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TRADITIONAL FOLK KNOWLEDGE OF THE KAZAKHS ASSOCIATED WITH THE CULT OF THE WOLF

The main purpose of this article is to give a scientific assessment of the role of the wolf in the system of traditional folk cognition of the Kazakh people on the basis of ethnographic field reports arising from the mechanism of relations between human and wolf, human and nature.

The methods of studying the topic are interdisciplinary through historical and ethnographic, zooarchaeological, ethno-folklore approaches.

The results of the study determine that the totem character of the wolf has a high significance in the life of the Kazakh people, such cultural and anthropological features as ancient artifacts associated with wolves, sacred cults, belief systems, ethnolinguistic data, processing of wolf skins, ethnomedicine.

The results will be utilized to determine the importance of animal cults in ethnozooarchaeology.

The system of knowledge and skills related to wolves for Kazakh people is associated with the recognition of the secrets of nature and animals from ancient times. There was formed ethno-folklore system (legends, fairy tales, proverbs) related to the cognition of man and wolf, as well as a system of names according to the types of wolves, age and color. The ephemeral name "Bori" used by the ancient Turks and the cult of bori had not lost their meaning from ancient times to the present day. Archeological finds determine the importance of the image of the wolf in the life and worldview of the ancient tribes inhabiting the Kazakh land. The skin was tanned and hung at home. The wolf coat (winter coat) and wolf cap (winter cap) were sewn from its skin. Heart, larynx, meat, fat, wolf soup, bile, genitals had been used in ethnomedicine for the traditional treatment of various diseases. The body parts such as skull, cheeks, teeth, haste, soles, skin were used for magical and ritual purposes. The system of proverbs associated with the wolf reflects the peculiarities of the Kazakhs' knowledge of wolves.

Key words: Wolf, The ephemeral name "Bori", Trap, Folk knowledge, Ritual magic.

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Қазақтардың қасқыр культімен байланысты дәстүрлі халықтық білімі

Бұл мақаланың негізгі мақсаты – адам мен қасқырдың, адам мен табиғаттың қарым-қатынас механизмінен туындайтын этнографиялық далалық есептер негізінде қазақ халқының дәстүрлі халықтық таным жүйесіндегі қасқырдың рөліне ғылыми баға беру.

Тақырыпты зерттеу әдістері тарихи-этнографиялық, зооархеологиялық, этно-фольклорлық тәсілдер арқылы пәнаралық болып табылады.

Зерттеу нәтижесі қасқырлармен байланысты көне артефактілер, киелі культ, наным-сенім жүйелері, этнолингвистикалық деректер, қасқыр терісін өңдеу, этномедицина сияқты мәдени-антропологиялық ерекшеліктер қасқырдың тотемдік сипатының қазақ халқының тұрмысында аса жоғары мәнге ие екенін нақтылайды.

Нәтижелер жануарлар культінің этнозооархеологиядағы маңызын анықтау үшін қолданылады.

Қазақ халқы үшін қасқырға байланысты халықтық білім мен дағдылар жүйесі ерте заманнан табиғат пен жануарлардың сырын білумен байланысты. Адам мен қасқырды тануға байланысты этнофольклорлық жүйе (аңыздар, ертегілер, мақал-мәтелдер) және қасқыр түрлеріне, жасына, түсіне қарай атаулар жүйесі қалыптасты. Ежелгі түріктер қолданып жүрген «Бөрі» эвфемистік атауы мен қасқыр культі көне заманнан күні бүгінге дейін өз мәнін жойған жоқ. Археологиялық мұралар қазақ жерін мекендеген ежелгі тайпалардың өмірі мен дүниетанымындағы қасқыр бейнесінің маңызын айқындайды. Терісін өңдеп үйге іліп қойған, терісінен қасқыр тон

және қасқыр тымақ тіккен. Жүрек, өнеш, қасқыр етінің сорпасы, майы, өт, жыныс мүшелері этномедицинада әртүрлі ауруларды дәстүрлі емдеу үшін пайдаланылды. Бас сүйек, жақ, тіс, аяқ және терісі сияқты дене бөліктері магиялық және ғұрыптық мақсаттарда пайдаланылды. Қасқырға байланысты мақал-мәтелдер жүйесі қазақтың қасқыр туралы танымының ерекшелігін көрсетеді.

Түйін сөздер: қасқыр, бөрі – эфемистік атауы, халық танымы, ғұрыптық магия.

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Традиционные народные знания казахов, связанные с культом волка

Основная цель данной статьи – дать научную оценку роли волка в системе традиционных народных знаний казахского народа на основе этнографических полевых отчетов, вытекающих из механизма взаимоотношений человека и волка, человека и природы.

Методы исследования темы – мультидисциплинарными, с использованием историко-этнографического, зооархеологического, этнофольклорного подходов.

Результаты исследования подтверждают, что тотемический характер волка имеет очень важное значение в жизни казахского народа, например, древние артефакты, священные культы, системы верований, этнолингвистические данные, обработка волчьих шкур, этномедицина и т. д., связанные с волками.

Результаты будут применены для демонстрации культа животных в этнозооархеологии.

Система знаний и умений, связанных с волками, для казахов связана с познанием тайн природы и животных с древнейших времен. Сформировалась этнофольклорная система (предания, сказки, пословицы), связанная с познанием человека и волка, а также система названий по типам волков, возрасту и окрасу. Эфемистическое название «Бөрі» использовавшееся древними тюрками и культ волка не потеряли своего значения с древнейших времен до наших дней. Археологические находки определяют значение образа волка в жизни и мировоззрении древних племен, населяющих казахскую землю. Шкуру дублили и вешали дома. Из его шкуры шили волчью шубу (тон – зимнее пальто) и волчью шапку (тымақ – зимнюю шапку). Сердце, гортань, мясо, жир, волчья похлебка, желчь, половые органы использовались в этномедицине для традиционного лечения различных заболеваний. Такие части тела, как череп, щеки, зубы, ступни, кожа использовались в магических и ритуальных целях. Система пословиц, связанных с волком, отражает особенности знаний казахов о волках.

Ключевые слова: волк, эфемистическое название «бөрі», народные знания, ритуальная магия.

Introduction

The life of the Kazakh people connected with nomadic animal husbandry has allowed them to get acquainted with nature for many centuries. Experience of studying nature has allowed to recognize the condition of wild animals, their habitat, the harm and benefits to humans, and to take into account their characteristics. From ancient times the hunters did not hunt wild animals during calving and laying eggs. Wolf cognition takes a special role in the life, worldview and system of existence of the Kazakh and other peoples. The relationship between man and nature, or man and the animal world is referred in the fact that people are well aware of the condition of the wolf.

