaging the enchantment of the earth's far reaches, and the shama's warbling resonating throughout the lands. In table 3, 2.141 and 2.142 he turns to absterging the patient's subtle and physical bodies. The shaman went on to extract three more disease-spirits in this *teng*.

In this section I have only sketched the strategies used by Paq Loong to extract disease-spirits. A strophe by strophe analysis is beyond the scope of this presentation, but the richness of Paq Loong's compositional virtuosity, and the *modus operandi* of extraction, is hopefully apparent.[30]

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[29] Materialized minan takes many forms such as round or elongated "leech" like glassy objects. Usually shamans extract small objects but in 2007 I observed for the first time the extraction of large blood clots that were placed in a bucket and then very carefully disposed of at a road junction some distance away from the community.

[30] Paq Loong's compositional virtuosity is attested by quite a few performances I have recorded in which no two *teng* of the same designation (e.g., *Teng Langsir*) are the "same."

Table 3. *Teng Langsir:* To the Region of the Wreathed Hornbills.

2.1 – 2.5		
mmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm-mmm 2.1 hmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm-mmmmm 2.2 yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh ah sudah lagi kita bərsusun lagi barau bərjulaŋ naĩʔ lagi barau pantun 2.3 eeeeh aaaah kita bərjulaŋ naĩʔ lagi sudah jalan maʔ sidi jalan maʔ pandaĩ jalan maʔ nujum lagi sudah 2.4 ooooooooooooooooooooh eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh 2.5	shaman is holding whisk out in front of himself flicked whisk over patient on the left	mmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm-mmm 2.1 hmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm-mmmmm 2.2 yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh ah now further we are gathering together again shamas are rising and ascending shamas are warbling quatrains 2.3 eeeeeeeh ah I am ascending rising, again now on Grandmother Sidi's Way Grandmother Pandai's Way Grandmother Nujum's Way, further still 2.4 ooooooooooooooooooooh eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh 2.5
2.7 – 2.10		
eeeeeeeeeeeeeh ah sudah eeeeeh kita bərjulaŋ naĩʔ lagi barau pantun sudah barau laŋam barau basa barau pantun kita bawa məŋiraĩ baju miaŋ 2.7 bawa bəralin saroŋ baju oh eh bawa bəralin saroŋ nafas lagi 2.8 eeeeeeeeeeh ah sudah eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh jalan tujuh baris jalan nengəri tujuh hator sudah 2.9 məlekam nengəri pərman ooooooooh eh məlekam nengəri nujum məlekam nengəri pərman lah 2.10	 flicked whisk over patient on the left ditto ditto ditto ditto ditto	eeeeeeeeeeeeeh ah now eeeeeh I am rising ascending again the shamas are poetically warbling "we're now way ahead" shamas are chattering shamas are poetically warbling "we're bringing asperging for inflamed subtle bodies" 2.7 "bringing lustration for subtle tegmen bodies oh eh" "bringing lustration for the breath's enclosure" further 2.8 eeeeeeeeeeh ah now eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh way of seven 'expanses' earth's way of sevenfold order 2.9 trekking through Perman's realm ooooooooh eh trekking through Nujum's realm trekking through Perman's realm 2.10

2.20 – 2.24		
bəraduʔ tawar barau̯ bəraduʔ bəralin 2.20 bəraduʔ diŋin sudah lah 2.21 yoooooooooooooooooh eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh hai̯ sudah eeeeeh məlekam lagi 2.22 oooooooooooooooh eeeh tampaʔ hijau̯ biru hijau̯ beleməŋ lagi 2.23 eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaah yeh tampaʔ bəralin gunuŋ tawar 2.24 bərjinjar saroŋ baju 2.25	(continues) flicking whisk through kijai incense towards male patient on the left moving towards female patient on right and touching whisk tassels on her body	shamas ready the neutralizer ready the lustration 2.20 ready the cool reviver 2.21 yoooooooooooooooooh eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh hai now eeeeeh trekking again 2.22 oooooooooooooooh eeeh behold blue green new-leaf green further 2.23 eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaah yeh behold lustrating on the white cloud-mountain 2.24 draw near subtle tegmen bodies 2.25
2.35 – 2.39		
yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh hai̯ yeh tulis kiri məkanan papan laŋsir məntujuh rasup lagi məntujuh benor lagi oheh papan nengəri bagi ditulis bagi dicelis 2.35 dari pərman dari shiati dari pandai̯ dari maʔ seŋraŋ jaman dulu lagi ditambaŋ gunuŋ hijau̯ lumat oh eh 2.36 eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh sabur mabur gaŋsau̯ lagi kiri məkanan layar kabut tambaŋ maʔ sidi jaman dulu 2.37 eeeeeeeh haram taʔ belah papan nengəri dayaŋ tujuh rasup papan laŋam dayaŋ tujuh baris bagi dicanai̯ 2.38 tampaʔ gemilau̯ papan dayaŋ dari jau̯h 2.39	(continues) flicking whisk over female patient on his right.	yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh hai yeh inscriptions (flowers) left and right the wreathed hornbill's stratus-clouds cross-beamed sevenfold begirt sevenfold again oheh earth's face appears as if inscribed appears as if trimmed 2.35 from Perman from Shiati from Pandai from Grandmother Sengrang ages ago again revealed on the fine green mountain oh eh 2.36 eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh sibilant swishing of scattering birds left and right drifting clouds Grandmother Sidi's ancient revelation 2.37 eeeeeeeh its impossible not to be enchanted by the face of the dayang's realms cross-beamed sevenfold by the face of the dayang's earth of sevenfold expanses appears as if burnished 2.38 behold the dayang's stratus clouds shimmer from afar 2.39

2.45 – 2.47		
tampaʔ oh eh lagi gaŋsa͡u penjuriŋ nengəri gaŋsa͡u penjuriŋ gunuŋ 2.45 yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh ha͡i belah lagi layar nengəri lagi araʔ laŋsir gunuŋ araʔ laŋsir kabut lagi 2.46 eʔ eeeeʔ eʔ eeeeʔ 2.47		behold oh eh again sibilantly winging the sweeping vales sibilantly winging the mountainy uplands 2.45 yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh hai so enchanting now flying across the vales again wreathed hornbills call from the mountains wreathed hornbills call from the clouds, now 2.46 ek eeeek ek eeeek 2.47
2.52 – 2.58		
eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh aaaaaaaaaaah eeeeeeeeeeeeeeh 2.52 tampaʔ gemilieh dayaŋ buaŋ kutu jara͡i kreɲem di bawah payoŋ nengəri bəraŋ oin lagi layar gunuŋ 2.53 yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh ha͡i belah yeh salih tiŋgal lagi papan nengəri dayaŋ gaŋsau ditulis tiŋgal lagi 2.54 hambaŋ gunuŋ hambaŋ nengəri bərlayar gunuŋ lagi tampaʔ məntujuh jura͡i lagi sudah 2.55 eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh bərjulaŋ na͡iʔ racun kabut lagi bərjulaŋ na͡iʔ lagi sudah racun bərilaŋ kabut bərilaŋ jumpaŋ lagi 2.56 ehah jaŋan acam məɲara͡i nohoʔ manikam senaʔ məɲenaʔ oh aŋsor darah radaŋ aŋsor darah mabuʔ 2.57 yeeeeeeeeh aaaaaah haaaaaaa yooooooooooooooo ooooooooh eeeeeh laaaah 2.58	(continues) flicking whisk towards female patient on the right. shaking whisk vigorously up and down over female patient on the right continuously [2.05 am]	eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh aaaaaaaaaaah eeeeeeeeeeeeeeh 2.52 behold preening wreathed hornbills casting out lice streaming down below the canopied earth incense plume drifts to the mountains 2.53 yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh hai enchanting yeh rejoicings remain, again wreathed hornbills sibilantly wing the vales the inscriptions remain, again 2.54 glowing mountains luminous realms drifting cloud-mountains, now behold the sevenfold tasseling further now 2.55 eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh rise ascend cloud poison, again rise ascend again now poisonous glint of the black scudding clouds glint of the grey mists 2.56 eh ah don’t gnaw rasp stab spear bloat distend oh ebb away fevered blood ebb away intoxicated blood 2.57 yeeeeeeeeh aaaaaah haaaaaaa yooooooooooooooo ooooooooh eeeeeh laaaah 2.58

2.59 – 2.72		
rrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrr mahrrr mahrrr mahrrr 2.59 suck.. suck.. suck.. suck.. suck.. suck.. suck.. 2.60	holding whisk over patient shaman sucks the top of his left hand – shaking stopped	rrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrr mahrrr mahrrr mahrrr 2.59 suck.. suck.. suck.. suck.. suck.. suck.. suck.. 2.60
yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeee eeeh 2.61 oooooooooooh ah laaaaaaaaaaah aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaah 2.62	then grasps bottom of tassels in his left hand and holds over kijai incense	yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeee eeeh 2.61 oooooooooooh ah laaaaaaaaaaah aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaah 2.62
suŋi seɲap lagi ooooooh eeeeeh 2.63 shhhhh 2.64 ma͡in lagi pusat laŋam pusat nengəri 2.65	shaman brings grasped tassels up to his mouth and blows – then holds tassels over kijai incense	lonely and silent up here further oooooh eeeeeh 2.63 shhhhh 2.64 shamanizing now at the world's centre the earth's navel 2.65
ooooooooooooooooooooh eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh seɲap deŋoŋ lagi di bawah payoŋ nengəri 2.66 shhhh shhh 2.67	now just holding a few whisk tassels in his left hand tassels to mouth	ooooooooooooooooooooh eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh quiet droning from below the canopied earth 2.66 shhhhh shhh 2.67
eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh beci͡au bəreŋ ri͡au lagi papan laŋsir papan laŋ yaŋ gunuŋ kabut layar nengəri tambaŋ pandai͡ asiʔ lagi 2.68	tassels over *kijai* incense pulls disease-spirit off the tassels and holds it over the *kijai* incense – brings	eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh the clanging clamoring din, further wreathed hornbills' stratus clouds noble one's stratus clouds cloud-mountains drift across the lands the Seer's ecstatic revelations, again 2.68
shhhh 2.69 tambaŋ juaris hai͡ lagi yeh ma͡in racun kabut bərilaŋ kabut bərilaŋ jumpaŋ lagi sudah 2.70	clenched hands up to mouth and blows	shhhhh 2.69 ancestral revelations hai now yeh plying the cloud poison glint of the black scudding clouds glint of the grey mists again 2.70
shhhh shhh 2.71	clasped hands up to mouth	shhhhh shhh 2.71
eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh gunuŋ maʔ sidi gunuŋ maʔ pandai͡ sekaraŋ dulu 2.72		eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh Grandmother Sidi's mountain Grandmother Pandai's mountain now as in the past 2.72

2.75 - 2.77		
shhhh 2.75 eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh ditambaŋ pandai tampaʔ gemilau lagi cermin ulun bərtandaŋ nengəri bərtandaŋ gunuŋ lagi bərtandaŋ kabut lah 2.76 shhhh 2.77	shaman brings hands up to mouth and blows hands over *kijai* – palm of left hand is open – holding disease-spirit down by rubbing with thumb of right hand hands to mouth	shhhh 2.75 eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh as revealed by the Seer behold the shimmering now my visionary gaze travels the vales travels the mountains, again travels the clouds 2.76 shhhhh 2.77
2.98 – 2.103		
tuan putəri kayu məruhum məŋapa awaʔ numpaŋ bərtaŋa dalam balai 2.98 shhhh 2.99 lulut lilaŋ ayah bonda sekaraŋ dulu 2.100 shhhh yooooooooooh eeeeeeeeeeeeeh hai sudah lagi tərgimbar gimbar tuan putəri kayu məruhum lagi sudah 2.101 shhhh 2.102 yooooooooooooooooooooooooooh hai lah 2.103	 hands to mouth [shaman answers] hands to mouth and then over kijai incense hands up to mouth	Tuan Puteri Kayu Mruhum “why are you asking me to join in the ritual ?” 2.98 shhhh 2.99 fragrant medicines for ‘fathers and mothers’ (patients) now as in the past 2.100 shhhh yooooooooooh eeeeeeeeeeeeeh hai now further ambling towards us Tuan Puteri Kayu Mruhum further now 2.101 shhhh 2.102 yooooooooooooooooooooooooooh hai lah 2.103

2.111 – 2.2.115		
eeeeeeeeeeh aaaah ayah papa͡i junjuŋ sasa͡u baju ooooooooooooheh lah 2.111		eeeeeeeeeeh aaaah Ayah Papai Junjung's dazed subtle body ooooooooooooh eh lah 2.111
shhhh 2.112	hands up to mouth	shhhhh 2.112
sasa͡u bayaŋ lagi penjuriŋ dunia ha͡i lagi oi sudah 2.113	manipulating disease-spirit in his hands	the dazed astral body now the world's edge hai again oi now 2.113
iiiiiiiiiih aaaah eeeeeh click... click... click... click... click... click... click... shhhh 2.114	placed disease-spirit in ceput and clicked it on the side of the ceramic bowl – then to mouth and blew on it	iiiiiiiiiih aaaah eeeeeh click... click... click... click... click... click... click... shhhh 2.114
bəralin gunuŋ tawar bəralin gunuŋ nengəri bərlayar kabut lagi 2.115		lustrating on the misty cloud-mountains lustrating on the world mountain drifting to the clouds now 2.115
2.130 – 2.142		
cia͡u bareŋ ria͡u lagi jalan asi? jalan panda͡i 2.130	Now holding whisk in right hand	the clanging clamoring din, again the ecstatic way the seer's way 2.130
yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh 2.131		yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh 2.131
kunci gelema̱t pasuŋ beleŋur jaŋan sampa͡i acam məŋara͡i noho? manikam lagi 2.132	placed disease-spirit in tassels which he is holding with his left hand – whisk held out high in front of himself	lock up the darkness imprison the exhaustion don't come again gnawing rasping stabbing spearing further 2.132
yeh a͡i eh haram ta? belah lagi asal mun bale? mun asal aŋin bale? aŋin asal rila͡i bale? ka rila͡i 2:133		yeh ai eh its impossible not to be enchanted from the mists go back to the mists from the winds go back to the winds from the skirling winds go back to the skirling winds 2.133
asal jumpaŋ bale? ka jumpaŋ asal riliŋ bale? ka riliŋ 2.134 yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh yooooooooooh oheh		from the wispy vapors go back to the wispy vapors from the high winds go back to the high winds 2.134 yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeh yooooooooooh oheh

tawar bəralin saroŋ baju tawar bəralin saroŋ nafas dah 2.135 eeeeeh darah radaŋ bərtolaʔ aŋsor darah panah bərtolaʔ aŋsor bisa waraŋ bərtolaʔ aŋsor limboŋ sendi limboŋ nafas lagi 2.136 bəralun lagi layar gunuŋ lagi gemampaʔ layar nengriʔ ditambaŋ maʔ sidi ditambaŋ jalan maʔ nujum lah 2.137 rrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrr mahrrr 2.138 iiiiiiiih ah tampaʔ bərdaŋuŋ lagi sudah ah eeeeh haram taʔ belah lagi penjuriŋ dunia lagi penjuriŋ nengəri oheh layar tambaŋ pandai 2.139 gererem layar baraũ lagi oheh bərsigut layar nengəri tambaŋ gunuŋ 2.140 yooooooooooooh eeeeeh laaaah eeeeeeeeeeeh kebas papas limboŋ nadi oh eh kebas papas limboŋ kukut di bulu rumah 2.141 paŋsa darah paŋsa nadi paŋsa kukut di bulu rumah lagi titiʔ mənitiʔ bulu rumah tawar nadi 2.142	shaman flicked the whisk and expelled the disease-spirit whisk tassels dipped in ceput and shaman begins flicking whisk over the female patient on his right	soothingly lustrating the subtle tegmen body soothingly lustrating the breathes subtle tegmen dah 2.135 eeeeeeeh fevered blood ebb away hot blood ebb away arsenical poison ebb away from the stiff joints oppressive breathing now 2.136 billow up now, fly to the cloud-mountains now flutter away to far lands as revealed by Grandmother Sidi as revealed on Grandmothers Nujum's Way lah 2.137 rrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrr mahrrr 2.138 iiiiiiiiih ah behold the droning further still lah eeh its impossible not to be enchanted now by the world's edge, again by the earth's far bounds oh eh by the Seer's drifting rhapsody 2.139 shamas flying ahead further oheh a resonant pulsing drifts through the lands, cloud-mountain revelations 2.140 yooooooooooooh eeeeeh laaaah eeeeeeeeeeeh absterging the weakened pulses oh eh absterging the weakened nails of the hairy abode 2.141 streaming blood, throbbing pulses, curving nails of the hairy abode further, drip dripping on the hairy abode, soothing the pulses 2.142

Conclusion

A ritual performance simultaneously unfolds in three frames of action: the cosmos, ritual house, and patient's body and is encompassed by an overarching acoustic field replete with singing, animal and bird calls, intense drumming, the swishing of whisk tassels, and the vibrating of the house.[31] There is a powerful and persuasive *sonic presence* of all the beings who participate in the performance. There is also the pervasive olfactory experience of incense, and familiar fragrances (e.g., pandanus) evoked in the far distant regions visited by the shaman. Taking place in a darkened house where incense infused shadows embody a whole world, the Temoq shaman skillfully weaves language, gesture, and acoustic images into a sono-visionary conjuration that deceives disease-spirits, heals the afflicted, and spiritually refreshes all participants.

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[31] For a discussion of the the structural significance of the patient's body vis a vis the house and cosmos see Laird 1983. Temoq kinship, social relations, and worldview, are deeply implicated in shamanic praxis which can be seen as the core institutional locus of Temoq enculturation. Formerly, if a shaman's powers were seen to diminish the entire community would disperse into the surrounding forest, or join relatives in other settlements.

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Encounters with Deities for Exchange: The Performance of Kavalan and Amis Shamanic Chants

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Why should we analyze shamanic chants and regard them as a social phenomenon, observing them in the totality of society? Today, the rate at which such chants are disappearing or being innovated is quite astonishing. In some places they have gone forever, while in others they have been revived. Are those societies in which shamanic chants still circulate subject to some special law or obligation that imposes on shamans the need to keep on chanting? What special power and metaphors does chanting itself display? In this article I attempt to answer these and other questions in the context of shamanic performance among the indigenous Kavalan and Amis peoples of Taiwan.

Many tribal societies have been gradually integrated in the world-capitalist system; however, in some societies their foundations and the social existence of the individual still do not depend on economic rationality, such as money relations or market logic, and in them rituals must be regularly held in which a shaman exchanges the essential things of life with the deities and the ancestral spirits through chanting. The shamanic chanting itself is more than an individual act, it becomes a collective enterprise. In this process of exchange, the position of the individual and social relationships are reproduced through a politico-religious activity, not just economics, forming a collective identity as a mutually dependent group. This means that the study of shamanic chants is very important, in that it allows us to understand what the

individual's "condition of social existence" and foundations are that have made some societies continue to build exchange relationships with deities until the present time.

In *Essai sur le don* Mauss (1997/1925) examined the theme of people offering gifts to deities in exchange for wealth or safety, presenting the words of shamanic chants to illustrate the exchange of power between people and deities; however, he did not pay attention to the important connection between this kind of exchange and shamanic chants. Malinowski (1922) studied the magic used in Kula exchange, from boat-building preparations to the launching ceremony, setting off, sailing, arriving at the destination, persuading their partners to exchange, and the return journey. He pointed out the importance of magic in researching the subject of exchange. By analyzing spells he pointed out that the words themselves have mysterious power and can directly have a magic effect. The present article applies performativity/performative theory (Austin 1975; Searle 1969; Derrida 1972; Schechner 1988; 2002), with particular focus on the concept of the act of speech, to rethink the power of lyrics and to explore the social and cultural meanings of shamanic chanting itself. In anthropological research the different oral forms such as song, chant, spell, prayer, invocation, request, or blessing are not particularly distinguished. Anthropologists have mostly centered on analyzing the form, structure, and metaphor of these oral texts (Fox 1974; 1988; Sather 2001; Cauquelin 2008).

In the view of Kuipers (1990), "highly structured formal language" is relatively marginal, while background music in a noisy restaurant, conversation, and eating are the main events. Contrary to his view, the present author considers that musical shamanic chants are not just background; rather, that they have a close connection to the event taking place and that, in fact, without song some events cannot even take place. It is thus necessary to research the role that shamanic chants have in exchanges made with deities. Also, in *L'enigme du don* Godelier (1996), following the topic researched by Mauss, examined the essence of *le sacré* in exchange to explore the social basis for determining whether certain objects cannot be given or sold. In this article, by examining the exchange-related myths and shamanic life narratives about chanting and lyric texts that were not touched on by Mauss, the

author will discuss what things cannot be bought with money and which need to be exchanged for shamanic chants and the special forms of expression of this exchange behavior and contract.

The ethnography for this study was collected when the author was a participant observing shamanic rituals in the Kavalan village of Sinshe and the Amis village of Lidau in Hualian, Taiwan, 1993–2008. These two villages, on the fringes of a city, are the last places on Taiwan's east coast where shamanic chanting continues to this day. The Kavalan gradually became sinified after having frequent contact with Han Chinese from the late 17th century, while the Amis were sinified later on. At the end of the 19th century both came under the control of the Japanese colonialists. In the late 1960s, Christianity began to have an influence. The regional industrialization of the 1970s and improvements in transport in the 1980s gradually pushed the villages into the capitalist economic system. In terms of strategy, these two villages where chanting survives were placed together for coordinated comparison because both communities are Austronesian people and they are close geographically, connected by marriage and share the culture of shamanism. Fox (1988), when comparing the special parallelism of the rituals of Austronesian tribes in eastern Indonesia, observed that because of a lack of regional political hegemony, the phenomenon of linguistic diversity appeared for the purpose of self-differentiation, producing the special feature of parallelism. Taiwan's east coast has similar geographic and historic factors, so analyzing the Kavalan and Amis together allows a better understanding and highlights the special features and social context of shamanic chanting in this region.

Shamanic Chants: Themes of Myths and Dreams

To understand ancient religions, Granet (1919) analyzed China's earliest ritual songs in *The Book of Songs (Shi Jing)*. He emphasized that, to reveal the basic elements of songs, it was necessary to examine their thematic symbolism rather than observe their literary value. The Kavalan shamanic chants contain the important symbolic themes of myth and legend. For example, a myth about the origin of ancestors

still circulates in the villages today. The myth tells of a goddess called Mutumazu who came to earth to help a poor man, Siagnau, and gave birth to their child. However, because Siagnau was lazy the young child died, Mutumazu went back to heaven in anger, and death and then disease came to the world. The goddess would sometimes return to the human world and teach people song and dance (*kisaiz*) and taboos (*perisin*) that had to be observed in order to treat people's illnesses. This work was carried out by a *mtiu* (group of female shamans) who imitated Mutumazu's song and dance in the *kisaiz* (which literally means 'song and dance'). The female deity would tell those taking part in this organized activity that if people were still sick, a similar song and dance ritual called the *pakelabi* should be carried out and that this ritual should be continually passed down through the generations. The Kavalan believe that the songs and dances that are exclusive to shamans were given by the goddess and were not created by humans. They have the symbolic power to cure sickness and even to save life; thus, they are necessary for life and their practice should never cease. There are also related taboos; ordinarily these can't be sung and they require the practice of *manmet* (no salt, only rice-based foods to be eaten, and abstinence from sexual activity) to purify the shaman's body before chanting takes place. The songs have to follow a certain sequence. In the process of following this sequence and cosmic order, the female deity and the shaman establish their authority and, at the same time, establish a political hierarchy that people must respect and which also determines people's social positions.

When the author interviewed Amis shamans, *sikawasay*, several talked about ritualistic songs becoming the principal theme of dreams (*malmed*) with special symbolic meaning. For example, Valah described how he became a *sikawasay*. He told how one night he had a dream and walked around singing as if he was sleepwalking. His wife went to fetch a senior *sikawasay* to help, and this person's interpretation was that Valah's behavior was a sign that he must become a *sikawasay*. Another fairly senior *sikawasay*, Pah, also sang and danced incessantly in her sleep, and her family brought in the most senior shaman to carry out *mipohpoh* (healing ritual). After the ritual she woke up and the senior shaman told her that she could begin to carry out the

mipohpoh ritual to treat people's illnesses. Singing and dancing when asleep were interpreted as a sign from the deities and the consigning of a further mission to the *sikawasay*. Another shaman, Sla, said "If a ritual was to be carried out the next day I would have bad dreams and would be tense. Sometimes I would dream that the 'old one' would want me to do something and the next day I would conduct the ritual like that. What song to sing and when and how to sing it, the deity and ancestors would teach me in advance in the dream." Like the Kavalan mythical themes, the life histories of the three *sikawasay* show us that, to the Amis, songs are exclusive to the spirit world and are like "ancestral words" (Fox 1974; 1988; Hoskins 1988), containing the intention of a supernatural force. For example the deities or ancestors will choose who is to receive the voice or road (*lalan*). This chanting, walking, or dancing is a metaphor of a journey. Also, as the chanter, the shaman gains knowledge of the language of a ritual in a flash in a dream, rather than by study or memorizing the lyrics of songs.

In 1931 Hayami Iehiko collected another legend about the origins of Kavalan song. In ancient times the ancestors of the Kavalan often went out to fish. One day a wife fell asleep while preparing food and her fisherman husband went out to sea without noticing that she had fallen asleep. When she awoke she thought that her husband had abandoned her and, both furious and sad, committed suicide by hanging herself. When the husband returned it was too late, so he went to dig her grave. Suddenly the sound of singing and dancing emanated from the grave and a voice told him that if he brought wine and venison his wife would return to the human world. The husband mobilized the villagers and held a big feast, with singing and dancing, next to the grave and his wife "really did come back to life." When the present author interviewed a Kavalan *mtiu* (a group of female shamans) in 1995 about ritualistic song and dance, the informer connected this legend with the *kisaiz* ritual in which the initiate treads on white cloth to avoid walking on the ground, simulating death. She interpreted it this way: "The family heard singing and dancing coming from the grave, and when they found she was performing a *kisaiz* using the standard moves." The subject of myth is that by holding singing and dancing the Kavalan man had to exchange wine and games with the deities for the life of his wife.

What exchanges are women involved in? Mugi, an Amis, decided to become a *sikawasay* in 2005 and described how at the time her chest felt tight and she was rushed to hospital by her children; she then fell unconscious and was put in intensive care, where she lay unconscious for almost a month. After examining her, the senior *sikawasay* interpreted her condition in this way:

> She hasn't yet completed the Kawas (deity) road so she hasn't woken up, judging that she had actually *mapaak* (fainted), a kind of expression of *mapatai* (death). After waking up, Mugi recalled clearly how in her unconscious state she had seen three ancestors who said that if she followed them she would regain consciousness.

