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FROM THE LITERARY HERITAGE  
OF TURKIC SOUTH-SIBERIA

Šor Folkloric and Shamanic Texts

*Xayindirijmay Bayay – ōl*  
A Tuvan HeroTale

Translation, Introduction and Notes

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**Enzo altın ačamniň äsiqä**

**памяти моей обожаемой жены Любы**

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## PREFACE

The texts presented here belong to South Siberia, an area of great philological interest in the field of Turkic Studies. This area has remained outside the process of conversion to Islam, which in greater or lesser degree reshaped the cultural order of much of the Turkic world starting from the 10th Century, and has conserved the ancient shamanistic traditions of the Ancient Turks, while being affected on the other hand by the inevitable influence of Mongolian Lamaistic Buddhism and in more recent times by that of the Russian presence.

Within such a region a place of particular importance is occupied by the two ethnic groups of the Tuvans and the Šors, whose shamanic and folkloric traditions (epic and heroic literature and folk tales) have been the object of investigation firstly in the USSR, now in the Russian Federation.

Sporadic attention to such an important cultural patrimony has been paid by Western Turkic studies, both at a strictly scientific level and as regards its popularisation at a cultural level; which is why it seemed reasonable to me to propose once more a collection of folkloric and shamanic Šor texts alongside the Tuvan Heroic Tale, *Xayindiriyımay Bayay-öl*, the former being almost forgotten despite their undoubted relevant interest, and the latter only recently transcribed and still awaiting a full recognition of its worth.



## ABBREVIATIONS AND GRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

< passage from one language into another or change of form or meaning

~ linguistic alternation

Ar. Arabic

Chin. Chinese

Mon. Mongolian

O.T. Old Turkic

Per. Persian

R. Russian

S. Sogdian

San. Sanskrit

Šor Folkloric and Shamanic Texts  
(from Dyrenkova, *Šorskij Fol'klor*)





## INTRODUCTION

The Šor<sup>1</sup> texts presented here were collected by N.P. Dyrenkova between 1925 and 1932, and published by the same scholar in 1940.<sup>2</sup> Given their great importance from both the folkloric/anthropological and religious perspective, and in view of the limited attention (with few exceptions)<sup>3</sup> granted to them in South-Siberian Turkic studies in general, I have deemed it useful to re-propose them (with the exclusion of the few ones resulting irrelevant to my purpose). The same should be done with the epic texts, which in fact form the more substantial part of Dyrenkova's collection. It is my intention to accomplish this task in the near future.<sup>4</sup>

The brief texts<sup>5</sup> which are here translated and annotated deal with the concept of the spirit-masters of the mountains and rivers; they are etiological representations; they reflect the material culture such as hunting and fishing; tales<sup>6</sup> relating to the history of the Šor people; they are also shamanic prayers, invocations and exorcisms.<sup>7</sup>

Šor folkloric literature is largely about the basic economic activities of the Šor people, *i.e.* hunting.<sup>8</sup> The hunting areas belonged to the clans, and within

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<sup>1</sup> On the people, literally «skis», their origins, and their ethno-linguistic characterization, see Potapov (1936); Levin and Potapov (1956: 492-529); Pritsak (1959: 630); Potapov and Menges (1934: 53-58); Menges (1956: 164-66; 1968: index); Kimeev (1989); Funk (2005: 14-18). According to the latest census (*Itogi* 1990, cf. Patruševa 1994), there were 17.000 Šors. Only 34,3 % of them used their mother tongue to communicate with their parents. See also Harrison (2002).

<sup>2</sup> N.P. Dyrenkova, *Šorskij fol'klor*, Moskva-Leningrad 1940. The texts are in Mras-dialect, on the basis of southern variant of which has been created the literary Šor language (Dyrenkova 1941: 5; Pritsak 1969: 631; Funk 2005: 14).

<sup>3</sup> Diószegi (1978) is, to my knowledge, the only relevant one.

<sup>4</sup> Poor attention if not insignificant, has been given until recently to Šor epics among the now consistent research activity concerning Turkic epic traditions. Exceptions, to my knowledge: Meletinskij (1963: 260-61 and *passim*); Doerfer (1996: 155). Now the gap has been filled by Čudojakov (1995; 1998). Cf. Funk (2000; 2005).

<sup>5</sup> *Nıbaq* (cf. n. 2, text 16) or also *šörček* (Altay *čörčök*) and *narıpaq*, depending on the area (Dyrenkova 1940: IX). Cf. also Funk (2005: 252).

<sup>6</sup> *Purunıyu cōq/kep cōq* or also *erbek*, *tilās* or still *šin* (precisely «truth»): *ibidem*.

<sup>7</sup> Strangely enough (but maybe not entirely strange, considering the Stalinian bias against any phenomenon of religious nature) they are not mentioned at all in the introduction.

<sup>8</sup> Traditionally hunters and fishermen, at the beginning of the 20th century, Šors began to switch to agriculture, as a consequence of tsarist policy. Even more radical changes were caused by the policy of the Soviet government. The process of industrialization experienced an

each clan the territory was shared by the *töl* («families»). Hunting was strictly a male business, and for women it represented an extremely strong taboo.<sup>9</sup> Men would spend most of the year hunting in the taiga. They used to travel dozens of kilometres, dragging their sleighs (*šana*) or a sled made of horse skin (*sörte~sürtke~sörtke*),<sup>10</sup> full of provisions.

The very survival of the Šors' depended on how successful their hunting would be. A dwindling of game in the taiga meant starvation: those were hard times (*qadıy kün*) for the Šor hunter. With the skins, the fruit of their hunting, they were able to pay tax firstly to the Mongolian rulers, then to the Dzungar khans, the Kirghiz princes, and lastly to the tsar.

The Šor system of beliefs focused on the spirit-masters of mountains and rivers is common throughout the whole Turkic South-Siberian area. In the texts presented here, the vividness of motifs connected to the complex of the *albasti*,<sup>11</sup> also common to the whole Turkic South-Siberian area (and well beyond), is quite striking. Šors believe all mountains and taigas, *i.e.* the hunting territories, are shared among the different spirit-masters; the mountains are their homes and the animals are their domestic livestock, which they can choose either to send or not to send to the hunters, and which they use as stake when playing cards. The same applies to the masters of the rivers and fishing is dependent upon the masters.

The masters of the mountains and rivers greatly enjoy listening to stories. When they have listened to them, they relax control over their livestock, animals and fish, and the hunters and fishermen benefit from this. At times, grateful for the stories, the masters themselves send rich catches. That's why the hunters always make it a point to be accompanied by someone who is good at telling stories. A good story-teller could be granted an equal share of the whole catch. Especially welcomed by the spirit-masters are 'trivial' (*qatqılıy*) stories: it was believed that the more obscene the story was, the more the spirit-masters would be pleased.

Another issue dear to the Šor folklore is the bear.<sup>12</sup> It appears mostly in stories relating to women busy harvesting. Such tales maintain very old cultural patterns;<sup>13</sup> thus, when the woman escapes from the bear who abducted

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outstanding impulse during the 1930s in Šor territories, as well as in the rest of the country. Coal mining, started in Kuzbas around mid 19th century, developed to the point of becoming a real industrial activity.

<sup>9</sup> This in accordance with the whole South-Siberian Turkic area (and not only) (Lot-Falck 1953: *passim*).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. text 7, n. 7.

<sup>11</sup> Marazzi 1987 and text 11, n. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Bibliography in text 27, n. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Dyrenkova (1940: xx), with her Sovietic-positivistic terminology (it's around 1930!), talks about *materinskij stroj* («maternal structure»).

her, she normally heads for the maternal clan, and her brothers, for the latter consider it their duty to avenge their own sisters (texts 28-33). The child born out of the relationship between the woman and the bear, lives at first in his mother's clan, usually with her brothers, and helps hunting. This child bear is half human and half bestial. One cannot exclude that also this folk tradition, such as that concerning the masters of the mountains and rivers, may be somehow related to the *albasti* complex. Of special interest is text 27, which deals with the ritual killing and burying of the bear.

Many texts tell about the world of animals: why the otter does not moult (text 35), why the eyes of the capercaillie are red (text 36), etc., as the Šor hunter is especially aware of the various facets of animal behaviour. Extremely interesting are texts 39 and 40, where two myths on the origin of fire have birds playing leading roles.<sup>14</sup>

Besides hunting and fishing,<sup>15</sup> harvesting was the other basic activity of the Šors, and it was performed exclusively by women and children. This is amply demonstrated in several texts.

Breeding of animals was scarcely developed,<sup>16</sup> except in the region around the lower course of the Kondoma and Mrass rivers (Dyrenkova 1940: XXIII). A naïf explanation of the reason why Šors had so few livestock, while on the nearby Altay mountains and in the Khaqas steppes there was an abundance of grazing herds, is given in text 41. Other texts are about the introduction of breeding in the taiga (45, 46). The resistance with which breeding was met as a threatening new economic form is reflected in text 44.

Shamanic conceptions, funerary ceremonies, socio-cultural practices concerning hunting and the relationship with the world of animals, as well as various aspects of community life are issues which are dealt with in the texts 47 through 67.

Texts 68-73 are also presented in their Šor original. They include shamanic prayers, invocations and exorcisms that, to my knowledge,<sup>17</sup> are still relatively unknown to scientific scholarship, and therefore are waiting to be fully valued in the framework of the South-Siberian Turkic shamanic *corpus*.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> To my knowledge, on the myths about the origin of fire, still irreplaceable is Frazer's classic text (Frazer 1969: 114-15 on the Siberian area).

<sup>15</sup> «Fishing does not represent a profitable business. Profits deriving from fishing are hardly enough to feed and dress one» (Radloff 1893: I, 349).

<sup>16</sup> «There is not even a cow, therefore not only adults, but children as well use no milk» (Adrianov 1886: 189, 195).

<sup>17</sup> They have only partially been included in Marazzi (1984a).

<sup>18</sup> The most updated treatise on Šor shamanism within the whole Turkic Siberian area is in Alekseev (1984). It seems that the Šor area produced especially powerful shamans (both men and women (*ibid.*: 38; Malov 1909: 211; cf. also Funk 1995; 2005: 69).

## ŠOR FOLKLORIC TEXTS

1. The Master of Mount Pādīryan<sup>1</sup> had a young son. They both went to another taiga<sup>2</sup> to propose to a maiden. The Master of that other mountain gave them a bowl of *araya*.<sup>3</sup> The son took that bowl, and drank before his father. Then the father, enraged, hit his son. While hitting him, he pierced his occiput.<sup>4</sup> His blood became a brooklet and started to flow. This brooklet flows into the Söl Pras.<sup>5</sup>

1.

<sup>1</sup> Šor and, in general, South-Siberian Turkic conceptions of mountains as living beings and as dwelling places for the spirit-masters (*tay ēzi*; cf. Marazzi 1986: 58 and Uray-Kóhalmi 1992) are thoroughly interwoven. The mountain and the master who dwells in it often merge. Mountains and their lords live similarly to humans according to beliefs that have their roots in the more ancient anthropomorphic depictions of archaic humanity in nature. They can move, pass from one region to another; they keep family relationships. Lower mountains are subjected to the high or somehow more authoritative ones. Mountains fight one another, they get married... Each clan (*sōk*, lit. “bone”: Radloff (1865: 223 ff.); Krader (1963: index); Bacon (1958: index); Hatto (1974: 103-104); Funk (2005: 147) owns its own mountain-taiga (the two words are often interchangeable; see n. 2), which normally is the hunting ground for the clan itself (see, as for the epics, Čudojakov 1998: 438). Offerings to the mountains were often a clan major issue. Numerous prohibitions, such as those toward the older relatives of the husband, involved women and non-members of the clan. Women and non-members of the clan were forbidden to walk by the clan mountains with bare feet or head. They were also forbidden to climb them (we find such a prohibition in many other cultural areas; cf. for Tibet the recent article by Huber (1994). Sometimes mountains were regarded as heroes who lived in a remote past. Concerning mountains in general in Turkic (and more generally Altaic) conceptions: Harva (1938: 57 ff.; Potapov (1946); Roux (1966: index); Heissig (1982); Kyzlasov (1982); Marazzi (1989: 18-19 in relation to the cult of the Great Mother and with wide cross-references to the specific bibliography about South-Siberian Šor and Turkic; 2000: 17) and the recent Uray-Kóhalmi (1998); cf. Van Deusen (2004: 37-41). As to Mount Pādīryan cf. an interesting Teleut text published by Maksimov (1995: 71-72) and the observations in Funk (2005: 98).

<sup>2</sup> *Tayya* “mountain forest” and *tay* “mountain” are often interchangeable. About the etymologic discussions on the two terms, between Turkic and Mongolian, see Dmitrieva (1979: 155-56); Doerfer (1975: II, 859); Marazzi (1993: 187-88; cf. also Id. 1986: 30); Starostin *et al.* (2003: 1359-60); Tenišev-Dybo (2006: 382).

<sup>3</sup> <Ar. ‘*araq* “sweat”. On this alcoholic beverage, distilled from fermented milk (also called milk brandy), in the South-Siberian culture, in shamanic practice and in epic tradition: Taube (1972: 124, 128-29), Marazzi (1984a: index; 2000: *passim*); Kenin-Lopsan (1997: 110). For the etymology: Räsänen (1969: 23); Zieme (1997).

<sup>4</sup> *Tegey*; the top of the anthropomorphized mountain is considered similar to the occiput. Thus, in the same way, *taydij paži* is the “head of the mountain” and *taydij qoynu* is the “abdomen of the mountain”.

<sup>5</sup> It is one of the tributaries of the River Mras/Pras (important river in shamanic geography: cf. text 73, n. 8) which, in its turn, flows into the River Tom (about the latter see text 8, n. 3).

2. In springtime, when the leaves haven't appeared on the trees, when the grass hasn't yet grown on the earth, then the master of the mountain cries out.<sup>1</sup> Also in autumn, when the grass, withered, bends, when the leaves on the trees, withered, fall, the ears of the mountain become sharper,<sup>2</sup> then, (again), he cries out.

3. Along the high course of the Abakan<sup>1</sup> on the Qaziryan,<sup>2</sup> when I went hunting, the master of the mountain called:<sup>3</sup> "Come here! What kind of a man are you?" I did not answer and went away. Answering, he seizes the man's soul and locks it up within the mountain. The man, then, going out of his senses<sup>4</sup> dies.

4. Along the high course of the river called Qaylozi, originating from Abakan,<sup>1</sup> there is a high mountain called Qaziryan.<sup>2</sup> There we went hunting. While we were hunting there, I was lying in wait for squirrels,<sup>3</sup> my father went chasing the squirrels instead.

Then, while I was lying in wait for squirrels, a man called once, he called twice. When he called for the third time, I answered; he says: "Mikit,<sup>4</sup> come

2.

<sup>1</sup> The master (*ā*; Menges (1976); Tenišev-Dybo (2006:535, 576-80) of the mountain's cry is also a sign of the change of seasons.

<sup>2</sup> Anthropomorphization of the mountain; cf. preceding text.

3.

<sup>1</sup> Two etymologies, more or less *volks*-. 1) *aba* "father" + *qan* (~*qān*~*xan*~*xān*) "xan, lord"; 2) *aba* "father" (>"bear"; cf. *infra*) + *qan* "blood"> "bear's blood" (the etiological legend tells of a hunter who once killed a bear who then forded the river which turned completely red with the blood of the killed bear; Dyrenkova (1940: 390). Cf. Molchanova (1996-98: 139).

<sup>2</sup> "Mighty (*qazir*) Xan (*xan*)". For *qazir* cf. Erdal (1991: 77); Starostin *et al.* (2003: 628). *Qan*~*qān*~*xan*~*xān* is the Turkic-Mongolian title "Supreme Lord". A new etymology in de Rachewiltz (1989).

<sup>3</sup> It is dangerous to answer a call in the taiga because whoever calls could be the master of the mountain, who, establishing a relationship with man, after assuming a human form, seizes his soul thus making him die.

<sup>4</sup> By "out of one's senses" I translate *alinip*, converb from *alin-* "to take for oneself, to be taken by someone, to go out of one's senses, to grow wild, to become dull" (cf. Berta 2001: 102 ff.). The cause of madness was thought to be the abduction of a man's soul by a spirit. Very often the mistresses of the mountains are the ones who seize the soul of the hunter they took a fancy to. On the other hand the very image of the *albasti* seems to be behind many aspects of the Šors representations of the masters and, especially, of the mistresses of mountains and waters. Besides, sexual craving is a characteristic of the female *albasti*: see *infra*.

4.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. text 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>3</sup> Šors used to hunt squirrels for their furs throughout winter (Dyrenkova 1940: 391).

<sup>4</sup> <R. Nikita.

here!”. I say: “I’m coming!”. I went, but nobody was there. I met my father. He says: “Why have you come here?”. I say: “I have come because you called me!”.

The master of the mountain was the one who had called.

5. While hunting, I saw. In the thick forest of conifers a heap of stones<sup>1</sup> had fallen. Within that heap the snow had melted, thus creating a makeshift opening for the smoke.<sup>2</sup> From that hollow, smoke comes out. I went down there, with a ski-pole<sup>3</sup> I picked up some snow that I cast on top of it.

Having done this, I left. While I was leaving, a man behind me shouted: “If you don’t want to give your head-gear, give at least your mittens!”.<sup>4</sup> I didn’t give anything and left. While I was leaving, I took a look behind: out of the hollow a man was sticking out his arm. Three times he asked: “If you don’t want to give your head-gear, give at least your mittens!”. I gave neither my head-gear, nor my mittens and left.

Later on, after returning from hunting, I fell ill. I sent for the shaman to shamanize. The shaman brought my soul back from the distant taiga.<sup>5</sup> The master of that mountain had taken my soul. If I had given my headgear and mittens, I should have died on the spot. The shaman said: “Long ago, a master of the mountain came from the Abakan’s taiga to get even with someone.”<sup>6</sup> While the two were seated settling their business, I threw some snow down.

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5.

<sup>1</sup> *Qorum*: where the sables make their dens. On the word: Räsänen (1969: 283); Doerfer (1975: III, 460-61); Clauson (1972: 660); Sevortjan *et al.* (1974-2000: VI, 80-81); Starostin *et al.* (2003: 843). For a check on Central-Asian toponymy: Jarring (1997: 371). Cf. also Baskakov (1969: 69).

<sup>2</sup> *Tündük*; is the opening for smoke placed on top of the yurt. Cf. Marazzi (1984a: index; 2000: 19); Starostin *et al.* (2003: 1476).

<sup>3</sup> *Kürček* (O.T. *kürgäk*: Clauson 1972: 742-43). The ski-pole looks like a narrow wooden spade inserted on a long pole. Using this pole-spade the hunter controlled his direction, especially when descending a mountain. With the same spade he sometimes digs a hole in the snow in order to spend the night while hunting in the taiga. It could also be used as a vessel. When fording a water course, he used it to break the ice and, after drawing some water, he mixed some *talqan* in it (see *infra*); with this beverage he satisfied his hunger.

<sup>4</sup> In the Šor conceptions, one can possess a man’s belongings as well as his soul. This is why here, the master of the mountain, who is enraged with the hunter, demands his head-gear, or at least his mittens.

<sup>5</sup> One of the shaman’s main tasks is to retrieve the soul abducted from a human being by a hostile spirit.

<sup>6</sup> Masters of the mountains love playing cards, and normally the loser must hand the winner his own taiga animals, which then are transferred to another taiga. In this way Šors explained the decrease of animals in one region or another.

The snow hit the master of the mountain right in the eyes.<sup>7</sup> From that time he started to ask me things.

6. In winter, I was going to the River Qīzas. The master of the mountain called me. I heard his voice. He cried: “Qariton!”<sup>1</sup> I did not answer. Later on, at home my father said: “It is just as well you didn’t answer, otherwise something terrible would have happened, you would have gone out of your mind.”<sup>2</sup>

7. In the taiga called Qazīr<sup>1</sup> there were many animals. There, sables, squirrels, otters, foxes, weasels<sup>2</sup> and other animals were slaughtered. In the heaps of stones,<sup>3</sup> many sables would fall into the net.<sup>4</sup>

When autumn came and the snow fell, they mended their skis,<sup>5</sup> fetched some provisions<sup>6</sup> and, pulling the *sörte*,<sup>7</sup> went to that taiga. After reaching that taiga and erecting the shooting hut,<sup>8</sup> they performed the ceremonial sprinkling.<sup>9</sup> After that, they started hunting.

They hunt, but cannot manage to kill the animals. One of the hunters went hunting the whole day, but couldn’t find one single animal, he didn’t kill anything. When darkness fell, he returned to the shooting hut. While heading

<sup>7</sup> Anthropomorphization of the mountain; cf. text 1.

6.

<sup>1</sup> <R. Xariton.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. text 3.

7.

<sup>1</sup> “Mighty”; cf. text 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Qolīnaq-qulunaq* “Siberian weasel, *mustela sibirica*”. Another name is *saras* (<*sariñ* “yellow” + *as* “sable”). Actually, *qolīnaq-qulunaq* really means “small colt” (O.T. *qulun*; on the etymology, Severtjan *et al.* (1974-2000: VI, 132-33), according to the linguistic taboo that imposes not to mention the animal to be hunted (Zelenin 1929-30: 93).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. text 5, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Aniq*, special net for sables.

<sup>5</sup> *Šana* (? <Mon. čana; cf. Potapov-Menges 1934: 103; Levin - Potapov 1961: 83). The ethnicon Šor itself means “skis”! (cf. introduction). Without skis, Šors were called “pedestrians” (Verbickij 1893: 18). Skis can be made of birch, willow or cherry tree (mostly these last two). Using small iron or wood nails they are lined with horse, deer or elk skin, provided by these animals’ paws (such skin is called *pičqaq-pišqaq*). Cf. Dyrenkova (1940: 395).

<sup>6</sup> *Aziq*, O.T. *azuq*. Long before the men set off for hunting, their women would prepare provisions: roasted wheat, malt, meat (mostly horse’s), dried fish, tea, salt.

<sup>7</sup> *sörte-sürtke-sürke*: sled made of horse skin.

<sup>8</sup> *Oday-oday*, O.T. *otay*: Clauson (1972: 46). Cf. Potapov-Menges (1934: 56); Potapov (1960: 54); Severtjan *et al.* (1974-200: I, 484-87); Starostin *et al.* (2003); Tenišev-Dybo (2006: 458). For a check in the Central-Asian toponymy: Jarring (1997: 315 ff.)

<sup>9</sup> *Šāčiy*. The ceremonial sprinkling is clearly of shamanic concern; cf. Marazzi (1984a: 152 ff.).



for the shooting hut, he went past a huge rock that had fallen flat. The door in the rock was open. That hunter went in.

The inside of the rock<sup>10</sup> was similar to the inside of the shooting hut. The *araya* was hanging.<sup>11</sup> Many men were seated playing cards. Two of them were quarrelling. They were insulting one another. The first said: “In my taiga there were many animals before. The men would kill many of the animals and be satiated. You defeated me, you took my cattle to your taiga; now my people go hunting and cannot kill anything, they’ll starve!”. Many men shouting together were heard: “We must play again!” and they were throwing the cards away. The other man began to giggle and said: “What will he put as a stake? He has no more animals nor birds!”. The first (of the quarrelers), master of the Qazir taiga, said: “I will bet my daughters and I will bet myself and my wife!”. Thus they resumed their game.

The master of the Qazir taiga won, he laughed, threw the cards away and said: “Now bring me back the animals and the birds from your taiga!”. Out of his laughter a strong wind started to blow in the taiga, the young trees bent, the large trees screeched. That laughter scared the hunter profoundly. He came out of the thick taiga and, once he had reached the shooting hut, he was afraid of relating that. In the morning, when the hunters went hunting, they found many animals. They killed many animals.

After returning from hunting, an elder said: “The thing is that the masters of the mountains have been playing cards. By playing cards, they send the animals and the birds to the hunter”.

8. While Luqa<sup>1</sup> was going hunting, a cave appeared at the confluence of the Tireŋ Su<sup>2</sup> with the Tom.<sup>3</sup> In order to get into that cave, he carved some steps, made thirty torches of birch<sup>4</sup> and went in.

As he went deeper inside that cave, his torches were not sufficient, they all burnt down. Within the cave, in the sand appeared a large-small<sup>5</sup> path. Toe prints were visible. At the end of these prints a luminous land<sup>6</sup> appeared, just like ours. A little farther he saw: a brand new cauldron was hanging in which

<sup>10</sup> The mountain.

<sup>11</sup> *Araya asilčatir*; i.e. it had been distilled and it was in a hanging cauldron.

8.

<sup>1</sup> <R. Luka.

<sup>2</sup> “Deep (*tireŋ*) water (*su*)”.

<sup>3</sup> Called “Mother Tom” in the shamanic texts: Marazzi (1984a: index); Funk (2005:122).

<sup>4</sup> *Pišqī*, torch made of a split stick with some birch bark inserted in it; at times used in the *kam-lanie*.

<sup>5</sup> *Uluγ* (“large”) *kičig* (“small”): of dubious size. Stylistic procedure frequent in Šor texts, cf. *infra*, and not only.

<sup>6</sup> *Čariq čer*: sun lit, thus human.

*araya*<sup>7</sup> had been distilled. Having drunk from its heat,<sup>8</sup> and become inebriated, adults and children were dancing. There were large bowls, smaller glasses and huge cupboards.<sup>9</sup>

He meant to go even farther, but a hanging stone was swinging like a bell.<sup>10</sup> Seeing it, he didn't go on while saying: "If I go farther, this stone will let me go through, it will fall behind me obstructing the way".

He didn't go farther. He went back and got out.

9. I went hunting in the Kōbes taiga. At night, while I was sleeping and it was past midnight, a maiden and a boy appeared at the shooting hut door. The boy had put on a huge white headgear, the maiden had wrapped herself up in a white scarf. Later on, when I woke up my father and we performed the ceremonial sprinkling with the *abirtqa* that nobody had drunk,<sup>1</sup> they vanished.

If the mistress of the mountain is a woman, she only takes a man's soul, she doesn't take a woman's soul. Some masters of the mountains are men, others are women. A mistress of the mountains catches a man's soul in order to marry him.<sup>2</sup>

10. Four men went hunting on the Xan Tejri<sup>1</sup> massif. One of the men was a bachelor. On the way back from hunting, they stopped to spend the night on an island in the Abakan River, two wersts down from where the Matir River flows into it.

In the evening, while they were seated, a maiden approached them and asked: "Is there a bachelor here?". One of the companions said: "There is one bachelor!". While he was thus speaking, none of the companions managed to shut the mouth of the man who had talked. Then the maiden took the young bachelor by the hand and abducted him. When his companions who had stayed

<sup>7</sup> Cf. text 7, n. 10.

<sup>8</sup> The *araya* is fiery.

<sup>9</sup> The masters of the mountains' abodes were conceived like the humans' homes.

<sup>10</sup> *Šaŋ* < Mon. *čaŋ* (? < Chin.), actually «gong, cymbals» (Radlov 1893-1911: IV, 1, 942; present also in Tuvan: Tenišev 1968: 567). Missing in Rassadin 1980. Cf. Doerfer (1963-75: III, 103-105) and Stachowski (1992: 112).

9.

<sup>1</sup> *Abirtqa*–*abirtqī*, lit. "appeasement" (<*amirtqī*: Potapov-Menges 1934: 94; cf. Radloff 1893, I: 355): a kind of barley beer. For the sprinkling to the spirits a beverage not drunk by anyone, not desecrated by human contact is necessary.

<sup>2</sup> The idea of sexual intercourse between hunters and mistresses of the mountain is common to all South-Siberian Turkic folkloric literature and is rooted for certain aspects in the *albasti* complex. Cf. *infra*.

10.

<sup>1</sup> "Ruler" (*xan*) "Sky" (*tejri*).

behind looked out, the prints went as far as the riverbank. They couldn't find any prints farther up. Three of them went back to their homes immediately.

When the mistress of the mountain calls out, the man who knows<sup>2</sup> does not answer. If the men who do not know answer her, the mistress of the mountain abducts them. Had they prevented that man from speaking, had they shut his mouth with their hands, she wouldn't have abducted that young bachelor.

They never found the young man again.

11. The mistress of the mountain has huge breasts.<sup>1</sup> At night,<sup>2</sup> when she approaches a man to marry him, she lies with him hugging him. The men who know<sup>3</sup> grasp both her breasts, lifting them and they throw them above her head.<sup>4</sup> While they do that, she says: "You will not become my bridegroom!" and moves away. When a man does not sprinkle with the *abirtqa*<sup>5</sup> and does not do that with her breasts, then the mistress of the mountain seizes his soul and abducts it. After this, that man goes out of his mind,<sup>6</sup> he starts shamanizing<sup>7</sup> and singing.<sup>8</sup> He goes round and round and then he dies. And he also says: "I go into the mountain!". He does not take in any food and thus he dies.

12. A man went hunting. In the evening he gathered some wood. After chopping the wood, he took it to the hut. In the taiga somebody shouted. Then a woman came to him. It was a naked woman.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Pilčigän kiži*: is the sensible man who knows the intentions of the spirit-masters of the mountains. Almost a technical term.

11.

<sup>1</sup> The portrayal of the mistress of the mountain is the epitome of several issues, including huge breasts that remind of the female *albasti*, a demon and (according to some anthropological theory) a hominoid (Neanderthalian relic, in Poršnev's terminology; Heuvelmans-Porchnev 1974: index). Cf. Taube (1972) and Marazzi (1987). A new etymology of *ilbi* "magic" (according to the present work's author at the very origin of the word *albasti*: *~ilbis* > *albasti/albasti* (Marazzi 1986: 835-36) is in Starostin *et al.* (2003: 1515-16). See also de Rachewiltz (1989); Rossi (2003) and Tenišev-Dybo (2006: 586-88, 616-17).

<sup>2</sup> Another peculiar issue, that of the nocturnal one, of the *albasti* (see preceding note).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. text 10, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Another peculiar aspect of the female *albasti* is that she can throw her huge breasts behind her shoulders.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. text 9, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Alinip*; cf. text 3, n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Qamna*:- in a vaguely mocking sense.

<sup>8</sup> *Sarna*- is "to sing"; *sarın* is "song" (Räsänen 1969: 404; Axmet'janov 1981: 109-10); Sa-galaev (1984: 89-90); Starostin *et al.* (2003: 1218).

12.

<sup>1</sup> Nakedness is another peculiar characteristic of the *albasti*; cf. preceding text.

Once she reached him, the woman began to play with him and to arouse him slightly. The hunter was frightened. Then, he lit the fire, hung the cauldron<sup>2</sup> and ate; the hunter was sitting on one side of the fire, while the woman was sitting on the other side, facing him. The hunter was afraid of falling asleep. Then he said: “Whatever will be will be!”, he fetched his gun and, aiming between her breasts, shot that woman. That woman disappeared.

Later on, when the hunter went to the taiga and looked, there was blood on the snow. After this woman had gone back into the mountain, within that mountain her daughters complained: “With all the hunters you have married, aren’t you satisfied yet?<sup>3</sup> Because you went to that hunter, now you have been killed! You meant to kill (other) hunters who roam the mountain and the rivers. We said: don’t go, don’t go! Now you have been killed!” The hunter ran away as fast as he could. He ran away and went back home.

13. Once, when we went hunting, walking on Mount Qazıryan,<sup>1</sup> we stop-ped overnight along the high course of the Abakan. During the night, I saw: outside the hut there was a maiden. That girl’s naked breasts were pointed,<sup>2</sup> she was wearing a white scarf<sup>3</sup> on her head. Seeing her, I said: “What kind of a person has come?” When I said this, that maiden started to sob quietly. Seeing that, I woke up my father. After waking him up, I said: “What kind of a person has come?”. My father got up, he performed a sprinkling with the untouched *abirtqa*.<sup>4</sup> After this, without showing herself anymore, she left.

When they got back to the camp,<sup>5</sup> an elder said to us: “Thus this naked woman shows herself to the men who hunt. No sooner she arrives, she starts arousing them softly, then she forces them to follow her. She abducts them and kills them. Then, when they are dead, she marries them”. The masters of the mountain appear to men (also) in spring, when the snow on the branches of the trees begins to fall.

<sup>2</sup> In order to cook food.

<sup>3</sup> Extreme sexual craving is another aspect of the *albasti*.

13.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. text 3, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The female *albasti*’s breasts are huge and pointed; cf. *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> “Scarf” is *plat* <R. *platok*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. text 9, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Čurt*, O.T. *yurt*; cf. Marazzi (2000: 5). A new etymology in Starostin *et al.* (2003: 1000).

14. Postajaš kept the logs<sup>1</sup> in the apiary.<sup>2</sup> When in the morning, after getting up, he went out, a woman was next to a log. She was wearing a red scarf and her hair was dishevelled,<sup>3</sup> she had no fur, just her dress. Postajaš cried: “Mother, come have some tea!”. That Postajaš looked aside, he looked again: there where she had been, she was no more. Therefore Postajaš was frightened. At first he had thought she was a woman, then he realized she was the mistress of the mountain.

15. On the animals’ salt bearing soil,<sup>1</sup> old Moytakov<sup>2</sup> was lying in wait for the animals. Later on, when he went (to the hut) to spend the night, someone whistled. Afterwards he said to himself: “Would it be a man or an evil spirit?”<sup>3</sup> After asking himself thus, (the spirit) said: “I am the master of the mountain’s daughter, I want you to be my bride-groom!”. The old man was frightened and said: “Show yourself to me! How can I take the mistress of the mountain for my bride?”.

Later the maiden showed herself: half of her body was in a changing dress, her legs in stone boots.<sup>4</sup> “You, take me! If you take me, you’ll be rich! We will give birth to two sons and two daughters! If we get married, you won’t have to struggle any more with hunting, I shall feed you!”<sup>5</sup> If you don’t take me, you’ll die. If you take me, you will not die, you’ll stay alive! You’ll

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14.

<sup>1</sup> *Kaloda* <R. *koloda*: are the melliferous logs.

