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Tatiana Sem

Russian Ethnographic Museum

Saint Petersburg, Russia

ORCID: 0000-0003-3306-3481

E-mail: semturem@mail.ru

The Material World of Shamanic Attributes in the Light of the Theory of Shamanism (on the Example of the Collections of Russian Museums)

ABSTRACT. The article is devoted to the problems of shamanism associated with shamanic visions of the real world on the example of shamanic paraphernalia from the collection of museum collections in Russia. The author proceeds from the premise that shamanism is a holistic (holotropic) vision of the world, reflecting the concept of the connection between man and nature, man and the Universe. Russian museums contain unique artifacts of the traditional society of the XVIII–XX centuries, revealing the ethnic features of the culture of the peoples of Siberia, and characterizing their identity. The paper notes that the problem of collecting shamanic attributes is in the sphere of the currently relevant theory of the materiality of things within the framework of the “ontological turn” in ethnology. The article uses methods of material analysis — comparative-historical, semiotic and iconographic. The task of studying the problem fields of shamanism in the semiotic dimension is set. The article deals with the problem of shamanism in sacred attributes, the problem of sacred landscape, the problem of studying the semantics of shamanic costumes, the problem of initiation, functions and rituals in shamanic ritual sculpture, the problems of attribution of ritual sculpture, the problem of ecstasy and flights of shamans through the worlds, reflected in shamanic iconography. The author came to the conclusion that the shamanic attributes of the peoples of Siberia, stored in the main ethnographic museums of St. Petersburg (MAE and REM), characterize the foundations of shamanic worldview and cult practice. Russian and foreign shamanological researchers, relying on Siberian museum collections, reveal the features of shamanic initiation, paraphernalia, prayer, costumes, ritual sculpture. The value approach to museum shamanic attributes testifies to the great importance of shamanic objects, their high semiotic status, important sacred symbols and can be used as a historical and ethnographic source for analyzing the phenomenon of shamanism.

KEY WORDS: problems of shamanism, museum collections, semiotics, shamanic costumes, paraphernalia, prayer, initiation, peoples of Siberia

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Татьяна Юрьевна Сем

Российский этнографический музей
Санкт-Петербург, Российская Федерация
ORCID: 0000-0003-3306-3481
E-mail: semturem@mail.ru

**Вещный мир шаманской атрибутики Сибири
в свете теории шаманизма
(на примере коллекций музеев России)**

АННОТАЦИЯ: Статья посвящена проблемам шаманства, связанным с шаманскими видениями реального мира на примере шаманской атрибутики из собрания музейных коллекций России. Автор исходит из установки, что шаманизм является целостным (холотропным) видением мира, отражающим концепт связи человека и природы, человека и Вселенной. Музеи России содержат уникальные артефакты традиционного общества XVIII–XX веков, раскрывающие этнические особенности культуры народов Сибири и характеризующие их идентичность. В работе отмечается, что проблема сбора шаманской атрибутики находится в сфере актуальной в настоящее время теории материальности вещи в рамках «онтологического поворота» в этнологии. В статье используются сравнительно-исторический, семиотический и иконографический методы анализа материала. Поставлена задача изучения проблемных полей шаманизма в семиотическом измерении. В работе рассматривается проблема шаманства в сакральной атрибутике, проблема сакрального ландшафта, проблема изучения семантики шаманских костюмов, проблема инициации, функций и ритуалов в шаманской практике, проблемы атрибуции ритуальной скульптуры, проблема экстаза и полетов шаманов по мирам, отраженных в шаманской иконографии. Автор приходит к выводу, что шаманские атрибуты народов Сибири, хранящиеся в главных этнографических музеях Санкт-Петербурга, характеризуют основы шаманского мировоззрения и культовой практики. Российские и зарубежные исследователи-шаманологи, опираясь на музейные сибирские коллекции, раскрывают особенности шаманской инициации, атрибутики, мольбищ, костюмов, ритуальной скульптуры. Ценностный подход к музейным шаманским атрибутам свидетельствует о большой значимости шаманских предметов, их высоком семиотическом статусе, сакральной символике, все эти артефакты могут быть использованы как историко-этнографический источник для анализа феномена шаманизма.

