

An “Enic” Perspective on the Music of the Manchu–Tunguz Peoples of Siberia

MARILYN WALKER

SACKVILLE, N.B., CANADA

As with Indigenous Peoples everywhere, Siberians define their future in terms of their traditions. The Indigenous Peoples of Russia identify music as central to their identities as distinct nations and ethnic minorities within the new Russian Federation. Music asserts their collective identity as Native Peoples in relation to the dominant Russian ideology and culture and as minority peoples in the global context. The expression, preservation, and revitalization of a diverse but unifying musical heritage are seen as key to sustainable cultural, economic and political development in Sakha today. The traditional circle dance of the Manchu–Tunguz Peoples of Sakha as well as Sakha’s High Music School and Jew’s Harp Museum are discussed in relation to these themes. The theoretical and methodological implications are explored through definition of the concept “enic” to suggest new ways of researching indigenous music which can inform the social sciences generally.

Introduction

A rapidly expanding interest by academics in indigenous knowledge (IK) has not acknowledged music as a key means by which culture is preserved, expressed and passed on, yet music articulates the collective spirit of Indigenous Peoples more than any other carrier of culture. Through scholarly inquiry and the western gaze, the music of Indigenous Peoples has been secularized and historicized. Western science has marginalized indigenous music (IM) as an expressive art with few theoretical implications.

“Outsiders” are used to conceptualizing indigenous music, analyzing it and objectifying it. By doing so, we distance ourselves from it. It is difficult for us as westerners, scientists and academics, used to relying

on our powers of observation, to become engaged in its multisensory and holistic nature. We can teach ourselves to become so, however, not through study but through the experience of indigenous music. This deep experience of music is characteristic of indigenous cultures.

Emic and etic (common approaches in ethnography) are dualistic terms that ignore the underlying unity of existence which is at the basis of indigenous music. I suggest a new term "enic," meaning "entering into" which provides for an experiential and intuitive approach to understanding indigenous music.

In this paper, in which I explore the music of the Siberian Native Peoples of Sakha, I suggest new ways for conceptualizing and researching indigenous knowledge, and especially indigenous music, which can inform the social sciences generally. Sakha is home to a diverse and ancient musical heritage which is represented in the circle dance of the Manchu-Tunguz Peoples, Sakha's High Music School and its Jew's Harp Museum, as well as in family traditions and individual performances.

Shifting Research Paradigms

Since the 1960s I have been working in indigenous communities with a continuing interest in the epistemology of indigenous knowledge. More recently, my work as a medical anthropologist in the healing traditions of Eurasia and the Pacific Rim has merged with my "other" interests in playing music especially percussion, and in applying various shamanic techniques therapeutically. It was not until I made visits to Russia beginning in 1999 that I began to consider music *as* indigenous knowledge, however. From these and subsequent visits to Siberia (as well as India and Southeast Asia), I began to understand how music accesses and expresses the deepest levels of the indigenous experience. Music can help us to more fully understand this experience as well as benefit from it on many levels.

These visits incorporated conferences with work in Moscow and field trips to various regions of Siberia, and were a unique opportunity for foreign and Russian researchers to work with Indigenous Peoples and Russian officials (Siberian Native Peoples among them) of the

republics of the new Russian Federation. Together, we represented a broad range of perspectives on the study of the concepts and praxis of various genres of indigenous knowledge, of which music has become a focal one for me.

The 1999 International Congress on Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices brought in healers including shamans from Siberia into Moscow, inspiring my investigation, both scientific and experiential, into shamanic music. The 2000 conference, "Musical Ethnography of Manchu-Tunguz Peoples," provided a rare opportunity to meet with indigenous performers, composers, linguists, elders, shamans, descendants of shamans (Walker 2004), historians and artists in their home territory, the newly established Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) now a sovereign state of Russia. Bokova Evdokia Nikolaevna (Kulun-Elbut, Momski Region) composed a healing song for me, changing forever my perception of music and healing. Among other things, I experienced the importance of the relationship between healer and client (Walker 2003). Bokova's intent to heal was strong and I was able to "open" myself to the experience as we are told to do by traditional healers.

Nadjeda Duvan, Director of the Ulchi Folklife Group in which her daughter is a gifted performer, showed me how the traditional dances, rituals and melodies of the Ulchi Peoples of the Amur River Region keep the balance of nature and embody the soul of the Nanai People such that if people lose their traditions, they say, they lose their soul. I learned that the Ulchi nation now has only four shamans left and my research agenda changed irrevocably from documenting traditional knowledge to finding ways to support traditional healers, musicians and shamans to continue to practice. From participating in the circle dance of the Manchu-Tunguz Peoples at a sacred site, I learned how song and dance effect change on the individual and group levels. And I experienced the deep multilevel and multisensory changes that can come about from the simplest and most ancient of instruments—the jew's harp.

At the 2001 Congress held in Kyzyl, Abakan and Moscow, I had a chance to learn directly from musicians such as the lead singer of the Tuvan throat-singing group Koshkendei Igor, from shamans and performers of traditional songs, stories and folk tales. The renowned Tuvan

throat-singer *Nicholaï Oorzhak* is an accomplished musician as well as a shaman, using overtone singing to heal others and also to put himself into an altered state to carry out his healing work. His music removed the barriers between mind/body/spirit that are upheld in a western understanding of music. I had further opportunities to work with him at the 2004 Congress.

I was given a healing by, and recorded a healing song of *Bair Rinchinov*, a Buryat shaman who has since been designated a Foundation for Shamanic Studies Living Treasure of Shamanism. His powerful drumming and singing—in his native language—reminded me how much westerners rely on the “aurality” of music and on the meaning of a song rather than on our experience of it. And there were many more men and women, places and events which contributed to my expanding experience of the healing properties of the music of Indigenous Peoples.

These experiences led me to coin the term “indigenous music (IM),” coined from the term “indigenous knowledge,” and to explore further the theoretical and methodological implications of this new focus to my work. Through the unusual opportunities these gatherings offered to work directly with musicians and healers, including shamans, I came to understand the significance of music in Siberian cultures from what I term an “emic” perspective.

Emic, Etic and “Emic”

My studies of music generated the concept of *emic*, a term I introduced at the 2004 “Sacral Through the Eyes of the Lay and Initiated Congress” (Walker 2004). The terms ‘*emic*’ and ‘*etic*’ were coined by linguist-anthropologist Kenneth Pike in 1954 (Pike 1967). In anthropology, they distinguish an insider’s perspective from an outsider’s, the observer from the observed, and the subjective from the objective experience. Usually seen as exclusionary or contrasting viewpoints, they separate the beliefs and actions of a researcher studying a situation from those of the participants.

Whereas separation of ‘self’ from ‘other’ is a universal human process, western social science continues to embody the dualism embraced by Descartes. This dualism underlies the differentiation between *emic* and

etic maintained in research as well as the hegemonic separation western science makes between indigenous knowledge and scientific knowledge, the arts (including music) music and science. Åke Hultkrantz points out the incompatibility between dualism and the indigenous world view:

The Western religious dichotomy between a world of spiritual plenitude and a world of material imperfection, a dualism pertaining to Christian and Gnostic doctrines, has no counterpart in American Indian thinking¹. Indians value highly life on earth, and their religion supports their existence in this world. The whole spirit of their religion is one of harmony, vitality, and appreciation of the world around them. (Hultkrantz 1987: 24)

Hultkrantz documented the connections amongst shamanism, healing and ritual drama in his study of Native North American religious traditions (1992), extending our understanding of indigenous remedies from simply empirical or profane to supernatural. His work inspired my focus on the need for new, experiential methodologies if we are to come close to understanding indigenous cultures, and the importance of music to the indigenous world view. Music transcends the duality of the empirical and supernatural, and of the human and natural worlds. By *emic*, I mean "entering into an experience."