The wolf (*Canis lupus*) is a fluffy, feathered predator. They hunt for food at night, travel 70-85 km in search of food. Body size is 105 – 160 cm,

length of tail is 29-52 cm, weight up to 80 – 100 kg, length of leg is 34-36 cm, height of body is – 90 cm. The wool is shed twice a year. Colors are black, white, gray, blue, red, orange. Feed is about 4 kg of meat per day. According to the Association for the Conservation of Biodiversity of the Republic of Kazakhstan from 2012 to 2015, wolf food consists of 40% of – saigas, 25% – mice and squirrels, 12% – squirrels, 8% – natural products (plants, salt), 5% – various predators, 3% – birds, 3% – insects, 1% – wild boars and domestic animals (<http://www.acbk.kz/animals/default/view?id=54>).

The species and names of wolf. The following system of names for wolves indicates the width and depth of wolf cognition: *Abadan* – is a head male wolf who leads a group of wolves; *Apan* – is a burrow for cubs; *Ar bori* – is an ancient Turkic name of the jackal wolf (Mahmud Kashkari, 1 v., 1997: 109); *Arlan* – is a male wolf; *Auek/auekbasy* – is a small

nesting group or families; *Birishkek* – is the ancient name of a male wolf; *Boltirik* – is cub; *Bori* – is an ephemeral name for a male wolf used by the early Turks; *Borte* – is an early Turkic name for a female wolf; *Kokzhal* – is another name of arlan; *Zhatagy* – is a place where the wolf sleeps during the day; *Enuk* – is an ancient Turkic name for wolf cubs (Mahmud Kashkari, 1v., 1997: 102); *Kanshyk* – is a female wolf; *Karakulak* – is the cub less than six months old; *Kok sholak* – is a wolf with a short tail. As the wolf grows older, the fur on the tail fall off and the tail is shortened, the name of the wolf is associated with this characteristic of the wolf; *Kokbori* – is an ancient name of a wolf associated with the divine religion, Divine wolf, name as meaning of animal of divine; *Kokserek* – is an ancient name for wolf cubs; *Kokzhal* – is a fierce, male wolf with a straight back mane that leads a group of wolves; *Kurt* – is an ancient Turkic name for a wolf. (Mahmud Kashkari, 1 tom., 1997: 400); *Kurtka* – is an early Turkic name for a female wolf; *Korban* – is jackal wolf; *Olekshin* – is the ancient name of a female wolf (also used for a female tiger); *Shulan* – is a female wolf; *Syrttan* – full-grown wolf, a special among abadians' *Uyalas* – are wolves that grow up in the same burrow and suckle the mother wolf.

Depending on the color, they are divided into *gray wolves*, *red wolves*, *blue wolves* and *black wolves*.

Materials and Method

This research work was written on the basis of scientific processing of paleoethnographic, ethnoarchaeological and ethnozoological material collected during a field ethnographic expedition.

Field research works related to wolves were carried out in the region Syrdarya-Aral, the western part of the Kazakhstan, Ulytau.

Traces of animal worship in one form or another permeate religions of all times and peoples. Totemism, the oldest form of animal worship, was universal, and this is one of the reasons for the widespread existence of the cult of animals. Traces of “totemism» in the form of remnants can be traced in the religious beliefs of almost all peoples (Tolstov, 1935). The origin of totemism is obviously connected with the fact that at the early stages of development man had not yet distinguished himself from nature, from the animal world, for him animals, birds, plants were the same creatures as himself. The study of animal cult is of great practical significance (Toleubaev, 1991: 5; Sokolova, 1972: 9-33;).

The first written sources provide evidence of

the totem role of the wolf in the early Turkic period (Mahmud Kashkari, 1997; Fazallah Rashid ad Din, 1987). The formation and transmission of the totem cult from generation to generation is evidenced by folklore data formed at different periods (Babalar sozi, 2004-2013; Epos Abyndji; Potanin, 1916; Valihanov, 1985; Toishanuly, 2016; Kamalashyly, 2013; Kazaktyn etnografyalyk kategoriyalar, ugymdar men ataularynyn desturli zhuiesi, 2017).

The basis of the methodology for ethnographic interpretation of wolf-shaped ritual products, which form a system of archaeological artifacts, along with physical data, is archaeological, ethnoarchaeological research (Altinbekov, 2014; Baipakov, Voyakin, et al: 2010; Bisenbayev, et al: 2013; Kazakstannyn ezhelgi koshpeliler madenieti: arheologiyalyk kolleksiya, 2009; Satina, 2013; Khudyakov, 2007).

The cult of animals, the importance of animals as totems ethnozoology will be revealed on the basis of research.

Ethnozoology is an interdisciplinary scientific field that integrates ethnological and zoological studies. This direction is the most appropriate for identifying historical and ethnographic parallels in the relationship between man and nature. Ethnozoology includes studies of historical and geographical distribution, confirming their interaction with the ancient traditional and modern Kazakh people (cult, ritual, mythology), scientific analysis of external traditional knowledge (ethnomedicine). Among the Kazakh and Turkic peoples, the genealogical prominence and worship of Kok-Bori (ancestral wolf) emphasizes the need for paleoethnographic studies based on new knowledge.

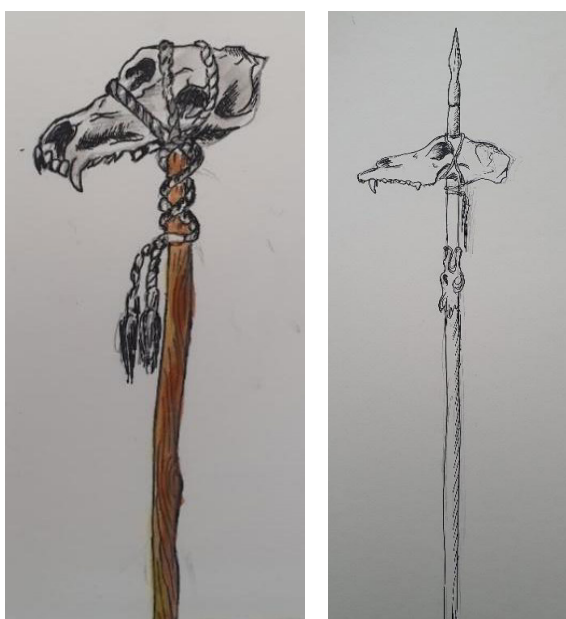
During the field expedition, materials were collected reflecting cultural and anthropological features associated with wolves: ancient artifacts, sacred cults and belief systems, ethnolinguistics, processing of wolf skins, ethnomedicine, etc. Ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological materials serve to give a scientific assessment of the role of wolves in the traditional cultures of the Kazakh people, illustrating the historical evolution and mechanisms of relationships between humans and wolves.