КЛЮЧЕВЫЕ СЛОВА: проблемы шаманизма, коллекции музеев, семиотика, шаманские костюмы, атрибутика, мольбище, инициация, народы Сибири

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INTRODUCTION

Shamanism is a complex concept of holotropic (Kharitonova 2006: 3) vision of the world, the relationship between man and the Cosmos. Shamanism is the key symbol with which Siberia was associated in Europe. Since the 1920s the displays of ethnographic and local history museums of Russia have been showing individual shamanic items, ritual clothing, shamanic places of prayer, ritual sculpture, as exotic objects that attract visitors. The collecting activity of these museums was aimed at assembling both typical and the rarest traditional objects of everyday life and spiritual culture. Shamanic objects occupied a prominent place among them as a reflection of the traditional worldview of the Siberian peoples.

The problem of collecting shamanic attributes lies in the sphere of the theory of materiality, the issues of which have recently been discussed in publications in Europe and Russia. It was examined in the ethnographic literature within the framework of the “ontological turn” and is associated with the concept of B. Latour, J. Lo, K. Knorr Cetina (Baranov 2016: 25; Sokolovskii 2016: 105). According to this concept, a thing was considered from the hermeneutical point of view as an active phenomenon of culture and as a text of culture. According to the Doctor of Historical Sciences, Director of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (MAE RAS) A. V. Golovnev the object of culture should be considered as a “living spiritualized phenomenon in the space of the world” (Golovnev 1995: 197). Candidate of Historical Sciences, head of the Department of Russian Ethnography of the Russian Ethnographic Museum D. A. Baranov offers a method of reading things through constructive, technological and symbolic interpretation in culture (Baranov 2016). When studying the symbolism of a thing, A. K. Baiburin sees a difference in the degree of the semiotic status of a profane and a sacred thing (Baiburin 1995: 82). According to our perception, “a thing is a plot-forming phenomenon of a human life activity system aimed at understanding the world in a man-made form” (Sem 2020: 34). It, “as a product of its own, different from someone else’s, is one of the elements of ethno-cultural specificity, manifested in the symbols and values of culture” (Sem 2021:192).

PROBLEMS OF SHAMANISM IN SACRED ATTRIBUTES

The central ethnographic and local history museums of Russia contain a large number of items of shamanic cult of various peoples of Siberia. There are many rare objects among them. Using the example of the material world of shamanic collections, it is possible to identify some theoretical questions of shamanism related to shamanic attributes, such as the issue of the sacred landscape, the semantics of shamanic costumes, the problem of initiation, functions and rituals, the issue of ecstasy and flights through the worlds, the relationship of man with spirits and animals. The exhibition projects of REM and MAE were of particular importance for identifying these issues. Books and albums, based on the materials of those projects, were published (Sem, Solov’eva 1992; Okladnikov 1996: 90–116; Rosenbohm 1997; Pentikäinen et al. 1998; Gorbacheva, Solov’eva 2006; Kasten 2009). They were aimed at highlighting the essence of the phenomenon of shamanism, concepts of space and time in shamanism, questions of shamanic rituals and functions, ecstasy as a form of shamanic rituals, the sacred role of shamanic places of prayer, ritual costumes, paraphernalia, the social function of shamanism, and others.

The earliest collections of shamanic items in the MAE (within the Kunstkamera of Peter the Great) date back to the XVIII century. The fundamental part of the collections was acquired in ethnographic and local history museums of Russia in the XIX and XX centuries. The earliest ritual sculpture in the MAE was obtained from the Khanty of the Ob River (Western Siberia) in the XVIII century. It is an anthropomorphic figure without arms and legs with the skins of small animals on its head. It was taken by a collector from a special ancestral barn located in the forest (Ivanov 1970: 20).