Indigenous and scientific ways of knowing have been compared extensively in the recent literature. Written by those with an indigenous 'cast of mind' (for example, Nelson 1983; Arundale 2003; Cruikshank 1990; Ridington 1990; Harner 1980; Brody 1981; Basso 1996; Davis 1992; Turner 1990) and by indigenous peoples themselves (such as Kawagley 1995; Smith 1999), more and more studies articulate an emic perspective. Few studies on scientific or indigenous knowledge by westerners or indigenous peoples provide an in-depth understanding of the value of music in indigenous epistemology. Few acknowledge music as a legitimate and, I would argue, primary form of knowledge (Walker 2003). In the indigenous cultures in which I have worked in Siberia, Southeast Asia, northern North America, and in northern India with Tibetans, music is given prominence for its way of knowing about the world and our place within it.

¹ The geographic focus of this book is Native America but his views also apply to Siberia and the common world view of indigenous cultures.

It is rare to find researchers who directly incorporate music as an expression of knowledge into their lives and work. Diamond et al. (1994) are exceptions. As they point out in their ground-breaking study of music amongst First Nations in Northeastern America,

Within academic work, we often discuss music as if it were separable from the events and experiences of our daily lives. In the teachings of Native consultants, on the other hand, music is integrated with dance, spirituality, and life; the discourse about all these things often focuses on personal experience; and the right way to begin more often involves celebration and thanks than rigorous explanation or analysis." (Diamond et al. 1994: 2)

By shifting towards an emic perspective, we can experience rather than theorize music and come to understand more closely how music is integrated within the indigenous world view. An emic approach can also suggest new ways of conceptualizing, documenting, and analyzing Indigenous Knowledge for the benefit of indigenous peoples and of researchers and scientists.

The ethnomusicology of the Manchu-Tunguz Peoples has primarily been researched and explicated by Europeans from an etic perspective. From an emic perspective, however, music cannot be "explained." Now, since *glasnost*, it is important that Native People are investigating their culture themselves but different tools and approaches are needed from those developed by outsiders; aims and purposes differ as will methods of inquiry. According to Robbek Vasilii Ignatievich (who is Yakutsk and Director of the Institute of Northern Minorities) the most important topic to be studied is the consciousness of Native People. Science has avoided subjects such as spirituality and emic interpretations of culture; the music of Sakha needs to be studied from different perspectives. People spoke at the 2000 conference about how the music of Manchu-Tunguz Peoples can be fixed in written form but this written form cannot show the complexity of feelings that arise when you hear such music. Science tries to document the culture of a people but the Manchu-Tunguz people had little in the way of material goods—all their riches, their baggage, I was told, they carried in their soul. Music affects our subconscious, we respond intuitively; the music of the Manchu-Tunguz nation is said to join different nations at the level of the subconscious.

Indigenous Peoples of Siberia and the State

More than a hundred different ethnic groups of what used to be the Soviet Union populate Siberia² today. Russians, Ukrainians, Khanti and Mansi (Finno-Ugric Peoples) Georgians, Germans, Jews, Belorussians, Lithuanians, and many others are now represented here from earlier migrations into Siberia. Indigenous Peoples—Buryats, Yakuts, Siberian Tatars, Nenets, Enets, Nganasans, Selkups, Chukchis and others—are minority peoples in numbers, and also in terms of their relationship with the Russian state and the dominant Russian culture and ideology. Apart from the diversity of ethnic identification, other factors have affected the heterogeneity of the ethnic composition of the Siberian population.

The so-called indigenous small-numbered peoples of Siberia, the North and the Far East at present constitute 26 nations included in the official list such as the Evenks, Evens, Khanti, Mansi listed above). The indigenous peoples of Siberia are not included in this list because of official criteria (there are numbers are greater, that is exceeding a population of 50,000, better economic conditions). In this group are the Yakuts, Buryats and groups of Russian "old-timers." A third group that needs to be demarcated is the non-indigenous "newly arrived" population which has been migrating to Siberia since the mid 20th century, either as victims of Stalinist repression or as voluntary employees attracted by the benefits offered to participants in the state's large-scale building projects such as the Baikul Amur Railroad) This latter group includes newcomers from different parts of Russia or former Soviet republics who worked in camps or settled and formed their own diasporas in Siberia.³ Historically, Siberia was conceptualized by the Russian state as a hinterland. Russian authorities saw it as a prison for misfits, criminals and dissidents. From the 1930s on, to exploit Siberia's natural resources, millions of Soviet migrants were moved into the northern regions, adding their manpower to the forced labour of the notorious work camps under Dictator Joseph Stalin and to the economic opportunities

² Another name for northern Asia (approximately everything east of 60°E and north of 50°N).

³ Povorožniuk, personal communication, September 23, 2004.

made available to them under expansionist state policies. The eventual intermarriage amongst these peoples and with the Siberian Native Peoples led to the ethnic diversity of the Russian Far North and to Native Peoples being a minority in their homelands. According to the 1989 Soviet census, aboriginal people number about a million and a half of some 32 million inhabitants.

In 1991, the Soviet Union collapsed. With the transition from communism to capitalism, people's citizenship, homelands and identities came into question amongst all of the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union. Although early predictions projected a rapid transition from a state-owned command economy and authorization state to market capitalism and democracy, the transition has been far slower, and more problematic and disruptive, than anticipated. Siberian Native Peoples are now dealing with the economic and political upheavals resulting from the break-up of the former Soviet Union. The ensuing economic effects have been severe but have not affected all members of society equally. Many of the new business elite have become fabulously rich whereas most peoples are struggling in Russia today and without the former safety net of the old regime's economic system.

Siberian Native Peoples have been especially hard hit by the economic crisis. Whereas Siberia has provided the raw materials and resources for the development of Russia—furs, fish, timber, and later, oil and gas, gold, coal and precious stones, Indigenous People have not benefited equally from the riches their homelands have produced. The Russian North, which takes up 65% of Russia, is home to 8% of the population of the Russian Federation but produces 20% of its national income. Russia extracts 92% of its gas and 50% of its timber from the North (Nikolaev⁴ 1994: 11). Processing of these materials is based in the south and central areas of Russia so the region has not benefited from employment opportunities associated with these industries.

The cost of living is higher here than in the urban areas, yet, the average salary exceeds the national average by only 1.4–1.8 times while the cost of food is 1.5–2.5 times that of the city (Nikolaev 1994: 20). Northerners represent one-sixth of the nation's registered unemployed. National policies of sedentarization begun in the 1920's, and

⁴ Mikhail Nikolaev is President of the Sakha Republic.

collectivization of food production that put limits on the size of large and small farms, allocated vast territories for state-owned farms, eroding indigenous land and resource management systems. Farming families' livestock was confiscated, taken over by the state and became the responsibility of large co-operatives. As in other countries with indigenous populations, educational levels attained are lower than those of the general population, housing is substandard, and language and cultural traditions are at risk.

Health problems are rampant. Ethnic peoples of Siberia have the lowest life expectancy in Russia—less than 50 years for men. Northerners, because of the high costs of travel, cannot access medical care and clinics which are centralized in the south. Traditional medicine, rooted in shamanism, is one of the many areas that have been in conflict with mainstream Russian medicine and health care. Shamanism and the music associated with it were persecuted under Russian domination especially during Stalin's times where persecution was especially severe; but generally Native Peoples' music has not measured up to mainstream Russian music supported and promoted by the state. That the Republic's largest scientific organization, the Russian Academy of Sciences Siberian Division, established in 1991 the unit "Institute of the Northern Minorities Problem," points to the continuing difficulties of state/Indigenous Peoples relations.