This narrative and the shaman's discourse are replete with cultural metaphors. Unconsciousness/fainting symbolize death, waking up represents life, the road means ancestors, and becoming a *sikawasay* symbolizes the exchange of a life. In terms of meaning, a modern woman becoming a *sikawasay* is the exchange her life between her family and the deities and ancestors.[1]

What kind of exchange is this? What relationship is built between the two parties during the process? Permission to become a *sikawasay* does not just involve offering the deities and ancestors material things such as a pig. The *sikawasay* must also hold a *mirecuk* song and dance ritual in their home once a year and hold a feast for relatives and villagers to establish virtual consanguine (parent–child) relations with the deities. Then *mtiu* and *sikawasay* become inheritors of the deities. During all their life the food, behavior, and sexual relations of the *sikawasay* must "fit into a special order," this being the only way the deity will reward the initiated shaman and allow them to live; otherwise the unconscious person will be thought to have no chance of waking up and will be deemed to have died. This exchange relationship has to be renewed every year and requires the following of a life-long "contract" and discipline. If the "contract" is breached unilaterally by a shaman,

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[1] In the 1980s the number of men becoming *sikawasay* fell sharply.

it is believed that they will be punished and that this will take the form of their family falling victim to an unfortunate event.

Chanting, Hierarchies, and Control

The Kavalan and Amis believe that they can conduct exchanges with a supernatural spiritual power; however, for them this power is real but it is invisible. As this power is beyond most people's visual scope, how is such an important exchange carried out? How do people give gifts to deities? How can it be ensured that the deities will accept gifts, and give gifts in return? The Kavalan and Amis created a series of symbols—in particular, a special vocabulary and songs—to contact deities. At the same time, these symbols are a kind of tool used by the Kavalan in order to depict and enable themselves to understand these deities' will and actions. So, it is important to explore the polyvalent symbols of chanting in this exchange process.

In the two societies, the birth and death rites, healing rites or worshipping of Saliman (animal spirits) do not include songs (Liu 2009). Only the head-spirit worship ritual (*qataban*) that has evolved into today's harvest ritual (*malalikit*), the male initiation ritual (*malenlen*), and the annual ritual conducted by the shaman (*kisaiz/pekelabi*, *mirecuk*, *milasong*, *midiway*) feature songs. The songs of *qataban*, *malalikit*, and *malenlen*, which are male-centered rituals, are intended to show men in a heroic and competitive light. They are in the form of polyphony and call-and-response, with a person of relatively high social position leading the lyrics according to the situation and others following with fixed function words. In the past, this kind of song was regarded as having the symbolic function of calling the spirits of the enemy to ensure that headhunting expeditions would be a success. There is a wide difference between the songs of this type, whereas songs used in shamanic rituals have a fixed order of words and sentences, representing textual authority, that cannot be changed, otherwise punishment will be meted out by the deities. Although shamans are at different levels in the hierarchy depending on when they were initiated, the form of their chants is homophony. In contrast to polyphony, call-and-response, and freestyle creating of

words, shamanic chants show the authoritative style described by Kuipers (1990). So, how do we understand the significance of this pattern in its social context and its connection to exchange?

Kavalan and Amis only use this special song form to carry out exchange negotiation with deities that are relatively high up in the hierarchy, like the goddess (Mutumazu, Dugi) who created humans, the rice god (Kasiwasiyu), the fire god (Lalevuhan), ancestral spirits (Tuas), and gods of other tribes. Chanting constructs the reality of spiritual hierarchy. In comparison with extensive prayers, the special nature of chants allows us to imagine the grandeur of the exchanged object and the difficulties involved. The special character of chants also lets us ponder on the essence of power and control implicated in the whole process of exchange that Weiner (1976: 219–220) criticized Malinowski for ignoring. When people and deities carry out life exchange they are actually trying to overcome their fear of death and the exchange event can be seen as an act of control. People exchange with deities in an attempt to control death. This control is achieved through the form of social interaction.

Time and Taboo (*Manmet*)

Ordinarily, these shamanic songs cannot be sung because the song itself has a symbolic temporal and spatial identification/separation function as a special label. It also represents the entering of a special temporal order by the village. The two groups hold the *kisaiz/pakelabi* and *mirecuk* at around the same time in September[2] after the first rice crop has been harvested, dried, and husked in July so that there is new rice to offer as a sacrifice to the deities. The Kavalan choose a date at the end of July when the moon cannot be seen to hold the *kisaiz/pakelabi*. They chant until the new moon comes up, giving the songs a symbolic meaning of flow and transition.

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[2] In headhunting days the head spirit of the other tribe had to be worshipped first before it was held. The reason for this order was to avoid seedlings and rice not growing well in the new year (thought to be a return gift from the deities).

To enter the time and order marked by the song, the shaman, families, relatives, and participants from the different villages must all observe *manmet*. In other words, not only the person who carries out the exchange has to follow all the taboos associated with their body, feeding, and behavior. Analyzing the Wana of Indonesia, Atkinson (1989: 179) observed that when a shaman was engaging in exchange with a deity there was an audience, unlike the exchange without an audience observed by Mauss. In Kavalan and Amis society, exchange takes place with an audience, and their bodies, food, and behavior enter the same state as the shaman, rather than the audience just observing. If someone fails to observe *manmet*, they are regarded as breaking the taboo and it is believed that they will become ill. This kind of purification is actually a kind of order and temporal-spatial state of the deity. If the separation between people and deity is hazy and the order broken, the body will also lose its order. Entering the exchange ritual state does not only involve preparation of goods (gifts), the body and behavior cannot be separated from the ritual. The body dimension was not noticed by Austin (1975: 6–8) and Searle (1969: 16–17) when they regarded words

Fig. 1. This group of Amis *sikawasay* shamans started their journey guided by the deity *saray* using an invisible thread held by the senior *sikawasay* (left). Photo: Liu Pi-chen, 2010.

and sentences as speech acts of organized systems. Ritualistic language includes concepts of body which distinguish it from daily language. In what follows, the texts of song lyrics will be analyzed to see how songs create a special temporal and spatial performance effect and allow people and deities to engage in "real" exchange.

Encounter of Two Parties to an Exchange (*tapung*/*palitemeh*)[3]

Normally, exchange requires that two parties meet physically,[4] but how does a person meet a deity? In interviews, the shamans often said that the songs in the ritual were intended to make person and deity *tapung*/*palitemeh*, literally to meet. The song and dance of the *kisaiz* perform a journey in which such a meeting takes place. Its structure is fixed and is divided into *matijuto binanun* (dancing on a roof), *qa-saray* (taking "silk thread," fig. 1) from the place of the deities, *pahte* (fainting), and *paqan do patai* (worshipping the shaman's ancestors). First the *mtiu* go on to the roof and call the deity, then they obtain the *saray,* representing a road, from the deity, and then they set off on a journey on the road. As the rhythm of the song quickens, synchronous movement of hands and feet[5] shows that the place of the deity is close, then *pahte* (fainting) shows that it has been reached. Offerings of *isi* (wine) and *nuzun* (rice cakes) are then made, then finally the name of the new shaman is called out and the sound of her footsteps simulated to call her back. If the initiate wakes up,

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[3] *Tapung* is the Kavalan term, *palitemeh* is the Amis.

[4] "Market place" exchange does not require an actual place where people meet to exchange goods; however, most market exchange requires that people meet face to face (Dalton 1968). On the east coast of Taiwan "silent trade" was once popular. Because the different tribes were headhunters, members of those tribes avoided meeting. When an exchange of goods was desired, the party wanting to exchange goods would leave them in a fixed place and return the next day; if another party wished to make an exchange, they would leave whatever they were offering in exchange at that location for collection.

[5] In contrast to ordinary walking, when the hands and feet are not synchronized.

it means that she is able to communicate with the deity and the exchange has been a success. Some new shamans wake up and receive return gifts from the deity—for example, a piece of *nuzun* or Formosan barking deer hair may be in their hand, symbolizing that the harvest and hunting will be good in the new year. The symbolic return gifts are the Kavalan's way of concretely depicting the reality of the journey to the spiritual world and a means by which to express the authority of the shaman.

How is the exchange realized in the journey? The whole journey comprises nine songs, the word pattern of which is the same, with functional words accompanied by the name of the deity. No matter which stage is reached, the words are all entextualized (Kuipers 1990: 4), the rhetoric is highly modulized and poetic, and the shaman cannot make up the words but must sing the set words. The order also cannot be altered and separated from the actual situation. The order goes from the deity's name to male and female ancestors, the names of deceased shamans, and ritual implements. Apart from the functional words, another main characteristic of the songs is their parallelism, with corresponding men and women, or plants and implements, forming a "dyadic language" (Fox 1988: 2). The songs are nonnarrative, in dialog form, and are distinguished from daily language by the use of a special vocabulary. For example, *barenden*, reed, is sung as *bohatilo vavanal* to show that the *mtiu* are in a nonhuman world and are engaged in talking with the deity. The two song examples below are sung on the roof and when preparing *qa-saray*.

1. *a-o a-o ao-wa a-iya Salamai e Ziyanan a Salamai e Ziyanan a-o e ju a-o wa*
(Goddess name) Deity (Goddess name) Deity
Deity Salamai ! Deity Salamai ! Please come to help us.
2. *a-o a-o a-o-wa a-iya Siagnauwi e Ziyalan a Siagnauwi e Ziyanan a-o e ju a-o wa*
(Male deity name) Deity (Male deity name) Deity
Diety Siagnau! Diety Siagnau! Please come to help us.
3. *a-o a-o a-o-wa ama-imi moloman a ama-imi moloman a-o e ju a-o wa*
What shall we do? What shall we do?
We don't know how to conduct the ritual, please show us!
4. *a-o a-o a-o-wa ama-imi moloman a ama-imi moloman a-o e ju a-o wa*
What shall we do? What shall we do?
We don't know how to conduct the ritual, please show us!

5. *a-o a-o a-o-wa a-iya kimi vai*[6] *yaniya* *a-kimi vai yaniyag a-o e ju a-o wa*
Yes grandma ancestors yes grandma female ancestors
This ritual has been passed down from generation to generation and we must continue it today.
6. *a-o a-o a-o-wa a-iya kini vaqi yaniyaq* *kini vaqi yaniyaq a-o-e ju a-o-wa*
Yes granddad ancestors yes granddad male ancestors
This ritual has been passed down from generation to generation and we must continue it today.

These song lyrics must be understood in the context of the performance. They are themselves performative, "like a performance" (Schechner 1988: 30; 2002: 123), and their significance is in the process of performance. "Meaning—and all and every meaning is contingent, temporary—is created in the process of complex interaction of all speakers—players—and their specific personal-cultural circumstance" (Derrida 1972). The first and second parallel lines have an independent mythical meaning and are named after the female deity who founded the tribe and taught the Kavalan how to grow rice, Mutumazu, and her husband. The singing of these names has meaning, the *mtiu* using their names to call directly on the deities, with the objective of bringing them to earth. Senior shamans explained that this is a kind of direct address, so the name of Muzumazu is not called, but is replaced by Salamai as a way of showing respect. This dialogic form of communicating constructs the hierarchical relationship formed between people and the deity. In this situation, when a *mtiu* sings the name of the deity it is like the stage speech of a theater actor, itself a kind of special theatrical performance form, as Austin (1975: 12–13) notes: "To say something is to do something." He used the word "performative" to describe utterances in Shakespeare's plays such as, "I take this woman to be my lawful wedded wife" or "I name this ship the Queen Elizabeth." As the song goes on it depicts the presence of the deity and its existence for the singer and audience and expresses the act of encounter between *mtiu* and deities.

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[6] *Vai* is the terminology of the kinship for female ancestors (consanguinities), and *vaqi* is the term for male ones.

When the deity's name is called the north must be faced. This direction has the effect of creating different imagination spaces to reveal what Foucault (1984) called the real space. In this special space people begin to exchange with the deity and, simultaneously, symbols of their belief are accurately reproduced. Also, these imagination spaces have an in-built opening feature which, normally, ordinary people cannot enter. Only after the ritual starts, after purification has been carried out using alcohol by the shaman, the shamans have begun to sing and sacrificial offerings have been brought, can a different real space—the deity's world—be gradually entered.

In the third and fourth lines the deity is asked what to do—that is, how the song and dance should be performed so that the deity's instruction and assistance can be received. In the imagination of the people the deity gives knowledge and brings power. Lines five and six are also parallel, calling on female and male ancestors. The self-interpretation of this song and dance as passed down through the generations is a kind of self-contained narrative. In the process of performing, the deity is imagined and is concretely displayed. The Kavalan use a fixed, unchanging chanting form to express it. The shaman is the main performer, with some even performing solos, and in her role she conducts a dialog with the deities. The deities do not possess the shaman and change their singing voice or movements; their part in the dialog is invisible and silent, unlike the Kululi of Papua New Guinea described by Schieffelin (1996), where spirits showed their presence by changing the voice of the medium. It is seen as an example of a relatively successful performance.

The Kavalan's nonsituational expressive sentence pattern is fixed. Below is an example of a song sung when the shamans are preparing *qa-saray* (pick up the thread and go on the journey).

1. *he ya ho he e io a i yo o a i o a na lisu o zaisi Ziyalan a e*
   Deity!
2. *he ya ho he e io a i yo o a i o a na Salamai si Ziyalan a*
   Deity Salamai!
3. *he ya ho he e io a i yo o a i o a na Siagnau Ziyalan a e*
   Diety Siagnau!

4. *he ya ho he e io a i yo o a i o a na mai e mo mtiu to vinanong a e*
Shamans on a roof
It's our customs that during the ritual shamans sing and dance on a roof.
5. *he ya ho he e io a i yo o a i o a na kini he vaqi yaniya a e*
Granddad! What shall we do?
We don't know how to conduct the ritual, Granddad please show us!
6. *he ya ho he e io a i yo o a i o a na vaqi ni kini yaniya a e*
Granddad! What shall we do?
We don't know how to conduct the ritual, Granddad please show us!
7. *he ya ho he e io a i yo o a i o a na vai ni kini yaniya a e*
Grandma! What shall we do?
We don't know how to conduct the ritual, Grandma please show us!
8. *he ya ho he e io a i yo o a i o a na vaqi e yai ziyusai a e*
Grandma! What shall we do?
We don't know how to conduct the ritual, Grandma please show us!
9. *he ya ho he e io a i yo o a i o a na amilo he tosalingousi a e*
Bells ringing
The shamans' bells star to ring, the ritual will begin!
10. *he ya ho he e io a i yo o a i o a na Zaonayo Nokayo a e*
(Name of a deceased shaman)
Zaonayo Nokayo! Please come to help us!
11. *he ya ho he e io a i yo o a i o a na Lomo o Sobina Elis a e*
(Name of a deceased shaman)
Lomo Sobina! Please come to help us!
12. *he ya ho he e io a i yo o a i o a na Salamai si Ziyalan a e*
(Goddess name) Deity!
Deity Salamai ! Please come to help us!
13. *he ya ho he e io a i yo o a i o a na Siagnau Ziyalan a e*
(Male deity name) Deity!
Deity Siagnau! Please come to help us!
14. *he ya ho he e io a i yo o a i o a na kani hitivi Ziyalan a e*
Deity!
15. *he ya ho he e io a i yo o a i o a na mtiuto vinanong a e*
Shamans on a roof
It's our customs that during the ritual shamans sing and dance on a roof.

The pattern of this song is the same as the previous one, but the meaning of its genealogy is clearer. In the words the shamans call on female deities, male deities, male and female ancestors, and deceased shamans. In addition to casting aside time, through the order of the words time is restructured and linearized, creating a cycle running from mythical time to a more contemporary time represented by dead shamans, which is close to the living shamans, and then back to ancient times,[7] deliberately creating a line between distant past and present. This form is analogized in the linear form of the genealogy, allowing a new shaman and these deities to metaphorically establish a kind of linear parent–child relationship. Through the deliberate analogization and dialog-type meeting, a "participation mystique" (Lévy-Bruhl 1960/1925: 42) effect is created between the new shaman and the deities whose names are called. To the Kavalan, this is how a supporting tie is constructed between an initiate and the called deities, making them into a union. The initiate has given their life to these supernatural powers, and when they or other villagers need help it is imagined that the members of the group will help voluntarily.

The Obligation to Give a Deity Gifts, and the Return of Gifts

Relatives and people from nearby villages are obliged to participate in the *kisaiz* and *mirecuk* held in the shaman's home. Red envelopes (containing money) are handed out or wine and drinks are given to the *mtiu/sikawasay* as gifts in the early morning before the singing and dancing start. Then participants stay and watch the ritualistic dancing and singing and join in the feast. After dinner they take the *nuzun* rice cakes offered by the *mtiu/sikawasay* to the deities as a return gift (fig. 2). These *nuzun* have special meaning and have to be taken home and shared with the whole family because they symbolize that, in the

[7] Their terminology of kinship also has this cyclical characteristic.

Fig. 2. During the annual *pakelabi* ritual the Kavalan *mtiu* shamans are giving *nuzun* (rice cakes) as gifts to deities by throwing them and chanting. Photo: Liu Pi-chen, 1995.

new year, there will be vitality, that crops and other materials will be abundant, and there will be good luck (*lemet*). The situation in which a shaman chants creates a group that has imagined blood relations with the deities, and this group, through ritual eating together, shares rice and also shares abstract good luck (*lemet*). So they become a tightly knit community. Members of the group depend on the *mtiu*/*sikawasay* to conduct the life rites, cure illness, or give gifts to different Kawas (deities) or Tuas (ancestral spirits). Therefore they are obliged to visit their shaman's relatives on the mother and father's side (*kakakafit* lineage) and give gifts. It is not only the shaman's family that is involved in the ritualistic exchange but the entire community, and it is in public. Through this kind of gift-giving, every member of the family and important things like food and money are all included in the scope of the agreement with the deity (called "total prestation" by Mauss), and it decides a person's social position.

Not all people can directly engage in exchange with deities. The *mtiu* has the main role in ritualistic exchange, while the singing and dancing is the main event in the exchange. How, then, are the gifts given to the deities during chanting? Taking the *mirecuk* of the Amis, they have almost 50 songs because they have 40-odd deities. They sing in accordance with the type and number of the *sikawasay*'s personal deities, allowing them to journey to the dominions of different deities. After being guided by the deity *saray*, the shaman reaches the destination and meets the deities, holding the offerings in their hand or placing them on the floor, giving them by repeated chanting.[8] Below is an example of the words that are chanted:

i haw wei ha hai haw hai	For beginning
palitemehai ya ca haw hai	Encounter with deities
haidang lalevuhan haw hai	Deity! Fire deity
haidang tilamalaw haw hai	Deity! Fire-lighting god
ama'ay kakacawan haw hai	Father! Monkey deity
ama'ay ansoray haw hai	Father! Eagle deity

[8] When a sacrificial offering is made the text of the song is usually the same and is repeated five times. This is the basic song content.

ama'ay sasululan haw hai	Father! Fishing deity
haidang vavaliwan haw hai	Formosan barking deer deity
icuwa watasayan haw hai	Everything is here that should be
o seren ini haw hai	We have glutinous rice cake
ulingalawan aca haw hai	We have wine
i tayo ini aca haw hai	We have betel nuts
o piko ini aca haw hai	We have deer feet
lumet ini aca haw hai	We have pottery
tatuzon no haidang haw hai	Dedication
matila to haw ilang	Partners, we have finished drinking
e wei ha hai haw hai	For ending
ta ta dum	We have finished.

The word pattern in the Amis *mirecuk* is similar to the Kavalan *pakelabi*, using a dialogic method to directly call the names of the deities, such as the fire deity, the fire-lighting deity, and the monkey deity. Calling them "father" is done as a mark of respect (hierarchy), while also showing the self the presence of the deity. Then the names of the gifts offered are sung out one by one, meaning that they are being handed over to the deity face to face. Singing itself is an act of giving. Equivalent to the Han Chinese rituals, burning is often used to give gifts to the dead or deities, and burning is thus also a giving action. The shamanic chants are a special Kavalan and Amis way of giving gifts. Chanting is like a stage speech when a theater actor says his/her lines, having a theatrical effect. Through the action of singing, gifts are given—and this, for the shamans and the audience, depicts the fact that the other partner has received them.

What gifts do people have to give the deities when an exchange takes place? In the past gifts were grand, and it is said that large animals obtained by hunting were offered, especially deer. However, in the Japanese era (1895–1945) their guns were confiscated and hunting was banned, so this practice gradually died out and the foods offered became mainly rice-based, including *nuzun* rice cake, and also *isi* wine and money. The gifts given by the Kavalan to their deities have undergone big changes, the gifts are fewer and fewer in number (showing

that their dependence on the deities is decreasing), the time spent by the shaman chanting is gradually being reduced, and the community consciousness and connection are weakening as a result.

In comparison, the Amis still give animal sacrifices, with the domesticated pig the largest. Other essential gifts include betel nuts, betel leaf, wine, ginger, salt, and three kinds of rice food: *dulun*, *hahah*, and *lavek*. What is interesting is that the gifts for deities are all foods—in particular main staple foods. Why do the Kavalan and Amis always give food as gifts to the deities? The people imagine that the deities are alive and will be hungry, so they continually give them food and believe that they have an obligation to feed them. Otherwise, the deities will come down to the human world to look for food and when they encounter people they will become ill (*tagau/adada*). Thus, people are very cautious and feel they have an obligation to hold regular rituals, or otherwise they will be harassed by deities and will become ill. Through the giving of food by the shaman's chanting, the "full" deities will make return gifts to people, like a good harvest (sending rain, getting rid of pests, and giving sunlight), making animals flourish, and ensuring that work goes well. It forms a mutually feeding, reciprocal people–deity relationship. The concepts of the imagined community and sharing obligation are actually put into practice, such as when an individual *paspaw/mifdi* gives daily sacrificial offerings: the deity is first given food or drink, then the same glass of wine or rice cake will invariably be finished off by the person who is giving. What remains of the wine in the glass is seen as a return gift from the deity, and it is therefore something that people must drink dry.

Conclusion

The Kavalan and Amis do not have a written script, so a highly structured formal language as seen in *mtiu/sikawasay* chanting plays an important role in the construction of individual and collective identity and social relationship networks. The chantings of the *mtiu/sikawasay* relate the themes of their myths and dreams; thus, the chants have been made mysterious and sacred; furthermore, they have become taboo and,

at the same time, they have been personified (having will/intention) and have special symbolic functions of curing illness, passing on knowledge, etc. In the ritual singing, movements are coordinated with walking, giving them the meaning of being a journey to the deities' dominions or meeting with deities. They become a means through which a person can engage in exchange with the more powerful deity—in particular, in the most difficult and grandest exchange, that of life. The mysterious power of the words chanted comes from their performativity. The words chanted by the *mtiu/sikawasay* are regarded much as an actor's theatrical stage speech. When a chanting performance takes place, different imagination spaces are created to reveal real time and space and complete the person–deity exchange agreement. The single-handed performance of the dialog between the two parties by the *mtiu/sikawasay* describes for people the arrival and real existence of the party to the dialog that has not answered. In contrast to Austin and Searle's "collapse" of "fiction" and "reality," the performance by the shaman reveals reverse authenticity. Also, in the process of exchange and gift-giving the *mtiu/sikawasay* receives gifts from relatives, villagers, or outsiders. The interwoven gift-giving obligations decide the position of the individual in the village and also, at the same time, the individuals' social relationship network develops beyond relationships with relatives.

Further analysis of the lyrics in this article shows that the words chanted most in the *kisaiz/pakelabi* (Kavalan) and *mirecuk* rituals do not only have the common characteristics of parallelism and dyadicism of East Indonesian Austronesian languages pointed out by Fox, they also have the features of deliberately fixing, structurizing, and desituationizing the words, forming the special textual authority analyzed by Kuipers (1990: 71). This special authoritative pattern constructs the real imagination of the Kavalan and Amis about the hierarchy between people and Ziyalan/Kawas (deities). Facing this kind of deity, people must unconditionally follow the order, and give gifts to show obedience and reliance. The Kavalan and Amis also arrange the order of the song lyrics by deity or person's name to create a special linear structure, analogizing it in the genealogical organization pattern, symbolically forming virtual parent–child blood relations with the deity. In this kind of life exchange, the shaman becomes the descendant and inheritor of the deities and must obey special orders all their lives for

food, behavior, and sexual relationships. This shows the form and essence of this kind of social power organization: while having a bodily orientation, it also pays attention to the process of life. The highest function of its power is not to directly take away the life of a person as an equal exchange, for example by offering a person as a sacrifice. It surrounds and controls life in every aspect of its daily conduct. Consequently, only a deity has the power to announce the end of a person's life, not a person such as a doctor, or economic logic that would force someone to commit suicide.

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Cultural Memory in Shamanic Chants: A Memory Storage Function of Thao Shamans*

MITSUDA YAYOI TAIPEI, TAIWAN

This article outlines an analysis of a fundamental construct of cultural memory in the religious life of the Thao, an indigenous group of central Taiwan. The Thao have several religious specialists, and they can be classified into two categories: male priests and female shamans. In their rich religious rituals, these two types of specialists play different yet complementary roles. In addition to differences in their social status and their relationships to spirits, the way of telling "memories" in rituals is also very different for each type of specialist. Male priests share their knowledge about the past with other Thao in a spontaneous way; however, shamans have some fixed texts about the past in their ritual chants. In this way, the shamans serve as a storage function for cultural memories. This raises questions as to what are the differences in the memories recalled by priests and shamans, and what it is that represents or symbolizes memories in the shaman's chant.

Memory is information concerning the past that is stored in our minds. Over the last twenty years, a number of anthropologists have been focusing their research from the perspective of memory. As David Berliner pointed out, the anthropology of memory has become a respected course in many university programs, and studies of memory have blossomed in all fields of the humanities (Berliner 2005: 197). Maurice Halbwachs, who studied memory systematically for the first

* I would like to thank the linguist 'edrem for looking closely at the notation of the Thao texts I have transcribed. Her corrections and advice were very helpful.

time, linked memory as a fundamentally individual phenomenon with society. Although his term "collective memory" is rather controversial, Halbwachs' works are still used as a point of departure for all current studies of memory. In this article, I use the term 'cultural memory' following the definition proposed by Astrid Erll (2008: 2): "the interplay of present and past in socio-cultural contexts."