The collections of the first director of the MAE, L. I. Shrenk consist of sets of ritual sculptures of the Nivkhs and other peoples of the Amur. In his fundamental work “On the Amur Aliens”, he

formulated an ethno-cultural theory of the origin of shamanism among the Amur peoples, highlighting the ancient Central Asian layer of beliefs and the later East Asian one (Schrenk 1903: 109–110). S. M. Shirokogorov, as one of the early gatherers of collections for the MAE, acquired shamanic costumes, ritual sculpture, objects from the shamanic places of prayer from the Tungus of Transbaikalia and Manchuria in the early XX century. He is considered to be the founder of the theory of shamanism of the Tungus. In his fundamental work “The Psychomental Complex of the Tungus”, S. M. Shirokogorov (1935) analyzed the pantheon of spirits, as the core of the animistic picture of the world, and shamanism. He was the first to pose the question of identifying the ethno-cultural complex in shamanism as an ethnic indicator of culture within the framework of the theory of ethnos developed by him (Shirokogorov 1923). His conclusions about the origin of Tungus shamanism, the social role of the shaman in society, the state of ecstasy of the shaman during rituals, the characteristics of shamanic attributes and costume, the formation of shamanism as a result of adaptation to 4 environments (natural-geographical, social, psychological, ethnic) are still relevant (Shirokogoroff 1935). All these questions posed by him will be discussed in this article on the example of the ritual attributes of Siberian shamans preserved in museums in Russia.

THE PROBLEM OF SACRED LANDSCAPE

The problem of the sacred landscape is one of the most discussed topics in Russian ethnology and regional studies. The sacred landscape is viewed by researchers as “part of a geographical and spiritualized imaginary cultural landscape” (Okladnikova 2014: 2) and as “a social space, historical and natural environment of people’s life activity, consecrated by the hierophany of the area” (Yakovleva 2004: 4).

The shamanic place of prayer is part of the sacred landscape. In 1916 S. M. Shirokogorov brought to the MAE some items from a shamanic chum of the Trans-Baikal Tungus people that were used for medical ritual to the lower world of “orgiski”. The ritual sculpture included wooden figures of a bear, mammoth and two anthropomorphic idols. The shaman made his journey along the shamanic river on a raft made of 4 fish, which was supported by a boar. Four assistants were placed in a model of a boat and accompanied the shaman during his journey. Inside the chum there was a burning fire, which was surrounded by 4 figures depicting the spirits of the dead, that helped to bring the sacrificial deer to the spirit of the lower world. The figure of a mammoth was to contribute to making the way to the underworld (Ivanov 1970: 160–161).

P. E. Ostrovskikh in 1902 visited the Yenisei River, the Kets people on the Surgutikha River and brought objects from the ancestral place of prayer to the MAE. He also took a photo of the place. The objects placed on the prayer stand represent 24 large figures of spirits depicting multi-headed family ancestors (from 4 to 5 metres) and several anthropomorphic idols and a small deer, which were brought to the museum. They personified the tutelary deities of the lake, the guardians of the place of prayer. Figures of birds were also installed on long poles to protect the place. Every day the prayer place was supplemented with new figures (MAE Photo Collections № I-1268-43, 221; REM foto. 305-39) (Fig. 1).

The most famous collector and organizer of gathering activities with correspondents from Siberia, A. A. Makarenko brought to the REM a ritual sculpture from the abandoned shamanic place of prayer of the Tungus from the Podkamennaya Tunguska River, a tributary of the Yenisei (Eastern Siberia). The shamanic prayer place was a shamanic chum with two galleries. It was previously described by I. M. Suslov. According to his information, the shamanic chum was built by shaman Hinkorchu (Suslov 1932: 15–22). Modern researchers believe that the shamanic prayer place of the Evenkis represented a model of the world with the depiction of the middle world (the central part is the shamanic chum itself), the upper world (the eastern gallery), and the lower world (the western gallery) (Yampol’skaia 1990: 120–127). The zoomorphic and anthropomorphic sculptures of shaman’s helper spirits played an important role in it. The image of pikes blocked the passage to the lower world. The anthropomorphic khomocon spirits — the souls of the shaman’s ancestors — guarded the entrance to the upper world. The figure



Fig. 1. Ancestral prayer ground on the Surgutikha River.
Chum salmon. The beginning of the XX century. REM fotokol. 305-39

Рис 1. Родовое мольбище на р. Сургутихе.
Кеты. Начало XX в. РЭМ фотокол. 305-39

of a mammoth led the way. The description of the shamanic prayer place can be found in several publications (Suslov 1932: 15–22; Ivanov 1970: 150–160; Anisimov 1958; Sem 2011 (1): 10–11).

