

colophon and are used by the author in his introduction (4); they are, however, absent from the text translation. Since they are present in the manuscript these marked colophones/ comments should, I think, appear in the translation as well. The same applies to words that have asterisks in the manuscript. These are accompanied by explanations that helped in the translation or are present in the appendix in some form. They are, however, absent from the translation, which might make for a more trim-looking layout but which takes the translation farther from the manuscript. Though all names appearing in the manuscript are translated and commented upon in detail in the appendix, it might have been useful to supply the original names with their German renderings in the translation.

These reservations do not change the fact that this volume will please those involved in the study of Central Asian epics and form a sound contribution to the existing series of *Asiatische Forschungen*.

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Galina AVAKIANTS
Hitotsubashi University
Tokyo

SIBERIA

JACOBSON, ESTHER. *The Deer Goddess of Ancient Siberia: A Study in the Ecology of Belief*. Studies in the History of Religions, Volume LV. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993. xxii + 291 pages. Map, plates, bibliography, index. Cloth Gld. 140.00/US\$80.00; ISBN 9004092680; ISSN 0169-8834.

The Deer Goddess of Ancient Siberia will be of interest to all those who desire a deeper insight into the iconography of what is known as Scytho-Siberian art. During the second half of this century much archeological fieldwork has been carried out in North and Central Asia and adjacent regions. As a result it has become evident that the Early Nomadic culture, which incorporated certain seminomadic elements, controlled the vast steppe and mountainous regions from China in the east, from Persia and Greece in the west, and from the edge of the Siberian Taiga in the north. This research has also traced the outlines of the ancient cultures of South Siberia in such areas as present-day Gorno-Altayskaya Autonomous Oblast' (A.O.), Tukvinskaya A.O., Khakasskaya A.O., and the area around Lake Baikal. Archeological evidence for these cultures is found in thousands of rock carvings, rock paintings, stone mounds, and altars, as well as in the monumental stelae found within funerary or other ritual complexes from the Neolithic down to the Bronze Age, and further into the first millennium BC.

To understand the intent of this book we must know that Esther Jacobson, an art historian at the University of Oregon, challenges existing theories on Early Nomadic cosmology by examining the symbolic structures as they appear in the art and archeological sources

of the Early Nomads. To this purpose the author has called upon a number of specialists in archeology and ethnology from the former Soviet Union and offers abundant valuable data.

The book consists of eight chapters. In the first three Jacobson turns to historical and cultural sources to outline the evolution of styles and motifs in Scytho-Siberian art. She pursues the question of why the image of the deer is so central in the symbolic systems of the early Eurasian nomads, and in the process critically examines current scholarly interpretations. There are three principal theories regarding the origins of the deer image as well as of the archaic Scytho-Siberian artistic styles and iconography. One theory places the origins in the Near East, while the others discern them in Central Asia or Siberia. The author examines in considerable detail the symbolic systems of the Early Nomads as they appear in the body decorations on humans and horses found in the frozen burials of South Siberia. By comparing that material with related material from Scythian and Sakian traditions it is possible to see how widespread these symbolic systems in fact were and yet how they varied in accordance with chronology and cultural ecology. The consistency of these symbolic structures indicates that significance was accorded to the vertical axial order and to bilateral symmetry, and that there was an ordering of images in terms of predation (the real or imaginary struggle among animals) and transformation (the transformation of animals into other animals or their joining with them in complex patterns of zoomorphic juncture). The author argues that the symbolic structures related to a significant mythic order, the reiteration of which was essential at a person's death.

The next three chapters trace the construction of meaning as embedded in the deer image. They carry the investigation back to rock carvings, paintings, and monolithic stelae in southern Siberia and northern Central Asia in the period from the Neolithic through the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age. The succession and change of images dominating that artistic tradition are considered against the background of the cultures—Baykal Neolithic, Afanashevo, Okunev, Andronovo, Karasuk, etc.—as they evolved from economies based on hunting-fishing to those based on livestock raising.