The Thao are an indigenous group in central Taiwan with a population of about 700.[1] Since their main settlement beside Sun Moon Lake, called *Ita Thao*,[2] is in a relatively flat region, Thao people have lived alongside Taiwanese for many years. As a result, they are one of the most Sinicized peoples among all Taiwanese indigenes. Sun Moon Lake is a famous tourist destination, and most of the Thao people are engaged in the tourist industry. Therefore, out of necessity in business, they speak Taiwanese quite fluently; at the same time, only very few people are able to speak the Thao language. According to the analysis of age and language made by Lin Xiu-che in 2001, those who could speak the Thao language fluently were generally over sixty years old, and there were only 31 people who had "good" or "average" ability in the language (Lin 2001: 40). Considering that many elders have passed away during the past ten years, the number of fluent speakers of the Thao language is now even less than in 2001. Viewed objectively, the Thao seemed to be in danger as an ethnic group. Nonetheless, they overcame a number of difficulties and were officially recognized as a separate indigenous group by the government in 2001.[3]

When they achieved official recognition, it was their traditional religion that was regarded as the peculiar feature of Thao culture. There are both shamans and priests who are in charge of rituals, and shamans play an especially important role in maintaining Thao traditional ritu-

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[1] According to population statistics of October 2010, the Thao population includes a total of 701 people. http://www.apc.gov.tw/main/docDetail/detail_TCA.jsp?isSearch=&docid=PA000000005336&cateID=A000297&linkSelf=161&linkRoot=4&linkParent=49&url = accessed November 12, 2010.

[2] *Ita* means 'we' and *thao* (*thaw*) means 'people' in the Thao language.

[3] Before 2001 the Thao were recognized as a subgroup of the Tsou, another indigenous group. For a more detailed discussion about the process of the official recognition, see Mitsuda 2009.

als. In my analysis, I noticed that some rituals included certain kinds of memories. What is interesting is that the memories in shamanic chants and in a priest's prayers seem to be quite different—they are "remembering" the past of the tribe in different ways. Here I shall describe the different kinds of memories and demonstrate how they constitute a form of "remembering" in Thao rituals. Finally, I will show how these memories exhibit an interplay between the present and the past.

The Ritual System of the Thao

As mentioned above, the Thao are one of the most Sinicized indigenous groups in Taiwan. Most of them neither speak their mother tongue nor live an "indigenous" lifestyle. Interestingly, however, Thao people still maintain a very rich religious life and perform many rituals. In other words, except for their traditional religion, Thao people have hardly any obvious cultural peculiarity that differentiates them from other ethnic groups; therefore, traditional religion has become the major marker of the Thao ethnic boundary.

In the religious life of the Thao, there is an indispensable and very unique element: the *ulalaluan*. An *ulalaluan* is a basket made of rattan and bamboo, generally cubic in shape and with two handles and four legs. The longest side is forty centimeters on average; however, there are many different sizes: the largest is about 60 centimeters wide and the smallest is less than 30. In these baskets are kept old clothes and accessories inherited from ancestors. The most important root of the word *ulalaluan* is "*lalu*." In the Thao language, *lalu* refers to Lalu Island, the sacred dwelling place of the Thao's highest and most powerful god, *Pathalar*, and also the site of one of the Thao's former settlements. Therefore, *lalu* includes the meaning "the place where the ancestor spirits are." In fact, as many scholars have agreed, the *ulalaluan* is the core of the Thao religious world (Tang 1996; Jian 2007).

The family, or *taun* (house/household), is the minimum social unit of the Thao, and each family has its own *ulalaluan*. The *ulalaluan* is a symbol of the Thao ancestor spirits and an object of worship. Since Thao society is patrilineal, all heads of household are male, which also makes

them the owner of the family's *ulalaluan*. The oldest son of the family inherits his father's *ulalaluan*. Generally speaking, men other than the eldest son in the family may make their own *ulalaluan* after marrying and having children. At that time, they take some clothes and accessories from their parents' *ulalaluan,* and put them in new *ulalaluan* with new clothes they bought. Before they have their own *ulalaluan,* Thao people see these brothers and their families, who share one *ulalaluan*, as a single *taun* even if they are not living together. The idea of a family being tied to the *ulalaluan* is also a part of the Thao ethnic identity. At the end of 2009 there were precisely fifty-four *ulalaluan* in existence.

Although the *ulalaluan* is an important object in Thao traditional religion, the owner of one cannot pray to it himself; an *ulalaluan* needs to be prayed to by a shaman. If there is any change in the family, such as moving, marriage, or a funeral, the owner has to invite a shaman to perform an appropriate ritual. In addition, Thao people have many annual public rituals; shamans also perform these rituals for the community. There were five shamans in the village as of November 2010, and Thao shamans are always female.

In Thao society the biggest social unit is the clan. There are seven major clans: Yuan, Shi, Gao, Chen, Mao, Dan, and Bai. As Chen Chi-lu has pointed out, the Thao clans were deeply involved in tribal politics, and they also served some economic and religious functions in the past (Chen 1996: 47). Although some services, such as blacksmithing, manufacturing weapons, and building boats, which were once the domain of a certain clan, are no longer clan-specific, others still maintain their traditional roles in the community. For example, both the Yuan and Shi clans have influential political power as headmen; Gao, Chen, and Mao are in charge of certain rituals. While Thao society does not have a strict hierarchic system, there are still certain high-ranking clans that people respect. Thao people also practice clan exogamy. Hence, both on a political and cultural dimension, the mechanism of clannish society is clearly working. However, the position of Thao shamans traditionally does not belong to this social mechanism: the selection of shamans mostly depends on free will, and is not influenced by clan identity. In fact, even a woman's ethnic origin is not an issue after she

fulfills the qualifications to become a Thao shaman,[4] and most of the current five shamans are not purely Thao by blood. In short, the position of Thao shamans is quite independent and falls outside of Thao traditional social organization.

While shamans perform most Thao rituals, there are also other religious specialists. As mentioned above, the heads of some clans carry out certain rituals. The heads of the Gao, Chen, and Mao clans, who are priests, carry out certain rituals during the New Year ceremony.[5] None of these rituals can be performed by shamans. Therefore, the roles that shamans and priests play are clearly differentiated and also contrasted. Shamans are individual actors and do not belong to any social unit of the Thao. Their authority comes from the "contract" with ancestor spirits and *Pathalar* that is made during their dedication ritual, and a shaman is instructed in her knowledge and chants by a senior shaman during her apprenticeship. In contrast, priests have roles as the heads of their clans. Eldest sons succeed to their father's title according to the Thao's patrilineal system;[6] they always act as representatives of their clans and titles. Thus, the knowledge which is required for their positions is learned from their fathers, and the persons in these positions are cultivated under the fixed traditional system. In short, whether in gender relations or in

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[4] There are three qualifications for a Thao shaman; she must be: (1) a woman who has served as a *pariqaz* (the chief celebrant at the New Year ritual); (2) a woman whose husband is still living and in good health; (3) a woman of virtue. If there is no volunteer to become a shaman, the elders and current shamans select a suitable person among those who fulfill these qualifications.

[5] In addition to these priests, the Yuan and Shi, the headmen families of the Thao, perform a ritual known as *malhishupak*. This is the ancestor worship ritual that they perform privately once a year. Shamans cannot perform *malhishupak*; it is a private ritual performed only for the headmen families and is irrelevant to other Thao clans. All of the rituals performed by priests are for the community or for all Thao men; in Thao notions, the Yuan and Shi are not priests. Therefore I do not discuss *malhishupak* as a ritual conducted by a priest here.

[6] If the family has no son or there is some improperness with the son, the title would be given to his brother's family.

the process of gaining authority, the positions of priests are very stable in accordance with the principles of Thao society.[7]

The Structure of Thao Shamanic Chants

PREVIOUS STUDIES

There is no doubt that traditional religion is a core feature of Thao culture and is also the very thing that maintains an ethnic boundary between the Thao and others. But in fact this recognition has only appeared over the past ten years, after the earthquake of September 21, 1999, and with the official recognition of the Thao as a distinct indigenous group in 2001. Therefore, there are only a few studies related to Thao traditional religion or shamanism before 1999 in existence. The first study is *Riyuetan shaozu diaocha baogao* [Ethnological researches among the Thao of Sun-moon Lake, Formosa], edited by an early anthropologist, Chen Chi-lu, in 1958. This is the first monograph on the Thao. In this book, Tang Mei-chün, who was responsible for the "Religion" section, gives a detailed record of Thao traditional religion and the *ulalaluan* for the first time (Tang 1996). Although it is a very precious record, few researchers have paid attention to the Thao since then. The next study in this field did not appear until the 1990s. In 1998, Hsieh Shih-chung and Su Yu-ling published an essay on the New Year festival of the Thao, using theories drawn from the anthropology of tourism (Hsieh and Su 1998). These studies described the meanings of rituals that shamans performed and the relationship between shamans and Thao society. However, a detailed analysis of the shamanic chants of Thao rituals has yet to be done.

What is interesting is that the first detailed description of Thao shamanic chants came from the field of ethnomusicology. Among studies related to the Thao, the field of musicology has been quite important.

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[7] For a more detailed discussion of the contrast between shamans and headmen/priests of the Thao, see Mitsuda 2010.

Because Thao people have been engaged in the tourist industry since the Japanese colonial period, the most famous feature of the "Thao culture" was generally considered to be their musical performance, especially the "pestle music."[8] Hence, in the early days there were more studies directed at their music and songs than ethnographies focused on cultural features. Wei Xin-yi, in her master's thesis *Shaozu yishi yinyue tixi zhi yanjiu* [Research on the system of Thao ritual music] (2001), studied Thao ritual music and analyzed texts of the *muqani'an* ritual for the first time.[9] Since the texts of Thao rituals are full of redundancies among different rituals, Wei's detailed record made an important breakthrough for the whole ritual study and contributed to the ethnographic research that followed.

SHAMANIC RITUALS OF THE THAO: *MULALU*

The reason why Thao shamanic chants were analyzed from the perspective of ethnomusicology is that the prayers are always chanted with a certain melody. The chant of Thao rituals, however, is definitely not a kind of "song." In the Thao language, "sing a song" is *maqaquyash*, but shamans *"mulalu"* in the rituals. "Mu-" is a common prefix with various functions and is most often used to derive verbs of motion (Blust 2003: 136–140). For example, /mu-taipak (Taipei)/ means "go to Taipei"; /mu-hudun (mountain)/ means "go to the mountains." According to this principle, /mu-lalu/ means "perform a religious ceremony." *Lalu*, as mentioned above, refers to the idea of sacred places and includes sacred beings. I consider that *mulalu* also includes the meaning "communicate with the sacred beings."

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[8] This is a kind of music made by beating several pestles of different sizes. It was so popular that it was recorded and even broadcasted widely in the 1930s.

[9] *Muqani'an* is an annual ritual for clearing forestland for cultivation. Shamans perform this ritual on December 20 in the lunar calendar.

To be concrete, *mulalu* is the most common kind of ritual using the *ulalaluan*, and all the rituals that shamans now perform are *mulalu*.[10] *Mulalu* can be divided into two categories: public and private. Whereas public rituals are performed for the whole tribe, private rituals are performed for a single household. The procedure of each *mulalu* is almost the same whether it is public or private. When the community or a household needs a *mulalu*, they invite a shaman (or shamans) to perform it. In a public ritual, the Thao people bring their *ulalaluan*s to the ritual site in front of a particular family's house. Every public ritual is performed in front of the house of a headman or priest, and all shamans pray to all *ulalaluan* of the Thao as a body. Conversely, a private ritual is performed in front of the house of the family who have invited the shaman(s), and she prays to an *ulalaluan* individually.[11] This is to say, since shamans do not have their own sites for rituals, they always carry out a ritual in front of someone else's house.

The Thao have many public rituals, and public rituals are mostly performed on fixed dates. The religious events of the Thao are generally carried out according to the Chinese lunar calendar, and Thao people hold public rituals about once every two months. In addition to these rituals, shamans also have to perform private rituals. Hence, Thao shamans are quite busy; however, they do not make a living by performing these rituals. Although people give them a small sum of money to show their gratitude, shamanic activities are not seen as a "job," but as a "service" to the community. Among all public rituals, the New Year ceremony (fig. 1) is the most important and also the busiest time for shamans. Thao people call their New Year celebration *tungkariri lus'an* in the Thao language, but they usually call it *lus'an* for short. The root /kariri/ means "turn over" and *lus'an* means "a celebration."[12]

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[10] According to Tang's (1996: 104–105) research in 1955, there were some shamanic rituals that did not use *ulalaluan*, such as curing sickness and calling back the lost soul, although current shamans have already lost these rituals. These rituals were not called *"mulalu*."

[11] A private ritual can be carried out by a shaman; however, people usually invite more than one shaman to make the event more grand.

[12] The usage of *lus'an* is regarded as a borrowing from the northern or central Bunun (a neighboring indigenous group) /lus'an/ "festival, rite" (Blust 2003: 520).

Hence, *tungkariri lus'an* means a ceremony to renew relationships between the Thao and their ancestor spirits. Unlike other rituals, *lus'an* is a complex one that includes many individual and diverse rituals rather than a single *mulalu*. It also has a long and a shortened version, with the longer version continuing for about a month.[13] *Lus'an* is perhaps the richest and longest ceremony of the currently performed indigenous rituals in Taiwan.

With regard to the contents of shamanic chants, each text of the different *mulalu* shows a lot of repetition, and thus seems very similar. Although the structures of *mulalu* texts are mostly the same, the richness of their contents depends on what kind of ritual is being performed. Broadly speaking, *lus'an* is the richest in its ritual texts, with other public rituals coming in second, and private rituals being relatively simple. As to the length of each ritual, *mulalu* during *lus'an* generally takes about an hour, whereas the private *mulalu* only requires twenty minutes. In total there are 33 parts in a *mulalu*, and this number of parts is the same for all public *mulalu*. When the structure of *mulalu* texts is analyzed, each part is seen to serve a different function. These 33 parts can be classified into four kinds of functions: Function A names the members of household(s); Function B informs of the name of a ritual; Function C calls the ancestor spirits; and Function D stores historical memory. In that case, we must ask how each *mulalu* can be so different in its contents despite having the same structure.

THE STRUCTURE OF *MULALU* TEXTS

The extent of loss to the Thao language is much more severe than that experienced by any other of the indigenous groups of Taiwan. Very few people who are under sixty years old can speak their mother tongue fluently, and the younger generation generally only knows a few words.

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[13] The difference between the long and shortened *lus'an* is the presence or absence of *pariqaz*. If for some reason no *pariqaz* has been chosen, that year's *lus'an* will be a shortened version. The short *lus'an* lasts for only three days. Since no shortened version of *lus'an* has been held for the past five years (2006–2010), I do not mention it in this article.

Fig. 1. Thao shamans performing a ritual of *lus'an* (the New Year festival) on September 19, 2009. Photo: Mitsuda Yayoi.

Nonetheless, all *mulalu* are performed in the Thao language, and training a new shaman takes very long time—sometimes more than ten years—as she needs to learn all the ritual chants. In short, the Thao language has not been spoken in daily life for a long time, but it is still utilized as a ritual language.

Function A of *mulalu* texts is calling the name of the household head or names of members of the household. This is to confirm which individuals present are qualified to receive blessings from the ancestor spirits; therefore members who are not qualified, such as young children or a wife who has not yet served as a *pariqaz* (the chief celebrant of *lus'an*), are not called.[14] The chant goes like this:

apatishuran day na bahi bahi ti Beng-ho

[14] In traditional Thao thinking, a child who is under school age and has not undergone a puberty rite is not yet religiously regarded as a "Thao" (person/people). Since the Thao practice clan exogamy, a wife is always "the other" to her husband's family whether she is a Thao or not. Therefore, a wife in the Thao household needs to serve as a *pariqaz* so that ancestor spirits recognize her as a member of the family concerned.

Yu-zheng day mani patishuran bahi bahi,
Yu-chong day mani patishuran bahi bahi,
Yu-fan day mani patishuran bahi bahi,
Seh-khing day mani patishuran bahi bahi,
A-khin day mani patishuran bahi bahi,
Siok-hong day mani patishuran bahi bahi

Please let Beng-ho[15] have a good dream,
Let Yu-zheng[16] have a good dream, too,
Let Yu-chong[17] have a good dream, too,
Let Yu-fan[18] have a good dream, too,
Let Seh-khing[19] have a good dream, too,
Let A-khin[20] have a good dream, too,
Let Siok-hong[21] have a good dream, too.[22]

As mentioned above, an *ulalaluan* is often shared among a kin group; the number of members who belong to an *ulalaluan* sometimes exceeds ten people. In addition, each shaman generally chants around the *ulalaluan* of ten households in public rituals. Therefore Function A often takes up a lot of time in *mulalu*. This part will always be the same in any *mulalu* unless someone dies or a new member qualifies to be included in the chants.

Function B is to inform ancestor spirits what ritual will be performed that day. Therefore, different *mulalu* have different chants that serve this function. When they carry out *mulalu matansun*,[23] the text is as follows:

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[15] Beng-ho is the name of the head of the Shi family.
[16] Yu-zheng: Beng-ho's oldest son.
[17] Yu-chong: Beng-ho's second son.
[18] Yu-fan: Beng-ho's youngest son.
[19] Seh-khing: Beng-ho's younger sister.
[20] Beng-ho's younger sister.
[21] Beng-ho's wife.
[22] Recorded on September 8, 2010. I translated these chants by cross-referencing the detailed translation in Jian Shi-lang's master's thesis (2007).
[23] *Matansun* is a ritual related to hunting and is carried out on July 1 and 3 every year. The word *matansun* literally means 'to be together.'

amara thithu a kakanin,
rakesira pa punatu a matansun,
lulumu sira punatu a matansun,
thithay rankantu maniun mathai pakpari lhqaribush

Please take the food that he offers,
We prepare wines because *matansun* starts today,
We make a fire because *matansun* starts today.
You used to go to hunt much game before.[24]

Then, when they carry out *mulalu lus'an,* which is the first *mulalu* during *lus'an*, the same part goes like this:

amara thithu wa kakanin,
ashiqa qaqthin day,
ua pyakashmaw na parhaway ya mithu tungkariri lus'an,
apasapiwan day tu pazipazish ya mithu tungkariri lus'an,
shian day mya maniun qmauriwa qmaur na sa parhaway itia qaziqazi maniun,
myazay mangqatu maniunuan mabahi pazipazish,
amatuktuk na parhaway qatumuan ka qumya quayquay,
myazay mangqatu maniunuan makanshuzuan

Please take the food that he offers,
We are telling you it is the New Year,
Young people are working very hard and greet the New Year,
Please let us catch [our] enemies and greet the New Year,
Ancestors! Please look after the young people,
Please give us a good sign to catch [our] enemies
Please don't let the young people get hurt,
We hope you take many fragrant things.[25]

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[24] The second part was recorded on August 10, 2010.
[25] The second part was recorded on September 11, 2007.

It is obvious that this part is quite varied and differs in the richness of its contents. In both *matansun* and *lus'an*, this part informs ancestors what ritual day it is and describes how the Thao have prepared. Therefore, these two paragraphs serve the same function; however, the *mulalu lus'an* shows a much more detailed scene.

Function C is to call the ancestor spirits or ask them to bless the tribe. In its part, this function often contains two peculiar phrases: "*uli wali maniun*" (Ancestors! Please come!) and "*shana tanalhi mantuqar kazaw*" (Please come together!). These phrases in particular are chanted loudly and slowly. Also, they are repeated many times in that part, especially during the second phrase.[26] This is because Thao people think their ancestors are so old that they need a lot of time to gather together and take the offerings. For *mulalu matansun*, shamans chant like this:

uli wali maniun,
uli wali maniun
wali yazaw thaw sumansay unadausan unadausan,
amara thithu a madahun kakanin karina azazak,
pashta payapishkit kazaw azazak.

Ancestors! Please come!
Ancestors! Please come!
Thao ancestors, please take foods slowly,
Please take the wine and foods he[27] gives and protect our children,
Please look after everyone and children.[28]

The parts belonging to Function C are relatively fixed texts; the prayers in any ritual are very similar except for the words about the

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[26] The phrase "*shana tanalhi mantuqar kazaw*" was repeated all of 38 times in succession during this *mulalu* in 2010. Shamans decide the number of times the phrase should be repeated; it is chanted until the shamans decide it is enough.

[27] In these chants, "he" (*thithu*) means the head of the family, and also the owner of the *ulalaluan,* who gives offerings to the ancestors.

[28] The third part was recorded on August 10, 2010

offerings. Since *madahun* (the Thao's traditional sweet rice wine) is a very important offering at a *mulalu matansun*, shamans add this word into the chants. For other *mulalu*, which do not need *madahun*, only *kakanin* (food) is chanted.

Function D takes place in the parts that describe "historical memory." There are two parts that have this function—memories of "the others," and memories of the "Japanese":

amathanithanit na a'azazak mahumhum tauntaun a mashuru,
numa sa pazay pyataun shibuhatan,
amyaqay milhalhias na apuapuy mahumhum amyaqay lhadiqdiq,
ani maniun tunmazamaza fuifuilh inanuru itanasaya rawaraway ya shput,
shian day mya maniun flhiq tu aq'anak pananaq kumarima,
myaqayza pishqashin zaw ta zaw ta kan ainiyanan tu shput tanazaywan

The children in the house are crying from hunger at night,
We need to keep storing the harvests of our fields in storehouses,
Lit up with fire at night, and make a warning sound,
Don't you always tell us to watch out for the others and Taiwanese?
As you said, we need to be cautious not to be injured,
Taiwanese who live there often threaten us.[29]

parfaz na shishiz puakahi tangkahi tini,
numa kan a m-in-un-tatu litpun,
ani maniun tu mriqariqaz miaqay tunanay danshiqan mithu lalangqa tu mita,
qaiza wa wazaqan ya'arauan litpun pyashashalinshin,
ani shirua ya mzay a riwayan litpun,
ua manu a pruq shirua ya mzay riwayan litpun,
shian day mya maniun ta anautua minshuqish itia ta tini,
ani maniun mamakashin azazak ya mithu kaytunuan litpun,
qaiza ma-kalawa-lawa kinakanin

[29] The 10th part was recorded on August 10, 2010.

Please let the diseases fly away,
Let them go with the Japanese,
Don't you see that the Japanese often come around our houses?
Be careful not to let the Japanese take the lake away! Make a warning sound!
Don't agree to Japanese occupation,
Don't agree to the Japanese occupation of any piece of our land,
Ancestors! Someone came back from Japan,
Don't let the Japanese keep beating our children,
Be careful when we go to work.[30]

Both parts appear in all kinds of *mulalu* whether private or public, and they are exactly the same in all *mulalu*. What do these "memories" mean?

History, Memory, and Texts

RITUALS PERFORMED BY PRIESTS

As stated before, male priests of the Thao are strikingly contrasted with the female shamans in many ways. Male priests do not perform any kind of *mulalu*; only shamans do this. So, what kind of rituals can priests carry out? All the rituals that priests perform appear during *lus'an*. There are 27 different rituals during *lus'an*, and four of them are performed by priests. While shamans carry out ten rituals (*mulalu*), all other rituals are related to songs and dances and are practiced by all Thao people together.

There are four major rituals that priests perform in Thao rituals: *tit-ishan*, *muribush*, *tishqitan*, and *paru nipin*. As Table 1 shows, someone among the heads of the Mao, Gao, and Chen clans performs these rituals. Each of three priests has a title according to the ritual that he is in charge of, and in these roles they will be succeeded by their eldest sons.

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[30] The 15th part was recorded on August 10, 2010.

In addition, since these rituals are carried out in front of the houses of the priests, when the title moves to a priest's successor, the office (the field site) also moves; the field site is always in front of the house of the current priest. Thao people call the head of the Mao clan "*titishan*": the heads of the Gao and Chen clans are called "*paruparu*." *Paruparu* is a title for two clans, and they generally work as a pair.

Table 1. The rituals performed by Thao priests

Date[a]	Name of ritual	Performer (head of the clan)	Purpose of the ritual
August 1	*titishan*	Mao	To cleanse impurities
August 2	*muribush*	Gao and Chen	To ask ancestors to take care of Thao men while hunting
August 2	*tishqitan*	Mao	To make different parts of the body limber and fast
August 3	*paru nipin*	Gao and Chen	To distinguish selves from the others by knocking out children's teeth;[b] a puberty rite

[a] All dates are according to the lunar calendar.
[b] In former times the Thao knocked out the canine teeth of children. The Japanese colonial government prohibited the custom, and since that time priests only pretend to knock out the children's teeth.

Rituals performed by priests are generally related to hunting or war: the word /mu-ribush (forest)/ means 'go hunting'; *tishqitan* is performed to make Thao men able to move with agility in the mountains. *Titishan*, as I will explain later, is also carried out with many implements symbolizing hunting and fighting. Hence, *titishan, muribush*, and *tishqitan* can be said to be rituals of the male sphere, and they contain strict taboos for women. Women are not only forbidden to participate in these rituals, they are also prohibited from approaching the site of the ritual. Even a man whose wife is pregnant is to some extent avoided or is the last to receive the ritual blessing. This taboo against women is a common feature to almost all rituals performed by Thao priests. In that sense, *paru nipin*, which is open to all children in their early teens regardless of sex, is one of the few exceptions.

MEMORIES SPOKEN BY THE PRIEST

Among the above-mentioned four rituals, *titishan* is quite a unique ritual and it is important for all of the Thao, not only for males.

On the morning of New Year's day, Thao men gather in front of the house of the *titishan* (also the term for the head of the Mao clan). Many things are set on a table, including *shupak*,[31] an indigenous sword, a spear, antlers, and the skulls of animals. In the Thao language, /titish/ means "wipe them," and /titish-an/ becomes "be wiped." It literally means to wipe bad or dirty things out from a person's body. As those traditional tools indicate, however, *titishan* is not only for purification but is also a ritual related to hunting. As people gather, the *titishan* puts *shupak* on a *ranshay* (a bundle of the leaves of a specific tree) and strokes the right arms of the Thao men with the *ranshay* while praying to the ancestors for protection against danger. After giving *titishan* to every man there, the *titishan* moves on to the next phase of the ritual for that morning: the repetition of several place names. The *titishan* says, "*tua na minaka* (a place name) *simantu*": for example, "*tua na minaka* Taipak *simantu*" or "*tua na minaka* Gilan *simantu*."[32] This phrase means "please come back from (a place name)." The names that the *titishan* repeats are the places where the Thao used to live or go hunting. They think that some of the spirits of Thao ancestors are dispersed in their former settlements and other places, and that they need to call these ancestor spirits back to the village for *lus'an*.

What is interesting is that this is not a fixed text; the *titishan* can recite any place name he thinks of at the time. Thus, although the same person serves as the *titishan*, the place names he recites are different every year. In the *lus'an* of 2010, the *titishan* recited some places that preceding *titishan* had never recited: the names of other countries. After Panu, the current *titishan*, had recited the names of places that

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[31] *Shupak* is dregs floating on the surface of fermenting wine. The Thao use it in many rituals.

