

**SHAMANISM OR SHAMANISMS, A COMPARATIVE APPROACH TOWARD
SIBERIAN SHAMANISM**



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**YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY
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İSTANBUL, 2023**

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PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

Shamanism has been considered as a singular phenomenon in most of the studies carried out about Shamanism so far, and it has not been taken into consideration that there are different types of Shamanism. Shamanist beliefs, which were developed in a very large region such as Siberia, were divided into different branches as a result of different social, cultural and political effects in Siberia, and led to the emergence of Shamanist practices called Paleo-Siberian Shamanism and Neo-Siberian Shamanism.

The thesis will examine Siberian Shamanism in a comparative way, starting from the concepts of Paleo Siberia and Neo Siberia, and will reveal the necessity of mentioning Shamanism as plural rather than singular. Considering the fact that Siberia is a very wide geographical region, the subject of the study will be limited to three Paleo Siberian and three Neo Siberian groups.

Keywords: Siberia, Paleo Siberia, Neo Siberia, Shamanism

ÖZET

Bugüne kadar Şamanizm ile alakalı yapılan tetkiklerin çoğunda Şamanizm tekil bir olgu olarak ele alınmış olup farklı özelliklere sahip Şamanizm türleri olduğu hususu çok fazla göz önünde bulundurulmamıştır. Sibiryaya gibi çok geniş bir bölgede inkişaf eden Şamanist inançlar bütünü Sibiryaya’daki farklı içtimai, kültürel ve politik etkiler neticesinde kendi içerisinde farklı kollara bölünüp, Paleo-Sibiryaya Şamanizmi ve Neo-Sibiryaya Şamanizmi olarak adlandırılan Şamanist pratiklerin zuhuruna yol açmıştır.

İlgili tez Paleo Sibiryaya ve Neo Sibiryaya kavramlarından yola çıkıp Sibiryaya Şamanizmin’i mukayeseli bir tetkike tabi tutacak olup, Şamanizm’den tekil olarak değil çoğul olarak Şamanizm’ler olarak bahsedilmesi gerekliliğini ortaya koyacaktır. Sibiryaya’nın çok geniş bir coğrafi bölge olduğu gerçeğinden hareketle tetkik konusu üç Paleo Sibiryaya’lı ve üç de Neo Sibiryaya’lı halka sınırlı tutulacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Sibiryaya, Paleo Sibiryaya, Neo Sibiryaya, Şamanizm

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1. INTRODUCTION

Shamanism or Shamanisms, this is the main question, which conducted me to write a thesis on Shamanism. As known, Shamanism is a wide concept which has been discussed since long time ago. The discussions focus on its nature, on its homeland, on its practices and on this difficult question; Is it a belief, is it a religion or is it a mental and psychological illness? My thesis will answer those questions by adopting a comparative approach toward Siberian Shamanism. However, the real aim of this thesis is to demonstrate that there is not a single Shamanism but Shamanisms in Siberia.

To do so, I will adopt the following approach. My thesis will consist of 5 chapters. Firstly, I will describe the homeland of Shamanism which is Siberia. Without giving a detailed description of Siberia regarding its people, its cultural and ethnographical composition it would not be possible to understand the nature of Shamanism. That's why a deep look should be taken on Siberia by taking into consideration the difference between Paleo-Siberians and Neo-Siberians. In this section, I will also highlight the prehistoric cultures that prevailed in Siberia. In the second chapter, I will make a presentation of works of anthropologists, ethnographers, historians, and geographers who wrote on Siberia and its cultural and ethnographic composition. The goal of these presentations is to follow step by step the academical literature from 17. century to 20. century which shaped our knowledge regarding Siberia. Thanks to those works that we have a broad knowledge about this region and its people. The second goal of this chapter is to investigate how the look and perception toward Shamanism has been changed and transformed across time and political conjuncture. In the third chapter, I will explain Shamanism and its historical development. The fourth chapter will focus on Paleo Siberian concept and its shamanism. Since Siberia is a huge region with its endless cultural diversity, I will take two Paleo Siberian groups as exemplars of different type of Shamanism. In the Paleo Siberian, those groups will be Koryak and Chukchi people. I will firstly explain the concept of Paleo Siberian and describe the lifestyle, social composition and their economic life of these related groups and relate them to their way of Shamanism. The fifth chapter will follow the same way by making a comparison between Buryat and Yakut people who make up part of Neo Siberian People. In this chapter as well, I will describe their lifestyle, social composition their economic life and its ties

with their type of Shamanism. The last chapter will be the conclusion and will try to open a new window on Siberian Studies.