<sup>2</sup> *Passiq* <R. *paseka*. Wild apiculture had been long known by the Šors: Verbickij (1893: 24); Radloff (1893: I, 368). Cf. Tryjarski 1970.

<sup>3</sup> The colour red is “somewhat” connected to the whole of the *albasti*’s characteristics, as well as their hairiness (cf. *infra*) and unseemliness of behaviour.

15.

<sup>1</sup> *Aj soruy*, where *aj* is “animal, wild beast” and *soruy* is “salt bearing soil, salt-mine”. Šor hunters used to wait for animals (deer, reindeer, roes) in these places. Salt mines were set in small lakes and ponds where animals were bred. In an open space, leeward, special platforms (*tastaq*) were built, covered with branches on all sides. From here the hunter would shoot the approaching animals. Women were forbidden to approach the salt-mine, and they were forbidden to go near the hunting places in general, to touch hunting tools, to cross the hunters’ path etc.

<sup>2</sup> <R. *Mojtakov*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ayna* “evil spirit” in general, the word is of Iranian origin (*aēnah*: Bartholomae 1961: 21-22). Cf. Marazzi (1984a: index).

<sup>4</sup> Clothes which change and stone boots can be somehow linked to the *albasti* complex; cf. *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> *Men seni azīrarīm*; the Šor hunter projects on the masters of the mountains his own age-old hunger.

become a very wealthy man!”<sup>6</sup> – She said. The old man was seventy. The old man said: “After taking you, how shall I spend the night?”. Then the old man also said: “Reveal yourself to me!”.

Therefore that maiden showed herself: She was a beautiful maiden.<sup>7</sup> Her face was human. He looked closer: her hands were provided with claws.<sup>8</sup> Then he got even closer and looked: her teeth were like those of a hare. Then he reached the hedge. As he was penetrating into it, that maiden, sobbing, started to go back.

16. A man went hunting; night fell on the hut, he sat and began to sing in the *qay*<sup>1</sup> fashion. A maiden came out of the depths of the trees, she sat next to his fire. That maiden listened to his song and narration<sup>2</sup> attentively. Two men came out of the depths of the trees. Once there, they began to scold the maiden vehemently: “You are sitting here listening to the narration while my white hoofed colt<sup>3</sup> has gone out of our reckoning!”.<sup>4</sup>

The following day the hunter was lucky: he killed a white hoofed deer.

17. In ancient times<sup>1</sup> a man went hunting. He hunted for a long time, he couldn't kill any sables. When a sable hid itself in a heap of stones,<sup>2</sup> on that

<sup>6</sup> By “wealthy” I translate *pay* (O.T. *bay*: Clauson 1972: 384; Severtjan *et al.* 1978: II, 28-29), the word is here used in a “lay” sense; actually in the South-Siberian Turkic languages this is a productive name in the realm of the sacred (Potapov 1986). Cf. Menges 1953: 370-75; Mixajlov 1980: 182; Bese 1988: 18-19.

<sup>7</sup> *Abaqay qis*, where *qis* is “maiden” and *abaqay* is lit. “sovereign, royal” (<Mon.: Rassadin 1980: 44).

<sup>8</sup> Another characteristic of the *albasti* complex: Marazzi (1987: 837).

16.

<sup>1</sup> *Qayla-*; on the *qay* fashion and its profound shamanic meaning throughout the South-Siberian region: Trojakov (1969) Reichl (1992: 94-95, 112-13); E. Taube 1997; Marazzi (2000: VII); Starostin *et al.* (2003: 685-86). Cf. Dikson-Jadne (2001: 72-83) and Funk (2005: 252 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Thus I translate *nibaq* (Xaqas *nimax*: Marazzi 2000: VII; Menges 1983: 115; Starostin *et al.* (2003: 888-89) Cf. also Taube (1984) and Funk (2005: 252). Masters of the mountains enjoy listening to stories very much. While busy listening to them, they neglect looking after the animals in their taiga, thus the hunters can catch them. It was believed that the master who enjoyed the story would reward the hunters by letting them have a few animals. For this reason the hunters would normally be accompanied by a singer, who then gained an equal share of the hunting catch (cf. the introduction).

<sup>3</sup> *Asqir* (O.T. *ayqir-adyir*: Severtjan *et al.* 1974-200: I, 107-108; cf. Brands 1973: 74), expression of linguistic taboo for *sin* “deer”; cf. text 7, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Pistiñ sannaj šiqpartir*, i.e. “It’s dead”.

17.

<sup>1</sup> *Purunda*; cf. text 23, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. text 5, n. 1.

spot he placed a net<sup>3</sup> and watched. He built a small hut for himself and sat down. During the night he sat spying on the animal. He fetched the *köze*<sup>4</sup> and started to play and sing in the *qay*<sup>5</sup> fashion.

While he was sitting and singing, he glanced outside the door: a maiden was seated on top of the firewood. “I enjoyed your song, I’ve come to listen!” – (she says). Then she said: “You didn’t manage to kill even one sable; if in the morning you look at your net, in the net a woodpecker<sup>6</sup> will have been caught! That woodpecker will be the first of the animals to be captured. Then when you go hunting, you’ll see!”.

In the morning he started. He looked at the net: in the net a woodpecker had been caught. Meanwhile, the sable came out of the heap of stones and got entangled in the net; he killed it. Afterwards, each time he went hunting, he killed sables.

18. When a man went hunting in the Kemčik<sup>1</sup> taiga, he could not kill one single fur-bearing animal. At night he sat in the hut; having made a *qomīs*<sup>2</sup> out of cedar-wood, he sang in the *qay*<sup>3</sup> fashion and told stories. He made a man out of wood and placed him opposite himself. When during the narration he reached a funny point, he laughed; when in the narration there was something sad, he grieved.

While he was thus singing in the *qay* fashion, a man on a tawny horse got to the door of the hut; he halted his horse and dismounted. Once he had dismounted, he said: “Apparently you are a ballad singer! Tomorrow I shall come to make you sing a story again!”. Having thus spoken, he left.

The second day that same one came on a tawny horse. Having arrived there, he said: “The third day I shall come again!”. And left. The third day the same one came on a tawny horse.

<sup>3</sup> *Ebre*, lit. “that which encloses”, converb of *ebir-*: Radlov (1893-1911: I,1: 934). Cf. text 7, n. 4 for another kind of net.

<sup>4</sup> *~küze* “poker, stick used to move wood”; etymology in Menges (1960: 149). Thus is euphemistically called the shotgun (*miltiq*; Marazzi 1984a: 45) during hunting.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. text 16, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Alas*: it’s the name given to the sable during hunting, due to linguistic taboo. In the same way the reindeer (actually *aq kiyik* “white deer”) is also called during hunting: Zelenin (1929-30: 92).

18.

<sup>1</sup> “Small river”; but also see Hambis (1956), Menges (1960: 148) and Helimski (1995: 82). In Tuvan *Uluγ-Xem* “Great River” is *Ienissei*. Cf. D’jakonova (2007).

<sup>2</sup> Sort of monochord fiddle: Marazzi (1984a: index and 2000: VII). Cf. Clauson (1972: 588-89) and Sevortjan *et al.* (1974-2000: VI, 69-71); Dikson-Jadne (2001: 52-60); Tenišev-Dybo (2006: 642).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. text 16, n. 1.

He came and said: “My mother and I have talked: You can’t catch fur-bearing animals from the mountain, that’s why you grieve”.<sup>4</sup> The mother had sent her son to talk to that one. That son, arriving had said: “Tomorrow, take the *köze*<sup>5</sup> and climb to the top of the mountain. There, there is the mountain door.<sup>6</sup> On the mountain door there will be visible prints of men wearing boots – he said. “Don’t go beyond that door. If you stay there, endless sables will come out of that door. With the *köze*, kill as many sables as you can take away!” – he said.

In the morning, as that man said, he took the *köze*, climbed to the ridge and stopped in front of the mountain door. The sables started to come out one after the other. That man killed as many sables as he could take away. He went back down<sup>7</sup> to his hut and began to live as a rich man.

19. A man went hunting in the Kemčik<sup>1</sup> taiga. Hunting, he could not find any fur-bearing animals. Not finding any fur-bearing animals, that man saddened. Then he made a *qomīs*<sup>2</sup> out of a cedar’s high branch. At night he sat and sang in the *qay*<sup>3</sup> fashion.

While he sat singing in the *qay* fashion, a maiden came from the mountain. “How sad you are!” – she said. Later on, that maiden said: “Tomorrow morning you will climb this mountain. This mountain has a door,<sup>4</sup> go inside, I shall be sitting there!”. Then, that maiden left.

When the night was over, he climbed the mountain. When having climbed as far as the mountain door he looked, the door was open. Then, he went in and looked: there that maiden was seated. “Do you want to marry me?” – she asked. “How can a man like us take a mountain maiden?!” – (answered the hunter). That maiden said: “Take (me)! If you take me, you will not see such a wretched life any more! If you don’t tell anyone for three years, I shall marry you!” – she said. The hunter said: “I won’t tell!”. Afterwards, the two of them went down the mountain and went away. While they were going, that maiden was visible to the hunter’s eyes, but she was not visible to the

<sup>4</sup> *Istij qarilčatır*, lit. “Your inwards are cooking”.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. text 17, n. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Tay ežigi*. In Šor and, generally, Turkic South-Siberian conceptions, mountains have doors, through which the masters make their animals go out. It is through one of these doors that the shaman, during the *kamlanie*, goes in with the offering to the master of the mountain (Anoxin 1924: 17).

<sup>7</sup> The hunting hut was usually built in a sheltered place, lower than the hunting area.

19.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. preceding text, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. text 18, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. text 16, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. preceding text, n. 6.



others' eyes. Together they reached that man's camp. After spending the night together, as soon as that man goes hunting, he catches some animals.

That man became rich. Afterwards people asked: "How did you become rich?". That man did not speak. After three years had gone by, there was a banquet.<sup>5</sup> Going to that banquet, he got drunk. The people would scoff at him: "You silly old thing, how could you get rich?". That one then says: "Perhaps have you married, as I have done, a maiden from the taiga?".

Afterwards, when he reached his camp, his wife says: "You, what have you been telling?". He said: "Nothing, I haven't told anything!". "No, you have told! Now, you'll live as you lived before. I shall go back there, where I come from. If you had not talked, you would have lived wealthy all your life. Now I am leaving!". Then she immediately disappears. Afterwards, after he had spent another half year, all his wealth vanished; that man became poor again.

20. An *artel*<sup>1</sup> went hunting in the Pādīn taiga. At night, the hunters went down<sup>2</sup> to the hut; they made the eldest sing in the *qay*<sup>3</sup> fashion. Then they fell asleep. During the night, a woman came to the hut. She started calling the old man. The old man did not answer. He placed some wood on the fire, he sat throughout the night.

In the morning he went out of the hut. Having gone out with his shotgun, he set off to hunt animals and birds. He reached a heap of stones;<sup>4</sup> on the heap of stones was an opening like a *tündük*.<sup>5</sup> At the edges the snow had melted. Two sables came out of the *tündük*. They entered the stone and hid. The hunter, after approaching, looked through the *tündük*: within the mountain a woman was seated. Around her were many sables.<sup>6</sup> Once he had seen this, the old man set off from that mountain for his own hut.

The mistress of the mountain, breeding sables, sends them to the hunters. To the hunters she likes, she gives many. Through the *tündük* she lets the sables out. If they sleep with their wives before setting out for hunting,<sup>7</sup> the mistress of the mountain does not give them any sables.

<sup>5</sup> *Toy* "great banquet, mostly to celebrate weddings". Cf. Marazzi 1986: 38.

20.

<sup>1</sup> <R. *artel*' (in its turn probably of Turkic origin; cf. Fasmer 1986-87: I, 89) "Working team".

<sup>2</sup> Cf. text 18, n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. text 16, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. text 5, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. text 5, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Masters of the mountains keep their animals near them inside the mountain.

<sup>7</sup> Among the many prohibitions concerning hunting there is the one for hunters not to have sexual intercourse with a woman before setting off for hunting: Lot-Falck (1953: 128 ff.).

21. Formerly,<sup>1</sup> there was a huge taiga-mountain.<sup>2</sup> Many animals and birds were in that taiga. They used to kill squirrels and sables, and many other animals too.

Seven men went hunting in the taiga. No sooner had they left the hut that they killed many animals of various kinds. One of the hunters had no luck,<sup>3</sup> thus he began to grieve. He went down to the hut very early, lit a huge fire and, out of sadness, began to sing in the *qay*<sup>4</sup> fashion. At midnight a powerful windstorm<sup>5</sup> broke over the taiga. Then a man came to him. That man sat by the fire and said: “Sing in the *qay* fashion and tell a story, I’ll sit and listen!”. The *qayčī*,<sup>6</sup> frightened as he was, told a story to the very end. That man sat listening for a while, then he said: “Since you could kill neither animals nor birds you grieved; come with me, you’ll be rich!”.

That hunter fetched his shotgun and went with him. After leaving, they reached the mountain, they climbed to the top: the gates<sup>7</sup> to the mountain were open. Then they both went inside. The hunter, once inside the mountain, looked around: the interior of the mountain was richly decorated. The interior of that mountain was like the men’s houses. In one half, animals’ skins were hanging, in the other half, huge shining stones laid. And in the middle, there was a black cauldron.<sup>8</sup> In that cauldron *araya* had been distilled. The master (of the mountain) who had made him come, drew that hot aquavit and offered it to the hunter with good wishes. After offering (him) (the *araya*), he filled the hunter-man’s sack with shining stones: “May my gift bring you ease and glory!” – (he said).

The hunter looked at the animal skins<sup>9</sup> and thought to himself: “Instead of giving (me) these stones, it would be better if he gave (me) the skins, and I would be rich. There were many stones in the taiga. Isn’t he perhaps pulling my leg, making me drunk?”. The master of the mountain fetched the second sack and, after blessing it, handed it to the hunter. “These fur bearing animals

21.

<sup>1</sup> *Alinda*. Cf. text 23, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Tay-tayga*. Cf. text 1, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Čolu čolalbān*, lit. “His way failed”. *Čol* is the O.T. *yol*, whose meaning is also “luck”: Bombaci (1966: 19); Nekljudov (1977: 195-97); Rybatzki (2000: 213); Starostin et al. (2003: 1155). Also in Mongolian we find *Qol-zol* (often in composition with *Qayayan-zajā* “destiny”): Even (1988-89: 288).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. text 16, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Salyin* <Mon. *salkin* (Rassadin 1980: 44). Here the wind seems to foretell the coming of the spirit of the mountain; cf. Marazzi (1991).

<sup>6</sup> I.e. the “singer”; cf. text 16, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. text 18, n. 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Qara qazan*: blackened by frequent use.

<sup>9</sup> *Tük nebe*, lit. “hairy things” (*tük*, O.T. *tü-tüg* “hair”).

are yours! Fill the sack and take it to your camp-land!”<sup>10</sup> – (he said). No matter how much the hunter filled the sack, his host’s furs did not dwindle. Once he had filled the sack to the brim, and tied it, the master (of the mountain) asked: “Will you be able to carry these two heavy sacks?”. The hunter firmly said: “I am a man, how could I not manage to carry these sacks, I’ll carry them!”. He was thinking to himself: “As soon as I reach the bottom of the mountain and start on my own path, I shall throw the sack full of stones away!”.

As soon as he had reached the bottom of the mountain and started on his path, he threw the sack full of stones away. After throwing them away he thought: “Carrying these stones, would I have become rich? There are many stones in the taiga! A man does not become rich with stones; by selling the animal furs I shall become rich!”.

After he had gone back to his land and carried (the furs), and after he had made use of the furs, the hunter’s lifestyle and business improved, and he started trading. He didn’t mention to anyone where he had found the furs he had carried, nor that he had thrown away the stones he had taken.

Those stones were iron producing stones. The master of the mountain, enraged, once more hid the stones back in the mountain.

There was a poor man. He went hunting in the taiga and found these stones, he took them home and showed them to his neighbours. They found out that they were iron producing stones. For this reason, they went and started digging in the mountain in search of those stones. Digging was hard. That lord of the mountain had concealed those stones down deep, and blew a wind over the men. After much digging, they found the iron. They brought some machines and began to build a construction site.<sup>11</sup>

That master of the mountain very well knew the strength of these men; he gathered his animals and birds and moved to another taiga.

Now no one hunts here anymore. Animals and birds have fled to distant taigas. The land has become like the city. Men have built machines,<sup>12</sup> they have built factories.<sup>13</sup> Formerly scarcely inhabited, our land is now full of people. Living has become easy. There aren’t any rich people.

As far as the master of the mountain is concerned, whether he is enraged or not, I do not know. Right now, he is not here. He has obviously left for another taiga, along with the animals and birds. There he lives. Now we don’t

<sup>10</sup> *Čeri-čurtu*.

<sup>11</sup> *Zavot* <R. *zavod*.

<sup>12</sup> *Mašina* <R. *idem*.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. this text n. 11.

believe in the master of the mountain, we don't address prayers (to the spirits). This mountain is called Tebir Tay.<sup>14</sup>

22. The master of the water<sup>1</sup> went inside the mountain. (There) he drank *araya*, got drunk and fell headlong to the floor. Afterwards, the water stopped flowing, (the thaw) was interrupted. The shaman<sup>2</sup> went inside there and filled the lord's head with the water of the spirit-ants.<sup>3</sup>

Then, when the shaman, on his way back, wanted to go out, the door he had gone in through was locked.

The shaman started to wander (in the mountain). He went a long way, he came out from a different land through the *tündük* of the earth.<sup>4</sup> After the shaman went out on this land, he said: "After I finish practicing my art, the water that has halted will start flowing again. When I come out of the

<sup>14</sup>"Iron mountain": *tebir* "iron" (O.T. *temir*). Šor regions were known from the earliest times as iron ore deposits and as metallurgic territories. Familiarity with iron caused the people who inhabited these regions to be called "black smiths" in the Siberian *letopisi* (*Kuzneckie Tatary*; Gmelin 1751: 294). The Tsarist colonial policy provoked a gradual disappearance of Šor metallurgy. This tale is of special interest, as it shows how the Šor absorbed the impact of the new socialist reality around the 1920s (Funk 2005: 16 ff.). Being structured on the model of traditional hunting tales, it contains profound socio-cultural meaning. The lucky and well-off hunter rejects the stones, a gesture foreboding of misfortune. The poor ones use them. To their advantage the new social-order is thus built. It's interesting to note that also the master of the mountain is against the new order: he hides the stones down deep in the mountain.

22.

<sup>1</sup>*Suyduŋ ėzi*. "Water" in the sense of rivers, creeks, water courses in general. The spirit-masters of the waters were conceived in an anthropomorphic way like those of the mountains (see *supra*). Any river or water stream in the taiga was believed to be shared among the spirit-masters, who were thought to be the donors of fish. The importance of any given master is dependent on the importance of the river he is supposedly the master of. The most powerful master, to whom all other masters are submitted, is depicted as a very tall woman, with long hair, huge breasts and a huge abdomen (cf. *supra* the complex of the *albasti*). She is characterized by great sensuality (the *albasti* again!). Fishermen, on their way to fish, thought it necessary to tell extremely obscene tales and to extol the supreme mistress of the waters. Thus they hoped to gain from her, who very much enjoyed tales, a plentiful catch. In spring, during the thaw, the spirit-masters of the waters were considered especially dangerous. At this time a lord, if enraged, could cause floods.

<sup>2</sup>One of the duties of the shaman is for find a remedy to the malfunctioning of the seasonal cycles and to solve the problems which derive from those.

<sup>3</sup>*Körünmes qimısqa*: the first term is lit. "invisible", in Tuvan folkloric literature we find *közülbes* (for example in the Epic tale : A Tuvan Hero Tale: *Xayındırıŋmay Bayay-öl* in this same contribution; but see text 44, n. 2). Ants as "assistant spirits" are, to my knowledge, not attested in South-Siberian Turkic shamanic literature.

<sup>4</sup>*Čerdiŋ tündük*: In Šor, and generally in South-Siberian Turkic conceptions, the earth has an opening, called *tündük* (for which see text 5, n. 2.), through which the shaman goes inside the earth to reach the spirits of the infernal regions. Cf. Marazzi (1984a: 197). Such opening is also called *kindik* "navel" (Tuvan *xin ~ xindik*; Tenišev 1968: 477); Marazzi 1984a: 197; 1986: 97

mountain, the lord of the water will have moved". Later on, before the shaman had finished shamanizing and came out of his trance, the water had already started flowing again.

In the higher *āl*<sup>5</sup> (in Sibirga)<sup>6</sup> was a great shaman. His name was Shaman Bayramaš.<sup>7</sup>

23. It happened a long time ago, before the present time, after the previous one.<sup>1</sup> A river thawed.<sup>2</sup> Water stopped, (the river) swelled and rose. The village was flooded. The priests<sup>3</sup> were praying God.<sup>4</sup> Then, the shaman shamanized; he entered the master-mountain. Once inside, he saw the master of the water drunk and supine on the floor. At that point, the shaman collected some ants<sup>5</sup> with which he filled the back of the lord of the water. The master of the water got up, he went down the river. Then (the ice) began to break here and there. The water resumed flowing in its bed.

24. It happened a long time ago, before the present time, after the previous one.<sup>1</sup> It happened in spring, when the rivers were thawing, that a young man saw a young girl seated on a block of ice, who was combing her hair. Then, while saying: "Whatever will be will be!" that young man seized his shotgun, aimed and fired, knocking down the maiden on the ice block. That maiden fell off the ice block. Having fallen headlong into the water, out of vexation she

<sup>5</sup> This is the Šor village. Cf. Marazzi (1986: 49 and 2000: 4).

<sup>6</sup> An area famous for coal mines. Cf. Radloff (1893, 1: 348).

<sup>7</sup> The meaning of the name is not clear.

23.

<sup>1</sup> *Purun purun pōltür, amdīyīnī alında, purunyīnī sōnda*, a formula with an epic flavour (cf. e.g. the start of the epic poem *Qan Arγo pečelig Qan Mergen*: Dyrenkova 1940: 80) frequent in the beginning of traditional tales. The South-Siberian Turkic area lacks a survey on introductory formulae similar to that of Laude-Cirtautas on the Mongolian and Central-Asian Turkic area. Cf. Funk (2005: 287 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> *Suy puzultür*, lit. "Water has broken, it has opened". Thus, according to Verbickij (in Dyrenkova 1940: 404), Šors explained thawing: "When water stopped, alien born ones (*inorodcy*) explained that the master of the water, striving to break the ice with his own teeth, would take it downhill carrying it on his diabolic shoulders (*šajtanskje pleči!*)".

<sup>3</sup> *Amis* is "Orthodox priest": *abīs* < *ababīs* "our father" (Radlov 1893-1911: I, 1, 629); a different opinion as to the etymology in Butanaev (2004: 232). On the penetration of the Russian Orthodox church in South-Siberia: Šibaeva (1979) and Asačakova (2005); Efimov (2008).

<sup>4</sup> *Quday* (<Per. *xwoday*). On this word in Turkic South-Siberian folklore see Menges (1989: 246) and Sagalaev (1984: index).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. text 22, n. 3.

24.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the opening in the preceding text.

cried: “Time will come when I swallow up a coarse boy like you in a small river!”

Afterwards, after hearing what the mistress of the water had said, that young man was scared. Full of fear, he started off across the mountains towards his village.<sup>2</sup>

That spring he was afraid of going near the water. After a while, that young man forgot all about the mistress’ threat and forded the river on a horse. While he was fording the river, the lady of the water attracted him towards her (in the river).

25. At the time when the ice floats on the river, the master of the water appears like a black horned animal.<sup>1</sup> If someone approaches the river, he attracts him towards himself moving on the ice block. When he appears from a distance to those who return from hunting, one must dilute some *talqan*<sup>2</sup> in a bowl full of water, and perform the ceremonial sprinkling, thus one is not carried away.

The master of the water, taking someone’s soul under water, locks it up at the foot of a mountain. The master of the water is horned.<sup>3</sup>

26. The mistress of the water appears to man as a naked woman with long golden hair,<sup>1</sup> with a golden comb.<sup>2</sup>

In autumn, when the river rises before freezing, the mistress of the water appears to man either floating on an ice block or sitting on a grassy bank while she combs her beautiful golden hair. The comb of the mistress of the water, although visible to the eye, is not to be taken into one’s hands. If one takes it into one’s hands, the comb disappears. Then the comb takes to its mistress the soul of the man who is holding it in his hands.<sup>3</sup> If one, slowly approaching

<sup>2</sup> *Aymaq* (<Mon. *ayimay*; cf. Marazzi 1986: 29) instead of the more common *āl* (see text 22, n. 5). Cf. Qazaq *auil aymaq* “the whole village”. Interesting etymologic discussion in Buder (1993: 75-77).

25.

<sup>1</sup> *Mūstüg qara aŋ čilaboq*: zoomorphic image of the master of the water. On *mūs* (O.T. *müyüz*) “horn” see the interesting etymologic observations in Aydemir (2003: 128). Cf. Tenišev-Dybo (2006: 837-38). On *qara* as a polysemous adjective see n. 8 of the Tuvan Hero Tale *Xayındırıŋmay Bayay-öl* in this same contribution (p. 67).

<sup>2</sup> Ground barley flour; cf. Marazzi (1984a: index). A check in Central-Asian toponymic: Jarring (1997: 444).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. this text, n. 1.

26.

<sup>1</sup> The female *albasti* has long yellow hair (less frequently black): Marazzi (1987: 827). On the other hand, yellow has mainly an infernal connotation: Id. 1986: 51.

<sup>2</sup> The comb (*taraq*) too, is yellow!

<sup>3</sup> Cf. text 5, n. 4.

frightens (the mistress of the water), she tosses the gold comb into the water throwing it behind her shoulders.

Previously, a young man saw the comb of the mistress of the water. That young man did not know,<sup>4</sup> and he took it into his hands. The comb vanished from his hand. Therefore that young man was really scared. Frightened by the mistress of the water, he stopped approaching the water.

After a while, that young man was once riding and his horse got into a water puddle. Immediately that young man started to sink deeper and deeper along with his horse. When he tried to scream, his voice failed to do so. Thus he had been attracted by the mistress of the water.<sup>5</sup>

27. When a hunter finds the animal's den,<sup>1</sup> he circles it.<sup>2</sup> Back home, he speaks to all the people: "I circled around the den of uncle-bear!"<sup>3</sup> – Thus he says. Then nobody goes hunting this bear.

In autumn, they go hunting, they hunt for a month, a month and a half. When the great snow falls, they encircle the "huge land",<sup>4</sup> and for several days they look for the entrance. Sometimes they cannot find it.

Once they have found the bear's den, they encircle it so that he cannot come out and flee. After encircling his den, and the bear has not come out yet, they cut some trees and block the opening of the den. Once they find the animal, they cut some withered trees and close up the opening of the den. One man, inserting a long pole into the den,<sup>5</sup> infuriates the uncle-bear. Others, standing with their shotguns at the sides of the den, watch out. After blocking

<sup>4</sup> *Pilbēn*; cf. text 10, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Similar female water-spirits are the *rusalkas* of the Russian folklore (Ralston 1872: 139-40; Gasparini 1973: 345; Rybakov 1981: *passim*), «the syrenes of classic mythology».

27.

<sup>1</sup> *Aŋ* "wild animal, beast" A euphemism for the bear during hunting: Zelenin (1929-30: 108); Lot-Falck (1953: 104 ff.). A recent etymologic focusing in Rybatzki (1997: 89-90). Cf. Rassadin (1971: 141).

<sup>2</sup> *Ebre aylandirča*: Turkic-Siberian evidence of the historico-religious productivity of circumambulation (from Hebrew *haqqāfāh* to Hindu *pradakṣiṇā* and Tibetan *žabs-skor*, from Islamic *ṭawāf* to the shamanic ritual of self-sacrifice. On the latter see Roux (1984: index); Marazzi (1984a: 333; 1986: 66); cf. Kisel'-Torgoev (2007: 150). On bear hunting and rituals related to it: Lot-Falck (1953: *passim*). More in general on the relationships between bear and man in Turkic Siberia: *L'Ours, L'Autre de l'Homme* and Chichlo (1981).

<sup>3</sup> "Uncle on the mother's side" (*tayī*) is a common epithet for bear. Here for "bear" the euphemism *apšaŋ* "the old one" is used (etymology in Menges 1960: 146; for an anthropological investigation: Gokalp 1980: 95 ff.); Zelenin (1929-30: 108); Lot-Falck (1953: 104 ff.); Janhunen (1986). For the Tungus cf.: Shirokogoroff (1935: 80-81); Vajnštein (1972: 207) and Hauenschild (1996: 31-32). In Tuvan the bear is called *qaračüve* "Black thing".

<sup>4</sup> *Uluy čer*: thus the wolf's den is called in the hunters' language.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. "a tall tree", *uzun ayaš*.

the den, having opened a passageway, they fire. When the bear dies, a man goes into the den, ties him up with a rope and drags him out.

After producing smoke and sending it into the den, they start blocking the den. Then the men shoot their guns. While dispersing the smoke, a man goes inside, he ties him up with a rope, then they drag him out. After dragging him out, they smash the animal's teeth;<sup>6</sup> they rip off his skin.

As they rip off his skin, a man hits him on the flesh with some rods. While hitting, that man says: "In winter, pass by me; in summer pass behind me and leave!" – thus saying they whip him.

While they rip off his skin, all the fellow hunters who killed him, weep. They say: "Our great uncle is dead!". Afterward, they take the fat that's inside the animal and cook it on the fire. One of the companions, roaring like the bear,<sup>7</sup> while eating, says: "On the mountains covered with shrubs, compacting the soil, making noise, I have walked myself; across the mountains covered in *tabilya*,<sup>8</sup> making noise, I have walked myself. I pay tax to the *piy!*"<sup>9</sup> – he says. Afterwards, after beheading him and cutting his flesh, tearing his mouth and scorching him on the fire, a man says: "On the earth covered with shrubs I walked, the calves of my paws resounded. On the earth covered with bushes I walked, I received a bullet.<sup>10</sup> On the earth covered with *tabilya* I walked, my eyes got blind, I fell, I died! Eating the black currant (moving) from swamp to swamp, getting bogged down in the swamp, I died! Eating walnuts, falling off the cedar, I died!"<sup>11</sup> Speak up!"

Later on, he recomposes his head in the wrong way and that man asks his companions: "Is it all right like this?" Those men say: "No, not like this!" Then, again for a second time he sticks his head in the wrong way and asks his companions: "Is it all right like this?" Those hunters say: "No, not like this!". Then, again for the third time he correctly recomposes his head and asks his buddies: "Is it all right like this?" His buddies say: "Uh, uh, uh, this is all right!". After reassembling the bones of his head,<sup>12</sup> they say: "The great man"<sup>13</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The practice of smashing the bear's teeth is explained by a fear for his revenge.

<sup>7</sup> Roaring like a bear during the killing ritual is explained by the most ancient custom of imitating the sounds of the animal during hunting.

<sup>8</sup> Some kind of bush, known in its two variations: *spiraea altaica* (Siberia) and *spiraea filipendula* (Central Asia), with which the mallet of the shamanic drum was made: Marazzi (1984a: index). Cf. Tenišev-Dybo (2006: 430).

<sup>9</sup> Šor form for O.T. *beg*.

<sup>10</sup> *Qolamčī*, precisely "a fiancé and his parents' present to the fiancée", whence, in an ironic transferred sense, bullet for the bear.

<sup>11</sup> In order to avoid the revenge of the bear, hunters strive to show that they have no part in killing him.

<sup>12</sup> The practice of carefully keeping the bones, and especially the head, is explained by the belief in his rebirth: Lot-Falck (1953: 202 ff.).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the yakut *ulū toyon*: Zelenin (1929-30: 108).



has fallen off the tree, he's broken his head. The great uncle has climbed the cedar to eat the fruit, and he has fallen off the tree, he's broken his head!"

After correctly reassembling the head, they take it and stick it in the forked branch of a cherry tree. Some hunters push the animal's head under a log. After having laid down his head, they say: "In the spring day you lie where you lie, in the autumn days you lie at the entrance of the den. In the winter days I shall pass by your den! You, uncle, bigger than the mountain, don't be mad at us! Stay here!". Then, the hunters shoot off their guns.<sup>14</sup>

Later on, at night, when the hunters go to the hut, they cast a tree transversally on the tracks of their skis<sup>15</sup> and go around the hut while saying: "Let the bear not come!". They fire their guns towards where they have come from. Meanwhile, they say: "Don't come our way, we tore your soul like a thread!"<sup>16</sup> At noon don't get into my mind, at midnight don't get into my slumber!" – thus they say.

28. A bear<sup>1</sup> abducted a woman. Afterwards, they lived together. They lived in his den. They lived long. The bear carried the logs.<sup>2</sup> That woman ate honey.

After a while, that woman got pregnant. That woman was scared. That woman gave birth to a bear cub. The cub was a man in the front and a bear in the rear.<sup>3</sup> Then, the bear went out and left.

After the bear had left the den, that woman went to the camp where she lived. The bear followed that woman. Her brothers separated her from the bear. That woman, after being separated from the bear, gave birth to a baby.<sup>4</sup> Then, the animal's baby grew big. He fed his mother. He would bring her logs. He would bring bears to his maternal uncles. His mother tied his paw to an iron. He left. The bear cub didn't come back.

Afterwards, within a year, his mother went up the ploughed fields<sup>5</sup> by herself. As she was climbing the road, a bear suddenly rose to his paws.

<sup>14</sup>The hunters, at the end of the burial ceremony, shoot their guns in order to chase away the soul of the killed bear, so that he won't take revenge.

<sup>15</sup>So that the soul of the killed bear won't trace the hunters.

<sup>16</sup>*Učuqča tīnīj ūstübūs*; on the representation of soul as a thread see Harva (1938: 250 ff.). On a specific value of *učuq* "thread, tendon" in South-Siberian area: Marazzi (1984a: 232.)

28.

<sup>1</sup>*apšīyaq*, lit. "little old man"; cf. preceding text, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. text 14.