To summarize: The image of the deer first appeared in the Baykal Neolithic period as the antlerless female elk (a metaphor for the ever-renewed source of human sustenance) together with a boat (a metaphor for the passage of the soul into another world after death). In the late third or early second millennium BC (the Bronze Age) the Baykal Neolithic elk disappeared and a new set of images (bull, cattle, deer, humans in various ritual settings, cart-wagon-wheeled vehicles) made its appearance in South Siberia. The female elk was replaced by a discernibly female half-human, half-animal figure, but reappeared later in the guise of a cow. As a cow this image derived from a tradition that earlier had crowned her horns, and as a deer it derived from the northern tradition that earlier had given her the body of an elk. As a female her signs and placement associated her with life and death (at the Minusinsk monoliths, for example, this is expressed by the stones being rooted in the ground—the vertical axis—and their masks aligned towards the east).

Sanctuaries of the Neolithic period accompanied by petroglyphs like the Baykal female elks have been found on the upper reaches of the major Siberian rivers, in Bronze Age ritual sites that were frequently built in broad valleys surrounded by mountains. Such a change indicates a transition from dependence on hunting and fishing in the forests and rivers to dependence on livestock raising in pastures. During the Bronze Age, Mongolia, the Sayan-Altai Ridge, and the Minusinsk Basin became a significant universe. In relation to the simultaneous emergence of bull and cart representations in South Siberia, the author critically examines the theory that there was an association with the Indo-European mythic tradition of a solar chariot and warriors. She assumes that such changes could be related to parallels between Yamna-Afanashevo (pit-grave) and Shrubnaya-Andronovo (timber-grave) cultures,

and that there was a gradual intrusion of peoples with Indo-European traditions into northern Kazakhstan, the northern Altay, and Mongolia from the west and southwest.

Even after the elk disappeared it dominated the iconography of the late Bronze Age in the form of a deer that was carved everywhere—on rock walls and boulders, or encircling monolithic figures in various ritual settings. This happened in the first millennium BC in South Siberia and Mongolia. The phenomenon is related especially to the so-called deer stones of that region, and complicates their interpretation. There are two types of such stones. The plainer type in Sayan-Altay is less widespread than the Mongolian and Transbaykalian type, which shows deer in a recumbent posture with exaggerated antlers, beak-like heads, elegant necks and bodies, small triangulated forelegs, and truncated hindlegs. On both types of stones we find carved chains of beads around the neck of the stone, three parallel slanted lines at the side of the face, carved marks suggestive of earrings, and a carved belt with hanging weapons or tools. In the spaces in between are carved images of animals, including deer, boar, horses, caprid, and crouching feline or wolf-like animals.

Relying on archeological evidence, Jacobson next analyzes what is referred to as the semantics of the deer stones. She questions the prevailing understanding that associates the deer stones with the Indo-European tradition of an ancestral male hero (a male warrior). Comparisons of the Siberian stones, with their hanging implements, to the so-called Cimmerian Stelae and Scythian Baba seem to have led to this notion that they represent males, possibly even males as hunters or warriors. Despite the presence of the hanging weapons/tools, Jacobson asserts that there is no indication of any particular belligerence. She suggests that these forms can be traced back to the earlier symbolic forms of the Early Nomads, and that South Siberia was the source of at least one of the three images fundamental to the Scytho-Siberian artistic tradition (the deer, the coiled feline, and a wolf-like animal).

The association of these stones with the image of the deer, combined with the presence of the weapon-like implements, has led to the conviction that the deer is a symbol for the warrior. The author disputes this, however, arguing that it relies on an association of the male warrior with a solar complex of deer, gold, and horse. Jacobson believes that this solar association did not necessarily exist, finding it more likely that the figure was female in nature and that that is why it was linked to the image of a deer in the age of the Early Nomads.