The ancestral prayer places of the Khanty also played an important role. The objects from those were brought to the Ethnographic Department of the Russian Museum (now known as the REM) in 1910 by S. I. Rudenko. A large one-legged figure of the sharp-headed spirit of the upper world Elyan was installed on one of such places of prayer (REM, Col. 1711-511). In front of the idol the Khanty performed autumn ritual circular dances, which date back to the Middle Ages, with sabres and spears in each hand in honor of the higher gods (Ivanov 1970: 29).

The sacred barns of the Khanty and Mansi, in which various figures of gods and ancestors who were helping in family life and in different crafts, were kept, can also be referred to as sacred landscapes of Siberia. Images of dancing little men with sabers in their hands were depicted on silver dishes kept as relics in sacred barns (REM Col. 1711-535, 509) (Gemuev, Sagalaev 1986). The Museum of the History of Religion preserves figures of the supreme gods of the Khanty, collected from peatlands and presented at exhibitions dedicated to shamanism.

Among the ritual sculptures and other objects of cult of the Amur peoples presented at the MAE exhibition “Shamans: Mysterious Worlds of the Peoples of Siberia”, an important place was occupied by the shamanic pillars of the Nanai people, installed at shamanic prayer places near the shaman’s house or in the forest. Such pillars of the Nanai from the collection of A. N. Lipsky were made of a tree trunk intertwined with a snake figure and an image of the ayami spirit at the top — a guide through the worlds and the main shamanic patron. A huge ritual shamanic pillar of the Udege people from the collection

of V. K. Arsenyev is presented at the exhibition of the MAE. It differs from the Nanai one as its top is decorated with an eagle yet the trunk of the pillar is wrapped with a snake figure as well. In general, the image of the bird-snake refers to the main initiation shamanic spirit Bokoso.

Examples of the sacred landscape of the peoples of Siberia, reflected in shamanic and ancestral prayer places, characterize the specific relationship between man and nature. The massive shamanic constructions also capture the flights of shamans through the worlds of the universe.

THE PROBLEM OF STUDYING THE SEMANTICS OF SHAMANIC COSTUMES

Shamanic ritual costumes, preserved in various ethnographic and Siberian local history museums and exhibited in a linear composition or as a part of a ritual scene in a shamanic chum next to the attributes, are of great interest. The first detailed comparative analysis of shamanic costumes from the MAE collection was conducted by E. D. Prokof'eva. She analyzed 60 sets of shamanic clothing of the peoples of Siberia and identified ethno-cultural types, characterized the way they were made, noted semantics (cosmic, ancestral, zoomorphic). She wrote that "a shamanic costume is a material expression of the religious ideas of a particular society that created it, as well as images of spirits, complex funeral structures, etc." (Prokof'eva 1971: 7). Prokof'eva identified the earliest types of shamanic costumes that symbolically depict an animal or a bird, a bird-animal. In later versions of shamanic costumes it was common to place the image of the shaman's ancestor (Tofalars, Tuvans, Udege people). The latter group included iron costumes with numerous zoomorphic and anthropomorphic pendants of the Yakuts, Buryats, Evenkis and other peoples, as well as costumes with their drawings among the Amur peoples (Prokof'eva 1971: 84–89). She also determined the specifics of the shamanic clothing of each nation and identified the types of cut (whole-skinned — Kets, Selkups, Evenkis; straight-back — Yakuts; curly — Yakuts, Evenkis, Dolgans; kimono cut — Buryats, Amur peoples, Turks) (Prokof'eva 1971: 98).

