

主编 郭淑云 王宏刚  
辽宁人民出版社

Edited by Guo Shuyun and  
Wang Honggang  
Liaoning People's Publishing House

# 活着的萨满

——中国萨满教



LIVING SHAMANS: SHAMANISM IN CHINA  
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# 序

——米哈依·霍帕尔

中国是地球上最大的国家之一。在她的土地上居住着50多个不同的民族。在这片土地上，我们可以了解到12个不同少数民族的萨满仪式，这些仪式在他们的文化中扮演着重要角色。本画册是在中国出版的第一部综合性专题图集，作者们提供了一幅处于中国文化边缘的少数民族的萨满图景，这是第一次。有关中国诸族的萨满教或者中国民间文化本体中的萨满形象（村巫），现成的资料非常少（至少根据一些学者的解释和推测，指涉萨满的通古斯词似亦缘此词根而生）。<sup>1</sup>

我们在长春的同仁们撰写的这本画册是一部重要的原始资料，在今后的年代里，许许多多从事该领域研究或者萨满教比较分析的学者，将大量引用这本出版物。更多的人因为它所容纳的200多张彩色照片而参考之。这些照片的价值在于它们是真实的。它们不是预先布置的场面，而是真实反映诸族生活习俗的快照，保存了参加者的行为举止。这样，这些照片把凝固的片刻留给了下一代，供他们保存。本画册将古老和现代合而为一。

确实，对于一个来自遥远的文化以观察者的身份参与中国生活的访客来说，这些有关地方少数民族萨满教的照片，令人想起19世纪末和20世纪的情况。这些照片反映的是在当今西伯利亚不再可能见到的古代萨满教。尤其从事欧亚萨满教研究的学者，将感谢本书和它的作者们，因为他们可以在书中的每一页找到用于比较研究的取之不尽的原始资料。由此举例来

说，作者们描写了用来避邪的平铜镜的功能，以及有关它们护心的假想事实（布里亚特萨满和图瓦萨满仍然把它们看作是重要的“天赐”萨满饰物）。祭祀树的功能也是一个核心主题——作为假想的事实，在满族仪式上有通天的宇宙树，在萨满宇宙观中有九重天。

在杀牲祭祀仪式中萨满扮演的角色非常重要——就满族的例案来说，事先要由萨满置备用来祭祀的马。几乎所有的欧亚族群（包括伏尔加流域的芬兰——乌戈尔人）都表现出这样的仪式要素：他们把烈酒倒入祭祀动物的耳朵里，如果它颤栗，那就是神灵接受牺牲的征兆。作者们的照片和解说词证明了这样一个事实：即没有祭祀和随后的聚餐，就没有萨满仪式。这也表明，萨满仪式是加强社群凝聚力的场合。

同样显而易见的是，敬祖是萨满教最重要的因素之一。自然，萨满诸神的突出角色是从最杰出的英雄和最勇敢的武士产生的（例如满族文化中的巴图鲁腾尼）；但我们在其中也发现了大熊星座的7个神灵。当然，身怀绝技、能量超人的萨满（例如能蹈火的萨满）也深受敬重（我必须说明，我更喜欢看到有关照片的解说词更详细、更长）。

外国读者怀着极大的好奇心打开这本画册，因而也对古老的中国原始资料寄予更高的期待，他们希望读到来自中国古籍的较长引文，这些古籍不容易读到，而且提到萨满（或者起到同样社会作用的宗

<sup>1</sup> 作者此处似乎指前面提到的“村巫”，即萨满的原义与“村巫”有关。——译者

教专家)。搜寻和引用这些文本，是中国学者的任务。他们有责任从不断增多的岩画复制图册所提供的资料中选择有代表性的东西。就拿眼下这本重要的原始资料画册来说，它本应当准确交待每个照片的拍摄地点（村名）和时间（年），这是很重要的。当然，我们知道这些照片大致是在80~90年代拍的，是作者们20年的工作成绩。对于这些作者，我尤其要感谢他们百折不挠的工作精神——他们不怕困难，坚韧不拔地从事研究，并因此以视觉形式抢救了宝贵资料。