<sup>3</sup>Here an influence of the *albasti* complex cannot be excluded; cf. *supra*.

<sup>4</sup>Incongruity with what is said above.

<sup>5</sup>*Qīra* is "ploughed field". Šors' "ploughed fields" were on the slopes of the mountains, on the southern side of the area they inhabited. "Going to the field" is *qīraya šīq-*, lit. "climbing to the field". On the Turkic-Mongolian implications of the term: Räsänen (1969: 265). Cf. Starostin *et al.* (2006: 383).

Seeing him, she grew frightened. Unable to walk, he was waiting for his mother along the road. That bear cub, meeting his mother, showed her his paw. Seeing the iron in his paw, the mother recognized her son. Then she approached him and with an axe she broke the iron. The iron got stuck in the cub's paw. Then the cub left for the taiga.

29. A woman was digging out the dog's tooth,<sup>1</sup> then in a deserted place she came across a bear. Having met her, he took her between his paws and took her to the taiga; having taken her into the cave, he let her off behind him. He lied down before her.

In spring, the woman woke up; stroking that bear, she clambered all over him. Having clambered all over him, she went out of the cave. That bear was alternately lowering and raising his ears. That woman, once out, returned to her house.

Not long afterwards, she got pregnant. Then, she gave birth to a hairy being, neither human nor animal.<sup>2</sup> Then she nourished him and he grew up. Once he had grown up, she could not send him (anywhere). When she sent him (to gather) wood, she would give him a wooden hatchet. When he was chopping (the wood) with it, it broke. Then, he broke (the wood) with his hands, he collected an armful and carried it. Then, when she sent him (to fetch) water, she gave him a sieve and let him go (into the water). While he carried the water, the water would drip out. Thus he could not carry it. Crying bitterly he ran into the taiga.

30. When the berries were ripening, a woman,<sup>1</sup> while picking berries, was joined by a bear. He held her by his paws and took her away. Having taken her away, he set her down.

He didn't let the other animals that arrived eat that woman. When the animals arrived, he would chase those animals away; he took her as his wife and left.

In autumn, they went about, they lived until the time when the snow falls. The bear, digging his den, would go out and watch, so that the woman wouldn't leave. Having dug his den, he picked the old grass and dragged it

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29.

<sup>1</sup> *Pes*, also called *qandiq* (entered in Russian: *kandyk*; Dal' 1998: II, 208), *erythronium dens canis*. Its bulb is edible. In the traditional calendar *qandiq ay* "qandiq month" designates May, the month of its appearance and harvesting. Cf. Marazzi (1984a: 259) and Hauenschild (1996: 186).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. text 28, n. 3.

30.

<sup>1</sup> *Em* (*eb-öm* "house") *ēzi*: "mistress of the house". Cf. Çagatay (1961: 21).

(inside). He set that woman down in the front corner.<sup>2</sup> He himself lied down, as long as it snowed, by the entrance of the den. After the snow had fallen, he lied by that woman. He fed the woman, so that she wouldn't starve.

That woman, lying down, once tried to pull the animal's hair: the animal moved. A second time she tried and pulled: he moved again. When she pulled for the third time, he did not make a move. The bear was hibernating. Once she had tried to pull for the third time and he had not made a move, she quietly went out and returned (home). With difficulty she reached the *āl*<sup>3</sup> alive. The woman's dress<sup>4</sup> had been completely torn by the trees. When she told the people in the *āl*, her brothers set forth to catch (the bear). That woman had a baby: half human and half animal.

31. A woman, moving around digging the *sarıay*,<sup>1</sup> encountered a bear. When she tried to run away, frightened by the bear, the bear seized her and took her to his den. In autumn, it was not snowing yet, he spread musk and grass in the den; (thus) they began to live. It was long, it was short,<sup>2</sup> the woman gave birth to a baby. Viewed from the front, it was a human; viewed from the back it was a bear. When the cub bear had grown up, he would scratch his mother's breast, he used to carry the logs<sup>3</sup> and eat berries; thus he lived. Then, he went to the *āl* where his mother was, with his mother's brothers.

Those who lived there were frightened at the sight of him. Then, that cub bear said: "Uncle, uncle, I've come to live with you! Take me!". Then, he lived there. He used to bring bears to his uncles. Then he ran away into the taiga.

32. While a woman was digging the dog's tooth<sup>1</sup> a bear came to her. Having come, he seized that woman and took her to his den. Afterward, they lived together in his den for six months. Then, when the woman woke up in spring,

<sup>2</sup> *Tör*, is the place of honour in the yurt; cf. Marazzi (2000: 5). Productive term in Eurasian toponymy: Marazzi (1993: 188). Etymologic discussion in Dankoff (1981: 91-92) and Starostin *et al.* (2003:1461-62).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. text 22, n. 55.

<sup>4</sup> *Ton adayi*, lit. "dress (and) her legs".

31.

<sup>1</sup> <*Sarıy ay* "Yellow ay", also only *ay* (Menges 1960: 147; Rassadin 1977: 225), *Lilium martagon*. Women used to dig out the bulb of this plant with a special digging tool called *ozup* (which in South-Siberian Turkic languages alternates with *ozip*; cf. Marazzi 2000: 36. Cf. also text 63.

<sup>2</sup> *Ūr poldu-ba*, *az poldu-ba*: cf. text 8, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. text 14.

32.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. text 29, n. 1.

her bear was not there. She gave birth to a child by herself: it was half naked and half covered with hair.<sup>2</sup> Then, that woman left the den and looked out: outside flowers had bloomed.

Afterwards, she went back to the land where she had been born and raised. As far as her son was concerned, she left him in the father's den.

33. That maiden went to the river (to fetch) water. A bear came to her. Having grasped her, he took her to his den. Having taken her to his den, he set her down behind himself. He himself lay down before her. Afterwards, when the snow melted, that animal went out. Behind him, also the maiden went out. She looked: the buds of the dog's tooth<sup>1</sup> had appeared, the grass had grown. Once out of the den, they both started to walk.

That maiden, freeing herself from the bear's paws, went to her brothers and said: "While I was going down the slope, I slipped; while I was climbing the mountain, I helped myself with my hands. While I was going down the slope, the bear, always clinging to me, also went down; while I climbed the mountain, he also, licking me, climbed it".

When she, escaping the bear, set herself free, she hurriedly (ran away). When she entered her mother's door, the bear almost seized her.

Her brothers took that maiden with them. They set forth to kill that bear. That maiden had got pregnant by that animal, she gave birth to a baby: the lower half was covered in hair, the upper half was like a man's.<sup>2</sup> That baby, after three nights, was saying to himself: "Should the bear come, I'd try to fight him!" Afterwards, going to his mother's brothers, he said: "I've come to collect my present!". Then, he tore to pieces and killed the cattle in the *āl*. Afterwards, having grown up, he went to the taiga. Since then, he hasn't come back.

34. If you meet a bear and he wants to eat you, you beg him saying: "Uncle, uncle, go back! Head for another land!". Then the animal goes back and leaves.

35. Animal-birds give their masters a ransom.<sup>1</sup> Birds give their feathers; animals give their furs. In spring all animal-birds change their coat. In spring all animals moult:<sup>2</sup> they pay a tax<sup>3</sup> to the master of the mountain and the

<sup>2</sup> Cf. what is mentioned above about the *albasti* complex.

33.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. text 29, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. text 30, n. 3.

35.

<sup>1</sup> *Tōlu* <Mon. *doliy* (missing in Rassadin 1980). Cf. D'jakonova (1984: 33, 36).

<sup>2</sup> *aṅnardij tükteri tüščenner*, lit. "the hair of the animals falls out".

<sup>3</sup> *Alban* <Mon. (Rassadin 1980: 45). Cf. Menges (1995: 221-23).

master of the water. The animal-birds who dwell on the earth pay the master of the mountain, the animal-birds who dwell on the water pay the master of the water.

The otter<sup>4</sup> is a wicked animal: he doesn't pay taxes either to the master of the water or to the master of the mountain. The otter does not moult: he does not pay his tribute to the masters of the mountains and waters. When the master of the mountain asks him: "Where do you live?", the otter answers: "I live in the water!". When the master of the water asks him: "You, beast, where do you live?", the otter answers: "I live on the mountain!". When the master of the mountain asks him: "To whom do you pay your tribute?", the otter answers: "To the master of the water!". When the master of the water asks him the same, the otter answers: "I pay it to the master of the mountain!". Therefore, he doesn't pay his tribute, in spring he does not moult.

36. It was long ago.<sup>1</sup> Once, in autumn, the birds held a meeting<sup>2</sup>. They gathered to fix the time to fly to a foreign land.

All the birds came to the meeting, but for the capercaillie. Soaring early in the morning, all the birds fly to the meeting place. From their gathering place they flew to warmer countries. As for the capercaillie, he stayed in the cold taiga. Afterwards, saddened, he began to weep. Weeping loudly, he moaned. The tears from his eyes, having become a river, were flowing. Consequently, his eyes turned suddenly red.

37. A man, walking from one taiga to another, was looking for a horse. Meanwhile, he heard the voice of the *qiyıylıq* bird.<sup>1</sup> He cried loudly. With tears in his eyes, he reached home. After that, he didn't live long; he died.

The elder says: "He who hears the voice of that bird, that man does not live long!". When the *qān*<sup>2</sup>-*qiyıylıq* bird flies at night, his feathers shine; when he sings, he who hears his song cries.

<sup>4</sup>The otter (*qāndus*, in the other Turkic languages *qundus* [Clauson 1972: 635]) is a cunning, cautious animal; hunting it requested great skill. Cf. Hauenschild (1996: 54).

36.

<sup>1</sup>*Purun purun bōltur*; cf. text 23, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup>A Siberian echo of the birds-gathering all-asiatic cycle to which belong such literary and spiritual masterpieces as Farīd ad-dīn 'Aṭṭār's *Mantiq at-Ṭair* ("The Conference of the Birds") and Tibetan *Bya č'os rin-č'en 'p'reñ-ba* ("The Buddha's Law Among the Birds"). See also Hatto (1961) and Ęrđi (1996: 68). Cf. Publius Ovidius Naso, *Amores*, II, 6.

37.

<sup>1</sup>The "miraculous bird" of Šor folklore is both the swan and the peacock. About the "miraculous bird" in the Turkic (and, more in general, Altaic) belief system: Roux (1966: index). For the name of the bird cf. Marazzi (1986: 38).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. text 4, n. 2.

38. There's a star called Qān Ergek.<sup>1</sup> In ancient times it was a hero.<sup>2</sup> His *šola*<sup>3</sup> was Qān Ergek, and he had an ash-grey and white horse. Once that hero on his ash-grey and white horse was chasing a huge horned elk. He went three times round the earth. Nine dogs were with him. Suddenly that elk leaped towards the sky. Qān Ergek too leaped behind it on his horse and together with three of the dogs.

Up in the sky, Qān Ergek resumed chasing the elk. By keeping on running the ash-grey and white horse grew tired. Qān Ergek freed his horse. That ash-grey and white horse, once freed, became a star. Then Qān Ergek, infuriated, hit the elk with an arrow. That elk, having become a star, stayed in the sky. Qān Ergek himself, his three dogs and his arrow have turned into stars.<sup>4</sup> They are there, still.

39. It was a long time ago. Quday<sup>1</sup> created mountains and water, he created animals and birds, he created man. These men did not have fire. They asked the birds to help them look for fire. The crane<sup>2</sup> bird, out of compassion for the men, went to Ülgen<sup>3</sup> and said: "The men you created are freezing in the cold, they are dying out of starvation, give them fire!". Ülgen was infuriated; furious as he was, he did not give the fire. Then, Ülgen fell asleep. While sleeping, the crane bird, sneaking into Ülgen's house, stole from Ülgen a piece of burning coal and took it to the men.

38.

<sup>1</sup>"Qān Thumb"; cf. Marazzi (1986: 60). It is the strongest finger, whence the use in onomastics: Erdal (1981). For a check in Šor epics cf. Funk (2005: 321); for "Qān" cf. text 4, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Marazzi (1986: 143).

<sup>3</sup><Mon. (Rassadin 1980: 47). Fake name, nickname used by those that are not allowed to use the real name. Cf. Räsänen (1969: 115).

<sup>4</sup>These are Orion and Aldebaran.

39.

<sup>1</sup>"God, Supreme Being". Cf. text 23, n. 4. The concept of "creation" entered late into Šor (and more generally Turkic South-Siberian) culture, in the attempt to Christianize the *inorodcy* by the Russian Orthodox Church; cf. Marazzi (2000: 27).

<sup>2</sup>*Turna quš*. Cf. Roux (1966: index).

<sup>3</sup>"He who bestows, who allots". In all Southern Siberia it is the name of the supreme being, but also of several minor spirit-deities: Marazzi (1984a: index). For the Šor area in particular: Xlopina (1978: *passim*) and Alekseev (1984: 43-44). For the etymology cf. Indo-iranian *Bhaga* (whence the Russian *Bog*) and the Armenian *Astuac*.

40. After the earth had been created, after Ülgen<sup>1</sup> had created all beings endowed with a soul,<sup>2</sup> he did not give humans fire. Animals and birds in the taiga lived well. The birds in their nests had warmth; the animals had their furs. Animals also had warmth in their dens; the animals had their furs. They had food, they lived well. Man was naked. In the yurt there was no fire, there was no fire to cook the meat-food.<sup>3</sup> It was cold.

Then, men asked the birds for fire: “You fly all over the earth, you fly towards the sky, across the ocean, across the mountains. Only you can give us fire”.

The birds flew to various lands. They could not find fire. The fire bird,<sup>4</sup> who had stayed, said: “Isn’t there mushroom on the birch, stone on the rock, doesn’t man own steel? If one takes two stones and bangs one against the other, fire will come out!”. Since then men have learnt how to make fire.

41. In the beginning the cheese<sup>1</sup> went to the Altay land. When reaching the Altay he fell, two men put him under the saddlecloth. Then, the cheese said to himself: “Here, cattle will be bred!”. From there he went to the taiga. Once there, and when they placed under him the saddlecloth sewn from a basket of birch bark, that cheese, after breaking the birch basket, fell. Thus he said: “Here, cattle will not be bred!”. From there he went to the Qaş<sup>2</sup> land. Once there, they placed under him the saddlecloth. He didn’t break it and didn’t fall. Thus the cheese said: “Here cattle will be bred!”. Since then cattle has been bred in the Qaş land and in the Altay. Since the cheese broke the basket of birch bark and fell in the taiga, (there) there is no breeding.<sup>3</sup> If in the taiga they had placed a (different) saddlecloth under him, also (there) cattle would be bred.

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40.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. preceding text.

<sup>2</sup> *Tinniy nebeler: tin* (Clauson 1972: 514) is “breath”, thus “soul”; cf. Funk (2005:27-28). On souls in Siberian conceptions: Harva (1938: 250 ff.); Paulson (1958). For the Šor area in particular: Xlopina (1978: 74 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> *Et čiš*: to Šors, meat is food *par excellence*. Cf. text 42, n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ot quščayı*: to it Šors ascribe the first appearance of fire. Among other birds, this role is played by the crane, the eagle, the crow. Cf. Roux (1966: index; 1984: index).

41.

<sup>1</sup> *Pišlaq*, is a kind of cottage cheese: a product alien, as well as breeding cattle, to the Šors.

<sup>2</sup> ~Qaç (= Qaçä; Menges 1956 : 168-69): Xaqas sub-group.

<sup>3</sup> *Mal öspēnče*. At the beginning of the XX century animal breeding among the Šors was scarce; the production of dairy products was unknown.

42. It was a tough year in the taiga.<sup>1</sup> By spring bread had run out. The *saryay*<sup>2</sup> hadn't grown yet. The women, digging out the dog's tooth<sup>3</sup> would feed their children. The men from the taiga went down the steppes. An elder – who lived in Tayas – did not go to the steppes, saying: “What sort of a life is it in the steppes? May the dead bones of a man who was born in the taiga rest in the taiga!”<sup>4</sup> His son and daughter-in-law said: “One starves here! Even the dog's tooth is over!” His daughter-in-law was pregnant. “What will I feed my baby with in the taiga?” “Once he is born, feed him with animals' and birds' meat and raise him! He will be a hunter. Don't choke him with milk. Is milk perhaps food for a taiga man?”<sup>5</sup> Those people live in Matur, on the other side of the mountain range. The old man died.

43. In the Altay a smoke-grey bull grew up. He ran away to his own land. Afterwards, his master chased him. Having reached him, he killed him in the Kirghiz<sup>1</sup> steppes with the shot of a gun. Maybe his horns are still there. The vertebrae of his neck were enormous, his horns, too. Finding the road to Matur, that bull arrived. Elders of a past time sing about the mooing of that bull.

44. It was long ago.<sup>1</sup> Two bulls walked along the Šor taiga. They were returning to the Altay from the Abakan steppes. The grown bones of those two bulls were very big, their horns were huge. It was tough for them to walk through the thick taiga. Their horns got entangled in the trees, they didn't let them advance. Their hooves clashed against the roots of the trees. The fallen logs were blocking their way. When they went into the mud, their paws sank in the mud.

From there, then they went to the mountain ridge. When they climbed the mountain ridge and when they advanced along the mountain ridge, the masters of the mountains did not let them proceed. The masters of the mountains wanted to attract them to their own mountains. When they went down to the

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42.

<sup>1</sup> In years of a poor catch in hunting and bad harvests, the Šors moved to neighbouring regions and to the steppes.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. text 31, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. text 29, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Tayyada tüyan kižin ölgen sōgü tayyada qalzın!* Lapidary about attachment to one's roots.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. text 40, n. 4.

43.

<sup>1</sup> *Qir'üz čazi*. In other variants of the same story it is called the Sayay steppes.

44.

<sup>1</sup> *Purun purun bōlyan*. Cf. text 23, n. 1.



rivers and advanced along the banks, the lords of the rivers wanted to attract them into the water.

Still, those bulls advanced through the impenetrable taiga. When they walked on the ground, they compacted the soil they stood on; with their horns they crushed the trees. The young trees with roots were torn, the large trees were crushed. Those bulls, thus advancing, thought of their land with nostalgia. Thinking of their own land and missing it, they went on, mooing. “Our beloved Altay, our golden mountains where we were born and raised; when, when shall we see our beloved mountains again, our white steppes?!” – they said. “If we listen all around us, one can hear the sounds of the taiga; if we look all around us, the trees which have leaves reach the sky. The branches of the trees hide the ash-grey sky. During the day the sunrays cannot reach us, at night the moon’s rays cannot reach us. Perhaps we have come to the land of the evil spirits?”<sup>2</sup> Ah! ah! Why has our lord chased us off the golden mountains?<sup>3</sup> Why has Quday,<sup>4</sup> who dwells above, forgotten about us?” – they said. “At the foot of the taiga fast rivers flow. Even if this water flows quickly, to us it is an alien water! High blue mountains meet with the blue sky. High as they are, these mountains are alien to us. Here we go, crying and crying. Ah! ah! Why has our lord chased us away from the land where we were born and raised? Why have we left the land where we were born and raised? Why has Quday, who dwells above, thrown us here? – thus they spoke crying. Crying and crying, they uttered a loud sob.

At that time a hunter was roaming in the taiga. He was lying in wait for the wild goats. As he was lying in wait for the wild goats, in the distant taiga a loud noise was heard: trees and stones were crackling. Hearing that, the hunter, who had not been frightened so far,<sup>5</sup> was scared. He thought to himself: “It may be the lords of the mountains who, drunk with *araya*, are tossing stones and trees!”. Then, he looked: bulls with huge horns come forward. With their horns they crush the trees, with their hooves they upset the earth, they approach. Seeing that, that hunter was even more frightened than before. From the time he was born his father and mother, he had never seen such huge horns. Looking, the hunter wondered a lot: “*Abū*,<sup>6</sup> animals with such huge horns have entered our land! Their horns are huge, their eyes are bloodshot, they sparkle like fire! Which land have these animals come from? Could they have come from the land of the evil spirits?”.

Those bulls roamed the mountains, thinking of their own land, they felt homesick; mooing, they sang a song. That song went straight into the hunter’s

<sup>2</sup>*Körmes*. On this word, meaning “evil spirit”: Marazzi (1984a: 86; 1986: 34), Sagalaev (1984: 44).

<sup>3</sup>*Altın tayları*: the Altay (the *Jinshan* 金山 of old Chinese sources!).

<sup>4</sup>Cf. text 23, n. 4.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. similar expressions in the Xaqas epics: Marazzi (2000: *passim*).

<sup>6</sup>Exclamation of extreme amazement.

heart. That hunter listened to this song for a long time. Afterwards, he made a *qomīs*<sup>7</sup> out of cedar, he tore a hair off the horse's tail, and threw it on the *qomīs*. Then, while playing that *qomīs*, he began to sing that song. He remembered the song of those two bulls; going home, he played that *qomīs* and sang.

Afterwards, it is said that the hunter became a great *qayčī*.<sup>8</sup> At night, when he sang in the *qay* fashion, the stars in the sky approached the earth, the moon in the sky got closer to the earth. The wind that raged in the taiga subsided. The animal-birds, abandoning their young ones, fled from the taiga. The elders cried.

45. It was long ago.<sup>1</sup> At the foot of the taiga, at the water bank, after planting the yurt, mother and son lived. Cooking animals and birds meat on the fire, melting the snow in the cauldron of birch bark, feeding themselves, they lived. That old woman's son, roaming the taiga, hunted animals and birds. He brought those animals and birds to the yurt. The young man, at the dead of night, would climb to the taiga, still at the dead of night, he would come down the taiga. The winged birds could not fly to nine treetops<sup>2</sup> after being hit by an arrow. Such an archer was he! That old woman, not far from the yurt, dug out dog's tooth<sup>3</sup> and *saran*.<sup>4</sup> My relating is short, their living was long.<sup>5</sup>

Mother and son lived long. A strong wind blew up, it began to rage. It destroyed and smashed the yurt; it put out the fire in the yurt. The strong wind, raging, irrupted again. An ash-grey and white horse arrived at a gallop, god knows from where. A young man ran after that ash-grey and white horse. That young man drew out an arrow. "Don't shoot!" – shouted the horse. That young man, not listening to him, took the bow to shoot. "Don't shoot!" – shouted the old woman. The boy threw the bow and arrow away, he didn't kill the horse. Taking that horse and leaving the taiga they lived as wealthy people.

46. Without knowing their father, without knowing who their mother was, a brother and sister lived. The sister, older, dug dog's tooth<sup>1</sup> and *saran*,<sup>2</sup> thus she

<sup>7</sup> Cf. text 18, n. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. text 21, n. 6.

45.

<sup>1</sup> *Purun purun poľan pōltur*. Cf. text 23, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Number nine is usually hyperbolic, and along with number seven is especially dear to the Turkic tradition: Roux (1965).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. text 29, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Other name for *saryay*; cf. text 31, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Men aydarğa qāpčīğay boldu, pular ėadarğa ūr pōldu*. A formula with a genuine popular-proverbial flavour.

46.

fed herself. The brother, younger, killed animals and birds in the large taiga; placing the crossbow,<sup>3</sup> laying slip-knots<sup>4</sup> he hunted, thus he fed himself. Thus they lived.

In the taiga there were many animals. In the taiga there was a lot of dog's tooth and *saran*. In the taiga the animal-birds dwindled, the dog's tooth and the *saran* grew scarce. "Do we want to starve? Let's leave!". (Thus saying) they went down the taiga, they advanced to the foot of the mountain. After climbing a high ridge, they looked and wondered. Cattle are scattered like an ocean, people are like a taiga. The people live in a different way, cattle move with a different gait. The people live by drinking milk, the people live by washing their hands in the *ayran*.<sup>5</sup> Going down the steppes, (there) they settled.

47. In spring, the people, gathering, agree and consecrate an *izix*.<sup>1</sup> They make the shaman shamanize, then they tie some scraps to the *izix*. The horse destined for consecration, is taken from his master. Then the people, after gathering, head for the mountain. After pouring the home brewed beer,<sup>2</sup> they make the shaman shamanize. On the spot, after tying him, they place the horse. Then, they drink the *abirtqa* broth.<sup>3</sup> Afterwards they take the horse back home and set him free.

Then, he joins the cattle. When he joins the cattle, the cattle are not moved. To a woman<sup>4</sup> riding such a horse is forbidden. Only his own master can ride him. It is not permitted to slaughter<sup>5</sup> such a horse.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. text 29, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. text 45, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Aya turγuzup*. In summer the Šors used to place fences (*sedən*) along the trails used by reindeer and deer; around the spaces left empty for the animals to go through, they used to place the crossbows (*aya*).

<sup>4</sup> With the slip-knots (*qil*) Šors usually caught capercaillies, francolins, hares, but also deer and goats.

<sup>5</sup> Drink made with sour milk.

47.

<sup>1</sup> An animal consecrated to the spirits, usually a horse. On the etymology: Clauson (1972: 46).

<sup>2</sup> *Pozo*: Radlov (1893-1911: IV, 2, 1293).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. n. 1, text 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Īzix* animals were the object of a number of prohibitions, especially strict were those concerning women. They were forbidden to ride a consecrated horse, even to touch its saddle, go across it, keep or water the animal. Traditionally the word is considered a derivate from *īd*—"To send (*i.e.* from the Heaven)"; a new etymologic proposal in Starostin *et al.* (2003: 611). Cf. Mixajlov (1980: 181) and Funk (2005: 120-21).

<sup>5</sup> *Soγarγa čarabanča*. Slaughtering consecrated horses was forbidden. At times, the prohibition was not fulfilled, but in that case another young horse would be chosen first, instead of the *izix* horse. The slaughtered or dead *izix*'s bones were not broken, but instead put together and kept buried; cf. text 27, n. 12.

48. It was long ago.<sup>1</sup> There was a great shaman.<sup>2</sup> That shaman was a rich man. When his sons got married he gave each of them a different yurt.<sup>3</sup> That shaman didn't permit his daughters-in-law to enter his own yurt. He forbade them to pass over the threshold,<sup>4</sup> thus his daughters-in-law didn't go into his yurt.

The youngest daughter-in-law was very smart. While her father-in-law was out of the yurt, she went into the yurt in order to look around; entering the yurt, she passed over the threshold and couldn't get out any more, as if an invisible hand had seized her by her plaits<sup>5</sup> and cut them off. Then, frightened, she fell, unconscious, by the door. Later, when she regained consciousness, that daughter-in-law got frightened, got out of the yurt and ran back home.

When that shaman returned, he found two plaits at the foot of the door. Enraged, he summoned his sons and asked: "Whose wife entered my yurt?" – thus he said. Those sons of his, without uttering a word, didn't give anyone in. Then, once gone, they saw: the youngest daughter-in-law didn't have her plaits. Sitting in the yurt with her plaits cut off, she was weeping. Later on, the father said to his sons: "It was the lord of the door,<sup>6</sup> who cut her plaits; had he been really enraged, he would have even cut off her head!"

After that, the daughters-in-law didn't dare enter his tent, they didn't dare approach his tent, they didn't even dare approach their father-in-law.

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48.

<sup>1</sup> *Purun purun boltur*; cf. text 23, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Uluγ qam*; this expression appears also in text 22. In the Šor area there were mighty shamans: Malov (1909: 38). A hierarchy of shamans, ranked according to their energy and power, existed throughout Siberia. On the social stratification of the shaman figure in the Tuvan area, but exemplary for the whole Turkic Siberia, see the excellent survey by D'jakonova (1981: *passim*).

<sup>3</sup> *Oday*: cf. text 7, n. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Pozayazın altap pazarya čarabān poltur* "After passing over the threshold, going in was forbidden"; *pozaya* is "threshold" (<Mon. *bosuya*; Rassadin 1980: 44). Here the social institution that limits to the minimum the relationships between father-in-law and daughter-in-law is reflected. Consequently, the daughter-in-law was also forbidden to call her father-in-law by his name, to take anything from his hands, show him bare hands, legs or head, enter the yurt etc. The daughter-in-law, after her husband's death, was completely dependent on her father-in-law. On this see Radloff (1893: I, 356-57); cf. also Solomatina (1997: 160).

<sup>5</sup> "Plait" is *tuluγ-tuluγ* (Radlov 1893-1911: III, 2, 1496). Braiding the plaits during the wedding ceremony was related to the custom, common to the whole South-Siberian Turkic area (but also to many other areas), of the compulsory change of hair-do of the woman when entering her husband's home. For a comparison with the Xaqas epics: Marazzi (2000: 5 and *passim*). Cf. also Kustova (2000: 57-62).

<sup>6</sup> *Ežik ēzi*, elsewhere also called *pozaya ēzi* (lit. *pozaya* is "threshold"; cf. *supra* n. 4). This is the spirit of the ancestors, the clan spirit which protects tradition. It is the lord of the threshold that the shaman addresses during the *kamlanie*; the hunters bring an offering to him before setting out for hunting: Dyrenkova (1940: 413). In the Teleut "Ceremony of the drum" we find the *pozoyo* spirit (a variant for *pozaya*): Marazzi (1984a: 205).

49. There was a shaman. He lived in the distant taiga. That shaman neither worked nor hunted, thus he lived.<sup>1</sup> “My nourish *tōs*<sup>2</sup> me, you go hunting!” – thus he told the hunters. That shaman’s daughters-in-law,<sup>3</sup> after climbing to the taiga, were hunting animals and small birds; carrying (the catch) they brought it back. Again, the shaman said: “Go up to the taiga and hunt!”. Those daughters-in-law ran away. The shaman, enraged, sent the *tōs* (on their tracks); those *tōs*, after reaching the daughters-in-law along the road, ate them.<sup>4</sup>

50. “In the taiga where we hunt, you can’t go!” – thus they used to sassay *sammsay* to men of a different *sök*!<sup>1</sup> “If you go there, you’ll see and feel our ski-poles.<sup>2</sup> We don’t allow people from another clan to hunt in our taiga.<sup>3</sup> If you go to our taiga and kill animals, animals and birds in our taiga will dwindle!” – thus they said.

When they kill an animal, they don’t break his shoulder blades, they bury them in the taiga at the foot of a tree.<sup>4</sup> Should they break the animal’s bones, he wouldn’t be born any more. But now, however, they break the animals’

49.

<sup>1</sup> *İštebēn aḡnabān čatqan poltur*; cf. Marazzi (1984a: 20-21) and D’jakonova (1981: *passim*).

<sup>2</sup> Lit. “basis, essence, root” (Clauson 1972: 571; Räsänen 1969: 495). These are the guardian spirits of the family and the clan, spirits of the ancestors and of totemised animals; they are, among others, the spirit helpers of the shaman, conceived as something eternal, primeval: Xlopina 1978: 78-80 and Alekseev (1984: 88-90). Cf., for the Xaqas area, Marazzi (1995), and furthermore Id. (1996b: 191). See also Tenišev-Dybo (2006: 845).

<sup>3</sup> As a rule, Šor women did not take part in hunting, and they were subject to strict prohibitions about it. Here the memory of a time when they did take part in hunting is possibly suggested. See Lot-Falck (1953: 128 ff.) on the numerous prohibitions concerning women and hunting.

<sup>4</sup> *Töösteri čibiskenner*. In Šor, and in general South-Siberian Turkic system of beliefs, spirits can eat or tear men to pieces; cf. Diószegi (1952). A Šor woman, asked by Dyrenkova how many children she had, thus answered: *Altı pala polyan, ol altı paladaḡ iygini-le azirandım, törtön ayna čip saldı* “There were six children, of six I only raised two, four were eaten by the evil spirit” (Dyrenkova 1940: 413). Often, families whose children died, would move in order to escape the evil spirits. To mean that someone had died, they said: *ayna čip saldı* “The evil spirit ate (him)” (*ibid.*).

50.

<sup>1</sup> Lit. “bone”, *i.e.* “clan”. Cf. text 1, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* we’ll beat you.

<sup>3</sup> *Pašqa kižini pistiḡ tayyaya aḡnarya pošatpānčabīs*. Each clan had its hunting territories, common property of the clan itself. One was permitted to go to a taiga different from one’s own only in years when game was extremely scarce, and only after getting permission from the clan to which the territories belonged, usually that from which they got their wives. Cf. Lot-Falck (1953: 11 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. text 27, n. 12. Non-observance of the prohibition of breaking the bones of the killed animal causes failing in hunting, dwindling or even total disappearance of the animals.

bones with an axe to extract their brains. When during hunting, they kill the large capercaillie bird, they take home<sup>5</sup> the capercaillie's bones and wings.

From the taiga they take them home. Long ago the hunters would take the capercaillie's bones and wings with them for the hunt, so that a quantity of animals and birds would fill the taiga.<sup>6</sup>

51. Once,<sup>1</sup> when the hunters gathered and went hunting, we had this custom: when a man, once ready with his companions to go hunting, fell ill, or ran up against some other obstacle, then the hunter would give the steels, the bullets, the powder and the stocks to a relative, the one he would send with the group on his behalf, so that, when the relative was back from hunting, he would share (the catch) equally. This custom was called "fair share".<sup>2</sup>

52. Once,<sup>1</sup> when coming back from hunting, the hunters met someone, they would give him some of their catch.<sup>2</sup> If one gave nothing to that person, the following year the lord of the mountain would give only a few animals and birds. With those hunters who do not share their catch the lord of the mountain gets furious.<sup>3</sup>

53. Two brothers were chasing a reindeer.<sup>1</sup> In former times,<sup>2</sup> reindeers used to come as far as our settlement boundary, in the hot days they came to drink. After wearing out the animal, they killed him with the ski poles. After killing

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<sup>5</sup> Decadence of current times!

<sup>6</sup> A bone of capercaillie (*seley*; cf. text 36) was usually carried when hunting in order to guarantee success. Capercaillie's feathers were often stuck to the image of the spirits of hunting. It was also called *učuγan qan* "flying qan" or *qanattıγ qan* "winged qan": Dyrenkova (1940: 414).

51.

<sup>1</sup> *Alında*; cf. text 23, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Teγ üles*.

52.