[32] When the late head of the Mao clan passed away in 2002, his son Panu succeeded to the title. Since Panu is not a very fluent speaker of the Thao language, all place names are spoken in Taiwanese.

are generally listed, such as Taipak (Taipei) and Taitiong (Taichung), he suddenly said, "*tua na minaka* Philippine *simantu*." In addition, Panu recited the names of many foreign countries in succession, such as New Zealand, Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Sarawak, Borneo, and so forth. After the ritual, when I asked him why he had recited the names of foreign countries, he said, "The Thao are Austronesian, and therefore where the Austronesians live should be seen as the places where Thao ancestors have lived. Because we are a family anyway, and I think we should think about where our ancestors came from. That is why I added the names of countries in Southeast Asia."[33]

As the rituals conducted by the *titishan* draw to a close, the Thao men hold a meeting. Generally speaking, they meet to discuss and decide on some issues of that year's *lus'an*: for example, to decide or confirm who will be that year's *pariqaz*, and/or to announce the amount of subsidy for *lus'an* given by the central and local government. During the meeting, elders often talk about *lus'an* in the past and explain how their ancestors lived. They also teach the younger generation some Thao words and admonish them for forgetting their mother tongue.

As seen in its procedure, *titishan* is a ritual that presents diverse aspects; it represents both religious and political spheres and is also the time to follow the tracks of the ancestors. Thao people use this opportunity to "remember" the memories of ancestors and to share them with the community.

MEMORIES CHANTED BY SHAMANS

In contrast, the "memories" that shamans chant in *mulalu* are very different in character. As mentioned above, there are two major parts describing memories, and they are both related to the Thao's relationships with others. There are four "others" in chants: *rawaraway*, *shput*, *pazipazish*, and *litpun*.

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[33] According to an interview with Panu Pakamumu on September 8, 2010.

In chants of the *malalu matansun*, for example, *rawaraway* and *shput* appear in the tenth part: *ani maniun tunmazamaza fuifuilh inanuru ita-nasaya* rawaraway *ya* shput (Don't you always tell us to watch out for the others and Taiwanese?). The term *rawaraway* actually refers to the Bunun, the indigenous neighbors of the Thao. Since the Thao people have been a small group for a long time and also practice clan exogamy, over the last few decades it has become quite common for Thao men to take wives from other ethnic groups. According to the genealogies of Thao families, in early times almost all wives from outside the Thao community were Bunun women. It is very difficult to find a family that has no Bunun woman in its history. That is to say, most of the Thao are of mixed blood with Bunun now, and the relationship between the Thao and the Bunun seems quite intimate. Nevertheless, *rawaraway* is actually not a very friendly term, and has a derogatory meaning. It means "not very wise and rough people." Moreover, *shput* also has an unfriendly meaning. As Jian Shi-lang (2007: 2–3) pointed out, *shput* is a term that is contrasted with *thaw* (the Thao), and originally it refers to the sound of spitting out phlegm or passing wind. Breaking wind is a disrespectful act for the Thao, and it is a serious taboo in many rituals. Therefore, the Thao regard the Taiwanese—who like to break wind in a demonstrative manner—as a very rude people. Moreover, there have been many disputes over land between Thao and Taiwanese. Some Thao people still say that the cunning Taiwanese cheated Thao people out of land in the past. In short, since the Thao do not live in the mountains and have lived in close contact with the Taiwanese for a long time, they have become highly Sinicized and have looked down on neighboring indigenes as "primitive" people.[34] On the other hand, they think of Taiwanese people as being clever but also bullies to be avoided.

The third term *pazipazish* means enemy, and shamans chant it in the second part of the *mulalu lus'an*: *myazay mangqatu maniunuan mabahi pazipazish* (Please give us a good sign to catch [our] enemies). Although Thao people do not say so clearly, the term *pazish* suggests

[34] Perhaps this is the reason why the Thao often marry Bunun women, but hardly any women marry Bunun men. In the relationship with the Bunun, the Thao are always the wife-takers.

the Atayal or Sediq, who are other neighboring indigenous groups (Blust 2003: 701).[35] Some Thao elders say, "When we were young, we were most afraid of meeting *pazish* in the mountain. They had tattoos on their faces and will cut off our heads." Both the Atayal and Sediq are famous for their facial tattoos and braveness. During the Japanese colonial period, the Japanese government thought the Atayal and Sediq were the most dangerous people because of their practice of headhunting. To the Thao people, they were also the most dangerous enemy.

Finally, we can see that the fifteenth part of any *mulau* is replete with the term *litpun*: *qaiza wa wazaqan ya'arauan* litpun *pyashashalinshin, ani shirua ya mzay a riwayan* litpun (Be careful not to let the Japanese take the lake away! Make a warning sound! Don't agree to Japanese occupation). In the history of Sun Moon Lake, the Japanese occupation impacted the circumstances and economy greatly. In 1934, the construction of the hydroelectric power plant, which was the biggest construction project of the Japanese colonial period, was completed and the Thao had to move to *Barawbaw* (now *Ita Thao*). Subsequently, the tourist industry developed around the lake. This part of the chants clearly expresses the memory that the Thao people resisted the Japanese occupation of their lands.

It is interesting, however, that the Thao people today do not at all feel hostile toward the Japanese. Generally speaking, the Thao nowadays seem to have a good impression of Japanese people. Many Thao women have married Japanese men and live in Japan, and their families are very proud of the connection. We may therefore ask how the "memories" chanted in the *mulalu* relate to the current situation of the Thao.

The memories in the *mulalu* appear to preserve a certain moment of the Japanese colonial period, probably around the time of the Thao's compulsory relocation. As mentioned above, after the completion of the hydroelectric plant, the Japanese government actively developed Sun Moon Lake and made it one of Taiwan's most famous tourist destinations. At that time the Japanese government secured *Barawbaw* for the Thao's exclusive use because it wanted to utilize the Thao people and

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[35] The Thao language has a rich system of reduplicative affixation. This has several functions, including emphasis.

their "primitive" culture as a touristic resource (Mitsuda 2009). Because of the tourist industry, the life-style of the Thao shifted drastically from an agricultural to a cash economy—they made a living by engaging in the tourism business. However, after the Kuomintang government replaced the Japanese colonial government at the end of the war, Taiwanese businessmen have gradually moved into the Sun Moon Lake area with their own capital to invest; this change has meant that now most tourist resources benefit Taiwanese more than the Thao. Looking back on the Japanese period, Thao people consider that "our circumstances were better at that time, we were the masters of Sun Moon Lake."

Conclusion: The Memory Storage Function of the Shamans

As seen in the example of *titishan*, the prayers that priests recite are rather variable; to a certain extent priests can improvise the prayers. In theory, the same *titishan* may contain a completely different prayer from the previous year's *titishan*. In comparison, however, the prayers chanted by the shamans are very inflexible. If there is no change in the members of households, the same ritual will be chanted in exactly same way every year. Any difference in the chants of the same ritual would be the result of a mistake by an individual. As Tang mentioned, the old shamans were very afraid of making a mistake in their chants: "More than ten years ago, because I made a mistake in chanting the prayers, I suddenly became blind. At that time, after I carried out a ritual for asking *Pathalar* to forgive me, I recovered my sight again." (Tang 1996: 103) There is even a special ritual for a shaman to ask for *Pathalar*'s forgiveness. Current shamans also said that although they do not really believe in such a heavy punishment as "blindness" now, "If a shiver runs through my whole body while chanting, I know I made some mistakes. Then I chant that part again. If I do not, I will feel very weird and uncomfortable." That is to say, the shamans think that *Pathalar* will be angry at their errors. Not chanting precisely is a breach of the contract with *Pathalar*, so it is probably a huge taboo that shamans chant differently in rituals.

Priests are not restricted by this rule because their roles are decided by descent, not by a private contract with spirits. Thus, priests, who have very stable position in the Thao social structure, are authorized to pray in a spontaneous way. And the shamans, who have a very important but rather independent position in the Thao social categories, are expected to pray the chants of fixed texts.

As mentioned above, some younger shamans are hardly able to speak the Thao language before they become a shaman. When learning the chants of different *mulalu*s, they memorize them as closely as possible; they only partially understand the meanings of the chants that they are reciting. Thus, if people ask whether current shamans have the ability to change or add some Thao words to current chants or not, the answer might be negative. Nevertheless, at least the former shamans were a generation who spoke the Thao language as the language of daily life and definitely had this ability. Moreover, what is important is that Thao people believe that "the chants of *mulalu* are unchangeable." Thus "chanting the prayers incorrectly" is the most common criticism of shamans. For instance, since some of the current shamans are Bunun, some elders express their disapproval and say, "They replaced some words of the chants with Bunun terms!" Priests, however, would never be accused of such a thing.

The prayers recited by priests are closely related to their knowledge. Therefore, when they have a new experience, knowledge, or idea, it might be reflected in their prayers. Hence, the memories in these prayers could be refreshed by contemporary perspectives, such as the names of foreign countries. In contrast, the prayers chanted by a shaman are required to be exactly the same, and there is no room for that shaman's individual experience or opinion. Over the past ten years the Thao have gone through a few major events, such as the earthquake of September 21, 1999, and their official recognition as an indigenous group by the government. Yet, this "recent history" will be never be added to shamanic chants because the chants contain memories stored as "data." These data concern the relationships between the Thao and others, and they are not influenced by current situations. There are only a few Thao people who still remember when they were relocated by the Japanese; most simply remember the kindness and fairness of Japanese

officials in comparison with the Taiwanese. The Atayal and Sediq, of whom the Thao people used to be very afraid, are often the source of wives for Thao men now. The relationships are changing, but the chants are never updated.

The memories spoken by both priests and shamans are cultural memories of the Thao, but their modes of remembering are very different. The priests share the tracks of the Thao ancestors and experience history as individuals with other Thao. In contrast, the memories in shamanic chants concern relationships with "others" who were seen as aliens or opposed to the Thao in the past. However, the point of these memories is not so much these "others" as that the shamans are actually chanting "who the Thao are" through the descriptions of different people. In their case historical memory demonstrates their ethnic boundary and the foundation for the collective identity of the Thao.

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"We Play in the Black Jungle and in the White Jungle." The Forest as a Representation of the Shamanic Cosmos in the Chants of the Semang-Negrito (Peninsular Malaysia) and the Chepang (Nepal)

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This article analyzes the perception of the forest together with its representation in the shamanic chants of hunter-gatherer groups such as the Batek of Peninsular Malaysia, and sedentary or semi-sedenterized groups such as the Chepang (Nepal) and the Jahai (Peninsular Malaysia). The study of therapeutic and nontherapeutic texts sung during the séances reveals a shamanic cosmos that is particularly connected to nature. It is a primordial and perfect universe which extends itself to all cosmic levels and in which the shamans—as intermediaries, interpreters, custodians, and apprentices—travel and perform all their duties. The realm of the forest is recalled more or less directly and symbolically in most of the texts, offering an interpretational frame for hunter-gatherer shamanic complexes.

This work intends to analyze the perception of the forest, together with its representation in the shamanic chants of hunter-gatherer groups such as the Batek of Peninsular Malaysia, and sedentary or semi-sedenterized groups such as the Chepang (Nepal) and the Jahai (Peninsular Malaysia).

Over the past twenty years or so, my researches have mainly focused on shamanic practices among Asian ethnic groups that maintain a strong link with the world of the forest and its creatures. It is well known how nature, the forest, and the human activities related to them,

such as hunting, play a crucial role in many shamanic cultures, even among groups who abandoned the nomadic lifestyle many years ago (Hamayon 1990).

In all the groups I studied—even the Nepali Chepang and the Malay Jahai, who have now been sedentary for decades—the world of the forest represents a shamanic cosmos, perfect and primordial, closely linked to the concept of identity and the sense of ethnic belonging, often in contrast to the perceptions of other currently predominant groups.

In many parts of the world, and especially in shamanic cultures, myths of origin tell of the golden age of an idyllic and undifferentiated primordial world where all human beings lived in peace and could communicate among themselves using a common language. According to these traditions, in this world supernatural beings lived in close contact with humans. After a cosmic catastrophe or other events, the human, supernatural, animal, and vegetal spheres separated, and this coincided with the emergence of all the problems which afflict humans, such as death and illness. In these cultures shamans are elected, heroic figures who have the privilege of being in direct contact with both supernatural beings and the primordial and undifferentiated world which once belonged to all creatures and is visited during ecstatic journeys.

In addition, the shamans of many parts of the world are often believed to have the ability to communicate with flora and fauna and to take on certain features or even change into animal or plant form. In this sense, by destroying the distinctions and the barriers, the shaman reconnects the primordial world with the world of the present.

Although geographically distant, the cultures of the Nepal Chepang and the Peninsular Malay Semang-Negrito present striking similarities. In both cases, mythical knowledge and tradition are passed on orally down the generations, and shamanic chants are particularly important for this process. Another point of contact between these groups is the fact that chants and any other requirements for the shamanic profession are passed on in the course of dreams; in being transmitted in this way they assume a strongly personal character and constitute a form of direct and exclusive communication between shamans and the world of the supernatural through a continuous play of references to the world of nature and the forest in particular. The shamanic land of the Semang-

Negrito is represented by the rainforest itself, while the Chepang, who live in areas that have been subject to dramatic deforestation, see the huge jungle as an underworld which is home to the ancestors and most supernatural beings.

The Semang-Negrito

For centuries Malaysia has been a multiethnic country. 60% of the population is Malay (Muslim), around 30% is Chinese, 8% is Indian from the Tamil Nadu, and 0.6% is made up of indigenous populations, generally referred to as the Orang Asli (original people). The Orang Asli consist of three subgroups: the Proto-Malay, the Senoi, and the Semang-Negrito. The latter are without question the first inhabitants of this part of South East Asia, as they probably arrived at least 4,000 years ago (Dentan et al. 1997: 8–22).

The Semang-Negrito are in turn divided into six ethnic groups: the Kensiu, the Kintak, the Lanoh, the Mendriq, the Jahai, and the Batek. My most recent research, entitled "Traditional Beliefs and Traditional Medicine among the Semang-Negrito of Peninsular Malaysia," was conducted among the last two groups: the Batek and the Jahai.

While the Jahai populations have been sedentary for decades, some of the Batek groups are still living a nomadic hunter-gatherer life in the extensive jungle of Taman Negara, which is now a national park. Although estimates are not reliable, it has been calculated that the Batek bands that are still nomadic consist of around 400–500 individuals (Lye 2004: 5).

Although the Malaysian government introduced a program of Islamization of indigenous groups based on the concept of "positive discrimination" a few years ago (Dentan et al. 1997: 142–150), and despite the many groups that have converted to Islam, if with no clear understanding and awareness of the faith, traditional Batek and Jahai religions, like those of most Orang Asli, are still shamanic (Riboli 2008; 2010).

The thousand-year-old cultures of the Semang-Negrito of Peninsular Malaysia are intimately tied to the world of the rainforest. Even the Jahai groups and some of the Batek groups that have now been sed-

enterized for decades, as well as the nomadic Batek, have maintained strong ties to the jungle, where they go on a daily basis to hunt and fish and to collect fruit, wild tubers, medicinal plants, and honey.

The jungle itself is seen as a form of maternal uterus, a perfect world, pure and autonomous, which can provide for almost all the needs of its creatures. For the Jahai and the Batek, in contrast to other ethnic groups (mainly the Malay muslims) with their different perceptions, there are no bad spirits in the jungle, only the poetic *cenoi*, beautiful beings which look like humans but are only a few centimeters tall and live inside flowers. The *cenoi* are not particularly interested in the human world, but are always ready to help anyone in difficulty. Though the rainforest certainly contains many traps and dangers, the Batek and Jahai do not appear to be excessively afraid of them. Their agility and extensive knowledge of its flora and fauna, as well as their sharp senses, are remarkable, and these elements play an important part in their perceptions of the world, beliefs, and shamanic practices. The human, animal, and vegetable worlds are believed to be intimately connected and, in a certain sense, interchangeable. None of the three is believed to be superior to the others.

The shamanism of the sedenterized Jahai and the nomadic hunter-gatherer Batek appears to be fairly lacking in ceremonies, with almost no ritual objects. In fact, ritual objects, therapeutic chants, and dances have been profoundly influenced by the animal and vegetable worlds.

Ceremonies, like the construction of ornaments and ritual objects, are always held in the jungle, as far as possible from cultivated land, plantations, villages, indiscreet eyes, and in general far from anything which does not belong to the wilderness.

One aspect of Batek and Jahai shamanism which I find most interesting is that the optimal place for shamanic travel is the rainforest, especially areas of the jungle which only shamans can reach. Neither the Jahai nor the Batek share the tripartite vision of the world (Heavens, Earth inhabited by man, and the Underworlds) typical of most shamanic complexes on the planet, and their cultures generally lack any reference to the underworld. The *in spiritu* journeys of shamans (called *halak* by the Batek and *jampi* by the Jahai) principally take place in beautiful, secret areas of the forest. To illustrate the lack of differentia-

tion between the different spheres, the term *halak* is used by the Batek in two senses. It is used for all supernatural beings, who—apart from the one god in the Batek and Jahai pantheon, the god of thunder, called Gobar or Karei—have no specific names. However, it is also used to refer to shamans, who are also considered in some way to be supernatural beings (Endicott 1979). The same term is sometimes used as an adjective for the most powerful animal in the jungle, the tiger.

Apart from being considered almost supernatural, during altered states of consciousness similar to dreams the *halak* and the *jampi* can transform themselves into plants and animals and experience what they believe to be the emotional and experiential world of the beings that are part of the flora and fauna of the surrounding jungle (Riboli 2009). The more powerful shamans are believed to be able to transform into tigers, while inexpert shamans are usually believed to be able to transform into different types of insects, butterflies, and scorpions. The Batek and Jahai believe that animals also communicate among themselves, not just using verse, but proper languages, the most complex of which is believed to be that of the tigers and elephants. Expert *halak*, or those who have received sufficient shamanic instruction and many therapeutic chants during dreams, are also believed to be able to speak and understand the language of tigers and elephants, with whom they can communicate directly during metamorphosis and during chance encounters with them during daily activities in the jungle.

According to the testimonies collected by Kirk Endicott toward the end of the 1970s, the Batek believe that particularly powerful shamans have tiger bodies which they use in the jungle at night (1979: 92–95). When darkness falls, as the shaman sleeps, his soul abandons the human body to enter that of the tiger. At daybreak, the shadow soul returns to the human body and the tiger goes to sleep in distant and secret areas of the jungle. The activities of these shaman tigers have mainly positive values, as it is believed that in this guise they can protect their human companions during the night from any attacks by wild animals. By sending their shadow souls into plants or animals, the Batek and Jahai shamans somehow reconnect to the world of their origins and the primordial state of nondifferentiation between living creatures.

An important role was played in my research by the encounter and precious collaboration with a nomadic Batek *halak* named Macang (pl. 8), who everyone considered to be the most ancient and powerful shaman in Taman Negara, although he was already ill when we met and he died four years ago. From him I learned, among many other things, what I would call the philosophy that is most intimately connected with the rainforest and all the creatures of the Semang-Negrito. Though the old *halak* had spent his whole life in the jungle, he was still moved and enchanted by the beauty of a flower or the magic perfection of an insect.

When he was young, Macang was able to transform himself into a tiger and other animals, but he confessed that, as he grew older and lost his physical strength, what he liked best was to transform himself into a flower.

The world of the flora and fauna, and flowers in particular, plays a very important role in shamanism and in the daily life of the Semang-Negrito and is believed to be intimately connected to the world of the divine. Batek and Jahai women often undertake tiring and dangerous expeditions into the jungle in search of flowers and leaves, which they use to decorate themselves with. The connection between flowers and the realm of the supernatural lies mainly in their perfume. Perfumes and smells in general are very important in Batek and Jahai culture, and many of their taboos are associated with this. In particular, the irascible god of thunder appears to be particularly sensitive to any type of discharge. One of the most respected taboos, for example, forbids the preparation of two or more animal products on the same fire or in the same pot, as the mixture of aromas is particularly unpleasant for the god of thunder, who could send down terrible storms on mankind.

Flowers and many plants in the jungle with particularly sweet and intense perfumes are usually pleasing to supernatural beings and can have an irresistible attraction for them. When the Batek and sedenterized Jahai enter the jungle for their daily activities, in particular to hunt, men especially remove their tops (worn in the village because of the Islamic taboo on nudity) and shoes, as these accessories smell of the city. The bad smell of the city (in fact anything which is not the jungle) acts as a repellent for supernatural beings, and is so intense that it attracts the attention and unleashes the aggression of tigers and other predators.

The decoration of the body with flowers and leaves is quite common when going into the rainforest and is a firm requirement for ceremonies. The Batek *halak* and Jahai *jampi* have no ritual costume, but in some way must wear the jungle itself to reestablish primordial harmony between all the spheres of living beings. Before any form of ceremony, women in particular spend many hours weaving ornaments of flowers and leaves, which all participants at the ritual wear before taking part in the dances. Most ornaments consist of different types of leaves, but mainly of palm leaves woven into complicated patterns and flowers.

The musical instruments accompanying a ceremony are fabricated on the spot and mainly consist of bamboo of different diameters and lengths; these are struck against a piece of wood placed in front of the women, who sit in a line alongside it. The *halak* and the *jampi* do not use any type of percussion instrument themselves, and only wave a bunch of fresh leaves around rhythmically during ceremonies. The same procedure is followed by the *bidan*, or obstetrician, also a shamanic figure, though less powerful, dedicated to resolving problems linked to pregnancy and the female sphere.

The jungle and the vegetable world in general is used as a source of ornaments and ritual objects, thus playing an important role in shamanic chants. As already noted, the *halak* and the *jampi* receive therapeutic songs during dreams. The dimensions of the dream and those of the trance are believed to be fairly similar, so much so that the expression used to indicate altered states of consciousness is *cip jinglo tewin*, or "walking in one's dreams." The therapeutic songs are part of the personal knowledge of the shaman and are not usually repeated in the presence of the whole community, only in that of certain individuals.

Halak Macang often did me the honor of singing for me and allowing me to record his chants, though he warned that as they were very powerful they should never be repeated before a public of more than three persons, although he did give me permission to talk about their contents. Most of the chants are not in Batek or Malay, but, as often happens in shamanic cultures, in a secret language used by the *halak* to communicate with supernatural beings as well as plants and animals. The interpretation and translation of these texts were provided by Macang himself.

Generally these are chants, intoned in a low voice, which mainly repeat the names of flowers, plants, and places in the rainforest many times (e.g. waterfalls and mountains within the jungle). Many therapeutic chants are in fact based on the repetition of these names. I have not yet detected the presence of particular references to animals in Batek and Jahai shamanic chants, but the names of dangerous animals are usually never pronounced out loud inside the jungle as the very act of naming them would call them up. The magic connected to the names and the power of the word play an important role in Batek culture.

The most powerful shamans are those who receive the greatest number of chants in the course of dreams. Usually inexpert *halak* have very few, whereas Macang informed me—perhaps exaggerating a little—that he had received hundreds of chants during his long life, so he could face any critical situation, treat any type of pathological condition, or even just keep them for himself as a present from the supernatural world for his own pleasure.

In the texts of the chants by *halak* Macang, repetition and continuous reference to flowers, plants, and places in the jungle assume and confer extraordinary powers. In most of the chants the name of one or two plants is repeated many times without much additional text. Toward the end of his life, however, the *halak* had perhaps received the most powerful chant, a chant which, as he said, gives the owner the ability to fly to any place whether inside or outside the jungle, so much so that Macang told me he would use it to come and see me in Europe every so often.

The top of the *manau* rattan, the top of the mountain . . .
I feel lonely, I am not strong and then I am flying.
I am flying to reach the tall stems of the wild lemon.
On my way back, following the river, everything behind us is far away, what is in front of us is far away.
I am flying to reach the tall stems of the wild lemon, to reach the tall stems of the *manau* rattan,
The top of the *manau* rattan, the top of the mountain.
I am flying to reach the tall stems of the wild lemon . . .
The top of the *manau* rattan, the top of the mountain,
the top/the stems of the wild lemon . . .

Despite the fact that the text appears fairly immediate and simple, in reality it cloaks the whole essence of Semang-Negrito shamanism. According to Macang, these few extraordinarily powerful words describe and enact the *in spiritu* shamanic journey inside the rainforest. The chant had been given to him by a supernatural being with no name—a spiritual being, or perhaps the jungle itself. The strongly personal nature is expressed by the reference to the sense of solitude which saddened and weakened the strength of Macang, whose wife and children had died years before after different illnesses ("I feel lonely, I am not strong . . ."). But, after being in this state, the shaman begins to fly ("I am flying to reach the tall stems of the wild lemon"), following the course of a river and turning back to the mythical and perfect world represented by the jungle ("On my way back, following the river, what is behind us is far away, what is in front of us is far away").

Macang told me that, in the course of the first words of the chant, his soul was flying over the jungle and would shortly arrive at the foot of Mount Tahan, the highest mountain in Peninsular Malaysia (2,187m), in the heart of Taman Negara, where, at 130 million years old, is perhaps the oldest rainforest in the world, untouched even by the ice age. Reaching the mountain, considered sacred by most indigenous groups in Malaysia, meant that Macang had completed around half of his journey. At the foot of the mountain, he said, he usually met his wife. This was not the spirit of his human wife, who had died years ago, but a spiritual being whom the shaman had married, when still young, on one of his ecstatic travels. Macang described this encounter with great enthusiasm and emotion, saying that it was a beautiful moment of pure love and perfection, colored by a mixture of sentiments such as joy and nostalgia as he realized, during the encounter, just how much he missed this spiritual wife during his daily life. The reference to the tall stems of the wild lemon, according to Macang, expressed the ecstasy he experienced after the encounter, and the strength he acquired, which allowed him to reach the top of the mountain, or even, to quote his words, reach "more than one hundred different countries all over the world."

The many references to the *manau* rattan contain other meanings. These plants belong to the *Calameae* palm family, look like prickly rambling palms, and are particularly important for the Semang-

Negrito. The Batek and the Jahai often collect rattan, which is then sold to mainly Chinese traders, and this plant is therefore one of their main sources of income (Endicotts 2008: 92). Aside from the financial aspect, the *manau* is also extensively used in traditional medicine for treating high fevers and respiratory problems. Moreover, when required, the trunk can be cut to give pure and filtered potable water in good quantities. These properties make the *manau* one of the most important plants which exemplify the support the Batek feel they have from the rainforest in that it has been used as a powerful medicine for years, is an important source of income, and is a good source of potable water in case of emergency.

According to Macang, in the phrase "the top of the *manau* rattan, the top of the mountain," this plant and the top of Mount Tahan are confused and have the same meaning, representing the highest peak in the universe and of shamanic experience in general.

The journey of the *halak* in the course of the song, according to Macang, was up the mountain, flying and walking on slippery and insidious surfaces without feeling any fatigue or danger, protected and sustained by the chant itself. Macang told me that during this journey he usually visited a waterfall where he loved to bathe, after which he would change into a flower to dry himself in the wind; he would also do this in other secret places unknown to most people.

Once he reached the top of the mountain, repeating the same chant, Macang began his return toward his camp, this time flying, following the course of the rivers from high up, with a beautiful aerial view of the jungle.

