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BEAR WORSHIP AMONG TURKISH TRIBES OF SIBERIA*

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THIS work is based on field observations made among the Turkish tribes of the Altai: namely, the Altai, Tubalar (Tuba-Kiji), Telengit, and Shortsi of the Kuznetskaja Taiga (in the years 1925-1927), as well as among the Sagai tribes in the regions of Minussinsk, near the Kuznetskaja Taiga (1927). Information has also been furnished by some students in the Ethnographic Department of the Leningrad State University, who were engaged in field-work among various Turkish tribes of Siberia; finally, data have also been obtained from the literature.

Bear worship among the Turkish tribes is briefly dealt with in works of a compilatory character: Czaplicka, M., *The Turks of Central Asia in History and at the Present Day* (Oxford, 1918), and Holmberg, Uno, *The Mythology of all Races*, Vol. IV, *Finno-Ugric, Siberian* (Boston, 1927). In the extensive monograph by A. Irving Hallowell, "Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere" (*American Anthropologist*, N.S., Vol. 28, 1926), the bear cult is described in detail and from all points of view; however, these data refer to the northern regions of Eurasia and America. Of the Turkish tribes only the Yakut are mentioned (quotations from Shklovsky, Simson, Galizzin, and Seroshevsky).¹

As to studies of a general character which contain some data on bear worship among Turkish tribes of Siberia, we quote the work of Jadrinzev:² *On the Bear Cult* (especially among tribes of the North) and of Potanin,³ *North Altai Legends of the Son of Heaven*. In both works an attempt is made to connect the bear cult with shamanism. G. N. Potanin connects legends about the bear with those about the son of Heaven who descended to the earth. The same problem is also discussed in his other works: *Erke, the Cult of the Son of Heaven in Northern Asia, Materials for Turkish-Mongol Mythology* (Tomsk, 1916). There is also a partial presentation of the same subject in his study: *Cross-shaped Designs on Shamans' Drums* (*Memoirs of the East Siberian Section of the Russian Geographical Society*, Vol. XXIV, 2). The last two works lack clearness in their construction and in the analogies introduced; and they are in need of more detailed investigation and of later correction.

Comparative data on the bear cult are also presented by Vessielovsky.⁴ He discusses particularly the bear festival which he calls the "Bear Drama."⁵

* The author is under obligations to L. N. Potapov for permission to use some of his field data in the preparation of this report.

¹ The author on p. 155 emphasizes the necessity of investigating this cult in Central Siberia, considering the lack of material referring to this region; also because of the fact that this region has been the scene of migrations of peoples from Central Asia.

² *Ethnographical Review*, no. 1, issue IV, p. 101, Moscow, 1890, with an Addendum by G. Kulikovsky. (In Russian.)

³ *Eastern Review*, no. 13, Irkutsk, 1882. (In Russian.)

⁴ *Three Chapters from the History of the Art of Poetry*. St. Petersburg, 1913, vol. 1, p. 356. (In Russian.)

⁵ "Festivals in honor of the bear are customary among the tribes of West and East Siberia, namely among the Gilyak, the Ainu, and others. The bear is worshipped as a being possessing

Potanin⁶ calls attention to the bear cult among Turkish and Mongol tribes of Siberia, gives a number of analogues and also mentions several myths about the bear. Parallels referring to Turkish tribes are also given by N. Charuzin.⁷ Grum-Grjimalos⁸ speaks of remnants of totemism in the bear cult of the Uriankhai natives. Finally, we have two contributions by W. G. Bogoras-Tan. In one⁹ he discusses the origin and foundation of the bear myth; in the other,¹⁰ he investigates the distribution of this myth over northeastern Asia and northwestern America. We also possess detailed studies of the bear cult of various tribes: of the Gilyak and the Ainu and of various peoples of northwestern Asia and of northern Europe.

On the other hand, records of the ceremonials connected with the killing of the bear among Turkish tribes are practically lacking in the literature. Some authors deny the existence of such ceremonials among the Turks. For instance, D. A. Klemenzen maintains that no traces of bear worship remained among the Yenissei Tatars (Kachintsi, Beltir, Sagai, Kizil, Koibal).¹¹

We possess in the manuscript report of the geodetist, Shishkov,¹² written for Tatishchev, governor of Tomsk, the earliest reference to the particular attitude of the Siberian Turks toward the bear.

"They worshipped the animals and especially the bear, and they prayed to him, wanting to be as strong and as young and let him preserve them from freezing they asked the bear lest he should eat them, 'Go away, do not follow our road.' And when he would come on to them, they would say, 'Why are you coming? I do not offend you, do stop.' And he would stop. Then they would shoot at him, and he understood their speech."

This information, as well as more recent data, emphasizes the particular attitude of the Turks of Siberia toward the bear, and is confirmed by our recent field observations. Fear is constantly intermingled with respect. On the other

superhuman power and wisdom, as a son of heaven or of the supreme god (Ostyak, Vogul). These festivals are related to ancient cults which expanded over large areas, being more ancient than the Hellenic religion. These cults survived in Attica in the festival of Vravroniae as a part of the ceremonial; they can be identified as European beliefs and superstitions both of very old or more recent date, and have called forth the indictment of the church. All those beliefs were preserved in Europe as fragmentary survivals. They entered into the Greek anthropomorphic myths as detached episodes and they may be recognized as independent elements among the native tribes exhibiting a special cycle of beliefs and ceremonies. We may follow their various manifestations step by step from the hunter's festival and its imitation-play down to the regular worship with its central god-like figure: the hero-bear."

⁶ *Sketches of Northwestern Mongolia*. St. Petersburg, 1881, vol. IV, pp. 169, 750, 753, 757. (In Russian.)

⁷ Bear Oath and the Totemistic Basis of the Bear Cult among the Ostyak and the Vogul, *Ethnographical Review*, vol. XXXVIII-XXXIX, no. 3-4, Moscow, 1898-1899. (In Russian.)

⁸ *Western Mongolia and the Uriankhai Country*, Leningrad, 1926, Part 1, vol. III, p. 51. (In Russian.)

⁹ The Myth of the Death and Resurrection of the Animal God, *Artistic Folklore*, Part 1, p. 67, Moscow, 1926. (In Russian.)

¹⁰ The Folklore of Northeastern Asia as compared with that of Northwestern America, *American Anthropologist*, N. S., vol. 4, pp. 577-683, 1902, p. 661.

¹¹ Preliminary Notes on an Excursion to the Districts of Achinsk and Kansk, *Reports of the Eastern Siberian Section, R. G. S.*, vol. XX, no. 1, Irkutsk, 1889, p. 55. (In Russian.)

¹² *Description of the Districts of Tomsk and Kuznetsk*, 1739-1743. In manuscript. We give a literal translation of the loose and clumsy language of the manuscript.

hand, various forms of reprimanding the bear are rather conspicuous among the Turks of Siberia (the dead bear is whipped, his teeth are knocked out, etc.). The Turkish tribes of Siberia have preserved their particular attitude toward the bear up to our time; its characteristic features being various ceremonies and taboos which appear as an essential part of the bear hunt.

A comparison with the ritual bear festivals of other peoples proves them to be well preserved remnants of a widespread cult. This is the more natural as the population of the Altai Sayan region, the home of most of the tribes here referred to, should not be looked upon as originated from a primary Turkish source. The language and the religion of these tribes who talk Turkish idioms have preserved many features suggesting that they have been of distinct origin, but assimilated by Turkish tribes.

The economic basis of their lives is primitive. It is hunting, combined more or less closely with nomadic cattle breeding. The cultural habits of the hunting period; bear worship; the belief in hunter's spirits; common methods and instruments of hunting; were not completely swamped by the wave of Turkish influence, especially in the dense forest of the southern hills, where natural conditions were favorable to the early habits. A number of Turkish-speaking tribes are typical hunters (Shortsi, Karagas, Tubalar, Soyot-todja). Among others cattle breeding is more developed and hunting forms only a supplementary pursuit (Yakut, Kachintsi, Soyot, Altai).

V. V. Radloff,¹³ who is one of the founders of Turkology, and also M. A. Castrén, have called attention to the intermingling of Turkish and Samoyed and especially Yenissei Ostyak elements. Their conclusions are based largely on linguistic material. Recently Professor Bogoras-Tan has supported their views by ethnographical evidence.¹⁴ Nevertheless, this question is still in need of a final solution.

The present study, which follows ethnographical principles, may serve as an argument in favor of the existence, beneath a Turkish stratum, of an ancient hunting culture among tribes of Siberia.

Among Turkish tribes, especially among those who have remained hunters until now, a peculiar attitude toward animals in general,¹⁵ and particularly toward the bear, prevails. It is most evident during the hunt and is characterized by the way in which the bear is handled before and after killing. The rites and ceremonies performed over the carcass constitute the fundamentals of the bear cult, which still survives in its well-developed state among the northern and northeastern tribes, such as the Tungus and the Palaeoasiatics. On the other hand, we find a similar but a much more fragmentary form of this cult among the Turkish tribes of Siberia. Here we find survivals of such a cult, though some of them are still fully practised.

¹³ *Aus Sibirien*. Leipzig, 1893, pp. 187, 190, 203, 212. Also *Ethnographical Study of the Turkish Tribes of South Siberia and Jungaria*. Tomsk, 1887, p. 13. (In Russian.)

¹⁴ Ancient Migrations of Peoples in Northern Eurasia and in America, *Bulletin of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography*, vol. VI, Leningrad, 1927, p. 79. (In Russian.)

¹⁵ Even now these tribes consider the successful outcome of the hunt as the result of the benevolence of the master of the forest, whom they entertain during the hunt with fairy tales and by playing on their balalaikas; or they consider it a self-sacrifice of the animals. They do not call animals by name; they do not ridicule them and do not break or burn their bones.

The hunter prepares secretly for the hunt. The participants do not talk, lest the bear hear and the hunt be unsuccessful. The Yakut are not allowed to discuss the preparation, for fear the bear might take some measures in advance and might come to the hunter's dwelling to steal his child.¹⁶ The Chelei (a tribe of the Shortsi) kill all the animals they meet on the way to the bear's den, lest they notify the bear.

During the hunt nobody mentions (Shortsi and Altai) the word bear, but they use allegory; for example: *Uldam*, my grandfather; *Tai*, maternal uncle; *Abai*, great-grandfather; *Ulu-kiji*, great man; *Adalik*, the revered one; *Maimak*, the paw; or *Aba*, father. Sometimes they use only the pronoun: *Ol*, he. While surrounding the bear, the hunters try to talk in allegory too, such as "rod"¹⁷ for gun; and they do not mention any hunter's name. When they approach the bear's den they chop off branches with which they fill the opening. When they are about to attack the bear, the hunters of the Kobry clan (in the Shortsi District) would address the bear thus:—

"*Pektener polzarŋ, pekten*, If you want to shut yourself in, shut yourself in.
Pektenmes polzarŋ, shIgIp par, If you do not want to shut yourself in, come out."

Hunters of the Karga clan (Shortsi District) and others converse with the bear only where there is a heavy snow in the forest, otherwise they are afraid to do so.

In Ulus Bay, the Ichegi clan lift the bear, saying:—

"*Ei apčhak, čha kildi*, Hey, old man, the war arrived.
Tapsaba apčhag, Be still, old man.
AksIn pikten, Your mouth is shut.
Isigin pikten, Your door is shut."

It is said that after these words the bear becomes tame.

The Yakut,¹⁸ when they have trapped the bear in his den, arouse him before attacking him, saying: "Get up, the army has come to fight."¹⁹ The custom of arousing the bear, the Shortsi explain by the belief that if a sleeping bear were attacked, he would take revenge later by attacking some member of the hunter's family who had fallen asleep in the woods. An analogous belief is found among the Yakut.²⁰

¹⁶ Ionov, V., *The Bear in the Beliefs of the Yakut*, *Living Antiquity*, vol. XXIV, part III, 1915, p. 52. (In Russian.) According to a statement by A. Popov, made in 1927, the hunters are required to recite the following incantation when they are fully armed, before starting on the attack on the bear: "Master, who has created us, made us alive; we, the people of the White Czar, come to you, according to custom, in order to kill."

