

## Article

# The Inheritance and Change of the Contemporary Daur Shaman

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**Abstract:** The Daur people are a minority living in Northeast China. They have adhered to a form of shamanism since ancient times. They believe that all things are spiritual. The Daur call an intermediary or messenger between the human world and the spirit worlds *jad'an* (shaman). In addition, there are also different types of priests and healers, such as *bagfi* (healer and priest), *barf* (bone-setter), *utufi* (healer of child) and *baræfjen* (midwife), but only the *jad'an* is a real shaman. The Daur's system of deities is huge, complex, and diverse, mainly including *tæggær* (God of Heaven), *xuǰur barkæn* (ancestral spirit), *njaŋŋjaŋ barkæn* (Niang Niang Goddess), *avlai barkæn* (spirit of mountain), *nuǰir barkæn* (spirit of snake), *gali barkæn* (God of Fire), etc. Among them, ancestral spirit is the most noble and important deity of the Daur, called *xuǰur barkæn* (spirit of ancestors). In the past, the social structure of the Daur was based on the equal clan *xal* and its branches *mokun*. *Xuǰur barkæn* is the ancestral spirit of the *mokun* family. The shaman with *xuǰur barkæn* as the main patron is called *xuǰur jad'an*, that is, *mokun* shaman. The inheritance of the Daur shaman is very complicated. The *xuǰur jad'an* is strictly inherited along the patrilineal line, while the ordinary *jad'an* can also inherit according to the maternal lineage. The inheritance rites of other types of shamans are also based mainly on the patrilineal lineage and occasionally the maternal lineage. The complexity of the Daur shaman inheritance is first and foremost related to the variety of the gods and spirits, secondly to their belief of polytheism, and finally to the constant split of the traditional clans and families, namely, the *xal-mokun* social structure.

**Keywords:** Daur shaman; *jad'an* (shaman); *bagfi* (healer and priest); *barf* (bone-setter); *utufi* (healer of child); *baræfjen* (midwife); *xuǰur* (root, origin, ancestor); *xuǰur barkæn* (spirit of ancestors); *xuǰur jad'an* (*mokun* shaman); *xal* (clan)-*mokun* (branches of clan); inheritance

## 1. Preface

The Daur people are an ethnic group living in Northeast China. The Dauric language is an Altai-Mongolic language with no written standard. In 2010, the total population of the Daur was approximately 130,000. There are different views regarding the origin of the Daur people among Chinese and overseas scholars as well as in non-academic circles. Many scholars in Europe and the United States have attributed the Daur to one of the Ewenki (Tungus) families. Japanese scholars generally believe that the Daur is one of the branches of the Mongolians (Omachi 1995, p. 46). At present, some Chinese scholars believe that they are descendants of the Khitan (Kara and Hoppal 2009, p. 14).

After migrating from north of the Heilongjiang River to the Nenjiang River in the early Qing Dynasty, the Daur were regularly conscripted to serve in the banner system of the Qing emperors and were responsible for three duties, namely participating in war, patrolling the border, and garrisoning Karuns (the Manchu word meaning guard posts). They were successively dispatched and settled in frontier counties such as Aigun, Hulun Buir (Hölon-Buir), Mergen, Buteha, Qiqihar, Hulan, and other places in Xinjiang such as Yili and Tacheng. As a result, nowadays the Daur as a whole inhabit vast

areas, yet live in individual compact communities (Manduertu 2007, pp. 181, 192). At present, most of the Daur people live in the Hulun Buir area of Inner Mongolia, Qiqihar of Heilongjiang Province, and Tacheng of Xinjiang. The Daur people of Hulun Buir are geographically divided into two groups: some live in the plains along the banks of the Nawen River (Nenjiang) and the Nomin River on the east side of the Greater Khingan Range, whereas another group lives in the Yimin and Hailar River Basin in the territory of Hailar and the Ewenki Autonomous Banner. The Daurs living in the former area where the Morin-Dawaa Daur Autonomous Banner is situated are known as *Bat'an* Daur.

The basic unit of Daur society is the equal clan, *xal-mokun*. A clan is called *xal* in Daur (Manchu *hala*) and its branches are referred to as *mokun* (Manchu and Daur). The *xal* was the basic organ of the Daur patriarchal clan society. Group membership is based on blood ties, members share a common patriarchal ancestor, common living areas, common economic life, and social and cultural activities. Each *xal* names itself by the name of the mountain or river in its ancestral area. This social structure continued into the early 20th century. As population increased, the *xal* split into a number of more closely related branches—*mokun*, which functioned as *xal* and became the basic unit of Daur society. Since the early years of the Republic of China, the surname of members in the same *xal* or *mokun* has been reduced to a single Chinese character by the homonym or free translation of its Daur *xal-mokun* name (Omachi 1995, p. 47).

The Daur religion is based on shamanism. The *Bat'an* Daur, living in the Morin-Dawaa Daur Autonomous Banner, have maintained the most original and strongest religious tradition since they have been living in a relatively isolated area. Those Daurs in Qiqihar, who have had frequent contact with the Han people, have been influenced by Taoism. Daurs in Hailar, though deeply influenced by Tibetan Buddhism, still maintain forms of shamanism (Omachi 1995, p. 47). After the 1940s, the inheritance of the Daur shaman was interrupted for about 50 years, and it did not recover until the beginning of the 1990s. After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, folk religions and beliefs were regarded as “feudalistic superstition”, and thus, most shaman rituals were performed secretly. Although there were a few publicly active shamans at that time, religious people, especially the elderly, tended to worship the spirits in private and invited the shamans to cure diseases in secret. In 1978, the Chinese government began to implement a policy of Reform and Opening-up, the economy started to flourish, and many local cultures also revived. In the late 1990s, the shamanistic tradition began to recover and ceremonies started to be held in public. In 2005, the State Council of China promulgated the “Notice on Strengthening the Protection of Cultural Heritage”; shaman songs, dances, costumes, and rituals have been included in a list of protected Intangible Cultural Heritage. Some revered Daur shamans such as Siqingua and her disciples in the Hulun Buir area of Inner Mongolia have emerged during the past two decades. They practise a large number of sacrificial ceremonies and rituals, and are the most active, typical, and representative shamans in the Hulun Buir region as well as in Northeast China.

The contemporary Daur shamans, represented by Shaman Siqingua and her disciple Wo Jufen, with their re-interpretation of traditional rituals reflect the inheritance and innovation of shamanism in the new era, which is of great value and significance. Their efforts in revitalizing shamanism do not only consist in imitating the traditions, but also to re-explain shamanism with modern languages and viewpoints, often leading to interesting innovations. The inheritance system functions against this background of tradition and new freedoms. In the course of inheriting and developing shamanism, their activities have been very influential and have gained widespread attention in society, even attracting the attention of domestic and foreign academics.