In fact, for the Batek *halak* and to a lesser extent for the Jahai *jampi*, the very act of walking in the rainforest even for daily activities such as hunting or gathering corresponds to a shamanic journey. Even the shamanic chants appear to confirm the absolute sacredness of the forest, which in this case corresponds to the primordial world and the world of the ancestors. The creation of ritual objects, musical instruments, specific shamanic costumes, or even the need for frequent ceremonies would have no sense for these populations. Whereas for other shamanic cultures the world of primordial nature where shamans mainly work is confined to other cosmic areas, principally after dramatic historical

and environmental changes, the Semang-Negrito are perhaps one of the last human groups still to be surrounded by this world where everything is sacred but at the same time part of daily life.

The Chepang of Southern Central Nepal

Although the Chepang abandoned the hunter-gatherer way of life around fifty years ago after dramatic deforestation, their practices and shamanic chants still make frequent reference to the natural world, the forest, and hunting.

Most significantly, the shamanic drum itself (called *ring* in Chepang) is described as a hunter whose clothes are represented by the leather goatskin membrane, and the frame and iron hangings on the back represent his belt and weapons, respectively. The frame of the *ring* is made from *sandan* wood. Only one *sandan* tree in the forest is believed to be suited to the construction of a drum. The tree is chosen by an expert *pande* (the Chepang term for shaman), who communicates with a bird (female) through a song:

There is a forest, above the forest flies a bird,
and we sound the single surface drum.
the soul of a human may be taken by the witches:
you are a bird,
you recognise the upper and inner part of the tree . . .[1]

After the song is finished, the bird responds by pecking at the bark of the designated tree seven times. If the plant is chopped down correctly, red-colored resin, similar to blood, comes out of its trunk. The tree must die, like the goat which provides the skin for the membrane. Both the *sandan* and the animal will then be resurrected during a ceremony held after the instrument is ready (pl. 9).

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[1] See Riboli 2000: 100.

The strong tie with the forest is also indicated by other factors. When a *pande* dreams of a tree falling, his dream is interpreted as a warning of the imminent death of one of the members of his community. If the tree he sees in the dream is a *sandan*, this means that a shaman is going to die.

Like many peoples with a shamanic tradition and culture, the Chepang have a tripartite vision of the world, with the Heavens, the land inhabited by humans in the middle, and the underworld. While the Heavens are seen as a distant place full of problems, as they are home to the lord of death, Yamaraja, the underworld is often described as an idyllic land, a huge jungle rich in rivers and game, where the souls of the dead live in close contact with supernatural beings and other creatures. The Chepang call themselves *tunsuriban*, an adjective which denotes the ability of the shaman to travel in the underworld, a land perceived as being extremely dangerous by shamans of other ethnic groups.

The chthonic world proposes exactly the same vision of that natural, perfect, and primordial world mentioned earlier, a world where shamans can come together during ecstatic travels.

In Chepang cosmology the underworld assumes the same characteristics of the rainforest where the Batek live. The underworld jungle in Chepang mythology and the rainforest which still exists in Malaysia both represent the ancestral lands of the shamanic voyage (pl. 10).

The chants of the Chepang *pande* make frequent reference to the natural world and, although their pantheon has many supernatural beings—some of which are clearly of Hindu origin and others having origins within their ethnic group—one of the most important gods is Namrung. Namrung is the god of hunting, and an important ceremony is dedicated to him at least once a year during which men have to kill a wild animal and offer it up to him. The Namrung-*puṛjā* is now celebrated in secret due to the ban on hunting and is considered one of the most important shamanic ceremonies.

This ceremony is unusual when compared to the other very frequent shamanic séance celebrated for different, but mainly therapeutic, reasons by the Chepang *pande*. The two main differences lie in the fact that the Namrung-*pujā* is always held during the day—not at night like

other ceremonies—and that it is the only ceremony where the *pande* do not use their drum, using only a brass bell (pl. 11). This *pujā* may be one of the oldest ceremonies in the Chepang shamanic group, and in this sense presents many analogies with what we know of the hunter-gatherer Batek. The Namrung-*pujā* must be celebrated inside a forest, never in the village or near cultivated land. In this case the *pande* do not use any instruments or ritual objects, and they must return to the natural world, removing most of their clothes, which would never happen in a ceremony held in the village. This is probably a sort of ritual nudity, where the *pande* reverts to becoming part of the jungle world.

At dawn on the prescribed day, a *pande* and a group of men go to the forest and dress an altar which is decorated with small bows and arrows made of bamboo. Like the Batek and the Jahai, anything required for the ceremony is made on the spot using only materials offered by the forest itself. The chants refer in particular to the mythical past when the Chepang lived a nomadic life closely tied to the world of the forest:

O gods who have played in the skies,
from the time in which men told the truth,
this *pujā* is being held in the name of Namrung:
yesterday the ancestors played with nine bows and arrows . . .
You are the one who plays with nine bows and arrows
. . . . . .
Oh guru, let us play in the truth, let us walk in the truth.
Reassure us, pardon us,
this has happened since the time of the ancestors.
Everything has happened since the time of the ancestors.[2]

The chant continues, with reference to the black jungle and the white jungle, or the forest in the underworld, as well as at Chitwan, the only area of jungle left in southern Nepal, now a national park. In this sense the two forests are confused, and Namrung is the all-knowing, the great shaman of the forest, the hunter in both of these domains:

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[2] See Riboli 2000: 214–215.

One plays in the black jungle and in the white jungle and in Chitwan.
You are the golden shaman, the shaman of the forest, the shaman with the knowledge.
You are the one who lives in the jungle.
. . . . . .
O god, you are the one who lives in the world of the wild . . .
Oh god, this ceremony is being held for Gorkha Namrung Shikāri,
It is being held in the house of the gods:
we are playing across all the Heavens,
we are playing in all the jungles which surround us and in the forest.
Let us hunt, look upon us kindly,
Gorkha Namrung Shikāri
. . . . . .
From the time of our forefathers we have always made offerings
and today in this jungle, under the hundred *katuj* plants, all our offerings are being made for you.[3]

At the end of this chant the *pande* sacrifices a cockerel to Namrung, and before the men go off to hunt he resumes the chant:

This is Gorkha Namrung's *pujā,*
Now we are ready to hunt in this golden forest.
. . . . . .
We hunt throughout the jungle; through the stones; through the leaves,
Give us great power, Gorkha Namrung!
. . . . . .
Give us the power of the four corners and the quadrangle of mountains.
. . . . . .
You are the one who has always been respected from the time of the ancestors.
Old man of the wood, old woman of the wood,
Give us the strength!
. . . . . .

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[3] See Riboli 2000: 215.

O god, you come
on the chariot of the sun and the moon.
You are the one who plays in the oceans;
you hunt in the waters;
you are the one who plays in the skies;
you are the hunter of the moon.[4]

The references to the sun, the moon, and the oceans in fact refer to the underworld and the mythical jungle contained within it. In Chepang mythology, the sun and the moon are two sisters who, before the creation of the human world, resided in the underworld. The sun was forced to rise only for a few hours a day to warm the land of humans after being tricked, and her younger sister, the moon, was forced to follow. Similarly, it is believed that the underworld contains a huge ocean which the shamans have to cross by means of a dangerous and unstable bridge to reach the forest where the ancestors and many supernatural beings live.

The ceremony can only end after at least one wild animal has been killed and concludes with the offering of its blood to Namrung. This divinity currently represents a possible source of problems for the Chepang, who, after the ban on hunting, no longer possess any bows and arrows. The *pande* believe that Namrung was angered at the interruption of hunting activities and the Namrung-pujā is celebrated in order to pacify the god of hunting, who could otherwise avenge himself by sending down serious and mortal illnesses on mankind. Clearly the distancing of mankind from the wilderness of nature is in some way perceived as extremely harmful and dangerous.

During this ceremony the *pande* do not travel to other cosmic areas but, as is the case with the Semang-Negrito, undertake ecstatic journeys in the forest which, though restricted in size, for a few hours reverts to the primordial and perfect world where the ancestors lived in close contact with supernatural beings and the animal and vegetable worlds. In this sense, Namrung, who the Chepang believe wanders through

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[4] See Riboli 2000: 216–217.

both terrestrial and underworld forests, represents a return to the world of wilderness and the real essence of Chepang culture.

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Multiple Voices, Reportive and Reported Speech in Saribas Iban Shamanic Chants

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This paper focuses on a major linguistic device used by Iban shamans to construct the narrative chants they sing as a central part of their ritual practice. This is the shaman's use of voice, particularly his ability to appropriate the voices of other narrative speakers into his chants and to shift his own voice, distancing it at times from others, at other times absorbing other voices into his own. Taking three chants as examples, the paper shows how the shaman's use of voice mirrors his role as an intermediary between seen and unseen worlds and contributes to his perceived efficacy as a healer.

In the course of our everyday lives, all of us, as listeners, are the recipients of the voices of many other speakers. As speakers ourselves, these voices may be said to interact within our consciousness in ways that often influence, or find direct expression in, our own speech. Hence, "our everyday speech," as Mikhail Bakhtin observed, "is filled to overflowing with other people's words" (1981: 337).

For Bakhtin, the most explicit example of this is "reported speech," that is, speech embedded in discourse that is attributed specifically to a particular speaker or speakers (see Bauman 1986: 54–77; Kuipers 1990: 66–68). As a way of constructing discourse, reported speech occurs not only in everyday life, as Bakhtin observed, but in a great many other contexts as well. In this paper, I explore its use in a specific ritual context, as one of several devices used by Saribas Iban shamans to construct the chants they sing as a central part of their ritual practice. The rituals performed by Iban shamans are called *pelian*. Each

pelian focuses on a distinctive chant, described as its *leka*, or 'gist.' Each chant, in turn, is constructed around a narrative *jalai*, literally, a 'journey' or 'pathway,' from which it takes its name. While the details of each of these journeys vary from one performance to another, and from shaman to shaman, the 'internal sequence' (*ripih*) of places and encounters that occurs must be correctly reproduced in each performance, or else the journey itself is said to become 'disordered' (*salah atur*), and so, potentially, 'ineffective' (*nadai bisa*) (see Sather 2001a: 172–77; 2001b).

Here, my primary concern is with the linguistic devices that Iban shamans use to construct these narrative journeys and with how these techniques contribute to the effectiveness of a shaman's performance. Among others, two major devices may be distinguished. One is the *manang*'s ability to play upon variations in semantic "depth." In this context, the Iban, in talking about speech (*jaku'*), distinguish between the opposite poles in two sets of interrelated contrasts: 'shallow' (*mabu'*) versus 'deep' (*dalam*), and 'clear' (*terang*) versus 'hidden' (*karung*). Thus, *jaku' mabu'*, or 'shallow speech,' refers to the supposedly transparent language of everyday conversation. Such speech is said to be "clear," or immediately intelligible. By contrast, *jaku' dalam*, or 'deep speech,' is employed primarily in special registers, for example, in public oratory and ritual. Deep language typically conveys multiple or layered meanings and requires an interpretative effort to comprehend. Its meanings are thus "hidden" rather than "clear." While deep language is a characteristic feature of Iban shamanic chants, these chants, it is important to note, are never composed entirely of deep language. Rather, in relating a chant narrative, the shaman, as he sings, constantly shifts across semantic depth, moving from shallow to deep and back again. Thus, he employs deep language in naming and describing unseen landscapes, gods, spirits, and other invisible agencies, while, on the other hand, he uses shallow language most conspicuously at points of dramatic action. By moving between these semantic poles, Iban shamans are able to shift between poetic representation and dramatic action, while, at the same time, they engage their audiences in a gradual 'disclosure of meaning' (*bepandang reti*), moving from hidden depths to levels of increasing clarity.

Elsewhere I have discussed this first device at some length (Sather 2001a: 167–70; 2005) and will say little more of it here. Instead, my primary concern in this paper is with a second device, namely, the shaman's use of voice and his ability to appropriate the voices of other speakers as well as his own directly into the narrative journeys he relates in his chants.

Iban culture is profoundly speech-oriented and the same term *nyawa*, meaning 'voice,' also refers to 'sound,' 'breath,' and even 'life' itself. In describing how Iban shamans manipulate voice, it is useful to see this manipulation as, again, a variable feature that moves between contrasting poles. Variation, in this case, is in terms of the relative degree to which speakership is attributed to the various persona who appear in the chant narratives. At one extreme, there is no attribution of speakership at all and the voice represented is direct, omniscient, and impersonal. Here, the viewpoint represented may be described as omnipresent. This type of narrative voice is used at times in all of the chants, but it is not the only, or even the most frequent, way in which Iban shamans represent voice in their chants. Thus, at the opposite extreme, chant narratives may appropriate, chiefly through the medium of reported speech, a multitude of clearly differentiated voices, assign each of these to a particular speaker, and personify these speakers by identifying them with specific narrative roles and perspectives. Between these two extremes is what I call here "reportive speech." Here, the narrating voice is attributed to a speaker, and so is not impersonal, but, on the other hand, it speaks directly, rather than through the medium of reported speech. In Iban shamanic chants, it is almost always the shaman's own voice that acts as the principal reportive voice. As Webb Keane (1997: 49) has noted, ritual ways of speaking typically have, as a "common denominator," a strongly "reportive" element. To the extent that such ways of speaking entail communication between human beings and invisible spiritual actors, "the presence, engagement, and identity of spiritual participants cannot," as Keane (1997: 50) observes, "always be presumed or guaranteed." In contrast to everyday conversational encounters, where identities are self-evident or tacitly assumed, addressing invisible interlocutors typically compels speakers to make explicit who the communicating participants are, what they are doing,

where, when, and to what purpose. In Iban shamanic chants, much of this kind of participatory reportage is accomplished through reported and reportive speech. Through the use of these devices, words, including those of the shaman, serve to report on and direct the actions that participants carry out as they speak, thus giving chants, as narrative texts, a directive role in shaping ritual actions itself. At the same time, the shaman, by employing these devices, emphasizes the social nature of his ritual performances by enabling his human audience to follow and so take part themselves in what is being done. Here, I see the shamans' use of reportive and reported speech as a further extension of this common denominator of ritual ways of speaking, which, in this case, makes speech itself and the contexts in which it occurs an explicit part of what is being reported.

Both reportive and reported speech are, as we shall see, prominent features of Iban shamanic chants. Chant narratives typically incorporate a plurality of voices, with reported speech, including, at times, dialogue, as well as reportive speech, accounting in most chants for a half or more of the lines of text sung during a typical *pelian* performance. The implications of this are significant, as we shall see, both in terms of how Iban shamans construct their ritual performances and why, at the same time, these performances are seen by Iban audiences as convincing and effective.

The Iban and Iban Shamans

The Iban are an upland, riverine people of west-central Borneo who number today, in the east Malaysian state of Sarawak, just over 600,000 persons. An additional 14,000 live in the Indonesian province of West Kalimantan, and roughly the same number in Brunei Darussalam (Sather 2004). Despite growing urban migration, the majority of Iban live in the countryside, primarily in longhouse communities, most of them located along major rivers and smaller tributaries, particularly those of the Rejang, Batang Lupar, and Saribas river systems in

Sarawak and the upper Kapuas in West Kalimantan (Freeman 1970; Sather 2004; Sutlive 1992).[1]

The Iban describe their shamans, or *manang*, as 'preservers of life' (*ngidupka orang*) or as healers, that is to say, as 'those who make sick persons well' (*sida ke ngasuh orang ke sakit suman*) (see Sather 2001a:10, 2003b: 153).[2] The rituals they perform are typically carried out in night-long sessions in the patient's longhouse. Beginning at sunset, these typically continue until sunrise the following morning, during which time a *manang* normally conducts from four to seven *pelian*, each with a narrative chant of some 100 to 250 lines of verse. In addition, there are a few *pelian* that are performed by themselves, or with, at most, two or three others. The most frequently performed of these is the *pelian beserara' bunga* (rite to sever the flower). This is not performed for healing, however, but as a rite of separation, forming part of the traditional cycle of Saribas Iban death rituals (see Sather 2001a; 2003a; 2003b).[3]

In conducting a healing session, the shaman usually arrives at the patient's longhouse in the late afternoon. After sharing an evening meal with his hosts, he opens the session by asking the sponsoring family to prepare the materials he will need to perform his *pelian*. Under his guidance, they erect a shrine called the *pagar api* (fence of fire) at the

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[1] The field research upon which this essay is based was carried out in the Spaoh and Debak sub-Districts of the Betong Division of Sarawak, intermittently, between 1977 and the present. I am particularly grateful to the Tun Jugah Foundation and its director, Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi Jugah, for their support in carrying out this work. I thank, too, Manangs Jabing anak Incham, Asun anak Janta, Bangga anak Anggat, and Digat anak Kotak for their patience in working with me through many hours of conversation and *pelian* recording. Sadly, all of these *manang*s have passed away. Although shamanism remains a living practice in most parts of the Saribas, like much of indigenous Iban religion, it is declining rapidly in the face of urban migration and large-scale conversion to Christianity.

[2] Shamans (*manang*) are one of three principal categories of ritual specialists in traditional Iban society, the other two being priest bards (*lemambang*) who perform major invocatory rituals addressed to the gods, and soul guides, or dirge-singers (*tukang sabak*), who conduct the souls of the newly dead to the afterworld (Sather 2001a: 5–13).

[3] The chant, in this case, comprises some 600 or so lines of verse (Sather 2001a: 324–404).

center of the communal gallery (*ruai*) of the longhouse (see Sather 2001a: 144–53; Barrett 1993: 250–253).

Once this shrine is completed and wrapped in ritual *ikat* cloth, the *manang* leaves the gallery and enters his hosts' apartment. Here, he 'waves' (*besampu'*) the patient with his medicine kit (*lupung*). He then palpates (*begama'*) the patient's body, feeling for signs of sickness, which he treats with massage and medicines (*berubat*). Treatment during this initial phase is directed towards the body (*tubuh*) and is meant to restore its integrity, either by extracting 'objects' (*utai*) from beneath the skin or by sealing its surface with 'patching medicines' (*ubat penampal*). The act of patching the body is said to close invisible 'wounds' (*abi*) made by the spears or knives of spirit assailants. The *manang* next questions the patient and his family regarding their dreams and omens, and, finally, moving beyond a concern with the body, he 'scans' (*ninjau*) with his crystal, or 'seeing stone' (*batu ilau*), in order to determine the condition and whereabouts of the patient's soul (*semengat*). This scanning is called *ninjau semengat*, literally, 'to scan' or 'view the soul from afar.' Based on its determinations, and his hosts' accounts of dreams, omens, and symptoms, the shaman sums up his initial diagnosis and announces the particular set of *pelian* he plans to perform. If indications are that the patient's soul has left his or her body, then the shaman typically performs a series of *pelian* in which his soul, aided by his spirit helpers (*yang*), go in search of it, beginning with *pelian* in which they search close at hand in the vicinity of the longhouse, and then, in subsequent *pelian*, more distant regions of the cosmos, possibly ending in the afterworld of the dead. If the patient or his family have experienced ill-omens or troubling dreams, the shaman may perform a separate *pelian*, usually near the end of the session, in which he deals specifically with these. If the patient's plant image, described later in this paper, is seriously ailing, the shaman may conduct a series of *pelian* meant to restore it to health. Finally, every session ends with at least one *pelian* in which the shaman calls back his own soul and erects a series of 'ritual barriers' (*pelepa'*), beginning in a reverse order, first along the outer reaches of the cosmos, then moving inward, around the longhouse, and, finally, surrounding the patient's apartment.

Although each *pelian* has a specific purpose, healing sessions as a whole are always marked by some degree of uncertainty. At their outset, the causes of affliction are unknown and open to question. As a result, diagnosis and the selection of *pelian* are part of an emergent process, such that, in the course of a single night's session, the patient's soul, for example, may be sought by the shaman again and again in different places using different *pelian*, while still other *pelian* may be performed to address other possible sources of affliction, such as ill-omens or spirit attack.

Once the shaman has completed his diagnosis, he returns to the gallery. Here, seated in front of the *pagar api*, or suspended from a swing, with his longhouse audience seated around him, he begins his performance.

Words of Healing

At the heart of every performance is a narrated journey undertaken by the *manang*'s soul, together with his spirit helpers (*yang*) and celestial shaman companions (*petara manang*), in which they travel into unseen dimensions of 'this world' (*dunya tu'*) or to the 'afterworld of the dead' (*Sebayan*). There they perform a variety of tasks, such as recovering the patient's soul or deterring possible spirit attackers. Most practicing shamans work from a repertoire of some thirty to sixty chants or *leka pelian* (cf. Sather 2001a: 136–140). Language use in these chants constitutes a major ritual speech genre, with its own distinctive stylistic traditions.[4] While individual chants differ from one *manang* to another, all share features of a common poetic and melodic structure. When performed, the *leka pelian* are sung in a distinctive vocalization style which the Iban identify as 'the voice of the shamans' (*nyawa* or *patah nyawa manang*) (see Sather 2001a: 1, 163–166). Lines and stanzas are characteristically defined by the use of end, and sometimes initial and medial, rhyme and by a distinctive end-accented melodic structure. Thus, lines of verse typi-

[4] For an account of the distinctive features of these chants as a ritual speech genre, see Sather (2001a: 1–5, 163–170).

cally open on a rising or sustained pitch, often with tremolo, and conclude with an abrupt fall in pitch, particularly at the ends of stanzas, followed, in some cases, by a release of breath (see Matusky 2001: 686–689).

In terms of composition, the *leka pelian* are inherently multivocal, being the creation of many individual singers. Novice *manang* begin their careers by apprenticing themselves to practicing shamans from whom they typically acquire an initial repertoire of chants. Methods of learning emphasize memorization, particularly of groups of lines, stanzas, or blocks of stanzas. Thus, teachers often call on apprentices to continue or conclude a chant begun by another apprentice. In this way, aspiring *manang* learn to divide chants into separable parts and to combine these parts in different ways. This allows them to manipulate the length and content of their chants. In addition, shamans listen to, and borrow from, other shamans, in this way continually augmenting their repertoires. At times, individual *manang* may sing together. For example, if a shaman is invited to a longhouse in which there is a resident shaman present, the two frequently perform together, each taking turns singing alternate stanzas or blocks of stanzas. Chants are similar enough in their *jalai* structure to make this possible. Nonetheless, each *manang* is expected to put his own personal stamp on the chants he sings. In this sense, Iban shamanism is decidedly "performer-centered" (Atkinson 1989: 14), in that healing sessions are the primary arena in which shamans achieve a reputation as successful healers.

For the Iban, the words of the *leka pelian* not only describe the travels of the shaman's soul, but, quite literally bring these travels to life. Thus, the *manang* incorporates into his chants the voices of the various unseen persona his soul encounters in its travels. In doing so, he often verbally recreates these encounters through reported dialogue. At the same time, using verbal imagery, he depicts the settings and visual landscapes through which his soul and its companions travel (Sather 2001b: 156 ff). 'Words' (also *leka* in Iban), by being 'voiced' (*benyawa*), are materialized, thereby becoming a potential source of active agency in the tangible world, where they are manifested as 'sound' (also *nyawa* in Iban). By singing the words of the *leka pelian*, the shaman, in the cultural logic of Iban shamanic rituals, thus activates his spirit companions and dispatches his soul, which, under his command,

directs and orchestrates their otherwise unseen actions largely through the directive power of the words he sings.

Being invisible, the spirits, souls, and other beings and forces upon which this-worldly health is thought to depend are intelligible for the most part only through the medium of language. In dealing with these invisible forces, the shaman's task is to make intelligible through the language of his chants an unseen world of causal interactions that is always, by its nature, 'hidden' (*karung*), and which, shamans say, can, in any event, be only partially fathomed, even by themselves. But the realms of intelligibility that the shaman creates verbally through his chants, and extends into the unseen world, he also makes tangible to his audiences through an enactment of his words, translated into action, and by the sensory and poetic qualities of the chants themselves. The effectiveness of ritual depends upon a performer's ability to recreate an "imaginal reality"—"imaginal" in the sense of being humanly constructed and distinct from "the chaotic actualities of the paramount world of everyday life" (see Kapferer 2005). Being only indirectly "known," this reality must be "symbolically mediated" (Munn 1973), and language is the principal medium by which this mediation occurs.[5] Particularly useful here is Kapferer's notion of "virtuality" (2005). Through his singing of the *leka pelian*, the shaman can be said to create a "virtual reality" which is neither a representational ideal nor a direct modeling of external realities, but, rather, as Kapferer puts it, "a thoroughgoing reality of its own" (2005: 37), which, although imaginal, is, nevertheless, capable of drawing external realities into its dynamic field, including, in this case, the experiences of the shaman's human audience.

While the words of the *leka pelian* are thought to report the unseen realities that the shaman's soul experiences, they are also believed to be transformative, capable, in other words, of bringing about tangible outcomes in the visible world. The actions of the *manang*'s soul, as related in his *leka pelian*, while ostensibly performed in invisible regions of the cosmos, are believed to bring about parallel effects in the visible world, thereby trans-

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[5] This is not to deny the importance of material objects, stage settings and other media, only that these things gain their symbolic significance through the shaman's use of ritual speech.

forming the conditions affecting the patient's state of this-worldly well-being. At the heart of Iban shamanism is thus a belief in the co-existence of two parallel yet interconnected realities—one seen, the other unseen. Here, within the context of a *pelian* performance, words are the principal medium by which the shaman connects these two realities through the mediating virtual reality of his chants (see Sather 2005: 147–148).

The verbal imagery of the chants depicts, and so "represents" to the shaman's audience, elements of the unseen realities that are acted upon by his soul and his spirit companions, while, at the conclusion of his singing, the *manang* 'faints' (*luput*) and, very briefly, just as he falls into a fainted state, he physically "enacts" the principal actions depicted in the chant that he has just sung. While unconscious, the shaman's soul is said to leave his body, and, accompanied by his spirit companions, performs these actions on an unseen plane. Thus, *pelian* performances consist not only of speech, but conjoin speech with action. Action, however, is always prefigured and performed first in words. As Iban *manang* say, they first sing a *jalai* and then 'imitate' (*nunda'*) it. In this way, seen and unseen realities are brought into momentary conjunction. What takes place at an unseen level, as represented through the medium of speech, is fleetingly manifested in physical form as a mimed enactment. Again, however, speech is prior to, and prefigures, action. More than that, words empower, or lend authority to the ritual drama that follows, making what is visible efficacious at an unseen level, within the parallel reality of the souls, spirits, and gods.

Voice, Reportive and Reported Speech

The *leka pelian* are never composed entirely of reported speech; instead, an impersonal narrating voice is always present to some degree. Even so, reported and reportive speech are central to the construction of these narratives. By incorporating such speech, particularly reported speech, speakers are not only identified, but may also be imbued, as we have said, with personhood and distinguished from other speakers, oftentimes in respect to specific audiences. These effects are meta-communicative. That is to say, they refer, not to the

content of a speaker's message, but to its source, and, at times, intended recipients. In this way, reported speech creates within a chant narrative a discursive space in which narrative actors may interact. The result for the shaman's audience is a sense of "virtual" narrative immediacy.

