

3. The Bashkirs

Research history overview

As the majority of Bashkirs have been Muslims for centuries, the mythical beings appearing here must be regarded as elements of Muslim popular religiosity. The earlier relevant literature is very scanty, as Russian orthodox missionary work was not significant here; therefore, neither missionaries nor educators associated with the missionary work were particularly interested in the Bashkirs and their beliefs.

Every Bashkir researcher considers the work of Ahmad ibn Fadlan the first record of Bashkir beliefs. In 911, during his visit to Volga Bulgaria, Ahmad ibn Fadlan travelled through “Bashkiria” and devoted a few sentences in his travelogue to the beliefs of the Bashkirs. However, there are several problems with this record. Firstly, the Bashkirs known to Ibn Fadlan cannot be equated with modern Bashkirs, or even with their ancestors, as the Mongolian era resulted in the significant mixing of peoples living here, as well as the disappearance of some or their merging into another. The second problem is that Ibn Fadlan’s description hardly corresponds to any of our present knowledge of the culture of Turkic peoples. The few notes we can read in his work cannot be related to either modern or earlier beliefs. (Such an example is the small stick, regarded as a phallic symbol, which the Bashkirs allegedly worshipped as their ancestor).

The first detailed descriptions about the Bashkirs were published in the 18th century, along with the first dictionary of the Bashkir language, written by Georgi, who took part in the second great Russian academic expedition. Unfortunately, this dictionary was later lost. It was also Georgi who first made a record of an exorcist, *šaytan kürede*, whom the Bashkirs would ask for help in case of women’s diseases and birth pains. Lepekhin, also taking part in the second great academic expedition, also provided information about the activities of the *šaytan kürede*; what is more, he described an exorcist ceremony in considerable detail in his three-volume work.

At the beginning of the 1800s, the Russian writer and journalist P. Kudrashev, then living in Orenburg, wrote an article about Bashkir customs, legends and the specialists of magic healing. Later in the century, interest in the Bashkir language started to grow (a summary of works published at the time is given by Kononov, 1982, 257-258), but descriptions of folk belief still did not abound. Berezov, one of the most excellent prominent Bashkir linguists and ethnographers of the 19th century, walked across most part of Bashkiria, collecting the hitherto unmapped Bashkir folk culture, going from village to village; but his main interest was the observation of everyday life and the recording of longer epic works (primarily tales and legends). From this period, we can only mention a few short articles that are at least partly relevant to our topic, such as publications by Lossievsky, Nikol'skiy and Katanov.

The first concise work was written by Rudenko. His studies on Bashkir topics were first published in French, which was then followed by a Russian-language volume in 1925, entitled *Башкиры. Историко-этнографические очерки* (*The Bashkirs. Historico-Ethnographical Essays*). Rudenko used the hitherto modest amount of literature, but most of his work comprised his own collections.

In the second half of the Soviet era, two important scholars, Kirey Mergen and Kuzeev published several fundamental works and edited several text-publications, but neither of them delved into the features of folk beliefs. A breakthrough was brought about in this field by the appearance of a Hungarian scholar, József Torma, partly by his research in the field of folk healing in Bashkiria, but even more so by directing the interest of his close colleague Firdaus Khisamitdinova to this topic. In the wake of Khisamitdinova's academic achievements, practices of folk healing and the hitherto unexplored system of beliefs among the Bashkirs became a major topic of scientific interest.

After several shorter articles and studies, Khisamitdinova summarised her findings in 2010 and published a dictionary of Bashkir beliefs and mythical beings entitled *Мифологический словарь башкирского языка* (*Mythological Dictionary of the Bashkir Language*). She later published a three-volume work entitled *Словарь*

башкирской мифологии (*Dictionary of Bashkir Mythology*), which features fewer beings but their description is more detailed and mythical texts are also included in the entries.

Although Khisamitdinova's mythological dictionaries constitute the core material of the Bashkir chapter of my book, my interpretation differs from her readings on a number of points as the Bashkir professor tried to build bridges between some Old and Middle Turkic sources and the available 20th-century Bashkir data (Dallos 2018b). In addition, by building on Torma, who has primarily studied folk medicine, Khisamitdinova has overrepresented disease demons in her mythological dictionaries.

Transcription table

(modified) Cyrillic	Trans- literation	English sound value	Notes
а	a	(as in <i>sun</i>)	open back vowel
б	b	b	
ц	ts	(as in <i>fits</i>)	only appears in Russian words
ч	č	ch (as in <i>child</i>)	
д	d	d	
з	ǰ	th (as in <i>the</i>)	interdental voiced spirant
е	e ye		in word initial position [ye]; in all other cases [e]
э	e	e (as in <i>end</i>)	
ə	ä	(as in <i>man</i>)	near-open front vowel
ф	f	f	
г	g	g (as in <i>go</i>)	
ґ	ġ		velar g
х	h	h	voiceless glottal fricative
х	χ		voiceless velar fricative
и	i	i (as in <i>in</i>)	
ы	ĩ		velar i
й	y	y (as in <i>yard</i>)	
к	k	k	
к	q		voiceless velar plosive (velar k)
л	l	l	
м	m	m	
н	n	n	
ң	ŋ	ng (as in <i>song</i>)	velar-uvular nasal
о	o	o	
ө	ö		front rounding mid vowel (as German ö)
п	p	p	
р	r	r	
ш	š	sh (as in <i>shed</i>)	
с	s	s	

ç	ʈ	(as in <i>think</i>)	interdental voiceless spirant
т	t	t	
y	u	u (as in <i>put</i>)	
ү	ü		front rounding close vowel (as German <i>ü</i>)
в	v	v	
з	z	z	
ж	ž	(as in <i>genre</i>)	voiced post-alveolar sibilant

Bashkir mythical beings

Aðbar eyähe

I. ‘spirit of the stable, yard, drying barn, protecting spirit of domestic animals’ (Khis. 6); (Irg.) *abðar eyähe* ‘id.’ (Khis. 4); (CentUr.) *azbar eyäse* ‘id.’; (Kub.) *albar eyähe* ‘id.’ (Khis. 22); (NorthWest.) *abzar iyäse* ‘spirit of the yard, which plaits horses’ manes’ (Khis. 4). Its further forms: *aq sälläle qart*, *aq salmalı qart* ‘old man with a white turban’ (Khis. 17); *aq tayaklı babay* ‘old man with a white cane’ (Khis. 17); *aq keyemle keşe*⁵⁴³ ‘white-clad man’ (Khis. 16); (Kub.) *betäü eyähe* (Khis. 61); (Saly.) *bötäü eyähe* (Khis. 71); (Kub.) *kärtä eyähe* (Khis. 165); (Ni-Bel.) *qaraldı iyäse*, *qaraldı eyähe*, *anası*, *qaraltı atası* (Khis. 176); (CentUr.) *abzar çužası* ‘spirit of the stable’ (Khis. 4); ‘master of the stable or barn’ (Khisam. 25); (Gay.) *azbar çuža* ‘master of the stable, which likes plaiting horses’ mane’ (Khis. 6); *mal harayı eyähe* ‘spirit of the farm yard’ (Khisam. I, 25); (Irg.) *mal babaları* ‘master or spirit of animals’ (Khis. 214) [‘honourable old fathers of the livestock’]; *mal eyähe* ‘master of livestock’ (Khis. 215); (NorthWest.) *märeškä babay* ‘spirit of domestic animals’ (Khis. 228); (Sverdlovsk) *uram çužahı* ‘spirit of the yard’ (Khis. 324) [‘master of the street’]; (CentUr.) *zänger qart* ‘master of the farm yard’ (Khis. 97); (Irg.) *zänge babay* ‘spirit, master of the farm yard’ (Khis. 99); (CentUr; Karid.) *zäñke babay* or *äbey* ‘spirit, master of domestic animals’ (Khis. 267) [‘grandfather or grandmother zänke’]; (Tan.) *söbçi baba* ‘spirit of livestock’ (Khis. 267); *äylänsek* ‘spirit of livestock’ (Khis. 371); (Irg.) *Söläymän* or *Höläymän babay*⁵⁴⁴ ‘spirit of poultry’ (Khis. 268, 347). II. *aðbar* (and its dialectal forms, such as *abðar*, *abzar*, *albar*, *arbaz*, *azbar*) ‘stable, pen’ (BRS 10); *eyä* (and its dialectal form, *iyä*) ‘master, host’, the Persian-origin word *çuža* has the same meaning. *Mal* means ‘1. livestock; 2. goods, wealth’ (BRS2 376);⁵⁴⁵ *haray* means ‘1. castle, fort; 2. stable, barn’ (BRS2 621-322), *baba* means ‘(a) 1. honourable aged man; 2. ancestor; (b) 1. man doing the ceremony of circumcision; 2. circumcision’ (BRS 64). *Kärtä* means:

⁵⁴³ Khisamitdinova’s single relevant piece of data: “The spirit of the yard (the white-clad man) walks silently among the livestock in the yard” (Khis. 16). According to Khisamitdinova, this being can be related to the *aq qart* (I discuss this one under → *Öy eyähe*). On the basis of the above reference, it can rather be identified with the *aq salmalı kart* and the *aðbar eyähe*. I must also note that Khisamitdinova also gives the meaning ‘dead person’s soul’, but she does not support it with data.

⁵⁴⁴ At other places, this form is the name of the water’s master → *Hıu eyähe*.

⁵⁴⁵ To promote the reproduction of animals, the neck bone of an animal was hung from a pole in the farmyard. This was the so-called *mal höyäge* ‘animal bone’ (Khis. 215). The Chuvash hung an unthreshed sheaf of corn for the protection of the barn, see Chuv. → *Avän këtüś*.

‘1. pole, rod; 2. hedge, fence; 3. Stable; 4. barrier’ (BRS 326).⁵⁴⁶ For the data on *zäjge*, *zäjke*, see → *Zäjge*. **III.** The word *azbar* exists in several Turkic languages (e.g. Kar; Tat; CrimTat. Kaz; Kum.), meaning ‘pen, stable’ (cf. e.g. Räs. 33; GTJ 527). **IV.** mythical story (memorat): Khisam. I, 26-27; Khisam. I, 46; Khisam. I, 47; incantation (prayer):⁵⁴⁷ Khis. 267.

A being which lives in the stable and can appear in various forms. It can take the form of the host or a close relative, a neighbour, a white-haired old man, or even an animal. It warns the host when animals give birth, a thief enters the yard, a fire breaks out and other trouble or misfortune happens (Khis. 4, 6, 22; Khisam. 25-26).⁵⁴⁸ In some areas, the spirit of the stable or the yard plaits the manes of horses (Khis. 4, 377), especially of those that it is fond of. It has “favourites” among the animals, of which it helps take care by giving them hay and water. People must not hit the animals or the *Aðbar eyähe* will paralyse their limbs. Similarly, it is forbidden to sell old animals. If somebody did so anyway, the master-spirit of the stable could destroy all the livestock belonging to that person. However, there are also animals that the *Aðbar eyähe* does not like, which it torments and buckets to exhaustion (Khisam. 25-26). Emaciated animals are usually considered *eyähe yaratmağan* ‘not loved by the master (spirit)’ (Khisam. 25). In the Central Ural, there is a belief that if a cow becomes very thin it had been “hit” by the stable spirit (Khis. 30). Here, after calving, they would always put some milk out for the stable spirit (Khis. 7). In other places, gifts or alms were put out for the spirit of the livestock (*ruχ*) (Khis. 214).

⁵⁴⁶ The forms *kärtä*, *qarta*, *qartalı* are words existing in all the Volga Turkic languages, meaning ‘stable’ (Chuv. *karta*, Tat. *kirtä*). In Chuvash, there is also such a mythical being: the ‘stable god’ (*karta turri*).

⁵⁴⁷ Due to the small number of folk prayers, I quote this one among the incantations.

⁵⁴⁸ This concept exists among Tatars, North-Caucasian and Central Asian Turkic peoples as well as in Slavic mythology (Khis. 6; ME I, 22). Although it does not feature in the literature referred to here, it also exists among the Chuvash in various forms, e.g. *karta sıχçi*, *karta turri*.

Ağas eyähe

I. (NiBel.) *ağas iyäse* ‘tree’s spirit’ (Khis. 5) [‘tree’s master’]; (CentUr; Gay.) *ağas xužasi* ‘tree’s master’ (Khis. 5); (Mias dial.) *ağas anahī, ağas inähe*, (CentUr.) *ağas anasī* ‘tree’s mother’ (Khis. 5). II. *ağas* ‘1. (noun and adj.) tree; 2. forest’ (BRS 7); + *eyä* (and its dialectal form, *iyä*) ‘master, host’, the Persian-origin word *xuža* has the same meaning. III. *Ağaç* is a Turkic-etymon word, it already existed in Old Turkic (Cl. 79; for its present-day data, see: Sev. I, 72; Räs. 7).

The spirit of the tree lives in a solitary tree (according to several records, in a birch tree). Therefore, cutting down a solitary tree will bring misfortune to the person because he will be cursed by the tree’s spirit. A solitary tree, *yanğïđ* (dial. *yalğïđ*) *ağas*, is considered to be inhabited by a spirit (*eyäle ağas* ‘tree with a master’); therefore, such trees are surrounded with several taboos,⁵⁴⁹ for example, people must not talk near them nor lean against them (Khis. 377, 379).⁵⁵⁰ The spirit of the tree is usually invisible, but it sometimes appears in the shape of a cuckoo or raven. It generally helps and protects people, but it can also cause damage and become their enemy if offended. Another regulation associated with trees is that when people break off branches for the whisk used in the bath they must say *Bismillahi-raḡmanir-raḡim*⁵⁵¹ to prevent the “bad of the tree” (*ağas yamanī*) from hurting (hitting) them (Khis. 6, 219). The spirit of the tree likes people to hang ribbons, rags,⁵⁵² pieces of thread or coins on the tree (Khis. 5).⁵⁵³

Khisamitdinova devotes a separate entry to the word *ağas* ‘tree’, whose meaning she gives as the following: ‘mythological plant; ancestor; ancestral parent; patron; connector of the upper, middle and lower worlds; abode of spirits; deity’ (Khis. 4). In fact, the meanings provided by Khisamitdinova cannot be supported, as there is

⁵⁴⁹ A relevant memorat is quoted in BKI XII, on page 100.

⁵⁵⁰ Solitary trees are surrounded with a lot of taboos and regulations among the Chuvash, too; see Chuv. → *Kiremet*.

⁵⁵¹ Arabic formula (‘In the name of the merciful and compassionate Allah’), in its Bashkir form.

⁵⁵² Such is, for example, the *kirämät ağas* (→ *Kirämät*).

⁵⁵³ Beliefs associated with trees include the concept of devils moving into dried-out trees (→ *Yen*).

no text publication in which the tree would be regarded as an ancestor or deity. Although the world-tree, which connects three worlds, exists in many cultures, there is no such data available in relation to the Bashkirs. Here, Khisamitdinova refers to Ibn Fadlan, who recorded that the Bashkirs deified trees. In fact, Ibn Fadlan says the following: “Some of them claim that they have twelve lords: a lord for winter, a lord for summer, a lord for rain, a lord for wind, a lord for trees ...” (Fadlan 41a,⁵⁵⁴ see McKeithen 1979). This record does not mean that the tree is a ‘deity’, but that trees, too, have a ‘lord’. It is also worth noting that Ibn Fadlan does not describe a general Bashkir phenomenon and he himself finds it important to narrow his data to “some of them claim”.

Khisamitdinova may have based her assumption that the tree would be some kind of “ancestor” on another one of Ibn Fadlan’s notes: “Each carves a piece of wood into an object the size and shape of a phallus and hangs it round his neck. When they want to travel or take the field against the enemy, they kiss it and bow down before it, saying: »My lord, do such and such with me!« I said to the interpreter, »Ask one of them to explain this. Why does he worship it as his lord?« »Because I came from something like it and I acknowledge no other creator«, he replied.” (Fadlan 41a see Togan 1939: 36; McKeithen 1979). This extract is rather problematic in several ways; neither the “piece of wood ... the size and shape of a phallus” nor a phallic cult⁵⁵⁵ inferred from it has any parallels in Bashkir or any other Turkic ethnography; this approach has been rejected by several scholars (e.g. Rud. 266; Togan 1939, 148-149). It is also worth noting that Ibn Fadlan himself does not claim anything like that and defining the size in this way does not suggest it, either. Khisamitdinova may have taken this extract as the basis for her assumption that the piece of wood or the tree could be some kind of ancestor, but this notion is not supported by anything other than this unclear reference.

⁵⁵⁴ First edition: Togan 1939; English translation: McKeithen 1979.

⁵⁵⁵ Zelenin tried to reconstruct such a one-time cult on the basis of a few data (Zelenin 1928).

Furthermore, Khisamitdinova provides a being *ağas täñre(he)*, meaning ‘deity of the tree, one of the 12 deities of Bashkir mythology’ (Khis. 5; Khisam. 23). However, such a mythical being has no reference whatsoever in oral tradition; here, Khisamitdinova creates a non-existent mythical being, probably based on Ibn Fadlan’s above reference.⁵⁵⁶

Albaṭṭi

I. ‘female demon’ (Khis. 22); ‘mythical being causing nightmares’ (Rud. 271; Tor. 21, 83); *albaṭṭi* = *harīsās*⁵⁵⁷ (Khis. 342). **II.** ‘female evil demon, monster’ (BRS 23); ‘vampire, a being that turns into an animal or an object, werewolf’ (BRS2 33). **III.** It exists in several Turkic languages (Räs 14; ME I, 58); for the etymology of the word and the most important literature relating to its Turkic data, see Chuv. → *Alpas*, → *Alpastā*. **IV.** incantation: Khisam. I, 60; mythical story: Khisam. I, 59.

The *albaṭṭi* has long, fair (blond or ginger), unkempt hair; therefore, it is also called *harī qīḏ* ‘yellow (blonde?) girl’, *sarī qīḏ* ‘id.’, *harī sās*⁵⁵⁸ ‘yellow hair’ (Khisam. 58; Khis. 341).⁵⁵⁹ Her breasts are long and she often throws them across her shoulders. She is dangerous to women giving birth and to new-born babies – she can inflict diseases on them, cause them nightmares, steal their livers and lungs and squash the new-born with her breasts (*albaṭṭi basīu*).⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁶ Similar beings, unsupported by data can also be found in Khisamitdinova, e.g. *urman täñrehe* ‘forest’s god – one of the twelve Bashkir deities’ (Khis. 325), *ut täñrehe* ‘fire’s god – one of the old deities’ (Khis. 327).

⁵⁵⁷ *Harīsās* [lit. ‘blond-haired’] also occurs as a name of the water’s spirit (→ *Hīu eyāhe*). Khisamitdinova discusses the data referring to the *Harīsās* in two separate entries – in my opinion, wrongly.

⁵⁵⁸ This name, however, appears in incantations in connection with the water’s mother (*hīu ināhe*) (Khis. 342).

⁵⁵⁹ The ‘yellow (or blonde) girl’ appears as a mythical being among the steppe and Southern Siberian Turkic peoples, cf. e.g. Divaev: 1899, 314, 324; Verbitskiy 1893, 55; Kereytov 1980, 119-120; Dyrenkova 2012a, 136, 143, 236, 304, 320, 346, 347.

⁵⁶⁰ To protect babies, various amulets were placed above the cot (bird claws, bird feathers, berries and roots of various plants) and metal objects (knives, scissors) or the Quran in Arabic next to the cot.

She can push adults' chests in their sleep at night, causing shortness of breath (Khis. 55), or torment them with nightmares (Khis. 57).

Lossievsky already recorded this being in the second half of the 19th century as one that pushes and chokes sleeping people and sometimes puts her breasts into their mouths. He describes a case when somebody managed to chase the *albaṭti* away from a whimpering sleeping man's chest by grabbing her by the hair. A strand of the *albaṭti*'s hair was left in the hands of the person chasing her away as proof (Lossievsky 1878, 28).⁵⁶¹

According to Rudenko's collections, the *albaṭti* pushes people in their sleep at night and causes nightmares by stuffing her long breasts into people's mouths. The sleeping man will moan and groan but can neither free himself nor awaken (Rud. 271).⁵⁶²

Nevertheless, the *albaṭti* has been contaminated with other concepts (for the examples quoted here, cf. Khisam. 59). According to certain records, it has been mixed with the beings *šüräle* and *yarımtıq* – in which case, it is described as a huge, one-eyed, hairy being which uproots trees and throws large stones to block the road. According to another notion, similarly to the *ubır* or the *mäskäy*, the *albaṭti* feeds on human blood; it sucks people's (including babies') blood. It sometimes cohabits with hunters or single people, appearing to women in the shape of a man and to men in the shape of a woman, and it later inflicts diseases on these people. (*Albaṭti eyäläü, oyalau* 'the *albaṭti* moves in or gets used to the house' – this notion is related to the *bisura*.) The diseases inflicted by it can be healed with a magic procedure called *albaṭti qüüü* 'the banishing of the *albaṭti*' (Khis. 22-23).⁵⁶³ It can also take the shape of animals as well as inanimate objects. The idea that it likes horses and plaits their mane suggests another being, the → *Aḍbar eyähe*.

⁵⁶¹ Khisamitdinova has a record when the *albaṭti* was banished with a whip (Khisam. I, 60).

⁵⁶² Rudenko's data are briefly referred to by Torma, too (Tor. 21).

⁵⁶³ I quote the relevant incantation under Khisam. I, 60.

Arpa

I. ‘the spirit of stye’ (Khis. 31); *arpa eyähe* ‘the spirit of stye’ (Khis. 32) [‘stye’s master’]; as well as (CentUr.) *yäsm̃in* ‘stye’ (Khis. 130). II. ‘1. barley; 2. stye’ (BRS 43). III. Turkic-etymon word, for more details, see Tat. → *Arpa*. IV. incantation: BashText 141, 142, 145, 146/1-2, 150, 154-156; Khisam. III, 36.

The names of the disease and the demon causing it are the same.⁵⁶⁴ Its anthropomorphic image is also known: it is a petite, fair-haired, blind old woman. The data-provider said: “The stye has a master; that’s why it can only be healed with incantation or magic” (Khis. 32).

The stye is removed in a magic way: with movements accompanied by incantations. The majority of the incantations are banishing type (e.g. “The sun is gone / the Moon is gone / thou begone, too!” or “Whence thou came, thither go!”) and some of them are counting type.⁵⁶⁵

Athiz

I. (CentUr.) *atsiz* ‘demon, evil spirit’ (Khis. 39) [‘nameless’]. II. *at* ‘1. name, 2. fame’ (BRS. 52) + privative suffix. III. The Old Turkic word *āt* ‘name’ is of Turkic etymon, OT. *āt* ‘name, title, reputation’ (Cl. 32-33) and has been preserved in several Turkic languages (cf. e.g. Sev. I, 198; Räs. 30-31).