<sup>1</sup> *Alında*; cf. the opening in the preceding text and relevant cross-reference to text 23, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> This custom is common throughout Siberia: Lot-Falck (1953: 174 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> *Taγ ēzi tarınča: ibidem*.

53.

<sup>1</sup> The hunting chase was practised with deer, reindeer, roes or elks. The animal was chased wearing skis on thick snow or on a crust of iced snow, until it fell exhausted and was then either killed with the ski-poles or had its throat slit with a knife: Lot-Falk (1953: 139 ff.); Dyrenkova (1940: 418).

<sup>2</sup> *Purunγu temde*; cf. text 23, n. 1.

it, they skinned it, wrapped its flesh in the skin<sup>3</sup> and dragged it to the settlement. While they were going back to the settlement, an extremely tall man, looking like a Šor, was running on the snow. After reaching them, he asked: “Are you giving a share?”. Those two brothers were mean.<sup>4</sup> They were greedy about the catch<sup>5</sup> and didn’t give anything. They didn’t utter a word, and moving even faster they went farther on their skis. That man, without turning a look towards them, said nothing and headed for the taiga. At home, their father said: “No good will come out of it!”.

That same year the two brothers, chasing an otter, went to place a net.<sup>6</sup> While placing the net, the elder brother fell into the water. The master of the water dragged him down, so they say.

54. The hunters hunted in the Belsu taiga.<sup>1</sup> The hunting was lucky. They obtained many furs. Having caught a sable in the piles of stones,<sup>2</sup> one of the hunters brought it to the hunters’ camp. Having brought it to the hunters’ camp, concealing it from his peers he hid it and said nothing.

He hunted a little, he hunted a lot:<sup>3</sup> that hunter fell ill. No shaman could heal him. The time of death had come. When the hunters got back, he said to them: “I have caught a black sable, hid it and said nothing!”.

During the night, the master of the taiga came, he harshly reproached that sick hunter. “Why have you concealed my stallion from the hunters?<sup>4</sup> Hand over my black stallion! If you don’t share the animals and the birds I conceded to the hunters, I shall take your soul and lock it in my mountain! Then you’ll die!” – enraged, thus he spoke.

The hunters found the hidden skin of the black sable. After finding it, they said nothing, they kept quiet. Then, when they got home from hunting, the elders, hearing that, felt shame for that hunter.

We have this custom: a man, who hides even a single squirrel’s tail from his peers, is not a good man. He is a cause for great shame. Such a man is not

<sup>3</sup> It’s a device (*sörtke*) used to wrap the catch and also to carry provisions and hunting gear: Dyrenkova (1940: 418). Cf. text 7, n. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Qaram* < Mon. (missing in Rassadin 1980).

<sup>5</sup> Lit. “the meat found” (*tapqan et*).

<sup>6</sup> Otter (cf. text 35) was hunted both in winter and summer. In winter, it was killed with the shot-gun by the hunters lying in wait by the openings of the frozen surface of the soil and of the iced rivers. In summer, after spotting its tracks, it was killed by placing crossbows and traps. In autumn, hunting was performed as a group using a net (*para*): Dyrenkova (1940: 418-19).

54.

<sup>1</sup> < *Pel suγ* “River of the Siberian salmon”. Tributary of the River Tom on its high course.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. text 5, n.1.

<sup>3</sup> As *aṅnadi-ba*, *köp aṅnadi-ba*; cf. text 8, n. 5 and text 31, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. text 7, n. 2, and text 16, n. 3.

welcomed in other *artels*.<sup>5</sup> The hunters don't take him with them hunting. "We don't need such a man!" they say.

55. At the time of the tsar, traders made business in the taiga. They gave the hunters various goods<sup>1</sup> on credit.<sup>2</sup> The poor hunters, to go hunting, took powder, pellets, and other things from the traders. The rich ones gave the hunters all hunting accessories. They even sold guns. The hunters, going hunting in autumn, shot squirrels, weasels, sables. Once they got back home, the traders were already there and took the furs for credit. Making the hunters drink *araya*, they took their furs. Then, after selling the furs, they became rich. Those same rich men, would exchange food and stirrups for walnuts<sup>3</sup> with the poor of the Šor taiga. Then, they brought the walnuts to town. After taking those walnuts to town, they sold them.

56. In 1917 shaman Aptis' daughter came to Qarčit as a guest. This daughter, Oturgaševa Ketayne, robbed Šulbaeva Kristina of her money, six rubles and 60 kopecks. After that maiden left, people in the *āl*<sup>1</sup> called for that maiden and her father, they made them confess by saying: "The money your child has taken, take it from your child and give it back!". Aptis said: "My daughter has not taken (the money); she never touches other people's belongings. When, with tenacity, we made him confess, he then said: "I hid the money there in the place where the skis are stuck in the snow". After he had answered thus, we took the money from there.

Afterwards, the people in the *āl* acknowledged Aptis as guilty<sup>2</sup> and appointed Kirsanov Miker to whip him. After the people had appointed him, Miker heavily whipped shaman Aptis with the lash. Shaman Aptis, because Miker has whipped him, eats<sup>3</sup> Miker. After being thus whipped, Aptis said: "I won't forget the man who whipped me, in time I'll teach him a lesson!" – thus he said. After he had thus spoken with his tongue, Miker fell ill. He was weary with diseases in his legs, kidneys and liver. Now he doesn't go hunting, and he

<sup>5</sup> Hiding the furs resulting from the hunt is considered an extremely shameful action. For *artel* cf. text 20, n. 1.

55.

<sup>1</sup> *Tavar* <R. *tovar*, this last is borrowed from a Turkic language: Fasmer (1986-87, IV: 67). Cf. Sinor (1962); Starostin *et al.* (2003: 1344-45).

<sup>2</sup> *Amnat* (~*abanat*) <Ar. *amānat* "trust".

<sup>3</sup> Harvesting nuts was a flourishing business between the 19th and the 20th centuries.

56.

<sup>1</sup> This is the Šor village; cf. text 22, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Pinobat* <R. *vinovat*.

<sup>3</sup> A shaman really enraged can even eat someone: Diószegi (1952). Cf. text 49, n. 4, for similar practice of the evil spirits.



can't work, he is completely exhausted. Shaman Aptis, after taking Miker's soul, fed it to his own *tōs*.<sup>4</sup> When he (Miker) makes the other shamans shamanize, these can neither retrieve his soul nor heal him. While the other shamans shamanize, in a week Miker gets better. Then he falls ill again.

Now, shaman Aptis neither shamanizes for Miker nor heals him; the other shaman cannot heal him. If that shaman (Aptis) does not heal him, that man (Miker) will die. Miker gives that shaman some money, but cannot beg him. "Shamanize for me and make me well!" – he begs of him. Aptis neither consents to shamanize nor to heal him.

The *āl* asks the higher assembly<sup>5</sup> to teach such a shaman with evil thoughts a lesson.

57. Two comrades went hunting. While hunting, they reached the hunting hut. They ate, made their beds; one fell asleep, the other kept sitting up. As he was thus sitting and watching, from the eyes of his comrade two small stars came out and went away. Then, the sleeping man began to move, then to moan, too. As that man kept watching, those two small stars came back and again went inside the sleeper's eyes. Then, that man woke up. Once awake, he said to his comrade: "I had a dream!". Again he fell asleep. Once asleep, from the eyes of the previously mentioned man two small stars came out and went away.<sup>1</sup> While saying: "What will happen?" his comrade placed two small planks on his eyes. Then, while he was sitting, those two small stars came back. They didn't find a way to go in. So, he removed the small planks. Then, again those two small mentioned stars went inside. Afterwards, his comrade woke up.

58. Having been hunting, I was going back home. There were dead people's old uninhabited houses.<sup>1</sup> When I got closer, a fire was burning.<sup>2</sup> Around the fire sit the men, warming their hands. Some with their palms downward, others with their palms upward. Slowly approaching, as I was saying: "What are you doing here?" I hit them with the ski poles.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. text 49, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Viššiy organ* <R. *vysšyi organ*: the village Soviet!

57.

<sup>1</sup> *Igi čiltižaq šiyip alip*. In Šor and South-Siberian Turkic conceptions in general, during sleep the soul abandons the body and goes wandering: Harva (1938: 250 ff.).

58.

<sup>1</sup> *Ölgen kižilerdiñ kiži čatpān čatqan eski ömner*. Šor people often deserted their yurts after some family member had died. Cf. text 49, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ot köyčä*; in old deserted houses fire shows the presence of the *üzüts* (see following note): *üzüt odī* "fire of the *üzüts*"). Both the *üzüts* and the *aynas* (cf. text 15, n. 3) who ate them, visit the deserted houses.

After hitting, I remained unconscious. When I recovered my senses, I stood up. They dragged me a long way. My skis, my head-gear, my hand-grips were far from me. There are tracks of my being dragged here, but there aren't any tracks of the men who sat by the fire. Then I immediately fell ill, I could hardly reach home. Afterwards, making the shaman shamanize, I retrieved my soul from the *üzüts*<sup>3</sup> and recovered.

59. As I was walking in a deserted place, I met the *üzüts*.<sup>1</sup> First a cold wind<sup>2</sup> blew. Then, a crashing sound of shrub-leaves was heard. When that wind reaches man, it pierces his heart from side to side. If his headgear is not firmly worn, that wind seizes it and takes it away. The man who doesn't die soon, that wind circles from the right hand-side and comes back from the left. Chatting between them, the *üzüts* advance with a noise of confabulation.<sup>3</sup>

60. The dead man's soul<sup>1</sup> goes with the *ayna*<sup>2</sup> that ate it.<sup>3</sup> When they, while walking, meet a living man, they exchange greetings. During the greetings, the *ayna* and the dead man's soul make the living man sick. The same disease the man whose soul attacked the living one died of, will be the illness and death of this man.

61. When a man falls ill, the shaman is asked to shamanize. The shaman, in search for the sick man's soul, leaves with his *tōs*.<sup>1</sup> Firstly, he tries to know

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<sup>3</sup> The *üzüt*'s soul is the double of the man; at time of death, it doesn't want to leave the body, it wants to stay on earth: it's the shaman's duty to convince it to go to the underworld for good. Although it has left the world of the living beings, it often comes back, carried from there by a mole (*čer čičqan*), the horse of the underworld. If it comes back, the shaman must immediately shamanize with the drum. Usually the *üzüt* soul leaves the body after the funerals, but sometimes it only leaves after seven or nine days. Numbers seven and nine are especially dear, as already mentioned, to Turkic culture: Roux (1965) after the funerals; cf also Anoxin (1929); Xlopina (1978: 75 ff.); Marazzi (1984a: index); Funk (2005: 32-33).

59.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. preceding note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. text 21, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Qïnyïr qanyïr*, onomatopoeic.

60.

<sup>1</sup> *Sürüne-süne* (<Mon.: Rassadin 1980: 21), one of the man's souls, that which after death leaves the body and turns into an *üzüt* (cf. text 58, n. 3); Harva (1938: 250 ff.); Xlopina (1978: 75); Bazin (1987).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. text 15, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. text 49, n. 4.

61.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. text 49, n. 1.

which *ayna*<sup>2</sup> has abducted the sick man's soul. As he follows this quest, along the way he meets several *aynas*. They dart away, they scatter in various directions. Sometimes the *aynas*, revenging themselves, tell the shaman which *ayna* has actually abducted the soul, and where, in which land he has taken it. When an *ayna* abducts a soul, and the shaman chases him, the latter doesn't allow him to take it far and retrieves it; then the sick man soon improves. If, after the man fell sick, they don't shamanize for a long time, the *ayna* takes the man's soul far away, underground, and takes it to Erlik.<sup>3</sup> Then it's difficult to retrieve the soul.

When the shaman, shamanizing, goes to the land of Erlik and (there) he sees that the *aynas*, after boiling a man's flesh in a cauldron,<sup>4</sup> eat it, he, once back, says: "The man I shamanized for is very ill". When he sees that the *aynas*, after taking the flesh from the cauldron and picking a bone clean, throw it away, once back he says: "Even if I shamanized for the sick man, he'd die anyway".

It's very hard for the shaman to reach the land of Erlik by shamanizing. There the *aynas* attack him. The shaman sends his *tōs* to fight them. Instead of a *tōs*, he sends a shooter with them. In the land of Erlik, the *aynas*, the old *üzüts*,<sup>5</sup> don't let the shaman retrieve the soul recently arrived. When the shaman roams that land, he doesn't show the *aynas* or Erlik his face. If the shaman shows Erlik his face, he dies.<sup>6</sup> When the shaman, after retrieving the soul from the *aynas*, brings it back to the land of Erlik, he inserts it into the sick man's ear.<sup>7</sup>

At times, the shaman, when not in a hurry, after retrieving the soul from the *aynas* in the land of Erlik, takes it to the milky Lake,<sup>8</sup> after washing it, he places it in front of Ülgen's door,<sup>9</sup> underneath the Leafy Birch,<sup>10</sup> in a rich cradle, and he rocks it until it regains its strength. Then, after bringing the soul

<sup>2</sup> Cf. text 15. n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The lord of the underworld (O.T. *Erklig* "the mighty", in Buddhist uyghur literature assimilated to Yama). Cf. Marazzi (2000: 33).

<sup>4</sup> *Qazan*; on the magic/evil cauldron in Turkic epic tradition see Boratav-Bazin (1965: 296).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. text 58, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Whence the use of a mask during the *kamlanie*: Eliade (1978: 142 ff.); Roux (1978).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Harva (1938: 250 ff).

<sup>8</sup> *Süttüg köl*: cf. Marazzi (1984a: index); Roux (1984: 174). In the Mongolian shamanic texts we find a "Milky Sea" (*sin dalaj*): Even (1988-89: 208, 215, 251). A "Milky Lake" is present in the Tibetan tradition: Stein (1959: 526).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. text 39, n. 5.

<sup>10</sup> *Pay Qaziy*. On the "Rich Birch"'s great role among the Šors: Diószegi (1978: 117). In the "Ceremony in honour of Qaršit", an important Altay shamanic text published in Anoxin 1924: 102 (= Marazzi 1984a: 126) we find the "Rich Birch" (*Pay Qayiy*). Cf. text 69. On the "Rich Birch" in the Kirghiz epic cycle *Manas*: Hatto (1974: 21 ff.).

back, he inserts it through the ear of the sick man and says: “Such man’s soul is back, don’t let it go here and there from its master”. He leaves a *tōs* around that man saying: “May it protect this soul!”. Then that shaman is given some money.<sup>11</sup>

62. When the shaman chases a dead man’s soul, he shamanizes at night.<sup>1</sup> The *üzüt*-soul<sup>2</sup> is chased between the Qančul<sup>3</sup> and the Čaščul<sup>4</sup> rivers. Out of the eyes of the men who stayed in the dead man’s house, tears flow. From the water flowing out of the right eye springs the Qančul, (from the tears) flowing out of the left eye springs the Čaščul, the river of the *üzüts*.

The men’s *üzüts*, after the man is dead, catch the fish<sup>5</sup> using the *para*.<sup>6</sup> When they place the *para*, the ducks come. Also in that land the *üzüts*, hunting, chase the animals. They are one another’s guests. When the shaman, shamanizing, brings the *abirtqa*,<sup>7</sup> the *üzüts*, drunk, sing and fight. If the shaman doesn’t bring the aquavit, the *üzüts* hurl themselves on the man, after which the man falls ill. When the man falls ill, they perform the *alas*.<sup>8</sup>

When the *üzüt* comes back to the earth, the shaman takes him back on a raft made with the stems of some shrub. When the *üzüts* come back, the shamans take them back on a long raft made with stems of angelica. The avenue along which the *üzüt* arrives is called the “Black avenue”.<sup>9</sup> The *üzüt* is taken right back where he has come from, through that same avenue from which he has come. Afterwards, the man, who was attacked by the *üzüt*, falls ill. When the man falls ill, they perform the *alas*. They call it *alim-bila*.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Normally the shaman receives a reward after the *kamlanie*.

62.

<sup>1</sup> The *kamlanie* takes place at night.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. text 58, n. 3 and text 60, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> “River (*čul*, *yul* in the other Turkic languages [for a hypothetic pre-Turkic/Ienisseic origin of this word: Marazzi (1988)] of blood (*qan*)”: Harva (1938: 351). Similar images we find in the folklore of other cultural areas: Thompson (1975: 782-83). In China, the fifteenth buddhist hell is constituted by a bloody (and icy) pool (Goodrich 1981: 59, 65, 87) and a river of blood is present in the so-called “Chinese Divina Commedia” (Duyvendak 1952: 272). In Hinduism, in the *dīpanadī* hell there is a river “full of blood” (Jolly 1880: 140-42).

<sup>4</sup> “River of tears” (*čaš*, O.T. *yaš*) In Iran there is a similar image (in the *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag*: Haug-West 1971: 165-66; Čunakova 2001: 107).

<sup>5</sup> *Paliq* (O.T. *balīq*) *annapčalar*. The dead men’s souls in the afterworld keep on living a life similar to the earthly life, but mirror-like: Marazzi (1984a: 19-20).

<sup>6</sup> The fishing net. Cf. text 53, n. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. text 9, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Purification rite: Marazzi (1984a: index). For the Tuvan area, cf.: Kenin-Lopsan (1977: 109).

<sup>9</sup> *Qara čol*: Xlopina (1978: 76). Cf. Marazzi (1984a: 65).

<sup>10</sup> About which see *infra*.

63. When an adult dies, after 40 days<sup>1</sup> the shaman shamanizes. That shaman, showing the way to the soul,<sup>2</sup> goes with it. Before going with the soul, he calls it, near the house. Before going, the soul takes leave of the relatives. The deceased's relatives follow the shaman outside the *āl*<sup>3</sup> towards the west,<sup>4</sup> and there they make the shaman shamanize and go with the soul. Each one carries a single bowl. Carrying two bowls is not proper. Once out of the *āl*, they place the food on the ground.

Before shamanizing, the shaman places the food that has been brought in a large wooden vessel. The edge of that vessel is removed. Then, lighting a fire around the vessel, they throw the food (into the fire) with their left hands. As they throw it, they say: "Soul that departed prematurely, eat from here, drink from here! Eat with us for the last time and leave; it is not proper any more that you come to us and join us, you shall go from here forever!"

The shaman shamanizes with the *ozup*<sup>5</sup> if a woman dies, with the axe,<sup>6</sup> if a man dies. That soul is dismissed with a pressure of the hand. The shaman, instead of the hand, gives it either the *ozup* or the axe.<sup>7</sup> The shaman says to that soul: "From here go to the *üzüts*' land!"<sup>8</sup> Before going, the soul says: "A non-lived day I spent, my child has stayed with the men lit up by the sun.<sup>9</sup> Until the day of mid-month I went, I died against my will. I went from the non-spent day". The shaman says to the soul: "However! Become a whirlwind, run!"

Along the way that leads to the land of the *üzüts* are two rivers: the Qančul<sup>10</sup> and the Čaščul,<sup>11</sup> the rivers of the *üzüts*. Across those rivers the

63.

<sup>1</sup> Roux (1963: 152 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> One of the shaman's functions is to be psychopomp.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. text 22, n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Kün qonuzu* "the setting of the sun", an expression missing in Kononov (1977), Rahmeti Arat (1981) and Podosinov (1999: 451-52). Already in Homer (where Ἐρεβος is Akkadian *erebu*; Semerano 1994: 96) access to the hereafter is in the extreme West! In Hebrew mythic cosmology, in the West of inhabited world, there is the ocean and its isles and behind it the desert, a barren land where creep only scorpions and snakes. In sufi tradition the West is the world of darkness, of materialism, of immorality, of decadence, of decline. On the contrary, in Indian Buddhism we find the *Sukhāvātilokadhātu*, the western paradise.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. text 31, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Malta* (~balta~palta in the other Turkic languages).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. preceding note.

<sup>8</sup> *I.e.* the afterworld. Cf. text 58, n. 3.

<sup>9</sup> *Künnüg kižiler*. In the very important shamanic text of the "Ceremony of the Drum", collected in Teleut area by Dyrenkova, we find the equivalent expression *kündü el*: Marazzi (1984a: 219).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. text 62, n. 3.

shaman carries the soul. If there is no bridge, the shaman ties up some snakes<sup>12</sup> and throws them across those rivers: the red snake across the Čaščul, the black snake across the Qančul. Once he has reached those rivers, while he is preparing to carry the soul, the *üzüt* is afraid to ford. Being afraid, it wants to go back. So it begs of the shaman: “Take me back!”. Afterwards it says: “I left before my time!”. The shaman in answer says: “It has already happened, there’s nothing you can do. It’s necessary to ford these rivers. The time has come to ford them!”. The soul again says: “I’m afraid, as I go along these bridges, of falling into the water!”.

So then, the shaman does not carry the *üzüt* on the bridge, but he carries it on a boat. Across the Qančul, on a boat barely kept together, hardly sewn together with birch bark; across the Čaščul, on a crooked boat sewn together with birch bark, he carries it. As he carries it, the shaman rows either with the *ozup* or with the axe. When the shaman, after carrying the soul, gets back, he throws away the *ozup* and the axe towards the west. He also throws away the dead man’s boots, in the same direction. When the burning fire is extinguished, they scatter to their houses. Before scattering, they completely put out the fire by trampling on it. As they put it out they say: “I am destroying your stone tripod, the *talqan*,<sup>13</sup> I am scattering your ashes!”. This shaman’s *kamlanie*<sup>14</sup> is called “burying the soul”<sup>15</sup> or “making the soul migrate”.<sup>16</sup>

64. When an adult dies, for a few days his soul goes round the house where he lived, unable to leave. After a man dies, in his house at night the fire burns for seven days.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes the elders, gathering, make the *qayčĭ* sing.<sup>2</sup> While the dead man’s relatives talk about the deceased, pitying him and grieving day and night, his soul listens to all this talking. Sometimes, at night, while in the house the fire burns, (his soul) comes and looks through the window, it moves the door hook, it touches the clothes it once wore.

When (his soul) learns that it will never come back, then it starts for the far away mountains, uttering his name, moaning in the water. Its voice fails, its tracks disappear. When they know that the soul will never come back, when it’s already gone forever, it’s not proper that the relatives shed many tears. If they shed many tears, the rivers overflow. It becomes difficult for the

<sup>11</sup> Cf. text 62, n. 4.

<sup>12</sup> On snakes in the Siberian beliefs system: Marazzi (1996a).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. text 25, n. 2.

<sup>14</sup> I.e. the shamanic séance: Marazzi (1984a: 17).

<sup>15</sup> *Sürüne čĭyar*; cf. text 60, n. 1.

<sup>16</sup> *Sürüne köčüg köčürer*; cf. preceding note.

64.

<sup>1</sup> Harva (1938: sachregister); Roux (1963: index).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. text 44, n. 8.

soul to depart. It cannot ford the rivers. It goes along the bank, sad, weeping and moaning, and it can stay neither here nor there.

65. In a dead man's coffin<sup>1</sup> many items are placed. Two pairs of boots are placed so that walking will be possible in the imperfect land lit by the moon.<sup>2</sup> It's not right to place a knife. When the shaman arrives to take the dead man's soul, the *üzüt*<sup>3</sup> chases the shaman away with the knife. Once, when the relatives forgot to place the headgear in the coffin, they saw in a dream that the dead man was going to that land without a headgear and was getting angry with the people of the house. If they don't put the sedge<sup>4</sup> in his boots, then in a dream they see that (the deceased), without foot rags in the boots, walks heavily.

66. The dead man's relatives, each year make a raft with *qōbraq*<sup>1</sup> stems and, after placing a fire on that small raft, at night they let it go down the river. On that raft the dead man's soul sails. The *üzüts*,<sup>2</sup> after getting on that little raft, go as far as the ocean and across the sea. The fire that burns on the raft is called "Fire of the *üzüt*".<sup>3</sup>

67. Previously,<sup>1</sup> they used to place dead people on trees.<sup>2</sup> They used to hang them on trees. *Pegs*<sup>3</sup> and missionaries<sup>4</sup> would say: "Let them not be hung! Don't hang dead people on trees! One must not hang them on a tree!". Since

65.

<sup>1</sup> *Qomda*: Menges (1960: 149) and Räsänen (1969: 279).

<sup>2</sup> While the earth is lit by the sun, the afterworld is lit by the moon. Cf. text 63, n. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. text 58, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ozoyat*, "*hemerocallis flava*". This kind of sedge is dried up and stored for winter expressly to be used instead of the foot rags.

66.

<sup>1</sup> "*Heracleum sibiricum*". A shrub from the steppes and the taiga: Räsänen (1969: 273). Cf. Xlopina (1978: 76) and Hauenschild (1996: 185).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. text 58, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. text 58, n. 2.

67.

<sup>1</sup> *Purunyi tüšte*; cf. text 23, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Harva (1938: sachregister: Bestattung ins Grab). For Tungus area: Shirokogoroff (1935: 211).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. text 27, n. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. text 23, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Traces of this custom were to be found until the mid-twenties of the 19th century. In remote regions, small children, especially those born prematurely, were buried on trees, in small trunks hollowed out, or wrapped up in birch bark. The sites of such burials were kept carefully secret: Dyrenkova (1940: 438). Cf. Diószegi (1978: 142) and Xlopina (1978: 76).

then, only small children<sup>5</sup> have been hung, after having been wrapped up in birch bark.

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## ŠOR SHAMANIC TEXTS

68. *aq tayğa-ba til āliš, / āyın suy-ba yol āliš, / tayğaya aɲnap šiqsam, / aɲ  
yuşqa tōyaštır! / aq tayğaya aɲnap parzam, / iriştüq čöl per! / oɲ polčay miltiq  
per! / aɲniq šergeyge aɲ yuşuɲ kelsin! / āyın suyda kečig per! / aq tayğada āšiy  
per! / attiy şaptiy qayaɲni aş! / aɲ yuşuɲ poşada per! / aɲnap tilepčigän  
kişinçe / asiy pölip per!*

To the white taiga talking, / with water flowing as it holds hands, / if to the  
white taiga I climb to hunt, / let me meet the animal-birds! / If towards the  
white taiga, hunting, I head, / allow a happy journey, allow a lucky gun! / Let  
the animal-birds come to the trap-net! / Allow fording of the flowing water! / In  
the white taiga allow a crossing! / Open up your glorious rock, / set your ani-  
mal-birds free! / To your man who hunting seeks / allot the catch!

69. *šök, šök,šök! / ene bōl emisken, / ada bōl āzirayan, / uluɲ tay enebis! / alti  
azıra tāzilij, / altin pürlüg pay yazij, / čil baži aylandi, / čilan baži söyledi. /  
ayın suy šaladi, / arsil tayğa sögüldi, / uluɲ ayaş pürü salbaqtandi. / šalap  
aqqan ayın suy / altin čabiydi ezildirdi, / altin köktün ariy ünü / aq tasqilda  
čayildi, / aq tasqildij / altin martqazi šecildi, / altin taydij / alti ežigi azildi, /  
ay paži aylandi, / čil paži čilišti, eski čil šiqti, / nā čil kirdi. / qol kōdürzem,  
šāčiy pōlča, / qoltuq aššam, ilig pōlča! / suqsuylariɲ qānzin, / suɲattariɲ čet-  
sin! / ayın suy šaladi, / šabal paži čimčadi. / aq šāčiy šāščabis, / čil pažin  
kōdürčabis. / oɲ yarayin-ma körüp odur, / oɲ yoluɲ-ma perib odur! / oɲ  
yulaɲin-ma uɲup tur, / oɲ alqizij perip tur! / usqan turɲan tay suyğa čaciy pol-  
zın!*

Šök, šök, šök!<sup>1</sup> / You, mother who nourishes, / you, father who feeds,<sup>2</sup> / great mountain mother of ours!<sup>3</sup> / Rich birch with golden leaves,<sup>4</sup> / you with six-fold roots,<sup>5</sup> / the beginning of the year has turned,<sup>6</sup> / the snake's head has folded. / The flowing water makes noise, / the mighty taiga moos, / the leaves of the large tree hang. / Gurgling, the flowing water / has melted your golden cover, / the pure voice of the golden cuckoo<sup>7</sup> / has spread across the white *tasqil*,<sup>8</sup> / the golden buttons of the white / *tasqil* have melted,<sup>9</sup> / the six doors of the golden / mountain have opened,<sup>10</sup> / the beginning of the month has turned, / the beginning of the year has slipped away, / the old year has gone, / the new year has come in. / If I lift my arm, it will be a libation, / if I open my armpit, it will be prayer! / May your thirst be quenched, / may your craving for drinking pass! / The flowing water mumbles, / the tops of the conifers are appeased. / We perform a pure libation, / the head of the year we lift. / Look with a favourable eye, / bestow with a favourable hand! / Listen with a favourable ear, / bestow a favourable blessing! / May it be a libation for mountains / and waters that have awakened!

70. *alas, alas, alas,* / *ōdus tištig ot enem,* / *qir̄iq tištig ot ene!* / *qiyra-bīla,* / *qiliš-pīla* / *tay azira sür,* / *suḡ kēžire sür!* / *qarayiz̄in qadači pōl,* / *kündüsküzün küzeči pōl!* / *palamni qādarīb odur!*

*Alas, alas, alas!*<sup>1</sup> / My mother-fire with thirty heads, / mother-fire with forty teeth!<sup>2</sup> / With the blade, with the sword. / Across the mountain chase, / across

69. This clan prayer to mountains and water was called *šāčīy*, lit. “sprinkling”, during which the *abirtq̄i* was offered (cf. text 9, n. 1).

<sup>1</sup> Exclamation which alternates with *čoq-čök*, frequent in shamanic texts; cf. Räsänen (1969: 113-14); Mixajlov (1980: 193-94); Marazzi (1984a: *passim*; 1984b).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Marazzi (1984a: 144).

<sup>3</sup> Each clan had its own mountain, to which offerings were made and to which good luck in hunting was asked. Cf. text 1, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. text 61, n. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Number six, together with seven and nine (as already mentioned in previous notes) is dear to Turkic culture: Roux (1965). Cf. Marazzi (1984a: 99-100 and *passim*; 2000: 3).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. similar expressions in shamanic texts: Marazzi (1984a: e.g. 62).

<sup>7</sup> In the shamanic tradition the cuckoo, associated to the awakening of nature in spring, assists the shaman in resuscitating dead people. Roux (1966: *passim*); Marazzi (1986: 31; 2000: XI).

<sup>8</sup> “High mountains” with slopes covered with forests and snow-clad summits; cf. Marazzi (2000: 90).

<sup>9</sup> Obscure expression.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. this text, n. 5 and text 18, n. 6.

70.

<sup>1</sup> This exclamation, frequent in shamanic texts, is also the name of the purification rite: Marazzi (1984a: index and 144-45, 149 ff.). Cf. text 62, n. 8.

the river chase! / during the night, be on your guard, / during the day be on your guard! / Watch over my baby!

71. *qōbraq pāžin qāčirada taynačaŋ, / maltıryan pāžin mačirada taynačaŋ. / čayyi künde sōm ala čör, / küskü künde.öbüñniñ / gürendigiñge pās čöreyin! / maltıryanñiñ tayda / mičirada pās čörüb odır, / tābilyalıñ tayda / tazirada pās čör! / adalarıñya pāriñ qātış! / maltıryanñiñ tayda mičirada, / qōbraqtıñ tayda yačirada, / čayyıda sōmni keze čör! / olyan uzaqtı qōryıspa, / tigi pōni čistaštırba! / taydañ šiqqan uluy tayım, / adalarıñya parıñ qātış!*

With great noise, you chew the shrubs' tips; / with great crash, you chew the *qōbraqs* tips. / In the summer days walk behind me! / In the autumn days may I reach / the snowy heap of your home! / On the mountain where the *qōbraq* grows / with great noise he goes, / on the mountain where the *tabilya* grows / with great crash he goes! / Go to your fathers and join them! / On the mountain covered in angelica with great crash / on the mountain covered *qōbraq* with great noise, / in summer behind me cross (my path)! / Don't scare the youngsters, / don't sniff anything! / Great uncle, gone out of the mountain, / go to your fathers and join them!

72. *alim-mıla, alim-mıla! / qanniñ üzüt, qara čeksiñ-me? / tōluq-saya tolyaldıñ-ma? / tayya-saya aylandıñ-ma? / quyun bolup quyburduñ-ma, / salyın bolup sabırıldıñ-ma? / edek-pile ebirıldıñ-me? / azaq-pıla aylandıñ-ma? / aš tabaqqa čaba tüščaŋ! / küñüg čerdiñ ažiña / küzep čördüñ-me? / čatqan čerine čaylı / tōbrayıñya aylan! / fu fayt! er alına šaptıñ-ma, at alına šaptıñ-ma? / edekterin serbeyišča, / ernilerin kezilišča. / tōluq-saya siniščizar, sibiq / sabiq qayınıščizar. / čaqši etkenin čaziq poldu, / čide etkenin čabal poldu! / uluy tayyanı ažiñ keldiñ-me? / ayın suydu kezip keldiñ-me? / adi-čolun ayda ber! / tišin-me qičiratpa! / tilin poš salib odur! / čazinnıñ otqa qistarım! / čida-ba eñdererim, / qiliš-pıla qıyarım, / oqča-bıla adarım! / qizil tebirge qistarım, / qapčıyayya qabırıp odur, / qapčıyaylan par, / adi tölün aydınıp odur! / kesken ayazıñya par! / alıp paryan ayna-ba kedre šiğ! / al-paryan albaqčıñya par! / čip paryan čibekčiñe par! / en ežikteñ kedre šiğ! / tār ežikteñ taşqara šiğ! / fu, fayt! / adi čolun ayda ber! / qapčıyaylan par-šiğ! / čaqši aytqanıñ čaziq uqtun-ma? / fu, fayt!*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Marazzi (1984a: 149 ff.).