I am ethnically Ewenki. My father is Solon Ewenki and my mother is Daur. I was born in Morin-Dawaa Daur Autonomous Banner and speak both the Chinese and the Dauric languages, which is a distinct advantage in field research. Thanks to my ethnic background, I am very familiar with local Daur culture and customs. Moreover, I have been observing and interviewing the shamans and their rituals for a long time and have received their trust and support. I have even been allowed to

participate in some private ceremonies such as offering sacrifices to the ancestors conducted at the end of every year.

Over the past 10 years, I have been studying the rituals of Daur shamanism, the lyric texts of the shamanic invocation songs, polytheism, animism and their beliefs. I participated in more than 40 rituals of Siqingua and her disciples, including offering sacrifices to ancestors, initiation rituals, *ɔbɔ*: rituals, *lus* rituals, and *ɔmina:n* (ominaan) rituals; I also interviewed Shaman Siqingua and Wo Jufen, and some elderly people acquainted with shaman traditions on themes such as the Daur's belief in polytheism and worship activities, and shaman, the medium between the spirit world and people. I have conducted many interviews and compiled nearly 300,000 words of interview notes; more than 200,000 words of shamanic invocation songs have been translated. This article, taking the invoking ritual of Siqingua and her disciples as an example, aims to explore the inheritance and changes of the contemporary Daur shaman.

Some of the field research pictures of the rituals of Shaman Siqingua and her disciples are shown in Appendix A.

## 2. The Daur Shamans and Classification

### 2.1. Major Types of Daur Shamans

#### 2.1.1. Shaman (*jad'en*, 雅德恩)

The Daur do not refer to priests and healers as “shamans” like the Manchu-Tungus people, but both male and female shamans are collectively referred to as *jad'en* (雅德恩), or *jadgen* (雅德根). Only the Daur people living in Hailar, influenced by the local Ewenkis, call them shamans.

There are many types of *jad'en*. According to the different gods or spirits they invoke, *jad'ens* are divided into two types. The ones who invoke the ancestral spirits of their own *xal-mokun* as the main gods are called *xɔɕʊr jad'en*, or *mokun* shaman; the ordinary *jad'ens* who invoke spirits of the others are *bə:di jad'en*. It is generally believed that the *xɔɕʊr jad'ens* with the ancestral spirits of *mokun* as their main guardian gods are more powerful.

According to their life background and experiences, *jad'ens* fall into two categories, *Garsən jad'en* and *Butu jad'en*.<sup>1</sup> A *Garsən jad'en* is a shaman who has officially completed an initiation ritual and been formally recognized as a disciple; a *Butu jad'en* is a shaman who has not undergone a formal initiation ritual. Generally, *Garsən jad'ens* have far-reaching supernatural power since their shaman road has opened, while *Butu jad'ens* are not as skilled because their roads are still closed.

In addition to *jad'en*, the Daur also have other religious practitioners such as *ɔtʊfi* (healer of child), *bagtfi* (healer and priest), *barf* (bone-setter) and *barætfen* (midwife) (Neimenggu Zizhiqu Bianjizu 1985, pp. 266–67).<sup>2</sup> However, whether among the shaman groups or the ordinary Daur, it is generally believed that only *jad'ens* are real shamans, and *xɔɕʊr jad'ens* are *mokun* shamans. A *Bagtfi* is both a priest and a healer; the main function of *ɔtʊfi*, *barf*, *barætfen* is to provide health care, and they generally do not preside over sacrificial activities. In this article, shaman and *jad'en* share the same meaning. In addition to *jad'en*, *ɔtʊfi*, *bagtfi*, *barf*, and *barætfen* are included in the shamanic system, or the path intermediaries take.

#### 2.1.2. Healer and Priest (*bagtfi*, 巴格其)

According to Shaman Wojufen, who lives in Morin-Dawaa, a *bagtfi* enjoys high status with many responsibilities and plays significant roles. She said that the *bagtfi* is equivalent to a current

<sup>1</sup> *Garsən* means “to come out”; *Butu* means “wrapped”.

<sup>2</sup> Dawoerzu shehui lishi diaocha. 1985. 达斡尔族社会历史调查 [Social and historical study of the Daur minority]. Hohhot. pp. 266–67. *barf* (巴日西) writes “巴尔西” and *barætfen* (巴日耶浅) writes “巴列沁”, which are the same Daur language vocabulary used in different Chinese characters.

doctor-in-charge that can cure many diseases. She often employs exorcism as a means to cure illness which is believed to be caused by the wandering malevolent spirits, and takes the road of *dulbur* (duolebur).<sup>3</sup> Besides, a *jad'en* will not put on a *sama:fak* (shaman vestment)<sup>4</sup> every day to heal people; they only present themselves when offering sacrifices to *xuqur barkan* (ancestral spirit). However, as she said, most of the current *bagtfi* are not capable of these techniques, neither singing an *iru* (shamanic song)<sup>5</sup> nor taking up the *dulbur* road. This is probably the case discussed in the research report “Social and Historical Study of the Daur Minority”.<sup>6</sup>

In my investigation and interviews, I found that *bagtfis* can also invoke the spirit to possess their bodies, and independently carry out sacrifices and healings. They are not merely assistants of *jad'en*. In the past, many *mokun* family-sacrificial rituals were hosted by *bagtfi*. A *bagtfi* has no special clothing, and generally uses a horsetail whisk as instrument. There are also women who serve as *bagtfi*, but in a much smaller number.

### 2.1.3. Bone-Setter (*barf*, 巴日西)

According to the “Social and Historical Study of the Daur Minority”, a *barf* represents *njagnjan barkan* (Niang Niang Goddess) or *avlai barkan* (spirit of mountain) beyond the boundary of *mokun*. A *barf* wears no special clothing but carries a rosary of 108 beads. Normally, a *barf* treats scabies, wounds and bone injuries. The treatment method is blowing off spit while incanting (Neimenggu Zizhiqu Bianjizu 1985, p. 267). According to the interview, *barfs* must enshrine *nuqir barkan* (spirit of snake), whose main duty is to treat bone injuries by means of resetting bones and massage.

### 2.1.4. Healer of Child (*utufi*, 翰托西)

A *utufi* is the representative and spokesperson of *njagnjan barkan* (Niang Niang Goddess). *utufis* are mostly women, scarcely men, with no *mokun* restrictions. There could be more than one *utufis* at the same time within a single *mokun*. The common vestment of a *utufi* is called *guarlas*, much like a skirt, and *dolibur*, a flag with various satin strings is used as instrument. *utufis* are often invited to treat smallpox of children. *utufis* can also practise divination.