¹⁷ Among the Altai the rifle during the hunt is called *küze* (the literal translation of this word is son-in-law). Verbitsky, *Dictionary of the Altai and Aladag Idioms*, Kazan, 1884, p. 189. (In Russian.) This term is used among the Shortsi for a stick to poke the fire in the *balagan*.

¹⁸ Seroshevsky, V., *The Yakut*, St. Petersburg, 1896, p. 659. (In Russian.)

¹⁹ A. Popov states that the Yakut, while approaching the bear, say, "Worthy man, try to awaken if this is your desire."

²⁰ Seroshevsky, V., *ibid.*; Ionov, V., *l. c.*, states:—"The bear does not attack the sleeping, excepting for those who have themselves slain a sleeping bear. Therefore the Yakut find it necessary to awaken the bear before killing it."

Kulakosly, A. E., *Materials for the Study of the Beliefs of the Yakut*, *Memoirs of the Yakut Geographical Society*, vol. 1, Yakutsk, 1923, p. 57. (In Russian.) "The other bears take revenge for the bear killed during sleep, by attacking the sleeping hunter."

The dead bear is skinned as soon as he has been dragged from his den. Among the Kobiy (Shortsi District) it is customary for two of the oldest hunters to whip the bear, saying:—

“*ČaskIda čhadIjiñnI körtüs čör*, Show your den in spring.
Küsküde KürunduguñnI körtüs čör, Show a mound of snow on your den in winter.
ČajgIda čac oğarapdin ali con ališ čör, In summer go in back and in front of the children.
Kijige čabal šanaba čakšI čör, Think not badly of the man, go right.”

The Karga (Karcit) clan say:—

“*Ulug, pidig kalanIn*, To the great officer the taxes
čakšI tölöb odur, Well paid
Čaj polza ališom ališ čör, When summer comes, (pan) behind me
Čas polza küründügüñä pas čörein, When Spring comes, I’ll go to your den. (I shall find it.)”

Among the Karga clan (in Anzas), it is customary for two persons to beat the bear, each taking three switches. They say:—

“*KIš polza aliñnI kes*, In winter, when before me, cross my path.
Čai polza somni Kes, In summer, when behind me, cross my path.

In the Ustj-Mrassu region (clans: Četti-Börü, Tartıkm, Chelei), when the bear is skinned, all those who are present must pretend to weep. In the Minusinsk District at the upper part of the Askisu River (Ulus Bay), the hunters, while dragging out the bear, pretend to weep and chant:—

“*Ulabam, uljem*, My grandfather, my grandmother,
Kaydı ül pardI, Why have you died?
Kol čazI kildibe, Did a hand to hand struggle come?
Pilek čazI kildibe, Did a war, the size of a man’s fist come?”

While skinning him, they do not switch him, but say:—

“*Čaga pastIrdIn*, You went to war.
Idi sühün taštabinčäbis, Meat and bones we won’t throw away.
En čirdi pozIbIs alčabis, We pile it up in a lonely place.
Siniñ idi sühün tih (naprasko), We do not throw on the ground.
Čirge tostabinčäbis, Your meat and bones without purpose.
Idi oügün pis alčabis, We take bones and meat.
Pis čibčäbis, We eat it.”

While lifting the dead bear, all the hunters says in unison:—

“*KabIškila, polIškila*, Help, raise.
Udyg kiji söhün, The bones of the great man.
Kudaj slerhe algIš perer, Kudai (God) will send you blessing.”

Then they cut off his legs, saying:—

“*Og ulug kiji agaška pagIp čörüp*, Great man, in climbing up the tree,
AzaktarIn cIn partIr, Broke his legs.”

The Shortsi clan who live in the basin of the Kondoma River, having killed the bear, consider it their first duty to knock out his teeth, saying: “These are the teeth with which you devour all animals.” Then they skin him and cut off his head. Thereafter, they put the head on a stick of mountain ash,²¹ and one

²¹A rod of mountain ash because the bear never breaks this tree.

of the hunters singes it over the fire while at the same time two others jingle their ramrods, saying:—

“*KabrakI*²² *yerde yörüp*, While walking on the earth with stalks
*KolamčI*²³ *aldIn-dep ait*, You received a present (a bullet), say!
PaltIrganIg yerde yörüp, While walking on the earth with stalks (of plants)
PajIn tala attIrdIm-dep, ait!, Your pate was crushed, say!
Kör polban karam kidiš, You could not see, your eyes were small,
Oldin-dep, ait!, You could not defecate, your anus was too small,
Pok šiš kIyban kidiš bolup, You could not defecate, your anus was too small,
Oldin-dep, ait! Therefore you died, say!”

After this song the stick with the singed head is thrust into the ground, the snout being turned toward the east; and each hunter shoots at it once. All other hunters who pass by, do likewise. The hunters of the Chelei clan (Shortsi District) also knock out the bear's teeth. Then they skin him and cut off his head. At the same time they remove the heart and search it for a human hair or for some trace of one. If they find one this indicates that the bear has devoured a human being. In this case the flesh, the head, and the skin are burnt. If, however, they convince themselves of the bear's innocence they set the head on a rod of mountain ash and beat it with ramrods, chanting:—

“*Yerbit yerbitin-dep aj*²⁴ *oldin*, You climbed up the tree after some foul berry and fell down and died.
Yilek yigen-dep Kayadañ aj oldin, You ate berries, fell from the rock and died.
Soygu yidim-dep aj oldin, You ate sorb berries, fell and died.
Karat yidim-dep, You ate raspberries,
Sastañ saska padIp, oldin . . ., Drowned in the swamp and died.

After this the head is either thrown away or carried home.

The Tubalar, the inhabitants of the forest region of the eastern Altai, also knock out the teeth and pound the head of the slain bear. The Kalar clan (Shortsi District) strike the head with an axe, and they shoot at it after having knocked out the teeth. Though the rites of a series of tribes and clans are characterized by evident enmity toward the slain bear, their general position in this case also has elements of fear.

Thus, for example, the Chelei when returning to their camp from a successful hunt, are accustomed to place sticks across their ski tracks (in order to stop the pursuing soul of the bear), or they draw circles on the snow with the same intent.²⁵ Then they expect to be freed from pursuit by the dead bear. The bear's soul (*Mokai KarazI*) like the human soul is apt to wander all over the forest for three days after death. It may strangle a man. When it appears, the fire in the hut dies out and the dogs bark uneasily.

While barring the tracks, the Chelei clan usually say:—

“*Bistin yoll kelibe*, Do not walk on our road.
AgaštIn aj oldIn-dep, ait! Having fallen from the tree you died, say!”

The Shortsi do likewise.

²² *Kobrak*, the stem of an umbelliferous plant.

²³ *Kolamchi*, a present from the bridegroom to the bride. In this case it refers to the bullet which has been shot at the bear.

²⁴ This is the abbreviated form of the conjunction *ajIp*.

²⁵ The primitive approach to the conception of “soul” is of great interest here. It is thought of as something material, which cannot cross a material boundary, for example, a stick, or if it should enter on a line which is enclosed by a circle it would have to rotate in one spot.

Whenever the Tubalar return to their camp they shoot in the direction of the place where they have killed the bear, in order to frighten away his soul. They chant:—

“*UrgučakčI bajIn*, Your head is of the size of a ladle,
Učukčā tInIn üstübüs, Your soul is of the size of a thread.
Tüş bolzo sagIjIma kirbe, Do not enter my soul by day,
Tünde bolzo tujama kirbe, Do not enter my dreams by night.”

The Kalar (Shortsi District) also bar their tracks and shoot toward the place where they have killed the bear, saying:—

“*KolamčI ber yarIm*, I am giving you a present.” (The bullet.)

Among the Yakut²⁶ it is customary for all those who have participated in the bear hunt, after the animal's death, to drink a cupful of its warm blood, to eat a piece of the raw liver, of the heart, and of the fat; then as they turn their eyes to the sky, they must exclaim three times “*Ukh*” (*ux*). Only after this are they safe from the revenge of the bear.²⁷

The use of bear meat as food is rather common among the Turkish tribes of Siberia. We know only of a few exceptions. There is evidence that the Uriankhai do not eat bear meat, because they consider the bear a human being.²⁸ According to N. B. Sherr,²⁹ the Kumandintsi do not eat it because they consider it “unclean.”³⁰ The Kumandintsi do not mind eating hare, squirrel, but do not eat polecat meat (“it has a penetrating odor”), and they also do not eat bear, saying: “this is an unclean animal.” Unfortunately, Mr. Sherr does not give any further information. His account is unconvincing, since the Kumandintsi are surrounded by Turkish tribes that do eat bear, such as the Turks of the northern and northeastern Altai. The Yakut consider it a sin if the meat of the bear is not eaten by the person who caught him; therefore the greater part of the animal is eaten by the hunters on the spot when he has been killed.³¹ When the bear's carcass is cut open (*KobI*), a blood vessel is taken out from the abdomen (*MarkazI*). It is broiled, and then the people, one after another, touch their own lips with it. After that they snort and roar in imitation of the bear. During this ceremony the following is said:—

“*Koburak pajIn kozIrada taynažen*, The top of the spring plant noisily chewing.
MaltIgan pajIn mačIrada taynežen, The top of the summer plant noisily chewing.
ČaygI künde all son allš čör, On a summer day walk before and behind me, on a winter day.

²⁶ Seroshevsky, *ibid.*, p. 123.

²⁷ Among the Yakut there is another interesting ritual phase. After the bear has been killed, seven or nine trees are chipped once with an axe, and all of the trees, excepting the last one, smeared with bear's blood. To the last tree they say, “We shall smear you the next time.” (Told by A. Popov.)

²⁸ Katanov, N. F., *Among the Turkish Tribes, Reports of the R. G. S.*, vol. XXIX, St. Petersburg, 1893, p. 521. (In Russian.)

²⁹ Journeys to the Kumandin, 1898, *Altai Materials*, vol. V, 1903, p. 112. (In Russian.)

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

³¹ Maak, R., *The District of Vilyui of the Yakut Region*, Sec. III, St. Petersburg, 1887, p. 110. (In Russian.)

Küşkü künde öbüsunün köründü, I will walk near the mound of snow of your den.
Guṅga pas čörein.

The blood vessel is thrown into the fire. Then they cut off the bone of the tail (*Kuzruk söögü*) which is then stuck up on a rod and broiled. One hunter after another bites at it, repeating the same words.

The hunters of Anzas bite at the blood vessel (*tartIkIsh*) and each must eat some part of it, saying:—

“MaltIrganin taṅga, On a mountain with dry stalks walk with resounding tread.
TazIrada pas čörb otur, On a mountain with meadow-sweet walk with resounding tread.
TabIlgattIn taṅga, On the way to your fathers, join them.”
MIčIrada pas čörb otur.
AdalarInga parIp katkıİş.

The hunters of the Karga say:—

“Čäs polza čadIyInga, To his resting place in spring.
Küs polza küründügünü, To his den in autumn.
Pas čörein, I shall go.
MaltIrganIn tagdI mačIrada, With autumn plant arouse the mountain.
KobIraktIn, tagdI kocIrada, With spring plant arouse the mountain.
ČaigIda all som allİş čör, In summer walk in the background.
Olgan uiaktI korgIspajan, Do not frighten the children.
Tigi ponu čIstaštIrbajan, Do not sniff, neither here nor there.”

On the lower course of the Mrassu River:—

“KobIraktIg tagdI kočIrada, On the mountain with stalks of plants
Paskan azagIn, Rustles your treading foot.
MaltIrganIg tagdI, With the stalks of plants
MačIrda paskan azagIn, Your treading foot rustles.
Tagdan ulug tayIm, From the mountain you are, great uncle,
čIn piske tarInma, Do not be angry with us,
Po kal, Stay here.”

The broiled blood vessel is sometimes eaten by one person only or by two or three people who roar and say:—

“KobIraktIn taṅnI kočIrda pas čör, The mountain covered with stalks of plants pass with crackling.
TabIlgattIn taṅnI tazIrada pas čör, The mountain covered with meadow-sweet pass with rustling.
Püdim kalanIn tülep čaṅma?, Have you paid the tribute to the (Russian) chief officer?”