According to Khisamitdinova, the word *athiz*, meaning ‘nameless’, is a taboo name, which was used to avoid uttering the names of evil spirits (→ *Mäskäy*, → *Ubir*, → *Albaḍti*) (Khis. 39). However, we have no further data about the Bashkirs having any kind of taboo in connection with uttering the names of the above or any other evil spirits. What is more, Khisamitdinova herself writes in another entry of her dictionary that babies who die before being given a name (*isemheḍ ülgän bala* ‘child died without a name’⁵⁶⁶) will become *athiz* demons (Khis. 112). When new-born babies cry a lot, it is said

⁵⁶⁴ Torma only knew the word as the name of a plant and an eye disease but he did not know about the disease demon associated with it (cf. Tor. 103).

⁵⁶⁵ I give examples of both types in the Anthology; banishing: BashText 141, 142, 145, 146/1-2, 154-156; Khisam. III, 36; counting: BashText 150, 154-156.

⁵⁶⁶ *Athiz* and *isemheḍ* are synonyms, meaning ‘without a name’. *At* ‘name’ is of Turkic etymon, and *isem* ‘name’ is an Arabic loan word.

that they are asking for a name, and babies dying without one are said to wander near their parents or in the forest or cemetery, and their crying can be heard because they carry on asking for a name for themselves (Khis. 111).

We have few data about the *athiz*. According to a record from Sverdlovsk, it can change its appearance from tree to haystack or fire (Khis. 39).

Auiðliq

I. (Dem dial.) *auïðliq* ‘herpes’ (Khis. 40); ‘herpes and the demon causing it’ (Khisam. I, 88); its further forms: *auïððïq*, *auïð bešmä*, *auïð osonoy*. **II.** *auïðliq* ‘bridle-bit, brace’ (BRS 57); and *auïð* ‘mouth’ (BRS2 60), *bešmä* ‘foot and mouth disease’ (BRS2 97); *osonoy* ‘rashes’ (BRS2 419). **III.** Both the root word (*auïð* ‘mouth’) and its derivative (*auïðliq*) are of Turkic etymon, OT. *ağiz* ‘mouth’, *ağizliğ* ‘of having or belonging to the mouth’ (Cl. 98); *ağiz*, *awiz* exists in all Turkic languages; for its present-day data, see: Sev. I, 81-83; GTJ 224; the word derived from it with the ending *-liq* (‘equipped with sg’) means ‘bridle-bit’ in some Kipchak and Oguz languages as well as in Chuvash, cf. GTJ 559; this is its basic meaning in Bashkir, too, it only means a mouth disease in the Dem dialect. **IV.** incantation: BashText 164.

The demon causing rashes and herpes on the mouth (its name is the same as the disease itself) is imagined in various forms; most often as a black-clad woman, but it can also be a cat or a fly. It appears at night and licks the food, sticks its tongue into the water and the salt and kisses or licks people’s teeth.

To heal the disease, a bridle is put into the mouth of the patient, who must say: “I am a horse, I am a horse” and must neigh, too. As the demon is afraid of horses, this will make it rush out of the sick person (BashText 165). There is also data about it being healed with an incantation.⁵⁶⁷

Aždaha

I. ‘giant snake, dragon’ (Rud. 267); *aždaha*, *aždaha yılan*, (Sak.) *ažda yılan*, (Sak; Irg.) *azdaqılan*, (Irg.) *äždähä*, *äždähä yılan*, (Tyuy dial) *äžžägä* ‘dragon, dragon

⁵⁶⁷ I quote the relevant incantation under BashText 164.

snake, evil spirit' (Khis. 7, 370). **III.** It exists in several Turkic languages; I present its data and etymology under Chuv. → *Astağa*. **IV.** mythical story: Khisam. I, 28-29.

The snake that lives a long life (one hundred years) will become a dragon and the dragon that lives for five hundred or a thousand years will become a → *Yuğa* (Rud. 267; Tor. 20; Khis. 7). There are various concepts in the background of mythical stories about the *aždaha*. According to one of them, the *aždaha* is a giant monster which lives in a lake or well and has huge eyes and a large forked tail. The *aždaha* devours the animals (especially the lambs) taken to the lake to drink. This dragon dies in the following way: in clear weather, a cloud comes with great thunder and lightning, pulls it out of the lake and takes it to Mount Qāf in the icy ocean (Rud. 267-268) or, according to a simpler version, it is dragged away by the whirlwind (Khis. 7). According to another story, the angels once took the dragons away (Khis. 7). One of Rudenko's records might be related to this, which says that "Thanks to Allah's mercy, the *aždaha* usually does not live long enough to become a *yuğa*" (Rud. 267).⁵⁶⁸ According to one of Khisamitdinova's data, the dragon which does too much harm to people will be lifted and taken behind Mount Qāf⁵⁶⁹ by the "upper forces" (Khis. 7).

According to yet another idea, the *aždaha* can take on a human form and marry a man as a beautiful maiden. Only later will the husband notice that his wife is in fact a monster. Such stories include tales (Bessonov 1941, 192) and mythical legends (Rud. 268). The monster appearing as a pretty maiden tends to go by the name → *Yuğa* in legends, whereas the *aždaha* is also associated with the notions of → *Šaytan* and → *Šüräle*, as in all three cases, there are records of these beings having a hole in their armpits, through which their hearts can be taken out and thus they can be destroyed (Rud. 272).

Cremated dragon bones (which could be replaced by a cremated frog) were used to heal eye diseases (Khis. 7).

⁵⁶⁸ This characteristic is also included in the *Myths of the Peoples of the World* (ME I, 50).

⁵⁶⁹ Mount Qāf in Muslim mythology: IsE IV, 400-402; ME I, 50, 184.

Bapaq

I. ‘bogeyman (child-scarer)’ (Khis. 54); further child-scaring names: *bišmïyïq*, *boqay* (*buqay*, *bükäy*), *xaž*, *qayış ayak*; *yek baba*, *köpäš äbey*, → *Qapaq*, *qïp-qïp*, *mätuğa*, *mötäükä*, *öräk*, *papa*, *papay*, *seygüð*, *seygüdmämüğa*, *sipsekütän*, *šökät äbey*, → *Zölpäkäy* (Khisam. 96; Khis. 70, 73, 86, 97, 152, 170, 207, 222, 229, 248, 251, 262, 265, 361);⁵⁷⁰ *artaq* ‘(child-scarer) monster’ (Khis. 33; Khisam. 79). II. *bapaq* ‘bogeyman (child-scarer)’ (BRS 71); the Southern Bashkirs use this word to describe all kinds of ugly and disgusting insects, too, and its meaning of an ‘ugly, repulsive person in filthy clothes’ is known throughout the language area (Khisam. 96); *bišmïyïq*: *biš* ‘five’ + *mïyïq* ‘ear’ (BRS2 395); *artaq* or *artaq yän* ‘(obs.) monster, beast’ (BRS 44). III. Khisamitdinova traces it back to the Old Iranian (Avestan) *Aqa-Mapaq* demon, along with the Kyrgyz word *bapaq-sapaq* ‘mud, muddy’ (Khisam. 96), which etymology cannot be supported. The relationship of the form *boqay* with the Turkic word *buqa*, *bïqa* requires further research (for the Tat. child-scaring beings *bökäy*, *büki*, cf. also: GG II, 205; Tat. → *Büki*). The Turkic word *buqa*, *bïqa* already existed in Old Turkic, meaning ‘bull’ (Cl. 312), and it can be found in several Modern Turkic languages, too, with the meanings ‘bull, breeding bull, deer, calf’ (Räs. 87; Sev. II, 230-232; GTJ 437-438, 645-646). However, the present-day Bashkir equivalent of this word is *buğa* ‘bull’.

To children, the *bapaq* was described as a thick-legged monster with big, red, bulging eyes, tousled hair and a big mouth. Children would be threatened like: “The *bapaq* is coming!” or “The *bapaq* will eat you!”.

Another child-scarer is the long-bearded, five-eared old man walking with a cane, the *bišmïyïq*. It was especially “employed” to threaten children who would not go to bed at night. The *bišmïyïq* was supposed to look in through the window and put those children into his sack who were still not asleep. Children were threatened with forms like “Here comes the *bišmïyïq*!”, “The *bišmïyïq* will catch you!”, “The *bišmïyïq* is walking around here!”.

Another child-scaring monster is the *artaq*, who is described as follows: huge, hairy, cross-eyed, its heels are turned back to front

⁵⁷⁰ I do not devote separate entries to the many forms listed here, because we do not know anything about the majority of them except their name and that they are identical with the *bapaq*.

and its arms are long, with 6 fingers on each hand.⁵⁷¹ It steals into the village at night and the children are told: *Artaq alip kitä!* ‘The *artaq* will take you!’ (Khisam. I, 79).

Beðmoron

I. ‘evil spirit (lit. awl-nose, awl-face)’ (Khis. 58; Khisam. I, 97). **II.** *beð* ‘awl; point (of something), edge (of sg)’ (BRS 80); *moron* ‘1. nose, 2. face, 3. sting; proboscis’ (BRS 438). **IV.** belief data: Khisam. I, 97.

As for its appearance, it is a huge, human-like being with its heels turned back to front. There are both men and women among them, who talk to each other and leave their footprints in the snow. They live in mountains and caves but sometimes go into the villages and take up residence in empty houses. People should then avoid moving into such houses because they will have no peace and even their animals and children may die.

Beðmorons are gluttonous, so if they keep going to the same place the animals there will become emaciated and eventually die. (The second part of the compound also appears in the name of the being → *Yeðmoron*.)

Betsü eyähe

I. ‘the spirit of itching or scabies’ (Khis. 61) [‘the master of itching or scabies’]. **II.** *betsü* ‘1. itching, scabies; itchy, scabious; 2. unfortunate, miserable man’ (BRS 86); + *eyä* ‘master, host’. **III.** *Betsü* is clearly related to the word *bet*, meaning ‘louse’, which already existed in Old Turkic (OT. *bit* ‘louse, bug, parasite’ Cl. 296) and has been retained in the majority of Modern Turkic languages (Sev. II, 151-152; GTJ 182). *Eyä* is also of Turkic etymon; for more details, see Chuv. → *Iye*. **IV.** incantation: BashText 279.

To heal scabies, they usually threw millet into water and recited an incantation.⁵⁷² An important element of the healing was that both healer and patient had to be quiet/silent during the procedure (Khis. 61; BashText 279-280).

⁵⁷¹ Its appearance is similar to that of the → *Šüräle* and the → *Yarimtūq*.

⁵⁷² I quote this under BashText 279.

Biðgäk, Tapma

I. (a) *biðgäk* ‘fever, the spirit of fever’ (Khis. 62); ‘disease demon’ (Khisam. I, 104). Dialectal forms: *bizgäk*, (CentUr.) *piskäk*; (b) *tapma* ‘fever, the spirit of fever’ (Khis. 283), ‘chills’ (Tor. 22). **II.** (a) *biðgäk* ‘fever, malaria, feverish, having malaria’ (BRS 87).⁵⁷³ **III.** (a) Bash. *bið-* < OT. *biz-* ‘shake, shiver’; see also Tat. → *Bizgäk*; (b) The gerund of the verb *tap-*, with the suffix *-ma* (Tor. 84). The verb *tap-* already existed in Old Turkic, meaning ‘to find’ (Cl. 435) and also exists in several Modern Turkic languages. Its modern data: GTJ 699. **IV.** incantation: Khis. 63; Khis. 279; healing story: Khisam. I, 104.

Although the *biðgäk* and the *tapma* are considered identical by a data provider (BashText 242), neither the records about the two words meaning ‘fever’, nor the healing procedures are identical, so I summarise the available data separately.⁵⁷⁴

1. *biðgäk* The disease demon was imagined to appear as a shaky old man, an old woman or sometimes a magpie. The Orenburg Bashkirs sent the disease over to a doll⁵⁷⁵ and the forest Bashkirs wrapped the sick person in the skin of a bear or wolf because they believed that the *biðgäk* would be frightened by the beasts and run away. The Central Ural Bashkirs tried to banish the disease in a similar way, by frightening it. They fired a gun next to the patient’s ear or unexpectedly poured cold water on the patient. The Southern Bashkirs gave foal’s blood to the patient, which they had to drink during the incantation⁵⁷⁶ (Khisam. I, 104-105; Khis. 191; Khis. 296).

2. *tapma* There are magical procedures for its healing, but it was also treated with medicinal herbs such as birch bark extract or a mugwort concoction (Arnol’dov 1894; cited by Rud. and Tor. 23 – I cite from the latter). One of the magical procedures was to cook

⁵⁷³ In the central language area, the word *huğılma* is used to mean ‘malaria, fever’, which means ‘epilepsy’ in the Eastern language area and ‘superinfection’ in the Salyut dialect (in other dialects, this is → *Öðlök*), and generally means infectious diseases in the other areas (Khis. 348; 116; see also → *Biuma*).

⁵⁷⁴ I must add that Khisamitdinova’s data basically relate to the *biðgäk* and Torma’s to the *tapma*, so it is possible that the differences can be traced back to the collectors themselves.

⁵⁷⁵ I quote the relevant record in the Anthology under Khisam. I, 104.

⁵⁷⁶ I quote the text under Khis. 279.

porridge for the sick man first thing in the morning, which he did not eat, though, but took it to the meadow or across the river. There, he opened his mouth and then went away, leaving the porridge behind. The Bashkirs believed that the disease would jump out to eat the porridge and could not find the sick man again later (Tor. 22). Another cure was recorded in the early 20th century, according to which talismans were often written for headaches and chills (Tor. 98).

Bire

I. (Kiz; Sak.) *bire* ‘devil, the evil one’ (Khis. 65); further dialectal data: *bäre, päre, pärey, mosolman päreye, bäreläre* (Khisam. I, 131); *bäre* ‘devil, impure force’ (Khis. 79). IV. mythical story (belief description): BKI XII, 90; (memorat): Khisam. I. 66.

Bire is one of the names used for the devil, besides → *Yen* and → *Şaytan*. Based on the dialectal and belief data provided by Khisamitdinova, it is difficult to establish what the relationship of the forms *bire*, *bäre* and *pärey* is to each other. Khisamitdinova herself could not be certain of the answer, because in her books, she discussed the words *bire*, *bäre* and *pärey* separately, nevertheless she called them dialectal differences and provided the data relating to them without distinction. On the basis of the few and poorly-documented data, the *bire* and the *pärey* may originally have been two different mythical beings, which later converged linguistically as well as semantically. As far as one can tell from the data, the *bäre* is rather close to the *bire* in its nature, whereas the *pärey*, primarily described by Rudenko, differs from it in various aspects. A more accurate definition would require more and better-recorded data. Here, I treat the forms *bire* and *bäre* together and deal with the → *Pärey* in a separate entry.

The *bire* has anthropomorphic qualities (it lives in a family, gets married and has children, moves house with its family), but it is invisible. The devils make a lot of noise when they move house (*bire küseüe; yen küseüe*), which includes children crying, cows mooing, whips snapping and, according to another record, machines whirring, music, singing, children crying and horses neighing (Khis. 65, 88).

The *bire* and the *bäre*y also play a role in the changing of newborn babies. Such changelings⁵⁷⁷ are gluttonous and have a big stomach and thick limbs (Khis. 79).⁵⁷⁸

Meeting the *bäre*y may make people ill, and are then healed with spitting, blowing and whispering incantations (Khis. 79). The *bire* can move into the house, whence it is ousted (*bire qüüü*, *yen qüüü*) with gunshots (Khis. 65; Khis. 225). See also → *Päre*y.

The *mosolman bäre*y (Muslim *bäre*y) is supposed to look like a man, but it only has one eye, which shines at night in the middle of its forehead. There are several of these beings, and their job it to teach people to become healers and spell-casters (Khis. 221). In another record, the spell-casters were able to make the *mosolman bäre*y do all kinds of useful jobs as well as impossible tasks (e.g. haymaking, spinning a rope from sunrays or sand),⁵⁷⁹ and they could also create a whirlwind or quiet down a storm with its help.⁵⁸⁰

Birtek

I. ‘the spirit of sciatica’ (Khisam. I, 109); ‘lower backache caused by the *birtek* spirit’ (Khis. 66); ‘lower backache; demon causing lower backache; cure for backache’ (Tor. 83). **II.** ‘1. damage, injury (in the lower back); 2. *birtek*, *birtek aša* (ethn.) name of food collected from 40 houses to heal a spine injury’ (BRS 92); ‘a lonely person in need of the donations of others’ (Tor. 106).⁵⁸¹ **III.** Torma believes that the word is derived from the verb *birte*- ‘damage’ with the deverbative nominal suffix *-k* (Tor. 85), whereas Khisamitdinova traces it back to the OT. word *bert* ‘injury, disability, wound’ (Khisam. I, 110). Both Torma’s and Khisamitdinova’s data require clarification. The Bashkir word *birte*- in fact means ‘hit, injure, spoil, damage (arm

⁵⁷⁷ In Bashkir, there are several phrases: *bäre balahı* ‘the devil’s child, little devil’, *bäre*, *päre*y, *yen* or *şaytan almaştırğan* or *alıştırılğan bala* ‘devil-changed child’ (Khis.79; Khisam. I, 65, 131, Tor. 83). As the baby can be changed in the first 40 days after birth, this period of childcare is characterised by several regulations and taboos. For more details, see: Khisam. I, 65-66; Tor. 32-35.

⁵⁷⁸ I quote the relevant mythical story under Khisam. I, 66.

⁵⁷⁹ Impossible tasks are usually assigned to over-eager and burdensome helper spirits so as to get rid of them. Thus, the data here may be a late, modified form, where the impossible task only means that the given being “can do anything”.

⁵⁸⁰ I quote such a description under BKI XII, 90.

⁵⁸¹ I have not found such a meaning anywhere.

and legs), harm' (BRS 92).⁵⁸² The Old Turkic word brought up by Khisamitdinova, however, is not the noun *bert* but the verb *bärt-*, cf. *bärt-* 'to injure, hurt (someone)' (Cl. 358; as well as *bärtük* 'dislocated limb' Cl. 359). The modern equivalents of the Old Turkic word include several forms that are derived similarly to Bashkir: Tuv. *bert-ik*, 'injury, fracture', Khak. *pirt-ik* 'id.', the Tatar *birtə*, *birtək* 'tumour', whose meaning has been modified, and the Osm. *bärt* 'impetigo, scabies', which can perhaps be related to it (cf. Räs. 71). **IV.** incantation: Khisam. I, 110; BashText 235-236.

The Bashkirs believe that if somebody lifts a heavy object or is bitten by a rabid dog, the *birtek*-spirit will stick to them. To heal the patient, food must be collected from three, seven or forty houses (the food thus collected was also called *birtek* or *birtek aša* 'the *birtek*'s food'). The number of people collecting the food is also determined (usually two or three), and in certain places, other requirements were also recorded, for example, that the food-collecting children must include a first-born as well as a youngest one. In other places yet, orphan and disabled children had to do the collection. Some of the collected food was fed to the patient and the rest smeared on their lower back (Khisam. I, 109-110; BashText 231-234).

Bisura

I. 'forest elf' (Rud. 270); 'evil spirit with a female appearance' (Khis. 68); 'small, male or female inferior spirits wearing red shirts' (ME I, 50); 'mythical being harmful to humans' (Tor. 83); '1. forest spirit' (BRS 92). **II.** '2. messy, carelessly dressed woman' (BRS 92). **III.** Akhmet'yanov traces it back to the Old Turkic word *bičīn*⁵⁸³ 'monkey' – actually, following Budagov's etymology (Bud. I, 312), which is accepted by Khisamitdinova, too (Akhm. 22; Khis. 68). Akhmet'yanov equates the Turkic word with Mongolian *bič* 'monkey' and assumes a Mongolian suffix *-ura*. An unclear etymology. Likewise, Khisamitdinova's other idea is also unacceptable, originating the word from the root *sura*, *čura* and even equating it with Chuv. → *Ar-šuri* (Khisam. I, 114). **IV.** mythical story: Khisam. I, 112; BKI XII, 98.

⁵⁸² It also appears in the dictionary used by Torma with the meaning 'spoil, damage, injure (arms or legs)' (BRS2 102).

⁵⁸³ The Old Turkic word *bičīn*, meaning 'monkey' is probably of Iranian origin and got into Mongolian through Turkic mediation (cf. Räs. 66; Cl. 294-295; DTS 98).

It is a complex mythical being; actually, two different beings seem to emerge from the records so far. Rudenko claims that it lives on forest clearings, seduces the people wandering in the forest to have intercourse with it and then gives them piles of money or helps them get rich (Rud. 270, also cited by Basilov: ME I, 173).

Khisamitdinova's data rather suggest a house spirit, one that can be dangerous but can also help people.⁵⁸⁴ It was considered to mainly help with the housework and the chores around the house (Khisam. I, 114). Besides, there was also a belief that when it moved into a house, the housewife became very good at sewing and weaving (Khis. 241). At the same time, the area in front of the mouth of the oven, for example, was considered a dangerous place because the *bisura* was believed to sit there or by the door (Khis. 148). Khisamitdinova recorded two taboo names for it. One of them *tege*, meaning 'that, the other' and the other is *eyärsän* 'stepchild, travel companion'⁵⁸⁵ (Khisam. I, 114). Taboo names also suggest that the *bisura* had probably been considered a dangerous being earlier.

Torma claims that it is a being causing diseases (Tor. 83), but he does not provide any relevant data, nor have I found any. A single piece of data that might be relevant is that, similarly to some evil spirits and disease demons, the *bisura* is also afraid of the sweat of horses (Khis. 37).⁵⁸⁶

Bïuma

I. 'the spirit of the disease epilepsy' (Khis. 77); its further names: *kük bïuma* 'blue or celestial epilepsy' (Khis. 158); in the eastern language area: *huğılma* (Khis. 348); *qïdöma* (Khis. 204); *quyansiq* (Khis. 178); *mirekäy* (Khis. 219); *üdeneke* (Khis. 329); → *Ziřyandař* (Khis. 97). **II.** '1. epilepsy, suffering from epilepsy 2. seizure' (BRS 121). **IV.** incantation: BashText 250; healing story: Khisam. I, 129.