2. HISTORY OF SIBERIA

2.1. Geography of Siberia

The 5.1 million square miles of Asia covering presently north of the current borders of China, Mongolia, and Kazakhstan forms 77% of the territory of the Russian Federation. This huge territory is denominated as Siberia. Beside this, in Russian terminology the word *Sibir* is used to refer to the North Asia which is facing Arctic Ocean. Siberia territory starts at the eastern side of the Ural Mountain (The traditional reference point to separate Europe from Asia). The Western part of Siberia is taken up by the Ob-Irtysh basin and the West Siberian plain. The central part of Siberia is considered to begin with Yenisei River. Yenisei River has three largest tributaries: The Upper Tunguska, Mountain Tunguska, and the Angara. (Vajda, 2009, p.426)

«Siberia falls into four major geographic regions, all great extent. In the west, abutting the Ural Mountains, is the huge West Siberian Plain, drained by the Ob and Yenisei rivers, varying little in relief, and containing wide tracts of swamp-land. East of the Yenisei River is central Siberia, a vast area that consists mainly of plains and the Central Siberian Plateau. Farther east the basin of the Lena River separates central Siberia from the complex series of mountain ranges, upland massifs, and intervening basins that make up northeastern Siberia (i.e., the Russian Far East). The smallest of the four regions is the Baikal area, which is centered on Lake Baikal in the south-central part of Siberia».(Encyclopaedia Britannica, Siberia, 2022). The North Asian land mass is about two thousand eight hundred miles from the Ural to the Pacific. The Chukotka lands are located about nine hundred and fifty miles of east Siberia where there is a fifty-mile-wide strait which connects Asia to Alaska. (Topsakal, 2017, p.44) Siberia located at fifty-degree north latitude is similar in terms geographic conditions to North America and Northern Europe (As we will see in the following chapters, those similitudes due to geographical conditions had a considerable influence on cultural and social life). The average winter temperature in most places is minus thirty or forty. In such places as Verkhoyansk and Oymyakon, the temperature attains sometimes minus seventy. However, beside those difficult

conditions, Siberia is also home of wealth and long cultural heritage. Its natural resources and its geo-strategical position made of Siberia a land of interest for different powers.

The meaning of Siberia is different for each cultural group and ethnicity. For Turkish History, Siberia is considered as of one the ancient homeland of Turkish History. Today, historians try to demystify unknown points of Turkish History by analyzing the petroglyphs in Siberia (Somuncuoğlu, 2008, p.44) The permanent residents of the region were living in a harmony with hunting animals (The fact of being surrounded by animals will be a key point to understand Siberian shamanism. In other words, the harmony and communication established with animals will be a distinguishing point of Siberian shamanism). In the Mesolithic period, the climate, flora, and fauna of Siberia began to take their present form. (Zakh, Ryabogina, Chlachula, 2010, p.95) At this period, we observe some changes regarding the nature of hunting. This period is also witness of disappearance of big animals such as mammoths. In consequence of this changes, hunting methods were also modified. During this period, the entire territory of Siberia became a homeland for the population. (Topsakal, 2017, p.45) Regarding the Neolithic period, we observe two stages. The first one is marked by the birth of an economic life between the nomads and semi-nomads. We also observe the appearance of cultural circles in Siberia during this first stage. We also see the first steps of agriculture and farming during this stage (Topsakal, 2017, p.44) However, there is not a single and uniform stage that could be called «Siberian Neolithic» (Field, Prostov, 1942 p.392) «Four local culture has their own characteristics and enlight different point of «Siberian Neolithic». a) Baikalian, central for Siberian Neolithic, expanded through the taigas, depending upon hunting and partly upon fishing. (b) Amur, opposite of (a) and the two Kamchatka cultures based on fishing. (c) Ob, coinciding in certain phases with the Amur Neolithic, in material culture and fishing. (d) Arctic, which it is impossible to comprehend outside the stern natural conditions and the peculiar economy of the sea-going hunters. Underlying these local Neolithic cultures are the peculiarities of the people associated with them and the ethnic formations of the past». (Field, Prostov, 1942 p.392) Each ethnic group depending on its natural environment and historical background lives its own Neolithic. The Neolithic stage which took place in Baikal is the best documented. In the Baikal case, we observe five successive stages from the sixth millennium to the tenth century. The related stages are Khin'skaia; Isakovskaia; Serovskaia; KitoIskaia; and Clazkovskaia overlapping with the transition to metals. (Field, Prostov, 1942 p.392) Important archeological

artifacts dating from Neolithic period are available due to scientific works. Axes, chisels, chisels, and chisels made of stone for woodworking are the artifacts of this period. (Topsakal,2017, p.45)

2.2. Ancient cultures of Siberia

Afanasievo Culture

Tombs have survived from this period. Stones in the form of rings were erected around the slightly bent to the right. Along with the dead, small knives, needles, and ornaments made of valuable items, especially bronze, were buried with them. However, most of the tools found were made of stone. According to the burials and the remaining finds, the Afhanesyevs had a sedentary lifestyle and were engaged in animal husbandry, hunting and fishing. (Koca,2017, p.6) The utensils they used daily were made of ceramic and oval shaped. Afanasievo, one of the best-studied cultures of the Eneolithic in Southern Siberia is well known due to works concentrated on graves and settlements in South Siberia (Çirkin,2015, p.57). The name of the culture comes from Afanasievo graves located on the west bank of Yenisei River. Along with rivers, steppes were also used by Afanesievo people. Compared to settlements established on Yenisei, the settlements are not solid and constructed in detail. There is no evidence regarding horse breeding. (Çirkin,2015, p.57).