71. An appeal to the bear during the mourning rite for the animal. Cf. text 27.

*Alim-mila, alim-mila!*<sup>1</sup> / Are you the bloody *üzüt*, the evil spirit?<sup>2</sup> / In every corner, why are you coiled? / Every taiga why have you circled? / Becoming a whirlwind, have you whirled, / Becoming a wind, are you enraged? / Grasping the brims, have you revolved? / With your legs, to whom have you returned? / Greedily throwing yourself on to it, you eat the food! / Tired of the food of the sun-lit land,<sup>3</sup> / why have you come? / To the land where you dwell, to the fat clay you return! / *Fu, fayt!*<sup>4</sup> / In front of the man have you perhaps come to learn something? / In front of the horse, have you perhaps learnt anything? / Your hems are worn out,<sup>5</sup> / your lips are chapped.<sup>6</sup> / In every corner you hide, while gossiping you lounge about. / The good you did turned out to be bad, / what you brought turned out to be evil! / Have you come, crossing the huge mountain? / Have you come, fording the fast flowing water? / Say your name and your dwelling abode!<sup>7</sup> / Don't gnash your teeth! / Keep your tongue free! / I squeeze (you) against the fire that sends out sparks! / With the spear I hit (you), / with the sword I cut (you), / with the arrow I kill (you)! / Against the red iron I squash (you), / hurry up and leave, say your name and your generation! / Go into the tree that was cut for you! / With the *ayna*<sup>8</sup> that took possession of you, go away! / Go towards the one that seized you and abducted you! / Go towards the devourer that ate you! / Go away from the wide door! / Go out through the narrow door! / *Fu, fait!* / Say your name and your dwelling abode!<sup>9</sup> / Hurry up and leave! / Whatever I said that was good, have you perhaps misunderstood? / *Fu, fayt!*

73. *uluγ kičig qara soñma!* / *uluγ kičig oq čilan!* / *uluγ kičig sir čilan!* / *altı puttuy pay pağa!* / *uluγ kičig qān ayas qannıñ oylanı,* / *tebir qānnıñ čēnezi,* / *qazır tayğa turuy alyan!* / *uluγ kirbi qānım,* / *qannıñ tayğa čadıñ alyan!* / *tili četpes kelegey,* / *qolu čepses solayay* / *lennig sinğa turuy alyan!* / *adam pustay elči qān,* / *uluγ qān,* / *pustayda turuy alyan,* / *süttüg kölge turuy alyan!* / *pras paži üš ežiktig iziq tay,* / *uluγ kičig kedey qān!* / *uluγ kičig čilaš pörü!* / *uluγ kičig alaš quš,* / *altın tayğada turuy alyan!* / *uluγ kičig qara azıñ!* / *qan*

72 Exorcism against the *üzüts*. Cf. Marazzi (1984a: 170-71) and Funk (2005: 90).

<sup>1</sup> Exclamation which coincides with the name of the ritual. Cf. text 62, n. 10.

<sup>2</sup> On *üzüt* cf. text 59, n. 1; “evil spirit” here is *ček* (Altay *yäk* < San. *yakša*), therefore cf. Marazzi (1984a: 69).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. text 63, n. 9.

<sup>4</sup> It shows contempt, repulsion.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* “you are finished”.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. preceding note.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Marazzi (1984a: 80; 1986: 98).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. text 15, n. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. this text, n. 7.

*semonnuj qazir tuju! / čiltis qānniñ oylani! / orba ēzi, sariγ yan! / tili četpes pilgeči kelegey! / qolu četpes solayay! / enem kōnetki uluγ tayim! / ōdus tabir ot enem, / qiriq tištig qis enem! / aq ūlgenniñ oču qizi, oču sariγ! / toγus aziy terezi / tonγa četpes qān oylu! / četti aziy terezi / nige četpes qān oylu! / alti aziy terezi / čaya četpes qān oylu! / čerge siñmas kōgüstüg, / čazi parγan sayriliγ, / qazannaγ uluγ āstiγ qān, / toγus qariš kirbiktig! / uluγ kičig ežik qān, / tay ežik turuγ alyan! / qam semonnuj qazir tuju! / uluγ kičig ker šortan! / uluγ kičig munčuq qān, / aq adamyā turuγ alyan! / uluγ kičig tebir kiriš qān, / tayčınada turuγ alyan! / til tartınmas kelegey, / tiskin tartpas solayay! / uluγ kičig ker omazi qān! / alton qulaš qanattıγ, / tin poγrazi, aq pōs at!*

Big and small black duck! / Big and small grass snake! / Big and small legless lizard! / Rich frog with six feet!<sup>1</sup> / Big and small *qān*, son of the light *qān*, / grandson of the iron *qān*, / who dwell in the wild taiga! / My great Kirbi Qān,<sup>2</sup> / who dwell on the bleeding mountain!<sup>3</sup> / Stuttering, whose tongue is flawed,<sup>4</sup> / left-handed, whose hand is flawed, / who dwells on the Lennig Sın!<sup>5</sup> / *Qān* messenger of my father Pustay,<sup>6</sup> / great *qān*, / who dwells on Mount Pustay,<sup>7</sup> / who dwells in the Milky Lake!<sup>8</sup> / High course of the Pras,<sup>9</sup> holy mountain with three doors,<sup>10</sup> / Big and small Kedey Qān! / Big and small naked wolf!<sup>11</sup> / Big and small woodpecker, / who dwell in the golden taiga! / Big and small black bear! / Mighty banner<sup>12</sup> of shaman Semon!<sup>13</sup> / *Qān* of the stars' son! / Yellow *qān*, lord of the mallet!<sup>14</sup> / Omniscient stuttering,<sup>15</sup> whose tongue is flawed! /

73. An invocation to earthly spirits. Translated in Marazzi (1984a: 138-40).

<sup>1</sup> The frog is depicted on the shamanic drum; cf. Diószegi (1978: 121-22); Marazzi (1984a: 181).

<sup>2</sup> Also called *Yañyis Qan*: Marazzi (1984a: 189).

<sup>3</sup> From the blood of the dead.

<sup>4</sup> A spirit that belongs to a category of spirits of the deceased which acts contrary to human behaviour.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Marazzi (1984a: 138).

<sup>6</sup> "Ice (*pus*) mountain (*tay*)". All Šor shamans made their drums on indication of the spirit-master of this mountain: Potapov-Menges (1934: 67 ff.); Potapov (1947: 161); Alekseev (1984: 134). Cf. also Xlopina (1978: 80-81).

<sup>7</sup> The mountain gets confused with its spirit-master. Cf. text 1, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. text 61, n. 8.

<sup>9</sup> *Mras* (cf. introduction). Important river in shamanic geography; cf. Marazzi (1984a: index).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. text 21, n. 7.

<sup>11</sup> The wolf is an assistant spirit especially dear to the Central-Asiatic Shamanic-Islamic syncretic tradition; cf. Marazzi (1992: 426).

<sup>12</sup> *Tuy*, word of Chinese origin (Doerfer 1963-1975: II, 618 ff.). The banner, along with the pole, is present in the Central-Asiatic syncretic Shamanic-Islamic *kamlanie*: Marazzi (1984a: 340).

<sup>13</sup> <R. Semēn.

<sup>14</sup> For "yellow" cf. text 26, n. 1. On the mallet and its master: Marazzi (1984a: index).

Left-handed, whose hand is flawed! / Mother Kōnetki, great mountain of mine! / Mother fire with thirty veins / virgin mother, with forty teeth!<sup>16</sup> / White-Ülgen's<sup>17</sup> youngest daughter, youngest yellow! / *Qān*'s son, for whose fur / nine bearskins are not enough! / *Qān*'s son, for whose sleeve / seven bear skins are not enough! / *Qān*'s son, for whose collar / six bear skins are not enough! / *Qān*, whose chest cannot find room on earth, / whose rump stretches like the steppes, / whose mouth is larger than a cauldron, / whose eyebrows are nine quarters long!<sup>18</sup> / Big and small *qān* of the doors, / who established your dwelling at the door of the mountain! / Shaman Semon's mighty banner! / Big and small monstrous pike! / Big and small Munčuq Qān, / who dwell by my white father! / Big and small *qān*, iron (bow) string, / who dwell on the Tayčīna mountain! / Stuttering who cannot speak, / left-handed who cannot pull the bridles! / Big and small Ker Omazī *qān*!<sup>19</sup> / You, whose wings are sixty toises long,<sup>20</sup> / grey-white horse, soul-horse!<sup>21</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Cf. this text, n. 4.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. text 70, n. 2.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. text 39, n. 3. "White" is Ülgen's usual epithet; cf. Marazzi (1984a: 60).

<sup>18</sup> About thirteen meters.

<sup>19</sup> Helping spirit of the shaman, also said Ker Bos: cf. Potapov-Menges (1934: 92); Diószegi (1978: 123); Alekseev (1984: 170).

<sup>20</sup> "Toise" translates *qulaš* (Russian *sažen*).

<sup>21</sup> *Tin poyrazī*, where *poyra* is the equivalent of *pūra/būra* of the other South-Siberian Turkic groups: Marazzi (1984a: index). Cf. Potapov-Menges (1934: 91-92); Diószegi (1978: 113); Alekseev (1984: 169); Starostin *et al.* (2003: 945-46); Funk (2005: 150) and Tenišev-Dybo (2006: 725-26).

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## INTRODUCTION

The Tuvan hero tale (*mögelig töl*)<sup>1</sup> which is the subject of the present work is a fine example of a rich vein of Tuvan oral literature, very closed to Epic tradition,<sup>2</sup> from which it is scarcely distinguishable.<sup>3</sup> In it we find all the characteristics of the heroic narrative and the fairy tale. Tuvan hero tale occupies a major place among the abundant folkloric tradition of one of the most interesting small peoples of Turkic South-Siberia.<sup>4</sup>

First transcriptions of Tuvan tales were made by Radlov (1907), Katanov (1903), Potanin (1881-1883: 167-648), Kon (1934: III, 174-170). All these works are very important from the point of view of the history of the research of Tuvan folklore. In the Thirties of past Century gathering of Tuvan folklore was resumed,<sup>5</sup> but only in the Fifties and Sixties was organized a more and satisfactory activity of research in this field.<sup>6</sup> In 1971<sup>7</sup> and 1978<sup>8</sup> respectively in Moscow and Berlin were published two fundamental editions of Tuvan tales, the most important ones before the conclusive edition by Samdan, on which has been based our translation.<sup>9</sup>

The plot of *Xayındırınmay Bayay-öl* involves a series of adventures aimed at the capture of a number of extraordinary and magical beings and objects (the *bödäne* bird which grants youth, the miraculous suit of armour which ensures happiness) with the final goal being the golden *dajyini* maiden of the upper world.<sup>10</sup>

The very beginning of the tale is typically that of a fairy tale. The son of an old couple who live in poverty rebels against the despot *xän*. Along his path

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<sup>1</sup> Lit. "Champions tale"; cf. Taube (1984) and Ead (1992).

<sup>2</sup> General works on Turkic Epics: Meletinskij (1963); Puxov (1975); Reichl (1992); Van Deusen (2004).

<sup>3</sup> Taube (1984). For musical aspects see Kyrgys (1994).

<sup>4</sup> Much attention has been devoted in recent years to the Tuvan culture, first of all to shamanic and folkloric traditions.

<sup>5</sup> *Arattij amıdıralı* (1936); Kordova *et al.* (1934).

<sup>6</sup> Samdan (1994: 11 ff.).

<sup>7</sup> Vatagin (1971).

<sup>8</sup> Taube (1978). Particularly important is this work, 73 tales of which have been partly gathered by the same author among Cengel Tuvans in Mongolia and partly taken from editions published in Tuva.

<sup>9</sup> Samdan (1994). For a recent restatement of the history of Tuvan studies see Harrison (2005).

<sup>10</sup> See n. 14.

the hero who gave his name to the tale encounters the possessors of magical powers typical of the fairy tale: Xüler Mōge with his extraordinary sense of hearing; Šüde Mōge who catches arrows in flight; Daviñ Xān ablaze with fire. They become his brothers and helpers.<sup>11</sup> Characteristic of the fairy tale tradition are the magical transformations of the hero. At a certain point during the tale, there appears the fairy-tale wise old man with a white beard. In the same vein Xayindiriy may assumes a heroic stance: he flies up to the sky.

The narrative of *Xayindiriy may Bayay-ōl* is constructed on different levels and is composed of a series of episodes which are both fairy tale and epic-heroic (especially in the second part). The reasons behind his miraculous birth; the choice of a name; the reciprocal relationship between the hero, his horse and the golden *danjini*; the wedding competition; the gaining of the throne by both father and son; the redeeming of the betrothed) in the form of the *suy-belek* (the gift for the future bride) bring the Tale nearer to heroic narrative.

Of particular interest is the technique of repetition such as “(He) began to draw his bow from the morning and went on until night; at night he drew it and went on until morning”.<sup>12</sup>

The subject of *Xayindiriy may Bayay-ōl* does not have any check in the Aarne-Thompson (1961) Répertoire.

<sup>11</sup> Hamayon (1978). Cf. Marazzi (1986).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Marazzi (1986).

## XAYİNDİRİŃMAY BAĞAY - ÖL

Before the previous time, at the beginning of the good time, prior to the past,<sup>1</sup> when the teacher-*buryan*<sup>2</sup> was preaching,<sup>3</sup> there was an old man, Öledey<sup>4</sup>, and an old woman, Saraŋda Saraday.<sup>5</sup> They had a young son of eight, Xayindirirŋmay Bağay-ol.<sup>6</sup> Near to the old man and the old woman lived Bulutay Äge Xān<sup>7</sup> with the horse Buğa Qara and the formidable<sup>8</sup> taut bow. The xān Bulutay Äge had neither an older brother born before him, nor a younger brother born after him, nor children born from him: such was the xān.

This xān did not know whether the old man, Öledey in the sedge, and the old woman, Saraday from the *saraŋ*, were in his census. The xān was 108<sup>9</sup> years old, his consort was 100 years old. One day his consort says to her esteemed<sup>10</sup> xān: “Come now, xān, a man must think like a man: so, you do not have an older brother born before you, nor have you a younger brother born

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<sup>1</sup> *Ärtenginiŋ ärtezinde äki ŧayniŋ äktinde, burunyunuŋ murnunda*. South-Siberian Turkic area still lacks a survey on introductory formulae similar to that of Laude-Cirtautas on the Mongolian and Central-Asian Turkic area; cf. above (p. 22, text 23 n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> *Baŧqı* “Who precedes”. *Buryan* “Buddha, divinity” < Mon. *burqan* “Buddha” (old Uyghur loan word *burxān* < Chin. \**biuet* [f] + *qan*).

<sup>3</sup> *Nomnap turar; nomna-* “to preach” < Mon. *nom* “law, doctrine” (old Uyghur loan word *nom* < Sog. *nwm* “idem” < νομος ! > (> Modern Hebrew *nīmūs*: Marazzi 1981).

<sup>4</sup> “Öledey (colour of) carice”. The first name may originate from *öle* “grey (said of the horse’s coat)”.

<sup>5</sup> “Saraday (colour of) *sarana*”. The first name may originate from *sara* “tawny” (said of the horse’s coat); *sarana* is the edible bush *litium martagon*.

<sup>6</sup> “Bad son whose blood is boiling”.

<sup>7</sup> “Completely (*äge*) Cloudy (*bulutay*) Lord (*xān*)”.

<sup>8</sup> “Formidable”, one of the numerous meanings of *qara* (see *e.g.* in this same text pp. 74, etc., henceforth indicated in brackets): Pritsak (1955); Laude-Cirtautas (1961); Gabyševa (2003: 104-148). The preceding name of the horse Buğa Qara has the same meaning: “Formidable (*qara*) bull (*buğa*)”. Cf. Marazzi (1986: 39; 2000: 180). See also Tybykova (2007: 220-21).

<sup>9</sup> Sacred number of Lamaism, and more generally of the Buddhism. The bStan-’gyur consists of this number of tomes, as does the rosary of this number of beads and the monasteries of this number of columns.

<sup>10</sup> My translation of *avıŋay* (~ *avayay*) < Mon. *abuyai* “Lord; reverend” (missing in Rassadin 1980).

after you, nor have we any children-offspring in the *āl*-camp,<sup>11</sup> when we die, our cattle outdoors will become a prey<sup>12</sup> to the wolves<sup>13</sup> and they will be inherited by weak men. We must find a solution” – she says. “Come then, since you know aims and boundaries,<sup>14</sup> you must say what is to be done” – thus speaks the *xān*. “So – they say – there is a bird called *bödāne*,<sup>15</sup> rare in any part of the world – they say. Those who eat its meat, it is said, reduce their age: those who are 108 years old, will be 18; those who are 100 years old, will be 16. If we can find it, here is our solution” – said the consort.

Having heard this, the lord *xān* summoned his nine<sup>16</sup> *mādir*,<sup>17</sup> he had his two messengers<sup>18</sup> prepare themselves for the journey, he mounted his horse Buya Qara, he tied his dreadful taut bow to his back; and, accompanied by eleven warriors, the *xān* set forth. He crossed sixty mountain passes, he forded seventy rivers,<sup>19</sup> but he could not find the *bödāne* bird. For sixty and seventy years he continued his hunt, he followed (its) tracks: his horses, that had (never) grown thin, grew thin; his horses, that had never grown tired, grew tired.<sup>20</sup> The *xān* Bulutay Äge commanded his warrior subjects.<sup>21</sup> “Even if it were a creature of the other (world), we would have found (it) by now. Let’s return to our *āl*!”

As they were going to the *āl*, a mountain forest appeared. They searched the mountain forest: there they found the *bödāne* bird. They crossed sixty mountain passes, they forded seventy rivers chasing (it); they caught (it) and killed (it). When they were at one month’s (walking) distance from the *āl*, the

<sup>11</sup> *Āl-oran*, where *āl* is the common South-Siberian Turkic word for “village” (cf. Marazzi 1986: 49; 2000: 4) and *oran* (O.T. *orum*) is “place, seat, camp”; lexical hendiadys frequent in the Tuvan epics.

<sup>12</sup> *Doy bolur*, lit. “Be there banquet” (on *doy* ~*toy* in the other Turkic languages cf. Marazzi 1986: 38).

<sup>13</sup> In the text “wolf” (*börü*) is represented with the lexical hendiadys *it-quš* lit. “dog-bird”: a linguistic expedient which can be traced to the taboo associated with the name of the wolf. Cf. Zelenin (1929-30: 162-67) and Vajnshtejn (1972: 206).

<sup>14</sup> *Užu-qädī*, that is all, the essence.

<sup>15</sup> The lengthening of the central vowel is probably in order to distinguish the name of this fantastic bird from that of the “quail” *bödāne*.

<sup>16</sup> Sacred number of Siberian Shamanism: Roux (1965).

<sup>17</sup> “Hero” (in Altay is *batır*), < Mon. *bayatur*: Sevortjan *et al.* (1974-2000) I, 82-85 and Doerfer (1963-1975: II, 366 ff.). For a discussion on its origin, Mongolian or Iranian, cf. Marazzi (1986: 29).

<sup>18</sup> My translation of *xa* (through Mongolian), < Chin. *xia* “below; inferior (in the sense “officer”).

<sup>19</sup> Sixty and seventy are mere hyperbolic numbers.

<sup>20</sup> Analogous formulae in Altay and Xaqas epics.

<sup>21</sup> *Albatī* < Mon. *albatu* (missing in Rassadin 1980), lit. “taxpayer”.



lord xān gave his two messengers an order:<sup>22</sup> “In the hay and weed cabin of the old man, Öledey in the sedge, and the old woman, Saraday from the *saraŋ*, roast this *bödāne* bird, so that no impurity be left inside it, so that not a single hair be left outside it, so that no ichor be left between the bones, and bring (it) here!” – he said -. “If you do not do this, I shall send (you) to the place where one disappears, I shall send (you) to the place of exile,<sup>23</sup> I shall make you ride thin jades, I shall make you eat lean meat, I shall gouge out your light coloured eyes and I shall leave you (there)!” – he said.

The two messengers, after giving their word and vowing to settle everything within three days, and after licking the barrel of their guns,<sup>24</sup> set forth. Once they reached the shabby cabin of the old man, Öledey in the sedge, and the old woman, Saraday from the *saraŋ*, with difficulty they lifted the *bödāne* bird, they went into the dwelling-place: on a four-legged *šire*<sup>25</sup> an eight-year-old boy in his suit of armour was seated in the *dör*,<sup>26</sup> wearing his golden *ovaday*<sup>27</sup> head-gear; from the top of his head (the splendour) of Očur Mānay<sup>28</sup> emanated, from his forehead (the splendour) of the *buryan* Maya Xalā<sup>29</sup> emanated. Seeing the child, the two envoys fell face downwards, they took earth in their mouths, they collapsed to the ground, they took ashes in their mouths.<sup>30</sup> The child jumped up: “Do the xān’s messengers behave like this when they see a common person?<sup>31</sup>” – he said. He made them stand up wiping the earth from their foreheads with his hand, clearing the earth from their eyes with his tongue.

From morning until night the two messengers admired Xayindirijmay Bayay-öl’s great beauty, from night until morning they went on admiring (it);

<sup>22</sup> *Čarliq dužāl*: lexical hendiadys is often used in the Tuvan Tale literature and Epics in order to reinforcing the concept being expressed.

<sup>23</sup> *Šölüge* (~*šölülge*: Tenišev 1968: 580).

<sup>24</sup> To confirm the pledge. A widespread custom throughout the Central-Asian and South-Siberian areas.

<sup>25</sup> < Mon *sirege(n)* (missing in Rassadin 1980; see however Räsänen 1969: 448). Low table, on which buddhist images were placed or refreshments for guests, but also “throne”; usually red in colour.

<sup>26</sup> The place of honour in the middle of the yurt before the hearth on the opposite side of the entrance; cf. Marazzi (1986: 44) and Starostin *et al.* (2003).

<sup>27</sup> Coneshaped head-covering typical of lamaist clergy.

<sup>28</sup> < Mon. Očirvani, a rendition of Vajrapāṇi (“The possessor of the *vajra*”): in the Hinduism one of the names of Indra; in the Mahāyāna Buddhism it is a *yakṣa* identified with Indra, later becoming a Bodhisattva.

<sup>29</sup> < Mon. Maxakala, a rendition of Mahākāla (“The great time”): in the Hinduism one of the forms of Śiva as destroyer; in the Mahāyāna Buddhism it is a *dharmapāla* (“Protector of the Law”), disciple of Mahādeva and protector of the monasteries.

<sup>30</sup> So they remained silent.

<sup>31</sup> *Qaračal kiži*: used only in Tale literature and epics. Cf. O. T. *qara bodun*.

they forgot about the *bödāne* bird that they had placed on the fire: for three nights and three days on end they remained thus seated.

“Messengers, what are you looking at in admiration? If there is something, speak up, or go out and leave. I have to cook my *qilbis*,<sup>32</sup> I have to quench my parents’ thirst; I have to cook my bark, I have to satisfy my parents’ hunger!” – he says.

Meanwhile it came to pass that the *bödāne* bird, that the two messengers had placed on the fire, had turned into ashes, while its bones had burnt. The two guests went out and came back in a hurry, arguing loudly or whispering secretly to each other: “the *xān* Bulutay Äge will kill us anyway: where can we find a gnarled tree, or a sharp knife?” – they said. “What has alarmed you like this?” – asked Xayındırınmay Bayay-öl. “We are in trouble, dear little brother! Give (us) some advice, a solution: the meat has burnt, the fat has melted, the bones have burnt, and the ashes have spread from the *bödāne* bird that the lord *xān* had commanded us to fetch, after roasting it for three days so that there would be no impurities left inside it, no hair would be left outside it and no ichor would be left between the bones. But we did not take our eyes off your beauty, and now we have to take leave of you with our hands in our sleeves and our heads in our head-gears!<sup>33</sup>” – they said.

When they said: “He who eats the meat of the *bödāne* bird will turn young if he is a venerable old man, will have children if he has no children” – then Xayındırınmay Bayay-öl with blessed raisins<sup>34</sup> and a lot of *borzaq*<sup>35</sup> brought the *bödāne* bird to life again which, if a blind man eats it he will see, if a man with no children (eats it) he will have children, if a lame man (eats it) he will walk, if an old man (eats it) he will turn young. This very bird he entrusted to the two messengers, thus he commanded them: “If you relate: ‘we have seen he who is called Xayındırınmay Bayay-öl in the cabin of the old man, Saraday from the *sarañ* and the old woman, Öledey in the sedge, and look what happened to us’, I will hold you responsible for it, and I will inflict a punishment on you worse than that of the *xān* Bulutay Äge’s. Go to the *xān*, say (to him): ‘Taste the most tender part and offer (him) the entrails, the heart, the lungs, and the kidney first, and only later give (him) the real meat<sup>36</sup>’ – thus he said.

Once they reached the *xān*’s residence, on the skin of the haversack, sewn together using the skin of ninety oxen, they displayed the meat of the *bödāne* bird, just as Xayındırınmay Bayay-öl had commanded. “Taste the most tender part” – they said, as they offered the entrails, the heart and the lungs, and only

<sup>32</sup> *Bergema crassifolia britsch*, grass with thick blades attached to roots found in the mountain tayga of Altay, Sayan and the region around Lake Bajkal.

<sup>33</sup> Empty handed.

<sup>34</sup> *Ayıs* (~ *ayas* “clear; blessed”) *üzüm*.

<sup>35</sup> Biscuits made from pieces of dough fried in butter.

<sup>36</sup> *Qoñ ä’t*, is boneless meat (Tenišev 1968: 251).

afterwards they showed (him) the real meat. The xān Bulutay Äge, after eating some, unable to resist such a delicacy, bit off and swallowed his own thumb, while his consort bit off and swallowed the joint of her own little finger, and they became rejuvenated. The lord xān became an eighteen year old boy with his thumb shortened, his consort herself became a sixteen year old girl; the blind among their subjects regained the sight; the lame walked again; the childless had children; the cattle, source of sustenance, increased. The birds and the worms throughout the whole world ate and rejoiced saying: “Happy us!”; the slaves’ ears were covered with fat; the *qulbuḡur*<sup>37</sup> dogs’ tails became shorter due to the fat.

It occurred though that the xān Bulutay Äge continued to be childless as before. For ninety days nobody could eat anything: those who owned a yurt, concealed (the meat) in their yurts; those who did not own a yurt, concealed (it) among the rocks and in caves. The xān Bulutay Äge then summoned his nine *mādir* in order to find again the *bödāne* bird; then he set forth taking his two messengers with him. Ninety nights he spent walking, for sixty days he crossed mountain passes.<sup>38</sup> Crossing sixty mountain passes, fording seventy rivers, he looked for and found the *bödāne* bird: for sixty and seventy days he hunted (it), chasing (it) until he caught (it) and killed (it).

After going as far as one year’s (walking) distance from his *āl*, located in the north, he entrusted the *bödāne* bird to his two messengers commanding: “Bring it (back to me) after roasting it so that no impurity be left inside it, so that no hairs be left outside it and no ichor be left between the bones” – thus he commanded. “If within one day you do not carry out (this order) and you do not bring (it back to me), I shall chain you up by your hands and feet with solid iron” – he said dismissing (them).

While approaching the dwelling place of the old man, Öledey in the sedge, and the old woman, Saraday from the *saraḡ*, the two messengers walked and talked to each other: “Xayındirriḡmay Baḡay-ōl has certainly become more handsome than before; come on, let’s go in and while one of us looks (at him) in admiration, the other will roast the *bödāne*; then, while the other roasts it, the first one will look”.

So they went. By the dwelling place they dismounted their horses and tied (them) up, then they entered the old man and the old woman’s dwelling place. On a red four-legged *šire* in the *dör* Xayındirriḡmay Baḡay-ōl was seated, more handsome than before, in his suit of armour, with the golden *ovaday* head-gear.

The two messengers, nudged each other, as they had agreed, while one roasts the other looks; then, while the other roasts the first looks. For three nights and three days, they roast (it) completely, so that no impurity was left inside, so that no hairs were left outside it and no ichor was left between the

<sup>37</sup> ~ *quluḡur*: cf. Marazzi (1986: 45).

<sup>38</sup> Hyperbolic numbers.

bones. Xayındırınmay Bayay-öl then looked at the meat and with his magic powers<sup>39</sup> he transformed<sup>40</sup> (it), and he made (it) so that if a young person would eat (it) he would turn old, if one who sees would eat (it) he would turn blind, and he who walks on his own legs would turn lame.

The two messengers appeared obsequiously at the xān's residence, they laid (the meat) on the skin of the haversack sewn together with the skins of ninety oxen, but (the meat) would not fit for instance inside the skin of (an ox) leg. The consort said: "Well, I shall taste the most tender morsel!", and the xān says: "Well, I want to taste the entrails, the heart and the lungs!". But, after crying out: "Uh! Our liver!", they fell face downwards, and then, after eating the meat itself, they fell face upwards.

The xān Bulutay Äge summoned the highest and the lowest of the *čizans*<sup>41</sup> and (ordered them) to chain up the two messengers in solid iron, to torture (them) with nine torments,<sup>42</sup> to make them disclose where and what they had done with the *bödäne* bird. "Whilst - in order to roast the *bödäne* bird, which we caught for the first time, so that no impurity were to be left inside it and so that no hairs were to be left outside it - we went inside the dwelling place of the old people, Öledey in the sedge and Saraday from the *saraŋ*, on the four-legged *šire* in the *dör* was seated the eight year old boy in his suit of armour, wearing his golden *ovaday* head-gear: from the top of his head Očur Mānay was coming out, from his forehead Maya Xalā *buryan* was coming out. As we were admiring his beauty, the meat of our *bödäne* bird, that we had placed on the fire, got burnt, the fat melted, the bones burnt, they scattered in ashes. As we were worried and dejected, he who is called Xayındırınmay Bayay-öl mixed the blessed raisins and a lot of *borzaq* with an infusion of medicinal herbs,<sup>43</sup> he drew a figure of the *bödäne* bird and said: "If you tell that you saw me, I shall inflict a terrible punishment on you, worse than your xān's punishments!"

Having heard this, the xān Bulutay Äge sent the two messengers to fetch Xayındırınmay Bayay-öl. The two messengers reached Xayındırınmay Bayay-öl: "The xān Bulutay Äge summons (you)" – they said. "Father, the lord xān has summoned me" – he says to his father. "When the xān calls, a common man does not remain seated, my son" – says the old man. Then Xayındırınmay

<sup>39</sup> *Ilbi-šide*, where *ilbi* means "trick, magic" and can be traced to the lexical sphere of *albasti* (Marazzi 1987).

<sup>40</sup> "To transform" is *xüldur-* (facticiv form of *xul-* verbal lexeme of Mongolian origin (*qubil-* "to change; to incarnate"); Rassadin (1980: 21, 28). Cf. Marazzi (1986: 43).

<sup>41</sup> < Mon. *Qayisang* (< Chin. *daixiang*); Rassadin 1980: 31). For the historical aspects: Potapov (1953: 117).

<sup>42</sup> Technique of execution of a death sentence in Tuva: Potapov (1953: 81).

<sup>43</sup> *Äm-taŋ*; cf. Marazzi (1986: 110; 2000: 47).

Bayay-öl changed, he turned into a child with a yellow *xevenek*,<sup>44</sup> with yellow<sup>45</sup> felt boots, then he set forth towards the residence of the xān: leaning sideways he forded rivers, advancing with ample strides he crossed mountain passes.

He went inside the white circular residence of the xān, such that ninety horses cannot circle it,<sup>46</sup> he paid his respects (to him), he greeted (him) according to custom: while bowing deeply, his big bones almost broke; while bowing very slowly, his thin bones gradually bent. The xān Bulutay Äge had the dark yellow goat skin, with which the commoners are received,<sup>47</sup> laid down: “You, give me back you four-legged red *šire*,<sup>48</sup> your suit of armour, your golden *ovaday* head-gear: all these things are not suited to a commoner, they are suited to a xān, instead” – thus he commanded. “As for your reward, somehow I shall recompense (you), my son” - says the xān. “My xān, I am not old, I have not lived long enough to wear a foreign suit; I cannot return what you are asking for” – thus spoke Xayındırıñmay Bayay-öl. “If you do not carry out my order, you will be separated from your young life and your old parents, *quluγur!*<sup>49</sup>!” – says the xān. But Xayındırıñmay Bayay-öl, without paying attention to what the xān says, with a radiant smile on his face did not yield to the xān.

When the two dignitaries, the higher and the lower *čizan*, were asked: “Is it true that the two messengers sent by the xān, due to the fact that they were struck by your beauty, let the *bödäne* bird burn so that it became ashes?” – with no hesitation he thus replied: “The two messengers sent by the xān Bulutay Äge, on the prey they carried with great difficulty for three days, they blew for a long time, and after roasting (it), they left. I am such that there is nothing in me that should cause wonder among the xān’s subjects: my suit and my shoes I have been wearing since my mother gave birth to me”.

The xān Bulutay Äge lost his temper: “If you do not return your four-legged red *šire*, your suit of armour and your golden *ovaday* head-gear, I shall deprive your parents of their life!”<sup>50</sup> – thus he grew enraged and threatened. And Xayındırıñmay Bayay-öl thought: “It is very unpleasant to return the suit one has been wearing since childhood; but if I do not return (it), it will be awful for the life of the parents who have raised (me)”. “Take what you must take, eat what you must eat!” – having said this, he went out and left.

<sup>44</sup> A short felt cape.

<sup>45</sup> Yellow is the colour of transformation: Marazzi (1986: 51).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. analogous expressions in the Altay epic: Marazzi (1986: 106).

<sup>47</sup> In the yurt usually people sit on tanned hides or felt carpets; important guests are seated on several fine carpets placed one on top of another.

<sup>48</sup> In this case it means throne.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. n. 37.

<sup>50</sup> “Life” translates Tuvan *ami tini* < Mon. *ami(n)* “life” (Rassadin 1980: 63), *tin* (O.T. and Common Turkic) “living spirit, soul”. Cf. Baskakov (1973).

Once he was back in the *āl*, his suit of armour, his golden *ovaday* head-gear, his four-legged *šire*, his black-soled shoes<sup>51</sup> had been taken and carried away. And from that moment everything began to go wrong for Xayīn-dīrīṅmay Bayay-ōl and his old parents. The thing was that the suit he wore contained all his magic power and his good luck.