### 2.1.5. Midwife (*barætfen*, 巴日耶浅)

*Barætfens* are usually women, especially elderly women who are experienced in delivering children. However, it is said that a small number of *barætfens* rely on the *avlai barkan* (Neimenggu Zizhiqu Bianjizu 1985, p. 267). Nowadays, as a result of advanced medical science and the largely improved medical conditions, the pregnant tend to go to hospitals before delivery.

## 2.2. Shamans and Gods (Spirits)

The Daur people have practiced shamanism since ancient times. The deity system they believe in is huge, complex, and diverse. The deities that are widely worshipped by the people are mainly *tæggær* (God of Heaven), *xuqur barkan* (spirit of ancestor), *njagnjan barkan* (Niang Niang Goddess), *avlai barkan*

<sup>3</sup> The term *dulbur* (duolebur) refers to the shaman's night journey (*dolbor*). According to Shaman Wo Jufen, walking the *koidaj* road is called *dulbur*, which is commonly known as “guo yin (过阴)” in Chinese, going to the underworld.

<sup>4</sup> The *sama:fak* (samashike) is the *jad'en*'s sacred clothing, i.e., the shaman vestment. It is called *qawa*: (zhawa) among Hailar Dairs.

<sup>5</sup> In *Dawoerzu shehui lishi diaocha*. (1985, 达斡尔族社会历史调查 [Social and historical study of the Daur minority]. Hohhot). it is interpreted as “The Tune of the Prayer of *jad'en*”. In fact, not only *jad'ens* but *bagtfis* sing *iru*; *iru* consists not only of a tune, but also meaningful contents. The content is divided into two parts: the prelude and the main body. The prelude is a tune without lyrics, and the content of the body includes evoking and seeing off spirits, praying, etc. Therefore, *iru* should refer to the tune and content of *jad'en* and *bagtfi*'s singing prayer.

<sup>6</sup> According to *Dawoerzu shehui lishi diaocha*, 1985, 达斡尔族社会历史调查 [Social and historical study of the Daur minority], the *bagtfi* does not have an evoked spirit of his own. When the *jad'en* performs the rites, the *bagtfi* serves as his/her assistant, reciting prayers for the *jad'en*. However, the *bagtfi* is not capable of curing illness; instead he would perform some small sacrificial rites for the patient such as incantations and offerings. Besides, there is no female who serves as *bagtfi*.



(spirit of mountain), *nuḡir barkən* (spirit of snake, symbolizing spirit of river) or *lvs* (spirit of dragon, symbolizing spirit of river), *gali barkən* (God of Fire) and so on (Sa 2014, pp. 64–65). These are the major categories of spirits and gods. In fact, the Daur's system of deities is huge and complex. For example, *avləi barkən* refers to the spirits of mountains which could be roughly divided into *fi'ə avləi* (senior spirit of mountain) and *utfikən avləi* (junior spirit of mountain). However, more specifically, spirits of mountains could be classified into multiple types. Those with no actual mountain are called *kumə barkən* (mountain spirit of slope), *xairs barkən* (mountain spirit of grassland), and *xad barkən* (mountain spirit of cliff). In fact, they are all included in spirits of mountains. *fi'ə avləi* is also called *xvbi avləi barkən* (mountain spirit of Xobi). Besides, there are *dv: barkən* (spirit of the wilderness), *ga:di barkən* (spirit of the outside, named after being placed on the northwest corner of the house) and *saj'ələ barkən* (spirit of the storehouse, named after being placed in the storehouse), etc. Although variously named, they are all spirits of mountains.<sup>7</sup> And another example is *xad barkən*, the mountain spirit of cliff. In the Tengke town of the Morin-Dawaa Daur Autonomous Banner, there are *guajil xad barkən* (the mountain spirit of Guaile-Cliff), *isər xad barkən* (the mountain spirit of Yisier-Cliff), and *tʃiaŋ xad barkən* (the mountain spirit of Qi-ang-Cliff).

Besides *barkən*, another Dauric word for deity is *uḡgʊr*. Generally speaking, *barkən* refers to static, imaged spirits, such as portraits and idols; *uḡgʊr*s indicates changing and dynamic spirits. According to the beliefs of the Daur people, the spirits can inhabit vestments, artifacts, portraits, and idols, and can fly at any time and patrol around. When the shaman entered the state of being possessed, people would say that *uḡgʊr* comes down; when the state of possession ends, people consider that *uḡgʊr* goes out and leaves. *Barkəns* are enshrined at home while *uḡgʊr*s enter shamans' bodies (Sa 2014, pp. 64–65). Both *jad'ən* and the other four types of intermediaries have their own *uḡgʊr*. According to Shaman Wo Jufen, “they are all people who have *uḡgʊr*s, (if not, how can they) call and let *uḡgʊr* sit on their bodies? How can (a person) walk his/her shaman road without *uḡgʊr*?” Both *jad'əns* and *bagʃis* can be possessed by spirits, and *utʊfis* can also be possessed. The possession of *barʃ* and *baræʃen* has not been observed.

According to the relationship between the Daur's *xvḡʊr jad'ən* (*mokun* shaman) and his/her *xvḡʊr barkən* (*mokun*'s ancestral spirits), the spirits of *xvḡʊr jad'ən* consist of two categories, spirits of ancestors and the helping spirits. The ancestral spirit *xvḡʊr barkən* is the most noble and important spirit of the Daur. *Xvḡʊr*, originally meaning root or origin, is the title of the Daurs for the blood-related ancestors, and later indicates a *mokun*'s blood ancestors. The helping spirits, originally from the outside, have no blood relationship with the *xal-mokun*. They follow the ancestor spirits and accept the offerings from the *mokun* shaman and his/her *mokun* family together with the ancestors, and provide protection and assistance. The helping spirits have gradually become the important tutelary of the *mokun* family.

A *xvḡʊr jad'ən* regularly worships the ancestral spirits of *mokun*, and offers sacrifices to the *əbɔ:* and *lvs* of the *mokun* family before and after the initiation ritual. The grand ritual of the *əmina:n* (*ominaan*) is held every three years (Sa 2015). Among them, the initiation ritual and the ritual of offering sacrifices to ancestors, mainly carried out by shamans and their families, are relatively private while the *əbɔ:* and *lvs* sacrificing rituals, and the ritual of *əmina:n* (*ominaan*) are more open, with members of the *mokun* involved, but members from other *mokuns* can also participate. To worship the ancestral spirits and to offer sacrifices to the *əbɔ:* of other *xal-mokun* families as invited is also the due responsibility of *xvḡʊr jad'ən*. Besides, *mokun* shamans also conduct traditional healing rituals to

<sup>7</sup> From an interview conducted with Shaman Wo Jufen in September 2018.

members of their own or other *mokuns*. Currently, the *arfan*<sup>8</sup> ritual is the most frequently conducted healing ritual.