The disease could be healed by sending it to a doll, which was done in various ways. They circled the doll (*qursaq*) around the

⁵⁸⁴ The notion of Tat. → *Bičura* is similar.

⁵⁸⁵ The dictionary provides the following meaning for this word: '(sy's) follower, disciple; stepchild' (BRS 791).

⁵⁸⁶ There is such data also in connection with → *Yen*.

patient's head and then threw it away at the crossroads or into the river. According to another procedure, two dolls were made: one male and one female figure, which they kept on the patient's chest for a while and then threw them away far from the village (Khis. 200-201). Other methods were known, too, such as whipping the patient's feet or footprints in order to frighten and drive out the disease (Khis. 278); furthermore, during a seizure, they stripped the patient, pinched their clothes between the door and the doorjamb, and then buried the clothes under cow dung.⁵⁸⁷

Bīžī eyāhe

I. 'the spirit of rickets' (Khis. 76). Its further forms: *nīžī* (BashText 105). **II.** *bīžī* 'rickets' + *eyā* 'master' **III.** Its connection with the verb *bīžīu-* can be suggested (Khisam. I, 127); *bīžīu-* 'wither, rot' (BRS2 127).

Rickets or polio and the spirit causing it. To heal it, the child was seated on a baker's shovel and pushed into the oven three times. They believed that the spirit was afraid that the fire in the oven would be started and therefore would run out of the child. In another procedure, the child was lain on the threshold and a billy-goat was led over it (Khisam. I, 127; BashText 105-106).

Büðer

I. 'hernia, the evil spirit of hernia' (Khis. 15. 75); 'bellyache (especially hernia) and the name of the demon causing it' (Tor. 83-84; 103); 'finger- or fist-sized lump' (Rud. 274). **II.** 'hernia' (BRS 116). **IV.** incantation: Tor. 84/2; Khis. 15; BashText 91, 94, 95, 96; healing story: BashText 92-93.

The disease demon was banished partly with incantations⁵⁸⁸ and partly by feeding rubble to the patient. The so-called hernia-stone (*büðer taši*) was scraped from a recess in a mountain at dawn and fed to the patient (BashText 230). Torma's records are more about mechanical procedures, such as using a broom or the father's sock

⁵⁸⁷ I quote such a healing story under Khisam. I, 129 and the incantation recited while hiding the clothes under cow dung under BashText 250.

⁵⁸⁸ In the same way among Tatars (Tat. → *Büser*).

to smooth, massage, warm or remove the *büðer* (Tor. 22, 84). According to other sources, they also used hernia-stone to smooth out the lump (BashText 229). Incantations were used in both procedures, in which texts the *büðer* may take the attributes white, black, black-headed, yellow and old (Khis. 15, 75-76).⁵⁸⁹

Deyeü

I. ‘demon, evil spirit’ (Khis. 82; Khisam. II, 4); its further forms: *deü bärehe*, *deyeü päreye*, *däüfäre*, *diüäre*, *deübire*, *döyöü*, *döyöü pärey* (Khisam. II, 4); (CentUr.) *däü farisī* (Khis. 85); *deyeü päreye* ‘lord of the winds, master of the *pärey* spirits reigning in the winds’ (ME I, 386). **II.** ‘(myth.) *deyeü*’ (BRS2 164); *deyeü pärey* ‘demon, fairy-tale giant’ (BRS2, 444). **III.** It exists in several Turkic languages; see Tat. → *Diyü päri*. Khisamitdinova’s assumption that the word did not get into Turkic languages from Persian but preserves the name of an old Kipchak deity (Khisam. II, 4.) is unacceptable.⁵⁹⁰

It is a figure not so much of folk belief but rather of folk epic – probably quoted from there by Lossievsky, too, who has it in the form *d’yu-pariy*, a being which bellows and hammers day and night with a huge bellows and a hundred-pood⁵⁹¹ hammer (Lossievsky 1878, Khisam. II, 4, I cite from the latter). Rudenko also knows it only in a compound form with the *pärey* (*diu peri*,⁵⁹² ‘the ruler of winds’) (Rud. 270; his interpretation adopted by Basilov: ME I, 386). In the epic poems *Ural batır* and *Küðyürpäs*, it is described as a monster or a creature living in an underground realm (Khisam. II, 4). Khisamitdinova cites an extract (unfortunately, without any reference), in which the *däü keşe* is an enormous giant, whose son takes people out of his pockets (Khis. 84).

⁵⁸⁹ I quote the relevant incantations under Tor. 84/2 and Khis. 15.

⁵⁹⁰ In her argumentation, she brings up as evidence the figure of the *div* bird in *The Song of Igor’s Campaign*, which notifies the Kumans of the arrival of the Russian troops.

⁵⁹¹ Pood is an old Russian weight measurement; one pood is over 16 kg.

⁵⁹² This is how it appears in the first edition of his book (Rudenko 1925, 304), and then in the 1955 and 2006 editions, it was corrected to *deyeü pärey* (Rud. 270).

Däžžäl

I. ‘the spirit of temptation, Antichrist’ (Khis. 66); ‘evil spirit, Satan, tempter’ (Khisam. II, 5); its further forms: *däržäl*, *däržžäl*, *däžäl*, *täžäl*, *täžžäl* (Khis. 66; Khisam. II, 5); ‘Antichrist’⁵⁹³ (BRS 172). **II.** In dialects: ‘bad, very dangerous person’ (Khisam. II, 6). **III.** The word is of Arabic origin, Ar. الدجال (*al-dağğāl*) ‘Antichrist’ (cf. also: دجال (*dağala*) ‘to lie’ دجال (*dağāl*) ‘cheater, charlatan’ ARS 246). **IV.** mythical story: Khisam. II, 5; Khisam. II, 5-6.

A figure of Islam mythology, not appearing in the Quran, but in legends since the Middle Ages (IsE II, 76; IV, 408). On the basis of the notions associated with it (it will appear at the end of times with its armies and subjugate the earth), it is generally likened to the Antichrist of Christianity (ME I, 346), but some of its features relate it to the Sirens. In Bashkir beliefs, *däžžäl* will also come at the end of times and seduce people with its gorgeous music, who will follow it until their feet wear off. According to another idea, it devours people.⁵⁹⁴

Äruaχ

I. ‘spirit, soul of the dead, spirit of ancestors’ (Khis. 373; Khisam. III, 115). **II.** ‘(literary) soul, spirit (BRS 819), and *ruχ* ‘(rel.) soul, spirit, spiritual’ (BRS 520). **III.** The word is of Arabic origin; the plural of Ar. روح (*rūh*) ‘soul, spirit’ (ARS 319) is ارواح (*arwāh*). Both the singular and the plural forms of the Arabic word can be found in many Turkic languages (cf. e.g. Bud. I, 33; Räs. 28, 390). In central Asian Kipchak languages, the plural form (with singular meaning) usually means some mythical being. In the Oguz languages, the adoption of the Arabic singular form is more typical and it simply means ‘soul, spirit’ (TuRS 737-738; ARL III, 832-833).

The soul of the dead stays on Earth for forty days after death and on Thursday and Fridays it visits the house where the person lived. On these days, the inhabitants of the house honour the dead with alms and praying. The dead who is not honoured can turn against the living and bring trouble and misfortune even to its closest relatives (Khisam. III, 115).

⁵⁹³ Not the most appropriate translation in a Muslim context; here (and below) I adopted the meaning from the given dictionaries.

⁵⁹⁴ I quote two mythical stories under Khisam. II, 5; Khisam. II, 5-6.

The Arabic-origin *arvax* can be found among several Central Asian Kipchak-language peoples as a mythical being, as a protective or harmful, disease-causing spirit, as the spirit or ghost of ancestors or dead people or the helping spirit of shamans (e.g. Valikhanov 1904, 208-209; Mustafina, 1992, 128-129; Basilov–Niyazklychev 1975, 124).

Äzäl

I. ‘death, the spirit of death’ (Khis. 370); dial. (Haq; Irg.) *äzäl* ‘id.’ (BHH III, 225). **III.** It is probably related to the Arabic word عزرائيل ‘Izrā’īl’ (‘angel of death’ ARS 513). (On the Turkic-language background of the Arabic word, see Chuv. → *Esrel*), but it requires a more detailed study (in modern literary Bashkir, the name exists in the form of *Gazrail*).

The word and the notion found its way into Bashkir together with Islam and only a few small data can be found about it in folk belief. One of these, for example, is the record in which death says to the dying: “First, I will take your face, then I will take your flesh and then I will take your soul!” (Khis. 370).

Färeštä

I. ‘angel’ (Khis. 334); dial. (Kiz; Mias dial.) *färeštä* ‘id.’ (Khis. 334). **III.** The Bashkir word *färeštä* is of Persian origin: ModPer. فرشته (*firišta*) ‘angel’ (Gaf. II, 601); besides the Volga Turkic languages, it also exists in Osmanli (Räs. 145) and Azeri (cf. AFS 677). **IV.** blessing: Khis. 375; prayer (to the *qot*)⁵⁹⁵: BashText 218-220; Khisam. III, 6.

The angel notion of Muslim mythology and some Bashkir beliefs are joined together in the *färeštä* figure of Bashkir folk belief.

Closely related to the Islamic tradition is the idea that human-shaped angels live on the first, emerald-green level of heaven (Khis. 59). Also a notion rooted in Islam is that four angels stand

⁵⁹⁵ *Qot* is a kind of soul-notion, which exists in most of the Turkic languages. It was already present in Old Turkic (*qut*) (DTS 471; Sev. 176-178; Räs. 305; Cl. 594). In present-day Bashkir, *qot* means ‘soul, life-force, luck, happiness’ (Khis. 192; Torma translates it as ‘happiness-soul’: Tor. 80-83, 166).

guard at the four corners of the world⁵⁹⁶ – their names in Bashkir are: *Däülätkäli*, *Däülätšäxi*, *Däülätäsχädi*, *Däülätäsχäbi* (Khis. 85, 334). Women are prescribed to cover their hair with a scarf so as not to anger the angels (Khis. 382).

Throughout life, humans are accompanied by two angels. The one sitting on the right shoulder records the good deeds and the one sitting on the left shoulder records the bad deeds and they submit these records to Allah at the time of the person's death. Allah will decide on the basis of these whether the person will get to heaven or hell (Khisam. III, 81). However, there are several examples that this notion is connected with the angel of death (→ *Ġazrail*).

Of Bashkir mythical beings, some characteristics of the master-spirits (*eyä*, *χuža*) also appear in connection with the notion of *färeštä*. Dreams as well as the cemetery have their own angels (Khis. 117, 334), or guardians. Whereas the *eyä*-type master-spirits are always the masters and protectors of physical entities (e.g. the house, yard, stable) or are connected with the names of diseases, the *färeštäs* are the protectors of spiritual-type things such as dreams and the cemetery (or of the dead and their spirits).

Ġazrail

I. ‘angel of death’ (Khis. 81), its further forms: *Žabrayıl*, *Yabrayıl*, as well as *Ġazrail färeštä*, *Yabrayıl färeštä* (Khisam. I, 142). ‘1. angel of death’ (BRS 148). **II.** ‘2. (metaph.) evildoer, criminal, cruel person, monster’ (BRS 148). **III.** *Ġazrail* < Ar. عزرائيل (*‘izrā’il*) (for more details, see Chuv. → *Esrel*); for the data of *färeštä*, *färeštä*, see → *Färeštä*. **IV.** mythical story: Khisam. I, 142; incantation (folk prayer to the *qut*): BashText 218-220.

The notion has Muslim roots. According to Khisamitdinova, the Bashkirs imagine the angel of death in various ways. Its head reaches the seventh sky and its feet are in the seventh underworld (Khis. 81), or it is a long-legged, huge-trunked, four-faced, invisible being. Furthermore, it is believed to have as many eyes on its body as many people live on earth (Khisam. I, 142). Khisamitdinova does

⁵⁹⁶ In Islamic tradition, the four main angels closest to Allah.

not support these descriptions of *Ġazrail*'s appearance with actual data and references (although they are well-known from other sources);⁵⁹⁷ therefore, their existence in Bashkir folk belief is not necessarily credible. We only know a single description, collected as a folk belief,⁵⁹⁸ which claims that, when *Ġazrail* takes out the soul, everything will be soaked in blood around the dead person, but this is not visible to the living.

Ġäyşä-Fatima

I. 'mythical female figure protecting women and children' (Khis. 82; Khisam. I, 143); its further forms: *Ġäyşä-Batima*, *Äyşä-Batman* (Khis. 82, 371; Khisam. I, 143); *Äyşä-Fatima* (BashText 307). III. A being created from the names of Mohamed's wife (عائشة) and daughter (فاطمة). IV. incantation: Khisam. I, 143-144; Khisam. I, 144; Khisam. I, 144-145; Khisam. III, 36; BashText 141, 145, 329-330.

A name often occurring in incantations, usually in the forms of "not my hand but *Ġäyşä-Fatima*'s hand"⁵⁹⁹ or "not my incantation"⁶⁰⁰ but

⁵⁹⁷ Data with further literature: ME I, 488.

⁵⁹⁸ I quote the text under Khisam. I, 142.

⁵⁹⁹ This formula is also used during angling, when throwing in the hook (Khis. 178).

⁶⁰⁰ In the original texts, it actually appears as "*mineñ telem tügel, Ġäyşä-Batima telem*", that is: 'not my tongue but *Ġäyşä-Batima*'s tongue'. The meaning of the word *tel* is given by the BRS as follows: '1. language, 2. speech, 3. latch of a lock, tongue of a bell, 4. key (on a keyboard)' (BRS 600). On the basis of this, Torma, for example, believed that "... in order to understand the spirits better, they spoke in the language of the spirits («masters» of the game to be hunted, of the fire, the lightning, the bees). Thus, magic texts are called *quyan telem* 'rabbit's language', *qoş telem* 'bird's language', *ut telem* 'fire's language, etc.'" (Tor. 113). In my opinion, something different is going on here. Beside the meanings 'language, speech', the Bashkir word *tel* also means 'incantation'. It is similar, for example, in the Chuvash language, where the word *čělxe*, which is a cognate with the Bashkir *tel*, means: '1. language, 2. speech, word, 3. incantation' (Ashm. XV, 280-281); and where the compound *vut čělxi* 'fire's incantation' also appears, among others (Ashm. XV, 281), which is used to avoid conflagrations. Likewise, the Tatar word *tel* also has a meaning 'incantation' (although the monolingual Tatar dictionary provides this in a separate entry TTS III, 73). It is also supported by the fact that in Bashkir, the incantations against several diseases are given in such a form, e.g. *sarpju telem*, which does not mean 'speaking in the language of the disease *sarpju*' but an incantation against the

Ğäyşä-Fatima’s incantation” or “not my healing but *Ğäyşä-Fatima*’s healing”.⁶⁰¹ On the basis of the collected incantations, it is found to appear in those used when bathing newborns for the first time,⁶⁰² as well as when healing diseases such as sties,⁶⁰³ warts,⁶⁰⁴ ringworm⁶⁰⁵ and → *Yelpeü*.⁶⁰⁶ On the basis of this, Khisamitdinova’s assumption that *Ğäyşä-Fatima* is the protector of women and children seems exaggerated. Furthermore, her hypothesis that *Ğäyşä-Fatima* is the replacement of the Old Turkic notion of *Umay*⁶⁰⁷ cannot be supported with anything (Khisam. I, 145).

The mythical being coined from the names of Mohamed’s wife and daughter⁶⁰⁸ can also be found among the Tatar and the Chuvash, as well as some Central Asian Turkic peoples (for more details on this, see Chuv. → *Aşapatman*).

Harī

I. ‘jaundice’ (Khisam. III, 86); *harī auīrīüi* ‘jaundice, jaundice’s spirit [yellow’s disease]’; *harī eyähe* ‘jaundice [jaundice’s master]’ (Khis. 341); as well as: *qara harī* ‘jaundice, spirit of jaundice’ (Khis. 176) [‘black jaundice’]; (NorthWest.) *qarasarī* ‘id.’ (Khis. 177). **II.** ‘1. yellow, 2. jaundice’ (BRS2, 622). **III.** The word already existed in Old Turkic, OT. *sarīg* ‘yellow’ (Cl. 848) and can be found in the majority of Turkic languages with the same meaning or as the name of other colours. It also

disease *sarpīu*. Similarly, for example, *qan tele* does not mean ‘speaking in the language of the blood’ but the incantation to heal the diseases of the blood.

⁶⁰¹ The formula “Not my hand but *Märyäm ana* (Mother Mary)’s hand” also occurs, but much more rarely (Khis. 228).

⁶⁰² I quote the relevant incantation under Khisam. I, 143-144.

⁶⁰³ I quote the relevant incantation under Khisam. III, 36.

⁶⁰⁴ I quote the relevant incantation under BashText 289.

⁶⁰⁵ I quote the relevant incantation under Khisam. I, 144-145.

⁶⁰⁶ I quote the relevant incantation under Khisam. I, 144; and BashText 329-330.

⁶⁰⁷ *Umay* was presumably the name of a female deity, which already appeared in the Orkhon inscriptions and has been preserved in some Modern Turkic languages, too (cf. Roux 1956, Lot-Falck 1956, Potapov 1973, 265-286; ME II, 547, Dallos 2004, 75-78).

⁶⁰⁸ Torma did not know that this name, created by the blending of the two names, was widespread among the Turkic peoples of the Volga region; therefore, in his translation, he separated the names *Ğäyşä* and *Fatima* with a comma (Tor. 40).

exists in several languages (e.g. Uzb; Chuv; Tat; Kyrg.) as the name of a disease (jaundice) (cf. Sev. 220-221); cf. also: WOT 691-695.

The colour yellow was used to heal jaundice: the patient was given a concoction from yellow-flowered plants and honeyed drinks as well as egg yolks. Besides, lice were put in their food (Khis. 94; 341, BashText 238-239). The question is whether *hari* is simply the name of the disease or it can be regarded as a disease demon. Khisamitdinova herself does not quote texts to support the latter, but the compound *qara hari* is worth mentioning, whose meaning ‘black jaundice’ may suggest that the disease had earlier been associated with the world of demons.

Hauana

I. (Gay.) ‘spirit of urinary tract diseases’ (Khis. 342).

This name as the spirit of urinary tract diseases was only recorded in the Gaynin district. Here, to stop frequent urination, they gave a donation to *Hauana*. In other areas, the disease related to urination (e.g. incontinence) is called *ubir sarpiui* (Khis. 320). Urinary tract diseases were generally considered to belong to the → *Yelpeü* group of diseases and were mainly believed to be caused by the earth (→ *Yer*).

Hiu eyähe

I. ‘water’s spirit’ (Khis. 356) [‘water’s master’]; its further forms: *hiu anahî* ‘id.’ [‘water’s mother’], *hiu atahî* ‘id.’ [‘water’s father’], *hiu batšahî* ‘id.’ [‘water’s prince’], *hiu babasî* ‘id.’ [‘water’s grandfather’], *hiu inähe* ‘id.’ [‘water’s mother’], *hiu ügeöe* ‘id.’ [‘water’s bull’],⁶⁰⁹ *hiu xužahî* ‘id.’ [‘master, host’], *Hiubikä* ‘name of the water’s master’ (Khis. 354-356; Khisam. III, 96). II. *hiu* ‘water’ + *eyä* ‘master’ III. The Bashkir *hiu* is a regular equivalent of the OT. word *sūb*, *sūw* ‘water’, and it exists in several Modern Turkic languages (Cl. 783; Räs 431; see also Chuv. → *Šiv*). IV. disease and healing story: BashText 323; incantation: BashText 277, 320, 321, 327, 339-340; Khis. 175, 276; Khisam. II, 19, 42; Tor. 87/1, 87/2, 116.

⁶⁰⁹ In Tatar, there is also a mythical being whose name means ‘water bull’ (Tat. → *Su ügez*).

Every body of water (river, stream, lake and spring) has its own master spirit⁶¹⁰ which, on the basis of its names, was imagined either female or male (water's mother, water's father, water's grandfather).⁶¹¹ There were also various ideas as to its abode: it was believed to live on an island in the water (Khis. 29) or in the whirlpool (Khis. 382).

Various restrictions were associated with carrying water, bathing and drinking. It was advised, for example, to avoid carrying water after sunset; if it was necessary anyway, the water's spirit had to be asked for permission (Khis. 269; 356).⁶¹² Whenever they carried water, drank from or bathed in a certain body of water for the first time, they had to put one of their hairs or a thread from their clothes (Khis. 350, 355-356), or a tussock of grass into the water (Khis. 331). When a newly-wed wife went to fetch water for the first time, she had to throw coins or bread and then ask for water (Khis. 273).

Drinking the water or bathing in it could cause various diseases, which were usually healed with incantations. In the majority of incantations, the water's master appears together with the earth's master (→ *Yer, yer anası, yer atası*), but more diseases were associated

⁶¹⁰ Some of them have separate names, for example, *šiřmā eyāhe* 'spring's master' (Khisam. III, 103-104).

⁶¹¹ In the Central Ural region, they believe that if the given body of water has a female master, she is called *sü enäse* 'water's mother' and the male master is called *sü ügeđe* 'water's bull' (Khis. 273). At other places, both the female and the male master has a name, which occurs in some incantations. The female master is called *Hiubikā* and the male *Söläymän* – I quote the incantations under BashText 277 and BashText 295. There is a record which lists four names and adds that these names always have to be invoked whenever somebody wants to fetch water. These names are the following: *Väsäqqähem, Rabbahim, Šarabahim* and *Tähürä* (Khis. 355).

⁶¹² This is what Khisamitdinova writes about the formulas asking for water, said at this time: "Cold beard, I have come to fetch water, give me water!". Torma describes how they explain themselves to the spirit of the water. After the Arabic formula "In the name of Allah, the merciful, the compassionate" (Torma translates it differently: "In the name of God, the most majestic, the most gracious"), they continue in Bashkir: "We have a guest" (Tor. 87). A similar explanatory formula is given in BKI, too: "A white-bearded guest has come on a light grey horse, give him water for the wash!" (BKI XII, 106).

with the earth than with the water. Mostly the diseases involving cramping pain were thought to be caused by water (Khis. 147) but, for example, smallpox was also thought to be caused by water (→ *Säsäk inähe*), as was ear infection (→ *Tatran eyähe*). In the texts of incantations, the following formula recurs in connection with various diseases: “If thou came from water, go to water”⁶¹³ (along with “If thou came from earth, go to earth!”). Various incantations begin with “Earth’s mother (father), red (brown) beard, water’s mother, cold (limp) beard”.⁶¹⁴

Water also played a role in healing. When healing certain diseases, the patient’s hair (and, in the belief of the Bashkirs, the disease itself, too) was given over to the river (Khis. 276). Morning dew was mostly used to avert harm (Khis. 282) and water and bathing were significant at the time of children’s birth (Tor. 41).