And the tea they drank in the morning was plain (*qara*) grass, the tea they drank at night was the bark of trees. The xān Bulutay Äge gathered his people and organized a great celebration. “What are the robes your xān is wearing like, what is he himself like? He who says “bad”; I shall behead; he who says “good” I shall plentifully<sup>52</sup> reward!” – thus was his command. During the sixty days of two months, during the ninety days of three months nobody dared utter “*xīq*”,<sup>53</sup> nobody turned their eyes toward the xān even for an instant.

Finally a very decrepit old man arrived: his hair was grey, his pupils dark, his legs eaten by podagra, his hands eaten by corns from his stick, his chest was eaten by chronic disease, his liver eaten by chronic disease, his beard<sup>54</sup> reached his belt, his moustache<sup>55</sup> enveloped his chin. “If I say “bad” I will also be beheaded, and it is too late for me to feel sorry; if I say “good ones” and I will also be plentifully rewarded, by it is too late for me to profit by this. I am old and my days are numbered,<sup>56</sup> I now lean on my spade<sup>57</sup>” – he said to the xān. “The four-legged red *šire*, the suit of armour, the golden *ovaday* head-gear, are not suited to the xān, instead they are suited to the common man” – he said. “What suits you is Došqun Sarīy Xān’s<sup>58</sup> awful nine-legged yellow throne which is in the nine skies; it is carved and made with four kinds of sandalwood:<sup>59</sup> plain sandalwood, aloes-wood, true sandalwood, white fir sandalwood” – he said.

The xān in return: “Which of my nine-tongued<sup>60</sup> subjects will seize it? Could it be me, xān Bulutay Äge, on my horse Buḡa Qara?” – thus he says.

<sup>51</sup> *Qara ulupču idīn*: *idik* are a form of footwear similar to boots also called *qadiḡ idik* “*idik* tough”, with a tough sole of thick leather usually sewn to two or three layers of felt sole (*ulupču* “sole” <Mon. *ulabči*). This kind of footwear was worn by the well-to-do, in comparison to the *čimčaḡ idik* “soft *idik*”, with a sole of soft leather worn by the common folk.

<sup>52</sup> My translation of the expression *äktin ažiḡ*, lit. “over the shoulders”.

<sup>53</sup> Onomatopoeia.

<sup>54</sup> *Čāyīniḡ salī*, lit. “the down on the cheeks”.

<sup>55</sup> *Ärin salī*, lit. “the down on the lips”.

<sup>56</sup> *Xünüm manān*, lit. “I wait for my day”.

<sup>57</sup> “Spade” (*xūrek*) instead of our “stick”!

<sup>58</sup> “Terrible Yellow Xān”. “Yellow” (*sariḡ*) meaning “golden”, “terrible” (*došqun*) meaning “so bright as to blind”.

<sup>59</sup> The sandal (*sandan*) is a kind of wood particularly dear to the Buddhist tradition, Indian as well Lamaist. In Tuvan tradition it designates the clanic tree too.

<sup>60</sup> Nine is here an hyperbolic number.

Then the old man: “Not one, of your nine-tongued subjects can go that far; not even you, no matter how hard you think, nor how hard you dream, will go (that far). Then who will be able? He who is called Xayındırırımay Baγay-ōl, (son) of the old man, Öledey from the sedge, and the old woman, Saraday from the *saray*, will be able to do it” – he said. “If I get the awful four-legged yellow throne, I shall cover (you) with a suit of cotton armour,<sup>61</sup> I shall feed (you) with the fat of an albino lamb’s tail,<sup>62</sup> I shall make you live in a nine storey house with windows” – he said and commanded. The xān Bulutay Äge sent the two messengers for Xayındırırımay Baγay-ōl, he put the suit of armour in the white crate,<sup>63</sup> he placed the red four-legged square *šire* which had four *daspıñ*<sup>64</sup> among the *burγans*.<sup>65</sup>

When Xayındırırımay Baγay-ōl himself was reduced to poverty, and his parents had grown extremely old, the two messengers arrived; they said: “the lord xān calls for you”. “Can anyone disobey the xān’s command? Go ahead, son!” – so said the old father.

So Baγay-ōl reached the xān Bulutay Äge’s residence, he respectfully paid homage (to him), he greeted (him) according to the custom. The xān Bulutay Äge: “If you fetch me Došqun Sarıγ Xān’s awful four-legged yellow throne which is in the nine skies, you will win your red four-legged *šire* with four *daspıñ*, plus your golden *ovaday* head-gear and your suit of armour. If you do not have a horse to ride, ride my horse Buγa Qara, and take my well taut black bow!” – so saying he commanded.

And Xayındırırımay Baγay-ōl went back to the *āl*, deeply grieving, and he speaks to his father: “I am so very tired”, and he lay down pretending to be asleep. The father says to the mother: “Why does this xān send our young son – whose calf tendons have not strengthened yet, whose head is still covered with down – to Došqun Sarıγ Xān, who is in the nine (skies), to ask for my throne which was taken away when I was young?”. After sleeping all night, the next day the son woke up: “draught horses, food to sustain you, clothes and footwear, son, what will they give (you)?” – asked the old father. “The xān said ‘ride my horse Buγa Qara, take my well taut black bow, don the suit that I wear when travelling; moreover, son, I order to prepare provisions for ninety days’ – thus speaks Xayındırırımay Baγay-ōl.

Then the old man: “Someone else’s footwear is a burden to the legs, riding someone else’s horse is a burden, my son. I once experienced (this): on the high course of this river which mighty (*qara*) flows there is a dark massif,

<sup>61</sup> Cuirass is internally covered with several layers of hide, cotton or wool.

<sup>62</sup> As particularly savoured.

<sup>63</sup> *Aptara* < Mon. *abdar-a* (Rassadin 1980: 63).

<sup>64</sup> Axis on which lamas laid ritual images during the rite of offering to the deities.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. n. 2.

right at the center of it, is a square red mountain; there is a red cave with the opposite entrance<sup>66</sup> facing north, the entrance is blocked by a square grey stone, big as a four-year-old cow. Inside there all the equipment necessary for a man. It is customary to wear it when one goes to Ārlık,<sup>67</sup> when one goes to war, when one goes to the Lord,<sup>68</sup> from the band that envelops three times a man's thumb, everything is there, my son" –he said commanding.

The child reached the place his father had pointed out to him, with a snap of his little finger he moved the grey stone, (big) as a four-year-old cow. He slipped inside the cave: all the equipment was there, from the band that envelops three times a man's thumb. After taking the silver bridle, turning his eyes to the sky, shaking (it) for three times, he started to shout: "If you are my father's good horse, run to me your master<sup>69</sup>!". Soon the horse Xān Šilgi<sup>70</sup> hastened, hiding with its tail the eye of the moon, hiding with its mane the eye of the sun. He placed the field like saddle-cloth on it, he saddled (it) with a huge<sup>71</sup> black saddle, forty two belly-bands with forty two straps he tied, his father's clothes and footwear he tied fast on himself, out of the black pitcher with white decorations he drank a gulp of golden *aržan*,<sup>72</sup> he mounted his horse ready to leave. Looking at himself: the sphere on his head-gear rests on the top<sup>73</sup> of the sky; looking at his horse: the horse with its ears overtakes the black and white clouds in the sky.

Approaching the *āl* of the xān Bulutay(-Āge), he changed, he became a rather ugly child with a yellow *xevenek*, wearing yellow felt foot-wear, on a young tawny-red lame colt.<sup>74</sup> Obsequiously he went inside to the xān's: "I meant to leave tomorrow, but my parents are venerable old people whose days are numbered, I cook their meals, nourishing food" – he said and went back.

<sup>66</sup> Contrary to the traditional yurt facing south.

<sup>67</sup> When one dies. Ārlık is the master of the underworld (O.T. *Ārklig* "He who exerts his own free will"). Cf. Marazzi (1986: 32; 2000: 33) and in this same contribution, p. 42.

<sup>68</sup> *Ežen*, for its fascinating diffusion throughout the whole of Eurasia refer to Menges (1989) and Uray Köhalmi (1992).

<sup>69</sup> *Ā*, variant of *ežen* (cf. preceding note).

<sup>70</sup> "Tawny red blood": the colour of the coat indicates the celestial, solar nature of the horse, whose distinguishing traits are wisdom, foresight, ability to overcome death (it had also been the horse of our hero's father). The horse represents the hero's double as well as his protector, he understands human language and possesses extraordinary powers. Xān Šilgi (just like Kögüdäy Märgän in Māday Qara with the Altays) is the exact Turkic south-Siberian equivalent of the prodigious horse (*rita-mě'og*) in the Tibetan epic of Gesar, whose model can be seen in the *paramāśva* of the Indian epics tradition (Stein 1959). Regarding the horse in Turkic epic refer to Lipec (1984); cf. Marazzi (1986: 68).

<sup>71</sup> With "huge" I have translated *qayḡay*, lit. "like the Xāngay mountain range".

<sup>72</sup> < Mon. *rasīyan* ~ *arsiyan* (< San. *rasāyana* "elixir vitae"). Cf. Marazzi (1986: 80).

<sup>73</sup> *Xindik* (~ *xin*), which also means "navel".

<sup>74</sup> Meaning Xān Šilgi.



On the northern side of the rocky (mountain) he killed every species of animal, but the white bottom roe deer he let go: “Let them live in their mountain forest” – he said.

Once he returned to his own *äl*, he built a large bone house for his parents, for them he created (the light): Xayındirıymay Bayay-öl pulled a sun (ray) off the sun and carried it away, he pulled a moon (beam) off the moon and carried it away; having dug with his thumb and little finger, he carried pure water that neither freezes nor rots; he prepared for them a heap of fat out of fat, a heap of meat out of meat.

The next day, when it was beginning to grow light and the peaks of the rocky (mountains) were turning yellow, he reached the *äl* of the xān Bulutay Äge. He then turned into a child with yellow felt foot-wear, with a small bow with a string made of fur, on a tawny-red lame colt.

The valiant one crushed and compacted the bodies of a hundred oxen: he uttered a magic formula with an exorcism,<sup>75</sup> they became equal to a single ox body; he crushed and compacted a hundred tea briquettes, he uttered a magic formula with an exorcism, and they became one eighth of a tea briquette.<sup>76</sup> After stocking up enough food, he mounted his tawny-red lame colt, and set forth.

All of a sudden he listens: somebody has called, he looks around: a very decrepit old man arrives, his head turned grey, his moustache enveloping his chin, his beard, which reached his belt, his hands eaten by the corns of his stick, his legs eaten by podagra. “Son, where have you come from, where are you heading for?” – asked the old man. “The xān Bulutay Äge has commanded me to bring back Doşqun Sarıy Xān’s nine-legged dreadful yellow throne with nine *daspıñ* which is in the nine skies, and I am going” – so said the child.

“Hey, hey son, you have hastened ahead of time; child, may you not shatter; young man, may you not melt!”<sup>77</sup> This Doşqun Sarıy Xān is a *čilbiya*<sup>78</sup> enemy, he never grows tired of human flesh, he never fills up his stomach with human blood” – says (the old man). Then when he adds: “Are you talking of the xān Bulutay Äge’s order? This is therefore the throne your father made use of during his better days!”, the child was amazed and thought to himself: “it’s unlikely that my father made use of it...”, he hit the horse but, as soon as he sprang forward, the old man resumed talking: “It is not in vain that one says ‘The old must be honoured, young people learn’. When you ride the three skies, the road, damaged by the *tepse*,<sup>79</sup> the saddle of the short horse because of the tall horse’s stirrup supports, will be beaten black; when you go along it, on both

<sup>75</sup> My translation of *şipşilgege şipşip qadırıp*.

<sup>76</sup> This is Chinese green tea in leaves or blocks.

<sup>77</sup> Meaning “don’t die”.

<sup>78</sup> “Monster, werewolf, cannibal”; word similar to *yilbi* ~ *albasti*: see n. 39.

<sup>79</sup> Leather decorated with embroidery on the saddle.

sides of the road there will be two black stones, big as a three-year-old cow, and on these stones two hungry black crows will caw.<sup>80</sup> If the two black crows caw looking towards the north, kill (them); instead if they caw looking towards the south, keep going after greeting (them) deferentially. Not far away there will be pure (*qara*) spring water which flows seeping through the uneven soil, digging into the hard soil; there you and your horse will rest, will spend the night” – he said commanding. “From the two crows that are seated there get information on which way to go, and also about Doşqun Sarıy Xān’s matters” – he said commanding.

After speaking so, he also said: “Son, may your journey be successful, may the goal for your going be achieved!”. Then, Xayındırınmay Baḡay-ōl whipped (his horse) and started off at full speed; the old man looked at (him): he had become a true man comparable to the sky; (the old man) looked at his horse: it had become a true thoroughbred horse, let 108<sup>81</sup> horses come, here is a true horse! He watched Xayındırınmay Baḡay-ōl again: he had become a man, so much so that his chest was like the thick of the forest and a heap of stones,<sup>82</sup> he has no blood that comes out oozing, he has no vital spirit that leaves sobbing.<sup>83</sup>

Xayındırınmay Baḡay-ōl continued his journey, he attracted the black rainbow in the sky, scuttling about he travelled on it. He galloped out of the third sky: the black dirt road the old man with grey hair had spoken about appeared. He rides along it: on top of two black stones two hungry black crows caw, overpowering each other. “These *quluḡur* are scaring the horse” – he thought, he took his fearsome well taut black bow, he positioned the black sharpened arrow; he was ready to aim when the black crow which was sitting right on the road facing south began to shout: “What is our friend Xayındırınmay Baḡay-ōl – that we greet - doing?”.

Remembering the old man’s words, Xayındırınmay Baḡay-ōl shot his black sharpened arrow into the lower layer of the earth.<sup>84</sup> And then, Xayındırınmay Baḡay-ōl dismounted his horse, he addressed him with respectful words, he paid homage according to the custom, he exchanged greetings in the proper manner. So there the three valiant ones (coming) from the three di-

<sup>80</sup> The two black crows are present in all Turkic South-Siberian epics: see Marazzi (1986: *passim*).

<sup>81</sup> Hyperbolic number.

<sup>82</sup> *Xorum*: see above, p. 6, text 5, n. 1.

<sup>83</sup> *Sistip ünēr xānī-dā čoq, iyliḡ ünēr tīnī-dā čoq*: the hero’s invulnerability can be traced to the fact that he has no blood (*xān*) circulating in his body nor in his soul (*tīn*) that at the moment of death flies away moaning.

<sup>84</sup> The celestial world is depicted as resembling the terrestrial world, so that a few verses later *Altay* meaning tall mountains is mentioned.

rections gathered together. They climbed the Altay,<sup>85</sup> they slaughtered animals of various species, they fed themselves; they went into the water, they caught fish of various species, they fed themselves. For one month they fed themselves appeasing their hunger; under the long *ton*<sup>86</sup> they slept side by side, under the short *ton* they slept with the feet of one next to the head of the other.<sup>87</sup>

Xayındırırñmay Baγay-ōl's horse Xān Šilgi said: "We are already late and time is running out, let's hasten". And Xayındırırñmay Baγay-ōl saddled his horse Xān Šilgi; once he had mounted it, the two black crows said: "What are you doing, are you leaving already, Xayındırırñmay Baγay-ōl? Without first exchanging words, why have you already saddled your horse?". "I (must) go, my old parents live in my *āl*-field, and you, *quluγur*, have held back a man who was going, you have stopped a man who was sitting" – he said.

"So, therefore (you are leaving)? A good friend drinks green tea<sup>88</sup> with us, he eats fat meat, he exchanges words and questions, and only afterwards does he leave – they said. They started to break a sandal-wood tree into splinters, they boiled the green tea, they roasted the fat meat on a grey osier fire so that the smoke began to whirl. Xayındırırñmay Baγay-ōl began to break the sandal-wood tree too, he began to boil the green tea in the cast-iron cauldron.

The two black crows said: "Are you saying that you were told to fetch Došqun Sarıγ Xān's dreadful yellow throne? But, look, Došqun Sarıγ Xān has stolen the throne and taken it away. If you do not believe us, we were your father's close friends, look at our wrists, you can still see your father's finger prints". He looked at the two crows' wrists, it was true: the marks left by his father's hands were like blackish bruises. "In order to look for your father's dreadful yellow throne together we were waiting for you, celebrated hero, searching from a distance with our eyes" – they said.

Xayındırırñmay Baγay-ōl did not even utter a '*xıq*', he did not blink. The two black crows said: "Došqun Sarıγ Xān is an enemy like no other in the world. He is gifted with the magic power to see through the layers of the earth; he owns two horses: they scent the smell of armpits from one day's (walking) distance away, they scent the smell of putrefaction from the distance one (covers) to reach the south; he is gifted with the magic power to disguise himself in 99 different ways; he is as mighty as 108 champions. Which is your magic power, your skill?".

Xayındırırñmay Baγay-ōl says: "Come on, then, look over there and then look over here!". While the two black crows were looking here and there, Xayındırırñmay Baγay-ōl, turned into a thousand grey little birds (which)

<sup>85</sup> Cf. preceding note.

<sup>86</sup> The long garment which is the typical Tuvan mode of dress.

<sup>87</sup> Meaning in close comradeship.

<sup>88</sup> In the text we actually find *sarıγ šay* "yellow tea"!

started to fly with a chirping loudly; the horse Xān Šilgi turned into a thousand sorrel mice and, digging into the soil, (they) began to dart into it.

They said: “You are a true valiant man, you transform yourself, you can become iridescent; how could we say ‘go’, ‘don’t go’? How can your bones not break? You haven’t yet reached full intellect. Neither your bones nor your muscles have strengthened yet”.

“Once I am gone, I am gone; If I am to perish, I shall perish; if instead I have to live, then I shall live. You fooled (me), ‘You can ...’ – you said; but I go on the xān’s command” – Xayīndīrīñmay Baḡay-ōl began to lose his temper.

So they ate the meat, they drank the tea, they exchanged words and advice, gifts, badges and signs. The two crows tore two feathers off and said: “If we have no luck, the two feathers will fade; if we have luck, they will turn even blacker”. Xayīndīrīñmay Baḡay-ōl drew out his steel<sup>89</sup> black arrow out, he thrust (it) into the ground and said: “If I have no luck, the *qazilyan*<sup>90</sup> will become mangy and lose its plumage; if I have luck, it will become brighter every year”.

The xān of the crows’ country of the septentrional side facing north, the xān of the crows’ country of the meridional side facing south, took flight and left. Xayīndīrīñmay Baḡay-ōl, continuing along the black dirt road, left as well.

The xān of the upper world, Došqun Sarīy, says: “Xayīndīrīñmay Baḡay-ōl (son) of the old people, Öledey from the sedge and Saraday in the *sarañ* (who live) in the lower world, has set forth to take the fearsome yellow throne away. Saddle the two dreadful tawny horses, the big one and the small one, and fasten them!”.

The subjects of the esteemed Došqun Sarīy Xān began to busy themselves. A hundred warriors were ordered to protect the xān himself, another one hundred warriors were ordered to protect the two tawny horses, another one hundred warriors were ordered to guard the *āl*-camp from the inside.

Došqun Sarīy Xān, having thought: ‘I cannot allow this vile *quluyur* to climb even higher’, cast downwards three one-year-old camel legs like thunderbolts one after the other. Xayīndīrīñmay Baḡay-ōl, realizing this, while three one-year-old camel legs like thunderbolts were flying down, put the Chinese steele stirrup which was decorated with a lion’s head on his head upside down: the three thunderbolts vanished after striking the stirrup.

While Xayīndīrīñmay Baḡay-ōl was going up to the sixth sky, Došqun Sarīy Xān said: “Three thunderbolts I have cast downwards, but in vain; he has already reached the sixth sky and keeps rising, but now I am going to get

<sup>89</sup> For “steel” the text has *kañ* < Mon. *yang* (Rassadin: 1980: 63) < Chin. *gang*.

<sup>90</sup> Black currents, *ribes atropurpurea*.

rid of you!”. He tore off nine fangs from three dragons,<sup>91</sup> he hid (the sky) with three black clouds, for nine days in a row he cast the three dragons’ nine fangs like thunderbolt on Xayındırırñmay Baḡay-ōl. But Xayındırırñmay Baḡay-ōl kept going, using the golden pompon on his golden *ovaday* head-gear against the thunderbolts. The nine thunderbolts striking the golden pompon dispersed.

Xayındırırñmay Baḡay-ōl went further and further, whipping and lashing hard his horse Xān Šilgi harder and harder. After climbing to the ninth sky, he headed straight towards the north thinking: ‘Where can Došqun Sarıy Xān’s *āl*-field be?’. He continued on and looked carefully, rolling his clear lake-like eyes, yawning and opening his deep hell-like mouth wide. He continued on, his chest like the Kögey,<sup>92</sup> rising and swaying, his kidneys like an high mountain, swerving from the saddle and swaying.

He continued on, looking straight towards the north: the white<sup>93</sup> taiga, which touches the sky, is. Again he whipped and lashed his horse Xān Šilgi; he whipped and ran along the white taiga that touches the sky. Running along the white taiga, he looked straight towards the north; he took out his yellow nephrite pipe, (its tip) like the head of a bull, he filled (it) with yellow Chinese tobacco and started (to smoke), drawing out noisily; he took out his yellow binoculars made of nine parts and looked in the nine directions; he took out his binoculars made of four parts and looked in the four directions.

As he was thus looking, towards the north was a narrow yellow plain further than the eye can see, covered in haze.<sup>94</sup> Right in the middle of this plain were three white taigas. ‘Could these creatures moving around the taiga be insects, but they do not look like insects; even if they are not insects, they crawl in an insect-like way’. – So thinking, Xayındırırñmay Baḡay-ōl could not figure out what they could be; his horse Xān Šilgi asked:<sup>95</sup> “What do you reckon those things crawling like insects are? What do you reckon the three white taigas beyond the taiga are?”. “I do not have the faintest idea, what is it, my horse?” – he asked in reply to his horse.

The horse Xān Šilgi says: “Although you are a valiant man, manly intellect is scarce in you; what you call three white taigas is Došqun Sarıy Xān’s residence, and his two tawny horses, the large one and the small one; what you call something crawling like insects, are Došqun Sarıy Xān’s subjects”.<sup>96</sup> Xayındırırñmay Baḡay-ōl understood: “This is the lord Došqun Sarıy Xān’s *āl*-residence, then!”.

<sup>91</sup> “Dragon” is *ulu*: Marazzi (1997).

<sup>92</sup> Mountain range.

<sup>93</sup> Signifying the great height of the mountain whose peak is always snow-covered.

<sup>94</sup> Analogous image in *Māday Qara*: Marazzi (1986: 51).

<sup>95</sup> The hero’s horse has the power of speech; cf. n. 70.

<sup>96</sup> Analogous image in *Māday Qara*: Marazzi (1986: 82).

The esteemed Doşqun Sarıy Xān says: “The evil spirit of the lower world, Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl, has climbed to the top of the white taiga, and is now looking through his binoculars!”<sup>97</sup>. After gathering his subjects, he, (after calling) his two horses, the younger sixty-year-old one, the older than sixteen-year-old one, he began to descent the white yurt. The subjects began to busy themselves, to run hither and thither, so that the weak ones were trampled upon, and the strong ones were smeared with blood and impurity.

Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl tied four-toothed irons to the hooves of his horse Xān Şilgi, he said (to him): “You will dig down ten toises as far as Doşqun Sarıy Xān’s dwelling place, and you will stay (there)”, and, after turning him into nine thousand sorrel mice, he sent (him) down to the lower world. Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl, after making his horse go downwards, having become a kite, glided into the depth of the sky; having become a sparrow-hawk, he (glided) on the surface of the world. Yet, not finding the way to enter Doşqun Sarıy Xān’s dwelling place, he began to circle and, after turning into a thousand little grey birds, and getting to the foot of the *ödek*,<sup>98</sup> he landed.

Doşqun Sarıy Xān threw the divinatory little bones and said: “Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl has changed his horse Xān Şilgi and has commanded him to dig the soil and go downwards; he himself, after turning into a kite, glided in the blue depths; after turning into a sparrow-hawk, he glided on the surface of the world; after turning into a thousand grey siskins went down the foot of the *ödek*”. He then commanded: “Kill any little bird you see!”.

When the subjects began to hunt the little birds, Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl turned into a yellow blade of grass with seven stems and, lifted by the wind, he reached the threshold of the xān. Doşqun Sarıy Xān says: “The *quluşur* is already here, after turning into a yellow blade of grass-heath with seven stems! Whatever blade of grass-heath you see, burn (it), set fire to (it)!”. And the subjects began to burn the sedge-grass.

Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl then turned into dry horse’s dung, he began to roll among the living beings, he reached his horse Xān Şilgi; meanwhile his horse had already dug down over half of the earth. Starting from there, he turned into seven-year-old dry sheep dung, he rolled to the xān’s residence.

Doşqun Sarıy Xān says: “He has turned into seven-year-old dry sheep dung, he has rolled to the side where one mounts one’s horse and has settled there. Burn, set the sheep dung on fire, starting with the seven-year-old dung down to today’s!”.

<sup>97</sup> For “looking through the binoculars” the text has *turamayla-*, verbal lexeme missing in Tenişev (1968); probably similar to *turnavay* “binocular” of the *Maāday Qara* (Marazzi 1986: 38).

<sup>98</sup> It is the place of the dung heap close to the home, where the domestic animals are kept. The upper world is represented with the familiar characteristics of the Tuvan landscape.

Xayındirıymay Bayay-öl, having learnt this, turned into a sheep tick, he crept into a felt carpet and there he settled. Doşqun Sarıy Xān says: “Xayındirıymay Bayay-öl has turned into a sheep tick and has settled inside the plies of the felt. Burn all the ticks!”.

The subjects began to look for the ticks, to shake the felt carpets, they started to burn all the ticks – the dead ones and the alive ones. Having learnt this, Xayındirıymay Bayay-öl, after turning into a sky<sup>99</sup> tick, crept inside the folds of the saddle-bags. Doşqun Sarıy Xān says: “Xayındirıymay Bayay-öl, after turning into a sky tick, has crept into the packsaddles, he has settled inside them!”.

The subjects began to look for the sky tick. But Xayındirıymay Bayay-öl from there descended to the earth, he turned into a little grey bird, a sparrow, and headed towards his horse. After mounting his horse, he says: “Doşqun Sarıy Xān is a truly powerful being, he owns the 99 magic powers: no matter how I transform myself, he comes to know of it!”.

The horse Xān Şilgi says: “This magic capability of transformation<sup>100</sup> is unprecedented in the world, he is such a being that he knows (everything) across the nine skies. Yet, there is in the world a huge spider, besmirched with blood and impurity; if you turn into this, it is the only thing he won’t be able to identify”.

Just as his horse had commanded (him), Xayındirıymay Bayay-öl then turned into the huge spider; he went to hide under the base of the yurt. Doşqun Sarıy Xān says: “I cannot figure out where he has hidden! Search the best you can, remain vigilant the best you can! I have made use of the 99 magic powers, yet, I could not find (him)!”. The subjects and nine thousand warriors, night after night, began to guard the horses and the residence of Doşqun Sarıy Xān.

Xayındirıymay Bayay-öl climbed up the rope which covers the yurt’s flue, he reached the covering and began to weave snares in the middle of the loom of the upper circle of the yurt. Almost as if they had not slept all their lives, for sixty and seventy years the subjects could not resist sleep and, first Doşqun Sarıy Xān himself, they all fell asleep.

(The spider) joined male subjects together while they were asleep, sticking and glueing, and he plugged their ears and eyes with a magic spell.<sup>101</sup> After making Doşqun Sarıy Xān fall into a mortal sleep, he severed the rope of his dreadful yellow bow, he broke the tip of his black battle arrow, with the blade of his black-and-white sword he struck the black-and-white stone so hard that he made (it) blunt and dulled. The *ton* Doşqun Sarıy Xān had donned,

<sup>99</sup> Meaning which flies in the blue skies, compared with those that crawl on the ground.

<sup>100</sup>“Capable of transformation” translates *xūlyāzīn*, nominal lexeme originating from *xūlyā-*; cf. n. 40.

<sup>101</sup>*Tarbidap*, converb of *tarbidā-*, interesting nominal lexeme originating from *tarma*; cf. Marazzi (1986: 107).

he cut from the shoulders, he cut (it) down to the hems of the sleeves; he tore the soles off his black-soled *idik*. He severed the straps of the belly-band of the saddle used to saddle the fearsome tawny horses and he broke the bridle and the halter; moreover, he tampered with the equipment (necessary) to overcome a powerful (enemy).

Došqun Sarıy Xān could not wake up, he could not look with his eyes, he lay as in a dream. Xayındırınmay Bayay-ōl destroyed the dreadful yellow throne he wanted to get hold of, so that it shattered; he loaded (it) on to his shoulders, giving a kick he opened a hole under the hearth and he hurled himself into the depths.

Došqun Sarıy Xān sprang down, he seized his taut yellow bow, the rope had been torn; he seized his black arrow, the tip had been broken. He seized his black-and-white sword, the blue-and-white blade had been blunted against the rocky stone, it was ruined. He was ready to wear his *idik*, but they had no soles; he was ready to wear his *ton*, but it had no collar or sleeves any more; he was ready to take the saddle and the bridles, but the straps and the underbellies had been severed.

He leaped up, completely naked he mounted his tiny tawny horse, he headed towards where Xayındırınmay Bayay-ōl had hurled himself, he began to track (him). While he was tracking (him), the horse Xān Šilgi was running so fast that the soil hit (by his front legs) was trampled upon (by the hind ones) in the holes that had been formed; and the tiny tawny horse was running trampling over (the earth). And he reached (him); escaping was not possible!

When Došqun Sarıy Xān was already touching Xayındırınmay Bayay-ōl's shoulder-blades with his hand, and the tiny Tawny was grazing Xān Šilgi's calves with his fangs, burning (him) with his breath, Xayındırınmay Bayay-ōl started to whip even harder, and, while Došqun Sarıy Xān was getting closer and closer, he quickly jumped up from the wide valley that had been dug, he tore a rock off the rocky mountain, he barred the valley and hurled himself downwards towards the underworld. The lord Došqun Sarıy Xān leaped on the rock of the rocky mountain, but could only see the tail of Xayındırınmay Bayay-ōl's horse. The lord Došqun Sarıy Xān dashed off in his pursuit.

Proceeding along the third sky, Xayındırınmay Bayay-ōl looked back: it was impossible to escape Došqun Sarıy Xān, he had reached (him)! Xayındırınmay Bayay-ōl started to whistle with the *čat*<sup>102</sup>-whistle, he began to shout with the *čat*-shout, his horse Xān Šilgi began to neigh with the *čat*-neigh, he began to get wet with the *čat*-liquid. After reaching him, Došqun Sarıy Xān wanted to catch him, but (the horse), swerving here and there, not letting him catch him, threw himself down.

<sup>102</sup>Tuvan variant of O.T. *yad* "rain stone"; "magic stone" (Marazzi 1986: 114). In Tuvan Tale such a stone acquires a particular importance.



The (xān) set off in his pursuit throwing himself down, but blue black clouds grew near, from the earth a pungent fog began to thicken, a snowstorm wind began to blow: dreadful bad weather arrived. When abundant snow was falling, the heaps were as big as a wealthy *āl-qo'dan*;<sup>103</sup> when scarce snow was falling, the heaps were as big as a wealthy yurt's *devir*.<sup>104</sup> Doşqun Sarıy Xān for sixty and seventy years was lost and roamed in the violent storm.

Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl somehow or other rode along the nine skies at a gallop, he opened the xān's doors, hurled down his throne, and went back to his old parents. His old parents had lived with neither illness nor pain, they hadn't even eaten half of the food that had been cooked.

Bulutay Äge Xān, for fear of Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl's look and of the trampling of Xān Şilgi's legs, under the *barba*<sup>105</sup> had diarrhea, under the throne he wet himself. He then recovered and went out: Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl was not there. He bade all his subjects gather, he ordered the expert craftsmen<sup>106</sup> to reassemble the throne, but they were not able to. Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl was summoned, and he reassembled (it). After closing the stitching, he fixed (it).

After getting back to his own place, and having said: "Drink up, Xān Şilgi, the pure spring water, grow stout so that your thighs will burst!", he let (the horse) go and lay down in order to sleep a long sleep.

Meanwhile, the revered Doşqun Sarıy Xān, who had strayed and was roaming, really went a long way! His horse's hair had sprouted through his own body, and his own hair had sprouted through his horse; the muscles of his ribs had come out and had enveloped his feet, the muscles of his elbows were torn and had ended up on his wrists; he himself and his horse were near to consumption.

Thus astray he kept roaming, when by blind chance he ended up in the *āl*-field. His subjects, not managing to separate the xān from his horse, began to hit the stubborn mare that had been sterile for nine years, they coated her with fat and, after being separated from his horse, the xān said: "For five centuries<sup>107</sup> I have pursued old Öledey in the sedge for the dreadful yellow throne. Due to it, I almost got separated from my life. Is perhaps my strength enough for Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl now? At last, let him take away what he wants to take away!" - he said.

After the dreadful yellow throne had been made ready for Bulutay Äge Xān, whose horse is Buşa Qara, those from the north said: "The sun-glare fire

<sup>103</sup>The area on which the *āl*, the Tuvan village is built. Cf. n. 11.

<sup>104</sup>The felt covering of the yurt.

<sup>105</sup>A leather sack used for carrying baggage.

<sup>106</sup>In this way I have translated the interesting lexical hendiadys *uran-şever*, the first word of which is the O.T. *uz*.

<sup>107</sup>Hyperbole.

has risen from the south!"; the subjects in the south said: "The sun-glare fire has risen in the north!"

Bulutay Äge Xān, after smoking from the large *bülger*,<sup>108</sup> summoned the people of the huge nests;<sup>109</sup> after smoking from the small *bulger*, he summoned the people of the small nests: he celebrated for over sixty years, for seventy years. During the feasting, they had a good time, some telling stories, some singing, some casting the dice.