Result and Discussions

The sacred image of the wolf and the myth

The Turkic and Kazakh peoples, who consider themselves to be the descendants of Kokbori, particularly esteemed the wolf on the basis of beliefs. According to the ethno-genealogy of the ancient Turks, the female wolf was the mother of

the first Turks. In accordance with one legend, in ancient times a country was invaded by an enemy, and an only child was amputated and left alone. The child was taken away and fed by a female wolf. The descendants of the child and the female wolf are called Turks or descendants of Ashina. (Babalar sozi, 83 vol., 2012: 333; Khudyakov, 2007: 2). In concordance with a legend, the khan's two daughters, who were imprisoned in a stone fortress, became pregnant by a wolf that dug in, and then the Turks dispersed. Therefore, it can be assumed that the ancient Turks raised the skull of the wolf on a pole and tied it with jute rope as a symbol and a flag (Picture 1).



Picture 1 – A sample of raising a wolf's skull as a symbol, flag by tying it to a pole. It was painted by predictive information of the author T.Kartaeva the artist is Adilkhan Rakhmetov.

A reconstructed version of the ancient Turkic flag with a wolf's head was made by renovator Kyrym Altynbekov and a graphic version was created by a Russian artist M. Gorelik. Museum number is KP 20447 1-3 (Kazaktyn etnografyalyk kategoriyalar, ugymdar men ataularynyn dasturli zhuiesi, 2017: 487). M. Gorelik and K.Altynbekov used the sculpture of a wolf's head made of gold-plated silver, which came to the Hermitage in 1939 from the museum of Ostyak-Vogul, for the reconstruction of the wolf flag (Picture 2). Scholars, art historians and museum scholars have recognized

this artifact as the “head of the flag” that served as the flag of the ancient Turks. The length of the ingot head is – 30 cm, and the height is 27 cm including the ears which served as the head of the flag which became the value of the Hermitage. (Trever, 1940: 17-19). Due to the gold plating, scientists believe that the head of the Turkic flag was made of gold (Khudyakov, 2007: 2). For the sake of gold, scholars believe that the head of the Turkish flag was made of gold.



Picture 2 – Wolf flag. Reconstruction of K.Altynbekov. (Altynbekov, 2014: 277-279)

“The wolf's head is my motto
The wolfish is my flag,
When wolfish raises a flag,
I'm excited all over”
(The poet Suinbay Aronulu.).

The fact that the heads of two wolves depicted opposite each other on the head of the flag, which is kept in the Museum of Ethnography in Anakara, Turkey, proves that the worship of Kokbori is a common knowledge of the Turkic peoples. The combination of the tongues of the two wolves is a symbol of unity and peace. The fact that the part of the flag with the inscription “Allah” with a curved bottom attached to the wolf's head is a proof that the pre-Islamic totem relic is intertwined with the Islamic faith (Picture 3).



Picture 3 – The head of the wolf flag.
Museum of Ethnography. Ankara. Turkey.
Author’s (T.Kartaeva) visit to Ankara – 2019.

Kokbori is found in almost all Turkic peoples who worship the Blue God. One of the proofs of considering the ancient Turks as the descendants of the “bori” can be seen the wolf’s footprint on the brick of pulpit gate of the Alasha khan’s tomb in Ulytau (Picture 4).



Picture 4 – A wolf’s footprint on a brick on the top of the door, which is probably on the pulpit of Alasha Khan’s tomb. XI – XII centuries (Previously, the monument was considered by scientists to be the XIV century, recent studies have recognized it as a monument of the XI – XII centuries). FEE – Ulytau.

The walls of the medieval town of Sarayzhuk, Kuzhkala, Koktam were also placed burnt bricks with the wolf’s footprint (Picture 5). The “brick” with wolf footprints served as the city’s mascot.

The wolf’s footprints were clearly visible after the rain. In old times, the wolf’s footprints were

carved in the form of bricks before they dried up and began to harden. The sides were trimmed, baked in the oven to make bricks, and added to the constructions of mausoleum and town.



Picture 5 – Bricks with traces of wolves on the walls: of Sarayzhuk: a) of the medieval city Kyshkala; b) Sarayshyk Museum-Reserve. FEE – Sir-Aral; Atyrau.

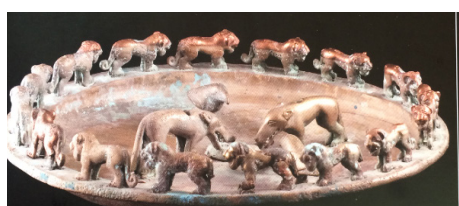
The archeological collection of the Central State Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan contains a pair of whips in the form of a wolf’s head dating back to the VI-VII centuries. The artifact was found in the Zhetisu region. The nozzle is made of bronze. Dimensions are: 4.3x2.2x1.9 cm; sleeve is 1,3x1,1 cm; Museum registration number is – KP 22428.

The image of two wolves in the fund of KRSCM which fought for mountain-goat surrounded by a sixteen leopard and two birds in the middle of a bronze candle confirms symbolic image of wolf. Museum number is KP 25195. Height is- 24.9 cm., Pedestal height is – 17.6 cm., dimensions are 34.1x34.9 cm., edge of width are 2.1x2.4 cm. It was found in 1993 in the Ereymentsai gorge of Almaty region. Both wolves have open jaws, fangs are seen, front and back legs are put together. The wolf figurines are hollow in the middle and there is a round hole in the ridge for wick. That is, the wolf statuettes serve as the base of the light bulb (Picture 6).

During the excavations of the medieval city of Kastek, the image of a wolf in a piece of pottery was found by archaeologist Arnabay Nurzhanov lit up at night. Putting a candle on a wolf and depicting it with a burning eye is associated with the wolf’s attack at night (Picture 7).



a



b

Picture 6 – a) A candle with a statue of two wolves;
b) A fragment (Kazakstannyn ezhelgi koshpeliler madenieti: arheologiyalyk kolleksiya, 2009: 98).



Picture 7 – A fragment of a pottery with the image of a burning wolf found in the medieval town of Kastek. Excavations of archaeologist A. Nurzhanov. Photo by T. Kartaeva during the expedition's visit in 2019. FEE – Kastek.

A distinguishing example of ancient artifacts with the image of a wolf is on display in the Aktobe regional historical museum of local lore. The wolf's skull must have served as a flagpole or whip handle (Early Iron Age. Autodrome Cemetery). The mystery of the skeleton with the image of two wolves is not almost discovered (Shpaki II cemetery). And eating

with the wolf's a skull spoon, putting the image of a wolf in the kitchen utensils are associated with the ritual of gaining strength from the wolf, tradition of worshipping the wolf (Picture 8 – a,b, c).