最后，让我回顾一下与本画册作者们密切相关的个人经历。正是在我1993年初访问中国的时候，我和我的满族同仁初次在长春市相见。多亏他们的帮助，我目睹一位满族老萨满初入神灵附体之境——他的面部神态保留在我当时拍的照片上。我的《萨满：灵魂和象征符号》一书的匈牙利文和日文版本（布达佩斯，1994；东京，1998）的封面采用的就是这

张照片。

回想当初，我们已经计划出版一本民族学画册，它包括大量照片，就像我自己那本。它就是读者手里拿的这本画册。它所关注的完全是中国东北地区的诸民族。我们希望我们的中国同仁也出版一本关于中国南方诸民族同样迷人的萨满教的类似画册。出版这样一本画册并非易事，和出版眼下这本画册一样难。但是，国际萨满教研究会作为从事该领域研究的学者们的国际性组织，将给予他们的工作全部道义上的支持。

出版这部设计精美、富于知识的画册，表明了庞大的中国对少数民族文化的尊重。对于多种文化传统如何与主流文化共同繁荣来说，它是一个典范。传统仍然有生命力，这对于少数民族来说尤为重要，因为中国在其他各个方面都向前迈出了巨大的一步。但是，除非文化政策尊重地方传统，否则发展就不能保持平衡的过程，其进步也不能代表真正的进步。



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# PREFACE

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— by Mihaly Hoppal

China is one of the most immense countries of the Earth. Its territory is inhabited by over fifty different nationalities. In this territory we can acquaint ourselves with the shamanistic rituals of twelve different national minorities which all play an important part in the culture of these peoples. The present book is the first comprehensive illustrative monograph produced in China and the authors provide a picture, for the first time, of the shamans of the small nations living on the edges of Chinese culture. There is very little information available about the shamanism of the peoples living in China or about the shaman figures of Chinese folk culture itself (the village magician). (The Tungus word for shaman probably also comes from this root, at least according to some scholarly explanations and hypotheses.)

This book by our Changchun colleagues is an important source, a publication which will be much quoted in the following decades by numerous scholars who work in the field or the comparative analysis of shamanism. And even more people will turn to it for the sake of the more than two hundred color photographs that it contains. The value of these pictures is that they are authentic. They are not pre-set tableaux but snap-shots reflecting truthfully the living customs of the various peoples, preserving the gestures and movements of the participants. Thus the photographs pass on to the next generations the arrested moments for documentation. The book is the old and the modern all in one.

Indeed, for a visitor arriving from a distant culture to live the life of an observer in China, the pictures about the shamanism of the local minorities evoke the conditions of the late 19th and 20th century. These are pictures of classic shamanism, which is unlikely to be encountered any more in present day Siberia. Scholars of Eurasian shamanism will be particularly grateful to the book and its authors as they find in its pages an inexhaustible source for parallels. Thus for example, the authors write on the function of flat brass mirrors in keeping evil at bay and about the fact that they protect the heart (Buryat and Tuva shamans still use these as important shaman attributes "received from the heaven"). The role of sacrificial trees is also a central theme – the fact that in Manchu ritual cosmic trees lead to heaven and that in the shamanistic cosmology the heavens consist of nine layers.

The ritual part played by shamans in animal sacrifices was very important – in the case of the Manchus it was the shaman who cleaned the horse before the sacrifice. Almost all-Eurasian people (including the Finn-Ugrians of the Volga area) display the ritual elements whereby they pour strong spirits in the ear of the sacrificial animal and if it shudders then they see this as a sign that the deity has accepted the sacrifice. The photos and descriptions by the authors testify to the fact that there is practically no shamanistic ceremony without sacrifice and the subsequent communal eating. This also shows that the shamanistic rituals were the occasions for reinforcing cohesion within the community.

Similarly evident is the fact that homage to the ancestors is one of the most important elements of shamanism. Naturally, the prominent figures of the shamanic pantheon were provided by the most outstanding heroes and brave warriors (e.g. *Baturu Mani* in Manchu culture) but we also find among them the seven spirits of the Plough star constellation.