And when the throne was ready, (the xān) had a large white felt blanket spread from his yurt's *dör* to his horse's pole on top of which the dreadful yellow nine-legged throne was placed according to his command, he donned the suit-of-armor, he bade his consort Aš Qū<sup>110</sup> to sit next to him, he summoned his subjects: "Look carefully at your lord xān! Of those who will say "good", he whose shoulders are tallest, I shall reward; he who says "bad", I shall behead!" – thus he commanded.

The subjects gathered around the *āl-qo'dan*, circling (it) in six-five rows. Yet, not even one uttered a single "*xīq*", not even one dared glance (at the xān). Finally, the same old man with a white hair, with a white beard, approached, bowed three times and then sat down properly, three toises away (from the xān). The xān says: "I am the xān, Aš Qū is my consort; what are my dreadful yellow throne – on which I am seated - Buya Qara, my horse, and my taut black bow, like? Of those who say "good", he whose shoulders are tallest (I shall reward); he who says "bad", I shall behead".

The old man said: "The objects you use, the dreadful yellow throne, what is to be said?, they are made of bright gold; and the horse Buya Qara is a true horse, the taut black bow is a true bow". He crawled until he was three toises from the xān, he arranged the hem of (his) robes, he went towards his consort and stood up. He said to the xān: "And yet, there is something unbecoming, and I don't know how to say it". The xān says: "If there is something unbecoming about me or my consort, speak up, old man". The old man bowed three times, he says: "Your consort is not suited for a xān: her shoulders are bent, her religious faith is like a slave's, her face is pale". The consort, hearing this, lost her temper. She said: "It is said: 'Those who get lost, find their relatives, I am going back to my relatives!'".

As she was moving to the guests' yurt,<sup>111</sup> the xān said: "Which consort then is suited to me, advice me clearly, grandfather!". "Well, 99 years' (walking) distance away, in the 99th sky is the halo, as bright as the moon, and Ba

<sup>108</sup>Wooden device for distilling spirits.

<sup>109</sup>"Nest" (*uya*) meaning "clan".

<sup>110</sup>"Starving (*aš*) swan (*qū*)".

<sup>111</sup>*Artiq ög*, lit. "Superfluous yurt".

Baya Čingis xān's *daryina*<sup>112</sup> sun. This person is suited to you; but he who wins her and takes her away, is not among your subjects, it is not even you, xān, nor Buya Qara your horse. He who is able to do it in truth is a certain Xayindirijmay Bayay-öl (son) of the old man - Öledey in the sedge - and the old woman - Saraday from the *saraq*." – This he said. "After the consort arrives, I shall (settle) both of you in the nine storey house with windows, I shall make (you) wear the nine suits of armour; I shall feed (you) on an albino lamb's tail fat!"- he gave his word".

For nine days Bulutay Äge Xān did not taste food, he became like an ill person. On the ninth day he summoned his two messengers, he says: "Go and fetch Xayindirijmay Bayay-öl; if he does not agree, tie (him) up, seize (him) and bring (him) here!". After having plucked the sedge, the two envoys went hastily to Xayindirijmay Bayay-öl who – wearing his yellow felt *xevenek* and a pair of yellow felt *idik* on his feet - was boiling a drink for his parents, was preparing the food after taking off the crust.

When questioned by the two messengers he answered: "I look after my old parents, I cannot possibly go to the xān". When his father asked: "My son, what did they say?", he said: "The lord xān has summoned (me)". (His father) says: "When the xān summons, the common man goes". So, Xayindirijmay went to the xān's *āl*, he paid homage in the proper manner, he greeted him in the done way, he was made to sit – as is the custom with common people – on a dark yellow goat skin carpet that the xān had ordered to be unrolled.

He drank in one single gulp and handed back the golden goblet made of porcelain with the curdled milk, that sixty and seventy men had jointly carried and served, that outstretched hands had not yet received, and that eye-lashes had not yet blinked for.

The xān says: "Son, please, fetch (me) the golden *daryina* which shines like the sun and the moon (daughter) of Ba Baya Čingis Xān, (who lives) in the upper world, in the 99th sky, which is 99 years' (walking) distance away". (Xayindirijmay) said: "When the xān gives an order, the common man does not remain seated, I must be going; only, please, grant (me) a nine day delay, since I have to settle my parents affairs". He went back to his own *āl*, he told his father what the xān had said, then, pretending to be asleep, he turned; he lies there and keeps his ears pricked.

The old man speaks: "At the time when I was young, and Ba Baya Xān's golden *daryina* was in the womb, and my own son was in his mother's womb, I offered a wedding present of solid gold like a horse's head and silver like a wolf's head". Hearing this, the young man seized the silver bridles, ran away, called his horse Xān Šilgi. His horse ran up and, what then?, he had grown fat, his belly-band tears apart and his hips are bursting. He spreads the field-like

<sup>112</sup>< San. *ḍakīmī* "Semi-divine creature of Hindu mythology" (through Mongolian),

saddle-cloth (on him), he saddled (him) with a saddle as huge (*qara*) as a mountain pass, he tied the wide black quiver that his father had taken; he then began to run across his black iron taiga that leant on the sky.

He cried ‘*ayt!*’<sup>113</sup> on the northern slope, and, on the southern slope, sixty and seventy wild beasts he killed on the spot; he cried ‘*ayt*’ on the southern slope, and, on the northern slope, sixty and seventy ash-grey mountain rams and black-speckled mountain goats he killed on the spot. After securing two poles on his Xān Šilgi’s hips, he loaded (the animals), from the ears onwards, from the tails backwards.

He reached his *āl*, he made two heaps: with the fat, a heap of fat, with the meat, a heap of meat. With the heap (of bones) he built a nine storey bone house; he broke a lunar (beam) off the moon and hung (it) in the shaded side (of the house); he broke a solar (beam) off the sun and hung (it) in the sunny side. He, Xayīndirīṃmay Baḡay-ōl, after digging (the earth) took the pure (*qara*), cold water that neither freezes nor rots to the hearth, outside the door.

After a period of nine days had passed by, he (mounted) his tawny-red lame colt, he donned his yellow *xevenek*, he went to Bulutay Äge Xān, and, at dawn of the day of the new moon, he mounted his horse and set forth. He goes and listens: someone has called from behind, he looked back. The same old man with the white beard and hair is coming. He asks: “Where are you heading for? Which places are you going to, son?”

(Xayīndirīṃmay) says: “I am going to fetch the golden *danyīna* (daughter) of Ba Baḡa Xān in order to give (her) as a present to Bulutay Äge Xān”. (The old man) says: “It is a long way, your task is perilous. Do not spend the night in the places where the *tar*<sup>114</sup> grass is, do not eat the meat of the white partridge; spend the night where the juniper<sup>115</sup> and the pure (*qara*) spring water are. Along the way, during the night, you will certainly have a dream. Do not forget that dream of yours”. And he took out of his breast some *qurut*<sup>116</sup> as big as a camel’s leg. He also said commanding: “Eat the bigger part, the smaller part you will give to the *danyīna*; these two rings – a gold one, and a silver one – you will take to the golden *danyīna*”.

Dear Xayīndirīṃmay set forth, he performed some songs the way a hundred valiant ones perform them, he sang songs the way a hundred valiant ones perform them. He travelled for 99 years, from the 99 skies he drew the 99 rainbows to himself. The peculiar beat of the amble began to be heard. He rides along the 33rd sky, he takes a look: here is a land with juniper and spring water. He said: “I am tired, I shall rest here; my horse, emaciated, will put on weight”, and (there)

<sup>113</sup>Onomatopoeia.

<sup>114</sup>A kind of plant that grows in the Tuvan land: Radlov (1893-1911: III, 1, 836).

<sup>115</sup>The juniper is a sacred plant in Siberian Shamanism. Cf. Menges (1989: 226-38).

<sup>116</sup>Sour cheese, usual food in South-Siberia: Potapov (1951). Cf. Marazzi (1986 : 81).

he spent the night. He lies down, sleeps; he wakes up, looks: next to his horse a light-tawny horse, very much like Xān Šilgi, is grazing.

He went nearer: a sleeping man exactly like himself lies there. The man who was lying down leaped up, enquired about his health. He says: “My name is Qusqun Qara Xān,<sup>117</sup> from the northern region, I was waiting for you, I was watching and listening”. Xayindirijmay Bayay-öl says: “My name is Xayindirijmay Bayay-öl, I am going on Bulutay Āge Xān’s command to fetch him the golden *danyina* (daughter) of Ba Baya Xān, who dwells in the 99th sky”.

“Not on the xān’s command, but for your own profit you are going. When you were in your mother’s womb, your father gave Ba Baya Xān, silver like a wolf’s head, gold like a horse’s head as a wedding gift. Well now, when you leave here, some smoke will lift up further on. You will get closer: two naked young children will be sitting, you will take them with you. As you go further on, you will find hindrances and obstacles. After avoiding them, you will find two sacks full of eyes, two sacks full of dice, two bare poles. As you go further on, a man called Xūrteŋ Xüler Möge will be sitting heating water in two closed bronze cauldrons. Your strength will be able to overwhelm him. As you go further on, at the nine cross-roads there will be a nine storey house with windows, you will open the door, you will enter: nine-headed Aŋyila Qara Maŋyis<sup>118</sup> will be sleeping in the *dör*. He will wake up and say: ‘Let’s make our horses race!’. You will say: ‘My horse is weary, he has been travelling’ and you will not accept. If he says: ‘Come on, let’s fight!’, you will say: ‘Let’s fight!’. Later on you will know how to overcome hindrances and obstacles”.

Then, dear Xayindirijmay Bayay-öl climbed the Altay,<sup>119</sup> he killed wild beasts of many species, he found and prepared two sacks of eyes, two sacks of dice, two bare poles. He went further on, he climbed the 60th sky. He goes, looks: smoke comes whirling out of a crack in a ravine. He moved closer: some naked children approach at a run saying: “Hullo, Xayindirijmay elder brother of ours!”. Xayindirijmay Bayay-öl tore off his clothes and gave (them) (to them); and, after tearing four hairs from his horse’s tail and four from his sacred<sup>120</sup> mane, he uttered a spell<sup>121</sup> and they turned into horses, just like Xān Šilgi.

He called the elder of his younger brothers Xüler Möge, the younger Šüder Möge. Then the three brothers mounted their horses and climbed the 99th sky at a gallop. Xān Šilgi says: “Put the two younger brothers into the

<sup>117</sup> “Xān Black (*qara*) Crow (*qusqun*)”.

<sup>118</sup>The name Aŋyila in Tuvan mythology indicates a Mongolian demon, in origin the “heretic” Tibetan king gLan-dar-ma (836-842), persecutor of Buddhism in Tibet. He is also present in Altay mythology with the name of Andalbā: Marazzi (1986: 96); Sagalaev (1984: 59-60).

<sup>119</sup>Synonym of “high mountain”.

<sup>120</sup>*Īdiq*: Vajnštejn (1984: 360 ff.).

<sup>121</sup> *Tarbidaptarγa*; cf. n. 101.

*idik*-tobacco pouch”. He placed his two younger brothers into the *idik* and went on. Two hungry black crows came saying: “Let’s gouge out his horse’s eyes, let’s gouge out his own eyes!”. He emptied two sacks of eyes, they stopped to peck at them.

He went on. Two young children approached at a run saying: “I want to play dice with your horse’s ankle bones, you can play with the bones of its own ankles!”. He emptied the two sacks of dice and went on.

Now two fierce (*qara*) *būra*<sup>122</sup> approached at a run saying: “I want to scratch myself on his horse!”, “I want to scratch myself on him!”. He drove the two bare poles into the ground, they stopped to scratch themselves on them.

He went on. On the side of the road smoke rises in a whirl. While Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl passed (next to it), Xülürten Xüreñ Möge took him in his arms together with his horse, he locked (him) in a bronze cauldron and began to blow on the fire. Xān Šilgi smashed the red-hot bronze copper with his hooves and leaped out. Bayay-öl then lifted his golden knut - as big as a bull’s head - to the sky and smashed (it) on Xülürten Xüreñ Möge, crushing six vertebrae of his neck.

He went on. At the nine cross-roads there is a nine storey house with windows which blocks (the road) so that one cannot go round (it). After dismounting his horse, he went nearer: there was an iron bolt. He pulled (it), shouting so loud that the black earth shook and the blue sky swung: the black ninety *pud*<sup>123</sup> door. In no time he flung himself inside; it closed back tearing his back hem off.

Once inside, he moved forward, he looked around: nine-headed Aḡyıla Maḡyıs was sleeping in the *dör*. He watched the shaded side: the three *albışsulbus*<sup>124</sup> consorts are seated. He watched one of them: she adds her breast’s milk to the tea; (he watches) another one: she has turned into a dark dog with red spots<sup>125</sup> and is working a hide. He watched the sunny side: three normal consorts are sitting normally.

As soon as Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl sat down, Aḡyıla Maḡyıs stood up. He began to scold and insult his three consorts: “What man of yours is this, when did he show up, where were you hiding (him)?”. Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl says: “Although the xān’s *aržan*<sup>126</sup> is useless (*qara*), it is worth drinking

<sup>122</sup> “Sireing camel”, in origin “sacrificial animal (horse)”: Marazzi (1984); Starostin *et al.* (2003: 945-46).

<sup>123</sup> An old Russian unit of weight corresponding to kg. 16.38. This word is present in several Turkic languages of Siberia; cf. Marazzi (1986: 74).

<sup>124</sup> “Demons, evil spirits”, in a sense related to the lexical area of *albasti* (see n. 39). Cf. Marazzi (1986: 53).

<sup>125</sup> Referring to Tibetan dogs.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. n. 72; but in this case it simply refers to tea.

(it); although the god's sanctuary<sup>127</sup> is grey,<sup>128</sup> it is not worth going round it.<sup>129</sup> This is why I have come in".

Aḡyıla Maḡyıs questioned (him): "What is your name and nickname,<sup>130</sup> where is your *āl*-camp?". He said: "My name is Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl, I live in the 99th sky, (which one reaches) in 99 months". Aḡyıla Maḡyıs drew closer and said: "Come on, let's organise races for our horses and let's compete in fight and archery!". He said: "My horse is not enough, I am committed to a very long journey, his hooves have worn out and he himself is weary".

When (he) said: "In that case, we shall compare our strength Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl agreed. They then, made arrangements and moved in opposite directions. They donned the *šodaq-šudaq*<sup>131</sup> in preparation for a long fight. His horse Xān Šilgi commanded: "You will tear Aḡyıla Maḡyıs's knot which is right in the middle of his nine jutting out heads completely off". After fighting against Aḡyıla Maḡyıs for three months: ninety days, he tore the knot right in the middle of his nine jutting out heads completely off, he killed (him) exterminating (him). When he disembowelled his stomach, the Ölets and the Dörbets, which began to move upwards, came out of it; the Tuvans from the high mountains came out (of it) and began to grieve.

He scattered his nine heads reduced to small pieces in nine directions, so that neither a bone that a camel could nibble, nor any smell that the fox could lick were left.<sup>132</sup> He said: "May this be inherited by the shamanic clan in the generations to come!", he then mounted his horse, he hastened to the house with windows, he killed exterminating his three *aza-albis*<sup>133</sup> consorts, exterminating them, while he cleared the three normal consorts of the evil scum and let (them) go.

He left: on top of the willow tree sits an eagle, it squawks. As he was saying: "I shall pluck its feathers on the way back, he impaled (it) slaughtering (it) with the steel-tipped arrow, he covered (it) with a flat stone and resumed his galloping.

He goes on: there is a huge white rock that touches the sky. There is neither opening nor passage to go through. While he was thinking: "How will I go through?", his horse said: "Throw the steel tipped arrow!". Having thought: "He is right", he pierced (the rock) from end to end with the steel tipped arrow,

<sup>127</sup> *Boyda* (Mon. "Holy, divine") *örgäzi* (Common South-Siberian Turkic "residence").

<sup>128</sup> *Bora*, meaning "not visible".

<sup>129</sup> The whole expression has a proverbial sense.

<sup>130</sup> For analogous expressions in Altay Epics: Marazzi (1986: *passim*).

<sup>131</sup> Costume worn by wrestlers.

<sup>132</sup> An error of the chanter: he should have said "smell".

<sup>133</sup> One of the many ways in which demons/evil spirits are indicated. Cf. n. 39 and Marazzi (2005: 704).

then he spurred (his horse). In the twinkling of an eye Xān Šilgi went through, he looked back: (the rock) had closed.

He goes on: an iron mountain forest stands out reaching up to the sky. He caught a magpie, he threw (it) downwards; he caught a hare, he threw (it) upwards. Three days later, the hare's ribs were shining, the magpie's feathers were falling; they said: "There is neither opening nor passage to go through". With a white remedy,<sup>134</sup> with a white healing grass he cured the hare and the magpie, and set (them) free. He pierced the iron mountain forest that stood out reaching up to the sky, he went through.

He goes on: he comes to a poisonous yellow sea.<sup>135</sup> When, after lifting a huge (*qara*) stone, as big as a three-year-old cow, he threw (it) into the water, (this) melted, dissolving in the twinkling of an eye. Thinking: "Can I really cross it?", he pulled back the reins of his horse, he went as far as (one can go) in a whole day. His horse speaks: "What, then, Bayay-ōl? Although you are a valiant man, your manly intellect is very scanty: fasten two sacks of sand to the saddle and, when we are in the middle of the yellow sea, tear off (the straps of the saddle) and throw (the sacks) down". He said: "All right", he fastened two sacks of sand to the front straps of the saddle, he reached the poisonous yellow sea. He whipped Xān Šilgi, who took a leap; while flying over the middle of the yellow sea, he threw the two sacks down. Xān Šilgi took a run from them and leaped beyond.

He turned his two younger brothers into their former (appearance), and the three brothers rode at a trot across the steppes, they ran races across the fields. Thus running, they reached Ba Baya Čiŋgis Xān's *āl*-camp. (Bayay) reached the xān's *āl*, he looks: three huge horses are tied to the horses post. He looks at one of them: it is sleek-black; he looks at another one: it is tawny-brown; the last one is a light-tawny horse. They tied their three horses to the post.

Xān Šilgi (says): "A man whose name is Demir Qara Möge will be sitting beneath Ba Baya Xān, you do not exchange greetings with him". The three brothers went inside the residence of the xān, they exchanged greetings with Ba Baya Xān, with the son of the sun Xüreŋ Möge, with the son of the moon Aq Möge.<sup>136</sup> The xān said: "Where is your *āl*-camp? What is your name and nickname? Where are you going to?"

Xayındirīŋmay answered: "I am Xayındirīŋmay Bayay-ōl, I live in a land under the 99 skies which is 99 years away. This is Xüler Möge under me, under him is Šüder Möge". (The xān) says: "It has been nine years since the one-year-old camel cub got lost, and what is there to be seen among many

<sup>134</sup> *Dom-sayān*. Interesting lexical hendiadys, composed of two words both of Mongolian origin.

On *dom* in particular refer to Szalontai-Dmitrieva (1982); Marazzi (1986: 110; 2000: 47).

<sup>135</sup> *Xoran sariy dalay*. Cf. analogous image in the Altay epics: Marazzi (1986: 51).

<sup>136</sup> "White (*aq*) Champion (*möge*)".



white virtues<sup>137</sup>”. (Xayındirıñmay) said: “We go and think: ‘The most grey among the wolves, the most tawny among the foxes, if they were here, we would kill them; if there were races and contests, we would compete in archery and horse racing; although it were faulty and thick, we would look (for it) and catch (it)’”.

The xān says: Here is the most grey among the wolves, and the most tawny among the foxes; nine valiant ones have already gathered from the nine directions, here there will be races and contests, archery and horse racing”. Xayındirıñmay Bayay-öl says: “What is your name and foundation, your name and nickname?”. He says: “My name is Ba Baya Čingis Xān, my father is Xöve Čingis and my mother is Xöve Čingis”. When he questioned the man sitting under him, he answered: “My name is Demir Qara Möge<sup>138</sup> son of the sky, whose horse is iron-black, whose bow is iron-black, whose mother is the black earth, whose father is the blue sky, under me is one whose name is Xüreñ Möge son of the sun, below him is Aldin Möge<sup>139</sup> son of the moon”.

The xān says: “He, who compresses and squeezes the large black cauldron of ninety pud sitting out there, so that water starts gurgling and the dust lifts, and hurls (it) across the *dündük*<sup>140</sup> of the yurt, will have won the first round. Together the ninety mighty (*qara*) *mādir* lifted and carried the ninety pud black pot inside.

Demir Qara Möge lifted (it) up to his armpits, he lowered (it) letting it fall. The son of the Sun Xüler Möge lifted (it) up to his waist, the son of the Moon Aq Möge lifted (it) up to his knee-cap; for some of the others the sun shone, while for others it did not shine.<sup>141</sup> Xayındirıñmay Bayay-öl took (it) on the palm of his left hand, lifted (it), and when he passed (it) bodily to Xüler Möge who was sitting under him, (he) moved (it) on the palm of his right hand and passed (it) to Šüder Möge. Šüder Möge said: “Come on, they have never seen an iron pot!” he squeezed (it) and compressed (it), so that the dust lifted, the water began to run, and then he hurled (it) across the *dündük*.

(The xān) says: “The first round goes to you, but tomorrow ...: out in the pen are two tigers,<sup>142</sup> he who rides them and goes round the world three times, will win the second round”. The three brothers left, they went to the pure (*qara*) spring water, they drove three hearth stones, and began to cook the meal. They had a talk: Šüder Möge, the youngest brother would mount the two

<sup>137</sup>*Buyan* < Mon. (missing in Rassadin: 1980) < San. *puṇya*, meaning animals chosen from the livestock. White (*aq*) meaning blessed, holy.

<sup>138</sup>“Black/powerful (*qara*) Champion (*möge*) of Iron (*demir*)”.

<sup>139</sup>“Golden (*aldin*) Champion (*möge*)”.

<sup>140</sup>An opening in the roof of the yurt to let out smoke. Cf. Marazzi (1984: 602).

<sup>141</sup>Unclear.

<sup>142</sup>*Bars*: the Siberian tiger. Cf. Axmet’janov (1980).

tigers. They said-commanded to Šüder Möge: “You, youngest brother, will see, you will know which men living-beings<sup>143</sup> live in the three directions of this continent”. And the three brothers spent the night lying down one next to the other under the long *ton*, lying with one’s head next to another’s feet under the short *ton*.<sup>144</sup>

The following day, they went to the *xān*’s residence. They arrived, they see: the subjects had gathered, nobody was going near the two tigers, but everybody was running away falling down and getting back up. Šüder Möge approached, he tugged in the four hems, he tugged inside his belt two crossed hems. Then he went in, the tigers, fettered with iron chains, he whom they reach with their jaws, they rend; he whom they reach with their extremities-legs, they tear to pieces. He seized (them) by their ears, he beat (them) with his feet so hard that they begged for mercy; he mounted (one), while hooked the other by the end of its jaws with an iron *degā*<sup>145</sup> and dragged (it) away.

In the twinkle of an eye dear Šüder Möge darted off, three times he went round the Osambulaḡ<sup>146</sup> world and immediately came back. After arriving in a hurry, he made the tigers stoop with their muzzles downwards, he locked (them) up in the pen, then went inside the *xān*’s residence. The *xān* questions (him): “Which many countries have you been to, then? What have you seen? What have you learned?”. Šüder Möge says: “The Osambulaḡ world is absolutely circular”. He also says: “I have reached a continent<sup>147</sup>: the men’s faces are completely square”. He also says: “I have reached another continent: the men’s faces are oblong and they gird on under their waists”. He also says: “I have reached another continent: it is half a continent and the men’s faces are halvened”<sup>148</sup>.

(The *xān*) said: “You speak correctly, but is it true that you rode the tiger?”, and he commanded the two *mādir* to leave. The two *mādir* left and said: “It is the very truth, our *xān*: the two tigers’ ribs shine, their lungs and hearts can be seen, their two black tongues are stuck into the black earth”.

(The *xān*) says: “You have won two contests; tomorrow an arrow that will pierce the timber (placed) on one hundred oxen wagons thus setting (it) on fire, it will go through the pierced shoulder-blades of one hundred foxes, it will pierce the ears of one hundred camels, it will go through one hundred furs of

<sup>143</sup>*Kiži-amitan*: lexical hendiadys consisting of the Turkic *kiži* (O.T. *kiši*) “man” and Mongolian *amitan*, plural of *amitu* “full of vital spirit (*ami-n*)”.

<sup>144</sup>“Short” (*qisqa*) and “long” (*uzun*). A frequent stylistic formula in South-Siberian Turkic epics.

<sup>145</sup>A kind of hook.

<sup>146</sup>< San. *jambudvīpa* “(in the Hindu cosmology) The isle of the Jambu tree, a representation of the structure of universe”, with Mongolian mediation.

<sup>147</sup>*Dip* < San. *dvīpa* (“isle”), with Mongolian mediation.

<sup>148</sup>Distant echoes of the fabulous lands inhabited by monstrous beings have reached as far as Southern Turkic Siberia!

weather, and, when it flies over the saddle-valley of the narrow steppes covered in haze, he who, striving to precede (it), will seize this arrow by the slot and will bring (it) back, will have won the third round”.

The next day they gathered and, just as Ba Baḡa Xān had said, they organized the contest. Somebody’s (arrows) reached the timber (placed) in the one hundred oxen wagon, and somebody else’s (arrows) did not reach (it). Finally, only Demir Qara Mōge and Xayındirirñmay Baḡay-ōl were left.

Demir Qara Mōge began to draw (his bow) from the morning and went on until night, at night he drew (it) and went on until morning. When the sixty dragons on the lower end of his black iron arrow, together with the thirty dragons on the upper end began to growl,<sup>149</sup> Xayındirirñmay Baḡay-ōl, watching intently – there was nobody around – with his iron bow annihilated the impurity-scum of the *albis-šulbus*.

When on the cap of the son of the sky Demir Mōge’s arrow a flame gave off, and blood came out of the tip of his thumb, he let go (of the rope) he released (the arrow): (this) pierced the timber (placed) in the one hundred oxen wagon so that it set (them) on fire; it went through the one hundred foxes’ shoulder-blades, it reached the one hundred furs and stopped.

Xayındirirñmay Baḡay-ōl was getting ready to shoot, he lightly tapped the rope of his dreadful yellow bow so that (it) echoed, he began to draw and (the rope) tinkled; in the morning he began to draw, he drew until night, at night he was drawing, he drew until morning. When the sixty dragons on the lower end of the dreadful yellow bow together with the thirty dragons on the lower end began to growl, a flame gave off on the tip of the arrow, from the tip of his thumb a drop of blood, as big (*qara*) as a bull’s head, fell; he then let go (of the rope) and shot (the arrow) (It) went through the timber placed in the one hundred oxen wagon so that it set (them) on fire, it went through one hundred foxes’ shoulder-blades, it pierced one hundred camels’ ears, it pierced one hundred furs from end to end, and when it flew over the saddle-valley of the narrow steppes covered in haze, his younger brother<sup>150</sup> Šüder Mōge seized it and fetched it in the twinkle of an eye.

Šüder Mōge started to run saying: “The three rounds are ours!”, walking on tall people’s shoulders, walking on short people’s heads. Ba Baḡa Xān says: “Do not rejoice yet, son: neither the rounds nor the contests are over yet. Tomorrow we shall have the horse racing”. Xayındirirñmay’s brothers began to hold back their horses.

<sup>149</sup>Theriomorphic images at the two ends of the bow that snarl at each other under the stress caused by bending the bow.

<sup>150</sup>The relatives of the pretender could also take part in marriage competitions.

The three brothers talked to each other, they conferred and discussed about their magic powers.<sup>151</sup> Šüder Möge says: “In no time I can seize and fetch the arrow which flies to the point of junction between the sky and the earth in the twinkle on an eye”. Xüler Möge was listening to a man who was sleeping by the point of junction between the sky and the earth snoring, and he was striking the black jug with a narrow neck placed at some distance, without missing it.

The following day, at dawn, Šüder Möge was made mount on the horse Xān Šilgi, they reached the eight horses ready for the racing around the xān’s residence. They looked at the eight horses: they were made of paper; they looked at the riders; they were eight old woman-squealers. (Ba Baya Xān) said: “If you see that he doesn’t run, you, my son, don’t hit him on the head; if you see that he doesn’t proceed, you, my younger brother, don’t pull the reins too hard or you will tear the corner of his mouth”.

The eight old woman-squealers jumped on their paper horses and left in a flash. Šüder Möge riding Xān Šilgi started in their pursuit. The old women halted at the point of junction between the sky and the earth and greedily drank water from the jug. When Šüder Möge passed nearby at a gallop, they said: “You must be thirsty, son, and they offered him drinking water in the black jug with a white neck. He drank a gulp out of the jug, he dropped to the ground; (they) shut Šüder Möge’s ear placing (the jug on it),<sup>152</sup> and went away at a run.

Xayındırīṅmay asked Xüler Möge: “What about our younger brother Šüder Möge?”. (He said): “Our younger brother Šüder Möge is sleeping, having drunk the *araya*-poison,<sup>153</sup> he urinates *albīs-šulbus*; his ear is shut by the black jug with a white neck”. Xüler Möge carefully took aim, he shot: the black jug with a white neck turned over. Šüder Möge, hearing this jumped up, he powerfully took hold of the arrow that was flying from behind with a hiss, he mounted his Xān Šilgi, and went on.

Still, no matter how he whipped and lashed his Xān Šilgi, this was running heavily, like a three-year-old bull. Xān Šilgi was moving at a lope, clouds of dust lifted from his hair, sparkles sprayed from his calves, he was snorting the *čat*-snort, he was urinating the *čat*-urine.<sup>154</sup> Blue clouds were getting closer, the calamity-wind began to blow; while an awful hurricane ran inside, the paper horses of the old woman-squealers got entangled on the top of the *xarayan*,<sup>155</sup> and the old women themselves crowded together at the foot of the *xarayan* saying: “Let me climb up with you, sonny, let me climb up with you!”.

<sup>151</sup> *Ilbi-šide*; cf. n. 39.

<sup>152</sup> Integration of the translation necessary to understand the text.

<sup>153</sup> Milk liquor (*araya*) distilled three times is called *xoran* “poison”.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. n. 102.

<sup>155</sup> *Canis melanotus*: particular kind of fox of the steppes.

He said: “You, *quluyur*, made a man drink poison!”, and he killed (them) on the spot, then he left.

While he was going round the *Osambulañ* world for the third time, the muscle (of his horse’s) heart warmed up: it was impossible for a human being to steady on him. Šüder Möge flew over his head: (he) held (him) back with his mane, he moved backwards; (he) held (him) with his tail, he fell on one side. Both his shoulder-blades remained uncovered.

When Xān Šilgi’s breath became fiery, and his snort became fog and rain, when the bat of his hooves became like the rumble of the Quday<sup>156</sup> thunder, the subjects of the xān began to say: “Here comes my horse!”, they were flinging themselves forward, overwhelming one another. Xayındırınmay Bayay-öl said: “But this sounds like the deafening pawing of Xān Šilgi, get the iron *degā* ready!” and he was (ready).

While they were doing this and Xān Šilgi showed up, the two brothers got hold of the reins, they sat propping (piercing) in the black earth up to their waist; cleaving the earth (he) dragged (them) at the distance that the colts do not cover in a race. The brothers said: “Four rounds went to us!”. The xān says: “tomorrow there will be fighting and wrestling”.

The son of the sun Xüler Möge and the son of the moon (Aldin) Möge said: “We are going to our *āl*-field”, they mounted their horses and went back home. The three brothers talk to one another consulting one another. Šüder Möge says: “I, Šüder Möge, will fight with Demir Qara Möge!”. Xayındırınmay Bayay-öl says: “I will fight with Demir Qara Möge, you will fight with the other ones!”.

The following day, at dawn, the best wrestlers of the nine valiant ones from the nine directions began to fight. The son of the Earth Čerzi Möge<sup>157</sup> came forward first. Šüder Möge moved towards him skipping and, not letting the other seize him nor lift him, he crashed (him) on the black soil. After him Xozuray Qara Möge spirit-lord of the *xorum*<sup>158</sup> came forward; (he) too smashed completely Šüder Möge in the twinkle of an eye. “Turn into a *xorum* with ravines, where the generations to come of rodent mice will shatter grass and hay” – thus he said and scattered (him) in the various directions.

When the other six came forward, five wrestlers of no importance, Šüder Möge scattered (them) in six, five directions, too. Finally, the son of the Sun Demir Böge and Xayındırınmay Bayay-öl were left. They said: “We shall challenge in archery and wrestling in this place; we shall measure our manly strength in a desert plain!”, then they mounted their two horses and left.

<sup>156</sup>“God” (< Per. *xwodāy*): Marazzi (1986: 87). Cf. above, p. 22 text 23, n. 4.

<sup>157</sup>“Earthly (*čerzi* in the sense of “lowly”) Champion (*möge*).

<sup>158</sup>Cf. n. 82.

They reached the remote (*qara*) desert plain. Cooling down his heart muscle, the son of the Sky Demir-Böge went to the black iron taiga(-mountain), he placed a square black stone under his feet. Xayındırırñmay Bağay-öl, after climbing to the rocky speckled taiga (-mountain), sat down, the soles of his feet leaning on a white stone similar to a casket.

Demir Qara Möge let out a yell: “Shall we start from me, that I have moved against (you)? Or perhaps shall we start from you, who are proceeding against (me)?”. Xayındırırñmay Bağay-öl answered shouting: “Your evil man’s soul has awakened, go ahead!”.

Then Demir Qara Möge set his iron black bow and began to draw (the rope): he drew in the morning, went on drawing until night; he drew at night, he went on drawing until morning. When he shot, (the arrow), after touching Xayındırırñmay Bağay-öl’s chest, shattered in many pieces. (He) said: “Your sprinter – rotten within and burning without – does not pierce a human body!”, and he hurled (the splinters) to his face.