### 3. The Inheritance Principle of the Daur Shaman

#### 3.1. *Mokun Shaman (xvḡṣur jad'an) is Strictly Inherited Along the Paternal Lineage*

The most fundamental principle of the Daur inheritance is to inherit according to the patrilineal lineage. As mentioned above, the Daur's *jad'an* consists of *xvḡṣur jad'an* and general *jad'an*. A *xvḡṣur jad'an* is the one having *xal-mokun's xvḡṣur barkən* (the ancestral spirit) as his god, the title of which is not hereditary, but a *xvḡṣur jad'an* must be a member of the *mokun*, and no other *mokun* member can be this *mokun's xvḡṣur jad'an*. That is to say, the *xvḡṣur jad'an* who takes his *xal-mokun's xvḡṣur barkən* as the major god must be inherited within the *mokun* family, and must be from the members of the *mokun*, either male or female (Neimenggu Zizhiqiu Bianjizu 1985, p. 258). This is the most fundamental principle of the inheritance of *xvḡṣur jad'an*.

The shamanic ability of *xvḡṣur jad'an* passes on along the patrilineal line, and thus, the ancestral spirits will pick the successor among the descendants of the paternal family. Usually, there is no problem with male inheritance within the family. A grandfather may pass it on to his son, grandson, or great-grandson, while it sometimes may be passed to the daughter or granddaughter. Once a married woman is selected by the ancestral spirit, she will take the ancestral spirit of the father's *xal-mokun*, and return to her parents' home to hold the initiation ritual. The ability of the aunt may be passed on to a nephew, a niece, a grandniece, or a grandnephew. After her death, the ancestral spirit will return to her original *mokun* family to find the next generation of shaman. So none of her descendants would be chosen since they are the descendants of her husband's *xal-mokun*.

#### 3.2. *Ordinary Shaman (bə:di jad'an) Can Be Inherited According to the Maternal Lineage*

The ordinary *jad'an* is called *bə:di jad'an* because they take outside spirits, the spirits out of the *xal-mokun*. The *bə:di'*ə (outside),<sup>9</sup> meaning external, specifically refers to the spirits not from the father's *xal-mokun*. If this spirit has a blood relationship with the *jad'an*, then it is the spirit from the matrilineal family, that is, the ancestral spirit of his/her mother or grandmother's *xal-mokun*, or it is the shamanic spirit of a former shaman. If this spirit comes from nature, then it is the animal spirit, or the soul of an elf-sized animal.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, the principle of the ordinary *jad'an's* inheritance which is related to the traditional blood relationship is that the successor can inherit the shaman road of his/her mother or grandmother's *xal-mokun*. It is said that the ancestral spirit who follows the married daughter would probably choose her children or grandchildren to inherit the shaman road.

#### 3.3. *There Are Five Shaman Roads in the Ji'ə Barkən Mokun Family with ta:un tərəkən*

Another important principle of the inheritance of the Daur is that a *xal-mokun* family can simultaneously have *jad'an*, *bagfi*, *barf*, *utufi*, and *baræfən*. This is because many *mokun* families

<sup>8</sup> In the *arfan* ceremony, the shaman uses a few pebbles of his/hers, a small bronze mirror, "GangGa grass", butter, milk to boil in a large iron pot, and the liquid is called *arfan*. The shaman usually uses a pot brush to sprinkle the mixed liquid to the head, face, chest, back, palms and other parts of people. This ceremony is called *arfanlæbe* which means to wash with holy water. The shaman often holds such ceremonies on the first and fifth of each month for the purpose of purification, praying, and receiving blessings. In the rituals of initiation and *Ominaan*, the *arfanlæbe* is often performed.

<sup>9</sup> The Daur Shamanism often uses the *bə:di'*ə to refer to the outside spirits and elves, but most of the time it refers to the homeless elves and ghosts wandering in the wild. For example, a ritual to sacrifice a black goat is to be held on the first night of the *ominaan* ritual, and the black goat will be dedicated to the *bə:di'*ə to avoid them bringing harm to the ceremony and the people. There is a double meaning here, that is, the ordinary *jad'an* may invoke outside spirits, or ancestral spirits from other *xal-mokun* rather than the father's lineage.

<sup>10</sup> Among the literature and interviews, it has not been discovered that the gods of the Daur come from plant elves.

have *fi'ə barkən*<sup>11</sup> of *ta:un tərən*.<sup>12</sup> *Ta:un tərən* means five stages or levels corresponding to five shaman roads, so the five categories of intermediaries can simultaneously emerge within the *mokun* family of *fi'ə barkən*. This principle of inheritance has scarcely been mentioned in the existing literature. This discovery is mainly based on my investigation of the Daur sacred ritual activities in the past ten years, especially through the translation and collection of the songs sung by the shaman *uḡḡur*, and interviewing shaman Siqingua and Wo Jufen. Since the 1930s and 1940s, with the gradual split of the Daur clan organization, the *mokun* family scattered, and as a result of the “Agrarian Reform” and the “Cultural Revolution”, the inheritance of most *mokun* family’s shamans has been interrupted or stayed invisible. Even nowadays, many of the *mokun* families have no shaman successors, not to mention more than five categories of intermediaries simultaneously appearing in a *mokun*. It is a common phenomenon.

### 3.4. Whether the Shaman Candidates Continue from Generation to Generation or Skip Certain Generation(s) Depends on the Choice of Ancestral Spirits

On the basis of blood relationships, *Xuḡḡur jad'ən* can be passed on from generation to generation or skip certain generation(s), and it mainly depends on the decision of *xuḡḡur barkən*. It is said that Wo Jufen’s father was once “grabbed” by her grandfather, the former shaman. He also had a shamanic illness, and even made the shaman vestment at night, but because of various factors, he failed to become a shaman, and died at a young age. This is the inheritance from generation to generation. Shaman Siqingua continued with her great grandfather *La Samaan’s jad'ən* road, being an instance of the generation-skipping inheritance. In reality, it is rare for daughter or son to directly follow the father’s *jad'ən* position. The *mokun* shaman usually emerges after one or two generations from the former shaman.