Naturally shamans with uncommon skills or abilities were also much respected (e.g. shamans who could walk on fire). (I must note that I would have been glad to see more detailed and longer explanatory captions alongside the pictures of this.)

Foreign readers open this book with a great deal of curiosity and thus expect more with regard to the old Chinese sources. They would like to read longer quotations from Chinese sources which are difficult of access and which mention shamans (or religious specialists fulfilling a similar social function.) To find and quote these texts is the task of Chinese scholars. It is also up to them to select representations concerning the early history of shamanism from among the material contained in the constantly increasing number of books containing reproductions of rock drawings. In the case of such an important source book as the present one, it would have been quite important to name precisely the place (the name of the village) where, and the time (year) when each photograph was taken. Naturally, we know that the pictures were made roughly in the 1980's and the 1990's and are the result of the work of two decades on the authors' part. I am particularly thankful to the authors for their persistence in this labour—for the perseverance with which they carried on with their research in spite of difficulties and thus rescued valuable material in a visual form.

Finally, let me describe a personal memory of mine which is closely associated with the authors of this book. It was during my first trip to China in 1991 that I first met my Manchu colleagues in the city of Changchun. We discoursed in a truly collegial tone about the questions and problems of shamanistic research. I owe them the experience of seeing an old Manchu shaman arrive on the verge of trance—the effect on his face survives in a photograph, which I took at the time. This is the photograph on the front cover of the Hungarian and Japanese editions of my book 'Shamans: Souls and Symbols' (Budapest, 1994; Tokyo, 1998).

Back then we were already planning the publication of an illustrated ethnographic album with a great number of photographs which would be similar to my own book. This is the book presently in the Reader's hand, concentrating entirely on the nationalities of the North Eastern part of China. We hope that our Chinese colleagues will also produce a similar publication on the equally fascinating shamanism of the Southern Chinese nationalities. The production of that book will not be an easy task—any more than it was to produce the present volume, but the International Society for Shamanistic Research, a worldwide organization of scholars involved in this area, will lend its full moral support to back their work.

The appearance of such a beautifully produced and informative book as this bespeaks the respect of the immense Chinese nation for the cultures of small nationalities. It is an exemplary model of the way in which a variety of cultural traditions can thrive alongside the major cultures. Traditions are still alive and this is particularly important of ethnic minorities as in every other way China has taken enormous step forward on the way of progress. But the development cannot be a balanced process and their progress cannot represent a real advance unless their cultural policy incorporates respect for small local traditions.

# 前言

**萨**满教是一种原始宗教形态，曾为生活于北亚、北欧和北美的众多民族所世代信仰。中国北方是萨满教的故乡之一，文化渊源久远。“萨满”是通古斯语的音译。“萨满”一词，最早见于中国南宋著名史学家徐梦莘（1126～1207）所著《三朝北盟汇编》一书：“珊蛮者，女真语巫妪也，以其通变如神，粘罕之下皆莫能及。”此后，“萨满”之称一直在中国史籍中引证并逐渐为世界各国所沿用。

萨满教是北方原始文化的重要载体。它融汇了北方初民史前哲学、历史、文学、艺术、体育、民俗等诸多文化成就。天文、地理、医药、预测等自然科学和交通、渔猎、畜牧、采集、窖藏、工艺等人类生产技术，在萨满教文化宝库中均有所总结和传承。因此，萨满教具有综合性的历史文化价值。萨满教蕴含着北方先民在漫长的历史进程中形成的思想观念，积淀着先民的心理意识，表现出丰富多样的原始文化现象，是北方远古社会极其珍贵的文化“活化石”。

萨满教是氏族文化的精神内核。它所弘扬和体现的氏族至上的集体主义精神，故土观念，生生不息的顽强生存意识，崇尚勇武的英雄主义及以集体的力量抗衡大自然的精神实质，对于北方人类民族精神、心理素质、个性品格以及由此决定的民族性的陶冶与铸造具有重要的作用。萨满教文化是北方民族传统文化的基石。不了解萨满教文化，便无从探求北方民族历史与文化的源流；舍本求末，自然难以获得符合客观事实的科学结论。可见，萨满教文化是探索北方民族社会历史文化的重要途径。