According to the story spread among people, the end of the spears of Suranshy and Bugybai batyrs were designed a wolf's head. The wolf's head on the edge of the spear's handle must have been like this item in a museum.



a



b



c

Picture 8 – a,b, c) A wolf's skull bone spearhead and a wolf's skull spoon. Aktobe regional historical museum of local lore. FEE – Aktobe.

The Early Iron Age found in archeological excavations, and the wolf-shaped buckles in "animal-style" horse equipment dating back to the early Turkic period are also associated with the religious beliefs of the ancient tribes, the ancient "wolf totem". (Bisenbayev, Duisengali, 2013: 135-137; Satina, 2013: 62; Picture 9).



Picture 9 – The wolf shaped buckles of horse equipment. Aktobe regional museum of local lore. FEE – Aktobe.

The gold earrings made of a hollow gold tube by bending found during the excavation of the Kerderi mausoleum on the dried bottom of the Aral Sea, conventionally called the Aral-Asar settlement, is closed with the image of a wolf's head on the other edge (Picture 10). Kerderi mausoleum is dated back to the Golden Horde period of the XIV century, related to this "animal-style" wolf headed earrings are also documented as the XIV century and are exhibited in the Kyzylorda regional museum of local lore (Baipakov, Voyakin, et al: 2010). This wolf headed gold earrings are the result or continuation of the art of "animal style".



Picture 10 – The wolf headed gold earrings. Kerderi mausoleum. XIV century. Kyzylorda regional museum of local lore. FEE – Sir-Aral.

There was formed a semantic connection between the concepts of wolf, the predator Bori with the concepts of leader, warden, hero of the nomadic people. People likened the brave hero to a wolf such as *abadan*, *arlan*, *kokzhal*. These equations were used synonymously with the concept of a hero. For example, the hero Barak was called as Kokzhal Barak (Kazaktyn etnografyalyk kategoriyalar, ugymdar men ataularynyn desturli zhuiesi, 2017, 3 vol.: 636 – 637). Batyr Makhambet Utemisuly presented himself as a wolf :

*It was me and me
When I was in Naryn
I was a wave of war
During Isatay's life
I was equal to two bori (wolf)
(Mahanbet. Bes gasyr jirlaidy, 1989: 190).*

The content of almost all legends shows the care of wolf to human. In Kazakh folklore, especially in Kazakh fairy tales, the wolf is more common and

described in detail than other animals. In fairy tales and legends, when the main character is in trouble, a wolf comes to the rescue, guides and leads. He takes the hero to his destination. He resurrects the dead hero and helps him to take revenge. A woman gives a birth of hero wants to eat a wolf's heart.

The image of a "bori" was embossed on the ritual complex inscription created by one of the first Turkic kagans – Taspar kagan (Kutlyk) who ruled between 571-582. Researchers connect the image of bori (wolf) at the top of this inscription with the legend of "Ashyna (Wolf)". The early Turks called the kagan, his horde, and the high-ranking officials of the kaganate: *yabgu*, *shad*, *tarkhan*, *byiryk*, *tegin* as "bori" who guards day and night and military units. The Kok Bori means "the wolf of God" (Kazaktyn etnografyalyk kategoriyalar, ugymdar men ataularynyn desturli zhuiesi, 2017, 1 vol.: 710 – 711).

Genghis Khan's ancestry is also connected with the wolf, in one of the legends at the time of death Buiyn Bayan came as a ray and left as a wolf, before leaving whispered to Alangoa "Genghis, Genghis". After that night's meeting, Genghis Khan was born (Potanin, 1916: 50).

In the poem of "Story of the attack on the house of Salor Kazan" in the book of "Korkyt Ata", Salor Kazan set out in search of his country after the enemy's attack. On the way, he talks to the wolf and asks for a way to his country (Korkyt Ata enciklopedialuk zhinak, 1999: 138). This record reveals that the wolf was the guardian of an entire country.

In the story "Oguz – name" it is told that Erki khan held a party in honor of Tuman khan and the story where Korkyt Ata invited Turman Khan talked with group of old and young wolves like human (Fazallah Rashid-ad din version. Oguz – name, 1987: 35-36).

According to folklore, the wolf was a a guardian for heroes, shamans. People say that the hero Er Zhanibek had two wolves and he was led by these two wolves on the road and on the march. There is a legend that Bokenbay and Eset batyrs were also owned by wolves. The White Wolf served the role of chief assistant of Albynzhi Batyr in the folk epic that wolf felt the death of the hero before (Epos Abyndzhi

https://librebook.me/geroicheskie_epos_narodov_ssr_tom_pervyi/vol11/1)

There is a myth that a wolf bites an animal's neck when it attacks: "In the past, people also were fed by grass like cattle. After a while, people chased others and took over pastures not giving grass

anyone. The starving animals went to the Creator and complained. Then the Creator said to animals “Now you will eat grass, and man will eat you”. Then the wolf asked, “If a man eats meat, what should I eat?”, The Creator said to him, “You eat the neck!”. (Kazakh ethnographic categories, traditional system of names and notions 2017, 3 vol: 637; Toishanuly, 2016: 33). In this way, after the Creator’s command, the wolf became a predator that never eat dead, but he is fed by alive animal.

In the line of the fairy tale “Syrttan” (Outside), the guy first sends a dog to hunt a wolf from outside, which is roaming the village. He says – “I’ll go when both of them are completely fought. “When Kokzhal wolf sniffs a human’s smell, and looks at me, my dog will twist it”. On the contrary, Kokzhal wolf chewed on the dog, when the dog smells its host and looks. The man kills the wolf off. The guy graves as, “You were the outside of the dog, you were the outside of the wolf, I was the outside of the man”. Then the wolf became the master of both the dog and the man (Babalar sozi, 73 vol., 2011: 55-63).

Borte – is the oldest name for a female wolf. It is said in pairs as *Borte-shene*. Shene means wolf in Mongolian. A Turkic girl, Genghis Khan’s wife’s name was Borte. In the early Middle Ages, Borte was revered in the concept of wolf. The word “borte” used by the Kazakh people in fairy tales means color. In the Kazakh fairy tale:

«For a long time, a long time ago
Goat’s hair was borte (gray)
Pheasant was red
Feathers in tails were long»

– If we pay attention to the beginning, it becomes clear that it is bluish, formed in connection with the wolf. The wolf’s fur turns bluish towards winter, which is why the “gray wolf” equation is associated with it.