Whether the shaman candidates continue from generation to generation or skip certain generation(s) depends on the choice of ancestral spirits. During the ritual, the ancestral spirit of *mokun* shaman’s *uḡḡur* often said: *I have come down from generation to generation*. “Generation” refers to the shaman generation rather than the blood generation. For example, shaman Wo Jufen is the ninth generation of shaman in *uəṛə xal tʃuokulə məkun*, and her grandfather *Guj jad'ən* is the eighth generation; Shaman Siqingua is the seventh generation of shaman in *ənən xal bəsəktʃen* and her great grandfather *La Samaan* is the sixth generation. Both cases are generation-skipping inheritance in blood.

## 4. The Contemporary Inheritance and Changes of the Daur Shaman

In the past 20 years, the famous Daur Shaman Siqingua and her disciples have been active in Hulun Buir of Inner Mongolia. So far, Siqingua has had seven Daur disciples of *jad'ən* who have *sama:fək* (shaman vestment), namely Wo Jufen, Meng Yujin, Ao Zhiwei, Wo Liming, Ao Chunmei, Enen Duola, and Ao Yuying. Siqingua and Wo Jufen are *xuḡḡur jad'ən* who evoke their father’s *mokun* family’s *xuḡḡur barkən*. Except for Wo Liming, all disciples evoke the ancestral spirits of their father’s family or the spirits of former shamans. The case of Wo Liming is quite special. She evokes the ancestral spirit of her mother’s *mokun* family. Besides, Siqingua also has several Daur disciples who are *bagtʃi*, *barʃ*, *utʃʃi*, yet only no *barəktʃen* so far.

The inheritance of Siqingua and its Daur disciples is detailed in Appendices B and C.

<sup>11</sup> *Ta:un* means five, and *tərən* originally indicates a ladder, which has connotations of levels and stages. *Ta:un tərən* means five stages or five levels, that is, there are five categories of shaman roads.

<sup>12</sup> The term *fi'ə* means big; *barkən* a god, and *fi'ə barkən* literally means “Great God”. *fi'ə barkən* does not refer to a certain god, but refers to a kind of gods with 18, 24, 32, 49 *tə'ə*. *Tə'ə* or *təgə* especially refers to the seat and order of the gods, one *tə'ə* represents one god, if there are 18 *tə'ə*, it means that 18 gods are included, so *fi'ə barkən* is actually a collection of gods that have a number of *tə'əs*, and can cover five different levels of shaman roads at the same time. *fi'ə barkən* is also called *yalən barkən* in *bat'ən* Daur group, meaning many gods, and *da: barkən* (meaning great god among Hailar Daur). It has different names in each dialect.

Siqingua and Wo Jufen are *mokun* shamans, and Wo Liming evokes the ancestral spirit of her mother's clan. Although other disciples all take the shaman road of the patrilineal *mokun* family, the road of the shaman's road is different for everyone. The roads of the chosen *bagtfi* and *barf* have their own characteristics. I will take the initiation road of the disciples of Siqingua as an example to illustrate the inheritance situation and changes of the Daur shaman, including *bagtfi*, *barf*, and *utufi*.

#### 4.1. The Person Chosen by Spirits Can Take Two Different Shaman Roads of the Father's Mokun Family

The intermediaries of the Daur are passed on and inherited by the patrilineal line. In the past, each candidate generally only took one shaman road. Now, the chosen person can follow two shaman roads of the father's *mokun* family.

The first case is that the candidate can take two different shaman roads of the father's *mokun* family. Here, Meng Yujin would be an example. She was first "caught" by *mərdəŋ tajti* of her patrilineal family. In 2002, she became a *barf* but later was chosen by *jad'an jeje* of the father family *mərdəŋ xal tʃuŋɔlo mokun fi'ə mərdəŋtʃen*, and she was initiated in 2017 to be a *jad'an*. This situation occurs often when the person first gets onto the lower level of the road, and then continues to the highest level of the *jad'an* road.

In the second case, the chosen person can simultaneously open two different shaman roads of patrilineal *mokun* family. For instance, Enen Duola, in 2015, held an initiation ritual in accordance with the double initiation approaches of *jad'an* and *barf*. In the ritual, shaman Wo Jufen's *uŋgʊr* said that Enen Duola would become a *bagtfi* because she only had the drum and could not wear *sama:fək* (shaman vestment). It was not until the summer and autumn of 2017, when she offered sacrifices to her ancestral spirit and made a shaman vestment, that she was able to invoke her *uŋgʊr* and become a real *jad'an*.

#### 4.2. The Person Chosen by Spirits Can Take the Lesser Road before Walking on the Greater Road

The ranks of the Daur intermediaries from higher to lower is *jad'an*, *bagtfi*, *barf*, *utufi*, and *barəŋtʃen*. The *xal-mokun* family with *fi'ə barkən* has members of all five shaman roads. *Jad'an's* road, a greater road with the highest level of ability and rank, is followed by *bagtfi*, while others are considered lesser roads. When looking for successors among descendants, the ancestral spirit certainly hopes that they can directly take over the position of *jad'an*, and at the same time, several other levels of intermediaries work together with the *jad'an* to serve the *mokun*. If the shaman candidate cannot comprehend and clearly convey the ancestral spirit's will at the beginning, and therefore cannot take the road of *jad'an*, he/she would be taken to the lesser roads, for example, to inherit the skills of *barf*. Ao Yuying, who held the *barf* initiation ritual in September 2011, had originally been "caught" by her ancestral spirit to inherit the *jad'an* position. However, she had not been able to walk on the road of *jad'an* at that time, so she first got *barf* skills. This is what the *uŋgʊr* of Shaman Wo Jufen said in her *əmina:n* ritual in 2011, "You cannot take the greater road, but just walking on a lesser road is equally good!" Later, Ao Yuying had the drum and used all kinds of opportunities to practice invoking the spirit to enter her body. On 12 July 2017, she held a ritual to offer sacrifices to the ancestral spirits and prepared for becoming a *jad'an*. She made a shaman vestment in 2018, and was finally initiated as *jad'an* on 21 July.

#### 4.3. The Person Chosen by Spirits Can Take the Shaman Road of the Maternal Family

The first case is to inherit the road of the ancestral spirit of the grandmother's *xal-mokun* family.

Meng Xiaorui is the *nir'itʃen* of *mərdəŋ xal tʃuŋɔlo mokun*. Her grandmother Jin *xal*, once married Meng's grandfather, took *məjsəl ətəu*, the ancestral spirit of her own *mokun* to her husband's family. *Məjsəl ətəu* then selected Meng Xiaorui. In 2003, she was initiated as a *barf*. Later, her patriarchal family's *bagtfi* road slowly opened to her. As a result, she was first chosen by the grandmother's family to become a *barf*, and then was later selected by the paternal family to become a *bagtfi*.