The Shortsi broil the heart on a broiling rod, then they throw the lungs on the snow where they have killed the bear. The Tubalar eat the heart only. The shamanists and Burkhanes of the Altai bury the heart and the head together.

The Yakut,³² after having killed the bear, tear out the warm heart from the body and swallow it raw in small pieces, and they croak like ravens: “khakh, khakh.” According to Kulikovsky, it is customary to give young hunters a taste of fresh bear blood. They moisten the finger in the wound and lick the blood. When approaching the cooked meat the young hunters must croak like ravens. They perform over the bear's carcass some movements resembling those

³² Told by A. Popov.

of sexual intercourse.³³ The eyes of the dead bear are also removed. The Shortsi believe that the hunter who has swallowed the eyes, will not fear the bear any more; on the contrary, the bear will fear him, since the hunter will appear to him as a bear. The Chelei also swallow the bear's eyes. Later on, the hunter tries to find out whether the eyes have been digested. If they have been digested, it is supposed to be a bad omen; the hunter will have a short life. If they were not digested, a long life is predicted. The Kalar swallow the bear's eyes in order not to be assaulted by the bear.

The Kobry try to swallow the bear's eyes (especially are young hunters required to do so). Whoever succeeds will be a successful hunter.

Among the Sagai the eyes are taken out in order that the bear may not see the people any more. The hunters swallow the eyes to gain courage. If a bear should meet such a man he would see the eyes in him (for a bear sees everything), and he would fear him and would not touch him.

The Yakut do not allow anyone to destroy or to pierce the eyes of the bear, otherwise the hunter's eyes would run out.³⁴

The Kobry boil the bear's tongue for a long time and stir it gently that he may not complain to the spirit, Kayrahan. The Tubalar cut off the tip of the tongue and throw it away, evidently for the same purpose.

The Karga do not eat the bear's head, but burn it. Thereafter one of the hunters collects the bones of the skull in a pile and says:—

“*Ulun kiji agaştan ajIp*, Great man, falling from the tree
PajI sabIl, partIr, smashed his head.”

or:—

“*Pletke torum čirge pagIp*, He climbed the cedar to eat the cones, later
Anaŋ agaştan aš partIr, In climbing down the tree you fell down and then
AnaŋpajI sabIl partIr, smashed his head.”

First the hunter assembles the bones in wrong order and asks of all those present: “*Pede bol?*” (Is it all right?) Then the others answer: *Čhok, ede ebes*. (“No, not this way.”) Then he assembles them the second time: “*Aja pede bol?*” (“Maybe this way?”) He is again answered: “No, not this way.” Finally the third time, he joins them properly; and his question, “*Ede bol?*” (“Is this the way?”) is answered by all: “*Eh, eh, ede poltyr ol*”; (or) “*ede ol*.” (“Yes, yes, this is correct.”) After that the bones are tied with twigs of mountain ash and the head is tied to a fir tree. The Kry suspend the head on a broken fir tree and draw a branch through the mouth.

The Kobry suspend the head by its lower jaw on a pointed stick of mountain ash with the snout facing east, so that the bear may not be angry at human beings; but without looking at them he should walk directly westward (to the region of death). Among the Telengit (Altai) the head is placed on the ground, the lower jaw is removed, and then purposely attached to the skull in a wrong position. The hunter asks: “*MondIy ba?*” (“This way?”) Then he answers himself: “*Yok*.” (“No.”). He repeats this procedure once more; the third

³³ Kulikovsky, *ibid.*, “So that the young hunters may not be afraid during the next hunt and that they should not be weak in the struggle with the bear.”

³⁴ Told by A. Popov.

time he places the jaw in proper position, asking, "*Aiza mondIy ba?*" ("Perhaps it is right now?") And again he himself answers: "*Ta, bajla mondIy, kemyok, salar.*" ("I do not know; it seems all right; it will do, put it on.") Then he puts the head into a hole dug in the ground for that purpose, so that the snout faces the east, and the head is finally covered with branches and earth. It is now allowed to walk over the grave.

The Karga plug the bear's nostrils with a lichen before suspending it from a tree. Then they say:—

"*Cen ayu mǎni körzö*, (O) bear, if you should see me,
Korkup yurt-dep, Go away frightened.
Men seni körzöm, If I should see you,
KorkubasIm-dep, I should not be frightened."

Some other Tubalar also bury the head and then put a log on top of the mound, saying:—

"*YaskI künde yadIna yasIn*, On a spring day lie beneath the log,
Küskü künde köröntikine yasIn, On an autumn day lie before the den."

The Sagai suspend the head and thrusting a stone into the mouth, say:—

"*Pir karagIn tigr körzin*, One eye sees heaven,
Pir karagIn öir körzin, Another eye sees earth.
Pir kulagIn tigr tInIzIn, One ear hears heaven,
Pir karagIn öir tInIzIn, Another ear hears earth."

The Karagas, having killed a bear or any other animal, raise its head and heart on a piece of bark towards the sun asking that all their needs be satisfied. After that they eat the sacrifice.³⁵

The Kachinsti³⁶ skin the head, suspend it on a branch and fill the mouth with hay or grass.

The Karagas,³⁷ having killed a bear, bury the head with reverence.

The Soyot³⁸ hang the lower jaw of the bear on a tree or on a big pole close to the highway. Every passerby, whether walking or riding, bows, saying "*Xaierxan urša.*" ("Be merciful, O bear.") Thus he removes any danger from other bears. The Tubalar also suspend the lower jaw on a tree.

The Soyot forbid stepping on or over the bear's head.³⁹ Formerly the hunter used to keep the bear's nostrils in his hut. The Yakut do not leave the head with the rest of the bones on the benches (*arañas*), but carry it home⁴⁰ with

³⁵ "The head is raised towards the sun." Georgi, *Description of all Peoples residing in Russia*. St. Petersburg, 1871, vol. III, p. 19. (In Russian.) Pallas says: "thrown up towards heaven." *Travels over Various Provinces of Russia*. St. Petersburg, 1770, vol. III, part 1, p. 424. (In Russian.)

³⁶ Told by V. Serebriakov.

³⁷ Preliminary Report on the Excursion of D. A. Klementz into the Regions of Atchin and Komsok, *Report of the East Siberian Section, R. G. S.*, Irkutsk, 1889, vol. XX, no. 1, p. 55.

³⁸ Preliminary Reports of the F. Kohn Expedition to the Uriankhai Country, *Reports of the East Siberian Section, R. G. S.*, Irkutsk, vol. XXXVI, no. 1, Irkutsk, 1903, p. 37; Grum-Grjimaïlo, *ibid.*, p. 52.

³⁹ Grum-Grjimaïlo, *ibid.*, p. 37.

⁴⁰ Maak, *The Viljui District of the Yakut Region*, part III, p. 108.

them; or, the skull, from which the meat has been gnawed off, is hung on a tree, out of respect to the grandfather bear.⁴¹

Among the Turks of Minussinsk every young hunter must eat of the bear's head, that he may be successful in the future.⁴²

The meat of the bear is divided into two parts. The hunter who fired the first shot is given the chest meat. The bones of the bear are not thrown into the fire. If this law is not adhered to, no member of the party will ever find another bear. While the bear meat is being cooked and served, they say: "This is an offering to the guests, a holiday of the great man." (*Ulug kijiniñ toyı*) (among the Kobıy).

The Karga make merry and say:—"Ulug kiji togaşkan üjün toyı polıbokça." "Because of meeting the great man, a feast is held."

In Ansas (Shortsi District) a small piece of each part of meat is broiled on a spit (called *marsa*). They say:—"Uluñ kijiniñ toyu." "A feast for the great man." When this meat is broiled over the fire, and the fat flows off, and the smoke rises, they say:—"Ulabaştın, odunga čiInqıla." "Warm yourself over the fire of the grandfather."

Among the Sagai funeral feasts are held for the bear as if for a human being (*tün sagIñča*, the day before the burial). They drink, sing, and eat the whole night through. The hunters believe that the soul of the bear is present and hears and sees everything. The better the celebration, the more kindly will be his treatment of the hunters. He will feel satisfied and will not take revenge. Sometimes they also weep and say: "The old man, my grandfather, died." Or, "The old woman, my grandmother, died."

The Kachintsi do not break the bones, but separate them at the joints.⁴³ The Yakut,⁴⁴ when they carve the carcass, also disjoint the bones and never crush any of them. No bones may be carried into the hut. The bones are placed upon a special platform (*araņas*) built on four supports. Among the Yakut no woman may touch bear meat with her hands nor may she eat it; otherwise her milch cows will cease giving milk.⁴⁵

Among the Yakut⁴⁶ the gods are addressed while the guests eat bear meat. "Nay," they say, "do not accuse us of having committed such a murder. Among us, the poor Yakut, the art of making guns and deadly bullets is not known. Probably some Russian or Tungus caused his death." Since it is customary to preserve the bones, they say: "We are no murderers; we have even put in order the bones of the bear killed by others."

Most of the rites observed result from the representation of the bear as a kinsman, and these rites repeat much of the burial rites of his relatives—men.

⁴¹ Kulikovsky, *ibid.*, p. 96.

⁴² Korotanov, E. E., Manuscript in the Minussinsk Museum, *The Katchintsi*; Orfejev, *The Superstitions and Prejudices of the Tribes in the Minussinsk Region, Yenisseysky Eparchial News*, 1886, p. 46. (In Russian.)

⁴³ Told by V. Serebriakov.

⁴⁴ Ionov, *ibid.*, p. 51.

⁴⁵ Hallowell, *ibid.*, p. 58, reference to Galitzyer.

⁴⁶ Pripuzov, N., *Materials for the Study of Shamanism among the Yakut of the Yakutsk Region, Reports of the Eastern Siberian Section, R. G. S.*, vol. XV, part 3-4, 1884, p. 50.

Observing as they do, when hunting, the habits and customs of the wild beasts, these tribes attach to them the attributes of men, and the faculties of the animals seem supernatural to them.

The bear, whose outward appearance has in particular stimulated the human imagination, is considered apart and different from the other animal groups and is held in awe and respect. In the dense forests of Siberia, even now, man still fears the bear more than anything else. Even during the chase, hunters flee, panic-stricken, from his terrifying roar and anger.

On the Aldan River, a group of hunters once started out to slay a bear which held sway over the neighboring land and which had already torn to pieces a traveling merchant. When this bear suddenly attacked the hunters, all forty fell before him, crying out: "Stay! do not be angry." Only three experienced hunters among them, crouched on their haunches, hidden by a mat, aimed their guns, but even these yelled: "Stay! do not be angry." "*Ulu toen! ulu toen!*"⁴⁷

This terrible animal attacks humans very infrequently. He does not touch weak women. (Among the Yakut, the women show him their breasts.)⁴⁸ Those who speak derogatorily of him, are visited by his wrath, and have his cruel vengeance wreaked on them.

The Kalar (Shortsi District) believe that a man slain by a bear must have cursed this bear at some time during his life.

In Anjul, a Russianized settlement consisting of emigrants from Kuznetskaye Taiga, in the winter of 1927, during a bear-baiting chase, an old experienced hunter was carried off to his den by the bear. His fellow-hunters, having injured the bear, fled in all directions. Shortly thereafter they gathered at the den and found the dead body of the bear on the body of the dead merchant. The significance of this occurrence was fully discussed by the participants in the hunt and finally the universal conclusion was that the old hunter must have spoken disrespectfully of this bear and must have killed many other bears during his lifetime and that therefore this bear had taken revenge for all.

There is a saying among the Yakut that a person who kills many bears will eventually be killed by one of them.⁴⁹

Sometimes a bear, on meeting a person, appears to ridicule him; he lies down near him and does not attack him; but he does not permit him to pass, and may keep him so for a whole day. This same belief is held by the Shortsi. When meeting a bear, they recommend tipping the hat and bowing as they say, "Go your way, Revered One."

Among the Teleut,⁵⁰ the elders advise the youths never to resist a bear when meeting one, but to look it in the eye and say, "Uncle, you are great. You only frighten children; what do you want? Why do you wander here? Take the right road and go."