Kurtka – is an ancient Turkic name for a female wolf. The name of Kurtka in relation to the female wolf is preserved to this day among the hunters of the Donyztau, Ustyurt region (*Kurtka was shot; Kurtka fell into the trap*) [VII -VIII]. The name of Kobylandy batyr’s (hero) wife was Kurtka. Among Kazakhs, naming a girl as Kurtka later became out of tradition. In the tradition of Nogai, an elderly person is called *Kurtka*.

The word “*kurt*” is associated with the ancient Turkic name of the wolf in the etymology of the Bashkir people, the *Kyzylkurt* clan of the Baiuly tribe of the Younger Zhuz. The name “*Kurt*” is preserved in the Turkic language.

Seasons of wolf hunting

Wolves are hunted from late October to late January or early February for their skins. February is the wolf’s mating season. The mating process takes place between the rocks and the places where the saxaul grows thickly. At that time, the wolf’s fur falls off, and the quality of the fur decreases. The mating period, the wolf is accompanied by a pack, which can be very dangerous [II – IV].

And in spring and summer wolves are hunted not for skins, but to protect livestock, to reduce their numbers. Whenever a wolf was hunted, its skin, parts of body were taken away for healing and magic.

One of the oldest ways to hunt a wolf is to beat its head with a stick. In Aktobe region, Argyn Kumoyin lived and hunted along the Karabutak River, one of the 32 rivers that flow into the Eszhan Ulkeyek River. He followed the trail of wolf and track down its burrow. When he came face to face with the wolf, he pushed in his left hand wrapped in a whip into the wolf’s mouth, and with his right hand he struck the wolf on the head with a rod. When possessing the prey, he said, “*The fox owns who chases, the wolf owns who hits*” [II- VI].

When shooting a wolf, the hunter tries to shoot from a distance of 40-50 m for safety. The wolf’s trail is clearly visible in early morning, which was tracked in the morning after a night raid, and in the rain.



Picture 11 – A wolf’s footprint tracking a deer. Donyztau. Taskabak. The author’s cutting the trail. FEE – Aktobe.

The method of falling to hole

One of the oldest methods of wolf hunting is *digging a hole, dropping into a hole*. The hole is often dug in the bitter cold of autumn, when the wolf starves it enters the yard without fear of danger, so the hole is dug far away from wintering, it is covered weakly and a small animal like a calf is tied to the

edge. A wolf that falls into a hole is beaten or shot [I, V]. The ancient method of wolf hunting, preserved in the Kumans of Siberia, is similar to the method of “digging a hole”. In order to hunt wolves, there is built “*kazhaa*” a shed from tree branches, 1-2 small animals are held in it, then fence is built about 40 cm from the shed and the door is left open, so it opens inwards. When the wolf push the fence door with its muzzle, the door closes and the wolf cannot get out (Tyurkskie narody Sibiri, 2006: 331).

Breeding of boltirik (wolf)

The wolves will be pregnant in 62-65 days. On April 10, the wolf gives a birth of 4 to 6, sometimes up to 13 cubs. Twelve days later, approximately on April 22, the cubs open their eyes. The female (mother) wolf does not go anywhere until the cubs open their eyes. It climbs to the top of the hill, watches the cubs, and looks around to see if there is no any danger. When the cubs are nursing their mother, the nipples hang long and do not pull. The cubs and mother are fed by Arlan. It brings the prey by biting or vomits it without swallowing. In the sands of Naryn, wolves find their burrow at the bottom of a willow grove or a pine grove.

Boltirik (cubs) are grew in the burrow. *Apan* – is a natural or cave which built by wolves for raising cubs. *Apan* (burrow) is put in a deserted place. The cubs that grow in one cave or burrow are called *uyalastar*. The trained cubs by female wolf, start hunting from June.

The male cub was taken to be imitated by a dog or to tame by hunter, but no one was able to tame it and eventually was shot by its owner when it joined a pack of wolves or began to behave wildly.

In the sands of Naryn, boltirik of a man named Mergenbai (was born in 1945) did not eat in front of people, the owner hunted a mouse not to keep it hungry, it was also eaten out of sight, not to be tamed it was shot 4 months later (FEE – Han Ordasy).

Folk knowledge and Ethnomedicine associated with the wolf

The concept of the wolf is also reflected in the metrological knowledge of the Kazakh people. From 17 to 23 February, the winter is severe and there is time when it is very chilly. Invisible storms intensify in February. During the *syrgak* and stormy days of February, the arlan (male) and kanshyk (female) wolves mate. “*Syrgak*” is an icy snowflake smaller than hail. Many elderly people of ancient time said that this is the reason why this practice is called “*bori syrgak*”.

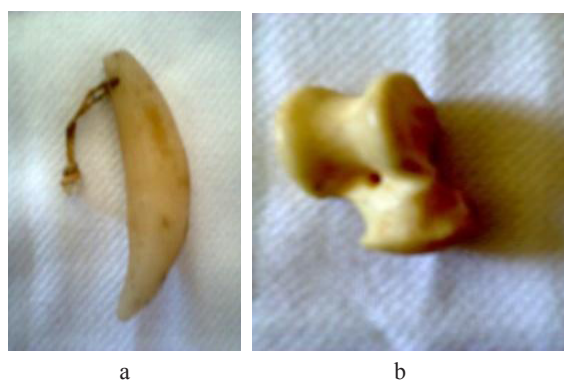
The *wolf's paw* is hung on the threshold as a talisman. There are no fights and no burglaries in the house where is paw (Picture 12).



Picture 12 – Hanging a wolf’s paw on the threshold. Zhanaozen. The owner is Akshabayev Aldabergen. FEE – Mangystau.

The wolf’s *teeth* are placed on the neck of the child, in the cradle as an amulet to protect it from hoodoo.

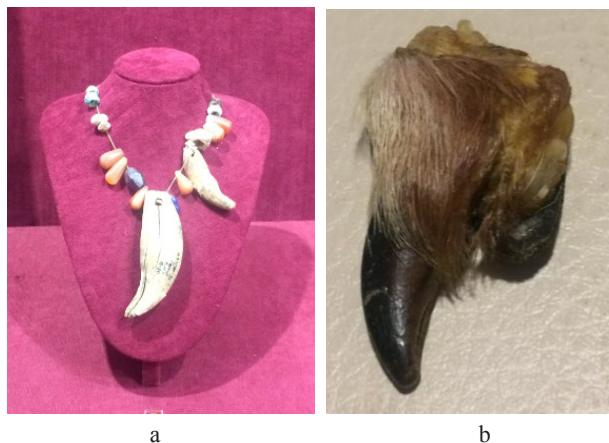
The *teeth* and *asyk* were put in baptizing water of a child in order to be brave and strong when he grows up. The wolf’s sharpness was given by water (Picture 13).