Beside Siberia, it is also possible to see the traces of Afanesievo Culture in Mongolia. Cemeteries belonging to Afanesievo culture have been found in places surrounding Hangai Mountains. (Kimball, Bashilov, Yablonsky,1995, p.320) Herringbone motif appears as the typic design and covers the side of pots and pans. Taking into consideration Afanaesievo cultural presence in Mongolia, physical anthropologists suggest that Afanasievo population had Paleo-European origins descending from the Cro-Magnon people of Paleolithic Europe. Departing from the same point of view, they consider Afanasievo Population as the easternmost representative of Europoid tribes who settled Inner Asia at the beginning of the Bronze Age. They arrive at this conclusion by analyzing the skulls discovered in Shatar Chuluu (Located in Byankhongor province on the south slope of the Khangai mountains, Shatatar Chuulu is the easternmost known Afanasievo cemetery in Eurasia. Shaatar Chuulu dissertation and Khangai burials) (Kimball, Bashilov, Yablonsky,1995, p.320) There is no consensus in the scientific world regarding the origin of Afanesievo culture. (Kimball, Bashilov, Yablonsky,1995, p.325)

For example, Russian archaeologist Okladnikov states that Afanasievo Culture is a completely original steppe culture and has no successor or predecessor. (Yıldırım,2020,p.452) Okladnikov points out direct parallels between Afanasievo Period and Stone Age. He considers them as the first shepherd. (Yıldırım,2020, p.451)

Okunev Culture:

The name of the Okunev Culture comes from the locality of Okunev, in the south of Khakassia, where the first excavation in burial sites took place in 1928. The Okunev Steles are considered as the representative figures of this culture. (Topsakal, 2017, p.47) Okunev culture is a culture seen in Khakassia and Krasnoyarsk region. During this cultural period, cattle and ovine breeding were the main activities of the tribes residing in Siberia. Besides this, hunting and fishing from the Neolithic period were also the main occupations of the tribes. Due to the proliferation of herds and the increase in population, they had to change their traditional pastures and could not reside in the same place for a long time. (Topsakal, 2017, p.47) In the late 1940's Okunev culture was classified as an early period of Andronovo culture by M N Komarova. However, excavations executed in the region demonstrated that Okunev culture should be considered as a unique culture not a part of Andronovo culture. There are controversial theories regarding the origin of Okunev Culture (Sokolova,2007, p.42). The traditional view refers to Neolithic roots of Okunev culture and classifies this culture among Siberian ancient cultures. (Kozintsev,2020,136) The opponent thesis refers to a relation between Okunev culture and the migration of the Yamnaya-Catacomb groups from European Russia to Southern Siberia. (Yıldırım,2020, p.329) The people of the Yamna Culture period spread over a very wide area where the European and Asian steppe were creating an intersection. The oldest cultural elements belonging to this cultural period were detected at the end of the 4th millennium BC in the region spreading from the forest-steppe region of the Ural to the Prut and Dniester in the north, Samara-Kyiv in the north and the foothills of the Caucasus in the south and Idil and in the Kalmyk steppe of the lower Don region. (Yıldırım,2020, p.329)

Okunev culture bears another importance as well for the scientific community. The Okunev culture has something to say regarding the much-analyzed relation between

native americans and Siberian populations. (The Siberian Times, 2016) Okunev people are recognized as the Siberian ethnic grouping most closely related to Native Americans (Kozintsev, Gromov, Moiseyev, 1999, p.200). By taking into consideration its artistic richness and diversity, experts accord a unique place to Okunev culture (Kozintsev, Gromov, Moiseyev, 1999, p.194). Regarding the social life, by analyzing the artifacts such as decorations made by teeth of different animals, bones and knives, archaeologists concluded that women had a special place among the Okunev community. (The Siberian Times, 2016) Okunev religious life reveals important points regarding Siberian mythology. According to their world view, the world is composed of three major elements. Dr Polyakov said: «Okunev archaeological culture is a unique phenomenon of the Early Bronze Age of Southern Siberia. We have a huge quantity of artistic heritage in the form of numerous images - «masks» carved or engraved on the rocks. They have special style, which is a kind of symbol of Okunev culture» (The Siberian Times, 2016)

Andronovo Culture:

The spread of the Andronov culture covered a huge area starting from the Ural and reaching to the Yenisei. Andronovo culture started around 2000 BC and continued until 1300 BC (Topsakal, 2017, p.49). Important archaeological findings representing Andronovo culture are in South Siberia. The first archaeological findings made by gold in Siberia belong as well to this cultural stage. The Andronovo culture-maintained sheep and cattle breeding. Mining is one the important distinctive characteristics of Andronovo culture, they were taking benefits of mining in the field of daily activities. For example, they specialized in bronze working. Besides bronze working, handcrafts made by copper was as well very widespread in Andronovo culture. In the mining field gold was also playing an important role. Regarding their lifestyle, the tribes of this culture led a settled life, they had the most developed living conditions of their time. (Topsakal, 2017, p.50). They built their habitats right next to the river valleys with fertile lands, and they discovered how to use shelters for their animals during this period. They were digging wells inside the houses for the preservation of food, and they adorned the daily utensils with various patterns. The most important artifacts belonging to this cultural period are the bowls unearthed from the kurgans (Yıldırım, 2017, p.4). Wide mouth, flat base,

handleless, triangular or meander. These vessels are decorated with rhinestones in the form of rhinestones in the south from the Tian Shan Mountains in the west and it spreads to the banks of the Don River (Yıldırım,2017, p.5). Wide Agriculture is very important to the economy of the steppe combatant Andronovo people. The Andronovians were engaged in advanced agriculture. of irrigated agriculture. Characteristics of Andronovo culture are classified by S S Çernikov as below: 1. Houseware, with a rich geometric pattern made of clay, mainly scanned, or stamped pottery (Yıldırım,2017, p.10).