Among the Yakut⁵¹ there is a formula of supplication which is believed to placate and pacify a bear. "Grandfather, (or grandmother) I have never

⁴⁷ Scroshevsky, *ibid.*, p. 658.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 659.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 659.

⁵⁰ Told by L. E. Karunovskaya of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad, 1927.

⁵¹ Ionov, *ibid.*, p. 53; Kulikovskiy, *ibid.*, p. 57. "When a wanderer meets a bear he bows before him and implores him audibly not to touch him since he is unarmed."

trod on your broad footprints; neither I nor my ancestors have ever wandered over your long roads; soften your anger; I am a complete orphan; I am completely miserable, I am laden with sadness. Oh, if you would retreat to the depth of the forest, disappearing in the space made by two (upright) boards! Oh, if you would move aside, a sole's distance! If you would soften like the liver of Nalime. If you would soften like the fur of a sable."

On the other hand, it is not permitted, on meeting a bear, to show fear; the bear observes the feet of the traveler, and if they tremble, he attacks him. It is also prohibited to flee from the bear. It is recommended to converse with the bear, and still better, to shout as loud as possible. The close resemblance of a skinned bear to the human body makes a great impression on the hunter. Katchin Tartars compare the dead bear with a dead man.⁵² The Yakut compare the dead bear with a woman.⁵³ This resemblance has been the source of a number of tales among many tribes relating to the origin of mankind from the bear, and also of tales dealing with the transformation of man into a bear. It is interesting to note that no tales are known which concern similar or reversed changes of bears into men.

The Yakut say on the body may be seen women's ornaments. The trinkets previously worn by a woman have left their impressions on the bare and worn areas in the fur, corresponding to the usual position of feminine finery.⁵⁴

A woman, just before her transformation into a bear, would, on her arrival home, begin to avoid people, to hide, and finally go off to the forest.

According to information supplied by Kulikovsky⁵⁵ a pregnant woman changed into a female bear and gave birth to two cubs. Among the Yakut, we have a similar variant of this tale.

Once upon a time there lived a Yakut merchant, who was not rich, but a splendid trapper of bears. His wife, noticing that he was in the habit of returning too soon from his hunt laden with great numbers of trophies, became suspicious that his catch was not obtained in the woods, but furnished by a clandestine lover, and decided to watch him carefully. Once, as he left for the hunt, she followed secretly. Having reached the densest part of the woods, she noticed that her husband jumped three times over the trunk of a fallen tree and transformed himself into a huge thickly-furred bear. She followed his example, and became metamorphosed into a she-bear and followed him. They never returned home. These two became the ancestors of the bear.⁵⁶

The Karagas⁵⁷ have three variants of this narrative. The grandfather bear was a human who had a younger brother with whom he quarreled. The younger brother became the Tuba-Karagas, and the older became the grandfather bear. Another version is that a fisherman threw his net and caught the Spirit-of-the-

⁵² Karatanov and Popov, *The Kachintsi, Reports, R. G. S.*, vol XX, Series IV, St. Petersburg, 1884, p. 6.

⁵³ Seroshevsky, *ibid.*, p. 660; Ionov, *ibid.*, p. 52.

⁵⁴ Ionov, *ibid.*, p. 51.

⁵⁵ Kulikovsky, *ibid.*, p. 58; Pripusov, *ibid.*, p. 50: "The bear was a human being and was transformed into an animal."

⁵⁶ Seroshevsky, *ibid.*, p. 660.

⁵⁷ Katanov, N., *A Journey to the Karagas in 1890*. St. Petersburg, 1891, pp. 29, 67. (In Russian.)

Water. The brother of this man was the grandfather bear who constantly fought with this spirit and forced him to remain in the water and to give man fish. The third version is that three brothers of the Chogdu were fishermen. Once the eldest became angry and threw his net on a tree. He went into the forest and became a bear.

Among the Uriankhai⁵⁸ there is a belief that man turns into a bear because of vodka. (This version is probably the most modern one.) Or Ärlük-khan turns him into a bear; or two people who desire to become Ärlük dress themselves with their furs turned inside out and lick each other in imitation of bears, and become bears. A fourth variant has been recorded by Potanin.⁵⁹ Djelbaga, who was accustomed to eat human beings, had devoured all but one old man and his wife whom he also wanted to devour. These two, however, escaped. The man hid in the forest and became a bear. That is the explanation for the human intelligence of the bear and the close resemblance of his footprints to that of man. (Uriankhai.)

The Shortsi say that the bear is derived from man. Therefore man does not eat "bear's head." There is a story of a woman who went into a forest and turned into a bear. In her absence, her clothes were torn and she could not be transformed into a woman again. She remained a bear. Her anger causes her to take revenge on all mankind.

Yadrinzev,⁶⁰ discussing the anthropomorphism of these tribes, points out, among other things, the story of the bear who was previously a human being. Verbitski⁶¹ writes about the Altai tribes, who also have stories of similar metamorphoses. For example, the bear, as a man, was very strong but simple, and ate very much, so that his family scolded him. Once, while angry because of these reprimands, he took a rope and went to the forest to gather wood. He did not return, but changed into an animal (bear). The rope is still hanging on the trees. (This rope forms the intricate network of the vines of the hop-plant.) On the forepaws, just above the claws, may still be seen the signs of woolen bandages worn by him on account of rheumatic pains.

D. A. Klementz⁶² gives the following data for the region of Minussinsk. Three brothers, fishermen, were quarreling. The middle one (Ireze) went into the forest and turned into a bear. The youngest (Sulbigur) remained a human being.

Korotanov and Popov⁶³ tell the story of the two brothers who lived alone in the world. One struck upon the notion of becoming a bear. It is said that he effected the transformation by cutting himself with knives and rolling on the ground. The second brother remained a man. This accounts for the resem-

⁵⁸ Katanov, N., *Prototypes of Folk Literature of the Turkish Tribes*. St. Petersburg, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 16, 18, 33. (In Russian.)

⁵⁹ Potanin, T. N., *Sketches of Northwest Mongolia*. St. Petersburg, 1881, vol. IV, p. 167. (In Russian.)

⁶⁰ Altai and Chern Tartars, *Reports, R. G. S.*, vol. XII, 1881, p. 229; and *Memoirs of the Western Siberian Section, R. G. S.*, Book IV, Omsk, 1882, p. 41. (In Russian.)

⁶¹ *The Altai Tribes*. Moscow, 1893, p. 137.

⁶² Klementz, D. A., *ibid.*, p. 55.

⁶³ Karatanov and Popov, *ibid.*, p. 647.

blance of bear and man. The bear himself realizes this similarity of appearance and when meeting a man, he is embarrassed when looking straight into his eyes.⁶⁴

Among the Sagai,⁶⁵ the bear is considered to be a transformed human being. Among the Osman Turks⁶⁶ there is also a story of the change of a human being into a bear. All these tribes believe also that the bear is a distant ancestor. We know already that the Karagas⁶⁷ believe that the bear was a brother of their ancestor, Chogdu.

Klementz⁶⁸ relates a story of the Karagas in which the bear is described as the brother of the tribal ancestor.

Some Siberian Turkish tribes claim to be direct offspring of the bear. Thus, for example, the Kara-Teles,⁶⁹ who live in Pele on the eastern shore of Lake Teletz, regard the bear as an ancestor. Some tribes in the region of Biisk and Kuznetsk also derive their origin from the bear.⁷⁰

The Uriankhai call the bear the father of all humans.⁷¹

Among the Yakut,⁷² when a woman meets a bear, she says, "I am your sister-in-law."⁷³

The names given to the bear point to a similar conception among the Siberian Turks. The Shortsi call the bear maternal uncle, paternal uncle, or grandfather (*aba*).

The Altai call the bear paternal uncle (*abagai*). The Teleut call him maternal uncle (*tai*). The Sagai (Ichege tribe) call him either father or grandfather (*ulabam*) or grandmother (*uljem*). The Karagas say,⁷⁴ grandfather (*ire*); the Uriankhai say, grandfather⁷⁵ (*irey*).

The Yakut⁷⁶ call the bear *ece*, grandfather; *ebe*, grandmother;⁷⁷ beloved uncle, and good father.⁷⁸ Among the Altai, he is called father (*aba*).⁷⁹

In all the stories dealing with the transformation of the bear, man looks upon him as a brother, an older brother, and regards himself as lower than the bear. (It is known that age plays a great rôle in the life of these tribes.) That

⁶⁴ Katanov, N., *Among Turkish Tribes, Reports, R. G. S.*, vol. XXXIX, Series IV, 1893, p. 521.

⁶⁵ Katanov, *Prototypes, etc.*, vol. IX, p. 559.

⁶⁶ Gordlevsky, Vl., *Osman Superstitions about Animals, Ethnographical Review*, vols. XXXIV-XXXV, 1901, no. 1, p. 179.

⁶⁷ Katanov, *ibid.*, p. 524.

⁶⁸ Klementz, *ibid.*, p. 55.

⁶⁹ Potanin, *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 9.

⁷⁰ *Report of the Altai Spiritual Mission, Biisk*, 1865, pp. 38-40.

⁷¹ Katanov, *Among Turkish Tribes*, p. 521.

⁷² Seroshevsky, *ibid.*, p. 659.

⁷³ Ionov states that the woman calls the bear her daughter-in-law. *Bibliography of the Religious Ideas of the Yakut, Living Antiquity*, vol. XXIII, 1914, p. 369.

⁷⁴ Katanov, *Among Turkish Tribes*, p. 521. Also by the same author: *A Journey to the Karagas in the Year 1890*, p. 14, "The bear is a woman who went away into the woods."

⁷⁵ *Preliminary Report on the Expedition of F. Kohn, ibid.*

⁷⁶ Seroshevsky, *ibid.*, p. 658; Troshtchansky, V., *The Evolution of the Religion of Black Magic among the Yakut, Kasan*, 1902, p. 55. (In Russian.)

⁷⁷ Ionov, V., *The Bear in the Beliefs of the Yakut*, p. 51.

⁷⁸ Hallowell, *ibid.*, p. 49.

⁷⁹ Verbitzky, *ibid.*, p. 128.

is why, even now, they respect and value the bear as of a higher order, as a tribute to his supernatural qualities.

Potanin and Yadrinzev somewhat exaggerate the rôle of the bear as a supernatural being. However, both agree on the principal opinion that the bear is similar to or was once a man. So Potanin⁸⁰ writes in this connection:—

“The Siberian tribes believe that the bear is a human being who is only dressed in an animal's fleece. He is not simply a man, but of a higher order. He is gifted with unusual strength. First, he is the favorite of the gods, dwelling among men, condemned to wander in the woods. Second, he is an ‘orphan-savage’ who lost his relatives during childhood, and who grew up without human society. Third, he is a hero who was driven out of society because he was a source of discomfort.”

Yadrinzev⁸¹ states that bear worship arose from the naïve conception that the bear resembles man and understands everything and, in addition, is a being of a higher order. Thus the bear appears to be a mythological being and plays the rôle of a semi-god.

Among the Siberian Turks and the Mongolians the bear is respected and feared, even at the present time.

All these tribes believe that animals and particularly the bear, hear and understand human language. Indeed, the Shortsi believe that the bear can hear human talk when he puts his ear to the ground. They say: “The ground carries it to him.”

His hearing is especially acute in winter when there is no humming of mosquitoes, etc. When the bear is hunted, he will recognize among ten hunters that individual who spoke disrespectfully of him and will take revenge. It is forbidden to take the bear's name in vain since he may hear it and appear. A meeting with him in the forest is something which is highly dreaded and feared. The Shortsi say: “Why call him in vain? He will hear the call and come without fail.”⁸²

The Altai also believe that the bear can hear through the earth.⁸³ The Uriankhai say: The bear's ear is the earth.⁸⁴ The Yakut believe that the bear very easily understands man's speech, especially during his winter sleep and takes vengeance on those who speak ill of him;⁸⁵ hence, the respectful and timorous regard for the bear. The Shortsi, Altai, Uriankhai, never mention the name of the hunter who killed a bear, never permit any bantering regarding the beast, and never brag about the success of the hunt. To find a bear quickly when hunting, the Yakut abuse it on purpose, and thus make it wish to meet them.⁸⁶ In the opinion of all these tribes the bear is just. The Yakut say that the bear is as wise as man, even wiser; he knows and understands everything, and if he does not speak, it is only because he does not want to.⁸⁷

⁸⁰ *North Asiatic Legends about the Son of Heaven*, *ibid.*, p. 12.