A completely different notion was recorded by Rudenko at the beginning of the 20th century. Although he also claims that each water body has its own master, he describes water spirits (which he first calls *hüu eyähe* and then consistently ‘water-satan’) as anthropomorphic creatures, which live in large, rich underwater palaces. He adds that these water-satans are very stupid, so, with a little resourcefulness, the Bashkirs can make a lot of money when meeting them (Rud. 269-270). Rudenko’s data seem to come mainly from fairy tales, so they are less useful as a source of the mythical or belief background of water spirits.

Höyäl (söyäl) eyähe

I. *höyäl eyähe* ‘spirit of warts’ (Khis. 346); *söyäl* ‘wart’ (Khis. 267; Tor. 71). **II.** *söyäl* ‘1. wart; 2. dry corn (in the foot’ (BRS2 479). **III.** The word already existed in Old Turkic – OT. *sigil, sögöl* ‘wart’, or similar swelling including even ‘nipple’ and ‘piles’ (Cl. 820); in the DTS, it appears in the form *sügül* ‘wart’ (DTS 517). The word exists in several Modern Turkic languages, too, usually meaning ‘wart’ (Cl. 820; Räs. 429). **IV.** incantation: BashText 287, 289; Khis. 268.

⁶¹³ I quote such texts under BashText 142, 321.

⁶¹⁴ I quote such texts under BashText 320, 321, 339-340; Khisam. II, 19, 42; Tor. 87/1, 87/2, 116.

Removing warts was partly associated with the new moon (Tor. 71); in the incantations recited on this occasion, warts are called toys.⁶¹⁵ In another healing method, knots are tied on a thread, first one, then three, then five, while a dialogue is going on: “What are you tying on the thread?” “I am tying warts on the thread!”. Washing-up water is then poured over the knots, while reciting the formula “Not my hand, *Ġäyşä-Fatima*’s hand”. The wart will go away when the thread disintegrates (BashText 288-289). In a similar procedure, 41 knots are tied on a black thread, which is placed under the shelf in the bath (Khis. 346). Yet another cure is known, when they prick the wart with a stick while incanting upon it.⁶¹⁶

Xazina eyähe

I. ‘treasure’s spirit’ (Khis. 335) [‘treasure’s master’]. **III.** Ar. خزينة (*ḥazīna*) ‘treasure, treasury, cash register’ (ARS 219). The word exists in some other Turkic languages, too (e.g. Osm; Az.), meaning ‘treasury, state wealth’ (AFS 682, 689; TRS 398). *Eyä* is a Turkic-etymon word; for more details, see Chuv. → *Iye*. **IV.** story: BKI XII, 105.

If some treasure has been buried underground for a long time, a master spirit will come about at one point, who wants to protect this treasure at all costs (Khisam. III, 82). According to a story, the master spirit of the buried treasure will start walking around the area after a while in the shape of an animal or a human, and thus the treasure can be found (Khis. 335).⁶¹⁷

Yalmauið, Mauïð

I. ‘dragon, monster, vampire’ (Khis. 378); ‘evil spirit, demon’ (Khisam. III, 121); dial. (Irg.) ‘the spirit of fire’ (Khis. 378); *yelmauið* ‘female vampire’ (Khis. 87); dial. *mauið* ‘vampire’ (BHH I, 155); its other form: *mauið* ‘witch, evil spirit’ (Khis. 216); ‘vampire, gluttonous’ (BHH I, 155). **III.** This fairy-tale or mythical being exists among several Turkic peoples (Tat; Kaz; Kyrg; Nog; Uyg.), usually meaning ‘witch, man-eating monster, seven-headed creature, blood-sucking crone’. For its linguistic

⁶¹⁵ I quote such an incantation under BashText 287.

⁶¹⁶ I quote this under Khis. 268.

⁶¹⁷ I quote such a description under BKI XII, 105.

data, see: Räs. 183; Sev. IV, 96; for its Turkic mythical or belief background, see ME I, 439. Several etymologies of the word are known; so far, it is not entirely clear. Budagov, followed by Radloff and Räsänen, basically start from the verb *yalma-*, *yala-* ‘devour, swallow; lick’ (Bud. II, 399; Rad. IV, 44; Räs. 183). Sevortyan, on the other hand, considers the word *yel* to be the first part of the compound and equates the second part with the Mongolian *mongus* (Sev. IV, 95-96).

The *yalmauið* is a forest being, pictured as a crone or a monster having seven heads but only one eye and a very long tongue (Khisam. III, 121). Wherever it goes, a wind rises and its breathing is so powerful that it destroys living creatures in the vicinity.

Khisamitdinova presents a single piece of data about the form *yelmauið* (which she discusses independently of the *yalmauið*, in a separate entry), which was collected in the Yılayır district in 2003, claiming that the *yelmauið* sucks children’s (or adults’) blood (Khis. 87).

The *yalmauið* is also a character in tales, a blood-sucking and man-destroying witch, especially dangerous to young women. This fairy-tale and mythical being, widespread among the Kazakhs and the Kyrgyz, only appears sporadically among the Volga Turkic peoples.

Yalqaq

I. ‘glanders, and the spirit of the disease’ (Khis. 113).

The spirit of the disease glanders is believed to live in ravines, gulleys and animal cemeteries (Khis. 113).

Yamğır eyähe

I. ‘rain’s spirit’ (Khis. 379) [‘rain’s master’]; *yamğır ıuıahı* ‘id.’, *yamğır täırehe* ‘rain’s god’,⁶¹⁸ *yamğır apay* ‘aunt rain’, *yamğır batıahı* ‘rain’s spirit’ (Khis. 379) [‘rain’s prince’]. III. Both words are of Turkic etymon; *yamğır*, meaning ‘rain’, already existed in Old Turkic, OT. *yağmur* (Cl. 903-904). It also exists in several Turkic languages today, cf. GTJ 25-26; for the Turkic background of *eyä*, see Chuv. → *Iye*. IV. incantation: Khis. 379. 383; 383/2.

⁶¹⁸ Khisamitdinova does not indicate where this piece of data comes from, and I have not found any relevant texts, either. It is presumably a non-existent form. Khisamitdinova sometimes infers or invents mythical beings (see → *Ağas eyähe*).

In the imagination of the Bashkirs, the spirit (prince) of rain drives the clouds with its whip during a storm (Khis. 379). “Aunt rain” appears in incantations, whom they beg for rain, and in the Irgiz dialect, even the name of the rain spirit has been recorded: they ask *Yaumbikā*⁶¹⁹ for rain.

Yar eyähe

I. ‘the spirit [master] of the shore’ (Khis. 381). **II.** *yar* ‘shore’ + *eyä* ‘master’. **III.** Both words are of Turkic etymon, *yar* exists in several Turkic languages, meaning ‘shore, steep bank, slope, ravine’ (Räs. 188); *yār* already existed in Old Turkic, meaning, ‘cliff, cleft’ (Cl. 953-954); see also Chuv. → *Xěrlě-šir*. For the Turkic data of *eyä*, see Chuv. → *Iye*.

In incantations, *yar* is a place where the diseases are sent. Besides, the master of the shore is regarded as an evil spirit, who grabs the people going that way and takes them to his house (Khis. 381).

Yarimtīq

I. (Gay; CentUr.) ‘forest’s spirit, *šüräle*’ (Khis. 382). **III.** It originates from the word *yarīm* ‘half’. The modern equivalents of OT. *yarīm* ‘single act of splitting, half’ (Cl. 968) exist in several Turkic languages, cf. Räs. 189; Sev. IV, 147. The Turkish also have a mythical being called ‘half-man’: *yarīm adam* (cf. Mészáros 1906, 26-27).

Many consider the being *yarimtīq* identical with the → *Šüräle*, who believe that only in a few places, in a few dialects is the same being called *yarimtīq*. In her three-volume mythological dictionary, however, Khisamitdinova discusses this being separately and claims that it is “close to the *šüräle*” (Khisam. III, 124). Due to the relatively few printed text publications, it is difficult to take a stand on this issue.

On the basis of his collection in Gaynin at the beginning of the 20th century, Rudenko describes the *yarimtīq* as a hairy being which possesses the ability to see the future and who likes riding horses; it buckets them mercilessly until they foam.

⁶¹⁹ In some incantations, the earth and water also have names (*Söläymän*, *Hümbikä*). Both watery master spirits are female and the second part of their names are also identical. *Bikä* means ‘lady, noble lady’.

If a *yarımtıq* meets a man in the forest, it will distract him from his way or tickle him to death. It is especially dangerous to those who are alone; that is why the Bashkirs did not like going into the forest by themselves. However, as the *yarımtıq* is not very bright, it can easily be outsmarted. One way to do this is to put on clothes and shoes back to front, which will confuse the *yarımtıq*, who will go the opposite way. One can also escape it by crossing the stream, because the *yarımtıq* is afraid of water (Khisam. III, 124).

Yeðmoron

I. ‘brass-nosed and brass-nailed evil spirit, appearing as a woman’ (Khis. 85; Khisam. II, 6). **II.** *yeð* ‘brass’ (BRS 177) + *moron* ‘1. nose; 2. face’ (BRS 438). **III.** Both parts of the compound appear in the names of other mythical beings (→ *Yeðtirnək*, → *Beðmoron*). **III.** *Yeð*, meaning ‘brass’, is of Turkic etymon (OT. *yez* ‘brass’) and has been retained in several Turkic languages (cf. Cl. 982; DTS 260; Sev. IV, 168-169; Räs. 199). The Bash. word *moron* is also of Turkic etymon, already present in Old Turkic (OT. *burun*), and has been retained in several Modern Turkic languages (Sev. II, 269-273; Räs. 90; GTJ. 214-215).

A forest-living creature, usually encountered by hunters and loggers. It is mostly known by the southern Bashkirs. It frightens the beings in the vicinity with its loud, shrill voice. It is very strong and people try to avoid its abode as much as possible. If it meets a human it tries to hide its brass nose, and if it fails it kills the person who saw it like that.

Yeðtirnəq

I. ‘brass-nosed and brass-nailed evil spirit’ (Khis. 85; Khisam. II, 6). **II.** *yeð* ‘brass’ (BRS 177.) + *tirnəq* ‘1. nail; 2. claw; 3. wedge; 4. thorn’ (BRS 657). A being found among the Kyrgyz is the *žeztirmək* (which is identical with the beings *žez tumsuk* and *žez kempir*; cf. Yud. I, 243, II, 266, 294), and it also exists among the Kazakhs (ME I, 439). **III.** Both parts of the compound are of Turkic etymon; for *yeð*, see → *Yeðmoron*. *Tirnəq* has been present in Turkic languages since the Old Turkic era; OT. *tirnəq* ‘nail, claw’ (Cl. 551); the word is found in several Turkic languages, cf. Sev. III, 348-349; GTJ 258.

The *yeðtirnəq* is also a forest-dwelling creature (like the → *Yeðmoron*), but the *yeðtirnəq* specifically seeks out human company at

night: it asks people for food or lodging. It goes to bed together with people but will tear out their hearts at night. It also attacks those travelling at night by throwing itself upon them and tearing their hearts out of their chests. It is also dangerous to birthing women, as it can take the foetus from their womb and devour it.

In the imagination of the Orenburg Bashkirs, it is more similar to the *yeđmoron*. They believe that its terrible shriek makes trees wilt, birds fall from the sky and people lose their mind.

In Bashkir tales, it is a kind of witch that lives in a brass palace, where it takes women and girls. (For details on the mythical and tale creature, see: Khisam. II, 6-7).

Yek

I. ‘evil demon of woods and forests’ (Khis. 85); ‘evil spirit, demon, inferior spirit’ (Khisam. II, 7); its further forms: *yek eyähe* (Khis. 86), as well as *yek baba* (child-scarer → *Bapaq*). III. The world already appeared in early Turkic Buddhist texts, meaning ‘demon’, as well as in the compound *yek-ičkäk* ‘demons and vampires’. The second part of the compound is derived from the verb *ič-* ‘drink’, which has encouraged several scholars to trace back the form *yek* to the verb *ye-* ‘eat’ (e.g. Räs. 194-195, and on its literature and the difficulties of the comparison, e.g. Cl. 910; Sev. IV, 171). Another etymology, accepted by many, ultimately traces the word back to the Sanskrit word *yakṣa* ‘higher (supernatural) being’ (through Persian mediation /*yakkhā*/: DTS 253; more on the comparison: Cl. 910; Sev. IV, 171). The word exists in several Modern Turkic languages, basically with three meanings: 1. evil spirit, demon; 2. disgusting, bad, nasty, disgust, worm, contempt; 3. gluttonous’ (cf. Räs. 194-195; Sev. IV, 170-171).

The *yek* is a repulsive-looking monster that brings disease or misfortune to the person it meets (Khisam. II, 7-8). Unfortunately, no texts are published by Khisamitdinova, nor by the collectors of the past decades (e.g. EksYan; Fem; EksBör).

Yel

I. ‘wind; personified natural force endowed with a demonic nature’ (Khisam. II, 8); in compounds: *yel-buran* ‘wind’s spirit, whirlwind’ (Khis. 86); *yel rabbīḫī* ‘wind’s deity’ (Khis. 86) [‘wind’s lord’]; (CentUr.) *yel xužasī* ‘wind’s master’, *yel eyähe* ‘id.’ (Khis. 87); in connection with diseases: *yel zäxmäte* ‘disease caught from the wind’ (Khis. 86); *yel küñele teyeü* ‘become epileptic’ (Khis. 86) [‘wind’s touch’];

yel qagılıu ‘touch of the wind or getting tangled in the wind (as the cause of epilepsy, → *Biuma*)’ (Khis. 86); as well as in compounds like *yelquḍ*⁶²⁰ ‘disease spirits [in fact, it is not plural]’, → *Yelpenü*⁶²¹ ‘disease spirit’ (Khis. 87); *yelpeneü* ‘to get ill from the spirit of the wind’ (Khis. 87); *yelḑe* ‘spirit of a disease affecting animals’ (Khis. 116). **III.** The word *yēl* already existed in Old Turkic, meaning both ‘wind’ and ‘being possessed by demons’. In an 8th-century source, the form *yēl tāñri* [‘wind god’] also appears (Cl. 916). It exists in several Turkic languages meaning ‘1. wind; 2. spirit, evil spirit; 3. intestinal wind; 4. names of diseases, e.g. cold, rheumatism, syphilis, epidemic’ (Sev. IV, 174-176; Räs 195; GTJ 40). **IV.** incantation: BashText 303; BashText 329-330; BashText 330.

Khisamitdinova lists several examples which make her believe that the Bashkirs personify the wind (Khisam. II, 8). The data cited by her (e.g. wind’s head, wind’s mouth, wind’s wings) rather suggest general metaphors used in folk poetry, from which far-reaching conclusions are not worth drawing. However, it is remarkable that several incantations include the formula “if it came from the wind, let it go to the wind” (pl. Khis. 87), and there are many incantations where the disease or trouble is sent to the wind.⁶²² Torma also recorded that when the Bashkirs stumble (which they believe is caused by Satan pushing the person), they also send Satan to the wind: “Phwoo, phwoo, phwoo, Satan, knock against me not; there is the wind, knock against that!” (Tor. 85).⁶²³

The wind seems primarily associated with certain diseases and their spreading, which is also suggested by some data referenced above (e.g. names of diseases) as well as the texts of incantations. Among Bashkirs, the whirlwind is also associated with similar notions; see → *Qoyon yene*.

⁶²⁰ *Quḍ* means ‘coal’, so the compound literally means ‘wind-coal’.

⁶²¹ Torma believes that the *yelpiü* and the *sarpiü* have identical suffixes. *Yelpik* already existed in Old Turkic and is also well-documented later; it exists in several Modern Turkic languages (cf. Cl. 920; Räs. 196; Sev. IV, 182-183).

⁶²² There are several counting incantations for sending to the wind (against the → *Ödlök* and the → *Sarpiü*), quoted under BashText 303; 329-330, 330. According to Khisamitdinova, several other illnesses are thought to be carried by the wind (Khisam. II, 9).

⁶²³ I quote an incantation recited at the time of stumbling and falling (which also includes Satan) under Khis. 101.

Yelpeü (sarpiu)

I. *yelpeü* ‘disease demon’, in some places, the same being by the names of *sarpiu*, *sarfiu*, *šarfiu* (Khisam. II, 40); *sarpiu* ‘disease caused by evil spirits’ (Khis. 259); *yelpew* ‘disease arriving with a warm wind’, ‘*sarpiw* demon causing paralysis of the nervous system, usually attacking people at sunset’ (Tor. 87). III. Khisamitdinova and Torma connect the word *yelpeü* with the Turkic word *yelpik* (Khisam. II, 44; Tor. 87); in Turkic, languages, this word has been documented since the Middle Ages as the name for asthma and other diseases of the lungs (Sev. IV, 182-183; Cl. 920), and as a disease demon (DTS 255); cf. also *yelpi*, *yelvi* ‘magic, charm’ (DTS 255; Sev. IV, 182-183; Cl. 920; and Räs. 196). The connection of the word with *yel* ‘wind, demon’ is debated (cf. e.g. Sev. 182-183; Cl. 920; originated from Persian by Doer. IV, 1882). IV. disease-healing description: Khisam. II, 42; memorat: Khisam. II, 43; incantation: BashText 329-330; BashText 330; Khisam. I, 144; Khisam. II, 42, 43.

Yelpeü is a disease demon⁶²⁴ that can cause various diseases, including epilepsy (*büuma yelpeü*), eye diseases (*küö yelpeüe*), ear diseases (*qolaq yelpeü*), as well as rheumatoid and urinary tract diseases,⁶²⁵ contracted from falling onto the ground (Khisam. II, 41). It is invisible, but can also appear in the shape of a magpie or a green-bearded, yellow-capped old man. Khisamitdinova mentions among its shapes that the *yelpeü* can also appear in the form of beautiful objects. The mythical story⁶²⁶ that she quotes does not necessarily support this, but may rather be an example of taboos related to the cemetery.

Khisamitdinova claims that the diseases caused by the *yelpeü* can be contracted from the earth, the water (mostly from warm rain) and from the wind. On the basis of available data, it seems that it is mostly related to water and wetness. The records about the disease being caused by certain places on the ground and one’s contact with

⁶²⁴ Torma discusses the names *yelpeü* and *sarpiu* separately and associates different diseases with them (see the introduction to the entry). In one of her books, Khisamitdinova also discusses the two beings separately (Khis. 87, 259); but elsewhere she regards them as two different names of the same disease. According to the data provided by her, the *sarpiu* is only used as a name for the *yelpeü* in certain areas (Khisam. II, 40, 44).

⁶²⁵ Incontinence in Bashkir is called *ubir sarpiüi* (Khis. 320).

⁶²⁶ I quote the text under Khisam. II, 43.

them mention that these are dangerous places where the trouble is caused by the “evaporation” of the earth – for example, a place where the water was poured after washing a dead body,⁶²⁷ where an animal was killed or where rubbish was deposited. One of the healing methods also points in this direction – when healing the person fallen ill from the *sarpïu*, they kill a black cock, smear its blood on the patient’s clothes and then let the blood drop from there to the ground.⁶²⁸ Nevertheless, the observation that warm rain causes diseases also seems inaccurate, as the collections talk about warm rain only be sensed by the diseased person and not the others around them – thus, the disease is in fact not caused by the warm rain but the patient believes something to be warm rain, due to the disease.⁶²⁹

Yen

I. ‘causer of various diseases’ (Rud. 277); ‘genie, smaller harmful beings’ (Tor. 32); ‘devil, evil spirit taking the shape of a human or animal’ (Khis. 87); ‘evil spirit, demon, genie’ (Khisam. II, 10); dial: *žen*, *žin* (Khisam. II, 10). In compounds: *yen pärey*, *yen päriðer* ‘devil, impure forces’ (Khis. 89; 210); ‘bigger or smaller harmful spirits’ (Tor. 32); *yen šaytan* ‘impure force’ (Khis. 89); *Käpšä-Taytüs*⁶³⁰ ‘name of a particularly evil *yen*’ (Khis. 165); in the names of diseases: *yen äyäläšeü* ‘to go mad, crazy’ (Khis. 89) [‘moving in the *yen*’]; *yenläneü* ‘to go mad, crazy’ (Khis. 90); *yen totou* ‘epilepsy’ (Khis. 89) [‘the *yen* is holding him/her’]; *yen huğiliu* ‘paralysis’ (Khis. 89) [‘touch of the *yen*’]; *yen zähmät* ‘certain kind of disease, caused by an evil spirit’ (Khis. 34). **III.** The word is of Arabic origin: Ar. جن (*ğinn*) ‘spirits, demons’ (ARS 140); see also Tat. → *Džinn*. **IV.** mythical story: Khisam. II, 10-11, 11-12; incantation: BashText 315.

A complex mythical being integrating multiple beliefs. It is partly associated with specific notions and is partly used as a name for

⁶²⁷ According to another piece of data, if somebody sits down where the water with which they had washed the body was poured before, they could become paralysed or crippled (Tor. 107).

⁶²⁸ Besides this, the colour black is used to heal the disease → *Ösyän*. Among healing methods, using cock’s blood also appears when healing *qiðilsa*, when a red cock is used (→ *Qiðilsa eyähe*).

⁶²⁹ I quote such a description under Khisam. II, 42.

⁶³⁰ This name (and its variants) not only appear in the case of the *yen*, but also the → *Pärey* and → *Šaytan*.

some general bad or evil, in which cases, it occurs on its own or as the first part of compounds with the words *šaytan* and *pärey*.