Ethnicity and Identity in Siberia

Whether viewed in terms of long-term resistance or cultural revival, Siberian traditions remain strong, marking a distinctive ethnic identity that is a source of pride and hope for the future. Ancestral traditions are foci around which ethnic identities are coalescing at the local, regional, national and international levels. In writing about the complexities of the transitions from communist rule to democracy, Dawson describes the viability of ethnic identity/ies:

One of the most enduring aspects of the communist legacy has been the fragmentation of these societies and lack of strong group identities on which to base mobilization appeals. . . . When communism collapsed, there were few

preexisting group identities that could be counted on to provide the basis for effective mobilization.

Ironically, the one group identity that was reinforced by communist institutions was ethnicity. (Dawson 1999: 21)

Also addressing the issue of identity in post-Communist Russia, "The demise of the Soviet Union has produced, in addition to a strange and vast mixture of human opportunity and misery, a wonderful opportunity for social theorists to test a wide assortment of propositions about political and cultural change" (Kertzer 1999: 121). While scholars are looking at ethnic identity in some of the new states created out of former Soviet republics (for example, Laitin 1998; Kertzer 1999: 121), less attention is paid to Indigenous People who are generally left for anthropologists to comment on by social historians and political economists. Yet of all the peoples in the new Russian Federation, their identities as ethnic minorities and as Indigenous Peoples may help to mitigate the effects of Russia's current economic crisis.

While some historic and recent events have marginalized and sublimated Indigenous Peoples, others have precipitated new types of allegiance and identification. For example, under *perestroika*, introduced in 1985, the state began to encourage ethnic minorities to express their common concerns:

Since 1985, these small indigenous minorities in the North and Far East regions of Russian have begun to mobilize politically into regional and national associations to present their demands to the authorities. In March 1990, delegates and observers representing the small indigenous minorities of Siberia and the Far East met in Moscow and established what today is known as the Association of the Indigenous Minorities of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation—commonly known by its Russian acronym, AIPON³. On September 19, 1996, Finland and the other four Nordic countries, Canada, the United States and the Russian Federation established the Arctic Council—an intergovernmental organization that promotes co-operation on a wide range of issues in the Arctic region, including the environment. AIPON, the Sami

³ The Russian acronym of this organization is AKMHC which becomes RAIPON in common English usage, the "R" representing "Russian."

Council and the Inuit Circumpolar Conference are permanent participants of this intergovernmental process. (Funk and Sillanpää 1999: ix⁶)

Reasserting and sometimes reclaiming their ethnic identity on their own terms is important to Siberian Native Peoples as distinct ethnic groups and newly independent nations within the new Russian Federation, and as Northern Peoples with membership in international bodies representing Indigenous Peoples. Rehabilitation of ancestral practices, including folklore, arts and crafts, is being supported by RAIPON although the task is easier for the larger ethnic groups including the Yakuts and Buryats; with the largest numbers they benefit most economically.

Siberian Native Peoples are still being identified as such. Forsyth (1992: xvi) mentions "thirty or so indigenous communities of Siberia—the largest numbering only 350,000, the smallest 350 . . ." Funk and Sillanpää (1999) describe twenty-six northern indigenous peoples / small indigenous ethnic minorities. This number, they point out as an "arbitrary" selection for their volume, one of the first compilations on Indigenous People of the Russian Far North, but also as the number that has long been recognized by the state. The authors also point out that RAIPON claims that there may be more, and they their web site (www.raipon.org) which has expanded considerably since I began writing this article. There are now associated sites offering information about Indigenous Peoples in Siberia. The scope of work, complicated await "a more definitive listing shortly," RAIPON is compiling information about Indigenous Peoples on by the complex ethnic composition and history of this area is vast.

The sense of urgency associated with research amongst these groups is real. Pentikäinen notes twenty-six *narodny severa* or peoples of the North in the Soviet Union, ten of whom are "undergoing the painful process of dying out" (Pentikäinen 1994: 375). Gorbacheva and Federova (1999: 31) mention "about 30" groups although some of these are comprised of very few individuals and are sometimes linked together by anthropologists, inappropriately according to the authors. The 1989 Soviet census records most groups as "ultra-minorities" and thus

⁶ See also summary of this information in Gorbacheva and Federova 1999: 54 and Pentikäinen 1994: 375.

"doomed to certain extinction" (Gorbacheva and Federova n.d.: 45). Some ethnic groups number in the few hundreds.

It is commonly agreed amongst the few who are writing about these issues that the identity of many of these groups is at a crisis stage, especially with respect to language. Russian, the language of the state and the dominant culture, has replaced the ancestral languages in many if not most contexts. The wide expanses of territories and the influences of unrelated neighbouring groups have led to dialectical differentiation within language groups such that groups living at great distances apart do not understand one another. While the Soviet state launched a large-scale Northern educational program which resulted in the creation of alphabets and literature in the language of each indigenous group of the North⁷, a large number of people have partially or completely lost the ability to communicate in their aboriginal mother tongue. Many of these languages are on the brink of extinction.

Linguistic differences, however, are being superseded in the modern context by the shared struggle of Northern Peoples for economic, political, social, cultural and religious rights. Pentikäinen (1994), for example, in discussing the emerging identity of *narody severa* or 'peoples of the North,' points out how, "Current trends among the Ob Ugrians⁸ [people of the Ob River in central Siberia belong to the Finno-Ugrian linguistic family and are related to the Finns] clearly indicate their northern identity is much more important to them than is an awareness of belonging to the Finno-Ugrian linguistic family, for example" (Pentikäinen 1994: 399). Since I first began working there in the 1960s, this sense of "northernness" has expanded in the Canadian Arctic to include Alaskan Eskimo, Greenlandic Inuit and Siberian Eskimo. It is likely that other northern peoples, among them the Manchu-Tunguz Peoples, will find they share a converging future. Exploration of their shared histories is an important area for researchers to support.

Music transcends or coalesces differing—individual, family, clan, nation and international—levels of identity. Within a context that con-

⁷ Povorozniuk, personal communication, September 23, 2004.

⁸ Povorozniuk suggests that the term "Ob Ugrians," currently used in linguistic classifications primarily, be replaced with the ethnonyms Khanti and Mansi (personal communication, September 23, 2004.)

tinues to pressure traditional land-based means of livelihood, shamanism, native languages, and culture, music offers the possibility for exploring and expressing this shared heritage. It is also instrumental in constructing this common identity in the modern context. Music is able to penetrate the many layers that distinguish people from one another to reach a common core.

The Manchu–Tunguz Peoples of the Sakha Republic

The newly designated Sakha Republic (Yakutia) lies fully within the Far North. The Sakha⁹ people are the most northward cattle and horse herders. They are now settled rather than nomadic although some groups follow their animals between winter and summer pasturages. Home to 116 nationalities and peoples, including about 25,000 people who represent 25 of the 26 national minorities of the Russian North (Soviet Census 1989), Sakha remains the largest subject of the Russian Federation, and one of the richest in mineral and raw materials. Numbering 380,242 peoples according to the Soviet Census, the Yakuts are the second largest ethnic group among the indigenous nations (next to the Buryats at 417,425). Compared to smaller ethnic minorities, the Yakuts are better organized. Their own organizations, due to their numbers, receive a proportional and significant share of financial benefits aimed at cultural heritage from RAIPON which supports the preservation of ethnic cultures, traditions and languages.