⁸¹ *Bear Worship, especially among the Northern Tribes*, p. 103.

⁸² Cf. Katanov, *Stories of Animals understanding Human Language, Reports of the Historical and Ethnographical Society of Kazan University*, vol. 14, 1897–1898, p. 255. (In Russian.)

⁸³ Yadrinzev, *ibid.*, p. 3.

⁸⁴ *Preliminary Report of the Expedition of F. Kohn*, p. 37.

⁸⁵ Seroshevsky, *ibid.*, pp. 658, 610; Kulikovsky, *Materials for the Study of Yakut Belief*, p. 58.

⁸⁶ Ionov, *ibid.*, p. 52.

⁸⁷ Pripuzov, N., *Material for the Study of Shamanism among the Yakut*, p. 50.

In this relationship to the bear is included the prohibition of calling him by his common name, especially while on the hunt.

<i>Tribe</i>	<i>Common Name of Bear</i>	<i>Name of Bear during Hunt</i>
Teleut, Altai, Forest-Tartars near Lake Teletz ⁸⁸	<i>ayu</i>	<i>aŋ</i> , animal; <i>kara</i> , the black one; "he" or "old man" or "the revered one" ⁸⁹
Shortsi	<i>apšak, apšIyak</i>	<i>azIḡ</i> , the furious animal; <i>aŋ</i> , animal; <i>adaliḡ</i> , the revered one; <i>uluḡ kiji</i> , great man; <i>maymak</i> , bear's paw; <i>ol</i> , he; <i>karasok</i> , the terrible one
Sagai	<i>aba</i>	<i>aŋ</i> , animal; <i>azIḡ</i> , the great one, the mighty; <i>uluḡ kiji</i> , the great man; <i>kara</i> , the black one; sometimes <i>apčak</i>
Katchin-Tartars	<i>apčak</i>	<i>tirton</i> , sheep's skin ⁹⁰
Karagas	<i>ire</i>	<i>karan</i> , ⁹¹ the brown one
Uriankhai	<i>adIḡ</i>	<i>kara djume</i> , black objects; <i>adIḡ</i> , the revered; and the Mongol term <i>madjalay</i> ⁹²
Yakut	<i>äsä</i> ⁹³	<i>arḡabastax</i> , who has the fur coat; <i>aragaxtax</i> , who has the den; <i>tIataḡI</i> , he from the woods; <i>agIrga</i> , the fierce one; <i>nakaiban</i> (a Novgorod record, not translated); ⁹⁴ <i>kōk</i> , the black one; ⁹⁵ <i>on</i> , sir, a respected old person; ⁹⁶ <i>ogonyor</i> , an old man; ⁹⁷ <i>tIa toIono</i> , master of the woods; <i>xarakII</i> , black animal ⁹⁸

The basis of the bear myths of the Turkish tribes of Siberia is the abduction of a woman by the bear. Often the bear has a son born to him, semi-human and semi-animal.⁹⁹

Among the Shortsi of the Kuznets Taiga and the southwestern part of the region of Minussinsk (emigrants from the Taiga) and also among the Altai, the story usually begins with a woman (or a maiden) entering the forest to dig the root *kandyk*;¹⁰⁰ or to gather berries (Yakut¹⁰¹ and Sagai);¹⁰² or to fetch water.

⁸⁸ Radloff, W., *Sketch of a Dictionary of Turkish Dialects*. St. Petersburg, 1909, vol. I, pp. 218, 223, 367, 489; Verbitsky, W., *Dictionary of the Altai and Alai-day*, pp. 5, 10.

⁸⁹ Yadrinzev, *ibid.*, p. 111.

⁹⁰ Korotantov and Popov, *l. c.*, p. 657.

⁹¹ Klementz, *Information about the Expedition*, etc., p. 55.

⁹² Katanov, *Journey to the Karagas*, p. 14.

⁹³ Kon, *l. c.*, p. 37; Grum-Grjimaïlo, *l. c.*, p. 51.

⁹⁴ Ionov, *l. c.*, p. 51.

⁹⁵ Seroshevsky, *l. c.*, p. 658.

⁹⁶ Hallowell, *ibid.*, p. 49.

⁹⁷ Dioneo, *In Far Northeast Siberia*. St. Petersburg, 1895, p. 23.

⁹⁸ Maak, *l. c.*, vol. III, p. 109.

⁹⁹ There is a Yakut legend that a pregnant woman was metamorphosed into the first female bear who gave birth to two bear cubs. Kulikovsky, *l. c.*, p. 58.

¹⁰⁰ *Erythronium Sibirica*.

¹⁰¹ Seroshevsky, *l. c.*, p. 659.

¹⁰² Katanov, *Prototypes*, etc., vol. XI, p. 543.

The bear carries her off to his den. The Sagai place the den in an old abandoned hunter's tent. The woman cohabits with the bear during certain intervals only, in winter or spring. When the bear leaves his den at the termination of his hibernation, the woman leaves him; or the term of her cohabitation may be prolonged and she gives birth to a son. In the Yakut tale she lives with the bear for three years and forgets her mother tongue.¹⁰³

In the Sagai tale, the woman learns the bear's language and gives birth to three children. The bear feeds her with game (in the Shortsi version, with berries and honey as well). He brings berries for her children (Sagai). He keeps her warm with his body, but does not allow her to approach the doorway. Among the Yakut, she is said to escape from the den; among the Sagai, a hunter who stumbles on the den, carries her off. Only in the Altai legend¹⁰⁴ is she found by hunters who return her to the village against her will.¹⁰⁵

In one version of the Shortsi tales, the bear follows the woman who has fled his den. (Among the Sagai, he pursues her almost to the village and the brothers of the woman make him retreat and protect her from him.) In other stories, on the woman's return, they go to find and hunt the bear. In the Sagai tale, the woman is hidden in a trunk and the hunter who brought her back, summons the villagers, saying: "Beware of the bear who carried her off, and shoot him!"

The people who gathered around him, shoot him with their rifles. At home in her tent, or less often in the bear's den, the woman¹⁰⁶ gives birth to a son; in another version, to two children, one a male, the other a female. In the Sagai legend she gives birth to three children.

The child is described in many ways.¹⁰⁷ He is either half naked and half covered with fur or half animal and half human. In this connection it should be noted that the term "half" means, in some stories, a vertical division, and in others a horizontal one.

Sometimes they say neither animal nor man. The Sagai legends have it that the people who carry the children from the den find the legs and hands and head human, only the trunk is covered with fur. In Altai legends the bear's son is different from human children. His hands are like a bear's paws, his face and feet are human. Thus we see that the story tellers have difficulty in establishing a definite proportion between animal and human components in the bear's offspring.

Some tales end with the birth of the bear's son. Others relate his further fate. In the Kuznets Tagai version the latter part becomes blurred and shadowy.

The tales of the Yakut, the Sagai, and the Altai, in general lack this part. Those of the Sagai terminate with the story that the relatives of the woman kill the bear's son. In the myths of the Shortsi, the bear's son either continues to live in the den, or the bear-father orders the children to retreat to the mountains as a punishment for scratching the mother's breast with their claws. The bear

¹⁰³ Seroshevsky, *ibid.*, p. 659.

¹⁰⁴ Notes of the University student A. I. Novikov (1928).

¹⁰⁵ The wording of the text is of interest; the narrator makes a critical remark: "Another woman would have run away in order to be saved, but this woman did not move."

¹⁰⁶ A Shortsi legend.

¹⁰⁷ Shortsi legends.

says: "You are forest-people. Go to the mountains." In those versions in which it is related that the bear's son is born in the mother's village, he nevertheless returns to the forest and does not return. In some legends he leaves the townsfolk because of the scarcity of the food supply. In others he goes out to fight against his father, the bear.

In another series of legends it is related how the bear's son grows up and feeds his mother. He brings her hives of wild bees and leads other bears to her relatives to be killed. The mother ties a ringlet of iron to her son's paw (in other stories, leather bands) and he leaves her to enter the woods. A year later, when going through the fields, she meets her son, the bear, who sits by the roadside waiting for her. He implores her to remove the iron ringlet or the bands. After this has been done, he goes back to the dense forest forever.

In still another version, the mother endeavors to rid herself of her bear son by imposing impossible tasks. She has him fell trees with a wooden axe, scoop water with a sieve, etc. Tired and deceived the son cannot bear this torture any longer, and as the narrative says: "Weeping, weeping, he flees into the dense forest (taiga)."

Thus we see the bear's son play the rôle of a human being (it is told that three days after birth, he begins to talk the human language) and also that of a bear (he scratches the mother's breasts with his paws, the mother places an iron ringlet on his paw, etc.). But the animal predominates in him in all the stories and he finally goes into the forest.¹⁰⁸

The Turkish tribes of Siberia usually consider bears as the cattle of Kairakan,¹⁰⁹ who sends them into the forests. Kairakan is the oldest of the bears "the big, great old-man bear" and the master of the forest. The master of the bears and the master of the forest are not distinguished.

The bond between the bear and the master of the Taiga (hills and forest) is especially prominent. Speaking to the bear they call it: "From the hill (taiga) my great uncle." When the bears kill the cattle and destroy the beehives the natives organize shamanistic practice. The shaman, coming to Kairakan, begs him to appease his "cattle," i.e., the bears. The latter withdraws the bears and prevents them from destroying the cattle. The Yakut think that there is a bear shaman, who may be distinguished from his brethren by his intellect, invulnerability, spotted skin, a mane and a tail. On no occasion can he be killed.¹¹⁰

Bears with special marks, for instance, a tuft of white fur on the tail, on the back or on the shoulder, are particularly dangerous for the hunter. Altai and Shortsi tribes avoid killing such a bear and when one is unintentionally killed,

¹⁰⁸ Without giving any reference, Potanin notes that the Tartar tales about heroes borne by a woman from a bear, contain the story that an unusual boy has either been deserted by his relatives or that he has voluntarily left. See Potanin, *North Asiatic Legends of the Son of Heaven*, p. 143.

¹⁰⁹ Radloff, W., *A Sketch of a Dictionary of Turkish Dialects*, vol. II, p. 369; Katanov, N., *The Alphabetic Directory of the Proper Names in vol. I of Radlov's Prototypes*, p. 9. (In Russian.) Verbitsky, W., *Dictionary*, *ibid.*, p. 117; Anukhin, A., *Materials for the Study of Shamanism among the Altai Tribes; Publications of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography*, vol. IV, part 2, 1924, p. 3.

¹¹⁰ Kulikovsky, *ibid.*, p. 58.

they think that they have killed a cub of Erlik. The Altai hunter, when he has killed such a bear, sacrifices a horse or a cow to Erlik to compensate him for the loss, trying at the same time to select an animal of the same color as the slain bear.

The bear is associated in the mind of Turkish tribes with Erlik-Khan and Ulu-tojon. According to the information of H. Kosmin the shamans of the Siberian Turks often attach to Erlik-Khan the appearance of a bear.¹¹¹ Yadrinzev writes: "The Kumandji shaman relates about Erlik, representing him in a bear's form."¹¹² The Chern Tartars call Erlik-Khan "the bear's paw."¹¹³ The Shortsi, Sagai, and Altai shamans usually represent the Erlik-Khan as clad in bearskin.

In the shaman's prayers¹¹⁴ and cosmological myths,¹¹⁵ Erlik is represented as the creator of the bears. Also he transforms a man into a bear.¹¹⁶ According to the myths of these tribes, Erlik is considered to be the first man, exiled and transformed into a spirit of the underground world and in shaman's prayers is often called *ada*, father. The myths about the bear relate that the bear was once a man but, wishing to become Erlik, or for some other reason, was changed into a beast.