The second case is the inheritance of the ancestral spirits' road of the mother's *xal-mokun* family. Jinghua was shown to the *barf* road by the ancestral spirit of her mother's family *gubəl xal ɔrgəntfen*, and held an initiation ritual in 2015 to become a *barf*.

The third case is to inherit the road of the ancestral spirit from the maternal grandmother's family. Ding's maternal grandmother is a Daur from *uərə xal ʃuokulə məkun* and she is said to have been a famous *jad'en* with *sama:ʃək* (shaman vestment) in Qiqihar. Ding was selected by her grandmother. On 14 July 2011, she held an incomplete initiation ritual of *jad'en*, but she only inherited the *barf* road because she was not capable of the *jad'en* road. At the initiation ritual, the ancestral spirit told her by the mouth of her master shaman that she could make shaman vestment for future generations, but she should not wear it since she was not a *jad'en*.

#### 4.4. The Person Chosen by Spirits Can Simultaneously Take Both Shaman Roads of the Paternal and Maternal Families

The first case is to take the road of the ancestral spirits from the maternal family, before chosen by the ancestral spirits of the paternal family. According to Meng Xiaorui, "how did the Jin *xal*'s *məjsəl ətəu* come in? My grandmother is the daughter of the Jin *xal*. When my grandmother married my grandfather, the spirit was following the daughter. So it came to the Meng *xal* and then caught my father to be *barf*. (When my father was on the road of *barf*), *Bagtʃi xučur* of the Meng *xal* came in." Therefore, Meng Xiaorui became the *barf* of the maternal family and the *bagtʃi* of the father's.

In the second case, the candidate was selected by the ancestral spirit of the paternal family and then chosen by that of the maternal family. In 2015, Wo Liming evoked *xučur tajti* of the patriarchal family *uərə xal ʃuokulə məkun* to become the *barf*; in 2017, she evoked the *xučur gu'u tajti* of her mother's *mərdəŋ xal ʃəurutʊrsutʃen məkun* to become a *jad'en*. Therefore, Wo Liming is the *barf* of the paternal family and the *jad'en* of the maternal family, though she has taken different spirits that led her walk on different roads.

#### 4.5. Contemporary Daur Shamans Have Made Contributions to the Shamanic Inheritance of Other Ethnic Groups

Besides the Daur, Shaman Siqingua also has Mongolian and Ewenki disciples. This is also an important change in the inheritance of the Daur shaman. In the past, every ethnic group basically had their own shamans as teachers and old-aged shamans rarely held initiation rituals for the candidates of other ethnic groups. Shaman Siqingua, with her broad mind and farsightedness, contributes not only to the inheritance of Daur shamanism, but also to the shaman inheritance of other ethnic groups in Hulun Buir. She has been the teacher of other minorities and presides over the initiation rituals of Solon Ewenki, Tungus Ewenki, Buryat Mongols, and Bargu Mongols. Her Solon Ewenki disciples include Altentuya and Narengzler; the disciples of Tungus Ewenki include Bozma, Sbrema, Yirugler, etc.; Mongol disciples include Lina, Siqin, Baoyintu, etc. Professor Peter Knecht, a Swiss scholar at Nanzan University in Japan, has been interviewing Siqingua for more than ten years. He commended Siqingua for holding initiation rituals for disciples of other ethnic groups. He observed, "What struck me, however, in the case of the ritual described above was the fact that a Daur shaman performed an important ritual for a non-Daur shaman candidate" (Knecht 2013, p. 241).

## 5. Conclusions

### 5.1. The Inheritance Principles of the Daur Shaman are Very Complicated

I take the case of *barf* becoming *jad'en* as an example. According to the inheritance principles and traditions of the Daur shamans including *bagtʃi*, *barf*, *utʃi*, and *barəʃen*, the successor chosen by *jad'en xučur* shall take the road of *jad'en*, *bagtʃi xučur*, *barf xučur*, *utʃi xučur*, *barəʃen xučur*. When the *xučur* chooses a successor, the selected person can only take the road of this *xučur*. It is impossible for his/her road of *xučur* to be promoted directly to *jad'en* unless the person is again selected by *jad'en*.



*xuɕʊr*. The intermediaries other than *jad'an*, such as *barf*, can become *jad'an*, not because the level can be promoted from lower to higher, but re-opened a new road of *jad'an* besides *barf*. Meng Yujin, Wo Liming, Ao Zhiwei, and Ao Yuying all became *jad'an* from *barf*. However, the cases of the four are different.

First of all, I would like to take the examples of Wo Liming and Meng Yujin. In 2015, Wo Liming became a *barf* by evoking *xuɕʊr tajti*, the ancestral spirit of her father's family; in 2017, she evoked *xuɕʊr gu'u tajti* of *mərdəŋ xal fəʊrutʊrsutʃen*, her maternal family and became a *jad'an*. In 2004, Meng Yujin took *mərdəŋ tajti* to become *barf*, and was later chosen by *mərdəŋ xal tʃʊŋʊlo mokun fi'ə mərdəŋtʃen's jad'an jeje*, and in 2017 became the *jad'an* of *fi'ə mərdəŋtʃen*. It seems that both of them upgraded from the *barf* to a higher-level *jad'an*. However, they actually opened another shaman road to *jad'an* besides the road of *barf*. Meng Yujin successively opened two different shaman roads of the paternal *mokun* while Wo Liming took the shaman road of her father's *mokun* and then also took that of her mother's. Therefore, the cases of Wo Liming and Meng Yujin are different.

Another example is the case of Ao Zhiwei and Ao Yuying. Both of them were chosen by the spirits of ancestors as the candidates for *jad'an* at the beginning, and they are from *deŋteketʃen*. Both of them took the road of *barf* first and then slowly got *jad'an's* way. However, their situations are not the same, because the deities they rely on are different. Ao Zhiwei took the *deŋteke tajti* of *avla xal deŋteketʃen*, walking on the road of *jad'an*. *Deŋteke tajti* was originally *jad'an*. Ao Yuying took the spirit of *bagtʃi jeje* and his road of *jad'an*. At the ritual, the *bagtʃi jeje* said, "I was originally a *bagtʃi*, and performed well in *Bat'an*, so I got the road to *jad'an*." It was the *bagtʃi jeje* who had got the road to *jad'an* and passed it to Ao Yuying.