Karasuk Culture:

Karasuk refers to the name given to the culture that existed in the Southern Siberia region between the end of 2000 BC and the beginning of the 1000s. Different theories have been adopted regarding the origins of the Karasuk culture. M P. Gryaznov, G.Maksimenkov, Ziep Din Hoa defend the idea that Karasuk culture is a part of Andronovo culture. On the other hand, other scientific such as S.V Kiselev, G.F.Debets and E.A Novgoroda establish parallels between central asian steps and north-west of China regarding Andronovo culture. N L Clenova tries to prove that this culture spread from the Near East (Topsakal, 2017, p.154). People living in the Karasuk culture led a semi-nomadic life in the early stages and then they adopted sedentary lifestyle and started agricultural activities. They were masters of metallurgy. In this culture, the quality and value of the metal was greatly enhanced by mixing arsenic and tin to copper (Koca,2017, p.7) They made bronze knives, daggers, axes, and various household tools. They buried their dead in rooms made of square stones. It is seen that the dead were buried multiple times in this period, and it is thought that the burial customs were developed.

Tagar Culture:

At the beginning of the 1st millennium BC, the Karasuk culture of the last Bronze Age was replaced by the Tagar culture. This culture existed in the center of Asia and included the steppes of the Minusinsk-Hakas basin, surrounded by the Sayan mountains to the east and the Altai mountains to the west. In general, the Tagar culture has been the subject of research with the Tagar burial findings found in the south of the Krasnoyarsk region and the Republic of Khakasya. High obelisks surrounding the tombs of the Tagar culture created facilities to analyse artifacts of this culture. The characteristic feature of the Tagar burial tradition is the burial of the dead in an area surrounded by square or rectangular shaped walls made of stones planted

vertically (sometimes horizontally). The most common type of tomb structures are stone rooms where one or sometimes two people are buried (Topsakal,2017, p.51).

Tagar culture is rich and developed in material cultural resources. Weapons can be broadly classified as daggers, fighting axes, and fluted arrows. Daggers were made in different shapes according to the lower and upper parts of their handles, the lower part of the handle was initially cross-shaped, but later it was produced as butterfly, cylinder, ring-shaped. In the IV-III centuries BC, the shapes and sizes of daggers were reduced to miniature size. Fighting axes were initially circular hammer-shaped on one side and polygonal on the other. The cutting part of the fighting axes was also prepared in the form of wild cubes or wild boar figures. The tie, which reinforces the handle of the ax and is dressed on the tip, was often simple. Temprens, on the other hand, were originally two-plated on a long tenon and often prickly. In the following process, triangular and three vests started to be made. Tips made to prevent injury to the finger while pulling the bowstring also belong to this period.

The work tools of this period are very diverse. There are several thousand types of knives alone. The cutting edge is the same in all Tagar knives. The difference is seen only in the stems. There were types of handles made of rings with small and large holes, curved shapes, decorated with animal figures and various carvings. They used saws with long, plate-shaped and tenoned blades to make wooden handles. Sickles are slightly curved and technically undeveloped. The simple sickle technique shows that farming was not very developed in this culture. The pots used for cooking in the hearths were made of clay, wood or bronze. Especially the clay pots found from the graves have a standard jar-shaped form with few parallel lines, pearl, and zigzag patterns on them. Their population was dense as livestock and agriculture developed. As horseback riding became common, the Tagars were often able to change their pastures. The Tagars traveled greater distances, establishing new contacts with their neighbors. The most important artifacts from the Tagars are the Boyar petroglyphs in Khakassia. In the boyar petroglyphs, the houses, household goods, people, animals of the Tagars are depicted (Topsakal,2017, p.51).

At this point, we need to open a parenthesis about the boyar rock paintings, since the rock paintings also carry important clues about Siberian mythology. «The Great Boyar images reflect a society in which reindeer existed as a part of the economic base side-by-side with cattle,

horses, and smaller animals. We say «economic» but it is also possible that the reindeer had a more religious significance: that it appears here not simply as a herd animal, but possibly even as a cultic reference to the past, to an economy based more completely on reindeer and less on sheep and cattle, and to a period in which its value within the culture was more central, both religiously and economically. » (Jacobson,1983, p.108) Boyar (Bayar) Rock Paintings occupy an exceptional place among other rock paintings found in Siberia since it reflects the steppe life vividly (Yıldırım, 2017,p.40) .These paintings are called Boyars because the ridge on which they are located bears this name. This area is a very large grassland for the tribes dealing with livestock to feed their animals. It is also rich in herbs (Yıldırım, 2017, p.40). Besides material elements on the petroglyphs, we can also observe figures representing religious rituals and scenes from daily life. (Yıldırım, 2017, p.40)