The further analysis of the clothing cut of shamanic costumes of the peoples of Siberia from the MAE collections was continued by L. R. Pavlinskaia. She distinguished the whole-skinned type of Keto-Samodeic from the straight-back type and combined it with the Turkic peoples' curly one into two ideological models that are qualitatively different cultural matrices. The first one was attributed to the most archaic type with a totemic worldview system that includes the idea of reincarnation of a person into an ancestor animal, historically first — the cosmic deer (Kets, Selkups, Evenkis). The Turkic cut was referred to as the ancient everyday clothes. The Mongol-Manchu type of shamanic costumes of kimono cut was attributed as a type of tunic that is still common among the peoples of the Amur, Tuvans, Khakas and Trans-Baikal Evenkis, and dates back to the clothing of the medieval peoples of Central Asia. The jacket-like and skirt-like clothing of the Amur peoples are supposed to derive from South and Southeast Asia (Pavlinskaia 1997: 26–43).

While analyzing the published collections of shamanic clothing from ethnographic museums, the famous scholar of the Tungus culture A. A. Burykin in the book "Shamans, those whom spirits serve" noted that "the shamanic costume can in some way be considered a model of the world with the image of the world tree and other forms of depicting the Universe, various figures of spirit-helpers, animal skins", just as a "portable model of an animistic altar" (Burykin 2007: 135).

The author of the current study, T. Yu. Sem, analyzed the semantics of 20 shamanic costumes from the collection of the REM and highlighted various ethno-cultural types in the book "Shamanism of the Evenks" (Sem 2017: 99–151) (Fig. 1, see colore plate section). She concluded that there was a connection between the deer-bird symbol and rock carvings and deer stones of Central Asia of the middle of the 1st millennium BC (Kubarev 1979: 84–90). The depictions of flying deer with bird heads are found in the materials of images of the Pazyryk burial mounds (Rudenko). The bird-like image of the shamanic costume, that is common among the Turks of Southern Siberia (Altaians, Tuvans, Tofalars, Khakas, Amur Evenks) and Amur peoples (Nanai, Ulch, Udege), also goes back to the slab grave culture

of Mongolia and Transbaikalia of the 7–2 BC, where images of eagles, fences and dancing men on the rock stones were spread (Novgorodova 1989: 236–253). In addition, a number of peoples of the Tungus group (the Amur Evenks and the Amur peoples) also have the image of a tiger, a bear or an eagle in the semantics of shamanic costumes (Fig. 2, see color plate section).

THE PROBLEM OF INITIATION, FUNCTIONS AND RITUALS IN SHAMANIC RITUAL SCULPTURE

The first analysis of the ritual sculpture of the shamans of the Amur Nanai (Golds) was conducted by the official for special missions of the Amur Department P. P. Shimkevich in his book. In 1895 he visited the territory of the Kur-Urmiysky district of the Amur region with an expedition and brought a huge collection of shamanic objects to the Department of Ethnography of the Russian Museum (REM), including ritual sculpture, shamanic paintings, shamanic clothing and paraphernalia. His collection of ritual sculpture was of the greatest interest. He was the first to systematize shamanic objects in his book “Materials for the study of shamanism among the Golds”, identifying groups of *seven* idols corresponding, as he wrote, with patron animals. Among those were the groups of the panther yarga, the tiger ambanso, the bear doonta, the group of the fishery complex girki, and the group for the treatment of the seriously ill Duskhu. The most important ones were the group of the patron spirits ajeh and buccu (Shimkevich 1896: 39–59). The further study of ritual sculpture on the example of the objects from the Museum of Fine Arts in Komsomolsk-on-Amur was held by T. A. Kubanova (1992) and on the materials of the Khabarovsk Museum of Local History by G. N. Titoreva (2012: 7–43). Kubanova linked the ritual sculpture with the cosmography of the Amur peoples, and Titoreva described in detail the appearance, functions and semantics of ritual sculpture of the peoples of the Khabarovsk Krai. She associated images of helper spirits with rituals and hunting/fishing cult (bear and tiger worship, water worship), healing magic. Special attention should be paid to the images of the patron spirits Ayami, Buchu, Gorodo, Podya, Dyuli, Masi.