According to Rudenko, the witch (*siḡırsı*) is helped by the *yen* to inflict various diseases on people (mainly diseases of the mind, heart and stomach, as well as paralysis). It was also the witch who was entrusted to heal the diseases caused by the *yen*.⁶³¹ The witch cast a circle around the patient with a drilled-out raw egg (in which she put a thread drawn from the patient's clothes along with a weasel's claw) at night, while reciting the following incantation to the *yen*: "Begone, get out, go to the one who sent you, take thy torment onto him; begone!" (Rud. 277).⁶³²

In Khisamitdinova's classification of the diseases caused by the *yen*, besides the type of the disease, it also appears in what way the *yen* attacks and makes the person ill. On the basis of this, paralysis is caused by the blow of the *yen*, neurological or psychic diseases are caused by its touch, and rashes and scabs by its bite, sting, spit⁶³³ or kiss (Khisam. II, 12). When somebody is suffering from a disease caused by the *yen*, bear's fat is smeared on the gate (Khis. 13). To avoid these diseases and to keep the *yens* away from the house, every time they lock the door, "In the name of God (*bismillah*)" must be said (Khis. 137). Another way to keep away the *yens* is to spread out horse accoutrements (halter, bridle, saddle)⁶³⁴ – this method is followed by those who must spend the night in the forest for some reason (Khis. 271). The crossing of seven roads is also a safe place as it is avoided by the *yens* (Khis. 260).

The *yen* is particularly dangerous to birthing women and babies. It may bring the disease → *Ödlök* to birthing women and it can also change babies. (A changeling is called in Bashkir *yen alištirğan*

⁶³¹ The description of the healing is recorded by Rudenko on the basis of Alimgulov's article (Alimgulov 1915 – I cite from Rudenko).

⁶³² Also cited by Tor. 23.

⁶³³ Such is, for example the swelling of the axillary gland (*šeš biđe*), which is caused by the *yen*'s spit (Khis. 360).

⁶³⁴ It may be related to the fact that, according to the belief of the Bashkirs, evil spirits and disease demons are afraid of horse sweat (Khis. 37).

or *almaštirğan*, *yen balahı* or *şaytan alištirğan*). To avoid it being changed, the new-born baby must not be left alone for even a moment in the first forty days (Khis. 25; 87; Tor. 32).⁶³⁵ They tried to avoid the changing of the baby in various other ways, for example, the midwife gave it a so-called nappy-name (*yürgäk iseme*) in order to confuse evil forces (*yen şaytanǵar*) (Khis. 122); they smeared ashes onto the baby's face or spat on it (Tor. 32). For the same reason, they made the cradle from rowan wood⁶³⁶ (Khis. 219) and curtained off⁶³⁷ the baby's bed or cradle (Khis. 252),⁶³⁸ or tied the dried placenta to the baby's cot (Khis. 52). The *yen*, however, likes to play with new-borns, which makes them fall ill or even die.⁶³⁹

According to the belief of the Bashkirs, besides rowan, juniper also provides protection against the *yen* (as well as the *yen-päre*y and the *yen şaytan*). Juniper was smoked on various occasions for cleansing, such as birth and funeral ceremonies and also when the new wife moved into the house (Khis. 34); and juniper smoke was breathed in during the disease *yen zäxmät*. Other plants, however, are the gathering places of the *yens*, which they tried to avoid. Such are the laurel willow (*qaratal*) and dried-out trees (*kıu ağas*), where these evil spirits happily move into (Khis. 177; 209). Furthermore, their dwelling places are all kinds of shrubberies (*qınaq*) (Khis. 210); and thistle⁶⁴⁰ (*bilsän*) is regarded as the *yen*'s nest (Khis. 65).

⁶³⁵ Fatykhova provides some more data regarding the first forty days. According to these, the light was not put out in the room for forty days, the baby was not bathed for forty days and it was made to wear its first shirt for forty days (Fatykhova 1984, 39; cited by: Torma 1991, 68).

⁶³⁶ The rowan is attributed protective power; for example, a rowan branch is fastened to children's caps to avert the evil eye (Khis. 219).

⁶³⁷ Curtaining off for protection also appears at death ceremonies. They surround the deceased with curtains so that the → *Ubır* could not attack it (Khis. 252).

⁶³⁸ Torma records that non-festive type entertaining was avoided during this time. If somebody happened to visit, the child was covered up (Tor. 32).

⁶³⁹ Khisamitdinova presents a story according to which the *yen* is only interested in boy children and only "plays" with those. Such children cry incessantly (Khisam. II, 13).

⁶⁴⁰ In Chuvash, thistle is called 'witch-grass', see Chuv. → *Vupär*.

The *yens* (*yen päris* and *yen šaytans*) usually attack at twilight. Evil spirits are most active during this transitional time of day; therefore, it is forbidden, for example, to enter a house at this time where there is a new-born baby (Khis. 145, 205, 226). A piece of data collected in the Boray district refers to the nocturnal activity of the *yen*. According to this, it is forbidden to sleep under the girder beam of the house or the *yen-šaytan* will push the people and torment them with nightmares (Khis. 215-216).

Nevertheless, the *yen* has also integrated completely different notions. There is a record which claims that the *yens* live quite like people: they have families, breed animals, wander as nomads and live in yurts in summer and houses in winter (Khisam. II, 10-11). Their coming and going can be heard, including adults shouting, children crying and animal sounds.⁶⁴¹

The *yen* is also believed to visit single men in the shape of a woman and single women in the shape of a man. It establishes intimate contact with people and lives with them, but such people quickly start to lose weight and eventually die (Khisam. II, 12-13). A woman who is actually an evil spirit (*yen pärey*) can be recognised by having hollow armpits⁶⁴² (Khis. 210).

In some areas, the notion of the *yen* is associated with the whirlwind, when it is imagined as a one-eyed, one-armed and one-legged being. To destroy it, people throw scissors or knives into the storm (Khisam. II, 15). A windstorm has various names that include the word *yen*, e.g. *yen beyeüe* 'yen's dance', *yen uyini* 'yen's play', *yen tuyi* 'yen's wedding', and it occurs in two different compounds with the word → *Qoyon* 'whirlwind': *yen-qoyon* and *qoyon yene* 'whirlwind-devil' (Khis. 88, 183; Khisam. II, 15).

The *yen* is one of those mythical *beings* which are sometimes given proper names in Bashkir folk belief. It was recorded in the Yılayır district that a *yen* called *Šülterek äbey* had once lived there

⁶⁴¹ I cite a relevant text under Khisam. II, 10-11. Such notions were also recorded in connection with the beings → *Pärey* and → *Bire*.

⁶⁴² Such notions are associated with several mythical being, such as the → *Aždaça*, → *Ubir*, → *Šüräle*.

(Khis. 361). Other mythical beings which are sometimes given names are the → *Päre*y and the → *Šaytan* (and some local spirits).

Due to its complex nature, the *yer* shows a relationship with other mythical beings, for example → *Albasti*, → *Bisura*, → *Päre*y, → *Šaytan*.

Yer (yer anasī, yer atasī)

I. *Yer ana(sī)*, *yer ināse*, *yer ināhe* ‘earth mother, earth’s mother’; *yer atasī*, *yer atahī* ‘earth’s father’ (Khis. 91); a well as *yer* in other compounds: *yer eyāhe* ‘earth’s spirit’ (Khis. 93) [‘earth’s master’]; as well as: *yer xužaxī*, *yer xužasī* ‘id.’ (Khis. 93); *yer qortqa* ‘earth’s spirit’ (Khis. 92) [‘earth-grandfather’]; in names of diseases: *yer zāxmāte* ‘earth’s disease’ (Khis. 91); *yer totou* ‘disease caused by the earth’s spirit’ (Khis. 93) [‘the earth grabs him/her’]. **II.** *yer* ‘1. earth; 2. place; 3. earthly’ (BRS2 185). **III.** The word *yer* already existed in Old Turkic and exists in all Modern Turkic languages (cf. e.g. Cl. 954; Räs. 198; Sev. IV, 191-192); likewise, *ana* and *ata* are both of Turkic etymon; Turkic data of *ana*, meaning ‘mother’: GTJ 298-299; for the word *ata*: GTJ 304-305. **IV.** incantation: BashText 257, 320, 321, 327, 339, 339-340, 341-342, 345; Tor. 87/1-2; 116; Khis. 175, 276; Khisam. II, 19, 29.

Khisamitdinova considers *yer* (‘earth’) to be a part of Bashkir mythology, which also occurs in various compounds (mother earth, earth’s father, earth’s spirit). According to the majority of the data, *yer* and its compounds are rather in connection with diseases and their cures; I have only found one piece of data each in connection with agriculture and fertility. According to one relevant record, in order for the next year to be lucky, the crop to be plentiful, the animals to thrive and be healthy, a part of the crop is usually left on the ground for mother earth; this is the *yer kätmäne* ‘earth’s stack’ (Khis. 91);⁶⁴³ and at the time of sowing, eggs are put into the ground in the hope of a good yield (Khis. 118). Another custom may also belong here: the Bashkirs lie on the ground after rain and say: “Earth, give me thy strength!” (Khis. 92).

⁶⁴³ On leaving some potatoes on the ground when harvesting, see: Khis. 92.

The earth can cause certain diseases (*yer zäxmäte* ‘earth’s disease’, *yer totou* ‘the earth grabs him/her’) (Khis. 91-93);⁶⁴⁴ according to Torma, primarily urinary tract diseases are associated with it (Tor. 169), which they call *yeröän teyengän auriüi* (lit. ‘disease touched by the earth’).⁶⁴⁵ The earth often appears in incantations, too; partly as the place where the disease is sent⁶⁴⁶ and partly as the cause of the disease – in case of the latter, it is the earth that “grabs or holds” the sick person.⁶⁴⁷

Khisamitdinova also discusses the beings *yer täjre* ‘earth God’ and *yer-hiü täjre* ‘earth-water God’ (Khisam. II, 19–20) – these were probably created by her (at least, no data is quoted to support them). The compound earth-water (*yer-hiü*) means ‘homeland, estate’ in modern Bashkir. This compound already appeared in Old Turkic runic inscriptions and can be found in several modern languages with a similar meaning. Earth and water often appear together in Bashkir incantations, even when precisely the disease caused by the earth is healed; thus Khisamitdinova’s observation that such a close connection of these two elements are related to the early Turkic data is not to be rejected.

The earth’s mother and the water’s mother appear in several incantations together with the word ‘beard’, (e.g.: “earth’s mother, red beard, water’s mother, brown (or cold) beard”; or “earth’s master, red beard, water’s master, wet beard”).⁶⁴⁸ In Khisamitdinova’s interpretation of these compounds, the earth’s mother has a red beard and the water’s mother has a brown (or cold) beard. This

⁶⁴⁴ A short description can be found in BashText 320 on contracting and healing the disease.

⁶⁴⁵ Besides urinary tract diseases, it can also cause diseases of the legs or feet (BashText 338). When somebody falls, the earth can make them ill – I quote the incantation recited in such cases under BashText 257.

⁶⁴⁶ I quote the relevant texts under BashText 257, 321, 339, 341-342; Tor 87/1.

⁶⁴⁷ I quote relevant texts under BashText 320, 339, 339-340, 341-342; Tor. 87/1-2, 116; Khisam. II, 29. I quote three texts where the earth is called upon to eat or drink something else instead of the sick person: Khis. 175; BashText 327, 345.

⁶⁴⁸ I quote a few such incantations under: BashText 321, 339-340, Tor. 87/1, 116; Khisam. II, 19/1.

interpretation, supplemented by the one that she considers the earth essentially feminine in nature (the name earth's mother is much more common than earth's father) prompts her to conclude that this may be a very ancient, bipolar (both male and female) image. In fact, the beard in the texts does not necessarily refer to the mother of the earth and water.⁶⁴⁹ The text of the incantation can be regarded as a series of parallel structures, where the beard appearing in the attributive construction may refer to the sacrifice given to the earth and to the water. There are several data referring to carrying water from or bathing in a body of water for the first time, when they gave one of their hairs or a thread drawn from their clothes to the water as a sacrifice and, when healing certain diseases, they put the patient's nails and threads drawn from their clothes into the water⁶⁵⁰ (see also → *Hïu eyähe*).

One piece of data shows that the master of the earth even has a name: *Qotdos* (Khis. 336) – some names appear in connection with other master spirits, too (e.g. *Hïubikä*, *Söläymän*),⁶⁵¹ and different kinds of devils can also bear their own names (e.g. *Döbörmüş*, *Ket-mer*). To the best of my knowledge, these names have not been studied in detail so far.

Yäšen eyähe

I. 'spirit [master] of lightning', its further forms: (CentUr.) *yäšen xužasï* 'id.' (Khis. 135); *yäšen atasï* 'lightning's father', *yäšen anasï* 'lightning's mother', *yäšen täñre*⁶⁵² 'lightning's god' (Khisam. II, 70). III. The word *yašin* 'lightning' and its variants have been well-documented in Turkic languages since the Middle Ages (DTS 246; Sev. IV, 149-150), and it had also appeared in Manichean texts earlier

⁶⁴⁹ For further details on this issue, see Dallos 2021.

⁶⁵⁰ I quote some texts relevant to this under BashText 345; Khis. 276; Tor. 87/2.

⁶⁵¹ Sulaymān is an extremely important figure of Muslim legendry, cf. e.g. Walker 1977 (IsE IX, 822-824); ME II, 475. There are several examples among Turkic-language, Islamic-faith peoples that in folk faith, it is a figure strongly associated with water (e.g. Divaev 2009, 309-311).

⁶⁵² There is no such compound in the published texts; presumably, Khisamitdinova's creation again – at least, as a Bashkir data, as it does appear in earlier, Uyghur Manichean texts, but not in the Bashkir material.

(Cl. 979). It is derived from the verb *yašu-* ‘shine, glitter’, whose variants can be found in several of the Modern Turkic languages (e.g. Tat; Chuv; Uyg; Uzb; Alt.) (cf. Räs. 192; Sev. IV, 149-150). **IV.** incantation: Khisam. II, 69.

The god of lightning was imagined as a stallion⁶⁵³ or as an old man with a long whip (Khis. 135). In the imagination of the Southern Bashkirs, whenever the old man snapped his whip (which had a round stone at the end), there would be thunder and lightning (Khisam. II, 68). In incantations against lightning, the lightning is asked not to neigh or not to bite.⁶⁵⁴ (The two images – the old man snapping his whip and the neighing horse – are clearly related).

Lightning was believed to chase the evil (*šaytan*), but because Satan tries to hide behind a human, lightning sometimes strikes that human (Tor. 83).⁶⁵⁵ It was forbidden to quench the fire of a lightning-struck house with water, only with the milk of a black cow, and no new house was built in its place (Khisam. II, 67). However, a lightning-struck tree and the smoke rising from it were used to avert diseases (Tor. 22).

Yort eyähe

I. ‘every house has its own spirit, which is the *yort eyähe*’ (Rud. 270); ‘spirit of the house or yard’, its further forms: *yort anahī* ‘mother of the yard or house’, *yort babay* ‘yard’s spirit [house grandfather]’, *yort xužasī* ‘master of the yard or house’, *yort araniqī eyäse*, *yort äbiye* ‘yard spirit [house’s or yard’s grandmother]’ (Khis. 119); its other names: (Arg; Dem & Mias dials.) *körtnäse* ‘spirit of the house or yard’ (Khis. 152). **III.** Bashkir *yort* is an Old Turkic word (*yurt*: Cl. 958; DTS 282); it exists in all Turkic languages, meaning ‘grazing-place, dwelling-place, village, land and inhabitants, homeland’ etc. (cf. Räs. 211; Sev. IV, 254-255; GTJ 494).

The benevolent spirit of the house and the yard, which protects it from evil spirits. Every house has its own spirit; the Bashkirs in Sverdlovsk, for example, regularly offered sacrifices to it for the peace of the house. According to records from Perm, one can hear its shuffling footsteps in the yard, and in the Boray district, it is

⁶⁵³ The phrase ‘sky’s horses’ (*kük attarı*) is a term for thunder (Khis. 158).

⁶⁵⁴ I quote such an incantation under Khisam. II, 69.

⁶⁵⁵ A similar notion is known among the Chuvash, too.

believed to beat the animals that it dislikes (Khis. 119). Its character shows a lot of similarities with the → *Aðbar eyähe*. It also punishes people who do not behave in accordance with the norms (are dishonest or ill-willed), usually afflicting them with diseases and misfortunes and, if it comes to the worst, it can even abandon the house (Khisam. III, 19-20).

Rudenko discussed both the spirit of the house and yard (→ *Aðbar eyähe*) and that of the bath (→ *Munsa eyähe*) under this name (Rud. 270). According to his data, if left undisturbed, the spirit of the house does not harm anyone. Nevertheless, it likes to do mischief, too, such as throwing the stones out of the oven, plaiting the horses' manes and taking a steam bath at night, after everybody is done bathing (ibid).

Besides houses, certain community buildings also have their own protective spirit, such as schools (*mäðräsä eyähe*, *mäktäp yene*) and mosques (*mäset eyähe*), but even data providers do not know any details about these spirits (Khis. 326, 327, 329).

Yuğa

I. 'mythical, thousand-year old snake, able to change its shape' (Khis. 376); 'thousand-year old dragon having a female form' (Tor. 164). III. The etymology of the word, found in three Volga Turkic languages, is not clear; I present one possibility under Tat. → *Yuğa*.

The snake which lives a long life (one hundred years) becomes a dragon (→ *Aždaha*), and the dragon that lives for five hundred or a thousand years becomes a *yuğa* (Rud. 267; Tor. 20; Khis. 7). The *yuğa* can equally be a gluttonous, man-eating monster and a pretty, young maiden, who seduces young men. Should they marry her, they take innumerable troubles and misfortunes upon themselves. A *yuğa*-wife can be recognised from not having a navel or drinking too much water (Rud. 267-268).⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁵⁶ Tatar → *Yuğa* also has these two characteristics.

Yul eyähe

I. ‘spirit [master] of the road and travellers’ (Khis. 375); as well as *yul anahī* ‘road’s deity [road’s mother]’ (ibid). **II.** *yul* ‘road’ + *eyä* ‘master’. **III.** Both words are of Turkic etymon, well-documented since the Old Turkic period, existing in several Turkic languages. *Yul* ‘road’ already existed in Old Turkic (cf. Cl. 917), and has been retained in several Turkic languages (e.g. Räs. 205-206; Sev. IV, 217-219; GTJ 531); for the data on *eyä*, see Chuv. → *Iye*.

The spirit of the road is usually the protector of travellers (Khis. 375); it guides them if they lose their way and keeps harmful, disease-causing demons at bay (Khisam. III, 118); nevertheless, it lives along the road in places that are dangerous to humans (Khis. 11).

There were several ideas concerning its appearance; it was imagined as a white cow (Khis. 375), a grey-haired old man, a solitary tree, a bird, or a stone or stick lying by the roadside (Khisam. III, 118).

To honour the spirit of the road, they kept the roads and the wells by the roads in good repair and did not build on roads. Misfortune would befall a house built on the road or it would burn down (Khisam. III, 119).

In the Central Ural regions, it even has a name: *Žälil Žalpar*, to whom they would pray before long trips (Khis. 96). A similar figure is one compiled from the names of two mythical Muslim beings: *Xīzir Il’yas*,⁶⁵⁷ which Khisamitdinova identifies with the spirit of the road, as this mythical being also lives in the imagination of Bashkirs as a white-clad old man, who helps those on the road and who is also mentioned in the blessing said to those embarking on long journeys.⁶⁵⁸

Kīramat

I. 1. ‘devil; 2. (Sak.) ‘miracle’, (Dem dial.) *kirāmāt* ‘devil’ (Khis. 143, 144); *kārāmāt* ‘miracle, magic, evil spirit, demon’ (Khis. 165); (Haq.) ‘1. miracle, 2. very many, multitude’ (BHH. III, 82). **III.** I discuss the origin of the word under Chuv. → *Kiremet*.

⁶⁵⁷ This mythical being, compiled from two names, also exists among the Tatars (*Xīzir Il’yas*), but there, it is associated with thunder (Jus. 360).

⁶⁵⁸ I quote the blessing under Khis. 375.

Khisamitdinova only provides a few small pieces of data. In the Dem district, they recorded that “around here, the devil⁶⁵⁹ is called *kirämät*” (Khis. 144); and in the Gaynin district, one’s bad mood is called *kirämät teyeü*, which literally means ‘the *kiramat* touches him/her’ (Khis. 144). The *kirämät aġas* is a tree that pagans decorate with rags and worship (Khis. 165). The word is also used in its original meaning (‘miracle, a miracle made by a saint’) in several places, for example, in the Sakmar district (Khis. 143).

Küđ eyähe

I. ‘spirit, the eye’s master’ (Khis. 157); the following data primarily mean ‘pupil (of the eye)’, but Khisamitdinova mentions these as names of the eye’s master. After the compounds, I give the literal meanings in square brackets: *küđ kešehe* [‘eye’s man’], *küđ qartı* [‘eye’s old man’], *küđ bāpāye* [‘eye’s child’], *küđ nānāy* [‘eye auntie’] (Khisam. II, 81); (CentUr.) *küđ anası* [‘eye’s mother’], *küđ atası* [‘eye’s father’] (Khis. 157). **II.** *küđ eyähe*, *küđ qarahı* ‘pupil’ (BRS2, 131); the literal meaning of these are *küđ eyähe* ‘eye’s master’, *küđ qarahı* ‘eye’s black’. **III.** *Küđ* is a Turkic-etymon word, which already existed in Old Turkic and has been retained in all Modern Turkic languages (Cl. 756; Räs. 295; Sev. III, 61-63; GTJ 209-210); for the etymology of *eyä*, see Chuv. → *Iye*.

According to Khisamitdinova’s description, the eye’s master lives in the pupil (Khisam. II, 81), however, in dictionaries, the compound “eye’s master” itself means pupil. Thus, the *küđ eyähe* may not even be a mythical being, but rather a metaphorical phrase.⁶⁶⁰

Qapaq

I. ‘1. child-scarer; (Ay dial.) 2. *ubır*’ (Khisam. II, 102-103); ‘bogeyman, scarer’ (Khis. 173); ‘1. fantastic being, child-scarer’ (BRS 347). **II.** ‘2. scarecrow’ (BRS 347); (Northern Bash.) ‘gluttonous’; (Ay) ‘1. big-mouthed’ (Khisam. II, 102-103).

⁶⁵⁹ Here, the data provider uses the word → *Yen*. (“Around here, the *yen* is called a *kirämät*.”)

⁶⁶⁰ Khisamitdinova provides several compounds whose second part is *eyähe* ‘its master’. For some of these, the more accurate meaning of the compound is not clear, nor are collected texts available. Such a form, for example, is *keše eyähe* ‘man’s master’ (Khis. 141), *yođaq eyähe* ‘lock’s master’ (Khis. 116), *yäy eyähe* ‘summer’s master’ (Khis. 128), etc. I do not deal with these forms due to lack of data.