Also the guardians of the entrance of the *yurta* assume the form of the bear. They are the sons of Erlik or they are called his messengers.¹¹⁷ Among the Teleut the master of the door is clothed in bearskin.¹¹⁸ Minussinsk Turks think that the guardian of the doors is the bear and they always call him father. They sacrifice to him ants, blackberries, and the root of sarana (*lilium mortagon*).¹¹⁹ The detached parts of its body are suspended by the entrance, usually some pieces of skin, claws or a paw.¹²⁰

All these amulets are called *aba-tös*, the spirit of the bear. The owner of the *yurta* (among Kizil Tartars), when offering a sacrifice to this spirit, roars like a bear before the image and says: "Don't be angry, eat!"¹²¹

Among the Shortsi, a paw, a piece of skin, or a claw is suspended by the door, especially if there is a little child in the family. Yakut hang a bear paw with the claws on the child's cradle.¹²² Among the Telengit on the Cholishman River the

¹¹¹ Kozmin, N., *Siberian Memoirs*, 1918, vol. II, p. 101.

¹¹² Yadrinzev, *ibid.*, p. 111.

¹¹³ Potanin, *Sketches*, *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 129.

¹¹⁴ Anukhin, *ibid.*, p. 86.

¹¹⁵ Veselovsky, *ibid.*, p. 37.

¹¹⁶ Katanov, *Prototypes*, *ibid.*, pp. 18 and 33; Potanin, *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 167.

¹¹⁷ Anukhin, *ibid.*, pp. 71, 86.

¹¹⁸ Yefimova, A., *Wedding of the Teleut*, *Publications of the Ethnographical Section of Leningrad University*, 1926, p. 232. (In Russian.)

¹¹⁹ Katanov, *Among Turkish Tribes*, p. 539; *Letters from Siberia*, p. 91; *Prototypes*, p. 576; Iakovlev, *Ethnographical Outline of the Valley of the Yenissei River*, Minussinsk, 1900, pp. 100, 102, 116, (In Russian.); Ostrovski, P., *Ethnographical Notes on Turkish Tribes in the Region of Minussinsk*, *Living Antiquity*, vol. III-IV, 1895, p. 110. (In Russian.)

¹²⁰ Collections of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in Leningrad, nos. 267-76, 2390-98, 2164-2211, 2390-91. Instead of the bear's paw a wooden image of a paw sometimes is used. The latter is called also *aba-tös*.

¹²¹ Klementz, Some Notes on Tyus, *Reports of the East Siberian Section, R. G. S.*, vol. XXIII, part 3-4, p. 27.

¹²² Ionov, *ibid.*, pp. 340-341.

people keep a bear's paw in the *yurta* that the cattle may be abundant. The Shortsi suspend a bear's claw on the necks of calves and cows when they are suffering from the flux. The Altai trace round their head with a bear's claw as a remedy against headache. The Soyot do the same around a swelling on cattle.¹²³ So the separate parts of the bear are kept as a (magic-remedy) means for witchcraft.¹²⁴

The bear's skin and head are of particular importance. We have already seen that after killing a bear the head, after the observation of certain rites, is suspended on a tree or buried. The head also safeguards the householder and property, and plays a special part when taking an oath.

For security of the house, the Yakut hang the bear's skull on a tree near it. The Chelei clan (Shortsi) fasten the bear's head on a pole among the beehives, turning its snout toward the hives, that the bees may steal the honey from the neighbor's beehives. For the same purpose, some use bear's claws, suspending them under the hives.

The man taking an oath among the Altai must sit upon a bear's skin and kiss the nostrils of its muzzle.¹²⁵ The Soyot, during an inquest, give the man examined a bear's muzzle to smell, or make him lick its head.¹²⁶ The oath among the Tartars of Yarynsk Volost (district) consisted of a man biting into the bear's head.¹²⁷ The Yakut also bite the bear's head when swearing,¹²⁸ or kiss the skull of the slain bear.¹²⁹ The pre-Christian oath of the Yakut was as follows: the man taking the oath sat astride the bear's skull before the fire and poured part of the oil into the fire, drank the remainder, and spoke the words of the oath.¹³⁰

The bear is always present among the spirits. He is an assistant of the shaman¹³¹ and his image is painted on the leather of the shaman's tambourine, on the lower part, under the line representing the underworld.

We have seen that the bear cult has been preserved among the Siberian Turks to a more or less pronounced degree, containing features differing from those of the cults of other Siberian tribes. This does not prove that it belongs to all Turkish tribes, for we have no convincing proof of its existence among non-Siberian Turks. The legends of the Osmanli¹³² about the transformation of man into bear are too tenuous to be of any positive value in drawing valid conclusions.

Worship of domesticated animals, especially of the horse, must be the result of waves of immigrating Turko-Mongolian herders who introduced worship as

¹²³ Kohn, *ibid.*, p. 37.

¹²⁴ Karatanov and Popov, *ibid.*, p. 647 (the Kachin Tartars); Yadrinzev, *ibid.*, p. 110 (the Altai); Anukhin, *ibid.*, pp. 33, 45; Ionov, *ibid.*, p. 57 (the Yakut).

¹²⁵ Potanin, *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 39.

¹²⁶ Kohn, *ibid.*, p. 37; Katanov, *Among the Turkish Tribes*, p. 521.

¹²⁷ Georgi, *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 23. "The Tartars of Yarinsky District in Katchinsky steppe living in the neighborhood of the Arinzi and descending with the latter from the same stem."

¹²⁸ Stchukin, *ibid.*, p. 19.

¹²⁹ Popov, *ibid.*, p. 9; Yastremsky, *ibid.*, p. 260.

¹³⁰ Pripuzov, *Materials*, *ibid.*, p. 50.

¹³¹ Katanov, *Prototypes*, pp. 164, 168, 47; Katanov, *Traditions of Sayan Tribes*, p. 275; Yakovlev, *ibid.*, p. 100. The Soyot female shamans have an image called *hayarhan* representing the figure of a bear.

¹³² Gordlevsky, S., Osman Beliefs about Animals, *Ethnographical Review*, vol. XXXIV-XXXV, 1910, no. 1, p. 179.

well as domestication of these animals from the steppes of middle Asia into northeastern Siberia.

If the worship of the horse is met with in most areas populated by Turkish immigrants (Yakut, Altai, Uigur, Kirghiz, and of the Turkish tribes of Turkestan), and if this worship is common to all Turkish tribes, then the bear cult which has been preserved among Siberian Turks must be explained on the basis of other ethnic elements. These latter are of ancient date.

Thus, comparing these two cults, we see first that horse worship has spread over a larger area and is clearer and more deeply rooted, whereas the bear cult is blurred and indistinct and is older as far as the regions populated by Siberian Turks are concerned.

Horse worship shows a marked relationship to the worship of the higher celestial bodies,¹³³ whereas bear worship is related to underground spirits and those of the forests and mountains.

Thus we see that there are in these regions populated by Siberian Turks, densely forested areas, as the regions of the Karagas, Soyot-Todjin, Shortsi, Sagai, and Beltir who live on the tributary of the Abakan and of the Yenissei.

Among these tribes we find a very distinct cult and a less prominent horse worship. On the other hand, horse worship is very marked among the Altai tribes (Kumandı, Sholgan, Altai-Kiji, Teleket) and also among the cattle-breeding tribes of the Minussinsk steppes, and finally among the Yakut, who practise both cults to a marked degree. They have preserved in their new and strange environment pronounced forms of both types of animal worship.

We see that the worship of two dissimilar animals has developed similar forms and rites; although these two cults arose in different types of geographic environment (in the forests and in the steppes) and under different economic conditions (among hunters and herders) and possibly in different ethnic groups.

The Turkish hunting tribes try to secure the resurrection of wild animals, the cattle-breeding Turks of domestic animals. These aims are vividly expressed in the relations of the forest Turks with the bear and the plains Turks with the horse.

The bear and horse cult have evolved from the foundation of the economic importance of these animals; for example: The conception of Erlik and of his sons and delegates who appear as bears. Finally, there is the belief that bears are animals and that colts belong to Erlik. In other instances, they belong to the master of the *taiga* (dense forests). Analogous to this group of conceptions which express well-developed ideas of horse worship, we may quote the following stages of legendary development.

The Yakut represent one side and the Turkomen and Uigur the other side of the same concept. The Yakut believe "that the male and female horses have been our gods,"¹³⁴ and the Turks "that the horse has ruled the world."¹³⁵

¹³³ Ionov, On the Problem of Studying the Pre-Christian Beliefs of the Yakut, *Publications of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography*, vol. V, 1918, part 1, p. 161. "To the spirits of the upper world are sacrificed horses," etc.; Verbitsky, *Sacrifice to Ulgen. The Altai Tribes*, p. 146; Katanov, *Prototypes*, vol. I, p. 98.

¹³⁴ Seroshevsky, *ibid.*, p. 262; Ionov, *Bibliography of the Religious Ideas of the Yakut*, pp. 355, 361.

¹³⁵ Samoilovitch, A. N., *Journey to Turkestan*. (A paper read during a session of Radloff's circle of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography.)

Calling horses celestial gods and giving them the attributes of gods, is found among the majority of Turkish tribes (particularly in prayers of the Uigur).¹³⁶ They are the gods of the higher regions; some are different spirits or delegates of gods. They descend to earth in the form of horses.¹³⁷ This is the source of the concept of the horse as the animal of the gods for horseback riding.¹³⁸ Most of these tribes quite naturally associate horses with celestial and higher spirits and especially so the horses which are of the following colors, gray, white, piebald and brown.¹³⁹

The bear is associated with the vicious and baser gods of the underworld, namely Erlik. Finally, we must suppose that the bear cult, more ancient in this region, was fused with the Erlik cult when the Turko-Mongolian horse cult was joined with their celestial cult and worship of celestial spirits common to these tribes. It is interesting to note that horse worship has penetrated widely into all the concepts and practices of the Siberian Turks. We even see that finally Erlik and the master of the *taiga* (forest and mountain) ride on horseback, horses are dedicated to them, although these are horses of the dark type.¹⁴⁰ Among all the Turkish tribes, the ceremony of horse dedication to various gods is well developed, under the names *ıyık*, *ızık*, *ıdık*, *itık*.¹⁴¹

In comparing the attitude towards the different parts of both animals, we notice that the relation of the Turkish tribes to the bear's head and to the horse's

¹³⁶ Seroshevsky, *loc. cit.*, p. 640; Anukhin, *Material on Altai Shamanism*, p. 94 et seq.; Malov, S. E., Remnants of Shamanism among the Uigur, *Living Antiquity*, p. 68.

¹³⁷ Chudyakov, N., Verchoganskiy sbornik, *Memoirs of East Siberian Section, R. G. S.*, vol. I, series III, 1896, pp. 121, 122; Shtchukin, The Yakut, *Journal of Home Department*, Part VII, 1854, p. 17; Seroshevsky, *ibid.*, p. 262; Yastremsky, S., Remnants of Ancient Beliefs of the Yakut, *Reports of the East Siberian Section, R. G. S.*, vol. XXVIII, 1897, p. 14; Jochelson, *Kumiss Festivals*, p. 262; Katanov, *Prototypes*, vol. IX, p. 573.

¹³⁸ Ulgen himself rides on horseback. Inventory of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, no. 2014/1, edited by A. B. Anukhin; Shvetsova, The Altai-Kalmyk, *Memoirs of the West Siberian Section, R. G. C.*, no. 3, Omsk, 1897, p. 8. The master of the mountain and other spirits ride on horseback. Katanov, *Prototypes*, p. 168. Malov, S., Shamanism among the Sarts of Turkestan, *Publications of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography*, vol. V, part 1, p. 2. When the shaman has a vision, the spirits appear to him as herds of horses. The white horse serves as the reincarnation of the shaman's soul (Shortsi), and the shaman's stallion is connected with the life of the shaman (the Teleut). The horse's death causes the shaman's death. Anukhin, *loc. cit.* The foal and the bear may also serve as reincarnation of the shaman (the Yakut).