Saribas *manang* use a number of discursive markers to attribute speakership. In some instances, the speaker's words are represented as "quoted speech" through the use of what Kuipers (1990: 67) calls "locatives," for example, verbs such as 'says' (*jaku'*, *ku'*) or 'asks' (*nanya'*), plus a personal pronoun (i.e., "he says," "we say," "they say," etc.) or by the use of names. Names appear frequently in the *leka pelian*. These, however, are never actual personal names, but, rather, poetic names or descriptive terms that denote the role the speaker plays as a narrative persona.

In the chants, the most frequently identified speaker is the shaman himself. In performing a *pelian*, the *manang* is not only a singer, but is also the principal actor in the chants he sings. As a narrative persona, the shaman never refers to himself by use of the first-person singular, i.e., by the pronoun 'I' (*aku*). Instead, he identifies himself by the exclusive first-person plural, 'we' (*kami*),[6] as, for example, 'we shamans' (*kami manang*), or, more often, 'we *Menani*' (*kami Menani*), 'we *Empung*' (*kami Empung*), and so on, using names uniquely associated with shamanship as a professional calling, and identified as those of the celestial (or ancestral) shamans (see Sather 2001a: 98). In performing his rituals, the latter are said to form a coterie of assistants who join his soul in carrying out the various actions related in the *leka pelian*. What is notable here is that the exclusive "we" functions as a classic linguistic "shifter" (Silverstein 1976). Thus, in the shamanic chants, when the shaman speaks of "we," or "we *Menani*," he brings together, and so integrates, the perspectives of different possible speakers and audiences. He may be referring, simultaneously, for example, to himself in relation to all his fellow shamans ("we shamans"), to himself in relation to other shaman actors within his chant ("we *Menani*"), or, externally, to himself plus his celestial shaman companions in relation to his human audience in their joint role

[6] I.e., excluding the person or persons being addressed. It is important to note that in conversational Iban persons often refer to themselves in the first-person plural so that this use of "we" in the chants is not inconsistent with everyday speech.

as ritual participants ("we"). In this way, by manipulating a shifting range of possible "we"s, the *manang* may speak either for himself or absorb into his voice the voices of an extended field of others.

In addition to the shaman, speakership is also attributed to a multitude of others. These include the shaman's spirit helpers, human souls, gods, and spirits, including the spirits of the dead and of natural species such as birds and animals. Even inanimate objects and features of the landscape "speak" in the sense that they make their presence known in the chants through the sounds they make. Thus, grass "weeps" and thunder "rumbles."

A major point this paper makes is that Iban shamans employ variations in voice in a range of different ways. These ways, and the particular voices they evoke, vary in the course of a *pelian* performance, reflecting the way these variations are used to recreate narrative journeys. They also vary between *pelian*, reflecting the different ends to which these journeys are directed. The voices embedded in the *leka pelian* also vary from a polyphony of differentiated voices to a monologic merging of voices. The ability of the *manang* to play upon this range of variation is central to understanding how the *pelian* work and how, at the same time, they help define the *manang*'s role as a ritual intermediary between the visible human world and the invisible realms of the souls, spirits, plant images, and gods.

In order to illustrate these arguments, we will look in the remainder of this paper at how variations in voice are used in the chants that accompany three different rituals: (1) a stage-setting ritual typically performed at the beginning of a curing session; (2) a ritual in which the *manang* tends his patient's plant image, and (3) a ritual in which the shaman recovers a patient's soul from the afterworld.

Rite to Spread a Working Mat

The first of these rituals is called the *pelian anchau bidai*, literally, the 'rite to spread a working mat.' For the late Manang Asun anak Janta, from whom I recorded this chant during a longhouse performance in 1991, this is the first *pelian* he normally performs when he begins a night-long curing session, particularly if his initial diagnosis suggests that the patient is suffering from some form of soul loss. It can be

described, therefore, as a "stage-setting" *pelian*. Spreading a mat is, for the Iban, an initiatory act. Thus, a mat is first spread when a visitor is welcomed. Mats are also spread in preparation for a social gathering or to set the stage for a ritual event. In performing the *pelian anchau bidai*, Manang Asun first carves from wood a small human-shaped figure, some 6 inches long, called a *pentik*, which at the conclusion of the ritual he 'substitutes' (*ganti*) for the patient's soul. Before beginning his performance, he also 'borrows' (*nginjau*) a number of objects from his hosts. These include objects made of iron, such as knife or adze blades, which, during singing, he strikes together to call back the patient's soul; a ritual cloth which his soul uses as "wings" to fly in pursuit of his patient's soul, to catch and surround it, and to fly back with it to this world; a shell armlet for the use of his spirit helpers "to light" their way as they search for the soul; and a plate to be used as a "shield." All of these objects are mentioned by the shaman in his *leka pelian*.

Seated on the gallery floor, Manang Asun opens his chant with the following stanza:

A . . . wa. . . .
Deru'-deru' guntur mabu',
Munyi ke mabak gerugu',
Batu galang menyadi.
A . . . wa . . . galang menyadi.

A . . . wa . . .
Rumble, rumble, the crash of nearby thunder,
The sound of boulders tearing loose,
The shattering of solid stone.
A . . . wa . . . of solid stone.

Here, the opening line, *deru'-deru' guntur mabu'* (rumble, rumble, the crash of nearby thunder), following a long drawn-out *a . . . wa*, all sung in a loud, intense voice on a rising melodic line, instantly gains the audience's attention. At the same time, the onomatopoetic quality of *deru'-deru'* (rumble, rumble) focuses it on the sensory, acoustic features of the chant itself, while the words that follow create a compel-

ling image of the power of sound, capable, in this case, of tearing loose boulders and shattering stone.

Like the sound of thunder, the shaman's narrating voice in these opening lines is impersonal and omnipresent. The next lines, however, transition to reportive speech. Here the speaker, as an actor in the narrative, is the *manang* plus his spirit companions (we *Jelapi'*, transformed *Gendai*): [7]

Tu' baru lama' lemai,
Udah alai kami Jelapi,
Bali' Gendai, ngansau semengau
Tepejuh jauh liar ke tisi.

It is now late in the evening,
The time has thus come for we *Jelapi*,
Transformed *Gendai*, to search for the soul
That has grown timid and bolted away to the far edge [of the world].

Moving from the impersonal and metaphoric, the shaman's voice is now highly contextualizing and his words have the effect of situating his audience in the immediate here-and-now, locating them and the scene of action in the present (it is now late in the evening/the time has thus come), while simultaneously defining the work at hand (to search for the lost soul/grown timid). In this opening portion of the chant, both lines and stanzas are short and are drawn out by pauses, repeated syllables, and considerable melodic ornamentation. Later on, as the narrative begins to unfold, the tempo builds and the melodic contours of the shaman's voice flatten.

Following this opening, the shaman, as a singer, adopts a plural voice, representing not only himself, but also his celestial shaman compan-

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[7] 'Transformed' (*bali'*), in the context of Iban shamanism, refers to a gender transformation in which a shaman assumes the dress and identity of the opposite gender. Thus, *manang bali'* are transvestite shamans. Although comparatively rare, such *manang* loom large in Iban imagination, are thought to be extremely effective, and include the principal shamanic god, Menjaya (see Sather 2001a: 34–36).

ions. Together, they praise the objects borrowed from the patient's family. For example:

Nya' baru nginjau anak puntang tengkebang ampang bekebat
Kami Gendai, adi' Rechap,
Sayap kami berambat ka semengat
Sida' ke tesat jauh liar ke tisi . . .
A . . . wa . . . liar ke tisi . . .

Now borrow a piece of skillfully designed *ampang bekebat* cloth
For us *Gendai*, younger brothers of *Rechap,*
To use for wings so that we may surround the soul
That has grown wild and strayed away to the edge [of the world] . . .
A . . . wa . . . wild to the edge [of the world] . . .

Tu' baru kami Gendai, adi' Jelapi',
Nginjau anak simpai rangki',
Ke checheli' suluh tapa' kaki.

Now we *Gendai*, younger brothers of *Jelapi'*,
Borrow a shell armlet,
To cast a glimmering light from the soles of our feet . .

Nya' baru' nginjau anak singkap pinggai besai
Kami Empung, kaban Gendai,
Kena' ka terabai, kena' kami nemuai pulai hari . . .
A . . . wa . . . pulai hari.

Now borrow a large plate
To be used by us *Empung*, kindred of *Gendai*,
For a shield in order to pay a brief visit . . .[8]
A . . . wa . . . a brief visit.

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[8] Literally, a visit in which the visitor does not stay overnight, but returns the same day. Here, the meaning is to pay a visit to the spirits that hold the patient's soul captive, in order to rescue it.

As the shaman and his companions report on their actions, they redefine the nature of these objects to foreshadow their use in the narrative events that follow. The final item they borrow is a 'blinder charm' (*engkerabun* or *perabuan*), which they now burn in order to create a "ladder of smoke."

Nginjau perabun teku' bunga lulun, kami Pagun
Kena' kami nanjang tangga' umbang, antu Belang Pinggang,
Adi' antu gerasi.

Borrow a blinder charm of *lulun* flowers so that we *Pagun*
May [burn it to] create an *umbang* ladder, by which to challenge the Belang Pinggang spirits,
Younger brothers of the demon huntsmen.

The spirits mentioned here are associated with the forest and subsist by feeding on human souls. By using this ladder, the shaman and his companions are able to ascend into the invisible realm where these spirits make their home. The smoke is also said to reverse relations of visibility: it thereby renders the otherwise unseen spirits visible to the shaman and his spirit helpers, while, at the same time, it renders the latter invisible to the spirits. The blinder also makes the patient's soul invisible to its captors, so that the shaman's spirit helpers may more easily rescue it. In the lines that follow, the shaman's words portray the appearance and effects of this smoke:

Gurak-gurak perabun bunga tanak,
Enggi' kami Gendai, kaban Guyak,
Baka engkeruchak majak, gumbang . . .

Boiling-boiling, [smoke of] the blinder charm of *tanak* flowers,
Belonging to us *Gendai*, kin of *Guyak*,
Rises and falls, like bellowing waves . . .

First, before they challenge the spirits, the shaman, again speaking in a plural voice, asserts his kinship with the very spirits that he and his spirit helpers are about to challenge, thereby implying that he is their equal in power.

Enti' pia', baka ubi kitai antu gerasi, bedau saum tambak, au tambak,
Baka tebu kitai antu rambai bulu, bedau saum ujak, au ujak,
Baka pisang kitai antu Belang Pinggang, bedau saum anak, au anak,
Baka tubai kitai gerasi tuai bedau saum rarak . . . au rarak.

If so, like cassava tubers, we and the demon huntsmen have grown from the same cutting.
Like sugarcane, we and the spirits with long streaming hair are of the same planting,
Like banana plants, we and the Belang Pinggang spirits share a common parentage,
Like poison vines, we and the old demon huntsmen have grown from the same runner . . . yes, [the same] runner.

The *manang* and his companions now take up the objects they have borrowed and begin to wield them as they pursue the missing soul. These objects, initially praised, are now incorporated directly into the actions related in the chant. Using reportive speech, the *manang* now identifies himself and his spirit helpers as the actors engaged in this pursuit.

The stanzas that follow create an imaginal reality in which the power of the shaman and his companions reigns supreme over the forces of affliction represented by the demon huntsmen and the other malevolent spirits portrayed here. Even if these spirits have captured the soul, have cut it into pieces and are cooking it, the shaman's spirit helpers will be able to recover it, put the pieces back together again, and so restore the soul to life. Here, the audience being addressed are the spirits, while the shaman's human audience bears witness to what is being said.

Enti' kita bedua' gerasi rangka',
Kami tau' nerima' di tapa' jari ngenggam.
Enti' kita besalai gerasi tuai,
Kami Matai tau' nyapai atas jagan . . .

If you divide up [the butchered soul], you greedy demon huntsmen,
We will take it all in the palms of our grasping hands.
If you smoke [the butchered soul], old demon huntsmen,
We *Matai* will seize it from the drying baskets . . .

Yang kami sawa' kedana' muka' kelingkang!
Nya' baru saup churi ka semengat
Tepejuh jauh ka tisi!

Rise up, our python spirit helper, and open your coils!
Help [us] steal the soul
That has bolted away to the edge [of the world]!

Ulih yang kami lelabi gumba,
Nyemerai enggau renang . . . ia . . . merenang!
Saup tarit semengat melesit,
Ulih yang kami Gelanyang,
Manang Buit, baya nandang . . . awa . . . nandang . . .

Catch it, our spirit helper, the *gumba* turtle,
Swim after it . . . and [catch] it swimming!
Help [us] pull back the soul that is trying to slip away,[9]
Catch it, our spirit helper, *Gelanyang*,
Shaman *Buit*, the roving crocodile . . . awa . . . roving . . .

Speaking in the imperative, the shaman, using his own voice, now summons his spirit helpers. In response, the latter rush in pursuit of the soul, which, in a wild state, now darts this way and that, trying to

[9] *Melesit* (n. f. *pelesit*), 'slip' or 'squeeze through,' as between the fingers or through a small opening.

escape. Finally, at the dramatic climax of the chant, the soul is captured and trussed up by the shaman's spirit helpers. Now as they prepare to carry it back to the visible longhouse, the shaman, using quoted speech, addresses the subdued soul directly:

Enti' pia', "Perapat," ku' kami Rechap,
"Bendar amat bulih segemurung,"
Cherepung ku' jaku' Empung . . .

If so, "Remain," we *Rechap* say,
"You are truly caught, gathered up [by us],"
So says *Empung . . .*

After the long pursuit, followed by the rapid action of the soul's capture, the latter narrated in a reportive voice, the tempo of the chant again begins to slow as the shaman and his party approach the patient's longhouse. Reaching the longhouse bathing place (*pendai'*), the soul, like a returning longhouse traveler, first 'bathes' (*mandi'*) before entering the house. As it bathes, water treated with life-extending charms is poured over it:

Enti' pia, nya' baru mandi' semengat,
Bai' Jelapi' ked a ai' besungga ngela . . . au ngela.
Bekauk enggau cherebuk bantin temaga,
Begayung enggau puchung mali rumpung
Pesiri laki ular tedung
Penampung seput anak mensia,
Ke beanyut munggang dada . . . awa . . . dada.

If so, the soul now bathes,
Brought by *Jelapi*', it floats leisurely on it back . . . yes, floats leisurely.
Scooping up water with a dipper made of brass,
Dipping with a small vial containing life-preserving charms,
A gift of the cobra husband,
Which extends the breath of human beings,
So that they may breathe easily in [their] chest . . . awa . . . [their] chest.

Here, the narrating voice, speaking from the perspective of the shaman and his companions, describes the soul's joyful return to the longhouse:

Manggai di menalan nyapan, bala Usam,
Baka kindang mai' semengat pulai,
Kati enda', menalan nyapan sungkur dupan babi menua . . .

Arrive at the level clearing, the large party of *Usam*,
Gaily carries the soul home,
To the flat clearing rooted by longhouse pigs . . .

With the soul safely inside the longhouse, the shaman embeds a final stanza of quoted speech directly into his chant. The speakers are now the gods Selampeta, Inan Pantan Raja Jadia, Biku Bunsu Petara, and the mother of Selempandai. Their words take the form of a series of highly conventionalized blessings which are pronounced near the end of almost every *leka pelian*. Here, by incorporating these blessings into his chant, the shaman momentarily merges his singing voice with that of the gods, so that it becomes the medium by which the gods speak. In this way, by appropriating their words, the gods, too, become part of the virtual reality his chant creates. Following this, the shaman's voice becomes increasingly unitary, as, merging now with his spirit companions, together they leap into the air and so carry the newly recovered soul to the summit of Mount Rabung, the home of the celestial shamans and the eventual afterworld of living *manang*. The act of leaping thus returns the shaman's companions to their own world. At the same time, Mount Rabung represents, at a microcosmic level, the top of the patient's head, and the pool, the anterior fontanelle (*bubun aji*), the opening through which the recovered soul is now re-inserted into the patient's body.

Nya' baru niki' semengat,
Bai' Jelapi' ngagai lenggi' lenggang telaga,
Bekerenjung tubuh lempung.
Kami Chelung nanggung mai' semangat pulai,
Tanggung yang kami Tegung,
Perejuk gantung nampuk di tuchung Rabung tampak nama . . .
Awa . . . nama.

Now the soul ascends,
Carried by *Jelapi'* to the high rim of a pool,
With this, [our] bodies become light.
From here, we *Chelung* lift up and return the soul,
Borne by our spirit helper *Tegung* (Roar),
Jumping high [into the air], alight on the visible
summit of famed Rabung . . .
Awa . . . famed.

With these concluding words, the shaman covers himself with an *ikat* cloth and faints. As he faints, he throws away the *pentik*. Simultaneously, his soul is said to leave his body and, aided by his invisible spirit helpers, carries out the actions described in the second half of the chant. As the shaman casts away the *pentik*, the spirits are said to mistake it for a new soul, and so, leaving the patient's soul unguarded, the shaman's *yang* are able to snatch it away and carry it off with them. With this, they now, accompanying the shaman's soul, return to the visible longhouse world. Just before the shaman's soul reenters his body, his spirit helpers press the patient's soul into the palm of his hand. With the return of his own soul to his body, the shaman regains consciousness. As he begins to stir, members of the audience sitting closest to him draw away the *ikat* cloth. Now sitting up, the shaman opens his hand and displays the recovered soul to his audience (see fig. 1). The latter now momentarily assumes a physical form, most often that of a tiny mustard seed (*leka ensabi*). Then, rising, the shaman enacts the concluding action of the chant by briefly "bathing" the "soul" in a small bowl of water, and, entering the patient's apartment, he re-inserts it into the top of the patient's head (fig. 2).

Fig. 1. A Saribas shaman displays a set of three souls in the palm of his hand. Photo: Clifford Sather, late 1990s.

In all, this version of the *anchau bidai* chant consists of 153 lines of text, of which 125 are in the form of reportive or reported speech. In 110 of these lines, the speaker is the shaman, plus, most often, his celestial shaman companions. In 22 of these lines the shaman addresses his spirit helpers, in 12, the spirits holding the patient's soul captive, and in 3 the patient's own soul. Other speakers include the gods Selampeta, Mother of Selampandai, Inan Pantan Raja Jadia, and Biku Bunsu Petara.

Rite to Fence the Flower

The next chant is constructed very differently. The ritual in this case is the *pelian ngeraga bunga*, the 'rite to fence the flower.' Here, the 'flower' (*bunga* or *bungai*) referred to is not an ordinary flower, but the patient's "plant image" (see Sather 2001a: 58–65). Every living person is thought to possess a *bunga*, which takes the form of a plant. Ordinarily invisible to its owner except in dreams, this plant is said to grow somewhere in the unseen world, where it is tended by the celestial shamans. The life and vigor of this plant precisely mirrors that of the

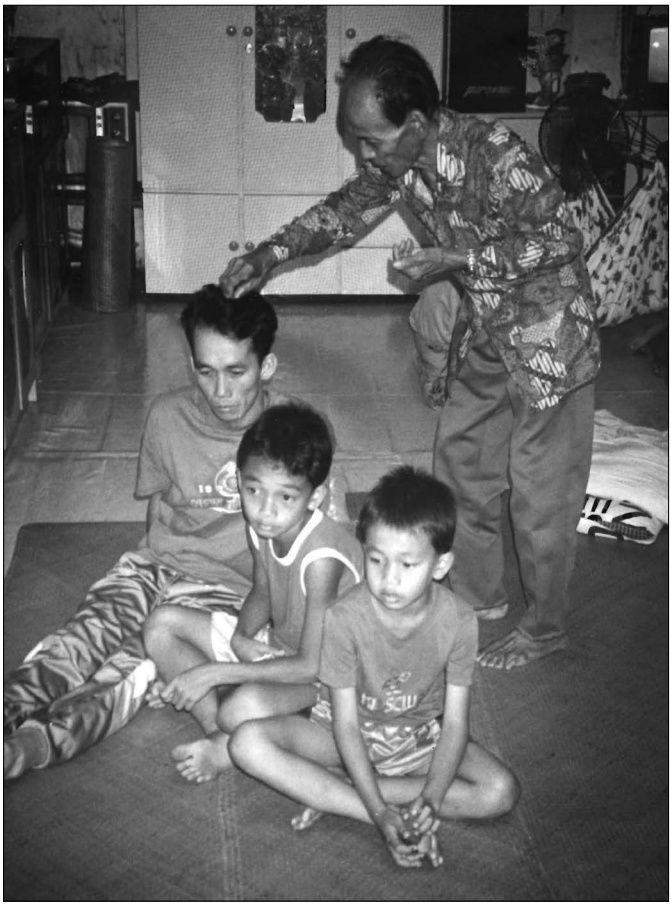

Fig. 2. Shaman reinserting souls into the heads of his patients (a father and two sons). Photo: Clifford Sather, late 1990s.

individual to whom it belongs. Thus, in ill health, the *bunga* is said to 'wither' (*layu'*), and in death, 'dies' (*perai*), and so 'drops' (*gugur*) from its root stalk. In contrast to the soul (*semengat*), the *bunga* perishes the moment bodily life ends. While an image of life and vitality, the life the *bunga* symbolizes is therefore mortal life—life as it is in this world. In good health, the *bunga* flourishes like a growing plant, but, like a cultivated plant, it is also vulnerable, and so must be carefully tended.

In the past, shamans were regularly invited, especially after the annual rice harvest season when families returned from their farms to the longhouse, to restore the health and vitality of family members by ritually clearing around and fencing their *bunga*. This is no longer done on an annual basis, but a patient's *bunga* is still regularly treated by the *manang* during longhouse healing sessions. The version of the *ngeraga bunga* chant discussed here was recorded on one such occasion in 1978 during a longhouse performance in the Ulu Paku and was sung by the late Manang Jabing anak Incham. The chant consists of 172 lines of verse. In sharp contrast to the *anchau bidai* chant, and, indeed, to most other *leka pelian*, the proportion of reportive and reported speech is comparatively small, comprising only 52 lines, or roughly a third of the total. This difference reflects the very different nature of the chant narrative. In it, the *manang* himself is only a secondary actor. The principal actors are, instead, the god Selampandai (All-Clever) who, as the primary creator-god responsible for bringing forth human life, has ultimate charge of the *bunga*; and the celestial shamans who, in general, tend it on behalf of their human companions. As the main action depicted in the chant is weeding, in actuality, it is not these unseen companions of the *manang*, but their 'sweethearts' (*ambai*) who do the actual work of clearing around the *bunga*. Correspondingly, the latter speak the most lines of reported speech, 21 in all, and, as is characteristic of chants relating to the *bunga*, there are no concluding blessings pronounced by the gods, but simply a final stanza image of a now flourishing plant, fully restored to healthful vigor. Here, in this chant, Selampandai is identified as a shaman. This is common in *pelian* concerned with the *bunga*, including the *pelian beserara' bunga*, mentioned earlier, in which the shaman performing the rite acts out the part of Selampandai (cf. Sather 2003b).

As in the previous chant, the opening lines are contextualizing and establish the setting and occasion. This is done, however, very differently.

Randau entimun betung
Entimun betung beguiling balun,
Dituntun Indai Dum . . .

Vines of the *betung* cucumber,
Betung cucumber vines, twisted together, are heaped in rough bundles,
As tall as Mother of Dum . . .

For an Iban audience, the scene is immediately familiar. The setting is clearly a rice field and the occasion, the beginning of the weeding season (*maya mantun*). Weeding (*mantun*) is performed by women, typically working together in teams. As a preliminary step, the runners of cultivated vine crops interplanted with rice such as gourds, long beans, and cucumbers are disentangled from the rice plants and are bundled in heaps in order to facilitate weeding.

As in the preceding *pelian*, the chant opens with a disembodied sound, in this case, the sound of a voice chanting. The transition to reported speech is subtle: beginning with Selampandai's chanting heard offstage, it shifts to the shaman's narrating voice reporting that Selampandai is summoning his sweethearts.

Bekerengai Selampandai tuai,
Bekumbai ambai mai' berengkah mantun.

Old Selampandai is calling incessantly,
Summoning his sweethearts to begin the weeding.

A series of maidens then arises and, led by the *manang*, they walk, one by one, to where the patient's *bunga* grows. Here, they discover that it is overgrown with weeds. What follows are the chant's main elements of dialogue.

Lalu angkat gadai-gadai ambai Selampandai, manang tuai.
Minta' ulu ka Bidu kaban Gendai,
Ka pun jerengun bungai tawai.
Lalu tekenyit dara mit di kulit kandang kerigai,
Meda' batang bunga rajang
Tanchang kelingkang rarak beluai.
Puchuk bungai Dara Labuk pumpun rubai.
Ke patut anak mensia tu' enda' beguna
Di baruh bulan mingkai . . .

Then gently arises the sweetheart of Selampandai, the old shaman.
She asks to be led by *Bidu*, kindred of *Gendai*,
To the base of the fragrant *tawai* flower.
There the young maiden is startled deep within her ribs,
To see the orchid flower stem
Tied in the coils of *rarak beluai* creepers.
The tip of Maiden Labuk's [the patient] flower is overgrown with *rubai* grass.
No wonder a human being is not well
Beneath the full moon . . .

This is followed by two stanzas of dialogue in which pairs of young women ask each other which overgrown patch is theirs to weed. They address each other with 'friendship names' (*emperian*) that allude to past love affairs:

"O ni bagi kami duai,
Meniti lebu nagai?
Ni untung kami duai,
Selindung lebu lupai?
Pulai bedau kea tai kami ngalau rumput gempenai?"

"Oh! Which part is for the two of us,
One-Who-Awaits-[her lover]-in-Vain?
Which share is for the two of us,
One-Who-Possesses-a-Forgotten-Scarf-in-Vain?
For whom was this patch left overgrown with *gempenai* grass?"

After each stanza, the women jump up and set about cutting down weeds and pulling up grass by the roots. Perceiving its imminent death, the uprooted grass "weeps piteously." Some is thrown into the air and carried off by the wind; the rest into streams and carried away by the water. Once the weeding is finished, Selampandai then asks the women which one among them wishes to sing to the *bunga*.

Lalu bejaku' bumbuk-umbuk,
Selampandai tuai, Manang Iduk,
"Sapa kita, tu' tau' nguji ka nanyi bunga kusuk?"

Then speaking entreatingly,
Old Selampandai, Shaman *Iduk* asks,
"Who among you is able to sing to the *kusuk* flower?"

The first to volunteer, Selampandai rejects.

Lalu angkat merejuk Endu' Kumang Subang Betanduk . . .

Then up jumps Maiden Kumang Subang Betanduk . . .

"Aku tu' sidi di jari ujung tunjuk,
Aku tu' bisa di nyawa dabung rasuk,
Aku deka' nguji nanyi bunga kusuk."