And now, dear Xayındırırñmay Bağay-öl, aiming, began to draw his fighting black arrow. When the *albis-şulbus*’ tongue flashed on the tip of his arrow and a fire flame blazed up on the tip of his thumb, he let go (of the rope) hurling (the arrow) which went three *ilig*<sup>159</sup> deep inside Demir Qara Möge’s chest. (He) said: “Your arrow does not pierce a human body!”, and threw (it) back.

But now, the two valiant ones put on their *şodaq-sudaq*. If they did not fit the muscles of their thighs, they would force (them) in pressing with an iron cane; if they did not fit the muscles of their forearms, they would force (them) in with a wet cane.

For three days they went three times around the *Osambulañ*-world with fighter leaps.<sup>160</sup> The son of the sky Demir Möge began to play *tevek*<sup>161</sup> with a stone as large as two two-year-old calves. Xayındırırñmay Bağay-öl, after tearing the grey hill Bolçaytı,<sup>162</sup> began to play *tevek* (with it).

Demir Qara Möge watched Xayındırırñmay Bağay-öl intensely: Xayındırırñmay Bağay-öl’s muscles of both thighs looked like two convex mountains. He looked (at him) again: he was made with bronze and steel. He thought whining: “I have really run into somebody it would have been better not to run into, someone it would have been better not to disturb! Now, my young bones will wither here, my young life will be cut short”.

Xayındırırñmay Bağay-öl gave a look: Demir Qara Möge, after turning into a kite, was circling in the sky, after turning into a sparrow-hawk, was cir-

<sup>159</sup>Unit of measurement of the thickness of a finger.

<sup>160</sup>Meaning for a long time, avoiding capture.

<sup>161</sup>Lead ring with a hole in the middle.

<sup>162</sup>The Avestan Bərəzaiti!

cling over the world. The two valiant ones faced each other, they began to fight and neither of them would submit to the other. Suddenly Demir Mōge, flinging himself head-first, tore as much flesh as an elk off Xayındırırımay's fore-arms muscles and threw (it) away. Xayındırırımay, after flinging himself head-first, tore between Demir Qara Mōge's shoulder-blades as much flesh as a bull and threw (it) away.

They fought for over sixty years, and still for seventy years. Demir Qara Mōge warmed up and turned as red (as) blood: when he wants to throw Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl up to the sky with a kick, (this), with the elusiveness of a kite, does not let him seize him; when he wants to throw (him) to the black ground, (this), with the dexterity of a sparrow-hawk, does not let him seize him.

But Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl's shining tendons were narrowing, his young bones began to ache. Xān Šilgi said: "What, he does not bear, like a true man, his muscles to warm up; is he then a worthless man?"; he then kicked so hard that the forty *pud* iron hobbles, like a big needle, stretched; he moved closer, he tore off as much flesh as an elk between Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl's shoulder-blades and threw (it) away.

Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl gained strength out of his whole body's burning sensation; when Xān Šilgi panted a *čat*-pant,<sup>163</sup> when he urinated *čat*-urine, black clouds were approaching in the sky, a violent downpour burst. Demir Mōge, cast iron red, began to crunch howling and hissing. Demir Qara Mōge says: "Not long ago your strong bones complained, your shining tendons shrank. What's happened to you, my friend?". Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl said: "Consider that this can occur when a real man's flesh and blood warm up, my friend!".

Dear Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl lifted the son of the Sky Demir Mōge and made him turn under the vault of heaven, above the branchy trees, over the entangled willows, and smashed (him) on the ground where a *xorum* was. Demir Mōge yelled and cried: "Black mother earth of mine, father blue sky, what's happening to you, where are you? Do I have to return my vital breath to the two-footed *qoŋumay*<sup>164</sup> with a black head from the lower world?!".

Then, his father the blue Sky in the twinkle of an eye cast down three thunderbolts as large as the legs of a small camel. While Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl with a leap was going to a day's (walking) distance in the twinkle of an eye, three thunderbolts fell on Demir Qara Mōge: neither ashes nor dust were left of him.

When Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl approached the man's horse to kill (it), Xān Šilgi said: "Don't kill Demir Qara's horse as well, don't break his steel black bow: take the bridles off with your bow, let's move to the iron black taiga! After mounting his Xān Šilgi, Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl reached Ba Baya

<sup>163</sup>Cf. n. 102.

<sup>164</sup>Unspecified demon.

Xān's *āl*, and, while saying: "Which will be my contest now, xān?", looking over there he cried, looking over here he laughed.

(The xān) says: "You prevailed in all contests, son, so tomorrow I shall let you marry my golden *danyina* - bright like the sun and the moon -, after organizing the banquet", dear son-in-law. Thus, after gathering his subjects, he sent skilled craftsmen,<sup>165</sup> ordering golden furnishings for Xayındırırñmay Bayay-öl and his golden *danyina*'s, white residence, with silver walls and gold and silver upper covers. It resulted a beautiful bright residence, that ninety horses cannot circle, that seventy horses cannot circle at a trot.

They collected a mountain of meat, they poured a see of *araya*; the people from the large nests (gathered) in large nests, the people from the small nests gathered in small nests. They unceasingly feasted with great joyousness for six generation. Among the boys and the girls the father-in-law Ba Baya Xān chose one hundred boys for his son-in-law Xayındırırñmay and said: "Be them (your) property!", he chose one hundred girls and said: "Be them the cooks!"; he also allotted cattle from his own cattle, goods from his own goods.

Xayındırırñmay Bayay-öl feasted for sixty years, he had a good time for seventy years; he did not move from his golden *danyina*, he did not peep out of his white residence,<sup>166</sup> he forgot about his two orphaned younger brothers and his horse Xān Šilgi. Under Xān Šilgi's saddle arch crows and magpies had hatched, the house-wives, after milking the cows, hung buckets and milking pails on the tips of his iliac bones.<sup>167</sup>

Ba Baya Xān and his consort were saying: "How can one send one's only daughter to the underworld?" Looking for a way to kill Xayındırırñmay Bayay-öl, they eventually found it. Ba Baya Xān and his consort, conferring and discussing said: "In the world there are two enraged wild horses, the Sheep-White and the Lamb-White; they will trample on him to death with their hooves".

The following day the xān father-in-law summoned Xayındırırñmay Bayay-öl. He says: "I own two horses: the Sheep-White and the Lamb-White, two *buryan idiq*.<sup>168</sup> Catch them, son, and bring them (here). Since I set (them) free, human eyes have not seen (them), human ears have not heard (them). Catch them son and bring them (here)". Xayındırırñmay agreed saying: "All right, father-in-law".

When he went back to his yurt, his golden *danyina* says: "What did my father say?". He says: "Catch and bring the *buryan idiq* (here), my two horses, the White-Sheep and the White-Lamb' – this is what he said". The golden *danyina* said: "But the two horses, the White-Sheep and the White-Lamb, are

<sup>165</sup>*Daryan*. But for "craftsmen" cf. n. 106.

<sup>166</sup>Meaning did not go out at all.

<sup>167</sup>The gradual starvation of the horse left without food.

<sup>168</sup>Cf. nn. 2 and 120 .



worldly wild beasts, rapacious enemies, those who fell into their jaws get torn into pieces, those who get seized by their legs get trampled upon to death: how will you be able to catch them?”.

Xayındirirñmay Baḡay-ōl says: “Could it be that my father-in-law, the best of men, would send (me) to a mortal place? I shall leave tomorrow”. But as Xayındirirñmay Baḡay-ōl was poised to leave, his golden *daryina* was dissuading (him) in every way, she was stopping (him) in every way; he did not pay attention to his golden *daryina*, mounted his horse, whipped him and left.

For more than sixty years, for more than seventy years he roamed, he strayed. He reaches a place: there are two wells, a golden one and a silver one. He thought: “I shall now water my horse from the golden well, I shall drink myself from the silver well” and he hastily dismounted. He took the bridles off his horse and, as he was taking (him) to the golden well, this began to turn his head and drag (him) away. He says: “Don’t do this! What are you doing it for, Baḡay-ōl? This is the water the two horses will drink, what are you looking for; in three days the horses will come and drink”.

Hearing this, Xayındirirñmay Baḡay-ōl put his Xān Šilgi back in his tobacco pouch-*idik*, and after turning himself into a seven-year-old withered shrub with seven stems, he set to wait. On the third day, right at midday, after sensing his armpits’ smell from one day’s (walking) distance, after sensing the smell of maceration from half a day’s (walking) distance, the two horses arrive running in circle.

Xayındirirñmay Baḡay-ōl then turned into the lord-spirit of the golden and silver wells and began to say shouting: “For sixty and seventy years I did not wither, at the sudden arrival of winter I did not freeze, at the sudden arrival of summer I neither rot nor spoiled; and now that gravel (underneath) shows and the sand begins to whiten, I am becoming completely withered”.

The two horses were approaching at a gallop while thinking: “It really is like this!”. They stuck their heads down to the base of their ears into the water in the well and began to drink. He then, uttering the spell, pronounced the magic formula in a whisper: “May the Ārlik’s ninety toises long golden noose wrap up their necks with six tendons!”, cast his noose.

Xayındirirñmay Baḡay-ōl transformed his Xān Šilgi, he turned (him) into himself, (he mounted him, he wrapped (the end of the noose) around his thigh four times, and threw himself sideways to steady himself. Now the two horses pulled and dragged Xayındirirñmay Baḡay-ōl and Xān Šilgi more easily than tree bark swept away in a water whirl, more easily than paper lifted by the wind.

The two horses, after turning back, approached in a hurry, with their hooves they cut Xān Šilgi into two. Xayındirirñmay Baḡay-ōl three times wrapped up (the end) around his hips and sat down; they turned, approached in a hurry, with their hooves they cut his hips. While they were dragging his

chest and head away, they turned back, with their hooves they crashed his neck. As they were dragging his head away, with their hooves they wanted to smash his head which went round and round and did not let them catch itself. Tightening the noose with their teeth, (the head) moved forward, and, while this was eating the two horses' calves up to the bones, the white-Sheep and the White-Lamb – both horses – stopped for the unbearable pain.

They say: “Are you perhaps a soul-less man who dies, a man whose age doesn't grow?<sup>169</sup> Spare our lives, take anything you want”. He said: “You have nothing I could take, nothing I could eat”. He bridled the two horses, the White-Sheep and the White-Lamb, and tied (them) together. Tightening the noose in the middle with his teeth, he said: “Follow me!”. Reaching the chest, he said: “Hey, my chest is jutting out like a *bay*'s<sup>170</sup> *kögār*<sup>171</sup>”, and pulled (them) closer, he moved from there, he reached the hips, he said: “Hey, my hips with the vertebrae protuberances are like a log to tan hides, left on the field by the inhabitants of the *āl*!”, and he pulled (them) closer.

He looked at his horse: his chest and rump were joined; he stays still and shakes. After mounting his Xān Šilgi and taking the two horses by the bridles, he hastened towards his father-in-law-xān's residence. Once in the *āl* of his father-in-law-xān, he said: “Up to where your front legs can reach, you smash; up to where your hind legs can reach, you trample in the dust; up to what your tails can reach, you sweep completely, up to where your jaws can reach, you tear apart!”, and he tied the two horses to the xān's post.

Ba Baya Xān, frightened by the trampling of the two horses, tucked under the *barba*,<sup>172</sup> he wet himself, he hid under the throne, he shat himself. He dug behind the *dör*, came out with his nose and mouth full of dirt and his head smeared; he crawled into his son-in-law's yurt. He says: “Let the two horses - the *buryan idiq* - go, son: I consecrated my *buryan idiq* with the juniper”. Xayindirñmay Bayay-öl tied the two horses and let (them) go.

And now, the lord xān went to his yurt and began to reflect on how to kill his good son-in-law. He conferred with his consort. She says: “There is the ash-grey bull from the lake, placed in the north, at nine years' (walking) distance; there it will kill (him)”. The following day (the xān) invited his good son-in-law as (his) guest. He offered (him) meat and food and made him seat on a sheep-skin. While his good son-in-law was offered food and drinks, the xān said: “See now, son, the blood from the lungs and heart of the ash-grey bull from the

<sup>169</sup> *Ölür tññij, özer nazññij çoq amitan sen?*

<sup>170</sup> “Wealthy person”.

<sup>171</sup> Roomy leather recipient.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. n. 105.

lake, which is nine years' (walking) distance to the north, is a cure-remedy<sup>173</sup> for the old; what about you bringing (it here)?"

His good son-in-law, stating that he was willing to go, went to his yurt; his golden *dağyına* said: "What does my father say?" He says: "Fetch (me) the blood from the lungs and heart of the ash-grey bull from the lake which is to the north". She said: "My father sent you to a foe in order to make you die, now again he is sending (you) to make you die. Instead of going there to have your bones withered, you'd better stay (here). Your young bones will be crushed: this ash-grey bull is the spirit-lord of the lake, he is a mighty<sup>174</sup> rapacious *mağyıs* who senses the smell of armpits at one day's (walking) distance, who senses the smell of putrefaction at one day's (walking) distance; a man alone must not go to him".

Xayındirıñmay Bağay-öl says: "A man must dedicate to travelling, a woman must stay in the yurt; therefore I shall set forth". In the morning, he took the silver bridles, climbed the grey hill Bolčaytı, called his Xān Šilgi. Xān Šilgi came at a run. He saddled his horse, he spread the wide black saddlebag on him, he hung his arrows and weapons and set forth towards the north.

He arrived there, at some point he entered a yurt where a horn-less ash-grey cow and a horn-less ash-grey calf were: (there) a young maiden and a decrepit old woman are seated. The old woman boiled the tea, added the ash-grey cow's milk, and offered it to Xayındirıñmay Bağay-öl. He drank the tea, and went out: the day was over, it was necessary to stay overnight. Xayındirıñmay Bağay-öl left his horse grazing, he spent the night amusing himself with the young maiden.

When, in the morning, he was ready to go, the old woman said: "Where have you come from, where are you going? What is the name your father calls you by? What is the nick-name your mother calls you by?". Xayındirıñmay Bağay-öl says: "I am son of the old subjects of Bulutay Äge Xān, Öledey in the sedge and Saraday from the *sarañ*, who live under the 99 skies, at 99 years' (walking) distance; my name is Xayındirıñmay Bağay-öl, and my wife is the golden *dağyına*. I am going to demand and fetch the lungs and heart of the ash-grey bull, lord of the lake placed to the north". The old woman says: "This yurt is on the way, you, on your way back, pass by!"

Xayındirıñmay Bağay-öl left, nine years later he reached the place nine years' (walking) distance away. He goes: there is a large blue lake, and right in the middle there is something that looks like cattle but it is not cattle, that looks like a (mountain-)taygha, but it is not a (mountain-)taygha. His horse Xān Šilgi snorted, stopped, and says: "What do you reckon there is in the middle of the blue lake shaped like a blue (mountain-)taygha?". He says: "I suppose it is a blue

<sup>173</sup> *Äm-dom*: cf. nn. 3 and 134.

<sup>174</sup> My translation of the lexical Turkic-Mongolian hendiadys *küštiüg küčüten*.

(mountain-)taygha”. He says: “Your dead’s head!<sup>175</sup> It is the ash-grey bull, lord of the blue lake; we’d better transform ourselves on the spot!”.

Xayındırınmay immediately put his Xān Šilgi in the *idik*-tobacco pouch, he turned himself into seven years dry horse dung. His horse said: “When, after tearing your inside hems together with the outside ones,<sup>176</sup> you seize (him) by the horse and shake (him), he will say something”. Xayındırınmay Baḡay-ōl slowly approached, once he was near the shore of the lake, the ash-grey bull roared three times, went out, began to rub his head on the ground. Xayındırınmay Baḡay-ōl tore the two hems and said: “If I am to perish, let it be here; if I am to resurrect, I shall resurrect here!”, he then leaped to the bull’s two horns. The bull, shaking (his head), began to go round the hundred skies.<sup>177</sup> It meant to cast him up to the heaven hitting him with his hooves, but he, with the elusiveness of a kite, did not let it; it meant to knock him down to the black earth, but he, with the dexterity of a sparrow-hawk, did not let it.

The ash-grey bull suddenly stopped, it says: “What kind of a creature are you? Take what you want to take, but please, spare my life! Xayındırınmay Baḡay-ōl says: “I have not come to kill you, I have come to shut your lungs and heart”. It says: “I shall lie down, you incise my left armpit, and extract my lungs and hart”. The bull lay down, Xayındırınmay Baḡay-ōl took out of a sole of the *idik* his yellow *boluq*<sup>178</sup> penknife, which had never been used against a human being, incised the bull’s left armpit, carved out half of the lungs and heart, took half of Xān Šilgi’s lungs and heart and stuck (them) to the ash-grey bull.

After lifting the bull he says: “No creature in the world besides you can overwhelm me; you will defeat nine enemies, you will fix your gaze to three enemies, creatures with shoulder-blades will not knock (you) down, creatures with elbows will not make (you) fall.<sup>179</sup> Let’s be dear friends! Whatever occurs to me, you will help (me), whatever occurs to you, I shall help (you)”.

Xayındırınmay Baḡay-ōl (in front of) the ash-grey bull, lord of the lake, stuck his black fighting arrow. He says: “If I am not well, the iron will be covered by rust, the *qazilyan*<sup>180</sup> will come off; if I am well, it will shine even brighter!”. The ash-grey bull from the lake tore one of his golden hobbles and gave (it to him). After exchanging words and pledges, the ash-grey bull went inside his blue lake, while Xayındırınmay Baḡay-ōl started in the directions where the sun rises.

<sup>175</sup> *Qatqanīy-xūrānīy baži*: meaning “Be damned!”.

<sup>176</sup> To ride the bull bare-back.

<sup>177</sup> Hyperbole.

<sup>178</sup> A kind of ritual knife.

<sup>179</sup> Analogous images in the shamanic literature : Marazzi (1984: 82).

<sup>180</sup> A bush with black berries.

He went down there and reached the yurt of the old woman with the ash-grey cow. The old woman with the ash-grey cow milked it, she boiled some tea for Xayındirīṃmay. He drank it and, after sending his horse to graze, the old woman said: “My good son-in-law”, and covered Xayındirīṃmay together with her daughter. After making Baḡay-ōl fall into a mortal sleep, she slit the throat of his ash-grey calf, the ash-grey bull’s lungs and heart she replaced with her calf’s lungs and heart.

In the morning, Xayındirīṃmay Baḡay-ōl set forth again taking the calf’s lungs and heart; he took (them) to his father-in-law. His father-in-law let the lungs and heart dry and thought: “No creature can kill him, he has neither soul nor a growing age; what else can I do?”. After consulting with his consort, they said: “In the northern region, which is neither in the sky nor on the earth, is the only<sup>181</sup> men’s sanctuary.<sup>182</sup> This will make him perish”.

Seven days later he called his good son-in-law. He says: “Come on, son, it is high time you go back; would you eliminate one more thing that is troubling me?”. (Xayındirīṃmay) says: “I shall do it, father-in-law”. He began to prepare his foot-wear and his summer and winter clothes, as well as provisions so that he could leave at the new moon.

His wife asked: “Where are you preparing to go to, since you have prepared the provisions and are still riding your saddle-horse?”. He says: “I must punish a Daviṃ<sup>183</sup> Xān, one of your father’s lifelong foes”. She says: “He whom they call Daviṃ Xān are the Five stars of the upper world, the sanctuary of the men. After destroying that, what will you worship?”. Xayındirīṃmay said: “I did not know it is a *buryan*<sup>184</sup>-sanctuary”.

In the morning, on the day of the new moon, Xayındirīṃmay Baḡay-ōl set forth. (His horse) galloped crossing high (mountains), ran along the summits (crossing) low (mountains). At a trot, frightened he swerves to one side, the dirt of the *qo’dan*<sup>185</sup> flies away; while he stumbles and slips, the dirt flies off the base of the large yurt: making a month’s journey a day’s, making a year’s journey a month’s, he went on pulling the reins.<sup>186</sup>

Night took (him) by surprise in some land. In this place he spent the night; in the morning he turned his look: the meat he had eaten was partridge meat; the land where he had spent the night was steppes of *tar* grass, the wood

<sup>181</sup> *Qara čaṃṃis*, where *qara* reinforces *čaṃṃis* which of itself means “only”; cf. n. 8 and Čudojakov (1998: 374).

<sup>182</sup> *Kižiniṃ čūdāni*, of unclear meaning. To which sanctuary does it refer?

<sup>183</sup> Of unclear meaning.

<sup>184</sup> Meaning “holy”; cf. n. 2.

<sup>185</sup> Cf. n. 103.

<sup>186</sup> Probably to check the horse’s mettle.

he had burnt was cracked wood. He recalled the words and advice of that old man with a grey hair and resumed his path.

After roaming for a long time, he reached a certain world. He climbed to the top of a big taiga(-mountain): perpetual snows covered the top of this taiga, a pure (*qara*) river flew along its slopes. He looked down: a man on a tall grey horse is galloping with cadenced noise upstream the pure river out of which a powerful fire bursts out.

He asked Xān Šilgi: “Who do you reckon this man is? As long as I have lived, I have never seen a creature like this”. His horse says: “He is the man called Daviņ Xān himself, the one you are looking for. If you plan to kill him, it would be better to freeze the water of this stretching river”. He (pulled) the water of the river upon himself and his horse, and froze (it).

Daviņ Xān watched: the valiant one and his tawny-bright horse stand, covered in ice. Daviņ Xān thought: “There, that strange valiant one wants to compete with me”. Xayīndirīņmay Baγay-ōl dismounted his horse crying: “My horse will fight with yours, while I shall fight with you myself; be mindful, watch yourself!” and, after reaching Daviņ Xān, he began to confront (him).

The two valiant ones and their two horses stayed for ninety years on end (confronting) each other within the pure (*qara*) large river. Ice scattered and fell from Xayīndirīņmay Baγay-ōl, fire scattered and fell from Daviņ Xān; only on their heads ice and fire kept and remained. Looking at the two horses, ice and fire scattered and fell, and it only remained on their heads.

Thus they were fighting. When their heads were one against the other, the fire on Daviņ Xān had extinguished, only a little was left on his little plait;<sup>187</sup> the ice on Xayīndirīņmay Baγay-ōl had melted, only a little was left on his little plait. Watching the two horses: the ice had melt, the fire had scattered; after letting go of one another, they are grazing.

Daviņ Xān, letting go of (Baγay), said: “Why are we still fighting, since our horses have let go of one another?”. Then Daviņ Xān adds: “And why did Xayīndirīņmay Baγay-ōl, (son) of the old man - Öledey in the sedge – and the old woman - Saraday from the saraγ – who live under the 99 skies, attack me?”.

Baγay-ōl said: “Ba Baγa, my father-in-law, says: ‘I have a lifelong enemy, called Daviņ Xān: kill him!’. So I have come. He says: “You have got me rid of my misery. My misery is the burning fire that scatters (sparkles), which entered my body since my birth”. The two valiant ones talked at length, they became great pals. Daviņ Xān said: “Ba Baγa Xān sent you to me to make you die; I

<sup>187</sup>Tuvan men shaved their hair above the forehead, while knotting it in a plait on the top of their heads.

bear no enmity-revengefulness towards this xān. Leave now, go back to your *āl*-camp” he then climbed to the upper world and became the Five Stars.<sup>188</sup>

Xayındirijmay Baγay-ōl went back to his *āl*. The valiant one was exhausted, his saddle horse had become thinner and weary. When he happened to reach a certain land, this was a place with no grass for the cattle to graze, with no food for the man to eat. After loading Xān Šilgi on to his shoulders, he crossed the huge red steep taiga (-mountain) with no grass at all, he reached the shore of the ocean-sea,<sup>189</sup> nine days he spent there. He himself and his horse rested, then, without going round and without cutting through, they both crossed that sea.

While they were crossing, when the horse was tired he would carry (him) on himself, when he was tired he would ride his horse. As soon as they reached the shore of the ocean-sea, his Xān Šilgi died. Saying: “Now I am absolutely alone, with no saddle horse, what a disaster!”, he, who had (never) cried (before), cried. He thought: “At least I shall carry my horse where grass and water are”, he loaded (him) on himself and left.

He went, and laid his horse in a place endowed with pure spring water and said: “When winter comes, make it not freeze; when summer comes, make it not rot”. He carried on himself the saddle and the saddle-cloth, he buckled on his halter and bridles and went on.

When he could not carry the saddle any more, he left (it) hanging (on a tree), and went on; when he could not carry the silver halter and bridles any more, he left (them) on a forked tree, and went on. As he was going, the *ton* too became too much, he cut the four hems of the *ton* and threw (them) away: he went on in a light fur. His *idik* wore out, he went on dragging the two *idik* jambs on his shins; he wore the flesh on his feet out, his bones became visible: he began to crawl. When the palms of his hands and his knee-caps wore out, he began to crawl on his stomach.

Crawling, his stomach got pierced, his bowels, that had been pulled out, grasped to trees and stones. He then crawled on his ribs, and, when his ribs got pierced, and his lungs and liver began to redden, he began to crawl on his back. Moving in this way, he climbed a huge taiga (-mountain) on the mountain side of an *āl*-field; as he was descending the mountain, while thinking: “I wish I could reach the *āl*-field alive!”, Ba Baγa Xān’s two dark with light spotted dogs began to bark.

<sup>188</sup>*Beš sildis*: in the conceptions of Altaic peoples stars are living beings (cf. Marazzi 1986: 143).

Which constellation is referred to here is not clear. It has been hypothesised that it could be the Pleiads (Kudijarov 1994:430). Cf. Bazin (1960).

<sup>189</sup>*Tegis dalay*, interesting Turkic-Mongolian lexical hendiadys. Fantastic ocean at the edge of the world.

The xān ordered his sons to go out, they said: “The taiga-mountain is rolling”; he ordered his consort to go out, she said the same. The xān, frightened by this mountain, together with his subjects did not know where to hide his head. Xayındırınmay’s golden *dayyina* went out, she recognized Xayındırınmay’s bones, took his *ton*, ran to him, covered (him), lifted (him), took (him) inside the yurt, healed and magically treated (him), until morning with the white medicine, until midday with the healing white *düşpün*<sup>190</sup> grass, and healed (him).

After Xayındırınmay Baḡay-ōl had recovered, one day a loud pawing was heard. He ran outside: his horse Xān Şilgi, having become fat, was coming holding Xayındırınmay’s saddle, bridles and what was left of his cloth and *idik* between his teeth. After that he and his horse had cried, Xayındırınmay said: “Grow fat until your hips burst, grow fat until your saddle-cloth tears!”, and let his horse go to the upper world.

Three days later, when he called his Xān Şilgi holding him by the bridles, his golden *dayyina* asked: “Xayındırınmay Baḡay-ōl, where are you going?”. He said: “My parents are old: I am going back home because I want to see (them) again when their eyes are still wet”. His golden *dayyina* left him, she said to her parents: “Xayındırınmay is going to leave”. The xān and his consort began to busy themselves, they prepared for their daughter’s and son’s departure. (The xān) called Xayındırınmay and said: “We are moving your *āl*-field downhill, but your wife has three *tevne*<sup>191</sup> aunts, three mothers-in-law for you, who live in the skies. What about you going over there, you could introduce yourself, become acquainted and come back?”. He said: “Certainly, father-in-law, it is necessary to become acquainted with one’s relatives”.

After he had left the place and reached his yurt, his wife asked: “What did my father say?”. He says: “Go to the under world, become acquainted with the three invisible<sup>192</sup>-*tevne*, the aunts”. I said: “I agree”. She said: “My treacherous and bloody father wanted to see you perish, but he did not succeed, he then thought: ‘in the quest for my three invisible-*tevne* aunts may he go astray-get lost so he perish!’ Now, if you go and watch attentively the three silver needles in the pouch where they place the Chinese cup, in the *dör* of my father’s yurt, they are my aunts”.

Xayındırınmay Baḡay-ōl went, he watched: they actually were her three aunts. He then went back to his own place, he invited his in-laws; they on their turn invited their good son and daughter in-law and rejoiced. (The xān) allotted goods from his own goods, cattle from his own cattle to his own daughter

<sup>190</sup>Unclear name.

<sup>191</sup> “Large, thick needle” (< Mon. *tevne*).

<sup>192</sup>*Közülbes*: “invisibility” is the characteristic of devilish beings. Cf. Marazzi (2000: 55).



and son-in-law. They loaded their white goods on to ninety white camels, they loaded their black goods on to ninety neutered camels.

In the morning of the new moon, the xān (saw the young people off) saying: “Do not fear the great distance, good son-in-law, come visit us. With your arrow you have chipped my white shell-tooth that I used as a hindrance”, and he showed his chipped tooth; “With your arrow you have cut my iron bard that I used as an impenetrable forest”, and he showed the cut in his beard; “You have killed my only son, you have splashed about in my black sea, in my yellow sea; at the nine cross-roads you have killed my black *mañγis*. Therefore, I have tried in some way or other to make you perish”.

Xayındırırñmay Baγay-ōl did not utter a single word. The xān and his consort escorted their daughter and son-in-law for three days. Xayındırırñmay Baγay-ōl, moving further, made the black eagle resurrect; this uttered a cry and flew off towards the north.

(Xayındırırñmay) found himself under the thirtieth sky; when he lay down to spend the night, a lot of snow fell. In the morning, the subjects began to say: “How big (this) horse’s prints are!”, and a dreadful appeal echoed: “Xayındırırñmay Baγay-ōl *quluγur*, you have killed my elder brother, you have taken possession of my property and have grown fat in a short time, you have taken possession of his horse and in no time you have grown fat!. Are you in the yurt? Are you in (an open) space? Come here!”.

Xayındırırñmay took his yellow bone and went out; he impaled his black liver with an arrow. He fell face downwards, the subjects held him; he fell face upwards, his golden *dañγina* held him, she took (him) to the yurt, until morning she cured his wound with the white healing *dušpün* grass, until midday she cured his wound with the same medicinal white grass.

Xayındırırñmay then got up, he took his bow and arrows, and, as he was on his way out, his golden *dañγina* asked: “Which part of that man will you hit with your arrow?”; he said: “The man who has impaled the black liver with his arrow, I shall hit with my arrow in his black liver”. She says: “That is Xüler Mōge whom they call Son of the sun; if you think you are going to kill him, (be aware that) a grey thread joins him to the sun, hit him with the arrow and break it!”.

Xayındırırñmay Baγay-ōl went out, he watched: he had a grey thread that joined him to the sun. He broke it with an arrow: Xüler Mōge died. He then looted his *āl*-field, his wife, and left.

When again he stopped to spend the night in a certain place, a lot of snow fell. In the morning the subjects began to say: “What huge horse prints! How much snow!”. A cry was heard: “Baγay-ōl *quluγur*, you, who took possession of my two elder brothers’ properties! Are you in the yurt? Are you in an (open) place? Come here!”.

When Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl went out, he impaled his lungs and heart with an arrow. (Xayındırırımay) fell downwards, his subjects held (him); he fell upwards, his golden *dayyına* held (him) and, with the white healing grass healed (him) and cured (him).

Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl took his bow and arrow and, as he was going out, his golden *dayyına* said: “Which part of that man will you hit with your arrow?”. He said: “The man who hit the man’s heart and lungs with an arrow, I shall hit in the heart and lungs”. She says: “If you think of killing that man, (be aware): a white thread that joins (him) to the moon is tied to his top, hit him with an arrow and break it”.

Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl watched: the white thread was there. When he broke (it) with an arrow, the white man<sup>193</sup> fell to the ground and died. That was Aq Möge, Son of the moon. (Xayındırırımay) took his *äl*-field, his wife as booty and left.

He moves further and reaches the two orphans, his younger brothers, that he had found on the road. He gave Xüler Möge’s and Aq Möge’s wives along with their *äl*-fields to his younger brothers, he married (them) and left.

When he was under the sixtieth sky, the sky up there bent downwards, the black earth soared upwards. Xayındırırımay jumped off his horse, he says: “The sky must stay where the sky is: didn’t you kill your own son Demir Möge?”. With his palms he pushed (the sky) upwards, and with his feet he pushed the earth back downwards.

After they had moved downwards from there, Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl said: “I shall fasten the shamanic cedar<sup>194</sup> to my horse’s tail: there, where it leaves a straight track, you go; there, where it leaves a sideways track, you will spend the night. Now I must go and meet my old parents, while their eyes are still wet”, he then left at a gallop.

Meanwhile Ba Baya was striking Bulutay Äge Xän’s *äl*-field with a thunderbolt, so that this should not represent a hindrance to his sons, sparing the awful yellow throne and the suit of armour. Xayındırırımay Bayay-öl arrived: Bulutay Äge Xän’s *äl*-field had been destroyed by a thunderbolt.

After circling it three times, he took the awful yellow throne and the suit of armour; he then arrived at his parents’: their eyes were shut by the fat; they were playing throwing at each other some balls they had made with ashes and urine.

They recognised their son’s voice. All the provisions that he had prepared, they had already drunk and eaten. Welcoming their son, their eyes wide open,

<sup>193</sup>Meaning “lunar”.

<sup>194</sup>*Xam pös*. *Pös* “cedar” (in reality it means juniper: cf. n. 115) is an interesting botanic term present in other Siberian Turkic languages: Altay *mös*, Yakut *bäs*, Tofa *boš*; Rassadin 1971: 165. Of uncertain origin.

they said: “When your *āl*-field arrives, we would like to see your golden *danyina*, our daughter-in-law”.

After his *āl*-field and his subjects had moved, he shut his parents in the yurt; and after he had pitched his yurt-dwelling place, his parents had gone. When he set off in their pursuit: the too numerous cattle had squeezed (them), neither smell that a fox can sniff, nor wet tears that a snake can lick, were left.

He collected their 108 bones, he meant to reassemble them, they did not reassemble. He said: “May then be for the wellbeing of their future life and memory for the posterity!”. He strung his parents’ bones, doing what it is called ‘creating happiness’. He settled the dreadful yellow throne, whose brightness shone; he herded his bred cattle together with his golden *danyina*. For sixty and seventy years he laid for a feasting banquet and lived as long as he lived; ditches appeared, valleys showed up.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>195</sup>Thus concludes the narrative.

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