At the museum in Yakutsk, for example, early recordings of music made on wax cylinders are being restored and transferred to CD format. As with much ethnographic documentation of indigenous peoples, many of these recordings simply note "woman from . . ." or "shaman . . ." without names or locations. Restoration includes trying to locate descendants and identifying the recordings properly.

Northern peoples belong to eight linguistic groups, the largest of which (at a 55%) speak languages of the Manchu–Tunguz branch of the Altaic language "super" family. Manchu–Tunguz speakers include,

⁹ The Russians renamed many of the groups they came across, or they used neighbour's names for the people rather than the indigenous name. This is how the Yakuts were named. To themselves they are Sakha.

amongst other groups, the Evenks (as with the following terms, the final "s" indicates plural; sometimes written as Evenkis), Evens, Ulchis, Nanais, Udeghes, and the Amur regions people¹⁰. Representatives from each of these peoples attended the 2000 conference held in Yakutsk City.

Within the broader Russian context reviewed earlier, a few dates specific to the self-determination of Indigenous Peoples in Sakha are mentioned here. In 1990, five years after *perestroika*, state sovereignty was announced. In 1992, adoption of a new Constitution founded a new state. In the same year, a federal treaty was signed and the Sakha Republic assumed the status of a Subject of State in the new federal system of Russia. This guaranteed economic independence, addressed issues of land ownership and Indigenous Peoples' rights, language and culture including the (reintroduced) official recognition of the Sakha languages. All Yakut schools now teach in the Native language and children learn about their own national culture, including music.

Key components of Sakha's research and development agenda include the management of biological resources, environmental protection, and addressing how the Northern territories may be involved in the new market economy. Stable development of the Northern regions and their ecological and ethnic stability is linked with achieving a balance of the industrial development of natural resources and traditional resource management. Models of development emphasize revival, preservation and protection of the northern minorities of Sakha, and fostering a holistic development agenda. Mikhail Nikolaev, President of the Sakha Republic, links socio-economic development with spiritual development. Research initiatives of the Institute of Northern Minorities Problems of the Siberian Division of the Russian Academy of Sciences link language (dictionaries and grammars are being compiled), folklore, health, spirituality and ecology within its development agenda. Music is connected to all of these.

Northern traditions are oral, and remained unwritten at the beginning of the 20th century. Sakha's linguistic diversity encompasses more than thirty nomadic tribal communities whose cultures are distinct and

¹⁰ Their territories are not restricted to Sakha; others live in Northeastern Siberia, and in the Khabarovsk and other territories (Funk and Sillanpää 1999).

endemic. The languages of the Sakha Republic are Sakha and Russian. As the official state language, Russian was taught in the schools here as elsewhere and the teaching of native languages has been limited. Some of the ethnic minorities also speak their own languages; others do not. At times, native languages were forbidden and many of the younger generation do not speak their native languages. In some cases, native languages have ceased to be used altogether. In some places, liberalization policies begun in the 1980s have redeemed this amongst some groups but for others, this loss is irreversible. "The loss of native languages," writes Nikolaev about Sakha (1994: 71) is equal to ethnic catastrophe. "The language crises" led to the adoption in 1992 of the Law, About the Languages in the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) which dealt with the revival, preservation, development and use of the Sakha, Evenk, Even, Yukaghir and Chukchi languages.

Indigenous communities here share common problems with other Native Peoples throughout the circumpolar world, including health problems and the need for a sustainable economic base. Yakutia was declared a nuclear-free zone in 1991 but health problems generated in the past are showing up today in the increasingly incidence of cancer and childhood leukaemia, as well as heart and stomach diseases well above the national average. In Sakha, under the Law on the Nomad Tribal Communities of Minorities of the North, lifestyle, cultural development, language and literature are being revived and long-term land use, traditional occupations and trades are being restored. The new government, however, emphasizes strengthening national or ethnic identities (which I indicated earlier have remained distinct and strong) not a unification of cultures within the new republics.

As in the other northern regions, the entry of peoples of differing, sometimes competing, cultural traditions at different times in history has contributed to the cultural diversity of the region. Buddhist influences are evident as well as Chinese and Mongolian elements which overlay traditional shamanism. These peoples brought their own musical traditions with them, some of which have blended with indigenous traditions; however, indigenous music has been able to resist assimilation more than other cultural spheres.

Sakha's musical heritage is given priority under its new government although financial considerations are limiting the support available.

Traditional music is being recorded with government support but publishing or otherwise making it accessible is limited because of lack of financing. And there are other difficulties. One man could not present at the 2000 conference because he was unable to find anyone to look after his dog. While this may seem frivolous to outsiders, this relationship between man and dog continues to hold great importance in his area, taking precedence over participation in the conference. I have had similar experiences in other northern communities where traditional "lived" ways, especially those associated with a land-based livelihood, are given priority. Strength and ultimately survival are dependent upon honouring these ancestral connections that define a people symbolically and essentially. Other considerations affecting the sharing and preservation of Sakha's musical heritage involve restrictions against revealing traditions—some people are against allowing a stranger to enter their world. In this way, their culture was preserved but today it is very difficult for outsiders to overcome such a taboo, even where community interests are at heart.

Music as Indigenous Knowledge

Considerable attention has been paid in the last ten years to documenting and reviving indigenous knowledge and to legitimizing it in the view of mainstream culture and western science. Studies about climate change, land and resource management, and traditional plant knowledge, among many other topics, are generating culture-relevant methods of documenting indigenous knowledge and new research paradigms. Narrative, for example, recognizes stories as a legitimate source of data.

Only in the last ten or fifteen years do we see much scholarly attention paid to research that reflects Native perspectives on events and interactions. Fewer studies (among them Kawagley, Smith) have been carried out by Indigenous People themselves. Such approaches point out the need to reassess our ethnographic "data bank" to consider why music and the other so-called expressive arts did not receive the credence they are given in the indigenous experience. Perhaps, we can summarize the consequences in addressing a similar problem in shamanic studies. Mircea Eliade produced scholarly work on shamanism that

remains the standard in the field; however, he never met a shaman; nor did he ever participate in shamanic events.

Ethnographies by such scholars as Ridington, Turner, Cruikshank, Basso are culture-specific. But as importantly, they reflect on how we come to know about ourselves and the world around us as well as what we come to know. And they consider the shared outlook on the world and humans' place within it of Indigenous Peoples. This world view Hultkrantz defines as "a people's concept of existence and their view of the universe and its powers" (1987: 21). Basso articulates this kind of ethnography and epistemology in his study of Apache place naming:

As I conceive of it, the ethnographer's task is to determine what these acts of expression purportedly involve (why they are performed, how they are accomplished, what they are intended to achieve) and to disclose their importance by relating them to larger ideas about the world and its inhabitants. In other words, naturally occurring depictions of places are treated as actualisation of the knowledge that informs them, as outward manifestations of underlying systems of thought, as native constructions wrought with native materials that embody and display a native cast of mind. And it is that cast of mind (or certain prominent aspects of it, anyway) that the ethnographer must work to grasp, intelligibly make out, and later set down in writing. Heaven, then, in a few grains of carefully inspected sand; instructive statements about places and their role in human affairs through conceptualization of a handful of telling events. (Basso 1996: 110)

Music, as a realization of individual and collective consciousness, reveals this "cast of mind" and these "larger ideas" in ways that the ethnographer may "grasp" (to use Basso's terms) through experience of them. From his work with the Western Apache maps and place names, Basso came to understand what a sense of place *really* means in the indigenous world view—how it shapes morality, identity, and community.