It is known that there are two important rock painting groups in Boyar Dağ: Big Boyar Mountain and Small Boyar Mountain rock paintings (Kutlu, 2020, p.2468). Little Boyar Mountain rock paintings were first discovered in 1904 by A. Adrianov. These estampages were later analyzed, interpreted, and published by M. Gryaznov. The descriptions in the rock paintings, which consist of approximately 50 pieces, are a kind of sharp or pointed scratched on rock surfaces with a pointed tool. In total 5 structures are depicted in Küçük Boyar rock paintings (Kutlu, 2020, p.2463). According to M. Gryaznov, three of the structures depicted are square or rectangular in plan, while their roofs are rectangular. The horizontal lines on the main walls of the buildings show that the walls were built by overlapping and interlocking wooden logs. In the Great Boyar Mountain rock paintings, some of dwellings belonging to Hun period are also seen. The Big Boyar Mountain rock paintings are 400 m away from the Small Boyar Mountain rock paintings, which are 6 km from the village of Troitsk in Khakasia. About 9.80 m long and 1.50 m wide, the Great Boyar Mountain rock paintings are depicted in several strips. In the descriptions, we primarily see houses, boilers and other kitchen utensils, human animal figures such as ram, goat, bull, and some unidentified objects. Animal figures are depicted in profile and in more detail, while human figures are depicted from the front and more schematically. Traces of impressions and experiences based on deep observation are felt in both animal and human figures. (Kutlu, 2020, p.2468).

Pazırık Culture:

The Pazırık Culture spreaded in the area known as « Dağlık Altay-Gorno Altaysk» (Topsakal, 2017, p.59). One of the elements that provide important clues about the Pazırık Culture are the tombs. Pazırık tombs preserved in frozen soil still exist nowadays (Sofuoğlu, 2021, p.122). Pazırık tombs were firstly founded in 1919 by two Russian scientists named S.I Rudenko and M.P Gryaznov. Many scientists recognize that Pazırık Kurgans belong to the early Asian Huns or Asian Hun periods. But in general, it has always been a matter of debate to which civilization these kurgans were belonging. Different point of views have been submitted about the civilizations that own the kurgans (Sofuoğlu, 2021, p.123) P.B Konovalov stated that there is a tradition of putting cut braids as a sign of sadness in the Pazırık and Taşık tombs. P.B Konovalov puts forward the idea that this tradition was also seen in Chinese History during the Han Dynasty. Konovalov here draws attention to the similarity between the culture in China, Pazırık and Noin-Ula culture. On the other hand, L.A Evtyukhova establishes exact similarities between Pazırık and Noin-Ula structures. Another scientist Kiselev defends that Pazırık tombs have different design features from the Hun tombs. He states that the design of the double burial chamber clearly shows the difference between the Hun tombs and the Pazırık kurgans. At the same time, Kiselev refers to the similar points between Pazırık and Noin-Ula kurgans. He cites similar wall decoration, coating details and wall curtain. (Sofuoğlu, 2021, p.123)

Turkish art historian Yaşar Çoruhlu also defends the idea that Pazırık Culture is a part of Turkish history. Çoruhlu recognizes the Pazırık Culture as a part of Asian Huns history (They are also known as Hsing-Nu's). (Çoruhlu,2012, p.1055) In the larger ones (Kurgan number I-V), it is seen that the horses are buried under the artificial mound that forms the kurgan, in a different place and level from the place where the human body was buried, and often in a layer of soil higher than the place where the body was buried. Apart from the arrangement of the horses, the most striking thing was that they were buried with their horse harnesses. These horse harnesses show high art features and permit us to establish parallels between beliefs and myths. According to Çoruhlu, the presence of horses with deer masks or animal masks in some rock paintings attributed to the Göktürks shows that this tradition which was existing in Pazırık horses was belonging to Proto-Turks and Turks. (Çoruhlu,2012, p.1055)

The most valuable piece of Pazırık kurgan is the Pazırık carpet. It has been a matter of debate to which community the carpet belongs. Scientists who think that the Pazırık kurgans belong to the Scythians naturally claimed that the Pazırık carpet may also belong to the Scythians. (Sofuoğlu, 2021, p.122). On the other hand, Turkish art historian Nejat Diyarbekirli states that Pazırık carpet is an old Turkish carpet. The basis of his thought lies in the traces of Hun art which we call the animal style on the carpet. At the same time, the fact that the carpet was woven with the technique called «Turkish kno» supports this view. Turkish art historians agree on the issue that Pazırık carpet is a distinctive element of Turkish cultural life. The Pazırık carpet carries the first examples of the octagonal Turkmen rose with its high weaving technique and rich motifs. It clearly shows the functioning of the carpet tradition among the Turkish societies from the Asian Huns to this time. Nowadays similar details can be observed on the Turkmen carpet and the Pazırık carpet. (Sofuoğlu, 2021, p.124).