Picture 13 – a) The tooth of a wolf, which a child wears as a talisman and puts when baptized; b) the asyk of a wolf is used to baptize a child. The owner is Kipshakbayev Zeynolla. Syr region. Karmakshy. FEE – Sir-Aral.

In the western part of the Kazakh lands, in ancient times, the wolf’s teeth were worn as a

magical amulet by the bride's headwear "saukele" to protect her from hoodoo. The wolf's tooth amulet, along with beads, served as a breastplate. The wolf's fangs were taken as an amulet (Picture 14a).



Picture 14 – a) a ritual decoration in which a wolf's fangs are used along with beads. Tapabergen II cemetery. Early Iron Age. Aktobe regional historical museum of local lore. FEE – Aktobe.; b) Wolf's claw. The owner of the amulet is historian Abikenova Gulzhaz. FEE – Kegen.

Carrying or taking with you a wolf's claw as a talisman is associated with the sharpness of the wolf's claws and protection from evil forces (Picture 15b).

The larynx of hunted wolf was taken, dried and preserved, the man with the sore throat used to drink the water. A person who drinks water through a wolf's throat recovered very quickly (Picture 15a).



Picture 15 – a) The larynx of the wolf, used to drink water to treat a sore throat; b) Dried wolf's gall. Syrdarya district, S.Seifullin village. The owner is Kaltai Pazylova. FEE – Sir-Aral.

The wolf's gall was taken and dried. A little piece of dried gall was diluted with water at the bottom of the cup. To treat a person who has a cold and an infection, it is applied by stroking the patient's palms and soles. The hoodooed child was

treated in the same way. The wolf's gall entered through the sensitive points on the skin of the palms and soles of the feet. It did not overdose because of its strong medicine. If the wolf's gall was torn, it was poured into a cotton, then dried cotton was pulled from the edge and diluted in water following the above method (Picture 15b).

The wolf's skull, bones and meat were boiled together outside, and when the tendon fat came out, it was poured into a bottle and greased to arthritis.

The meat and broth of wolf were eaten as a cure for pneumonia (tuberculosis), and diabetes. The wolf's meat was boiled at least 3 hours. The skull of wolf was boiled together in order to take away its tooth. In 3 hours the meat and bones are softened. Then the tooth was easily removed. The hunter kept the tableware separate because wolf's meat was smelled badly. Processing and cleaning of wolf limbs was carried out in the steppe. It is said that if a wolf is brought back to the village alive, the meat of sheep in the shed will turn black and rot.

The barley is not appeared only in the eyes, but also in the tongue. That is the illness of the tongue. The following magical superstitions are done that associated with the appearance of barley on the tongue. "*The barley appeared on my tongue, it is on the bottom of the wolf*", says the patient and his healer 6 halal and 6 haram. Then the patient asked, "*How my tongue can be treated?*" - The doctor says, "*look at both sides, until you lick the crow's dung*", and the patient says, "*Tifa-tifa*", and as soon as he spits, he recovers.

The cattle with udder inflammation is milked on a wolf's skull.

Arlan's whip (*male penis*) is cut and dried, it presses body where is mulligrubs, and a person with a lung disease is hit on the back. It is also held by a woman who is not pregnant. A person who owns a wolf's whip does not tell anyone as "*I have a whip*" so that not "*to lose his virtues and prey*".

If a female wolf falls into a trap, its penis (*sarpay*) also cuts off, soaks it in water and separates from fur. It was used by men whose wife is not able to be pregnant or a woman who gave birth of only girls. He warned his wife that *sarpay* would be used in sexual relationship and aroused her desire and excitement in advance. Having the wolf's sarpay was not revealed to anyone because of its beliefs. This is an ancient healing ritual that is very rare used and is kept as a secret. At present time, hunter wraps and stores it in the freezer until the person who ordered sarpay comes to take.

If a woman is finicky to wolf's heart, the child of pregnant woman is a boy and he will be brave and

courageous when grow up. The wolf's fried heart was given to finicky woman.

From ancient times, a woman was not given a wolf's *kidney*, and if she was finicky, she was cured, because there was superstition that a woman who ate wolf's kidney would be given birth of a villain child.

A child with rickets or hoodoo is washed in water with a wolf's skull (Picture 16).



Picture 16 – The skull of a wolf with teeth, saved for treatment. The owner is Kozhapanova Koisyn. FEE – Khan Ordasy.

There is performed a magical ritual to hoodooed child taking out of the jaws of a wolf which has been specially dried and preserved.

The newborn is first sucked wolf's *fur* that was soaked into boiling water, and then started to breastfeed. This ritual helps newborn child to relieve flatulence.

The wolf's *brain* is taken, stored in a glass and applied to sore spot.

The premature baby was put in a *wolf tymak* (cap) and hung on a wall. Through the wolf skin of the wolf's cap, the young child gets dignity, and baby becomes strong (Picture 17).

There are three ways to get wolf's fat for treatment: the meat is boiled and the fat is filtered; fry meat with fat; in hot days, the wolf's meat is wrapped in cloth, hung outside and collected dripped fat [VII – VIII].

The wolf's skull was tied around the waist of a man with a lower back pain and also protected from hoodoo (Valihanov 1985: 63).



Picture 17 – Hanging a premature baby in a wolf's coat. According to the author, the picture was painted by Zhaleleddin Shaiken.

And if a wolf's tooth bites into a human, a special ritual is performed to return the venom of the tooth. A man injured by a wolf's tooth ate the eagle's brain accurately. For forty-three days he has to bite the ear of the pot. This ancient ritual was written and published in 1891 by G. Efimov (Efimov 1891: 3).

Wolves and demons

In ancient times, healers and shamanism were widely used. The shaman Talasbai who lived in the east of Kazakh land to treat infertile women, called for help a demon in the appearance of Kokbarak wolf that lives in the Burtastagan mountains (Toleubaev, 1991: 5). Shamans who turn to wolves for help are called "*wolf demon shamans*".

They are:

«*Oh, blue wolf, blue wolf.*

Come quickly to me wolf»

- said his secret (Kamalashyly 2013: 569). This is the worship of bori owner to the appearance of the art of shamans.