Music likewise reveals this "real" meaning in ways that the spoken word may not. It connects people—to place, to one another, to the spirit or subtle world, to the past and to the future—in a profound and perhaps ultimately in an inexplicable way, at the conscious, subconscious and supraconscious levels, effecting complex integration of body, mind, emotions and spirit. Within Hultkrantz's definition, music becomes a

way to examine the interaction and relationship among all parts of existence of which humans form a part and which need to be "in harmony" for the benefit of all forms of consciousness. It is noteworthy that the Evenks have no word for music, just the "sounds of life"¹¹. Povorozniuk shares her experience of the spontaneous, improvised words that accompanied Evenk music during her field experience as "coming from the soul"¹². For Manchu-Tunguz Peoples, I was told, all nature is music.

Western science, including social science, lacks understanding about the fundamental and pervasive role of music in indigenous cultures. As academia has marginalized indigenous knowledge as ethnoscience, the music of Indigenous People has been relegated to the margins of mainstream culture as "folk music" and to the margins of anthropology as an expressive art. Economic and political anthropology, other social sciences such as sociology, and the hard sciences are generally dismissive of music as a form of knowledge and of indigenous music as a legitimate field of scholarly inquiry. Consequently, little attention has been paid to its broader socio-political implications which are considerable amongst the Manchu-Tunguz Peoples as I have discussed here.

At the same time, many academic disciplines are contributing to emerging studies of indigenous knowledge. Such studies are often interdisciplinary, incorporate a broad range of perspectives, and merge scientific and indigenous perspectives and approaches. They point out the need for more holistic approaches in anthropology where we have fragmented our inquiry into the subdisciplines of economic, political, religious, and cultural anthropology. Indigenous knowledge also challenges the genres of writing that ethnography draws upon and produces, but we have not come very far in developing non-text based methods of knowledge documentation and dissemination.

Writings and collections embed the ideologies of the times, places and people who documented them. Generally, this historical and ethnographic body of work has been atheoretical; not has it questioned basic methodological assumptions about scholarly enquiry.¹³ Thus indigenous

¹¹ Mihály Hoppál, personal communication, 2000.

¹² Personal communication, September 23, 2004.

¹³ Theoretically innovative, Diamond et al.'s new work (1994) on First Nations

music generally has been an object of study rather than a subject of study. Hoppál suggests with respect to shamanism, "that we're slowly coming to a point where we may need a new summary to be written about the history and phenomenology of Siberian shamanism" (Hoppál 1993: 267). The history and phenomenology of Siberian music also, are still to be explored and new approaches are required.

Townsend's argument about shamanic studies can be applied to indigenous music. She argues that we need to "open up our study to approaches other than psychoanalytic, neuro-physiological, biochemical, and reductionist materialist" (Townsend 1999: 37) and expand the scientific materialist/positive epistemology (*ibid.*: 35) on which we have relied. The traditional epistemology she refers to predisposes scholarly inquiry to analysis rather than experience of music.

As it only in the last ten years or so¹⁴ that Western science has recognized oral history as knowledge, we have not yet come to accept indigenous music as a culture's archive of traditions, values and practices or as a cognitive map for incorporating and generating new knowledge. Music carries the content of indigenous knowledge but it is also a process of knowledge, of teaching/learning and of experiencing. As Basso studies Apache stories to reveal the mind maps of Apache which instruct *how* to live in the world, music sounded actualizes the world view of the Manchu–Tunguz Peoples.

Music in Manchu–Tunguz Cultures

Music serves many functions in Manchu–Tunguz cultures and embodies a wide range of genres, expressing identity in an emotive way, celebrating and generating cultural vitality, and expressing long term resistance to dominant Russian ideology (Walker 2003). The pervasiveness of music

musical instruments in Northeastern America interprets instruments within a framework of meaning as "emergent." It challenges our history of ethnographic description of aboriginal musical instruments and addresses themes which I explore in this paper, including the holistic role of music in indigenous cultures, the need for interdisciplinary approaches, and the hegemony implied in the study of indigenous music.

¹⁴ Thomas Berger's hearings in northern Canada as part of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry established for the first time in the Canadian Court system the legitimacy of oral history as testimony.

in Manchu–Tunguz culture is related to the role of the musician who may also be a shaman, elder, story-teller, healer, linguist, composer, instrument-maker or historian or community leader. Likewise, a shaman who perhaps makes the most profound use of music may also serve more than one role.

Song is particularly important in Sakha. Many shamanic peoples, including the Sakha, speak about song as the sacral form of language and as preceding language in evolutionary terms (Walker 2001). Through song, the Sakha stay in touch with the supreme spirits because in their view, everything in nature has a spirit. The Sakha say that all thoughts and feelings are expressed in song. They even sing in their dreams. Song accompanies people from birth to death. It also entertains and cures. Music as medicine is both preventative and restorative.

Songs are commemorative, perhaps lamenting the passing of traditions, people and ways. They are celebratory. Song accompanies storytelling or stories may be told in song. There are people who never sing songs in real life but before they die, they sing their inheritable songs. There are songs of hunting, songs of courtship, love songs and healing songs—songs to cure people of illness and songs to mend a broken heart. Origin songs tell about how life began, how the earth appeared, how the first people arrived. The great epic songs of Siberia are legendary but in Sakha are distinct from the music associated with the shamanic traditions since the function of the minstrel or epic singer was generally distinct from that of the shaman “so that a combination of the two was the exception” (Hoppál 1993: 273 quoting V. Nikofofova). Some songs, healing songs for example, are individual (Bokova’s original composition for my healing is one example). Others are typological¹⁵ and must be followed strictly. Still others can be altered in performance so that they incorporate improvisational elements.

The Manchu–Tunguz Peoples are proud of the richness and widespread influence of their culture and of its ancient roots. Music provides opportunities to celebrate both their shared heritage and their uniqueness within this commonality. Sem. Tatiana Iurievna spoke at the 2000 Conference about how the influence of the cosmic and outer world, astronomy and nature’s power connect the Manchu–Tunguz Peoples to

¹⁵ Vasilii Robbeck, personal communication.

one another. Their rhythmic perception of the world involves colour, rhythmical time, distance and the rhythms of nature including the changing seasons. Universal ideas are connected to everyday life through fairy tales and music—epic songs and chants among these.

Manchu-Tunguz music incorporates tonals, archaic sounds, and sonorics. The tone instruments—the drum and the voice—create a dialogue with other sounds. In all cultures, these are the instruments of relationship. Drums in many forms were made from animal skins and wood that was often taken from a living tree to form the rim. Taking a strip of wood from the tree can be done without killing the tree; also, in this way, the tree is given life in another form and the sound of the drum incorporates the 'voice' of the tree.

Manchu-Tunguz Peoples value their preservation of what they call "archaic" sounds. These are sounds made from "anything" found in nature—sticks, logs, and other things. Every grass, every plant, I was told, makes a sound if it is used properly. Many of these sounds are used to call animals in hunting, for example a cone-shaped moose call made from rolled bark. In the Udeghe nation, a piece of birchbark which makes a very "thin" sound is used for attracting lake birds in hunting. A long stick made out of a hollow grass is played using circular breathing, like the didgeridoo of Aboriginal Australia.