## 5.2. There Are Three Factors That Result in the Complexity of Shaman Inheritance

### 5.2.1. The Complexity of Daur Shaman Inheritance is Closely Related to the Diversity of the Shaman Categories

As mentioned earlier, the Daur intermediaries, besides *jad'an*, consist of priests and therapists such as *bagtʃi*, *barf*, *ʊtʊfi*, and *baræʃen*. *Jad'ans* could be divided into *xuɕʊr jad'an* and ordinary *jad'an* (also known as *bə:di jad'an*), and a *xuɕʊr jad'an* is the *xuɕʊr barkən's mokun* shaman, while an ordinary *jad'an* is the shaman taking the outside spirits, either the ancestral spirit of his/her maternal *mokun* or animal spirits from nature. *Xuɕʊr jad'an* inherits strictly in accordance with the paternal line while other categories of the intermediaries not only can evoke the ancestral spirits from either father or mother's *mokun*, but also can simultaneously be intermediaries of different types and taking two shaman's roads. These factors have added to the complexity of shaman's inheritance.

### 5.2.2. The Complexity of the Daur Inheritance is Closely Related to Their Animism Belief and Concepts of Worship

The spiritual structure of the Daur can be described as typical animism. The Daur people think that humans and even animals, trees, flowers, mountains, and rivers have souls (*sums*). Animals and plants can become elves after years of cultivation. When a person sleeps, the soul leaves the body. What the soul sees and hears is the dream the person has in sleep. When the person dies, the soul leaves the body for the underworld (*irmʊxan*), waiting for reincarnation. The souls of the deceased who were treated unjustly before death and were supposed to live longer cannot return to the underworld since their time has not come, so these souls keep wandering in this world, seeking an opportunity to harm people (Manduertu 1999, p. 298). The soul of an ordinary person will leave the body forever, waiting for reincarnation or roaming in the Creation. The soul of *jad'an* (shaman) and other intermediaries can become *barkən* after death, and look for the successors in the family. Every *mokun* has ancestral spirits, and they would choose *xuɕʊr jad'an* to pass on from generation to generation. Each generation of *xuɕʊr jad'an* has many assistant gods and spirits such as Niang Niang Goddess, spirits of mountains, spirits of waters, etc. Some "gods" can be further divided into the main god and the deputy gods,

and possibly be a group of gods. The huge number and wide variety of gods and spirits add to the complexity of the shaman inheritance.

### 5.2.3. The Complexity of the Inheritance of Daur Shaman Is Also Closely Related to the Constant Split of the Traditional *xal-mokun* Structure

There are *mokuns* under a *xal*, and every *mokun* can be divided into smaller settlements *æl*, *æla*, or *æli*, which means villages. People referred to in the sacred shamanic songs usually indicate the villagers. In addition, there is an important word *tfen* or *tfen* equivalent to *æl* in Daur, which means “person” and “people”. Under a *mokun*, there are different *æls* or *tfens*. In the past, there was only one shaman in a *mokun*, and one *jad’æn* in an *æl*. If a *jad’æn*, who is not inherited from the paternal family, is not a *xuǵur jad’æn*, and the *jad’æn* of its *æl* or *tfen* is not *xuǵur jad’æn*, either, they could not be titled as *mokun* shaman. Only the *xuǵur jad’æn* who is strictly inherited according to the patrilineal lineage can be the *mokun* shaman. Every *æl* or *tfen* has its own *jad’æn*, *bagtfi*, *barf*, etc., but it does not have a *mokun* shaman, nor *mokun’s bagtfi*, *mokun’s barf*, but only intermediaries within of the *æl* or *tfen* range.

*Mərdəŋ xal*, i.e., *Meng* clan is a big clan of the Daur, and its branch *tfuŋɣolo mokun* is also called *dʊlʊ* (seven) *mərdəŋ*. It is said to be seven families (*tfens*) of seven brothers including *fəʊrutʊrsutʃen*, *fibotʃitʃen*, *ʃi’ə mərdəŋtfen*, *utʃikən mərdəŋtfen*, *xvitʊr mərdəŋtfen*, *urkun mərdəŋtfen*, and *nir’itʃen*, collectively known as *dʊlʊ mərdəŋ*. These *tfens* are split out of *tfuŋɣolo mokun*. *Meng Yujin*, *Meng Xiaorui*, *Meng Lizhou* all belong to *mərdəŋ xal tfuŋɣolo mokun*, *Meng Yujin* belongs to *ʃi’ə mərdəŋtfen*, *Meng Xiaorui* belongs to *nir’itʃen*, *Meng Lizhou* belongs to *fibotʃitʃen*, so *Meng Yujin* is the *jad’æn* of *ʃi’ə mərdəŋtfen*, *Meng Xiaorui* is the *bagtfi* of *nir’itʃen*, and *Meng Lizhou* is the *bagtfi* and *barf* of *fibotʃitʃen*. They are the intermediaries of their *tfens* rather than that of the whole *tfuŋɣolo mokun*.

In short, the inheritance system of the Daur shaman is very complicated. The roles of the Daur shamans and the other four types of intermediaries are mainly inherited according to the paternal lineage, while *mokun* shamans are strictly in accordance with the patrilineal blood relationship. With the development of social history, *xal-mokun* has fallen into smaller units *æl* or *tfen*. The path of inheritance of the intermediaries is even more complicated, more atypical inheritance phenomena have emerged, and there are increasing cases of inheritance along the maternal lineage. Relaxing the principles of inheritance is obviously a compromise and a last resort to adapt to the changes of the new era. Finding candidates is never an easy task and few Daur people are willing to take on this role. However, moderate changes have been made without violating the fundamental tradition. Although there are unorthodox inheritance methods, to inherit the shaman’s road according to the paternal lineage is still the basic principle and the most traditional way of inheritance. The ancestral spirits would not dwell in other clans for a long time. Even if they could not find a suitable heir in the *mokun* family and therefore had to choose among a daughter’s offspring for the moment, they would sooner or later return to their grandsons and great-grandsons and the inheritance line would finally get back to the paternal *mokun*. Just as Shaman *Wo Jufen’s vŋgʊr* said to *bagtfi* and *barf* *Meng Xiaorui*, “You followed *məʊsən tajti* and *chuma* (出马, got initiated). However, you still have to put *mərdəŋ tajti* in the first place.” It confirms that the *xuǵur* of the paternal family is the foundation of the shaman road.

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## Appendix A. Field Research Picture



**Figure A1.** Wo Jufen Shaman leads the candidates to step on and cross the fire to purify their bodies (On 14 June 2013, Lina's initiation ritual as jad'ən and barf). Photo: Minna Sa, 2013.



**Figure A2.** Wo Jufen Shaman leads the candidates to run back and forth on a path in the shape of an 8, along the nine trees, leading the *barf* ancestor's *vijgər* (On 14 June 2013, Lina's initiation ritual as jad'ən and barf). Photo: Minna Sa, 2013.





**Figure A3.** Two *barfs*, Meng Yujin and Ao Yuying, lead the candidates to run on a path in the shape of an 8, along nine white birch trees<sup>13</sup>—to lead the *barf* ancestor's *vijgor* (On 8 July 2015, Wo Liming's initiation ritual as *barf*). Photo: Minna Sa, 2015.