3. ETHNOGRAPHY OF SIBERIA

3.1. Paleo Siberians

It is an important step to articulate the Neo-Siberian and Paleo-Siberian distinction to establish a reference point regarding the ethnographic structure of Siberia. The difference between Paleo Siberians and Neo Siberians primarily manifests itself in the linguistic field. (Britannica, Paleo-Siberian,2013)

Paleo-Siberian languages are also known as Paleo-Asiatic languages or Hyperborean languages. Leopold Von Schrenck was one of the first scientists to elaborate the Paleo-Siberian theory according to whom Paleo-Siberian languages form the remnants of a more broadly dispersed language family of a community which had to leave its homeland due to pressure of the newcomers (Field, Prostov,1942 p.391). Schrenk puts forward that Paleo-Siberian tribes were established on a much larger area than today but had to leave their land because of the new migrations (Field, Prostov,1942 p.391). There are four groups of language among Paleo-Siberian languages (Yeniseian, Luorawetlan, Yukaghir and Nivkh). Turukhansk region is the region where the Yeniseian group is spoken. Ket language (formerly called Yenisey Ostyak) constitutes a living member of Yeniseian group and is spoken by about 500 persons. Another living member of Yeniseian group is Yug which is facing a risk of being disappeared. The Luorawetlan family is composed of Chukchi, Koryak, Kamchadal, Aliutor (Aliutor can also be a Koryak Dialect) and Kerek. Regarding Yukaghir language, it comprises a group of 200 speakers and two areas. One of them is Tundra Yukaghir in the Sakha Republic and Forest Yukaghir also called as Northern Yukaghir along the bend of Kolyma River. Nivkh comprises a group of 1000 speakers who are divided into two areas: Amur River and the other half of Sakhalin Island

Map showing the distribution of Paleo Siberian languages (Britannica, Paleo-Siberian, 2013)



One of the researchers who highlighted the difference between Paleo Siberians and Neo Siberians was the anthropologist, Maria Czaplicka. Formed as an anthropologist at Oxford University, she gained extensive knowledge about the region thanks to her travels to Siberia (Nahya, 2017, p.88). Czaplicka, considers Paleo Siberians like Schrenk as former residents of the region and argues that Paleo Siberians threw themselves to the north as a result of a migration from the south (Czaplicka, 1914, p.42). As elaborated by Schrenk, Czaplicka divided Siberian Populations into two groups: Paleo Siberians and Neo Siberians. Czaplicka classifies the Paleo-Siberian groups as below:

- 1 -Chukchis, settled between the Anady River, north-eastern Siberia, and the Arctic Ocean.
- 2- Koryaks, settled between the Anady River and the central part of the Kamchatka Peninsula
- 3- Kamchadales, who are the residents of the southern part of Kamchatka.

4- Ainu, in the Hokkaido of Japan and the southern part of Sakhalin Island. 5-Gilyaks, near the mouth of the Amur and in the northern part of Sakhalin Islands. 6- Eskimos, settled on the Asiatic shore of Bering Strait. 7- Aleuts, in the Aleutian Islands of Alaska. 8- Yukaghirs, between the lower Jana and lower Kolyma Rivers, north-eastern Siberia. 9-Chuwanzas, south of Chuan Bay at the upper and middle Anadyr, northern Siberia. 10-The Ostiaks of Yenisei, between the Lower Tunguska and the Stony Tunguska, tributaries of the middle Yenisei (Czaplicka,1914, p.42). This demographic composition indicates a rich and complex cultural life. In addition to the demographic composition, geography played an important role in the formation of this rich cultural life as well.

Unlike Schrenk, Czaplicka thinks that the difference between Paleo Siberians and Neo-Siberians is due to geographical conditions Czaplicka argues that extreme cold and heat, strong winds, fears of long winters, and hunger have considerably influenced Palaeo Siberian lifestyle (Nahya, 2017, p.89) Czaplicka depicts the Palaeo Siberians the typical representative of «people from borders» (Czaplicka,1914, p.42). Rituals organized by Paleo Siberians show the importance of geographical conditions in the cultural life of Paleo Siberians. In Paleo-Siberian groups, festivals organized based on the seasons are related to the supply of food and the removal of evil spirits. For example, Russian ethnographer who had a considerable influence on the studies regarding the indigenous people of the Russian North Wladimir Jochelson classifies these ceremonies as follows Maritime Koryaks: 1-Whale Festival 2-The putting away of the skin boat for the winter. 3-Launching the skin boat. 4- Wearing masks. 2- Reindeer breeding Koryaks: 1- Ceremony on the return of the herd from summer pastures. 2- The fawn festival (Czaplicka,1914, p.47).