Manchu-Tunguz music is also sonoric, that is, imitative of the sounds of nature. The cry of the cuckoo is one of the most common sounds heard in musical compositions. The seagull and reindeer are also common. Through imitating these sounds, people learned about their environment but further, they were able to communicate with birds and animals (and in some cases plants) in their own "language." Enokhova Valentina Stepanovna¹⁶ (Even), the daughter of a shaman, spoke about how every melody is a call of the spirits of animals for a healing person. Such a person sang in a particular animal's voice depending on whom he was treating. If a baby had a sore throat, for example, he could be cured by a reindeer's breath and a reindeer would be brought to the child and made to breathe on him. Every reindeer in a herd has its own bell, its own unique sound like every person. So developed was

¹⁶ In Russian, the family name or "last" name is written first. The second name, in this case Valentina, is her "first" name. The third name indicates the father, that is, "of Stepan."

the art of listening that reindeer herding people could even tell when a reindeer moved up or down by the sound of its bell. She called sounds "the steps of the shaman" which I interpreted to mean that the shaman knew all the sounds of nature and his/her movements and actions were closely connected to these sounds. Enokhova also spoke about the staff used by reindeer herders which is wider at one end. It makes a whistling sound when thrown. A musical instrument that breaks down the barrier between the expressive and the utilitarian is a hide pouch on which reindeer hooves are hung. It makes a rattle of sorts that attracts the attention of the reindeer as well as allowing one to make the music of the reindeer traveling.

Traditional Even instruments included the bullroarer which is the sound of an owl "speaking." Sometimes peoples added other sounds to the basic bullroarer sound, perhaps to produce the sound of a wood grouse. Semenova Zoia Federovna spoke of an instrument in northern Yakutia that sounds like the wind. The wind makes the grass move and the Evenks believe that the spirits make the grass move, thus making reference to the spiritual connection that sound represents and also creates.

Both spoke about the importance of sound as toys and in children's games. Children's rattles which hang over the crib are made in the shape of birds, animals and other things to produce sound as both toys and musical instruments (Semenova). Enokhova spoke about how children would listen to the bullroarer and guess whose "voice" was being produced. Children had to be able to recognize all these sounds and also to make the instruments to reproduce the sounds themselves. Being taught to sing, to improvise and to make these particular sounds of nature was a child's musical education in Even families.

Both Bulgakova Tatiana Diomidovna and Sem. Tatiana Iurievna spoke about the male/female relationship in Manchu-Tunguz music. Tatiana described special places for males and females in nature with their images being realized in epic songs. Bulgakova spoke about the importance of intonation in Nanai music which is a means of communication with the spirit world and is important in the imitation of sounds and their repetition. The weeping voice was used by shamans to connect with the other world but because a man is not supposed to cry, the function of the voice in this regard was passed on to instruments.

Intonation is also crucial to meaning. The Nanai language, I was told, is very rich in multiple meanings for a single word and the meaning of a single word may change when it is given a different intonation. When a hunter goes skiing, for example, he imitates the sound of skis, of falling snow, of animals he meets and of the things he sees through his voice with different intonations.

The importance of this communication with animals exceeds mundane interests such as hunting success. Animal and human origins are connected on the cosmological level. For the Nanai, for example, the duck regulated day and night and formed the shape of the earth. People believed she drew pictographs about the formation of the earth, the foundations of nature, and the changes of the seasons. The reindeer to Nanai and to other Siberian peoples connected the sky and the earth with his horns and was thus the universe. Manchu-Tunguz shamans dress incorporates the horns in the headdress as a means for the shaman to draw upon this connection.

These themes are represented in the songs and dances of the Folklife performance group of which Nadjeda Duvan is the Director. (She is Ulchi from the Khabarovsk territory with an Ainu mother.) As do other Indigenous Peoples, Nadjeda interprets illness, as "having no balance." Balance can come from playing the drum or the jew's harp or from different rituals, all of which can reconnect and rebalance one in a right relationship with ourselves and our surroundings. In her group's performances (which include her daughter who is studying in the United States), Nadjeda uses rattles made of salmon skin filled with rice and corn. Like the jew's harp (which in Ulchi may be made of bamboo rather than metal), the rattle is spoken of as an early instrument preceding the drum in Ulchi culture.

Ulchi dances incorporate melodies such as those played on the wooden flute, an ancient instrument of the Amur River peoples. Flute melodies are played to the spirits of the Amur River and also express the spirits of the river. Flute melodies represent the song of the rain spirits, as well as the collective spirit of the Ulchi who call themselves "the people of the earth." Songs about the legends of the full moon connect the earth to the larger cosmos. Dances incorporate land-based themes the beginning of the seal hunt—the seal spirits give fish to the fishermen and women—which celebrates the gift of animals to the Ulchi. The

Deer Dance has a similar connective theme. It comes to the Ulchi from the Yakut among whom the deer is considered to be the most powerful god on earth. Its dance is a sacred trance dance that propels the spirit of the Deer inside the body of the dancer. This technique of shapeshifting illustrates the common shamanic traditions amongst different ethnic groups.

Other Ulchi dances address the role of shaman as healer. In one such dance, the shaman calls upon his/her helping spirits to come and guide him/her into the invisible world of the gods and spirits where he can receive help and guidance. In another, a *khamlanie* or shaman's healing ceremony is enacted. The community is called to gather in the home of a client who asks for healing. The community then banishes the house of all evil spirits that may be residing in the home. To build up the psychic energy for the shaman's journey, the community begins to sing, dance and drum. The shaman comes forward, calls his/her spirits and drives away all illness from the client. (Among the instruments used by Ulchi shamans in healing ceremonies are the *mookenay* and *koonki* which are similar to the jew's harp discussed below but not called *khomus* by the Ulchi.)

Other songs celebrate the catch and preparation of fish from the river since fish is their main source of survival. Ulchi are unique in their sewing of fish skin into waterproof clothing items such as coats, pants and hats. Fish skin clothing is worn during the spring and fall as raingear and it is also worn when making a journey into the taiga forest for wild nettle which is gathered during the rainy season as a natural medicine. Another plant that is important to the Ulchi is hemp, the only natural fiber that grows in the harsh environment of the Ulchi which is just a few degrees south of the permafrost. Depended upon for fabric, rope, thread and fish nets, its gathering and preparation is celebrated in song and dance.

For the dance entitled *Natalka* I give the detailed description provided by Folklife:

This traditional dance comes from the ancient legend of the hunter and the flock of swans that are seen each year during their migration to the Amur River region. One of the swans flies to earth and disguises herself by taking off her feathers and turning into a human woman. She seduces the young hunter and they fall in love. The hunter finds out that she is really a swan but

does not wish that she leave him. The hunter hides her body of feathers thus making her retain her form as a human. She is content to stay upon the earth and marry this young man.

As I watched it, I was struck by its similarity to *The Wild Swans*, a Hans Christian Anderson story we call a "fairytale." Both address the pivotal and transformative role of the swan in their common themes of physical/metaphysical connections, migration and seasonality, shape-shifting, and the shared origins of humans and animals.

The Circle Dance

In an earlier paper (Walker 2003), I discussed the significance of the circle dance of the Manchu–Tunguz Peoples as a multilingual celebration of ethnic unity-in-diversity. A community's hosts and guests, men and women, adults and children, join hands to sing and dance together in this archetypal format which allows the "lead" to pass from one person to another. The lead introduces his or her song which is repeated by the group in a call and response format. Taking the lead also involves setting the consistent stepping rhythm for the circle which is synchronized with the song. After a few minutes it becomes time for the next person to pick up the lead and they can do so in their native language which may or may not be shared by other group members. An outsider like myself can participate by repeating the sounds without knowing the meaning and all participants can transcend the limitations of language.

Dugarov Dashinima Sanzhievich (Buryat and thus not Manchu–Tunguz) describes the circle dance as a dance of sacrifice. In his view, the Buryat nation was the first to create this dance although Manchu–Tunguz nations have similar dances, with each claiming to have the original. Perhaps, he suggests, it was created long ago before the nations separated, when people danced around a fire, tree or hill. Some dance today around the long pole, like a whip, used to make the reindeer run more quickly which can be said to represent the centrality of the reindeer to these communities.