The *qapaq* has different meanings in different areas; nowadays, it is most commonly known as a child-scarer, which is enormous in size and has a very large mouth. Children are threatened with the *qapaq* eating them (“Here comes the *qapaq*!”; The *qapaq* will eat you!”). It appears in an epic poem in the context that the hero is not afraid of the *qapaq* in his heart any more,⁶⁶¹ which leads Khisamitdinova to the conclusion that this being may not only have been frightening to children earlier (Khisam. II, 102). Some of the dialectal data, listed above, also points to this direction.⁶⁶² In its present form, it can be associated with the → *Bapaq*.

Qïdamîq inähe

I. ‘spirit [mother] of rubella’ (Khis. 203). II. *qïdamîq* ‘rubella’ (BRS. 387). III. The ComTurk. word *qaramuq*, originally meaning ‘black-spotted’, has been well-documented since the Middle Turkic era and exists in several Turkic languages: WOT 489-490. IV. incantation: BashText 293.

Rubella, similarly to measles (→ *Qïdïlsa eyähe*), was usually healed by using red cloth.⁶⁶³ The patient is wrapped in a red cloth and incanted upon⁶⁶⁴ and then the cloth is thrown away. See also → *Säsäk inähe*.

Qïdïlsa eyähe

I. ‘spirit [master] of measles’ (Khis. 204); its further forms: *qïdïlsa* ‘measles, evil spirit of measles’; *qïdïlsa inähe* or *atahî* ‘measles’ mother (or) father’ (Khis. 204; Khisam. II, 129). II. *qïdïlsa* ‘measles (noun and adj.)’ (BRS 388) + *eyähe* ‘its master’. IV. incantation: BashText 291.

For the prevention and healing of measles, the use of red fabric (towels, bedding, clothing) was considered the most effective (like in the treatment of rubella → *Qïdamîq inähe*). They would kill a red

⁶⁶¹ BKE 171. The excerpt is quoted from the epic poem entitled *Akbuzat*.

⁶⁶² Child-scarer creatures develop in other people’s folklores in various ways, too; one of them is when former mythical beings become child-scarers.

⁶⁶³ Black fabric was used to heal the disease → *Ösyän*.

⁶⁶⁴ I quote such an incantation under BashText 293.

cock and smear its blood on the patient's mouth.⁶⁶⁵ At other places, they made the patient eat red berries (BashText 291)⁶⁶⁶ or tried to appease the spirit of measles with a sacrifice (Khis. 205).

Qïrmalı

I. 'allergy' (Khis. 208); 'allergy, the spirit of allergy' (BashText 297-298). **III.** It is derived from the verb *qïrï-* 'scrape off, rub, scratch, shave' (BRS 398), just like *qïrma*, meaning 'trachoma' (BRS 397). **IV.** incantation: BashText 297.

Allergy is healed by holding up a sharp object and incanting.⁶⁶⁷

Qïtmür, Ketmer

I. 'devil' (Khis. 209); its other form: *ketmer* (Khis. 140). **II.** *ketmer, kötmör* 'meticulous, precise' (BRS 104). The name *Ketmer* is often given to dogs in order to keep evil spirits at bay (Khis. 140, Khisam. II, 143); (CentUr.) *qïtmür* (= *bötmör*) 'meticulous', (Karid; CentUr.) *ketmer* '1. (= *bötmör*) agile, diligent, skilful; 2. small' (BHH III, 126).

It is the name of the smallest but most evil devil (→ *Şaytan*).⁶⁶⁸ It harms people and animals alike. If attacked by the *qïtmür*, people usually fall ill and cows miscarry (Khisam. II, 143).

Qoyon yene

I. 'impure force, whirlwind's devil' (Khis. 183); **II.** *qoyon* 'whirlwind' (BRS2 335) + *yen* (see → *Yen*). **IV.** memorat: Khis. 184; incantation: Khis. 183.

The spirit of whirlwind was imagined as a one-eyed, one-armed, one-legged monster (Khis. 353), which can inflict diseases, even insanity (*qoyon yelpəüe*), on people.⁶⁶⁹ To banish it, a knife was to be thrown into the whirlwind. Khisamitdinova also presents a collection

⁶⁶⁵ A black cock was used to heal the disease *sarpïu* (→ *Yelpəü*).

⁶⁶⁶ At this time, an incantation was also recited, which I quote under BashText 291.

⁶⁶⁷ I quote such an incantation under BashText 298.

⁶⁶⁸ In another work, Khisamitdinova mentions the *ketmer* as another name for the → *Pärey* (Khisamitdinova 1988, 44). For other proper nouns like this, see → *Pärey* and → *Şaytan*.

⁶⁶⁹ I present a short, relevant disease and healing story under Khis. 184.

in which the reason why they threw knives into the whirlwind was to strike the → *Ubir*, which was believed to be in the whirlwind (Khis. 183).

Mämeryä eyähe

I. ‘spirit [master] of the cave’ (Khis. 228); its further forms: (Kiz.) *mägärä eyähe* ‘id.’ (Khis. 226); *mämerek eyähe* ‘id.’ (Khis. 227); as well as: *taš qiuış eyähe* [‘stone cavity’s master’], *taš öy eyähe* [‘stone house’s master’] (Khis. 288). II. *mämeryä* ‘cave (noun and adj.)’ (BRS 449).

The Bashkirs believe that every cave has its own spirit, which can be seen in the form of a bird, snake, fox, dog or horse (Khis. 226, 228; Khisam. III, 7). People sometimes get lost or even break their arms and legs in caves, which is blamed on the spirit of the cave. They say that the spirit of the cave does not like visitors. Should somebody meet the spirit, they must pray to keep it at bay (Khisam. III, 7-8).

Mäskäy

I. ‘*ubir*, which comes from a dead witch (*siḡirsī*)’ (Rud. 272); ‘vampire’ (Khis. 229); (Tobol Tatar and certain Bashkir groups) *мяукай* ‘spirit of the dead magician, leaving its grave, who sucks people’s blood and causes them diseases’ (ME II, 193); ‘will-o’-the-wisp, which comes from a dead witch (*siḡirsī* – sic!)’ (Tor. 21). Its further forms: *mätäyes*, *mäsekäy*, *mäskäy äbey* (Khisam. III, 8); *ästäkäy* (Khis. 373); ‘2. vampire; a being that is able to turn into an object or an animal’ (BRS 451). II. ‘1. gluttonous person’ (BRS 451). III. Khisamitdinova originates it from the OT. word *pičīn*, *mičīn* ‘monkey’ (Khis. 229). This identification has serious phonetic problems (the OT. form meaning ‘monkey’ was in fact *bēčīn*, cf. Cl. 295; Räs. 66; Doer. II, 382-384). IV. incantation: BashText 134.

Rudenko considers the being *mäskäy* identical with the → *Ubir*. According to his description, the souls that remain on earth in various forms after a person’s death and continue to live among people and cause them all kinds of trouble are called *mäskäy* or *ubir* (Rud. 272).⁶⁷⁰

According to Khisamitdinova’s data, the *mäskäy* comes from a dead person for whom no funeral ceremony was held. Such a soul

⁶⁷⁰ For Rudenko’s description, see → *Ubir*, as he in fact describes the being *ubir*.

comes out of the cemetery and attacks people and their animals. Its head resembles a kumis-ladle, it has a fiery tail and it flies all over the place (Khisam. III, 8); according to other descriptions, it appears as flying sparks (Khis. 229).

The *mäskäy* is believed to be a blood-sucker that can even kill people. The person touched by it will fall ill and can only be healed by a special prayer. To avoid diseases caused by the *mäskäy*, they either prayed or cursed (Khisam. III, 7). According to another record, if somebody sees the *mäskäy*, he must hold his button and spit (Khis. 301). At yet another place, one is not supposed to spit (Khis. 303).

The *mäskäy* and the *ubir* are similar in some respects, but in an incantation against an eye disease, they are asked to do opposite things: the *ubir* is asked to swallow the patient's eye, whereas the *mäskäy* is asked not to swallow it.⁶⁷¹

In Bashkir tales, the figure of the *mäskäy*-witch is not unambiguously bad – it can give directions to the hero or protect him from his enemies (Khisam. III, 8).

Möstän, Törtkö, Tülämä

I. 1. *möstän, möstän äbey* 'anthrax, grandfather anthrax' (Khis. 221); 'spirit of animal diseases' (Khisam. III, 4); 2. *törtkö, törtkö äbey* 'the spirit of anthrax', (Ik-Sak.) *törtkös* 'id.' (Khis. 304); (Haq.) *törtkös = tülämä* 'anthrax' (BHH III, 177); 3. *tülämä* 'anthrax, the spirit of anthrax' (Khis. 312); as well as: (Dem dial; CentUr.) *yaman aürüu* 'id. [bad disease]', (Sak; IkSak.) *yaman yatüu* 'id. [the bad moves in]' (Khis. 115).⁶⁷² II. *möstän = törtkö, tülämä* 'anthrax' (BRS 650). III. Khisamitdinova assumes that the form *möstän* may be related to the witch figure *mïstan*, *mïstan kempir* of Kazakh and Kyrgyz magic tales (Khisam. III, 5); for a brief summary of the tale character, see ME II, 189. IV. memorat: Khisam. III, 4-5; incantation: Khis. 304.

Anthrax and the spirit causing it is known by three names among the Bashkirs (grandfather *Möstän*, grandfather *Törtkö* and *Tülämä*).

⁶⁷¹ Unfortunately, the incantation does not say any more than this, so it is not worth drawing far-reaching conclusions from it. I quote it under BashText 134.

⁶⁷² Khisamitdinova considers the latter two forms taboo names, which I myself regard as unfounded.

It is usually imagined as an old man (Khisam. III, 4),⁶⁷³ but it can also appear as a mouse (Khis. 304). When the disease appeared in a village, every fire was put out and a new fire was lit by the mullah,⁶⁷⁴ from which everybody had to take fire to their homes.⁶⁷⁵ Furthermore, in order to banish the disease, the inhabitants of the village went into every yard and tried to scare away the spirit of the disease by shouting.⁶⁷⁶ After chasing it to the stream, they shouted an incantation to it (Khis. 304-305; Khisam. III, 5).⁶⁷⁷

Munsa eyähe

I. ‘spirit [master] of the bath’ (Khis. 225); its further forms: *munsa xužahī* ‘id.’; *munsa yene* ‘bath’s devil’. **II.** *munsa* ‘bath’ + *eyä* or *xuža* ‘master, host’, *yen* ‘devil, evil spirit’. **III.** *Munsa* is a Russian word, mediated by the Volga Bulgarians (Agyagási 2005, 68); for Turkic-etymon *eyä*, see Chuv. → *Iye*, for Persian-origin *xuža*, see Chuv. → *Xuša*, and see → *Yen* in a separate entry.

Rudenko wrote that the spirit of the house (→ *Yort eyähe*) can live in various places in or around the house, such as the oven, the stable or the bath. Although the question arose in him whether these figures are each a separate mythical being, but he could not decide on the basis of his own data. Although the three creatures do show similarities, they can be interpreted as separate mythical beings.

The spirit of the bath is imagined in various forms: as a flame, as steam, thick smoke or an old man. There are several regulations about bathing in the bath building, which is separate from the house. People must not bathe at dusk, because that is when the bath spirit

⁶⁷³ I quote a relevant mythical story (memorat) under Khisam. III, 4-5.

⁶⁷⁴ Torma defines the Bashkir village mullah as a person who is somewhat educated, knows at least a few prayers in Arabic, heals diseases and exorcises, as well (Tor. 49).

⁶⁷⁵ Similarly, all fires were extinguished and new fires were taken to homes at the time of the plague and foot and mouth epidemics, too (Tor. 23).

⁶⁷⁶ Ear infection (→ *Tatran*) is also healed by shouting (BashText 186); furthermore, at the time of pestilence (*ülät*), they try to banish the epidemic by clattering (Khis. 331).

⁶⁷⁷ I quote this under Khis. 304.

bathes. One must not bathe after midnight or on one's own.⁶⁷⁸ Specific words must be muttered upon entering and leaving the bath, e.g. "Heat to thee, health to me!"⁶⁷⁹ There are also several rules regulating the first bathing of a new-born baby. For example, it must not be put down in the bath or the spirit of the bath may kidnap it (Khis. 366). As a sacrifice to the bath spirit, a coin or a tassel or thread from the baby's clothes must be put on the window or the floor of the bath (Khis. 224; Khisam. III, 6; Tor. 32, 44; BashText 38-39).

Näŋtā

I. 'disease demon, taboo name (lit. something)' (Khis. 235; Khisam. III, 11). Its further forms: *nāmā* (Khis. 234), *neyäŋtā*, *närŋä*, *nähtä*, *nästā* (Khisam. III, 11). **II.** *näŋtā* = *nāmā* '1. thing, object, 2. something, 3. person' (BRS 466). **III.** < Rus. *нечто* 'something', which could have been a taboo name (Khisam. III, 12). **IV.** incantation: Khisam. III, 12.

The *näŋtā*, similarly to the → *Yelpeü*, is not the demon of a specific disease but an evil spirit causing various diseases, such as furuncles and scabs on the hands. The *näŋtā* is not visible, but it makes various buzzing sounds, so it can be known when it appears in a house. To heal these diseases, the patient's nails, three pieces of thread (red, black and white, the length of the patient himself), coal, mink's claws and ash must be packaged.⁶⁸⁰ With a shout "Let's get going!", the package must be taken to the crossing of seven roads and left there. The people must go home by a different road. The disease will remain at the crossroads along with the package (Khisam. III, 12).

⁶⁷⁸ The latter two regulations are due to the evil spirits or devils appearing in the bath. Rudenko knew a story in which the *šaytan* steamed an old man to death in the bath because he went to bathe too late in the evening (Rud. 270).

⁶⁷⁹ I quote another text under Khisam. III, 6.

⁶⁸⁰ While they package it, an incantation is recited, which I quote under Khisam. III, 12. I quote a Tatar incantation to remove boils and furuncles under Sof. 44/1-3.

Nigeð eyähe

I. ‘spirit of the house’s foundation’ (Khis. 232); its other name: *nigeðtaš eyähe* ‘id.’ (Khis. 232) [‘foundation stone’s master’]. **II.** *nigeð* ‘1. basis, basic; 2. test-paper; 3. essence’ (BRS 458-459). **III.** For the Turkic background of *nigeð*, see Chuv. → *Nikēs*. *Eyä* is a Turkic-etymon word; for more details, see Chuv. → *Iye*.

At the sacrifice offered to the foundation of the house,⁶⁸¹ the spirit of the house’s foundation is given dairy products (Khis. 232), and various objects are placed in the foundation, such as silver coins, a white stone and animal hair. This spirit protects the peace of the house and it is asked in prayers that the house be strong and there be many children in the home (Khis. 231).⁶⁸²

Osoq

I. ‘2. disease demon’ (Khis. 239); *osoq eyähe* ‘spirit [master] of *osoq*’, ‘the cruellest disease demon; different diseases and the name of the spirit causing them, varying by area’ (BashText 254.); ‘1. the spirit of the disease; 2. the object (doll or rag), that the disease is sent onto’ (BashText 265); ‘1. disease demon; 2. collective name of a few similar diseases (abscess, boil, rash, herpes)’ (Tor. 168). **II.** ‘1. doll used at the time of healing certain diseases (this is what the disease is sent onto)’ (Khis. 239); ‘2. object (doll, clothing, hen), which the disease is sent onto’ (BashText 265); ‘3. healing procedure; 4. rag doll, used in the *osoqlaw* healing procedure’ (Tor. 168); ‘1. incantation against a disease (with the help of a rag doll); 2. object used in incantation or magic healing’ (BRS 475). **III.** Khisamitdinova discusses the word as the Bashkir equivalent of ComTurk. *učuq* (Khisam. III, 16). The word exists in several Turkic languages (Osm; Gag; Az; Nog; Kkp; Kaz; Kyrg; Uzb; Uyg.), in most of them meaning ‘blister caused by fever’ or ‘discoloration on teeth’,⁶⁸³ but it can also occur in the meanings of ‘women’s disease, epilepsy, mild headache, genital lumps’

⁶⁸¹ The ceremony is called *nigeð butqahı* ‘foundation’s porridge’, and there is also a special prayer for the house foundation (*nigeð ayatı*). The grass snake is called *nigeð yılanı* ‘foundation’s snake’, which must not be killed or somebody in the house will die (Khis. 231).

⁶⁸² It also exists as the name of a deity invoked in Chuvash prayers, see → *Nikēs*.

⁶⁸³ In Bashkir, there is also the disease name *oson*, which must be linguistically related to the *osoq*, meaning spots or blisters caused by fever or heat (Khis. 241, BashText 165). For the verb *učun-* (and its variants), present in several Turkic languages with related meanings, see Sev. I, 616. In Bashkir, the discoloration of teeth could also be caused by the kiss of the → *Şaytan* (Khis. 241, 359).

(Sev. I, 616; only Osm. data: Räs. 509). The meaning ‘fever spot’ was already present in medieval sources (Cl. 22; meaning ‘fever’ compounded with the word *yelpik*: DTS 604). Sevortyan considers the word *učuq* to be derived from the verb *uč-* ‘fly’, which is strongly questioned by Clauson (Sev. I, 616; Cl. 22); **IV**. incantation: Khis. 239; BashText 262-263, 339-340.

The *osoq* demon usually attacks people in an impure place or when they touch an impure object. Different diseases are associated with it in different areas. In the Burzyan district, scabies and itching, in Kugarchin, skin rashes, in Abzelilov, epilepsy, and in Karaidel’, various women’s diseases (BashText 254; Khisam. III, 13). The diseases caused by the *osoq* are healed with magic procedures and incantations.⁶⁸⁴ In almost all of the magic procedures, the disease is sent onto some object or animal. The *osoq*-doll often appears among the objects, which is made of cloth specifically for the healing. The spell-caster who heals with dolls or other objects is called *osoqso* (Khis. 240).

The *osoq* was generally imagined in a female form (Khisam. III, 13) or in the shape of a bird or dog (Khis. 240).

Öölök

I. ‘the demon of puerperal fever’ (Khis. 242). Its further forms: *öđöök*, *öhtök*, *öhtek*, *öhtök-öđönäk* (BashText 304). **II**. ‘1. relapse into a disease; 2. complication’ (BRS2, 422); ‘complication, stubborn, recurring disease, puerperal fever’ (Tor. 85). ‘1. complication after delivery; 2. relapse into a disease’ (BashText 306). **IV**. disease story: BashText 304; incantation: Khis. 242-243; BashText 303; 306-307.

The first forty days after childbirth are regarded by Bashkirs as an ominous period for both mother and baby. This is when the baby may be changed by evil beings (e.g. → *Bire*, *bäre*y, → *Yen*) and the mother may be “grabbed” by various diseases or their spirits. One of these diseases is the *öölök*, which knocks the young mother off her feet.⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸⁴ I quote two incantations under Khis. 239; BashText 262-263.

⁶⁸⁵ I quote a story about the disease and its healing under BashText 304 and an incantation used at this time under BashText 303.

Furthermore, *ödlök* also means that somebody relapses into a disease from which they have recently recovered, or some complication occurs. At this time, the patient is healed with a whisk, knots tied on their clothing, ashes and incantation, usually in the bath (Khis. 242-243).⁶⁸⁶

Perhaps it is not even a disease demon – Bashkir dictionaries mention it as ‘complication’ and ‘recurrence (of a disease)’ – only Khisamitdinova regards it as one.

Öy eyähe

I. ‘spirit, master of the house’ (Khis. 244); its further forms: *öy atası* [‘house’s father’], *öy xuzahi* [‘house’s master’] (Khis. 244); *mäüsük* (Khis. 230); (Tan.) *qottoy* ‘id.’ (Khis. 195); (Kub.) *babay* ‘id.’ (Khis. 46); (Gay.) *aq qart* ‘house spirit’ (Khis. 16) [‘white old man’]; (Gay.) *izba, izma eyäse* (Khis. 362); (Tan.) *höppi babay, höppi xuzä* (Khis. 336).⁶⁸⁷ **II.** *öy* ‘house, building, dwelling place’ (BRS 480) + *eyä* ‘master, host’. **III.** *Öy* is of Turkic etymon, it already existed in Old Turkic: OT. *āv* ‘dwelling place’ (Cl. 4-5); it exists in several Modern Turkic languages, meaning ‘dwelling place, tent, house’ (Sev. I, 513-514; GTJ 500-501); *eyä* is also of Turkic etymon, see Chuv. → *Iye*. **V.** mythical story (memorat): Khisam. III, 20; 20-21; incantation: Khis. 267.⁶⁸⁸

The master of the house⁶⁸⁹ is a basically well-intentioned spirit, who lives in the house together with the people and is most active at night. At this time, it appears as a family member, relative or acquaintance or as a long-haired, white-clad old man (Khisam. III, 19). It ensures the peace of the inhabitants of the house and awakens the host when an animal gives birth at night (Khisam. III, 20). It

⁶⁸⁶ I quote an incantation used at this time under BashText 306-307.

⁶⁸⁷ A being called *Xubbı xodža* is also a figure in Uzbek folk belief (cf. Snasarev 1939, 250).

⁶⁸⁸ This is in fact a prayer, but because I quote very few prayers in the Bashkir material, I included it with the incantations.

⁶⁸⁹ The figure of *öy eyähe* may not be different from the → *Yort eyähe*. It cannot be established from Khisamitdinova’s data whether there is any difference. In one of her books, she discusses the two beings separately, not even referring to the other (Khis. 119, 244-245), whereas at another place, she regards the *yort eyähe* as a dialectal equivalent of the *öy eyähe* (Khisam. III, 19).

also finishes the undone works at night (washing up, sewing, sifting), when one can hear its breathing.

In order to keep its good will, a sacrifice is offered to it from time to time and when people move into a house they must ask for the good will and help of the *öy eyähe*.⁶⁹⁰

Ösyän, Yetiyän

I. ‘rickets and the spirit of the disease’ (Khis. 95); (Gay; CentUr.) *yeteyän* ‘rickets (lit. seven souls)’ (Khis. 95); *ösyän* ‘infantile bellyache (lit. three souls)’, *yetiyän* ‘rickets (lit. seven souls)’ (Tor. 99). The other name for rickets is *ïya* (BashText 82);⁶⁹¹ in Ilishev and the North-Eastern districts, infantile bellyache is called: *očan* (BashText 83); in Karaidel’ and the Tanyp district: *osyan* (BashText 84; Khis. 241), in some central Bashkir areas: *birän* (Khis. 67); Mias dial. *möškät* (Khis. 222).