"I am effective in the tips of my fingers,
I am powerful in the voice that passes through my closely-spaced teeth,
Therefore I wish to sing to the *kusuk* flower."

"Nuan enda' tau', laban nuan kelalu gauk,
Enggai ka bunga kusuk kami bubuk nengan batang."

"You cannot, for you are too impulsive,
Lest the middle of the *kusuk* flower stalk be eaten through by weevils."

Selampandai then chooses the next young woman who volunteers. After she has sung to the flower, the shaman, adopting a reportive voice, then describes their actions, as he and his companions replace the various parts of the flower with indestructible objects such as metal wire, ceramic jars, ritual cloth, brass cannons, bells, shell armlets, and beads. Thus, for example:

Nat ka urat ke nyerangkap nganti' Rechap
Ngerabat ngena' kawat selung temagi,
Naka' meh pugu' bunga kapu diganti Lansu'
Enggau kerebu tinchin tusah ati.
Naka' meh anak pun bunga kebun,
Naka' meh anak limbu' bunga kapu,
Diganti enggau kumbu' ampang menyeti.
Batang bunga Rajang kayak gantang baka pinggang bedil besi . . .

Lifting up the thickly growing roots, *Rechap*
Binds them tightly, using heavy brass wire,
Indeed, the rootstock of the *kapu* flower is replaced by *Lansu'*
With a set of metal rings.
Indeed, the stem of the *kebun* flower,
Indeed, the delicate young *kapu* flower,
Is replaced with a ritual cloth of *ampang menyeti* design.
The orchid stem now grows straight and strong like the waist of an iron cannon . . .

The new flower makes music and is described in terms of extravagant vitality, its leaf-stalks and branches spreading in every direction over enormous distances. Attracted by its fragrance, Selampandai's sweethearts now arise and gather around to admire the plant.

Ambai Selampandai, tunang Usam
Laban rengut bunga tanam,
Pala' iya luga'-luga' nunga'ka la' terang bulan.
Naka' meh anak urat ke ngerakap
Udah diganti Rechap
Enggau kawat selung betangkan ,
Naka' meh anak pugu' bunga kapu
Diganti Lansu' enggau terebu tinchin suran . . .

Selampandai's sweetheart, the fiancée of *Usam*,
Drawn by the fragrance of a planted flower,
Inclines her nodding head toward the halo of the bright, shining moon.
Truly, the small spreading roots
Have been replaced by *Rechap*
With heavy, many-stranded wire,
Indeed, the young rootstock of the *kapu* flower
Has been replaced by *Lansu'* with a damask ring . . .

Unlike the patient's soul, the plant image is not personified. Thus, there is no pursuit or capture of the *bunga*. In addition, it exists separately from the body, and so there is no return journey to the longhouse nor re-enacted insertion into the body. Lacking personhood, and so a voice in the chants, the *bunga* offers little scope for dramatic enactment. While the *manang* covers himself with a cloth the moment he finishes singing and faints as his soul is said to leave his body to participate in the action of replacing the parts of the *bunga* with indestructible objects, there is no condensed ritual drama that takes place after he regains consciousness. Nor does the chant contain a blessing. Instead, in the last stanzas, the *manang*, adopting the impersonal voice with which he began, invites his audience to behold the now radiantly transformed "flower":

Bebatang letu'-letu' anak rengut bunga kapu,
Peda' daun iya nadai layu', rutan bepandang,
O . . . bepandang rutan . . .
A . . . wa . . .

The luxuriantly branching *kapu* flower is sweet- smelling,
Behold, none of its leaves are withered; its tendrils shine,
Oh . . . its tendrils shine . . .
A . . . wa . . .

With this, the *manang* usually begins his next *pelian*.

Rite to Journey to the Land of the Dead

Our final example is the chant that accompanies the *pelian nyembayan*, literally, 'the rite to journey to the afterworld' (*Sebayan*). Here, the *manang*'s soul, accompanied by his *yang* and celestial shaman companions, travels to the land of the dead in order to bring back the patient's soul that has prematurely journeyed there. The present version was recorded in 1991 and was sung, like our first example, by Manang Asun during the same longhouse performance. The chant consists of 215 lines of verse, of which 189 represent reportive or reported speech, making this the most conversationally constructed narrative of our three examples.

The chant opens very much like our first example, with a dramatic, trilled "*a . . . wa . . .*," sung with considerable intensity, followed by a metaphoric image encoded in deep language:

A . . . wa . . .
Iya jawa' merundai di tangkai, nuan jawa',
Tabur di rimba' ngaki memperan . . .
A…wa… ngaki emperan.

A . . . wa . . .
The millet hangs down on the stalk, you millet,

Sown broadcast on land newly felled from high forest at the foot of a plain.
A . . . wa . . . at the foot of a plain.

This is followed, again, by a series of contextualizing lines, now representing the shaman's own voice, that locate us temporally (it is now late in the evening) and define, from the shaman's perspective, the work at hand (to ask about our friend, the Lost One).

Tu' baru lama' lemai,
Udai nya' baru kami Gepi, bali' Nyara',
Ke betanya' kaban Gemitan, kaban kami.

It is now late in the evening,
The time has thus come for us *Gepi*, transformed *Nyara'*,
To ask about our friend, the Lost One, our kin.

Immediately following this opening, the shaman encounters a series of birds, each of whom he interrogates in a question-and-answer dialogue. In the version sung by Manang Asun, the *manang* encounters no less than thirteen birds (see Sather 2001a: 278–291). The cumulative effect of these dialogues is not only to slow the pace of events, but to dramatically heighten the suspense that surrounds the shaman's search. The soul asks each bird whether it has seen, passing by its home, the patient's missing soul, referred to here as *Gemitan*, 'the Lost One.' Each bird answers in a riddle, the solution of which "explains" why it failed to see the patient's soul. For example, the second bird the shaman encounters is the *burung kejira'*, or warbler. The Iban associate this bird with rice fields, for the *kejira'* frequently builds its nest in fields, always around the time of harvest, attaching it, oftentimes, to the stalk of a rice plant. When they encounter these nests, Iban farmers generally leave them undisturbed, and once the young hatch out, the birds abandon their nests. The Iban equate this with their own practice of residing in temporary field huts until they finish harvesting their rice, after which they similarly abandon these huts and return to the longhouse. Thus, the reason the *kejira'* failed to see the passing soul was because, in answer to the riddle, it was busy building a temporary

field hut. These riddles, represented as reported speech, have the effect of drawing the shaman's human audience directly into their solution. They also mark a movement from hidden meaning to clarity.

"Nya' alai kati ku' nuan Burung Kejira'?
Bisi' deh nemu Gemitan, kaban kami,
Tepejuh jauh ke temuda' padi rutan?"

"If that be so, what say you, Warbler?
Do you know anything of the Lost One, our kin,
Who has run away to a distant farm planted with *rutan* rice?"

"Au' deh Lansu, kaban Nyara',
Nadai kami Burung Kejira' nemu utai
Laban kami rindang bedampa' temuda' padi jeluan."

"Truly, *Lansu*, kindred of *Nyara'*,
We Warblers know nothing of that
For we pass our time building temporary field huts on farms planted with *jeluan* rice."

The exact order in which the birds appear is also crucial, for each marks a way-station on an itinerary of travel that moves from the immediate vicinity of the longhouse, where the shaman's journey begins, through rice fields (i.e., warblers), fallowed secondary forest, primary forests, and, finally, to the borderlands that separate this world from the afterworld of the dead. Also, as with other Island Southeast Asian people (cf. Forth 2007), birds, for the Iban, are associated with temporality and the alternation of day and night. In terms of temporality, the movement here is also from daylight to dusk, signaling an inversion of time that marks the transition from this world to the counter-world of the dead, where night and day are reversed. Thus, the next to last bird that the *manang*'s soul meets is the *sebalangking* (unidentified).

"Kati ku' nuan deh Burung Sebalangking biring?
Bisi' nuan deh nemu Gemitan,
Kaban kami Menani, adi' Linsing?"

"What say you, red-brown *Sebalangking* Bird?
Do you know anything of the Lost One,
Kin to us *Menani*, younger brothers of *Linsing*?"

"Au'", ku' jaku' Burung Sebalangking biring,
"Kami tu' nadai nemu utai,
Laban kami rindang nyerumba' linda',
Nyang kuning benyawa beketaing
Ngemata ka puting jamban Titi Rawan.
A . . . wa . . . Titi Rawan."
"Truly," says the red-brown *Sebalangking* Bird,
"We know nothing of this matter,
For we pass our time in the dim twilight,
Calling to the yellow-crimson sunset,
Like a ringing [bell], we guard the end of the Bridge of Fear.
A . . . wa . . . the Bridge of Fear."

Again, the solution to this riddle is familiar to most Saribas Iban and relates to the habits of this bird which, in the evening, makes a bell-like call that is said to signal the coming of nightfall. When farmers working in their fields hear this call, they know that it is time to stop work and start for home. But twilight is also the time when the souls of the newly dead cross into the afterworld. The Bridge of Fear (*Titi Rawan*) crosses a chasm, called Limban Deep (*Limban Dalam*), that divides this world from Sebayan (Sather 2003a: 190). Moving on, the shaman's soul now meets the *Bubut* Bird, the final bird it encounters and the guardian of this bridge, and from it learns that a party of souls has recently crossed into the afterworld.

"Tu' baru kati nuan burung bubut?
Bisi' deh nuan nemu Gemitan, kaban kami,
Tepejuh jauh anyut ke buntut jalai danjan?"

"Now what say you, *Bubut* Bird?
Do you know anything of the Lost One, our kindred,
Who has bolted away, and so drifted to the end of the path that leads to the afterworld?"

"Au' deh Lansu, kaban Likup,
Lebuh aku duduk ba pala' tangga' lemai kemari',
Bisi' aku ninga nyawa.
Sida' iya bejaku' bekegut.
Kangau ka aku, enggai nyaut.
Tangkap aku rapas jeput,
Nama pengujung enda' telechut
Ari julut bau nandan.
A . . . wa . . .
Beguai betundi' enggau Endu' Dara Lemaie'.
Nya' kumbai Kumang Sebayan."

"Truly, *Lansu*, kindred of *Likup*,
When I sat at the head of the entry ladder yesterday evening,
There I heard the sound of voices, like the din of a large crowd,
The sound of many people speaking.
I called out, but none would answer.
Catching one of them, I snatched whomever it was for a moment,
But, in the end, the tips of his shoulders
Came loose from my hands.
A . . . wa . . .
He was hurrying so that he might flirt with Maiden Lemaie,
Also known as Kumang of the Afterworld."

The *bubut* (common coucal, *Centropus sinensis*) is thought by the Iban to call out to the souls of the dead in an attempt to persuade them not to cross into the afterworld; hence, in this world, the call of the

common coucal is interpreted as an omen that signifies that someone has just died. Maiden Lemaie is a spirit who welcomes the newly dead when they arrive in Sebayan. Following his *yang*, the *manang*'s soul now enters the afterworld. In doing so, the longhouse of the dead becomes visible.

. . . rumah panjai Sebayan danjan. . . dulu' nadai,
Tampai Matai tambai ti' dipansik . . .

… then the longhouse of the dead, invisible before,
Can now be seen by *Matai*, who approaches
it to inspect a warning sign . . .

In the *leka pelian*, the *manang*'s soul, accompanied by his spirit helpers, now enter the house of the dead. Here, in a notable reversal, the voices of the dead cannot be heard, for, although they speak, their words are unintelligible.

Lalu bejaku' bala yang Lansu
Enggau sida' ke indu'
Bejaku' enda' nyengala leka be-isik-isik.

Then a troop of *Lansu*'s spirit helpers speak
With the women [of the afterworld],
But they cannot make out their words for they speak in whispers.

Next, by means of a dramatic deception, the shaman and his companions snatch away the patient's soul. Before the *pelian nyembayan* begins, the *manang* first instructs his hosts to fashion a *menarat beras*, an image of a monitor lizard (*menarat*) made of husked rice. Before he starts to sing, the shaman places this image in a winnowing tray beside him (see fig. 3). In his narrative, the shaman, at this point, introduces what the spirits of the dead perceive to be a living monitor lizard into their longhouse. Like the rice image, this lizard is white, and so, starkly visible to the spirits of the dead. In the confusion that follows, while the spirits try to drive off the lizard, the shaman's spirit helpers seize the

Fig. 3. Monitor lizard made of husked rice (Menarat Beras).
Photo: Clifford Sather, late 1990s.

patient's soul and, with it, begin their journey back to the living world. Here, the *manang* narrates these events rapidly in reportive speech. After the slow, elaborately related search for the soul, recreated through the medium of dialogue, this return is swift, as the shaman and his spirit helpers fly back, using, again, a ritual cloth for "wings." As in our first example, the restored soul is now described as flushed with health.

Tak bekelanji semengat bai' Menani
Pulai pagi niti sentali rumah raya.
Bekelendu semengat bai' Bidu
Tama' nuju pintu ke belagu manah baka
Tama' ke bilik baik semengat bai' Rechap,
Kaban Satik, baka tasik ngumbang kuala,

Duduk nukung semengat kurung kami Empung
Pebenung benda menaga.

And so, the fair soul brought back by *Menani*
Returns in the morning,[10] walking straight through the grand longhouse.
Looking healthy, the soul brought back by *Bidu*
Approaches the finely decorated door,
Then enters the apartment, the soul brought back by *Rechap*,
Kin of *Satik*, as spacious as the rolling sea beyond the river mouth.
The soul sits deep in thought, enclosed by us *Empung*
Inside the belly of a dragon jar.[11]

With his soul secured, the patient is now blessed by the gods. Again, this blessing is highly formulaic and, through the medium of quoted speech, the shaman, again, incorporates the voices of the gods into his chant:

"Enti' pia', pemedis ila' nya' nadai nyadi apa',"
"Gerai nyamai'," ku' jaku' Indai Selampandai dara.
"Gayu guru'," ku' jaku' Biku Bunsu Petara . . .
A . . . wa . . . Petara.

"If so, present ailments, by and by, come to nothing."
"Be well and contented," says Mother of Selampandai.
"Long life and wisdom," says Biku Bunsu Petara…
A . . . wa . . . Petara.

Finally, the narrative concludes, as in our first example, with the ascent of the soul and the shaman's spirit companions to the summit of Mount Rabung:

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[10] I.e., the time at which a session ends.

[11] The base of the *pagar api* (shrine) on the longhouse gallery consists of a jar described as a *kurung semengat*, literally, a 'container for the soul' (see Sather 2001a: 150). Part of a plant, either a banana leaf or stalk of bamboo, representing the patient's plant image, is inserted into this jar. Hence, the shaman has these objects directly in front of him as he sings these lines.

Nya' baru niki' ngagai lenggi' lenggang telaga,
Perejuk gantung semengat bai' Rechap, kaban Empung,
Tanggung tanggung ulih yang kami Tegung,
Anak jelu remaung sana.

Now ascend to the rim of the highest pool,
Jump, hanging, the soul brought back by *Rechap*, kindred of *Empung*,
Is lifted upward by our spirit helper *Tegung* (Roar),
Animal son of the *sana* tiger.

Nya' baru nampuk ka tuchung
Rabung tampak benama…
A . . . wa . . . nama.

Now alight on the summit
Of famed [Mount] Rabung . . .
A . . . wa . . . famed.

Encoded in this final stanza is, again, a dramatic movement through social and ritual space. Having accomplished its task in the unseen world, and with its spirit companions restored to the summit of Mount Rabung, the *manang*'s soul now returns to the visible center of the human community—the longhouse gallery—where the *pelian* itself is being performed. Thus, what Bauman (1986: 4) has called the "narrative event" and the "narrated event" are brought full circle. In other words, the event in which the chant is being narrated and the event depicted in the chant narrative become, momentarily, one and the same. At this point, on the gallery, the shaman's soul re-enters his body. With this, he regains consciousness and displays to his audience the patient's soul, now momentarily visible. He then leaves the gallery and enters his patient's apartment, signifying a further level of movement, from, in this case, the communal space of the gallery to the family and personal space of the apartment. Here, as prefigured in the *leka pelian*, the shaman re-inserts the soul, pressing it into his patient's head. With this, the once-straying soul is restored to its proper state of invisibility, safely inside the body. Correspondingly, as the "narrated event" ends, the audience's attention is now returned to the everyday

world in which the "narrating event" is set. A conjunction thus occurs of seen and unseen realities and of the major divisions of the Iban social world—the longhouse, family, and individual—and within the individual, a reunion of the body and soul. Prefiguring all of this, at the conclusion of the chant, the *manang*'s narrating voice merges with the voices of all of those who assisted him in his just-completed journey.

Conclusion

Language use is a significant component of virtually all ritual practice. As Webb Keane (1997: 48) notes, such practice tends to be characterized by "highly marked and self-conscious uses of linguistic resources." Among these uses is a tendency towards formalization, textuality, and monologue rather than dialogue.

In connection with the latter, Joel Kuipers, in his exemplary study of ritual speech among the Weyewa of eastern Indonesia, defines dialogue as a form of "contextualized speech," in which discourse is fragmented "into distinct positions," with "multiple performers" each expressing his or her own "unique, subjective perspective" (1990: 66). While positively valued in some social contexts, such as in litigation, dialogue, Kuipers argues, potentially connotes (for the Weyewa at least) disorder and lack of unanimity. Consequently, in Weyewa society, major ritual occasions are marked by an opposite shift toward "entextualized speech" which, by contrast, is monologic, rather than dialogic, and so, in the Weyewa view, approximates the highly valued, authoritative and all-encompassing monologic "voice of the ancestors."

The way ritual speech is employed by Saribas Iban shamans is premised on very different assumptions. Here, at the outset, the underlying intent is to evoke, not suppress, multiple perspectives. In the highly animistic setting of traditional Iban religion, the shaman must actively engage with a diverse host of human and non-human agents—souls, spirits, deities, and the dead. To do so requires not only taking into account the unique points of view represented by these different agents, but an ability to evoke and personify them by incorporating their different voices and distinct perspectives directly into the chants he sings. Shamanic rituals are, to a notable degree,

open-ended. At the outset, the nature and causes of affliction are uncertain and are revealed to the shaman's audience only as these rituals unfold in the course of night-long curing sessions. In most chants a dialogic discourse of reported speech plays an important part in this unfolding process. Much as in litigation and other forms of community negotiation, the shaman acts as an intermediary, and through the medium of reported speech engages these various narrative persona in a dialogic exchange by means of which their individual involvement in the patient's affliction is revealed and addressed.

Out of these exchanges, the shaman undertakes, with the aid of his spirit helpers and celestial shaman companions, an appropriate line of action. What is notable here is that, in performing his *pelian*, the shaman not only plays the part of a singer, but also that of an actor in the chant narratives he sings. As a singer, the *manang* oftentimes speaks in a multitude of clearly differentiated voices, but as an actor, while his voice is generally plural, it most often serves as a reportive voice, reporting on and directing the main actions portrayed in the chants. In the West, we tend to think of each individual as possessing a unique personality with a sufficient degree of internal coherence so that, across different contexts, he or she normally speaks with the "same voice." As a number of writers have pointed out (cf. Trawick 1988: 212), this is not a universally held perception. Here, the role of the Iban shaman is a clear and significant exception. The *manang*, in performing his *pelian*, not only speaks with more than one voice, not all of these voices are his own. Some are those of other narrative persona. In addition, his own voice, as we have seen, is characteristically plural and so is capable of incorporating a shifting array of perspectives, at times, differentiating his own voice from the voices of others, at other times, absorbing other voices into his own and so speaking on their behalf.

Characteristically, as each chant concludes, the use of reported speech diminishes. Reported speech has a distancing effect, and as a chant ends, boundaries tend to dissolve, as the shaman, as a ritual participant, ceases to distance himself from the other participants portrayed in his chant, thus eclipsing, for a moment, any distinction between dialogic and monologic speech. In this way, the shaman's voice now signals a transition to a transformed state, a life-restoring conjunction of seen and unseen realities in which all voices, his own, his celestial shaman companions and even his human audience, now speak as one.

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A Tuva Burial Feast in the Taiga

DÁVID SOMFAI KARA and LÁSZLÓ KUNKOVÁCS BUDAPEST

This field report is an account of a trip made by ethnophotographer László Kunkovács and Dávid Somfai Kara, writer of the present lines, to the Tuva Republic (Russian Federation) in 1995. Somfai Kara studied Tuva folklore and shamanic traditions, while Kunkovács took pictures.[1] We followed in the footsteps of Vilmos Diószegi, who conducted fieldwork in Tuva in August and September, 1958.[2] In August 1958 he traveled to northeastern Tuva or the Tozhu Region,[3] where he collected shamanic songs from ordinary people, because the shamans themselves were too afraid of the local authorities to perform rituals or sing their songs and prayers. He collected information on shamans in the village of Iy. We also visited this village, but we did not find any active shamans there. However, we met some old people who still remembered Diószegi from those days. Later, in Toora-Khem, the administrative center of the region (*rayon* or *kožuun* in Tuva), we met a female shaman by the name of Tatiana who had been initiated a couple of years before and became

[1] Some of these pictures were published by Kunkovács (2006: 64–67) in a photographic album with Hungarian text.

[2] Diószegi published a book (1960) intended for the general reader that was based on his diary of the first four expeditions he made to Siberia between 1957 and 1958. This book was later translated into English (Diószegi 1968). His diary and letters were published in Hungarian (Sántha ed. 2002; for the section regarding his fieldwork in Tozhu, see 214–217).

[3] Diószegi published only one article on his fieldwork in Tuva (Diószegi 1959).

a member of the Dünggür, a post-Soviet society of Tuva shamans.[4] She invited us to a burial feast in the taiga that she was to perform for some members of a family of Tozhu-Tuva reindeer breeders. The Tozhu-Tuva reindeer breeders are closely related to the Toha[5] of Khöwsgöl in Mongolia and the Tofa of the Irkutsk Territory of the Russian Federation.

Tatiana, the Post-Soviet Shaman

Tatiana, who was from the Salǰak clan, was 40 years old at the time (born in Kyzyl-Taiga, Süt-Xöl kožuun, western Tuva, 1956), and she was the mother of five children. She started to have a shamanic illness at a very young age, but the family was afraid to initiate her because her father was a leader of the local Communist Party organization. So they kept her illness a secret and she worked as an economist. Later they moved to Tozhu, and after the fall of the Soviet system she was finally initiated and the family found out that she had shamanic ancestors (*dös*)[6] on her mother's side (*daay*). An old man from Bay-Taiga made her a shaman's drum (*dünggür*).[7] Elderly Tuva people made drums secretly during Soviet times. Tatiana had a driver and a secretary who helped her to conduct rituals for the local community. Having met with Tatiana the preceding day, we were collected from our hotel by her driver and secretary, who took us to a sacred site where the shaman was to perform the burial feast. Although she was not from the taiga region, local people accepted her as their shaman because most of the shamans of Tozhu had passed away.

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[4] *Dünggür*, meaning 'Shamanic Drum,' was the first association of shamans (*xamnar niitileli*) in Tuva and was founded by the famous writer and researcher Mongush B. Kenin-Lopsan in 1993 (see Kenin-Lopsan 1997: xxiii).

[5] In scholarly literature we find this ethnonym in different forms: Tokha, Dokha, etc., but in fact it is the *tïwa* ethnonym pronounced differently in Taiga Tuva dialects. In those dialects (Tozhu, Uda, and Khöwsgöl) the vowel /w/ becomes /h/, while /ï/ is a labialized /o/. The Toha form is sometimes pronounced as Toɸa due to further labialization (Russian *tofa, tofalar*), but they are simply dialectical variations of *tïwa*.

[6] The word *dös* (Old Turkic *töz*) means 'root' and it is similar to the Mongolic *uγ* and *udqa-iǰaγur*. Some *ēren*s believed to have shaman ancestors (*ēren dözü*) are also mentioned by Vajnštejn (1978: 461–462).

[7] On the *dünggür* and its initiation, see Vajnštejn 1968.

This acceptance led to the mixing of local traditions with those of western Tuva, which Tatiana incorporated into their rituals. In post-Soviet times tribal shamans have often been substituted by shamans coming from other places, which leads to modification of the local traditions.

The Burial Feast

The burial feast[8] took place on the 49th day (*dörten tos xonuk*)[9] after the death of the person, whose spirit (*sünezin*) had to be seen off. The deceased, a reindeer-keeper, died at a young age because of an illness, and his family had come to Toora-Khem to say farewell to his spirit (*sünezin üde-*), which would be leaving his body on this day. The ritual was held by Tatiana's sacred tree (*bay-ïyaš*)[10] in the taiga near Toora-Khem. When we had all gathered by the tree, the shaman purified the site with her drum (pl. 12) and by sprinkling milk around it (*ǰažïg*) with a special spoon (*tos-karak*).[11] By this means she also chased away evil spirits (*aza*),[12] who can hide in dark places. She then lit a fire, on which we had to put the dead person's favorite foods and other presents (pl. 13 *a*). The fire is a way to symbolically feed the spirits, and it can transfer gifts to the other world. Afterward, the shaman invoked the spirit

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[8] The belief that the spirit (*sünezin*) of the deceased leaves for the other world is widespread among the Turks of Inner Asia. Burial feasts are observed among most of the Turkic peoples of Inner Asia. The ritual is based on the belief that the spirit of the deceased leaves the body in two phases. The Muslim Kazakh and Kirghiz hold the burial feast (Kazakh *as ber-*) on the seventh and 40th days after the death, because the spirit leaves the body on the seventh day and departs to the other world (Kazakh *o-düniye*) on the 40th day.

[9] The traditional 40th day must have changed to the 49th (7 x 7) day due to Buddhist influence among the Tuva. Both the *Mahāvibhāsa* and the *Abhidharma-kośa* Buddhist texts refer to the notion of the intermediate state (Tibetan *bardo*) lasting "seven times seven days" at most. The intermediate state after death is *sipdai bardo* (the sixth form of existence) before rebirth.

[10] Sacred trees were also mentioned by Diószegi (1968: 187).

[11] *Tos-karak* literally means 'nine eyes' because the spoon has nine little holes for the nine directions, skies, and planets; see Kenin-Lopsan 1997: 118.

[12] The Old-Turkic form of this word is *ada*, also used by Mongolic peoples; see Kenin-Lopsan 1997: 110.

of the deceased person using an idol or sacred object, called *eeren* in the Tuva language, which she attached to her hand. She communicated with the spirit and said farewell to it. After that she retreated with the widow to tell her, in secret, the last wish of the deceased. The last has to remain a secret. What was left over of the food was consumed by the participants in the ritual. The family members were happy to say farewell to the spirit of the deceased and to consume their last meal with his spirit. Tatiana also performed a divination from the ashes of the fire to ascertain whether the spirit had found its way to the other world (pl. 13 *b*).