Rituals of protection of cattles from wolves

The danger called as "zhut" did not only come to the livestock of nomadic Kazakh from the "thick snow, severe winter", but predators such as wolves were also danger. Sheep, calf, colt were pulled from neck and even a cow was scratched with its claws. There was a time when a wolf killed a flock of sheep at once. There was used "wolf bewitch" to catch large animals such as horses and camels. When the wolf saw a herd of horses and a flock of camels, it started to trick, laid on the ground and wagged its tail, bewitched. Deceived horse and camel came closer were attacked by a wolf (Kamalashyly 2013: 566).

The cattle's skull, red cloth, and bones were hung in the barn to protect it from the attack of wolves, thieves, and hoodoos as "*cattle is getting*

more". Nowadays, hanging of cattle's skulls in the barn to protect them is preserved in traditional villages. When the wolf sees the bone, it turns and goes back. In traditional environment, the name was not said directly as "Not to call by its proper name, disaster will come" (wolf attacks to cattle), it was named indirectly as *dog-bird, a bad mouth, a blackears, sticking ears, howl*. In ancient times, in the nomadic environment, when a herd spent the night in the steppe, they performed the ritual of "tying the wolf's jaw". The wolf's head and jawbone were tied [II – IV; Picture 18]. If there is not wolf's skull, there were tied the head of a pair of scissors, clippers, sometimes the left lace of a hat or tights, and the sleeve of a child's shirt and said: "Protect my cattle in the barn, The God, tied wolves' mouths" (Kazaktyн etnografyalyk kategoriyalar, ugymdar men ataularynyn desturlyk zhuiesi, Vol.3, 2017: 639).



Picture 18 – The ritual of tying a wolf's jaw.
Drawing by Adilhan Rahmetov.

Equations, names

The process of naming a person as a name for a wolf's sex and age, such as *Syrttan, Borte, Kurtka, Arlan* are based on the protective magic formed in connection with the sacred nature of the Bori. If there husband's relatives were named as *Kaskyrbai, Baibory, Boribai, Boribek, Arlan*, and the brides called them "Ulyma" without saying "wolf". The story was wide spread about a Kazakh woman who saw a wolf attacking a sheep on the bank of the river, the words as wolf, water, reed, sheep, knife, and scythe were in the names of her husband's relatives, therefore it was reported such as "Grandpa, grandpa, opposite side of the waterfall, near the rustle, bleat is being eaten by ulyma" (Grodekov, 1889: 100). Nowadays, naming a person connecting with a wolf is out of date.

Wolf skin: clothes and household items

In order to use the wolf's skin, the wolf is slaughtered in the field and swept away. To do mes (dish for storing liquid), first it started to cut from the back foot to the sole, and the prior two legs were cut the same. Then, starting from the tail, the skin and the meat is separated with the skull of it. The rest of the meat is removed from the skin with a knife. If there is not time to start tanning, sprinkle a little salt and wrap the skin for temporary storage. For tanning, the skin is spread on a flat and warm surface, greased with bitter sour cream and wheat flour. It becomes a dough on the skin, it leaves for a day. It is washed off the next day and this process is repeated again. Thus, tanning lasts for several days [I].

In the second method of tanning wolf skin, it is soaked in shubat (camel's milk) or bitter sour cream for a week. After a week, the remaining fat and meat on the skin is removed by rubbing with a sharp stone [VII-VIII]. There is a saying in Kazakh: "A living child is a sack, a dead thing is a sack of skin". It is said because this process takes a long time. When the wolf's skin is ready, the fur softens and gently sticks to the hands. Then it is rubbed and softened with a small stone, then the water is foamed with soap, thoroughly washed, after drying started to use (FEE). The wolf's mes skin was hung in the upper side to decorate the interior of the yurt and for ritual purposes. The length of the tail of a gray arlan wolf is 34 cm in the Baiganin district museum of Aktobe region, the distance between the beak and the tail is 135 cm.

The wolf's fur on the skin is turned inside, the outside is covered with a velvet cloth, and the winter coat is sewn. Wolves coat are worn by men over 40 years old. In the northern regions, where winters are severe, and in the Aral Sea region, there are types of fur coats sewn outwards. A person wearing a wolf's coat does not frozen. According to Kazakh customary law, a person wearing a wolf's coat is left in the cold and if accompanied person without wolf's coat dies by reason of freeze, there is paid fee (VII – VIII).

Red wolf skin is valued expensively, because at least 4 large wolves skins were used to sew one wolf's coat (Picture 20). The process of hunting a wolf and tanning its skin was complicated, and it was considered an expensive garment due to the value of the skin.



Picture 19 – a, b) The wolf’s coat and the wolf’s cap. Shizhaga. FEE – Sir-Aral.



Picture 20 – a) Red wolf coat. Zhalagash district museum. FEE – Sir-Aral;
b) Stuffing of red wolf. Ustirt Nature Reserve Museum. FEE – Mangistau.

National Games

“*Kokbori game*” is a national equestrian game, which in ancient times was held by the Kyrgyz, Turkmen and Kazakh people only at weddings. In early times, Kyrgyz and Kazakh hunters beat wolves with clubs, sticks and played by pulling it (Simakov 1984: 91, 148; Karmyheva 1987: 231-242). There is no doubt that in the game of the kokbori a male wolf was used. When Kokpar (kokbori) was drawn, he did not retaliate against anyone, and compared the guy who split the group to Kokbori and Kokzhal.

In this game, it can be seen the image of kokzhal, arlan, syrttan won the battle during the breeding period of wolves. At present time, the game of kokbori is replaced by the game of kokpar, and the changed ancient archaic totemistic meaning is preserved. In the Turkmen people’s game of kokpar, the bride runs away with a goat or a ram in front of her. The groom and his companions chase after the bride, and the skilled groom tries to catch the prey in

front of the bride. It is believed that whoever takes the prey, he will have a such successful celebration. Sergei Tolstov said: “In the tradition of kokbori there are traces of family root and sexual totemism, which belong to the archaic period of the history of society” (Tolstov 1935: 40). During the winter in breeding period, wolves gather in herds and fight for she wolf. The winning Arlan lives in pairs with she wolf. The image of this moment in the game of kokpar of the Turkmen is preserved.

In the game of Kokpar, the idea of prosperity from the wolf is indisputable. The game Kokpar was held only at happy celebrations, weddings, by the groom’s father (Picture 21). The Kokpar players throw a goat in front of the bride’s grandfather’s house before the new bride and shouts, “*make it blue*” The word “blue” means “to grow and germinate”. Changing of the cattle to goats is also associated with the idea of growth, goats are fast-breeding animals. Her grandfather gives a ritual to the Kokpar players.



Picture 21 – Moments from observation of the continuation of the game «kokpar» in modern times. Organization of «kokpara» by Sozakbaev Omirbek in honor of his son’s marriage. FEE – Sir-Aral.