In our research on the attributes of shamanic objects of the Orochi, Nanai, Ulchi, Evenks, Udege people, much attention is paid to ritual shamanic sculpture associated with cosmogonic ideas, rituals, hunting cult and healing magic, initiation (Sem 2011 (1): 324–333; 2015; 2017).

A special study of the ritual sculpture of the Nivkhs from the materials of the REM collections was conducted by A. B. Ostrovskii, who revealed mental schemes of communication with deities and spirits of nature, home, crafts and healing. The psychological approach to ethnography allowed the author to penetrate deeply into the phenomenon of thinking of the indigenous peoples of the Amur and Sakhalin and further reveal the structural-semiotic approach in the worldview, first used by K. Levi-Strauss (Ostrovskii 1997).

THE PROBLEM OF ECSTASY AND FLIGHTS THROUGH THE WORLDS IN SHAMANIC ICONOGRAPHY

The problem of ecstasy has been one of the most controversial topics in shamanic studies since the beginning of the XIX century. The first people to approach it were scholars of the Siberian region who were specifically engaged in the study of shamanism of peoples of Central Asia and Far East. These include the names of such prominent researchers as V. F. Troshanskii, Seroshevskii, Ksenofontov, N. A. Vitashevskii, N. Bichurin, S. M. Shirokogorov, I. A. Lopatin and others. They noted the connection between ecstasy and shamanic illness, the specific mental state of the shaman during the initiation ritual, medical kamlaniya and the seeing off the soul to the world of the dead. Some scholars believed that ecstasy was associated with nervous disease, others, on the contrary, defended the point of view about the strong health of the shaman. The latter point of view was shared by S. M. Shirokogorov. In his book

“The Experience of the Basics of Tungus Shamanism”, he wrote that “the shaman is engaged in dangerous activities to pacify and direct ... spirits in the direction desired by people” (Shirokogorov 1919: 9). And further: “During the *kamlaniya*, the shaman tries to bring himself into a state of *ecstasy* in order to restrain his consciousness as much as possible. At this point his mind, freed from the usual sequence of logic moments, follows a specific sequence that brings up the possibilities for cognition outside the customary framework of his ethnic environment. Apart from that the shaman acquires a number of new opportunities for conscious and unconscious influence on people...” (Shirokogorov 1919: 60). He also believed that “shamanism as a protector is a way of self-defense and manifestation of the biological function of the genus” (Shirokogorov 1919: 61).

The hypothesis of the researcher R. Amayon about the absence of ecstasy in the shamanism of the Siberian peoples seems to us fundamentally erroneous. There is written and video evidence of shamans being in a state of ecstasy during *kamlaniya* (Amayon 2007: 6–18).

In our study of the shamanism of the Evenks, that is based on the materials of the rituals of initiation, the religious function of ritual objects in the place of prayer is revealed. These include the ritual of *umnachen* — initiation into shamans. Among the objects of this complex there are 4 wooden anthropomorphic figures of the ancestors of *Anyakan*, installed on 4 sides of the ritual fireplace inside the shamanic chum, and a figure of a bear placed in the center of it as the main guard and participant of the ritual. The image of the bear embodied the tutelary deity of fire and represented the initiation spirit that passed the shamanic object to the neophyte. The object was seen as the embodiment of the ancestor’s soul and the passing of it was for the purpose of initiation into shamans during the medical *kamlaniya* (Sem 2011 (2): 282–292). Our research also looks into the question of the connection of ritual healing sculpture with the main vital centers of the human body, natural elements and types of diseases on the example of the collections of the REM and the MAE on the Amur peoples (Sem 2011 (1): 405–408) (Fig. 3, see color plate section).