百余年来，萨满教对于人类文化的认识和承继价值早为世界各国学者所认同与瞩目，其

影响已远远超越了地域范围。萨满教业已成为国际人文科学的热门学科。萨满教虽属世界性的信仰体系，但随着现代文明的发展，传统的文化形态迅速更易，原有的信仰观念在一些国度中受到强烈冲击，逐渐成为历史陈迹。相比之下，中国尚存的萨满教活态文化尤显可贵。

中国信奉萨满教的民族众多，地域广阔，历史传承悠久，文化内涵丰富多彩。历史上，我国古代北方民族如肃慎、挹娄、靺鞨、女真、匈奴、乌桓、鲜卑、柔然、高车、突厥等都信仰萨满教。近世，我国阿尔泰语系满一通古斯语族的满、鄂伦春、鄂温克、锡伯、赫哲，蒙古语族的蒙古、达斡尔，突厥语族的维吾尔、哈萨克、柯尔克孜、裕固以及朝鲜族都信仰萨满教。

今天，萨满教这个初兴于氏族部落时代的民族传统文化，仍在中国北方某些区域传播着。因社会发展诸方面原因，中国北方诸族萨满教现存形态错综复杂。西北突厥语族的维吾尔、哈萨克、柯尔克孜等族，自11世纪以来，先后信仰了伊斯兰教，形成萨满教与伊斯兰教相互融合、交混的局面。16世纪中叶，喇嘛教的格鲁派（黄教）传入蒙古草原，并得以迅速传播。蒙古博（蒙古族对萨满的称谓）仍以顽强的生命力在东蒙地区延续至今。蒙古族、锡伯族和部分裕固族都程度不同地受到喇嘛教的影响。满族萨满教自清朝以来已逐渐形成了带有明显程式化特征的家祭形态。汉军旗香祭礼和朝鲜族巫堂祭礼，则鲜明地体现出诸种文化交融综合的形态特征。鄂温克、鄂伦春等民族则长期沿袭传统的生产方式，受外来文化影响较小，依然较完整地保留着萨满教的传统文化。

根据近些年来在中国东北、内蒙古、西北

地区的田野调查,满、鄂伦春、鄂温克、锡伯、蒙古、达斡尔、维吾尔、哈萨克、柯尔克孜、朝鲜等民族至今仍有萨满活动,其中某些氏族仍遵循一定的程式产生氏族承继萨满并仍在举行族祭活动。中国萨满教活态文化的广泛存在,是诸多因素综合作用的结果。直至近代,我国信仰萨满教的部分民族仍以渔猎、游牧经济为主,这种社会经济形态是萨满教存活的沃土。满族、锡伯族、达斡尔族等农业发展较早的民族,氏族制度得到较为完整的保持,这就为以氏族为本位的萨满教的传承创造了条件。萨满教是北方民族固有的原始宗教,在民众心灵深处的影响根深蒂固,已成为民族共同的文化心理。萨满教与初民时期人类的生产生活密切相关,具有极强的功利性。萨满教传承下来的有关生产经验、技术、天文、地理、医药等方面的知识与经验,至今具有一定的实用价值,这是萨满教在现代社会得以存在的内在动因之一。

中国萨满教活态文化是一批宝贵的文化遗产和精神财富。我国东北、内蒙古、西北等萨满教流布区,已成为世界上可以实地考察与研究濒于失传的萨满教文化难得的田野考察基地,日益引起国内外学术界的浓厚兴趣。

中国学者对萨满教的调查始于本世纪30年代初,当时仅限于对个别民族做些专题或零星调查。50年代末至60年代初,随着全国少

数民族社会历史调查的开展,东北、西北地区诸民族萨满教文化遗产也得到了比较系统的考察,奠定了中国萨满教研究的基础。然而,萨满教研究当时尚未引起中国学术界的足够重视,亦未形成专业性的研究队伍。中国萨满教研究出现勃勃生机的局面,是近二十余年来的事情,且具有发展趋势。这种趋势的出现,是民族历史文化研究深化的结果。