Chapter 7, "In Search of the Animal Mother," deals with ethnographic material that has been collected on peoples throughout the vast Siberian area, including the Altaic Turkic peoples, the Turkic and Mongol peoples of Tuva and Mongolia, and the Paleosiberian and Tungusic peoples of regions further north. In a general introduction to shamanic tradition the author discusses the shamanic practices and belief of such peoples as the Ket, Evenk, Selkup, and Tofa. In an attempt to reconstruct the archaic mythic and ritual symbolic systems she examines the culture and mythology of the Paleo-Siberian Ket and the Tungusic Evenk, believing this to be the richest and most significant source for this purpose. She discusses the Ket notion of the Khosedam/Toman duality and the Evenk concepts *bugady mushunin*, "the mistress of the clan," and *bugady enintyn*, "the mistress-mother of the clan" (both as combining the idea of woman and cow elk or wild cow reindeer [half-human, half-animal]), and also touches upon beliefs and rituals related with those deities. The author offers several proposals and suggestions to fill the gap between the archeological and ethnographic evidence.

Concerning the origin of shamanism, Jacobson suggests that it is premature to explain the archeological traces of the Siberian Neolithic, Bronze, and early Iron Age cultures with reference to the shamanic practices known only from relatively recent time, given that our evidence for the existence of shamanic institutions consists largely of petroglyphic images of masks or horned figures. Conversely, the author suggests that the shaman's ability to execute the shamanic journey is dependent on such implements as a drum that serves as the

shaman's steed; a robe with headdress decked out with imagery and amulets that at once protect, empower, and transform the shaman; and, finally, a vertical axis, real or imaginary, that serves as a pole linking the underworld, earth, and heaven. By comparing the signs and symbols associated with the shaman with the signs of a journey after death ubiquitous in Early Nomadic burials it becomes apparent, according to the author, that there was a displacement of power from the early Iron Age. Furthermore, the poetry describing the shaman's journey and the process of the journey itself offer undeniable parallels with zoomorphic imagery in the period of the Early Nomads. And yet the parallelism remains only suggestive.

The author proposes that the process reflected in the Ket and Evenk mythic traditions and enfolding most archaic layers that continued through millennia was behind the elaborate stone structures of the Early Nomads and behind the enigmatic symbolic structures with which they laid their dead and their horses to rest.

The final chapter delineates the theoretical implications of the book by pulling these various traditions together. The first part presents in detail the Pontic Scythian mythic tradition according to Herodotus and the larger tradition of Near Eastern goddesses, beginning with Ninhursag and ending with Anahita/Nana. The author then focuses her attention on the Scytho-Siberian artistic tradition in its ritual context, and on Siberian mythic traditions as they are represented in ethnography. From this evidence she infers that the deer image, inherited by the Early Nomads and elaborated into the center of their symbolic systems, indicated an ecology of belief. The deer, which entered the age of the Early Nomads as a recumbent (or, more rarely, a standing) creature, was followed by predatory animals, which were in turn dismissed owing to an increasing fascination with human imagery and with realism. At the very end of the Scytho-Siberian period the deer assumed the guise of a woman seated before a male holding a rhyton (see for instance the North Pontic Chertomlyk, Karagodeuashk, the Merzhany plaques, the figures of the Prigradnaya "Scythian Baba," and the felt hanging from Altay Pazyryk 5). But it was finally eclipsed as a woman, her invisible presence being referred to only by a male figure. With the disappearance of Scytho-Siberian culture the deer was destined to persist only through the shamanic traditions of Siberia and Central Asia.

The author concludes that the deer image does not refer back to a solar hero or to Indo-European values, but is rather evidence for the emergence and gradual disappearance of a truly Siberian cosmogonic source: the Animal Mother, the source of life and death.

This book is an important contribution to the studies of Ancient Siberia offering new theoretical interpretations of the art of the nomads populating the Eurasian steppe.

FUJIKAWA Shigehiko
Waseda University,
Tokyo

LAOS

MOORE-HOWARD, PATRICIA. *The Iu-Mien: Tradition and Change*. Sacramento: Sacramento City Unified School District, 1989. v + 112 pages. Line drawings, bibliography, appendices. Softcover spiral binding. No price given.

Although there are at least 10,000 Iu Mien (or Yao) people from Southeast Asia now living in the United States, the literature on this group is meager in comparison with the voluminous writings on the Hmong, their fellow refugees and former neighbors in highland Laos. For this reason, if for no other, Dr. Moore-Howard's small book is to be welcomed. Written for a very specific audience—teachers in the Sacramento public school system who may have Iu