In the ritual practice of initiations, shamans of the Amur peoples used shamanic initiation paintings (Nanai) and images of initiation spirits (Nanai, Udege). Two initiation paintings of a Nanai 18-year-old shaman, acquired during an expedition to the Amur River in the village of Torgon by the collector D. K. Solov’iov for the Department of Ethnography of the Russian Museum (REM) in 1910, had symbolic drawings. They were related to the shaman’s flights through the upper and lower worlds. The painting for the flight to the upper world depicted the supreme deity and two horses with the *chintamani* pearl on the saddle, a sacred Buddhist object for wish fulfillment. When acquired, the shaman would gain clairvoyance and the patronage of the deity. The second icon used for the *kamlaniya* to the lower world depicts fanged boars and fish – helper spirits of the shaman. The American ethnologist M. Harner, who studied shamanism of the Indians of North America and practiced shamanism himself, wrote about the formation of a shaman when being taught to fly to the upper and lower worlds in search of patron and helper spirits (Harner 1994) (Fig. 4, see color plate section).

The category of shamanic initiation spirits of the Amur peoples, the images of which are stored in the REM and the Khabarovsk Museum of Local History, include the Ayami, Buchu, Mangi, Masi sevens. Each of them had its own functional purpose. They were all guides to the worlds of the universe. Ayami had an anthropomorphic appearance; Masi was associated with the image of a bear, the master of fire; Buchu was the patron of a shaman in the form of a bird-snake; and Mangi was associated with the image of a tiger or bear, an anthropomorphic spirit. The Udege people had a special spirit of clairvoyance in the form of a bird-man (owl) (Sem 2015: 357–362).

In our opinion, the images of initial spirits preserved in museums of Russia are connected with the concept of an altered state of consciousness and ecstasy among the peoples of Siberia.

M. Eliade wrote in his book about shamanism that this phenomenon is a “technique of ecstasy” and emphasized the role of the shaman’s mental activity in ritual practice, his magical-religious life in an archaic society. He notes that “the shaman is a specialist in trance, during which the soul, as is commonly believed, leaves the body to ascend to heaven or descend to hell” (Eliade 2000: 9–10).

The well-known religious scholar E. A. Torchinov connects shamanism with early Near-Eastern and ancient religions with the dominance of perinatal archetypal experience, in which unity with the mother, the Universe, the experience of death and rebirth is achieved (Torchinov 1998: 12, 34, 45–46). However, he also writes about their transpersonal experience associated with the following: meeting a shaman during initiation and shamanic flights through the worlds with deities and archetypal entities, experiencing the rise of kundalini, identification with the world consciousness. The presence of the transpersonal experience only is associated with world religions (Torchinov 1998: 37). The collections of the REM, the MAE and other Siberian museums store sacred shamanic objects that can indicate the experience of transpersonal ideas as well.

V. I. Kharitonova, a leading modern shamanologist, studied this phenomenon on the example of the peoples of Southern Siberia and came to the conclusion that the main aspect of shamanism and witchcraft is the shaman's ability to work in an altered state of consciousness (Kharitonova 2006). Shamanologist P. V. Bersnev, who studies shamanism of the peoples of South America, writes in the book "The Sacred Cosmos of Shamans" that shamanism in a sense is not closer to religion, but rather to the field of spiritualism, extrasensory perception, clairvoyance. Paraphrasing M. Eliade, he notes that "the cosmo-theological concept of shamanism is transformed into a specific mystical experience" (Eliade 2000:11; Bersnev 2014: 82).

Thus, the shaman cult objects, stored in Central and Siberian regional museums of Russia, make it possible to characterize the main issues of the theory of shamanism related to shamanic visions in real life.

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Рис. 1. Шаманский костюм. Эвенки. Енисейская губерния, р. Сым.
Конец XIX — начало XX в. РЭМ кол. 5589-1, 2 ав

Fig. 1. Shamanic costume. Evenkis. Yenisei province, Sym River.
Late 19th — early 20th century REM Col. 5589-1, 2 av



Рис. 2. Шаманский халат. Нанайцы. Дальневосточный край, р. Амур, с. Торгон.
Конец XIX — начало XX в. РЭМ кол. 11406-1ав

Fig. 2. Shamanic robe. Nanais. Far Eastern Region, Amur River, the village of Torgon.
Late 19th — early 20th century. REM Col. 11406-1av