Indigenous models of cosmology as circular and cyclical are represented in the circle dance which actualizes the iterative nature of Sakha cosmology. Western cosmology in contrast is linear and fragmented.

Each person in a circle sees and is seen by everyone else and all participants are equal; with each person sharing the responsibility for generating, circulating and also containing the energy produced. Individuality, ethnic identity and language are celebrated within the collective experience.

The Jew's Harp Museum in Sakha

The origins of the Sakha People are connected with the divine origin of their most famous musical instrument, the jew's harp or *khomus* as it is called in Sakha. In this poem, benign gods created the world in which they situated both humans and *khomus*, spoken of here as a dear friend and companion:

The day, when
 The kind Gods' tribe
 Created the World
 The day, when
 They blessed the two-legged race
 To live on the land,
 The day, when
 They settled the Uraankhay¹⁷ people
 In the Middle World¹⁸
 They created
 Dear magic *khomus*
 With a curved tongue,
 Jingling sound
 And peerless song...¹⁹

Born in Yakutia, Aleksey Eliseevich Kulakovskii (1877–1926), poet and folklorist, is remembered as one of the founders of Yakut literature. His poem, entitled *Khomus*, celebrates the shared divine origins of the *khomus* and his people. Archaeology/paleontology evidence shows that

¹⁷ Term of self-designation for Sakha, formerly Yakut, people who sometimes call themselves "Uraankhay Sakhalar."

¹⁸ Siberian Peoples' cosmology incorporates the upper, middle and lower worlds.

¹⁹ A. Kulakovskii (translated from Sakha) 1898 (in *Khomus* 1996: 8).

hunting tribes occupied the Yakutia area since Neolithic times. The *khomus* is also known to date back to the Neolithic. Although the jew's harp is widespread throughout the world, the Asian instruments are said to be the oldest forms.

Ancient traditions are living traditions in Siberia where art colleges and music schools teach the skills of jew's harp playing and making. Yakutia especially is renowned throughout the world not just for its *khomus* musicians but for its 'master makers' who are celebrated for producing instruments with the best sound. The passing on of these traditional skills is supported in the formal education system. The Namsty Pedagogical College in Sakha, for example, offers a Master Craftsman Program for male and female masters in folk art, sewing, ceramics, and *khomus*-making. Certificates of authenticity are issued with instruments made by masters. Masters preserve Sakha's musical heritage as well as keeping alive Sakha blacksmithing traditions. Blacksmithing skills are highly valued because they produce the necessities of a land-based life such as knives, flints and *khomus*. Tadagawa Leo points out that "blacksmiths were respected as people who have equal power with shamans" (1996: 37).

I asked Evenks if the *khomus* was ever associated with shamans and healing among them. "Perhaps in the past," I was told, "but now such things have been forgotten if the *khomus* ever was used this way." Other Evenks pointed out that they trust nature and use only natural things in their music but that the Yakuts used the *khomus* to cure people. Many Yakuts have forgotten about past use of the *khomus* for healing and by shamans yet a few people I spoke to remember it being used by shamans when they were on their own. In their homes or on the land, they played it as a way of connecting with their spirits. Thus in healing and shamanic ritual, the *khomus* seems to have been a more private tool for journeying compared to the drum whose sound carries a great distance and is thus more suitable in a public and group context.

N. Petrov (in Hoppál 1973: 275) describes the *hur-homus* in Buryat and Yakut traditions as having been,

a constant accessory of the shaman in the region of the Olkhon. Among the western Buryat, the *hur* was used for magic and for the invocation of spirits . . . *Hurs* were made only by smiths, who traced their lineage from the celestial smith, they were the so-called white smiths.

Leo mentions the use of the *khomus* in shamanic ritual in Tuva and in western Mongolia. He notes that among the Ul'ch, [*sic*] the Tunguz speaking people in the Amur region, the jew's harp predated the drum as the shaman's instrument and the imitation technique which produces the sounds of birds and animals symbolically indicates the arrival of the assistant spirits (1996: 44–5).

The Museum's guidebook notes that the *khomus* is, "a shaman's attribute used in rites" in Siberia, and although rarely played in Buryatia nowadays, "formerly the instrument was of great worship with the buryat [*sic*] people. The buryat shamans used it in their ceremonies of fortune-telling and spirits-calling" (Zhirkova 1997: 11). Petrov (in Hop-pál 1973: 275) noted the use of the shaman's *khomus* for prophesying and healing (particularly for headaches).

Sakha is home to the only specialized jew's harp museum in the world. The Khomus Museum of the World Peoples is a member of ICOM [The International Council of Museums of UNESCO].

Its Director, Semion Ivanov, allowed me to videotape him demonstrating a *khomus* from the collection and illustrated some of the sounds of nature that proficient players can imitate—the wind blowing or specific bird songs. The most famous of these is the cuckoo which indicates the beginning of spring to the Sakha people and is thus a sound of renewal and of people's sacred connection to the land and all of its gifts. Some players are adept at imitating the sound of horses galloping (the horse is sacred in Sakha). According to Sakha legend, God created the horse first, then humans so Yakuts worship the horse and use all parts of it.

Conclusion

This paper has discussed the centrality of music in Manchu–Tunguz traditions, its importance as a marker of ethnic identity in today's tumultuous times and as a rallying point for configurations of an emerging future. For Siberians, their traditional music is as much about the incorporation of new experiences as it is about persistence and resilience.

I have addressed the importance of new approaches to the study of indigenous music and the need for expanding paradigms in western

science's approach to the study of indigenous knowledge. Through music, we can find more holistic, interdisciplinary and multidimensional ways of understanding indigenous ways of knowing. Further, we have a responsibility to sensitize ourselves to such potential.

Meaning in indigenous music is physical, symbolic and subtle and we respond on many levels, even when we do not understand the language of a song or the specifics of a dance. Music in all its expressions, from a cuckoo's call to a shaman's song, resonates within our minds and bodies, reaching deep and sometimes forgotten emotions and touching our spirit in ways that we do not yet fully comprehend. There is no more direct way to approach the elusive soul of a culture that is at the heart of ethnography.

Music underscores how process is as important as content in indigenous ways of knowing by considering how we come to know as well as what we come to know about the world and humans' place within it. It provides a new methodology, one that is culture-emergent and culture-generative, for understanding indigenous cosmology. It facilitates interactions within and between cultures that were viewed as separated and discrete in traditional ethnography. And it broadens our understanding of knowledge—what it is, how it is acquired and shaped, and how it is passed on between cultures and generations, between the natural and human worlds, and between the metaphysical and physical realms.

The musical experience in indigenous contexts is formulated through *praxis*, that is, the actions that people make on and through their environment in their daily lives and the knowledge required to support those actions. Indigenous music is experiential knowledge and can only remain vital from the performance and experience of it. There is an acute need to document the indigenous knowledge of Siberian Native Peoples, especially that of elders, shamans and other healers. Within this broad field, indigenous music is especially important although it has been largely ignored by western science as a form of indigenous knowledge. Much needs to be done in terms of documentation; also, much needs to be done in terms of generating opportunities for passing on these traditions. Research into indigenous music articulates the emerging dialogue between theory and practice in the social sciences.

We must look for ways to sustain the carriers of traditional knowledge in the form of indigenous music—the songs, the texts and scores; the

musicians, performers, shamans, the instrument makers and the rituals in which it is shared and its meanings renewed. Indigenous musical traditions are sustained through the expression of this music and the sharing of that experience in contexts in which Indigenous Peoples maintain control over its expression.