II. *ösyän* ‘rickets’ (BRS 486). **III.** *ös* ‘three’, and *yete* ‘seven’ + *yän* ‘soul’. The word *yän* is of Arabic origin: Ar. *جان* (*ġān*) ‘spirits, demons’ (ARS 140). In the case of *ösyän*, Torma already suggested that perhaps a foreign-origin disease name was changed into *ösyän* ‘three souls’ by folk etymology (Tor. 99). Khisamitdinova suggests that the dialectal form *očan* may be the modern Bashkir equivalent of the Old Turkic *uĉun* (Khis. 241). For OT. *uĉun*, see Sev. I, 616. Undoubtedly, the various dialectal forms may suggest that the word was not originally the compound of *ös* + *yän*, but this assumption requires further research (see also Tat. → *Očan*). **IV.** healing story: BashText 75-76; incantation: BashText 72-73; 84.

There are two disease names that are the compounds of a numeral and the word ‘soul’. Torma describes the two forms (three souls, seven souls) as meaning two different diseases: three souls as an ‘infantile bellyache’ and seven souls as ‘rickets’. However, in Bashkir authors, both words are the names of the disease ‘rickets’. In the big Bashkir-Russian dictionary, *yetiyän* does not appear, and in the published texts, there are only examples of the name *ösyän* ‘three souls’. Torma might have started from a healing method (dividing the belly into three parts and massaging it), as well as from the

⁶⁹⁰ I quote a relevant text under Khisam. III, 20-21.

⁶⁹¹ This data probably does not belong here. Although Khisamitdinova translates the *ïya* as ‘rickets’, the data provider describes the disease as the child having a very large head and mouth which, according to their explanation, means that such a child had been eaten by the *ïya* (BashText 82).

fact that in some places, bellyache (which may be an accompanying symptom of rickets) is considered identical with the infantile bellyache caused by wind (cf. BashText 81).⁶⁹²

Pregnant women must take care not to kick a dog or a cat or their child will contract the ‘three souls’ and will have one human soul and two dog-souls (BashText 72). If a child is born this way or contracts the disease later, it can be healed with an incantation. In the process, the child’s belly is divided into three parts and these are massaged separately. A procedure was also recorded when they tried to lure the spirit of *ösyän* out of the child with a black towel or fabric (Khis. 176).⁶⁹³ It can also be healed by touching the father’s boot to the child’s belly three times (Khis. 113), or even by cursing (Khis. 372-373).

We must note that *ösyän* seems to be a general name for a (children’s) disease rather than the name of a specific spirit or (disease) demon.

Pärey

I. ‘master spirit of winds’, *deyeü päreye* ‘ruler of winds and destructive storms’ (Rud. 270); ‘1. devil; 2. wind’s master’ (Khis. 252); ‘devil’ (Tor. 32); ‘human-looking demon’ (Khisam. III, 39); ‘indomitable monster, which is only vulnerable at its Achilles-tendon’ (ME I, 387). Its further forms: *yen pärey*, *päri*, *bärey*, *bäre* (Khisam. III, 41); *bäri* (BKI XII, 90); see also → *Bire*. **III.** The word is of Persian origin, ModPer. پری (*parī*) ‘fairy, good spirit, good-willed being; beauty’ (Gaf. I, 130). It exists in several Turkic languages (e.g. Osm; Az; Tkm; Tat; Kaz; Kyrg; Uzb.); for these and the beliefs associated with it: ME II, 287; with Osm. and Tat. data: Räs. 383. *Päri*, meaning ‘good spirit, angel; beauty’, already appears in a 12-13th century Turkic source (DTS 397). **IV.** mythical story: BKI XII, 90.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Rudenko associates the *pärey* with the wind and the winter snowstorm and characterises

⁶⁹² It is worth mentioning that the stories about and the incantations for the healing of *ösyän* do not particularly suggest the disease rickets. Rather than poor bone development, the descriptions refer to the lack of appetite, abdominal pain and cold in young children.

⁶⁹³ Red fabrics were used in the case of diseases causing red rashes (see → *Qïdamîq inähe*, → *Qïdîlsa eyähe*).

its compound with the → *Deyeü* as the ruler of the all-destroying storm. At the same time, he describes the *päreys* as human-like beings, who live in families and even a society, live in felt tents and keep animals.⁶⁹⁴ They employ Bashkir musicians at their weddings and shop in fairs as Bashkir-looking people and can only be recognised by someone who had put a magic potion onto their eyes. Then, however, one must be careful that the *päreys* not notice this or else they will tear out the person's eyes (Rud. 270).

In Lossievsky, it appears in the form *дью парюй* (*d'yu-pariü*), as a being that blows and hammers day and night with an enormous bellows and a hundred-pood hammer (Lossievsky 1878, cited by Khisam. II, 4, I cite from here). The huge bellows appearing here may also relate this mythical being to the wind.

According to Khisamitdinova's collection, the Bashkirs distinguish two different kinds of *pärey*. There are good *päreys* who help people, which are called *mosolman pärey* ('Muslim *pärey*').⁶⁹⁵ They teach the spell-casters healing and incantation. The *Kafir päreys* ('infidel *pärey*')⁶⁹⁶ are dangerous to people, especially to birthing women and new-born babies, on whom they can inflict various diseases, such as the → *Ödlök*.

According to an earlier writing by Khisamitdinova, in Bashkir beliefs, human-looking *päreys* have various proper names, such as *Yämlıxa*, *Mäksälminä*, *Ketmer*,⁶⁹⁷ *Bernuš*, *Döbörnuš*, *Kepšetaytuš*⁶⁹⁸ (Khisamitdinova 1988, 44).⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁴ A similar idea is also associated with the beings → *Bire* and → *Yen*.

⁶⁹⁵ I quote a relevant mythical legend under BKI XII, 90.

⁶⁹⁶ *Kafir* is a word of Arabic origin: Ar. كافر (*kāfir*) 'ungrateful, infidel' (ARS 693). This double compound (Muslim and infidel *pärey*) is also known among the Kyrgyz (cf. Miropiev 1888, 44-46).

⁶⁹⁷ See also → *Qütmir*.

⁶⁹⁸ This name and its variants also occur in the case of → *Yen* and → *Šaytan*.

⁶⁹⁹ See the names in a slightly different form under → *Šaytan*.

Šaytan

I. ‘Satan, devil’ (Georgi 1776–1777, II, 107; Lepekhin 1802, 73; Rud. 270; Khis. 358); ‘evil spirit, demon’ (Khisam. III, 98); *šaytan*, *peräy* ‘devil, Satan’ (Tor. 170).

IV. mythical story (memorat): BKi XII, 91–92; Khisam. III, 98; incantation: Khis. 132, Khisam. II, 3.

In Bashkir beliefs, the *šaytan* is not a specific evil being but a multitude of invisible beings, appearing in various places. It is often used in compounds made with the names of other evil beings (e.g. *yen-šaytan*, *šaytan-pärey*).⁷⁰⁰ It usually lives in places that are dangerous to humans, but it can also venture into houses.

The first records are from the 18th century, by Georgi and Lepekhin, who mention the banishing of Satan as a healing procedure in their writings about the Bashkirs (Georgi 1776–1777, II, 107–108; Lepekhin 1802, 73–75). The way to banish Satan was to call a specialist, who tried to cast him out of the patient with a gun and a sword while the large audience made a lot of noise in order to prevent Satan from hiding in the house.⁷⁰¹

According to a belief of the Bashkirs, Satan is also chased by God (or one of His angels), for example, by lightning, which sometimes misses its aim, Satan, and hits the person that Satan is hiding behind⁷⁰² (Tor. 83; Khis. 132).⁷⁰³ The smoke of a lightning-stricken tree was used for healing (Tor. 22) and the fire caused by lightning was regarded as holy (Khis. 133) – it was never extinguished with water but with soured milk (Rud. 267). In order to prevent the *šaytan* running from the lightning into their houses, the Bashkirs closed the doors and windows and even the mouth of the chimney during a storm (Rud. 267). In some areas, however, the *šaytan* is

⁷⁰⁰ Often, the three beings (*šaytan*, *yen*, *pärey*) cannot be clearly separated from each other and are used as synonyms in many cases.

⁷⁰¹ In the second half of the 19th century, Alektorov described a Satan-banishing ceremony (Alektorov 1885, 48), which was quoted by later authors, e.g. Rud. 274; Tor. 17; Fat. 212–213.

⁷⁰² The Chuvash have a similar notion: Chuv. → *Aśa*, → *Śiśem*.

⁷⁰³ I quote a lightning-incantation to be recited during a thunderstorm under Khis. 132.

also associated with the whirlwind, which is the reason for throwing knives into the whirlwind in order to destroy the devil (Khis. 359).

The *šaytan* is also associated with various diseases. Spots on the teeth were considered to be the result of being kissed by the devil (Khis. 241; 359); according to some stories, it can also push people (Khis. 358),⁷⁰⁴ and it is also believed to leave a fairy child in place of a stolen human child. (Tor. 48; Khis. 358). Already Nikol'skiy recorded that the Bashkirs tried to protect babies from the *šaytan* or other evil forces by sewing protective objects, such as an arrowhead or a knife, inside the cradle or hanging them next to it (Nicol'skiy 1899, 123).

There are some regulations associated with the devil: for example, one must not look into the mirror too often or else (s)he will be bewitched by the devil (Khis. 359). To keep the devil at bay, juniper was put in the garden (Khis. 34), but dog-rose would also provide protection (Khis. 371), as well as putting a grindstone under the pillow (Khis. 59). According to Bashkir beliefs, should one find himself in the forest at nightfall, he had better put the saddle and the harness next to himself, which will protect him from the *šaytan* (Khis. 363).⁷⁰⁵

One of Rudenko's records is completely different from these ideas. It claims that the *šaytan* can also appear in a female form. It takes her head off while combing her hair, thus it can be recognised. According to other descriptions, this is more characteristic of the figure → *Šüräle*. The mixing of the two beings to some extent or characteristics differing in different areas cannot be excluded.

The devil is sometimes called by a proper name, of which there is a record from the Ilishev district, mentioning devils called *Bärnüş*, *Döbörnüş*, *Käpšaytaytüş*⁷⁰⁶ and *Ketmer*⁷⁰⁷ (Khisam. III, 103).⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰⁴ These diseases are usually related to the compound form *yen-šaytan*; see also → *Yen*.

⁷⁰⁵ The same preventive procedure also exists in connection with the → *Yen*.

⁷⁰⁶ This name and its variants also occur in the case of the → *Yen* and the → *Pärey*.

⁷⁰⁷ See also → *Qitmür*.

⁷⁰⁸ For a more extended list of the names in a slightly different form, see → *Pärey*.

It is also worth mentioning that one of the Bashkir tribes is called *šaytan küđäy*,⁷⁰⁹ which originates itself from the *šaytan*. (The inhabitants of an Eastern village claim that the founder of the village married a → *Šüräle*, whose sons populated the village.)

Šüräle

I. ‘forest spirit’ (Khis. 361); its other forms: *urman sariği* (lit. ‘forest’s sheep’) (Khis. 325); see also → *Yarımtıq*. II. It also occurs in toponyms. A village was recorded at the end of the 18th century by this name, as well as a stream and in later data, it occurs as the name of a valley (Ami. 10, 12). III. Its etymology is not clear; I briefly present a few attempts under Tat. → *Šüräle*. IV. mythical legend: Ami. 10; 11.

One of the main characteristics of the forest spirit is that it tickles the people who walk in the forest to death (BKI XII, 101; Khis. 209; Ami. 10). It is human-shaped, but can be recognised from its hollow armpit (Khis. 199).⁷¹⁰ Being rather stupid, it is easily outsmarted. The Bashkirs know that it is afraid of water; therefore, if they meet a *šüräle*, they always escape from it across the stream. If the *šüräle* asks which way the source of the stream is, one has to point downstream, as the *šüräle* will run that way. Should it be pointed towards the source, the *šüräle* can quickly go around the stream and catch the person again (Ami. 11-12).⁷¹¹ It can be destroyed if one can reach its heart through its hollow armpit (BKI XII, 101; Ami. 10).

According to some descriptions, the *šüräle* is a female forest creature with tousled red hair and pendulous breasts, who is especially dangerous to men (BKI XII, 101), and other sources describe it as a hairy, long-armed, ugly being (Ami. 11). Rudenko describes it as a one-eyed, one-legged forest spirit, which can sometimes appear as a tree trunk and which frightens people in the forest by shouting loudly (Rud. 269). Furthermore, the *šüräle* likes riding

⁷⁰⁹ Rudenko writes about the *šaytan küđäy* tribe, but the legend known to him does not refer to the *šaytan* but the *šüräle* (cf. Rud. 272).

⁷¹⁰ The → *Ubır* and the → *Yen* are also considered to have hollow armpits.

⁷¹¹ I quote such a belief text under Ami. 11.

horses and sometimes buckets a horse at night until it foams (Rud. 269; Ami. 10).⁷¹²

Rudenko presents yet another description, which is different from that of the forest monster. According to this one, the *šüräles* live in families and their daughters stand out with their beauty, which makes young Bashkir men eager to marry such maidens. The inhabitants of a North-Eastern Bashkir village originate themselves from the children born to a Bashkir man and his *šüräle*-wife.⁷¹³ There are also stories about men not knowing that they married a *šüräle* and only finding out when she combs her hair by taking it off her head (Khisam. III, 104).⁷¹⁴ This idea points towards the being → *Yuḡa*.

The literature is divided as to whether the *šüräle* and the → *Yarimtiq* are identical mythical beings (considered as such by e.g. Rud. 269;⁷¹⁵ Tor. 163; Akhm. 48-50; discussed separately by Khisam. III, 104, 124). There is also a disagreement between Tatar and Bashkir scholars as to whether the *šüräle* is of Tatar or Bashkir origin. Akhmet'yanov and Shamsi believe that the *šüräle* is a Tatar mythical being; Shamsi traces its roots back as far as Volga Bulgaria (Akhm. 48-50; Shamsi 1984, 142-153).⁷¹⁶ Aminev, on the other hand, argues that one can primarily meet the *šüräle* in the Bashkir areas where the Bashkirs mingled with the Tatars less (and in these places, for example, the name *yarimtiq* is not known); furthermore, the *šüräle* already appears in Bashkir place-names in 18th-century sources (Ami. 9-12).

⁷¹² I quote such a legend under Ami. 10.

⁷¹³ I quote the relevant legend under Ami. 10. Khisamitdinova claims that there are several mountain villages whose inhabitants originate themselves from the *šüräle* (Khisam. III, 105).

⁷¹⁴ In Rudenko, the woman who combs her hair while taking it off her head is called *šaytan* (Rud. 272).

⁷¹⁵ Rudenko writes that Mountain and Trans-Ural Bashkirs call the being *šüräle* which the North-Westerners call *yarimtiq*.

⁷¹⁶ I quote the latter from Aminev (Ami. 9).

Säsäk inähe

I. ‘smallpox’s mother’ (Khis. 277); its further forms: (Ay) *säsäk anahī*, *sisäk anahī*, *säsäk inäy*, *inā*, *inäse* ‘id.’, (Kub.) *säsäk atahī* [‘smallpox’s father’], *säsäk äbey* ‘grandmother *säsäk*’ (Khis. 277; Khisam. III, 47). III. Khisamitdinova provides two etymological possibilities: 1. the word *säsäk*, *sisäk* ‘flower’ as a taboo name; 2. a word derived from the verb *säsele-*, *säsrä-* ‘be scattered, sprayed around’ (Khisam. III, 47). The word *čečäk* ‘flower’ already existed in Old Turkic, and the additional meaning ‘skin rash, especially smallpox’ already appeared in early sources (Cl. 400-401); for further medieval and modern data (of both meanings), see: Räs. 102; Doer. III, 57-58; WOT 231-234). In modern Bashkir, the word meaning ‘flower’ is *säskä*, and this mythical being also exists in Tatar (*čäčäk anası*, *čäčäk iyäse*). Therefore, Khisamitdinova’s first theory seems correct, except that we need not consider it a taboo name that smallpox is likened to a flower – it is a metaphorical expression occurring in other languages, too. IV. incantation: BashText 294, 295.

The mother of smallpox is usually imagined as an old woman with a pock-marked face. To heal it, a so-called *säsäk*-porridge (*säsäk butqahī*) is cooked to honour mother *säsäk* and an incantation is recited.⁷¹⁷ In case of a smallpox epidemic, it is customary to sacrifice white poultry, as if to *Säsäk inähe*, and give the meat to the downcast, the poor and the disabled because smallpox’s mother will leave those alone who give such alms.⁷¹⁸

Chicken pox (*hīu säsäge*, lit. ‘water’s pox’) is healed by incanting upon salt and porridge,⁷¹⁹ which are then thrown into water (a river or a lake). On the basis of the relevant incantation text, chicken pox is specifically considered to be a disease caused by water.

Sirtmä

I. ‘erysipelas and its spirit’ (Khis. 265; Khisam. III, 42); *sırxīuat* ‘id.’ (Khis. 273). IV. incantation: Khisam. III, 42-43.

⁷¹⁷ I quote this under BashText 294.

⁷¹⁸ It has also been recorded that *säsäk-äbey* ‘grandmother smallpox’ will cast cataracts upon the eyes of those who do not give alms of white poultry to the poor and the downcast (Khis. 277).

⁷¹⁹ I quote the incantation under BashText 295.

The spirit of erysipelas is imagined as an ugly woman wearing white or red clothes. The disease is healed by magic: while reciting an incantation,⁷²⁰ the affected skin surface is pricked or circled with a knife, which is then stuck into the ground.

Tatran eyähe

I. ‘spirit of ear-disease’ (Khis. 285; Khisam. III, 51); *tatran*, *tatiran* ‘earache, demon’ (Tor. 83, 84). **II.** ‘middle-ear infection’ (BRS2, 512). **IV.** incantation: Tor. 84; Khis. 285; BashText 186, 187-188.

Tatran means an ear disease, whose master spirit was most often imagined in the form of a bird or a girl (Khis. 285, BashText 184). According to some records, the Bashkirs believed that the disease got into one’s ear during bathing (Tor. 84; BashText 184) and that it can be ousted with an incantation, when it leaves in the form of a snail (BashText 185). However, another expression for the ousting of earache includes the word ‘frog’. *Baqa hïüi sïgarïu* literally means ‘expelling the frog’s water’ (BashText 184), which suggests that the earache was somehow associated with water. However, there is another procedure to banish the *tatran*: the healer shouts⁷²¹ and says three times “What are you shouting? I am shouting *tatran*!”

Tau eyähe

I. ‘mountain’s master’ (Rud. 268); ‘mountain’s spirit, homeland’s⁷²² master’; its other form is *tau anahï* ‘id.’ (Khis. 286) [‘mountain’s mother’]. **II.** *tau* ‘mountain’

⁷²⁰ I quote this under Khisam. III, 42-43.

⁷²¹ Although it may be related to healing the disease of the ear in this way, they also shout in other cases in order to frighten the demon which caused the disease, e.g. → *Möstän*.

⁷²² According to Khisamitdinova, besides the compound *yer-hïü* [lit. ‘earth-water’], *tau-taş* [lit. ‘mountain-stone’] and *tau eyähe* also have the meaning of ‘homeland’. We have examples from several Turkic languages for the compound earth-water to mean ‘homeland, birthplace’, which go back to Old Turkic roots (see Chuv. → *Śēr*). In the case of both *yer-hïü* and *tau-taş*, there is a saying which goes “If an orphan cries the homeland cries” (Khis. 93; 286); however, I have not found any data similar to or different from this one in connection with the spirit of the mountain that would support this meaning.

+ *eyä* ‘master’. **III.** *Tau*, meaning ‘mountain’, is a word of Turkic origin, which already existed in Old Turkic (*tāg* ‘mountain’: Cl. 463); it has been retained in several Turkic languages (GTJ 94). For the Turkic background of *eyä* ‘master, host’, see Chuv. → *Iye*.

Lepekhin recorded at the end of the 18th century that the Bashkirs would not accompany him to the top of Mount *Tura*, each making an excuse for not being able to go because they owed something to the master of the mountain. He was also told stories about a Tatar who did not respect the spirit of the mountain and dirtied its sacred place and died soon afterwards. His sons also died; one of them was tormented to death by snakes and the other was torn to pieces by a bear (Lepekhin 1802, 31-32).

Rudenko saw peaks and crevasses in the Southern Ural where Bashkirs offered sacrifices – usually copper coins, tin or silver decorations and rags, which they hung on trees or branches that they would insert into the ground or in a crack in the rock (Rud. 268). Khisamitdinova mentions that various sacrifices were offered atop hills and mountains, for example, during the crow-porridge feast⁷²³ or the sacrifice to the iron’s spirit,⁷²⁴ along with sacrifices related to the weather – offering a sacrifice for sunshine in rainy years and for rain in years of draught.⁷²⁵

Similarly to the cave’s master (→ *Mämaryä eyähe*), the mountain’s master also appears in stories in the shape of animals (duck, snake, eagle) or in human form (Khisam. II, 50).

Timer eyähe

I. ‘iron’s spirit [master]’ (Khis. 294). **II.** *timer* ‘iron’ + *eyä* ‘master’. **III.** *Timer* is a word of Turkic etymon, well-documented since the Old Turkic era; OT. *tämir* ‘iron’

⁷²³ In spring, when the earth is dry enough, the female population of the village go out into the nature and cook a festive porridge. They eat part of it and spread the rest on trees and logs (Tor. 34; Khisam. III, 34).

⁷²⁴ See → *Timer eyähe*.

⁷²⁵ During the rain-calling sacrifice, special stones were also used: *yamğır taşı*, *yadataş*, *yäytaş* (Khisam. III, 48); for the Turkic background, see: Molnár 1994.

(Cl. 508-509). Its later and modern data: GTJ 635-636. For the etymology of *eyä*, see Chuvash → *Iye*.

When their iron tools broke, the Bashkirs believed that the iron's spirit wanted a sacrifice from them, so they sacrificed a roan horse atop a mountain. They buried the broken iron objects at the place where the blood of the sacrificial animal flowed (Khis. 294; Khisam. III, 60-61).

According to Bashkir beliefs, iron is a protective and trouble-averting material; therefore, it is used in folk medicine to prevent and heal diseases, and even to banish windstorms (Khisam. III, 59-60; Tor. 28). The belief in the strength of iron and in its protective power against evil spirits is reflected in name-giving customs, too (in more detail: Tor. 69-70). One piece of data even mentions the iron's master by name: *Dauit* (Khis. 336).