KORYAKS DRAGGING A WHALE ON A SLEDGE. SIBERIA, 1900. (American Museum of Natural History, An Asian Bestary, Whaling in the Siberian Arctic, 2023)



When we look at the lifestyle of Paleo Siberians, hunting, gathering and fishing activities come to the fore (Vajda, 2009, p.434). However, not every Paleo Siberian group shares the same economic and social lifestyle. At this point, it is necessary to emphasize the Chukchi and Koryaks who are reindeer breeders. Since the Paleo Siberian communities whose shamanism will be studied will be Chukchi and Koryaks, it is necessary to dwell on them a little more. Chukchi occupy an important place among the Northern Peoples due to their social separation. (Alaska Native Collections, Eastern Siberian, 1996). Chukchi have two main socio-economic classes (Vaté,2005,p.45).Those socio-economic classes are reindeer herders and sea-mammal hunters. Čavču is used to present the reindeer herders and An'qal'yn is used to describe sea mammal hunters. Reindeer can adapt itself to the harsh conditions of the arctic tundra. He can survive without rich «reindeer moss» and quickly gains weight and strength during the short summer. (Alaska Native Collections, Eastern Siberian, 1996). The reindeer Chukchi are residents of inhabit the interior of the easternmost portion of the okrug, the Chukotskiy (Chukchi) Peninsula, and its Siberian hinterland. On the other hand, the maritime Chukchi inhabit the Arctic and Bering coasts. They both speak the Luorawetlan language of the Paleobierian language groupe. (Britannica, Chukchi,2016) There is a relationship between these two groups arising from economic needs (Vaté,2005, p.49).The herders supply seal oil that they use for their food, lamp and shoes. On the other hand, Hunters take benefit from herders for clothing and sails

(Vaté, 2005, p.49) The first mention of the Chukchi in Russian sources dates back to 1641-1642.

Koryaks live in the Koryak autonomous district of the northern Kamchatka Peninsula. The Koryak languages are a part of Luorawetlan language who belongs to Paleo-Siberian language group. As Chukchi, Koryaks are also divided into two groups arising from economic needs. One of them is reindeer Koryak and the other one is Maritime Koryak (Magnarella, 1972, p.24). Reindeer Koryak are hunter, gatherer, and pastoralist. On the other hand, Maritime Koryak depend on sea products such as whales. (Magnarella, 1972, p.24)

Although the difference between Paleo Siberians and Neo Siberians was emphasized by Czaplicka and Schrenk, some researchers such as Franz Bogoras stated that Arctic cultures constitute a unity (Westerdahl, 2008, p.95). «The northern circumpolar zone extends through the old world and the new almost without interruption. It encircles the terrestrial globe, forming a continuous strip of land. Over its whole extent there are same conditions, cosmographical and geographical, meteorological, floral and faunal. So, it is the only zone of land which is almost wholly uniform. Local variations are but of slight importance. Human life and culture which have developed under these conditions are likewise more or less uniform and they represent in many ways, as it were, a typical case created for the purpose of study and of working out new ethnographical methods» (Westerdahl, 2008, p.95). In this case, it seems that there is no complete agreement in the scientific community on the distinction between Paleo-Siberia and Neo-Siberia. In addition, Bogoras expresses a completely different thesis compared to Schrenk and Czaplicka who stated that different cultural circles exist in Siberia such as Paleo-Siberian and Neo-Siberian. At this point, an important question for researchers is whether the Arctic cultures constitute a unity. In this case, to understand exactly what the difference is between Paleo-Siberians and Neo-Siberians, and if this comparison is on a reasonable basis, we need to get to know Neo-Siberians as well. (Alaska Native Collections, Eastern Siberian, 1996).

3.2. Neo-Siberians

Examination of the relations between Neo-Siberian and Paleo-Siberian tribes also shows important clues about the genetic map of current Siberian societies. Nowadays, it is claimed that many contemporary Siberians are descended from Neo-Siberians (Sikora, 2019, p.4).

For example, Danish evolutionary geneticists Eske Willerslev states that «The Ancient Paleo Siberians were themselves supplanted by another band of East Asians heading north about 10,000 years ago that gave rise to a group dubbed the «Neo-Siberians». Most of the genetic makeup of present-day Siberians comes from this last push (The Guardian, Ancient Siberia was home to previously unknown humans say scientists, 2019) Maria Czaplicka who shares her observations on the region in her work «Aboriginal Siberia» lists the Neo Siberian groups as follows: 1- Finnic Tribes A) Ostiaks between the middle Obi and the Yenisei. B) Voguls, between the middle Obi and Ural Mountains. 2-Samoyedes, in the Arctic region, from the mouth of the Khatanga River to Cheskaya Bay 3- Turkish tribes such as Yakuts, about Lena. 4- Mongol tribes such as Buryats in the district surrounding Lake Baikal. 5-Tungusic tribes inhabiting eastern Siberia from the Yenisei to the Pacific Ocean and from the Yakuts domain to the northern border of Mongolia, such as Chapogirs, Goldi, Lamuts, Mancha, Manyargs, Oroches, Orochons, Solons and Tunguses. (Czaplicka, 1914, p.44). Two neo-Siberian populations will be examined, as examining so many groups risks going out of context. Those groups will be Yakuts and Buryats. In Chapter 5 more detailed information will be given about these groups while the parallels between their lifestyles and the shamanistic beliefs practice will be examined. Nevertheless, we should mention a few points on the Yakuts and Buryats in the first place as an introduction.