¹³⁹ Jochelson, *Kumiss Festivals*, p. 269; Troshtchansky, *ibid.*, pp. 20, 21, 32, 33, 37; Seroshevsky, pp. 655-658. According to the legends of the Ordos tribes, the white horse has descended from heaven. Potanin, The Tangut-Tibet Region of China, St. Petersburg, 1884, vol. I, p. 123. (In Russian.); Anukhin, *Materials on Altai Shamanism*, p. 36: among the Altai the horse is connected with the legend of Ulgen. Verbitsky, *The Altai Tribes*, p. 146; also Some Notes about the Nomadic Altai, *Reports of the R. G. S.*, 1858, part II, pp. 95, 96. (In Russian.) Potanin, The Tribes of the Altai, *Picturesque Russia*, vol. XI, p. 14. (In Russian.) The quotation refers to Beltir, Kachin, Sagai, etc.; Katanov, *Prototypes*, vol. IX, pp. 548, 573, 578.

¹⁴⁰ Katanov, *Prototypes*, vol. IX, p. 216.

¹⁴¹ Such a horse, being in possession of supernatural power, will protect the people as well as the cattle, from evil spirits, and is a mediator between men and gods. Consequently, the horse has a significance similar to that of the bear kept in their house by the Saghalin Gilyak. This custom was interpreted by Prof. L. J. Sternberg, *Ethnographical Review*, 1904, vol. 60-63, p. 64.

head is analogous. Thus among the Yakut¹⁴² we find an oath on the horse's head. They bow to the horse's head during a wedding.¹⁴³ The horse's head, in particular that of a favorite horse, is hung on a tree.¹⁴⁴

In Turkestan¹⁴⁵ and among the Crimean Tartars¹⁴⁶ this practice is used for obtaining success, for a good harvest, and as a protection against evil spirits. The Bashkir hang a horse's head near their bee hives in order to circumvent any sorcery.¹⁴⁷ The skins of the horse are also hung up as offerings. However, while the bear's head is hung on a mountain ash, a bowl berry, or a fir tree, the horse's head, skin (and the horse itself) are tied to a birch during the sacrifice. The birch is considered a sacred tree which grows in the heavens and joins heaven and earth with its roots and its top by touching the dwelling of Ulgen. At the foot of the tree the spirits rest.¹⁴⁸

The bear and horse skin have the same significance. The horse skin is spread for the Kam ceremony¹⁴⁹ and also when the wind is exhorted.¹⁵⁰ The Turkish tribes, while taking the oath, exhort their sacred animal which continues to live in its skin. This is done in order that they should not be punished in case of a lie. In horse worship, the spirit in the form of a horse is called. Productivity is requested and the horse skin as well as its hair thrown into the fire as an offering.

In the bear cult among the Siberian Turks may be discovered the fundamental sources of totemism:—

1. The motive of the woman living with the bear in concubinage.
2. There exist stories about the metamorphosis of man into a bear.
3. The bear is considered man's ancestor or has much in common with man's ancestors.
4. In addition to terms of a descriptive character the bear is called by names expressing direct relationship.¹⁵¹

¹⁴² Yastremsky, *The Remnants of Beliefs*, p. 260. The Yakut bow to a horse's head and kiss the head bones of a slain bear. G. P. Popov, *The Yakut of the Eighteenth Century, Studies and Investigations, Sakha Kheskele Society, Yakutsk, 1925*, p. 9. (In Russian.)

¹⁴³ Seroshevsky, *The Yakut*, p. 543.

¹⁴⁴ Told by A. Popov; Jochelson, *loc. cit.*, p. 263; see also the Inventory of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, no. 2666-423, 2666-429. "Seven horse skulls representing the requisites of horse worship." The Yakut will not permit horse skulls to lie on the ground; they hang them on poles or on branches of trees called *aranast*. Seroshevsky, *The Yakut*, p. 262. This is also customary among the *Kirghiz*, cf. p. 16).

¹⁴⁵ Potanin, A., *Descriptions*, etc., vol. II, p. 94.

¹⁴⁶ Told by the University student, Bari Abbasov (1927), Umar Alieu Kapachai, Rostow, 1927, p. 1123.

¹⁴⁷ Georgi, Part II, p. 107.

¹⁴⁸ The celestial horse grazes on Syubyur Mountain and he quenches his thirst in the milk lake in the shadow of a thick birch. Katanov, *Descriptions*, etc., vol. XI, p. 572. According to the beliefs of the Yakut, the celestial spirits, when descending, tie their aerial horses to poles erected for the spring sacrifice and decorated with young birches. Maak, R., *The District of Vilui of the Yakut Region*, part III.

¹⁴⁹ Seroshevsky, p. 639; Yastremsky, *Remnants of Beliefs*, etc., pp. 235, 286.

¹⁵⁰ Georgi, *The Yakut*, part III, p. 115.

¹⁵¹ The Shortsi say: To dream of the death of a relative indicates that the dreamer will kill a bear during the same winter.

5. Finally, there are rituals performed after killing the bear, such as weeping for the dead, wakes which are conducted in the same manner as for a deceased relative, imitation of the growling of the bear.

The most important characteristic of totemism,¹⁵² however, is absent in the bear cult of the Turkish tribes: We fail to find in Siberia the usual concept of the bear as a totem, expressing a relation of the species to sib units. The whole tribe has a special relationship towards all bears, and primarily towards all animals.¹⁵³

In contradistinction to the prohibition against killing the totem, the bear is hunted all the time,¹⁵⁴ but after the hunters have killed the animal and eaten its flesh, they make every effort to preserve the skin, bones and head, in order to make possible its resurrection. Thus we see that the Siberian Turks do not break the bones of the bear; they place them on the bench and leave the head of the bear on a tree. This is a remnant of the custom of suspending the whole bearskin¹⁵⁵ which exists among other Siberian tribes. This has been observed among the Samoyed in 1810.

“They worship the animal skins, especially that of the bear. They hang them on trees and bow before them.”¹⁵⁶

Concerning the Ostyak:—¹⁵⁷

“Wild animals are also objects of worship, but especially the bear. Before the ceremony, the skin is spread out and made to look like a living bear. They gather about and dance around it. Afterwards the owner takes the skin and uses it without any scruples.”

Hanging the skins and saving the bones during the offering, to make possible the resurrection of the animal, is widely spread. We find a very interesting explanation of this ritual by Georgi (referring to the Lapp):—

“They believe that the gods will cover the bones with meat (which they have eaten). If a dog should eat a bone of the sacrificial animal, it is killed and the corresponding bone which the dog has gnawed is taken out of it, and is laid upon the place of sacrifice.”

(Evidently in order to make the skeleton of the dead animal complete.)¹⁵⁸

Analogous to the custom of hanging up the bearskin is a similar one applied to domesticated animals: After the sacrifice the skin with the head and hoof of the horse are hung from a pole.

Among the Altai Turks the suspended horseskin is made to look like the animal itself. The stick over which the skin is laid forms the backbone; or the

¹⁵² Frazer, J., *Totemism and Exogamy*, London, 1910, vol. IV, pp. 3-4.

¹⁵³ Bogoras, W., *The Myth of the Death and Resurrection of the Animal God*, p. 69.

¹⁵⁴ Frazer, *ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁵⁵ The same refers to the horse's head during the shamanistic performance connected with the goddess, Aycit; the head is kept whole, the bones wrapped in birchbark and placed on a tree. This is a substitute for the hanging of the horse skin, a custom dependent on the conception of the same goddess in the shape of a horse. Yastremsky, *Remnants of Beliefs*, etc., p. 234.

¹⁵⁶ *Statistical Review of Siberia*, St. Petersburg, 1810, p. 173.

¹⁵⁷ P. 53. A brief description of the Ostyak tribes composed by Gregory Novitzky, *Monuments of Ancient Literature*. St. Petersburg, 1884. A chapter on idolatry, p. 13.

¹⁵⁸ Georgi, *ibid.*, Part I, pp. 13, 63, 75, 31. The same in Shashkov, *ibid.*, p. 87.

horse bones are mixed together, packed in a bundle of branches, and they are laid upon a storage platform.¹⁵⁹ This is observed among the Teleut;¹⁶⁰ according to a drawing by Radloff the skin is often fastened in sitting posture.¹⁶¹

Among the Yakut the flesh of the sacrificed horse or horned animal is eaten by those assembled. The skin and the hoofs are hung in dense woods.¹⁶² In ancient times the bones of horses were placed on the bench.¹⁶³ The practice of hanging out horseskins was the custom which later disappeared among the Kuznets Tartar. We find the following in the manuscript by Tatishtchev:—¹⁶⁴

“If the following question is put to a Yasach Tartar in the region of Kuznetsk: ‘In what God do they believe? What are his characteristics? Do they believe in his omnipresence?’ then this answer is given: ‘They believe. They kill horses, they skin them and fill them with grass and put them on the storage platform. . . . They bow to the east while looking at the heavens and then they eat the meat . . . , but they place the bones within the skin on the storage platform. But nowhere do they believe in Him (God) while the former is the belief of their fathers and grandfathers; but the belief in God, they did not know.’ ”

There is evidence that the Crimean Tartars also suspended the skin of sacrificial animals (horses) on poles and worshipped them.¹⁶⁵

In reference to the sacrifice of horses the following interesting features must be noted. These sacrifices have a generic character. During the sacrifice the women are not present. A woman shaman does not perform this sacrifice.

The meat is eaten by everybody during the feast associated with the sacrifice. The animals are either choked or killed in a ritual manner; the bones are not severed but preserved; the skin, the head and the hoofs are suspended. Some elements of the horse cult lead us to believe that the horse may have been a totem animal among the Turkish tribes although in this as in the bear cult no features of totemism are fully expressed. Among the Turks of Siberia are stories of the origin of man from the horse.¹⁶⁶ In contrast to the rôle played by

¹⁵⁹ Gluchov, N., *Taielga, Ethnographic Materials*, vol. III, Series I, St. Petersburg, 1926, p. 95. (In Russian.) Verbitsky, *Some Notes on the Nomadic Altai*, p. 97; Potanin, *The Tribes of the Altai*, p. 78.

¹⁶⁰ Georgi, *ibid.*, Part III, p. 109; Shvetzov, *The Teleut and the White Kalmyk*, 1821, p. 14.

¹⁶¹ Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, Leipzig, 1884, vol. I, p. 332.

¹⁶² Popov, P., *The Yakut*, p. 10; Gmelin, *Reise*, vol. II, pp. 508, 209; Seroshevsky, *The Yakut*, p. 647.

¹⁶³ Jochelson, *Kumiss Festivals*, p. 262; cf. the hanging of the sacrificed foal's skin on the tree among the Cheremiss; Georgi, *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 31; the burying of the horse's bones and also of those of the bear on the arañas, or on a tree, is a repetition of the ancient form of burying of most of the Siberian tribes.

¹⁶⁴ A work on the geography of certain northern cities, rivers, lakes, mountains, and peoples; also on idolators known by the Kuznetsk administration as the Yasach Tartars, namely Ivashka Davitkin and his fellows. Manuscript in the Library of the Academy of Sciences, Leningrad, no. 12, 2, 107, p. 146. (In Russian.)

¹⁶⁵ Thomas, *Animals, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, New York, 1920, vol. I, reference to Strauss, *Reise durch Italien*, Gotha, 1832.

¹⁶⁶ There is a mutual relationship between the whole tribe and all horses. “In the beginning there was a horse. Her offspring was an animal who was half horse-like and half human. This animal gave birth to man.” (Troshtchansky, *The Evolution of Black Magic among the Yakut*, p. 32). See also Kharusin, *The Oath on the Bear*, p. 17. (Reference to Seroshevsky, p. 263). In tales we have the motive of the transformation of a man into horse (Karagas). Katanov, *Prototypes*, p. 631.

the bear, the horse is viewed as the guardian spirit of and the mediator of the clan. We know of the rôle played by the white-lipped foals which were preserved and not killed.¹⁶⁷ Finally, the significance of the horse as a guardian, protector, and arbitrator for the individual is noted clearly in all motives of the Turkish tales.¹⁶⁸

Attention has already been called to the fact that after the bear has been killed his growling is imitated by the hunters as a part of the ritual. We find the same custom during the sacrifice to Ulgen, for the animal is imitated by both the Shortsi and the Teleut; shamans imitate horses, they whinny, stamp, and snort.¹⁶⁹

In both cults we may note the presence of sexual elements. During the Kam ceremonies Ulgen and Kočuganxan are worshipped among the Altai Turks, the shaman or one of those present makes certain movements while carrying a wooden stick representing the penis and called penis (*kočugan kan*).¹⁷⁰

In the killing of the bear we find additional analogues, for the young hunters are induced to make movements similar to those in sexual intercourse, over the body of the bear,¹⁷¹ and on nearing the bear's den one of the old hunters stands behind the beginners and holds a twig opposite his penis as he pushes the young hunter.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁷ Pripuzov, N., Some Notes on the Yakut, *Memoirs of the East Siberian Section R. G. S.*, vol. II, part 2, p. 50. Shashkov, *Shamanism*, pp. 43, 75. Shtchukin, *The Yakut, Journal of the Home Department*, 1854, Book VIII, p. 17.