Timräü

I. 'ringworm, the spirit [master] of the disease ringworm' (Khis. 294). IV. incantation: BashText 281, 284-285, 285.

Three types of ringworm are differentiated: white, red and coin-ringworm (Khis. 294-295). It is healed with incantation and, in some places, with the smoke of henbane or the sap of a young oak (Khis. 295; BashText 286).

Tirmän eyähe

I. 'mill's spirit' (Khis. 296) ['mill's master']; its further forms: *tirmän inähe* (lit. 'mill's mother'), *tirmän xuzası* ['mill's master'], *tirmän ana* ['mill mother'], *tigermän ana* 'id.' (Khisam. III, 62). III. Both words are of Turkic etymon, OT. *täğirmän* 'a rotary mill' (Cl. 486-487; DTS 548); for the Turkic background of *eyä*, see Chuv. → *Iye*.

The spirit of the mill was imagined as an old man or woman with long, unkempt hair covered in flour, bushy eyebrows and long eyelashes. Although it is the guardian spirit of the mill, to win its good will, the miller would always leave out flour or grains for it. If the wind or water was insufficient for the mill, they said it was because the mill's spirit was dissatisfied.

Ubir

I. ‘1. souls remaining on earth after death; 2. demon in the place of the souls of witches who gave their soul to Satan while they were alive’ (Rud. 272); ‘vampire, shape-shifting dead’ (Khis. 320); ‘evil spirit, demon’ (Khisam. III, 69); ‘blood-sucker’ (Tor. 21). Its further forms: *ubir qarsiq* [‘*ubir* old woman’], *ubir abey* [‘grand-mother *ubir*’], *ubirlı qarsiq* [‘*ubir*-like old woman’], *ubir qatın* [‘*ubir* woman’], *ubir qäynä* [‘*ubir* mother-in-law’] (Khisam. III, 69); as well as: (Central dial.) *haḍağan* ‘*ubir*, the *ubir*’s fire’ (Khis. 338);⁷²⁶ (Irg.) *häuänäy* ‘*ubir*-like old woman’ (Khis. 357). It is also worth mentioning that in Bashkir, the word *upqın* ‘crevice, depth, water’s master’s place’ is etymologically related to *ubir* (Khis. 323), cf. Chuv. → *Vupkän*. II. *ubirgüä* ‘first loop in the warp (lit. *ubir*-loop)’ (Khis. 320). III. For the Turkic background and etymology of the word, see Chuv. → *Vupär*. IV. incantation: BashText 134; story: BKI XII, 96 (Б, В); BKI XII, 96-97.

In Rudenko’s description, one meaning of *ubir* is the soul of a dead person remaining on earth for some reason, which takes various shapes and causes various trouble and damage to people, such as making them ill or tormenting them to death.⁷²⁷ According to its other meaning, the *ubir* lives in live persons, namely inside those witches (*siḡirsı*) who gave their soul to Satan in exchange for their knowledge of magic. Such witches claim to know the future (already Georgi wrote about this: Georgi 1776-1777, II, 107). The witch who is still alive but has already turned into an *ubir* can be recognised from eating raw meat, and the one only turning into an *ubir* after his/her death can be recognised from the fact that he/she looks human from the front but actually has nothing in the back. Mountain Bashkirs imagined that the *ubir* took the form of an old man during the day, of a bat in the evening and it flew in the shape of fire at night.

It was also Rudenko who recorded that those magicians or witches about whom it was revealed during their life that an *ubir* was living inside them were buried with a needle inserted in their soles⁷²⁸ to stop them from walking when they came out of their grave. If

⁷²⁶ Elsewhere, *haḍağan* means ‘distant lightning, flashing’ (Khis. 338).

⁷²⁷ This type of *ubir* is described by Rudenko as the *ubir* or → *Mäskäy*.

⁷²⁸ Khisamitdinova has data about needles inserted into witches’ heels after their death (Khis. 266, 274, 329).

somebody turned out to have been an *ubir* after they died, a stick was driven through their chest. The figure of *ubir* shows some similarities to the beings → *Aždaha*, → *Šüräle* and → *Šaytan* in that some stories claim that the *ubir* also has hollow armpits. If one wants to destroy the *ubir*, they have to take out its heart through this hollow (Rud. 272).⁷²⁹

Rudenko's description can only be supplemented with minute details from later collections, mostly with regards to the *ubir*'s appearance and preventing the dead from becoming an *ubir*.

The *ubir* could appear to people in various forms, such as a dog, cat, pig, fireball, wheel, sheaf, or even a human being⁷³⁰ (Khis. 320). Khisamitdinova does not mention it in her list but cites data elsewhere about people throwing a knife into the whirlwind because they believed that the whirlwind (→ *Qoyon yene*) was actually the *ubirli qarsiq* (Khis. 183). It was customary that if someone saw an *ubir* they had to hold the collar of their shirt and say some filthy words (Khis. 102).⁷³¹ If a child was thought to have fallen ill due to seeing an *ubir* before their shirt was put on them, that shirt had to be rinsed in the river (Khis. 320).

According to beliefs, primarily suicide victims become *ubir*, along with people for whom no funeral ceremony was held (Khisam. III, 69), yet several regulations are known that were always followed, in the case of every dead. For example, the dead body was guarded lest the *ubir* attack it (Khis. 226). For the same reason, and also to stop the *ubir* from moving into the body, it was customary to surround the body with curtains (Khis. 161, 252).⁷³²

⁷²⁹ Rudenko recorded another version of this. A man found out by accident that his wife was not human. When he went home unexpectedly, he saw that his wife took her hair off her head (Rud. 272-273). This motif relates the *ubir* to the → *Yuğa*, and Rudenko himself also recorded this characteristic in relation to the → *Šaytan*.

⁷³⁰ In this case, however (as Rudenko mentions it, too) the *ubir* has no back, only a front.

⁷³¹ Cursing also served as protection from the → *Mäskäy*.

⁷³² The surrounding with curtains also appears in connection with the protection of babies → *Yen*.

No funeral was allowed after sunset so that the dead person would not become an *ubir* (Khis. 94).

There are several descriptions about the touch of the *ubir* causing diseases, but there are few actual data about it. The only disease name known to Khisamitdinova including the *ubir* is the *ubir sarpïüi* ‘incontinence’ (Khis. 320).⁷³³

The *ubir*, *ubirli qarsiq* and *qäynä* are witch-figures of Bashkir folk tales (Khis. 71).

Urman eyähe

I. ‘forest’s spirit, master, protector’ (Khis. 326); dial. (CentUr.) *urman eyäse* ‘id.’ (Khis. 326); (Gay.) *urman anasï* (lit. ‘forest’s mother’); (Mias dial.) *urman bärehe* (lit. ‘forest’s devil’); (Tan.) *urman kešese* (lit. ‘forest’s man’); (in central language areas) *urman qïdïr* (lit. ‘forest’s daughter’); (IkSak.) *urman pärie* (lit. ‘forest’s devil’); *urman täñrehe* (lit. ‘forest’s god’)⁷³⁴ (Khis. 325-326; Khisam. III, 73-74); *šaq* (= *urman eyähe*) (Khis. 359); (Gay.) *päšä ana*⁷³⁵ ‘id.’ (Khis. 252); also partly belongs here: *urman xūžahï* ‘bear (lit. forest’s master)’ (Khis. 326); *urman qoto* ‘taboo name for bear (lit. forest’s life-force)’ (Khis. 325). **II.** *urman* ‘forest’ + *eyä* ‘master’. **III.** *Urman*, meaning ‘forest’ exists in several Kipchak languages (and also in Uzbek); for its data, see: Sev. I, 472-473; GTJ 110. *Eyä* is a word of Turkic etymon; for more details, see Chuv. → *Iye*. **IV.** incantation: BashText 131.

The spirit of the forest is regarded at the same time as good (it protects the forest) and formidable, perhaps even bad, which is shown by its name being not the forest’s master but the forest’s devil (*urman bärehe*, *urman pärie*) in several places. This duality is also reflected in its appearance as, besides the bear and the hare, the tick (*talpan*) is also believed to be one of its possible forms (Khis. 281).

When somebody enters or leaves a forest, they must say *bismilla*⁷³⁶ (Khis. 325), and to prevent wolves from decimating the live-

⁷³³ Since *sarpïu* means urinary tract diseases, among other things, incontinence is probably related to the *sarpïu* rather than to the *ubir*. See also → *Yelpëi*.

⁷³⁴ In all likelihood, the *urman täñrehe* is Khisamitdinova’s creation. (For similar data in connection with the *ağas täñrehe*, see → *Ağas eyähe*).

⁷³⁵ In Tatar, *päše ana* is one of the names of the stable’s spirit (see Tat. → *Abzar iyäse*).

⁷³⁶ The Arabic formula ‘in the name of God’, in Bashkir form.

stock, the forest's master must be given donations (Khis. 252).⁷³⁷ Hunters also regularly offered sacrifices to the forest's spirit (Khis. III, 74).

Other supernatural beings live in the forest, too (→ *Šüräle*, → *Yarimtīq*), which are not mixed up in stories with the forest's spirit or master.

Ut anahī

I. 'fire's spirit' (Khis. 327) ['fire's mother'];⁷³⁸ its further forms: *ut-äsä* 'id.' (Khis. 328); (CentUr.) *ut χužahī* 'fire's spirit [master]', *ut täñre* 'fire's god'⁷³⁹ (Khis. 327).

II. *ut* 'fire' + *ana*, *änä* 'mother'; *χuža* 'master'. **III.** *Ut* is of Turkic etymon, which already existed in Old Turkic (OT. *öt*: Cl. 34) and is found in several Modern Turkic languages (Sev. I, 484; GTJ 356); the Turkic data of *ana* 'mother': GTJ 298-299.

IV. incantation: Khis. 327.

Although the phrase fire's mother appears in a few records, in reality, we have no data of any actual beliefs associated with it. In one of her dictionaries, Khisamitdinova lists several names for it (see above), but in another summary work (Khisam. I-III.), she mentions none of them.

According to a collection in Karaidel', melted butter was thrown into the fire for the fire's mother when healing rashes around the mouth (Khis. 327). Furthermore, there is a record from Sverdlovsk about the fire's donation (*ut χäyere*), when salt, matches and coins are "given", and one incantation is known.⁷⁴⁰

⁷³⁷ The latter data was recorded by Khisamitdinova about the figure of *päšä ana* 'forest's spirit [lit. forest mother]' of the Gaynin Bashkirs. She claims that the word *päšä* got into Bashkir from a Finno-Ugric language and its original meaning is 'moose' (Khis. 252).

⁷³⁸ At these and the following compounds, Khisamitdinova refers her reader to the form *ut eyähe*, but there is no such entry in her dictionary.

⁷³⁹ In all likelihood, this form is Khisamitdinova's invention (about similar data in connection with *ağas täñrehe*, see → *Ağas eyähe*).

⁷⁴⁰ I quote this text under Khis. 327.

Ülät

I. ‘spirit of pestilence (epidemic)’ (Khis. 331; Khisam. III, 80); **II.** ‘1. rinderpest, 2. (livestock) epidemic’; as a swearword: ‘wretch, damned wretch’ (BRS2 588); in cursing: *ülät teyger/qirgır* ‘pestilence touch him/knock him off!’ (Khisam. III, 80). **III.** See Tat. → *Ülät*. **IV.** incantation: Khisam. III, 81.

Disease demon that dwells in animal cemeteries and mainly attacks those travelling alone in the evening. If it goes into a village, it may cause its total destruction. It was usually imagined as a red-eyed dog, which was mainly afraid of fire and other dogs. Two methods were recorded for its banishment. One of them is taking new fire to every fireplace in the village from the same fire after extinguishing all the old fires. The other way to oust the *ülät* was to make a lot of clanking and rattling noise (by beating buckets, sieves and scythes)⁷⁴¹ (Khisam. III, 80-81).

Vaba eyähe

I. ‘cholera’s spirit’ (Khis. 80) [‘cholera’s master’]. **II.** *vaba* ‘cholera’ (BRS2, 137) + *eyä* ‘master’. **III.** *vaba* < Ar. *ءبأ* (*wabā*) ‘plague, cholera’ (ARS 869); *Eyä* is a word of Turkic etymon; I provide its data under Chuv. → *Iye*.

Disease demon, which was usually imagined as a one-eyed⁷⁴² and one-fingered man or a man wearing a turban. According to beliefs, the *vaba* is afraid of juniper, wormwood and tar; therefore, these were used in both the prevention and healing of cholera (Khisam. I, 133).

Zäxmät

I. ‘disease demon (the spirit of diseases caused by evil forces)’ (Khis. 100; Khisam. II, 28); dial. *zaxmet* (Khisam. II, 28); (CentUr.) *zäxmät* ‘devil (*yen*)’ (BBH III, 61). **II.** (obs.) ‘hardship, suffering’; *zäxmät qagılıu* ‘to fall ill (due to the wrongdoing of some mythical force)’ (BRS2 196). **III.** The word exists in several Turkic languages (Osm; Tat; Kar.), meaning ‘tiredness, hardship, suffering, disease’. In Chuvash,

⁷⁴¹ I quote the incantation recited at this time under Khisam. III, 81.

⁷⁴² The storm-devil → *Qoyon yene* was also imagined as having one eye, one arm and one leg.

besides meaning ‘trouble’, it also appears in compounds in the names of spirits and deities (cf. Räs. 528; Fed. II, 39). Fedotov originates the word from Arabic but, contrary to his claim, the word does not mean ‘tiredness, hardship, concern’ in modern Arabic: زحمة (*zahmat*) ‘hustling, congestion, crowd, restraint, obstruction, multitude’ (ARS 326). The word, being eventually really of Arabic origin, was introduced into Turkic languages through Persian mediation: ModPer. زحمة (*zahmat*) ‘work, tiredness, disturbance, trouble, inconvenience’ (cf. Scher. 66). **IV.** incantation: BashText 320, 321, 325; Khis., 101; Khisam. II, 29.

Contrary to Khisamitdinova, I do not regard the *zäxmät* as a disease demon on the basis of the data (cf. Khis. 100; Khisam. II, 28); its meaning is rather only ‘trouble, hardship, disease’.⁷⁴³ The only piece of data that supports its being a mythical creature is a Central-Ural dialectal word (see above); however, it is even not used here as a disease demon but as one of the synonyms for the devil. It is mostly used in compounds with the words → *Yer* ‘earth’, *hüu* ‘water’, → *Yel* ‘wind’ and → *Yen* ‘demon, devil’ to name the diseases caused by them. In incantations, *zäxmät* does not appear as an invoked entity, either, which again suggests that it is not considered the spirit of the given disease.

Zäñge

I. ‘spirit of the disease scurvy’ (Khis. 98); its dialectal data: *zäñgä*, *zäñgä babay*, *zäñlä*, *zäñne*, *señgä*, *säñnä*, *siñgä babay*, *señnä*, *siñgä*, *zäñgälä*, *zämbälä*, *däñgälä* ‘scurvy, the spirit of scurvy, plant against scurvy, rheumatism’ (Khis. 98-100; Khisam. II, 26; BHH III, 61); (CentUr; Karid.) *zäñke babay*, *zäñke äbey* ‘spirit, the master of domestic animals [grandfather *zänke*, grandmother *zänke*]’ (Khis. 267). Its other name: (Karid.) *aqñin xužası* (Khis. 20); (TokSor.) *auñin* (Khis. 39); (Mias dial.) *mäñzälä* (Khis. 228); *tupalama* (Khis. 310). **II.** ‘scurvy’ (BRS2 195); ‘frost-bite’ (Tor. 83); ‘winter disease, vitamin deficiency’ (Tor. 10). **III.** Khisamitdinova considers the word to be of Persian origin, without a detailed explanation (Khis. 98); Torma partly rejects the possibility of the adoption of the Russian word *чунза* ‘scurvy’ and considers the word to be of Bashkir origin – also without any further detailed explanation (Tor. 106). **IV.** incantation: Khis. 100, 113; Khisam. II, 27/1, 2.

⁷⁴³ Torma writes about it in the same sense, too (Tor. 93; 173). It is also associated, for example, with the ban of building a house at the crossing of roads because it is an ominous or unfortunate (in Bashkir, *zäxmätle* ‘*zäxmät*-ly’) place (Khis. 375).

The disease demon *zänge* is believed to appear in spring and to mainly attack people's legs and teeth. The legs are paralysed and the teeth fall out (Khisam. II, 27). In spring, when the first vegetables and fruits were eaten, incantations were recited and the ceremony of "banishing the *zängä*" was held.⁷⁴⁴ According to Torma's collection, besides the diseases caused by vitamin deficiency in spring, it is also associated with the cold and the freezing of the limbs (Tor. 106).

It was imagined as a horse-faced old man (and its name was often connected with the word *babay* 'old man, grandpa'). It has strong ties with horses, expressed in various forms. According to Sokolov's description, one way to heal the *zängä* is to take the patient out to the field on several consecutive days in autumn, where they must eat vegetables on their hands and knees, only using their teeth and not touching them with their hands, and sometimes they must neigh, too (Sokolov 1888 – cited by Nikol'skiy 1899, 110. and Khisam. II, 28). There are also several recent records which similarly associate the disease and its healing with horses: when the preventive incantations are recited, the neighing of horses is imitated (see the incantations referenced above).

Its strong connection with horses might explain why the guardian spirit of the stable or the farmyard is called *zängä babay* in several areas (see also → *Ađbar eyähe*). Khisamitdinova lists Tatar, Uzbek, Kazakh and Karakalpak parallels, where the protector of livestock is mentioned by the name of *zanki bobo*, *zanki ata*.⁷⁴⁵ It is also possible, however, that the names of the disease and the patron spirit are not of the same origin, which may also be suggested by the many dialectal data (Khisam. II, 28).

Zäjke babay's spirit is often given alms, too, and eggs are sacrificed to him at the time when the animals are first driven out to pasture

⁷⁴⁴ I quote the relevant texts under Khis. 100; Khisam. II, 27/1-2.

⁷⁴⁵ Among the Uzbeks, *Zangi baba* is the protector of cattle and among the Tatars of Western Siberia, *zangi (sengi) baba* is the master of the farmyard or the stable (cf. ME I, 66; II, 314).

(Khis. 215). According to one record, *Zänge baba* and *Xuža Bahauetdin* are the masters of the world (*donya xužahi*) (Khis. 336).⁷⁴⁶

Ziyandaš

I. ‘spirit of the disease epilepsy’ (Khis. 97). **III.** The word is of Persian origin; ModPer. زبان (*ziyān*) ‘damage, disadvantage, loss’ (Gaf. I, 427). It exists in several Turkic languages, e.g. Osm; Kum; Kaz; see also: Räs. 531; as well as Tkm. *ziyanlı* ‘being harmed (by a human or an evil spirit)’ (Basilov 1975, 125). It is found in Tatar and Bashkir (as well as in Chuvash, through Tatar mediation) – Tat. *ziyan* ‘damage, hindrance, loss’; *ziyandaš* ‘epilepsy’; Chuv. *sayān* ‘damage, loss, mistake, need, misfortune, death’; *sayāntaş* ‘a kind of epilepsy’ (Scher. 66); as well as *siyan* ‘damage, loss, misfortune, death’ (Ashm. XI, 125–126); and *siyentaš* ‘a kind of disease’ (Ashm. XI, 126). **IV.** incantation: BashText 332.

Two different notions are associated with the *ziyandaš*. It is one of the names of epilepsy and of the spirit causing it (Khis. 97), although we must note that some data providers do not consider it identical with epilepsy (→ *Büuma*). Its symptoms are the following: the neck stiffens and the patient feels strangled (BashText 331). According to collections so far, the healing methods of the *ziyandaš* also differ from those of the *büuma*. When the patient’s seizures or suffocation start, bear’s claws and bones are burnt and the patient is circled around with this smoke. According to another procedure, an incantation is written on a saucer,⁷⁴⁷ then it is rinsed and the patient hit by the *ziyandaš* is given a drink from it (BashText 331–332).

Furthermore, the *ziyandaš* is also a demon which attacks the foetus. According to Bashkirs’ belief, a stillborn child is killed by the *ziyandaš*. During a difficult birth or when the foetus is thought to have been attacked in the womb by the *ziyandaš* (they say that “the *ziyandaš* is eating the baby”), the mother is pulled through a wolf’s mouth⁷⁴⁸ or a strap on which a prayer is written (Khis. 97; BashText 331–332).

⁷⁴⁶ In the same source, several master spirits appear by name: *Söläymän* is the master of water, *Qotdos* is the master of earth and *Dauit* is the master of iron.

⁷⁴⁷ I quote the incantation under BashText 332.

⁷⁴⁸ They cut off the wolf’s mouth, open it wide and dry it in that way.

Ziyarat eyähe

I. ‘cemetery’s master spirit’ (Khis. 98); its further forms: *ziyarat xužahî* ‘cemetery’s master’, *ziyarat utî* ‘cemetery’s fire’, *ziyarat haqsihî* ‘cemetery’s guard’, *ziyarat yene* ‘cemetery’s devil’ (Khisam. II, 26); *ziarat yilani* ‘cemetery’s spirit (lit. cemetery’s snake)’ (Khis. 98). **II.** *ziyarat* ‘cemetery’ (NorthWest.) *zirat* (BHH III, 60). **III.** The Arabic-origin word زيارة (*ziyāra*) ‘visit’ got into Persian (زیارت, ‘visit, pilgrimage, respect’ Gaf. I, 427) and several Turkic languages (e.g. Osm; Kara; Tat.), meaning ‘visiting a holy place, pilgrimage; cemetery’ (for the Turkic data, see: Räs. 531-532).

The cemetery’s master (or snake) protects the peace of the dead from the → *Ubîr* and other evil spirits. The soul of the first person buried in a certain place will become the cemetery’s master (Khis. 98).⁷⁴⁹

Zölpäkäy

I. ‘child-scarer’ (Khis. 97); some of its features liken it to the devil (Khisam. II, 24). **III.** Khisamitdinova tries to relate it to the word *yel* ‘wind’ as well as to the disease name *yelpig* (Khisam. II, 24), which I regard as unfounded.

Basically a child-scarer (→ *Bapaq*). Children are told: “I’ll give you to the *zölpäkäy*”, “Here comes grandmother *Zölpäkäy*”, “If you cry the *zölpäkäy* will take you” (Khis. 97; Khisam. II, 24). Nevertheless, there are also data showing that this being is dangerous to babies because it may tickle them to death (Khisam. II, 24); that is the reason why I did not list it among the child-scarers.

⁷⁴⁹ The same among the Chuvash is the *masar puši*.