Western scholarship has homogenized the indigenous experience whether we have studied material culture, decision-making, or music. Through indigenization, "folk" or "ethnic" songs are presented as anonymous and ahistorical. Certainly, we have not acknowledged the diversity of themes, expressions and styles in indigenous music. This study of Manchu-Tunguz music points out the far-reaching influences of indigenous music and its integration into all areas of the indigenous experience. Because we have also depersonalized it, the paper has addressed the importance of the individual composer, instrument player and maker, singer, songwriter, dancer, choreographer, and shaman whose personal experiences, struggles, gifts and exploits are recorded and celebrated in music by and about them. The ICOM Jew's Harp Museum includes biographies of players and instrument makers, the maker's name is stamped on his *khomus* and a shaman's drum is made for him or her by a specialist who is known by name. Songs remind people of their composer. Individual exploits, accomplishments and disappointments are all commemorated in songs in which people are mentioned by name.

Non-indigenous researchers working with Indigenous People can do a lot of acknowledge and legitimize indigenous music as a field of inquiry. And while we must continue to look for ways to integrate indigenous knowledge and scientific knowledge in addressing problems of common concern, we must also value indigenous music as a body of knowledge in its own right. It is valuable for us to study it in an academic sense. It is also important that we enter fully into the experience of it, and if we can, that we do so within the ecological and spiritual context that generates it. An enic perspective offers the possibility of blurring the boundaries between insider and outsider. By entering into the circle of the dance, the rhythm of the jew's harp, the melody of the song, we enter into that experience and it enters us. The instrument and its maker, a dance and a song, the musician and the audience, become one.

I would like to thank Dilsher Virk and Olga Povorozniuk for their helpful comments during the writing of this article.

References

- Arundale, Wendy (ed.) 2003. *Arctic Anthropology*. Special Issue on Stories and Healing. Madison, Wisconsin, Vol. 40, No. 2.
- Basso, Keith 1996. *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Brody, Hugh 1981. *Maps and Dreams*. Penguin Books.
- Cruikshank, Julie 1990. *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders*. In collaboration with Angela Sidney, Kitty Smith, and Annie Ned. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Davis, Wade 1992. *Shadows in the Sun: Essays on the Spirit of Place*. Edmonton, Alberta: Lone Pine Publishing.
- Dawson, Jan 1999. "Egalitarian Responses in Postcommunist Russia." *International Studies Review* 1/3 (Fall): 13–40.
- Diamond, Beverley et al. 1994. *Visions of Sound: Musical Instruments of First Nations Communities in Northeastern Alaska*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- Forsyth, James 1992. *A History of the Peoples of Siberia: Russia's North Asian Colony 1581–1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Funk, Dimitri A. and Lennard Sillanpää (eds.) 1999. *The Small Indigenous Nations of Northern Russia: A Guide for Researchers*. Social Sciences Research Unit Publication No. 29. Vaasa, Finland: Åbo Akademi University.
- Gorbacheva, Valentina and Marina Federova 1999. *The Peoples of the Great North: Art and Civilisation of Siberia*. New York: Parkstone Press.
- Harner, Michael 1980. *The Way of the Shaman*. San Francisco: Harper.
- Hood, Robin June 2000. "Weaving a World of Respect." In *Voice of the Drum*. Brandon, Manitoba: Kingfisher Publications.
- Hoppál, Mihály 1993. "Studies on Eurasian Shamanism." In Mihály Hoppál and Keith D. Howard (eds.) *Shamans and Cultures*. ISTOR Books 5. Budapest / Los Angeles: Akadémiai Kiadó / International Society for Trans-Oceanic Research. 258–288.
- Hultkrantz, Åke 1987. *Native Religions of North America. The Power of Visions and Fertility*. San Francisco: Harper and Row.
- . 1992. *Shamanic Healing and Ritual Drama: Health and Medicine in Native North America*. New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company.
- Kawagley, A. Oscar 1995. *A Yupiaq Worldview: A Pathway to Ecology and Spirit*. Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press.
- Kertzer, David 1999. "On Rational Choice and Beached Diasporas." *International Studies Review* 1/3 (Fall): 121–125.
- Khomus. An Annual Journal on the Jew's Harps of the World*. No. 1. 1996. Yakutsk: International Jew's Harp Music Centre.

- Laitin, David D. 1998. *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Leo, Tadagawa. In S. Spiridon 1996.
- Narby, Jeremy 1998. *The Cosmic Serpent: DNA and the Origins of Knowledge*. New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Putman.
- Nelson, Richard 1983. *Make Prayers to the Raven: A Koyukon View of the Northern Forest*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Nikolaev, Mikhail 1994. *The Arctic: Despair and Hope of Russia. Articles and Reports*. Yakutsk: Sakha-Centre.
- Pentikäinen, Juha 1994. "Shamanism as the Expression of Northern Identity." In Takashi Irimoto and Takako Yamada (eds.) *Circumpolar Religion and Ecology: An Anthropology of the North*. Japan: University of Tokyo Press. 375-401.
- . 1998. *Shamanism and Culture*. Helsinki: Etnika Co.
- Pike, Kenneth 1967. *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior*. The Hague: Mouton. (First published in 1954).
- Ridington, Robin 1990. *Little Bit Know Something: Stories in a Language of Anthropology*. Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre.
- Rouget, Gilbert 1985. *Music and Trance: A Theory of the Relations Between Music and Possession*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sherstov, V. A. (ed.) n.d. *Yakut Scientific Center*. Moscow: Russian Academy of Sciences, Siberian Division.
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books.
- Spiridon Shishigin 1996. "Master of the 'Speaking' Khomus." *Khomus. An Annual Journal on the Jew's Harps of the World*. No. 1. Yakutsk: International Jew's Harp Music Centre. 58-60.
- Townsend, Joan 1999. "Theoretical Issues in the Study of Shamanism." *Proceedings of the International Congress Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices*. Moscow. 32-39.
- Turner, Nancy 1990. *Thompson Ethnobotany: Knowledge and Usage of Plants by the Thompson Indians of British Columbia*. Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum.
- Van Deusen, Kira "The Voice of the Mountain Spirit: Contemporary Shamanism in Siberia." *Active Voices, the Online Journal of Cultural Survival* <http://www.cs.org/cs%20website/LevelFour/LevelFour-VanDeusen>
- Walker, Marilyn 2001. "The Language of Shamans and the Metaphysics of Language: Emerging Paradigms in Shamanic Studies." *Shaman, Journal of the International Society for Shamanic Studies* 9/1 (Spring): 35-59.
- . 2003. "Music as Knowledge in Shamanism and Other Healing Traditions of Siberia." *Arctic Anthropology* 40/3: 40-48.
- . 2004. "Enic, Emic and Etic: Theoretical and Methodological Implications for Sacral Studies." *Proceedings International Interdisciplinary Congress*. Moscow, June 20-30. Volume 4.
- Zhirikova, R. R. (compiled by) 1997. *The Khomus (Jew's Harp) Museum of the World Peoples Museum Guide*. Yakutsk: International Jew's Harp Music Centre.

DR. MARILYN WALKER is an anthropologist and associate professor at Mount Allison University, Canada. She is also a Field Associate for Southeast Asia, Siberia and northern North America with Michael Harner's Foundation for Shamanic Studies. Her work with Indigenous Peoples and ethnic minorities has taken her to Southeast Asia, the Arctic and Subarctic regions of North America, India and Russia. Current areas of interest in minority-state relations and indigenous epistemology explore transcultural comparisons in shamanism, music and traditional medicine. Next year she will be on sabbatical to study shamanic traditions in Siberia and Tibet.