80年代初,我们利用各种手段,对北方民族萨满教文化进行了艰苦细致的调查,挖掘、抢救出一批濒于失散的萨满教文化遗产。这期间,国内有关学者也积极开展萨满教文化的调查与研究,成果显赫。本画册正是近二十年来中国萨满教学界田野调查与研究的荟萃。

本画册着力于反映中国萨满教活态文化,侧重于北方诸族萨满神事活动。鉴于萨满教祭礼蕴含着诸多文化内涵,各种崇拜观念交织融会,我们以各种祭礼所反映的主要崇拜观念为依据,对祭礼做了大致的划分。在编辑过程中,我们坚持图片的真实性、系统性、学术性与艺术性相结合的原则,力求图文并茂,使中国首次出版的萨满教画册能够生动形象地展示中国萨满教的现存形态和丰富的文化内涵,为人类文化人类学、原始宗教学、民族学、民俗学、神话学等人文科学的研究提供第一手实证资料,以飨国内外同仁及读者。

## FOREWORD

Shamanism is a primal form of religion. It has been followed for generation after generation by various peoples in North Asia, the Nordic regions, and North America. Northern China is one of the important cradles of shamanism and its long cultural heritage. The word 'shaman' is from the Tungus language and it first appeared in the book *San Chao Bei Meng Hui Bian* by Xu Mengxin (1126–1297); a famous historian of the Song Dynasty. He wrote: "The word 'shaman' is from the Jurchen language. It is an equivalent for 'sorcerer' and 'witch' and signifies one who has magic power that no one but the khan can match." The term 'shaman' came to be used in Chinese literature from then on and has gradually been adopted by all countries of the world.

Shamanism is an important carrier of Northern primitive cultures. It embodies the cultural achievements of philosophy, history, literature, art, physical education, folklore of the northern peoples since prehistoric times. As a cultural reservoir, it has inherited and summed up such natural sciences as astronomy, geography, medicine, and the prediction of the future, as well as such skills as transportation, hunting and fishing, herding, gathering and storing, and craftsmanship. Shamanism has comprehensive historical and cultural values. It embodies the thinking and consciousness of our Northern forefathers as it evolved through a long historical process, reflecting multi-faceted cultural phenomena and becoming a body of extremely valuable 'living treasures' of remote antiquity.

Shamanism is the spiritual core of the clan culture. It has promoted and embodied a sense of community, the concept of the fatherland, a sense of enduring existence, militant heroism, and the essence of collective efforts against nature. It has thus played an important role in the ethos, psychic makeup, temperament, and ethnic characteristics of the clan. Shamanism is the cornerstone of traditional Northern cultures, and one cannot investigate the source and origin of the Northern peoples and their cultures without understanding shamanistic cultures. No scientific results can be gained which are in line with objective facts without piercing the surface to the roots. Therefore, shamanistic cultures are a key to exploring the northern social history and culture.

For more than one hundred years, shamanism has drawn the attention of scholars all over the world as a way to understand mankind and its inherited cultures. Its influence extends beyond regional boundaries, and it has now become a vital international subject for study. Though shamanism is a worldwide phenomenon,

its traditional forms of belief are losing ground in the face of developing modern civilization. Its original belief systems tend to become mere historical artifacts under strong attack in some countries. Shamanism has survived in lively forms in China and is valuable indeed.

There are quite many ethnic groups in China who live over a large expanse of land, enjoy a long history and rich culture, and believe in shamanism. In historical times, Northern groups such as the Sushen, Yilou, Mohe, Jurchen, Huns, Wuhuan, Xianbei, Rouran, Gaoche, and Turkics all believed in shamanism. In recent history, the Altaic-Manchu-Tungus groups of the Manchu, Oroqen (Orochon), Ewenki, Xibe, and Hezhe, the Mongolian branch of the Mongols, the Daur, the Turkic branch of the Uygur, Khazaks, Kirgiz, and Yugur all believe in shamanism, so do the Koreans.