<sup>13</sup> Daur shamanism believes that spirits can fly in the sky. The birch trees are white, tall, and straight, and are considered the best place for the shaman's *vijgor* to stop and rest. Therefore, the birch trees are erected indoors and outdoors in initiation and *omina:n* (ominaan) rituals.



**Figure A4.** Candidates ran along the nine white birch trees—to lead the *barf* ancestor's *uygur* Shaman Siqingua and Wo Jufen were drumming for cheer (On 8 July 2015, Wo Liming's initiation ritual as *barf*). Photo: Minna Sa, 2015.



**Figure A5.** Sacrifices dedicated to the ancestors (On 2 June 2017, the ritual to offer sacrifices to the ancestral spirit of Enen Duola). Photo: Minna Sa, 2017.





**Figure A6.** Shaman Wo Jufen's *viḡḡur* was coming (On 2 June 2017, the ritual to offer sacrifices to the ancestral spirit of Enen Duola) Photo: Minna Sa, 2017.



**Figure A7.** *amilabe* (Give life, make it actively), to consecrate (“开光”, opening the light) for the new shaman's *sama:fək* (shaman vestment). (On 6 October 2017, Wo Liming's initiation ritual as *jad'ən*). Photo: Minna Sa, 2017.





**Figure A8.** The new shaman ancestral spirit *uɣɣur* is invoked (On 6 October 2017, Wo Liming's initiation ritual as *jad'ən*) Photo: Minna Sa, 2017.



**Figure A9.** Shooting three arrows—to open the shamanic road (On 24 October 2017, Meng Yujin's initiation ritual as *jad'ən*). Photo: Minna Sa, 2017.





**Figure A10.** The new shaman ancestral spirit *uygur* is invoked (On 24 October 2017, Meng Yujin's initiation ritual as *jad'ən*). Photo: Minna Sa, 2017.



**Figure A11.** Shaman Siqingua and her disciples: Sitting from the left are: Siqingua, Wo Jufen, Meng Yujin, Wo Liming; Standing from the left are: Enen Duola, Yirugele, Siqin, Gaowa, Ao Zhiwei, Chaolumen Qiqige, Ao Chunmei, Meng Xiaorui, Ao Yuying, Narengerle, Sarina, Jinghua, Subbud. (On 24 October 2017, Meng Yujin's initiation ritual as *jad'ən*). Photo: Minna Sa, 2017.

## Appendix B. The Contemporary Heritage of the Daur *jad'an* (Siqingua and Her Disciples)

Serial Number	Name of <i>jad'an</i>	<i>xal-mokun</i>	Time of the Initiation Ritual	Place of the Initiation Ritual	Shaman Road
1	Siqingua (Female)	<i>ənən xal bəsəkʈfen</i>	30 March 1998 (March 3rd of Lunar calendar)	the Evenki Autonomous Banner	The 7th generation <i>xoɕʈər jad'an</i> of the patrilineal family of <i>ənən xal bəsəkʈfen</i>
2	Wo Jufen (Female)	<i>uərə xal ʈuokulə mokun</i>	25 October 2001 (September 9th of Lunar calendar)	the Morin-Dawaa Daur Autonomous Banner	The 9th generation <i>xoɕʈər jad'an</i> of the patrilineal family of <i>uərə xal ʈuokulə məkun</i>
3	Ao Zhiwei (Female)	<i>a ʋla xal deŋtekeʈfen</i>	15 July 2013 (June 8th of Lunar calendar)	the Evenki Autonomous Banner	First open the paternal family's <i>barʃ</i> road, and then open the paternal family's <i>jad'an</i> road
4	Enen Duola (Female)	<i>ənən xal kunɕin mokun</i>	12 July 2014 (June 6th of Lunar calendar)	the Evenki Autonomous Banner	Open the <i>jad'an</i> and <i>bar</i> two paths of the paternal family at the same time
5	Wo Liming (Female)	<i>uərə xal ʈuokulə mokun</i>	6 October 2017 (August 17th of Lunar calendar)	the Morin-Dawaa Daur Autonomous Banner	First open the paternal family's <i>barʃ</i> road, and then open the maternal family's <i>jad'an</i> road
6	Ao Chunmei (Female)	<i>a ʋla xal duəjin mokun</i>	18 October 2017, (August 29th of Lunar calendar)	the Morin-Dawaa Daur Autonomous Banner	Take the paternal family's <i>jad'an</i> road
7	Meng Yujin (Female)	<i>mərdəŋ xal ʈuɣʋlə mokun ʃi'ə mərdəŋʈfen</i>	24 October 2017 (September 5th of Lunar calendar)	the Morin-Dawaa Daur Autonomous Banner	First open the paternal family's <i>barʃ</i> road, and then open the paternal family's <i>jad'an</i> road
8	Ao Yuying (Female)	<i>a ʋla xal deŋtekeʈfen</i>	21 July 2018 (June 9th of Lunar calendar)	the Morin-Dawaa Daur Autonomous Banner	First open the paternal family's <i>barʃ</i> road, and then open the paternal family's <i>jad'an</i> road

## Appendix C. The Contemporary Inheritance of the Daur Intermediaries Besides the *jad'an* (the Disciples of Siqingua)

Serial Number	Name of Intermediaries	<i>xal-mokun</i>	Time of the Initiation Ritual	Place of the Initiation Ritual	Shaman Road
1	Ao Xiaoliu (male)	<i>a ʋla xal kuilitʈfen</i>	2002	the Morin-Dawaa Daur Autonomous Banner	<i>barʃ</i> and <i>utʋʃi</i>
2	Meng Lizhou (male)	<i>mərdəŋ xal ʈuɣʋlə mokun ʃibʋʈʈʈfen</i>	2002	the Morin-Dawaa Daur Autonomous Banner	<i>bagʈʈi</i> and <i>barʃ</i>
3	Meng Xiaorui (Female)	<i>mərdəŋ xal ʈuɣʋlə mokun nir'itʈfen</i>	2003	the Morin-Dawaa Daur Autonomous Banner	Take the <i>barʃ</i> road given by the grandmother and the <i>bagʈʈi</i> road given by the father's family
4	Ding (Female)	Chinese, 丁, Ding	14 July 2011	the Morin-Dawaa Daur Autonomous Banner	Take the <i>barʃ</i> road given by the grandmother
5	Jignhua (Female)	<i>ənən xal kunɕin mokun</i>	2015	the Evenki Autonomous Banner	Take the mother family's <i>gʋ:bəl xal gərgun mokun barʃ</i> road

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