The shaman was wearing a shamanic hat (*böʕrt*)[13] adorned with raven feathers. She had a shamanic drum (pl. 14), on whose handle the owner spirit's (*dünggür eezi*) face was carved. She also had a shamanic mirror (*küzünggü*). The shaman explained to us that the raven feathers are important because the raven (*kuskun*) is the helper and interpreter for the shaman during her trip to the spirit world. The raven spirit leads her during the trance when her spirit leaves her body.

The Idol on the Hand

The idol attached to the hand is a sacred object that can replace the shamanic drum during a daytime ritual. This *eeren* had three bells that communicated with the spirit. A bear's claw and an eagle owl's claw[14] were also attached to the idol, as well as ribbons used for sacrifice (*ǰalama*, Yakut *salama*, Mongol *ǰalaγa*).[15] This ribbon sacrifice is well known among the Turkic and Mongolic peoples of Inner Asia.

The *eeren* is a general term for sacred things and objects. It is related to the word *ee* 'owner,' so it means that sacred things are possessed

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[13] The /ʕ/ is a pharyngeal voiced sound pronounced in Tuva after some short vowels, e.g. *aʕt* 'horse.'

[14] Vajnštejn considers *eeren* as idols of animal spirits protecting people: "The most frequent appearance of *ērens* in the capacity of zoomorphic *ongons* is in the form of snake, bear, crow, hare, sable, swan, cuckoo, eagle-owl, eagle, duck, falcon, horse, bull and other animals. The main function of most *ērens* was to protect man from the demons of disease." (1978: 458)

[15] See Vajnštejn 1968: 335.

by a spirit. It is similar to the Mongolic term *ongγon*, which literally means 'sacred.' So *eeren* and *ongγon* have similar meanings and they do not correspond merely to the term 'idol'; any sacred things can also be called by that name. The Tuva word *ïdïk* 'sacred' is basically used for sacred animals offered to a spirit (Vajnštejn 1978: 461), while *eeren* can be an idol, object, place, or anything that is owned by a spirit. It can also be called *eelig* 'possessed.' Objects attached to the idols symbolize a sort of 'world model' related to the three layers of the World, just like shamanic drums. These idols sometimes can be used as substitutes for drums.[16] Shamanizing with an idol attached to the hand is not as powerful as shamanizing with a drum. Shamans using other types of sacred objects (e.g. *dayak* 'shamanic stick')[17] cannot fly as they can by using a drum, and they are regarded as shamans on foot (*ǰadag xamna-* 'shamanizing on foot'). Since the use of shamanic drums was prohibited in Soviet times, and there were only a few people who could make those drums, their substitution by other devices started to become more common.[18]

Sacred Trees of the Shaman

The ritual was held by a sacred tree (*bay-ïyaš*), which symbolizes the mythical tree between the Lower and Upper Worlds. Usually this is a Siberian larch (*dïï*), so it is also called *bay-dïï* 'sacred larch.' It helps to communicate between the spiritual worlds and it assists the spirit of the dead person to make its journey. However, Tuva shamans have other types

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[16] Kenin-Lopsan gave some illustrations of various *ēren* idols in his book: *ïdïk-oʃk ēren, emegelǰin ēren, kuskun ēren, adïg ēren, küzünggü ēren, ala-mōs ēren* (Kenin-Lopsan 1997: 119–122, plates 1, 3, 12–18, and 23).

[17] Also called *üš-dayak* 'three staffs' because it has three branches at the top; see Diószegi 1968: 238–241 and Kenin-Lopsan 1997: 121, pl. 18.

[18] I have observed similar kinds of sacred objects among the Altay-Turk Telengit minority. Ariman, a Telengit shaman in the Kosh-Agash district had a *bös-tünggür* 'cloth-drum' that substituted for the shamanic drum and was used as an idol and a shamanic device to achieve trance while calling the spirits (*körmös*). See Somfai Kara 1998: 242 (in Hungarian).

of sacred trees, like the *xam-ïyaš* 'shamanic tree,' where the helping spirits (*dös-ǰayaan*) of the shamans live. Tatiana would also visit her shamanic tree (pl. 15) to perform sacrifices and prayers to the helping spirits whom she invoked during rituals. Another type of sacred tree, called *tel-ïyaš*, is a tree with one root (*dös*) but two or three separate trunks (Kenin-Lopsan 1997: 118). Ancestor spirits are also called root (*dös*) in Tuva. The *tel-ïyaš* symbolizes the different families of a clan, and it is believed to have magical abilities that give healing power to the shamans.

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Book Review

EMMA WILBY. *The Visions of Isobel Gowdie: Magic, Witchcraft and Dark Shamanism in Seventeenth-Century Scotland*. Brighton, Portland, Toronto: Sussex Academic Press. 2010. ISBN 978-1845191795. xi + 604 pp. £75

Emma Wilby's *Visions of Isobel Gowdie* forms a welcome progression—and a very substantial one—to her earlier *Cunning Folk and Familiar Spirits: Shamanistic Visionary Traditions in Early Modern British Witchcraft and Magic* (2005). The author's determination to link early-modern Scottish witchcraft with shamanism is evident in the titles of both works, and provides a justification for reviewing the latest contribution within the pages of *Shaman*.

Isobel Gowdie was a peasant wife, tried for witchcraft at the height of one of the Scottish witch trials in 1662; her four confessions survive in court autographs from the time, and are reproduced in transcribed form in the present work. The confessions are unique among witch-trial documents in their level of detail and vividness, and offer unparalleled scope for analysis.

The breadth and depth of Wilby's presentation of Scottish witchcraft, both as a historical and a religious phenomenon, is to be highly commended—indeed, her study constitutes a major contribution and advance in witchcraft studies in general. While she concentrates on the confessions of one particular witch, she contextualises all aspects of these confessions through research into a wealth of contemporary documents. Wilby is careful to tease out what is particular in Isobel's statements, and what is representative of more widely recorded tradition. She also differs from the majority of historians (at least until recently) in viewing the confessions as relating events experienced by Isobel as real (which is not, of course, the same as factual), rather than merely as forced confessions elicited in a sort of show-trial: she follows in the footsteps particularly of Carlo Ginzburg and Éva Pócs, and by applying similar principles of

comparative-religious research to a new geographical area she blazes a trail towards a general reinterpretation of early-modern witchcraft as a religious (rather than simply social) phenomenon.

Wilby offers perceptive and comprehensive analyses of many aspects of Isobel's confession, which lead into considerations of some of the major features of early-modern culture. The range of analysis is extraordinarily wide, and just a few examples from the many insights which arise from the careful research undertaken can be mentioned here. Thus the vividness of Isobel's accounts is compared to that found in contemporary story-tellers, and the question posed of whether she was a village bard (this being of particular interest from a shamanic point of view, as a narrative gift was almost a prerequisite for a shaman to perform his duty of communicating the reality of the spirit world to his audience); Wilby then notes how the nicknames Isobel uses relate, in many cases, to known medieval ballads, suggesting her immersion in this story-telling tradition. The intellectual and cultural backgrounds of each individual concerned in the trial are considered in great detail, which brings to light a range of perspectives: the prosecutors, for example, are not merely dismissed as unsympathetic religious bigots (though their strong Calvinist beliefs are acknowledged), but a picture of each of them is built up, and suggestions made as to how the specific form the confessions took was a result of this particular group of men's input, in combination with Isobel's own vivid narrative skills. The interplay between elements of different traditions within the confessions is also brilliantly teased out: while the devil figure may in part have derived from native notions of an elf king, Isobel's image also derives from biblical and Christian tradition, where God appears as shooter of arrows and St Michael leads a heavenly host; the devil's appearance in the form of a deer or roedeer, like some sort of shamanistic animal helper, is taken directly from the Song of Songs. Even the direct delight in the devil's sexual prowess derives, argues Wilby, from a literal reapplication of the erotic (but metaphorical) imagery of the Christian *unio mystica*, the 'marriage' between Christian devotee and Christ. Yet—and this is typical of her approach throughout—Wilby does not allow just one interpretation to suffice as a wholesale explanation: thus the difficulty posed by the accounts of sexual encounters

with Satan is also illuminated by comparing them with false-memory syndrome, as perpetrated by various American psycho-analysts very recently, in which a victim is convinced she actually remembers what her questioner wants her to remember, and elaborates upon it. Insights such as these not only add to our knowledge of the workings of witchcraft and society at this period, but indeed force us to reformulate it.

One area where Wilby rather falls down is in her presentation of the texts of the confessions. These were last edited by Robert Pitcairn in 1833 in his *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. III; he lightly standardised layout and so forth to ease the reading, and provided helpful glosses to the many lexical and cultural obscurities. Wilby uncovered the autographs and presents her own transcription; her rendering is more or less diplomatic, which, while technically perhaps more authentic, is far less approachable than Pitcairn's version (and serves no discernible purpose within the study). She was unable to read as much of the text as Pitcairn, yet makes almost no reference to his readings. The text is in itself exceedingly difficult, even for proficient native speakers of English, let alone any non-English-speaking readers, yet Wilby fails to provide any translation or even any glosses, wholly ignoring Pitcairn's careful scholarship. This is not the way to edit an obscure text. As things stand, I found myself forced to use the old Pitcairn edition (fortunately easily accessible online) in order to fathom the text, which rather undermined the point of having the new rendering at all. More widely, there are problems with citations from original sources throughout the volume: the reader is given glosses for some obscurities, but this is done in a sporadic way, and often no help is given for precisely the most difficult dialect words. It is of paramount importance to ensure that readers are able to understand the texts which are being interpreted; Wilby, regrettably, marks a step backward here from Pitcairn two centuries ago.

Wilby writes in an engaging and accessible way: the reader's interest is maintained throughout, not least by the ingenious way in which the web of detail is brought to bear on the interpretation of the confessions. The overall feeling is of a scholarly detective story, which is what a good study should be. Succinct the book is not, however. Many passages tend to be laboured; had some judicious pruning been applied, as

well as consignment of some materials to footnotes, the overall impact would have been greater. Also, I found myself irritated throughout by manifold examples of sloppiness, albeit primarily on a minor level: *inter alia*, incorrect syntax, misuse of words and (especially) punctuation, and misspellings abound ('analyze'—*recte* 'analyse' in English publication, 'oreinomancy'—*recte* 'oneiromancy', 'phinotissa'—*recte* 'phitonissa', 'phenomena' incorrectly used as a singular, etc.), and errors such as 'Ælfric' misspelled as 'Aleric', or Burchard's *Corrector* inaccurately described as a law book, and, more seriously, a failure to distinguish Old English and Old Norse tradition (Norse *æsir* mentioned alongside Old English *hægtessan* as if from one tradition). While these problems do not greatly detract from the overall significance of Wilby's achievement, the book would clearly have benefited from some judicious editorial and copy-editorial intervention on the part of the publisher.

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The topic of shamanism is taken up in Part II of the book. Let us make no mistake: Wilby performs an immense service in highlighting how Isobel Gowdie's witchcraft worked in a similar manner to the shamanism of many spiritual practitioners of Siberia and other traditional shamanic areas. The essential point—which has eluded many historians—is that Gowdie and her ilk believed that they had direct contact with the spirit world (probably effected during some altered state of consciousness), and could use this contact to the benefit of the community. This shifts the whole paradigm of witchcraft away from being merely a construct of fanatical Christian persecutors to being, at least in part or on occasion, a genuine and coherent form of spirituality distinct from Christianity, and which in broad terms may be compared with phenomena such as shamanism; while Wilby is not the first to do this, her contribution is perhaps the most far-reaching so far undertaken. While I do have a certain deep-rooted unease with aspects of Wilby's approach, it is important to emphasise the significance of her overall achievement before outlining some of the problematic areas.

Whilst the acceptance by a historian of the validity of the spiritual dimension of witchcraft is welcome, one feels that Wilby, in her discus-

sions of shamanism, has moved out of her comfort zone of historical research, the depth and thoroughness of which has already been noted. By contrast, the treatment of shamanism is relatively superficial. Taking the bibliography as a starting point, the reader may be disappointed to find no mention of the many detailed and diverse Russian studies (often available in translation), or even works such as S. M. Shirokogoroff's *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus* (published in English); modern classics such as Anna-Leena Siikala's *Rite Technique of the Siberian Shaman*, or the broad-ranging and fundamental works of Åke Hultkrantz, or the many studies of spirit beliefs by Ivar Paulson, similarly go unmentioned, as does Lauri Honko's study of illness missiles (which Wilby discusses at length). We do not even find Eliade's popular and substantial survey of shamanism. We do have Piers Vitebsky's *The Shaman*: Vitebsky is, of course, a fine scholar, but this short introductory work, alongside just a scattering of others, scarcely constitutes a foundation on which to build general studies of supposed shamanic traditions.

Wilby's orientation to shamanism is revealed in her choice of a definition of the term produced by a psychologist (Roger Walsh) rather than a scholar of comparative religion such as Siikala or Hultkrantz. Since Mircea Eliade's well-known definition of shamanism, the element of trance or altered state of consciousness has been downplayed, since it has come to be realised that the majority of any (Siberian) shaman's activity does not involve this; yet Walsh's definition continues to emphasise it (presumably trance is of particular interest to psychologists), while adding that it is undertaken for the sake of the community. There is a need, indeed, for a general term for activity involving direct contact with spirits (or the spirit world) on behalf of the community; I am not convinced that 'shamanism' should be appropriated for this, for several reasons. Essentially, we tend to end up with a sort of scholarly sleight of hand: on the one hand 'shamanism' is defined in wide terms like Walsh's—which in the end merely identifies a characteristic of practically every spiritual tradition on earth, including Christianity—while on the other some sort of connection is implied with traditions of shamanism which are so termed as a result of a narrower definition (which, however, is never expressed and hence cannot be determined). Thus the illogical inference is drawn that a tradition which falls within

the wide definition must also have characteristics of shamanistic traditions in the narrower sense; for example, there is nothing in Walsh's definition which requires the presence of helping spirits, hence it is logically beside the point to even mention them in order to demonstrate the presence of this wide form of shamanism in Scotland. In practice, Wilby's approach is much more inductive: she adduces examples from traditional shamanic societies (and, to be fair, from non-traditional ones like Christianity) to point out similarities with the Scottish records in order to establish early-modern witchcraft as a bona fide example of shamanism. However, we are given no rationale for this inductive approach. Thus we have no thorough account of the features of shamanism that we might expect to find as general or widespread characteristics, no discussion of the coherence of these features within a systematic spirituality, and no consideration of the huge differences that exist between the traditions of Siberia, South and North America, Africa etc. from which her analogues are drawn.

The approach actually adopted has some notable weaknesses. While the analysis in terms of Isobel's confessions is thorough, it is patchy from the perspective of well-documented traditional shamanism. Wilby cherry-picks analogues from across the globe which coincide with what she believes to have been happening in Scotland. She tends to label as 'shamanistic' without argumentation anything which bolsters her case: the Wild Hunt, for example, was possibly 'shamanistic' (on Wilby's wide definition), but it is not shown to have been so (i.e. an envisioned experience, as opposed to a mere folk narrative tradition), nor is it a feature of traditions which are generally accepted as shamanistic. Nor is the resurrection of slaughtered animals from their bones, a feature of hunting societies, a characteristic of shamanism per se, as Wilby would have it. Similarly, she misspecifies as 'shamanistic' features which are commonplace throughout the world, such as transfer of sickness and death from one person to another.

Despite these problems, and even though we are left without any precisely delineated comparison, the overall conclusion seems sound, that Scottish witchcraft resembled traditional Siberian or American shamanism to a marked extent. Readers more specialised in particular forms of shamanism may make detailed comparisons for themselves,

since, fortunately, the particularities of Isobel Gowdie's beliefs and activities are set out and analysed in great detail. Indeed, it is here, in her analysis of the Scottish material, that Wilby's strength and greatest contribution really lie: she shines in her ability to explain the underlying beliefs and practices as a believed-in and experienced spiritual reality, a coherent and motivated response to the life that Isobel Gowdie and her compatriots led, and perhaps strives too hard to demonstrate in all instances that the explanations are 'shamanistic'. She offers many important insights that help build up this coherent picture, often only tangentially related to shamanism but no less significant for that: for example, she brings in the little-researched phenomenon of mutual dreaming to explain how visits to the witches' sabbath, involving several participants, could have been experienced as real; she looks in detail at how anyone could willingly have adopted the devil as a helping spirit, noting that Isobel's parish of Auldearn was one of the most devoutly Calvinist, and possibly even antinomian, in Scotland, where preaching the doctrine of predestination would have left many to conclude they were not saved and hence it was futile to follow God—at least the devil offered some comfort in this life; she considers analogues for the performance of *maleficia* as constituting a benefit to society, as a means of accepting but limiting the damage the forces of the underworld can wreak.

Wilby's reinterpretation of witchcraft is likely to bring a breath of fresh air into some rather stultified schools of historical research, which have tended not to see any reality in the descriptions of witches' activities. Scholars of comparative religion are perhaps less likely to find the conclusions so unexpected, though they may still be taken aback by the level of detail with which Wilby has been able to argue her case for the reality of the spiritual dimension of witchcraft. Whether we should call this spirituality 'shamanism' is a moot point: Wilby has resurrected one form of witchcraft, and by implication witchcraft in general, from being an invention of maniacal Christian inquisitors into a credible form of spirituality which must be considered by any researcher in the field of comparative religion.

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Plates

1 A *mehmoed* holds her set of five copper chains and has her copper mirror laid on an embroidered mat in front of her feet. The two objects in the foreground are bamboo-root blocks for divination. Photo: Kao Ya-ning, 2005.

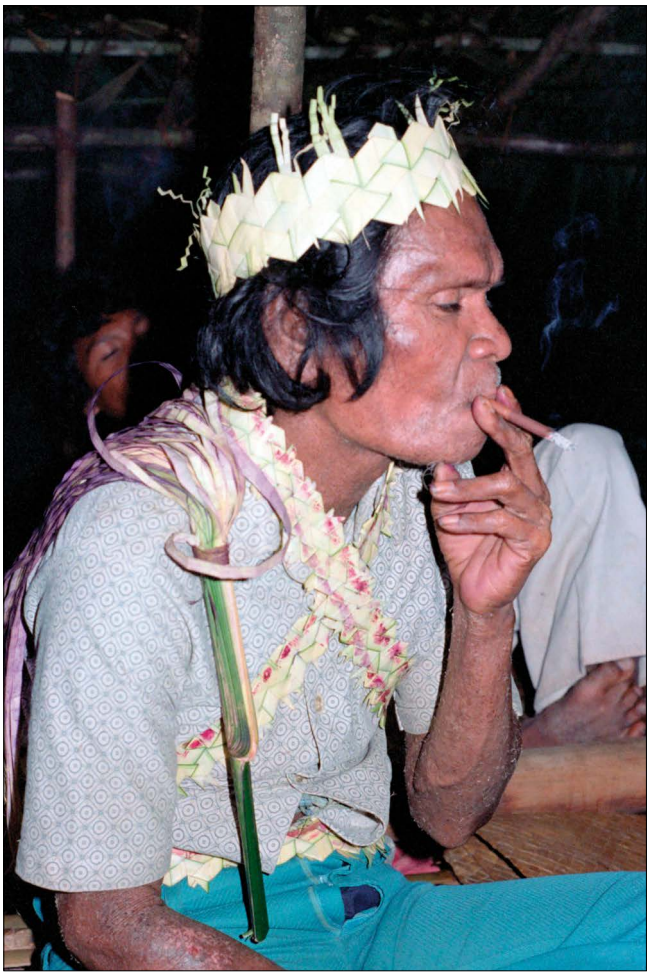
2 *a* Singing shama.

2 *b Teng Kijai* accoutrements.

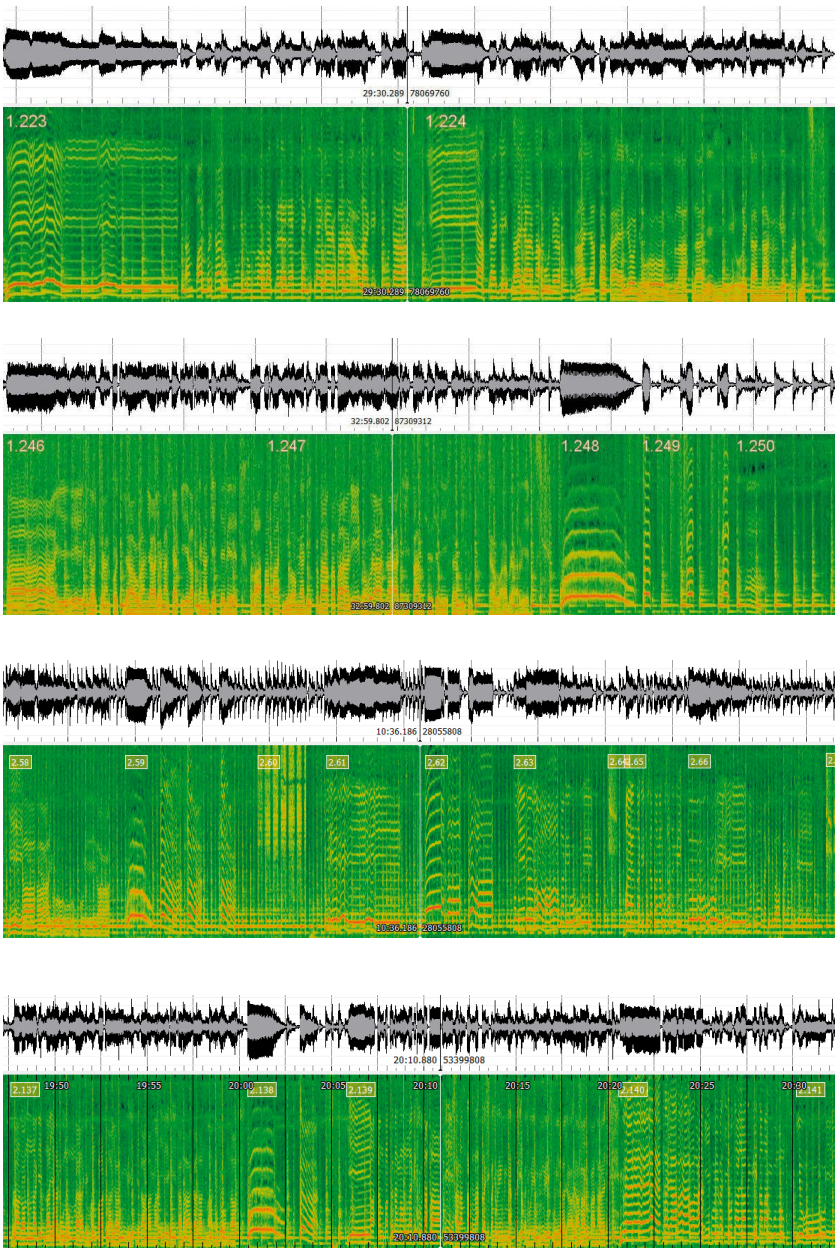
2 *c* A traditional Temoq *dol* (house). Photos: Peter F. Laird, 1973.

3 *a* Shaman conversing with patient.

3 *b* Shaman incanting over *berteh*. Photos: Peter F. Laird, 2008.



4 Shaman heavily drawing on a cigarette just before the start of the performance. Photo: Peter F. Laird, 1981.

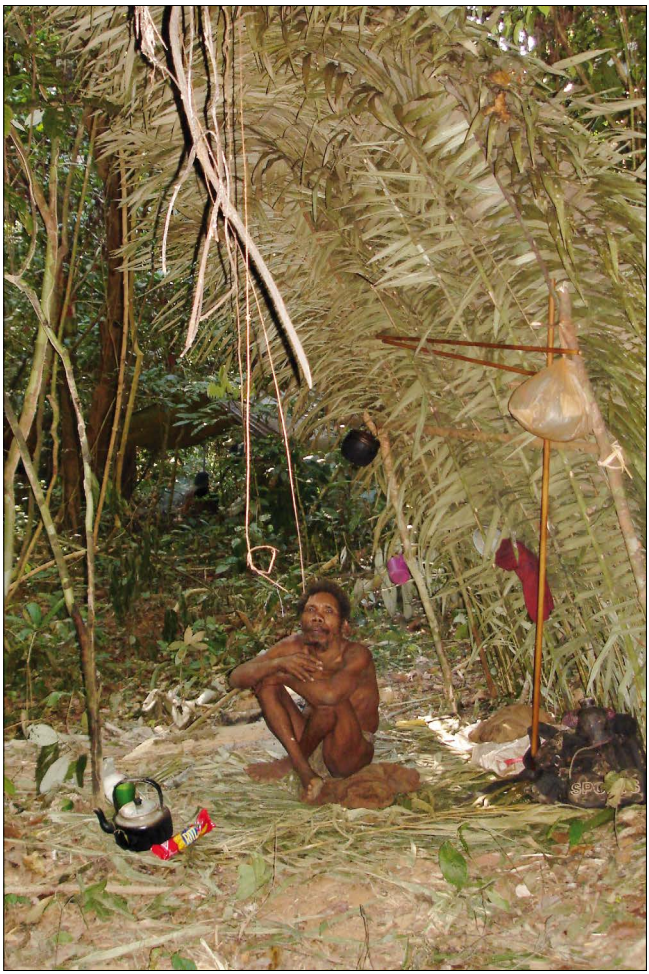


5 a, b, c, d *Teng Kijai* sonograms displaying several key acoustic patterns

6 *a* Asperging *daq ceput* on patient.

6 *b* Absterging with *dap ceput* on child. Photos: Peter F. Laird, 1981.

7 Convincing *Minan*. Photo: Peter F. Laird, 1983.



8 The Batek *halak* Macang in his shelter in the Taman Negara jungle (Peninsular Malaysia). Photo: Diana Riboli, 2005.

9 The Chepang *pande* Dam Maya in trance, traveling to the underworld with her drum (Nepal). Photo: Diana Riboli, 1994.

10 Therapeutic chants during a Chepang shamanic ceremony (Nepal) held in order to treat the lady on the left in the picture. Photo: Diana Riboli, 1993.

11 The Chepang *pande* Narcing during the annual ceremony held in honor of Namrung, god of hunting (Nepal).
Photo: Diana Riboli, 1995.

12 Shaman Tatiana with her drum (*dünggür*) by the sacred tree (*bay-ïyaš*) at the beginning of the burial feast. Photo: László Kunkovács, 1995.

13 *a* Tatiana pours some milk on the fire to offer it to the spirit (*sünezin*) of the deceased. The mourning family members sit around the fire.

13 *b* Tatiana performs divination from the ashes of the fire after the ritual.
Photos: László Kunkovács, 1995

14 Tatiana wears her shamanic attire with feathered headdress and holds her drum during the ritual.
Photo: László Kunkovács, 1995.

15 Tatiana visits her shamanic tree (*xam-ïyaš*) to perform a sacrifice after the ritual. Several sacrifices can be seen at the foot of the tree. Photo: László Kunkovács, 1995.