Strahlenberg, *Der Nord und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asien*, Stockholm, 1730, p. 379; the same author in the Reports of Various Foreign Authors about the Peoples of the State of Russia, *Records of the Ethnographical Society of Kazan University*, vol. XI, Series 3, p. 244.

Seroshevsky, *ibid.*, p. 270.

¹⁶⁸ The horse tied with a lariat on the white mountain summit, is let down by the deity from heaven to earth for the hero's assistance; or the hero is informed where to find this horse and he makes a search for it. Troshtchansky, *ibid.*, pp. 20, 21. Jochelson mentions the rôle of the horse as a protector and counselor among the Kirghiz. (The motive of the magic flight as an episode in mythological tales. Special volume in honor of the Seventieth Anniversary of D. N. Anutchin, Moscow, 1913, p. 164.) For the Minussinsk tribes, see Katanov, *Prototypes*, p. 212, vol. IX; also, Katanov, *Stories and Legends of the Minussinsk Tartars*. Siberian Materials appended to the *Eastern Review*, Irkutsk, 1887, pp. 225, 230. (In Russian.) The horse which appears during the hero's birth, is well taken care of. It is forbidden to beat, to whip, or to tie this horse, etc.

¹⁶⁹ Verbitsky, *The Altai*, pp. 62, 87. Also, *Some Notes on the Nomadic Altai*, p. 97; Potanin, *The Tribes of the Altai, Picturesque Russia*, vol. XI, p. 77. A similar custom is found among the Buryat in shamanistic ceremonial of the mimetic character called the Play of Ongon. See Khangalov and Klementz, *Communal Hunting among the Northern Buryat, Materials on Russian Ethnography*, vol. I, St. Petersburg, p. 43. (In Russian.) In other instances, when the spirit of the bear enters the shaman, he puts on the skin of an animal with the inner side out and imitates that animal by gestures and voice. See Potanin, A. V., *Travels through the Uriankhai Country*, p. 31, Moscow, 1897. (In Russian.)

¹⁷⁰ Anukhin, *Inventory of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography*, no. 2014-8; Zelenin, D. K., *Elements of the Phallus Cult in the Altai*, a report to a meeting of Radloff's circle at the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography. Compare also Divaev, M., *Invocation of the Wind, Ethnographical Review*, part 1-2, 1910, pp. 131-133.

¹⁷¹ Kulakovsky, *ibid.*, p. 96.

¹⁷² Told by A. Popov.

The Yakut explain this custom as an encouragement to the young men. They must not be timid, their legs should not tremble, and they should not become startled in the next hunt. We must assume that the sexual elements in horse and in bear worship signify productivity, namely, an increase in cattle and game during the hunt.

Bear and horse cult have in common the killing of the worshipped animal, whose rôle is that of a mediator; the sacrificial feast; and the saving of the bones and skin as an expression of the wish for the resurrection of the animal. The killing of the bear during the hunt has the character of a sacrifice;¹⁷³ and when the horse is sacrificed a feast is held.

The myth plays the leading rôle in the bear cult, while in the horse cult the ceremonial part overshadows the myth.

Bear worship is practised chiefly by forest hunters and mainly in northern Siberia; horse worship is practised chiefly by Turkish-Mongolian cattle breeding tribes. Both cults embrace characteristics of tribes of Turkish and Mongolian extraction, and are widely distributed and of ancient origin. The bear is connected with the forest regions of Siberia, especially in the northern part. Its ceremonial killing is observed from North America to the northern part of Eurasia.¹⁷⁴ These myths and rituals date back to an ancient Eurasian cult.¹⁷⁵

The horse cult is of economic origin and originated in the Steppes. The home of the horse is in the central Asiatic steppes.¹⁷⁶ From there it spread southward and towards the northeast into Siberia.¹⁷⁷ It also penetrated the

¹⁷³ Georgi, *ibid.*, part III, p. 19.

The Karagas: "Everyone prays individually to the sun and to the celestial vault, sacrificing the head and heart of the bear or other game. They place the offering on a piece of bark and raise it toward the sun. They ask for the fulfilment of all their needs. Then the offering is eaten by the participant." Pallas, *Travels*, part III, first half, p. 224.

¹⁷⁴ Hallowell, *ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ Its ancient provenience has been noted by Bogoras. See *The Myth of the Death and Resurrection of the Animal-God*, p. 69; Bachofen, *Der Bär in den Religionen des Altertums*, p. 14. Other authors have also discussed the antiquity of bear worship. Thus, Yadrinzev, *loc. cit.*, p. III, speaks about the antiquity of the amulets associated with the bear.

¹⁷⁶ Hehn, Victor, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, Berlin, 1883, pp. 19, 20, 50.

¹⁷⁷ Teploukhov mentions the remnants of horse bones found by himself in the burials of the so-called Afanasyer culture in the Minussinsk region. (*Ancient Burials in the Minussinsk Region, Ethnographical Materials*, S. P. B., vol. III, Issue II, 1927, pp. 66, 67, 75.) He places the rise of the nomadic people who used horses in the Minussinsk region in the first years of our era (p. 57). Radloff, *Native Tribes of Siberia, Picturesque Russia*, vol. XI, pp. 14, 15, 16-19, 23, 24, notes the multiplicity of objects forming the horse's harness found in the excavations of Bronze Age sites, and considers the people of that epoch to have been pedestrians rather than horsemen, though they knew the horse. On the other hand, he notes that the Iron Age burial places containing remnants of Turkish tribes, as on the South Altai and in Abakan, contain a great number of horse skeletons. According to him, this fact and also the images of horsemen on the petroglyphs and the information obtained from the Chinese, suggest that the Turks were horsemen in ancient times and that their main occupation was to breed animals. Gluchov and Rudjenko, *Burial Grounds of Kubyrgic on the Altai, Ethnographic Materials*, vol. III, Edition II, 1927, pp. 39, 46, 49, 50, state that the burial grounds of South Altai at the Chulymmene River contain horse skeletons dating back to the seventh century A. D. These skeletons are buried like the human ones, with all their trappings. The buried horses were fully harnessed. This suggests, according to the authors, that the Kubyrgintsi were horsemen, that

dense forests, to the northeast of Yakutiya¹⁷⁸ where we have found very pronounced remnants of this cult of the nomadic cattle-breeders.

Separate elements are combined with the horse cult; the rôle played by the white foals among the Tungus is considered by them a non-Tungus element, more like an acquisition from their Yakut-Buryat neighbors.¹⁷⁹ In consequence, the Yakut give us the border line of the spreading of the horse cult towards northeastern Asia. While the elements of the horse cult as traced through the regions of southern and western Asia,¹⁸⁰ associated with the waves of nomadic cattle breeders give us the southern border line of the distribution of this cult in Asia; the separate elements of horse worship and bear worship as well, appear to be fused together in Europe.¹⁸¹

Asiatic ancient and contemporary European folklore are replete with myths about the bear. The motive of the metamorphosis of man into bear is spread from Kamchatka¹⁸² to the Baltic¹⁸³ and was found in ancient heathen Russia.¹⁸⁴ Still more prominent is the motive of the rape of women by the bear and the birth of a bear son. This myth embraces entire Eurasia and a narrow strip of northwestern America.¹⁸⁵ It finds its counterpart among the Yakut¹⁸⁶

the horse played an important rôle in their life and accompanied them into the future existence. During this period a ritual burial of the horse together with the deceased already existed, this being a characteristic feature of the majority of Turkish-Mongolian peoples, from ancient times to our days. Castrén, M. A., *Auf Zeichnungen über die Altertümer in Kreise Minussinsk*. Helsingfors, 1901, p. 34.

¹⁷⁸ Middendorf, A., *Nord und Ost Sibirien*, St. Petersburg, 1875, vol. II, p. 1762. The Yakut led the horse and cattle further to the north than any other people.

¹⁷⁹ Shirokogorov, S., Shamanism among the Gold, p. 61, *Scientific Memoirs of the Faculty of History and Philology, Vladivostok*, 1919, vol. I. (In Russian.)

¹⁸⁰ Hehn, *ibid.*, p. 50. Vivid traces of the horse cult in India were noted by L. Sternberg in the article The Ancient Cult of Twins in the Light of Ethnography, *Publications of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography*, vol. III, 1916, p. 183, reference to Hillebrandt, *Ritual literatur Vedische Opfer und Zauber*, Asvamedha, 1880, pp. 149-153.

¹⁸¹ Thomas, Animals, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 1, pp. 463, 486, 591.

¹⁸² Tyushov, V. N., On the West Shore of Kamchatka, *Memoirs of the R. G. S.*, vol. XXXVII, no. 2, 1906, p. 241.

¹⁸³ Pogodin, A., Cosmic Legends of Baltic Peoples, *Living Antiquity*, 1895, vol. 10, pp. 431, 432.

¹⁸⁴ Anitchkov, E., *Paganism in Ancient Russia*, 1914, p. 271; Veselovsky, *Complete Works*, part 1, p. 358; Klinger, *ibid.*, p. 273.

¹⁸⁵ Bogoras, *The Folklore of Northeastern Asia*, *ibid.* (Parallelisms: American, Tungus, Lamut); Jochelson, W., American and Asiatic Parallels in the Myths of the Koryak, *Geography*, vol. III, Moscow, 1904 (in Russian); Sternberg, L. J., The Gilyak, *Ethnographical Review*, 1905, Parts 60-63, p. 68, also Materials for the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore, St. Petersburg, 1908, p. 96 (the quotation refers to the Gilyak and Oroch); Arsenyev, Shamanism among the Siberian Tribes and their Animistic Conceptions, *Asiatic Reporter*, 1916, vol. II-III, p. 336 (referring to the tribe Udekhe); the same, on the Kolyma. See Popov, Eug., Data on the Study of Russian Life on the Kolyma, *Ethnographical Review*, 1907, Parts XXII-XXIII, nos. 1-2, p. 174. The same among the Russians in the southwestern part of the Tomsk Government, in Potanin, southwestern part of the Tomsk Government, *Ethnographical Journal*, published by the Russian Geographical Society, St. Petersburg, series VI, p. 143 (in Russian).

¹⁸⁶ Troshtchansky, The Evolution of Black Magic among the Yakut, p. 32. A distant analogy can be seen in the ancient myth of Poseidon's marriage with Demeter in the shape of a mare; the offspring being a horse. See Kagarov, E., *ibid.*, p. 239. According to Pausany,

who tell of the birth of an animal half horse and half man and man is his offspring. The Sagai women even at the present time fear to enter the woods, dreading to be carried away by bears. The same fact is also noticed among the Russian peasants. L. J. Sternberg¹⁸⁷ quotes in his work, *Divine Election in Religion*, an interesting incident about a bear wedding in 1925.

The last remnants of this found their reflection in the artistic creation of Lunacharsky, *Shemet or the Bear Wedding*, which is based on the Litov legend about Lokis.¹⁸⁸

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Demeter having temporarily assumed the shape of a mare, gave birth to the horse Arion. She was worshipped as "Black Demeter," and represented as half woman, half horse. Klinger, *ibid.*, p. 108.

¹⁸⁷ In the periodical *Ethnography*, vol. I, Book III, Moscow, 1927, p. 39. The author refers to the article by N. Brykin, Bear Wedding, in the *Leningrad Truth*, 1925, no. 190.

¹⁸⁸ Mérimée, Prosper, *Complete Works*; Lokis, issued by the publishing house Academia, Leningrad, 1927. Translation by M. Kuzmin.