When the Afghan people elect a president, a kokpar game called “*Bozkashi*” takes place with the participation of the leader, which scholars believe that it was widespread by the Seldzhuks who migrated to the south (Oshanov 2005: 288).

The game “*Kaskulak*” is a national game played by young people in the evening entertainment. Players choose a “wolf”, a “guard” among themselves. The people who choose a wolf and a guard blindfold with a scarf. The rest of the players hide as “sheep”. The guard and the wolf do not know where the sheep are hiding. The wolf is looking for the sheep, and the guard tries to mislead him. If he catches a sheep, the captured sheep turns into a wolf. In this way, the game continues (FEE).

Proverbs

The zoopsychological concepts of the Kazakh people has formed proverbs, sayings, adage about wolves. For example:

*“When the enemy takes collar,
the bori pulls from the hemline”.*

*“Even village dogs are not friendly,
When bori comes, they will unite”.*

*“Boribasars has gone,
The wolf has arrived”.*

“Separated is eaten by bori”.

*“The bori doesn’t reveal thinness,
Make it thicker to others”.*

*“The guy who hunts a bori is known for his cap,
The guy who takes the rope is known from his companion.*

“The wolf’s mouth is bloody whatever eats or not”.

“Wolf’s food is on the way”.

“A dog is not afraid of wolves whose village is near”.

*“The wolf disobey to tying,
The pig disobey to driving out.*

“When a wolf attacks sheep, the dog gets fat”

*“The thief is until nightfall,
the bori overcomes the hill”.*

“Arlan is glad in its burrow”.

The howl of wolf

The howl might have been the language of communication of wolves. And howling for some reason depends on two factors. One of them when the cubs are taken away, and the second one is leaving leg on the trap and howls when become lame. There is a saying in Kazakh: “*Don’t take away cubs of shulan, make a fuss in the barn*”. In order to protect their livestock, the Kazakhs tracked down the wolves and killed their cubs. The one boltirik (cub) is left for deception and its tendon of back legs are cut in two places. If they don’t leave a cub, the wolf will come with a pack and kill the whole village, taking revenge on the cubs. The wolf came to the village with the smell of the cubs in the air. Sometimes a female wolf bites a cub and runs away from the man who came to the trap. It howled looking at the sky for the other cubs that can not be defended.

The legend settlement of bori

The bori (wolves) chose their habitat according to the nature of the place where they live. In mountainous places, in the caves, in the sandy spots, in the bushes, groves. The name of the mountain *Boriliak* (wolf + white) in the village Miyaly, Baiganin district, Aktobe region, is due to the large number of wolves. The white Mountain Borili is a local natural monument and a sacred place (Picture 22).



Picture 22 – White borili mountain. Aktobe region. Miyaly village. FEE – Aktobe.

Wolves inhabiting the desert and sandy areas, in the summer months, after attacking cattle a lot, their breasts were covered with saline, and ate salt after saline. Thus, the effect of raw meat on hot days is suppressed. Shepherds living in the Naryn sands say that wolves came from Aralsor and ate salt [II – IV; Picture 23].



Picture 23 – Aralsor, where wolves relieve their breast and salt is eaten. Naryn sands. FEE – Han Ordasy.

There is also a legend among Naryn hunters that before attacking to cattle wolves go to the cemetery (the local name of the word cemetery is differ as zirat, mola, korym) and rolled over the ground. The sands of Naryn are very hot in the summer, when wolves dig the ground, and drink water, recognizing the source of water from the shallows. Under a boiling sun it cools down in wet burrow. Wolves in Naryn lie in the heat of July in the shade (thick reeds, willows, poplars, dense thickets of straw), in the cold of the day on the hill (hill – sand hill, high slope). This is one of the features of the field zoopsychology of salt predator [II – IV].

Conclusion

For the Kazakh people, the wolf is a two-sided animal with both benefits and harms. Along with the worldview of the wolf, the fight against the wolf was formed at the same time. Currently, the number of wolves in the Kazakh steppes has decreased, so shooting and hunting are prohibited. The greatest danger, enemy to the wolf came from the human. Man hunted wolves so as to reduce their numbers in order to protect their livestock. The cubs were killed so that not to increase the number. Skin and body parts were obtained for healing properties, ritual significance, and household needs. The red wolf became a victim of hunting and disappeared from the Syrdarya-Aral, Mangistau and Aktobe regions. Red wolves have been rare in the last 40 years and are found only in the Zhongar Alatau and Tien-Shan mountains. Black wolves are very rare and could not be hunted by hunters. The Red Wolf is included in the Red Book of Kazakhstan. Other types of wolves are controlled for the safety of humans and agricultural activities (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Protection, Reproduction and Use of Wildlife №593; Order of the Ministry of Agriculture of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated 14.04.2010).

Today, the ancient methods of wolf hunting as setting up a trap, digging a hole, beating have been replaced by shooting. And the time of wolf tracking and hunting continues in the ancient way. The concept of the wolf, the ritual associated with the wolf, is based on the idea of prosperity and strength. The roots of the ancient totem base of wolf knowledge are common to the Turkic peoples. The wolf is safe for humans if it is not touched or offended by humans.

The article was written based on the project: “API4869303 – Ethnozooarchaeology study of the role of wolf and dog in ancient and modern cultures of Kazakhstan”

Expeditions and People who were recorded during the expedition:

- FEE – field ethnographic expedition (Tanbalu; Han Ordasy; Aktobe; Ulytau; Mangistau; Syr-Aral; Kastek; Kegen).
 I Akshabayev Aldabergen. He was born in 1941. Mangistau region. City Zhanaozen. Tribe is Adai, shonay.
 II Karabasov Imanbay. He was born in 1958. Kazakhstan region, Bokei Ordasy district, Khan Ordasy village. The tribe is sherkesh.
 III Ibrashev Mir. He was born in 1954. West Kazakhstan region, Bokei Ordasy district, Khan Ordasy village. The tribe is berish.
 IV Bizhanov Kuanysh. He was born in 1962. West Kazakhstan region, Bokei Ordasy district, Khan Ordasy village. The tribe is maskar.
 V Rakhmetov Kudaibergen. He was born in 1950. Syrdarya district, the village named after S.Seifullin. The tribe is teke tabyn.
 VI Myrzabay Bekarystan. He was born in 1955. Aktobe region, Irgiz district. The tribe is Shomekey karatamyr.
 VII Iztileuov Nysanbay. He was born in 1953. Aktobe region, Baiganin district, Oymaulyt village. The tribe is azhimbet.
 VIII Bimurzin Iturgan. He was born in 1953. Aktobe region, Baiganin district, Oymaulyt village. The tribe is turkpen adai.

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