Today, shamanism, this traditional ethnic culture that emerged in tribal times, is still in existence in certain areas of North China. Due to aspects of social development, it is intricate in its forms. The Northwestern Turkic peoples of the Uygur, Khazaks, and Kirgiz converted to Islam in the eleventh century. The result was a mixture of shamanism and Islam. In the mid-sixteenth century, the Yellow Sect of Lamaism found its way into the Mongolian region and spread rapidly. In Eastern Mongolia, the *boo*, as the Mongols call their shamans, have survived with their spirits until the present, but the shamanism of the Mongols, as well as that of the Xibe and some Yugur groups, has received various degrees of influence from Lamaism. Since the Qing Dynasty, shamanism among the Manchu has evolved into a pattern of family worship that is distinctively schematized. The Han-Army Banner Incense Rite and Korean *mudang* rites reflect complex cultural patterns. Less influenced from outside, the Ewenki, Oroqen, and others have long been following their traditional ways, still keeping intact their shamanistic traditional cultures.

According to fieldwork conducted in the Northeast, Inner Mongolia, and the Northwest of China, there still exists shamans among the Manchu, Oroqen, Ewenki, Xibe, Mongols, Daur, Uygur, Khazaks, Kirgiz, and Koreans. Some still follow particular patterns of shaman selection and often hold sacrificial clan ceremonies. The existence of living shamanistic cultures in China results from the simultaneous working of various elements. Until recent history, some ethnic groups that believe in shamanism in China have practiced hunting, fishing, and nomad ways, all of which provide an ideal soil for shamanism to grow in. Those ethnic groups that early developed agriculture, such as the Manchu, Xibe and Daur have kept the clan system relatively well, and that system in turn laid a foundation for the acceptance of shamanism. Shamanism is the original primitive religion of the Northern peoples. It has taken deep roots in their hearts and become a part of their shared cultural psyche. With its strong pragmatic tendency, it was closely related to human productive activities in olden times. Knowledge of and experience in production techniques,

astronomy, geography and medicine were passed down by shamanism and also constitutes an inner stimulus for its survival.

The living shamanistic cultures in China are a valuable cultural and spiritual heritage. The Northeast of China, Inner Mongolia, and the Northwest are all regions where shamanism is practiced. These regions are ideal areas for study and fieldwork on shamanism and are drawing a growing interest on the part of scholars both at home and abroad.

Chinese scholars started their research of shamanism as early as in the 30s, but such research was limited to particular groups and amounted to a limited number of monographic studies and sporadic surveys. In the late 50s and early 60s, with the spreading of nationwide investigations into ethnic social and historical conditions, more systematic surveys were conducted concerning the shamanistic cultures of the Northeastern and Northwestern peoples. These surveys laid a solid foundation for shamanistic studies. However, Chinese academic circles have still not given enough attention to such studies, and a professional team is yet to be formed. Shamanistic studies have taken an upturn only since the last decade, as a result of the increased study of ethnic history and culture.

In the early 80s, using all methods available, we conducted painstaking and thorough investigations into the Northern shamanistic cultures, bringing them to light and saving them when they were on the brink of extinction. Other researchers did the same and produced remarkable achievements. The present album presents the crystallization of fieldwork and research by Chinese scholars of the past twenty years.

This photographic album lays emphasis on the living shamanistic cultures of China, with an eye to shamanistic activities among the Northern ethnic groups. In view of the fact that shamanistic ceremonies involve many cultural elements and notions of worship, we start with the major notions of worship as reflected in various rituals and make a rough classification of sacrificial rituals. We have taken a systematic approach and have insisted in our compilation on both authenticity and artistic effect, trying to be both pictorially rich and textually rewarding. We hope that this album on shamanism, published for the first time in China, can vividly and graphically unfold the extant forms and rich cultural content of shamanism in China. In this way, we also hope that we can provide firsthand empirical data for the study of human cultures, primitive religions, ethnology, folklore, mythology, and other branches of humanistic studies for the enjoyment of our colleagues and readers at home and abroad.

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