Yakuts:

The title (Civilisation of Horse) given to the work written by the French social anthropologist Carole Ferret reflects the lifestyle of Yakuts very well (Marchina, 2010, p.1). All the sayings, proverbs, songs, epic stories and other productions of the ancient oral culture of the

Yakuts show the importance of horse in Yakut's life style and its social consciousness (Marchina, 2010, p.2-3). In a place where the air goes down to minus 50 degrees, horses appear as an element that makes the life of Yakuts easier. (Marchina, 2010, p.7) A yakut named Vassili told a to a Swedish tourist that «The horse is for me like a god. I look up to him and have lived my whole life with horses. He is my best friend, my partner, and he feeds me and my family. At the same time by his work and because I eat his meat »When we look at the historical records, we see that there are references to the relationship of Yakuts with horses. For example, the Cossacks who conquered the territory in the 17th century signaled to the Tsar that they founded a «cavalry people». (Ferret, 2010, p.2) The term «cavalry people »was often used by Russian people to depict Yakut society and they were impressed by the ubiquity of the horse. (Ferret, 2010, p.2)

Yakut Turks live in the Sakha Republic which is in the Russian Federation today (Gömeç,2016, p.227). Regarding the etymological origin of the word Yakut, it is seen that the word «Yakut» comes from the language of Everik (Manchu-Tunguz tribe) (Gömeç,2016, p.228). When the history of the Yakuts is examined, it is seen that the geography where their historical adventures started has hosted different civilizations from the Lower Paleolithic to today. Among these civilizations we see Diring-Uryah, Dyuktay, Sumvagin, Sılah, Belkachi, Jmiyahtah, Ust-Mil and Kulunatah (Saha Civilization) civilizations. In the light of this information, researcher J F Fedotovic emphasizes that traces of Bronze and Early Iron Age are very important for the archaeology of Yakutsk. (Gömeç,2016, p.228).

Buryats:

Buryats reside on the shores of Lake Baikal in Southern Siberia today. (Rusek,Zhanaev, 2014,p.382) The language they speak is Northern Mongolian. Their capital is Ulan Ude, which means Red Ude. They have been living in the Russian State since XVII and XVIII centuries (Taşağıl, 2017,p.29) Due to the rich fauna of the region where they live, fur animals were hunted and sold in Russian and European markets along the history (Boronoyeva, 2006,p.2).One of the most important elements in Buriat cultural life is Lake Baikal. Just as the horse occupies an exceptional place in Yakut society, Lake Baikal has an important place in the social memory of Buriats. The meaning of Lake Baikal for Buriats showed itself in *Cami-ut Tevarih* written by Iranian Historian Reşidüddin (Boronoyeva, 2006, p.2). The land where Buryats lived today was a border region in the Mongol Empire called Bargujin-Tüküm(Badmaeva, 2019,p.32). In general, the Three River Mongols and the inhabitants of the Bargujin-Tüküm region had close relations (Badmaeva, 2019, p.32) In his related work, Reşidüddin said, «Every child born in Bargujin-Tukum, on the banks of the Onon and Kerulen rivers, is very intelligent and brave» (Boronoyeva, 2006,p.2). Today, the name Buriat is used to cover all Buryats. However, this name was used in the XVIII century to include only the Buryat Tribes living in the North. Over time, because of the contact of Khoris and Khalka Mongols with Abulagat and Ekhirites, the name Buryat gained a wider usage area. As a result of this contact, the Khoris also started to call themselves as Buryat (Boronoyeva, 2006, p.16)

4. POLITICAL HISTORY OF SIBERIA

4.1. Siberian Prominence in Russian History

Siberia's rise to prominence in Russian history was the result of the steps taken during the reign of Ivan the Terrible. In this context, the capture of the Kazan and Astrakhan khanates by Russia is of great importance. The city of Kazan was captured by the Russians on October 2, 1552. This development is described as the beginning of a new era in the history of Russia by the historian Akdes Nimet Kurat (Kurat, 1987, p.153). For a long time, the Kazan Khanate was an obstacle for the Russians to advance in the direction of the Caspian Sea along the Volga and to spread in the Lower Ural area. With the capture of the Kazan Khanate, Russian state started to become a multiethnic empire that dominated various nations. The fall of the Kazan khanate allowed the borders of Russia to reach the shores of the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus in a very short time, and the Ural area was passed into the hands of the Russians, and wide opportunities were opened for the Russian expansion in the direction of Siberia and Turkistan. One of the most important turning points of this conquest movement was Siberia. Since the 14th century, an influential family called Stroganov had conquered a large area in the Ural region. When the khan of Sibir Kuchum Khan acted against the Stroganoff family, Stroganoff asked the assistance of Yermak Timofeyevich who was the chief of the Don Cossacks at that time. Taking advantage of the firearms he had, Yermak, who defeated the Kuchum Khan, put an end to the Sibir Khanate and declared it the property of the Moscow Tsar. The gradual seizure of the Siberian khanate took place between 1593 and 1604. Cossack and Russian groups advancing in the direction of eastern Siberia captured the country of Yakuts and Buryats. By the middle of XVII. the century, Eastern Siberia had also become a part of Russian Empire (Kurat, 1987, p.169).

4.2. Studies regarding Siberian History

In this context, there has been an increased interest in Siberia and the peoples living in Siberia since the 16th century. (Shimkin, 1990, p.36) The exiles, administrators, clergy and scholars sent to the region allowed us to increase our knowledge of Siberia. (Shakhnovic, 2016, p.136) Here, it is necessary to open a separate parenthesis about the clergy, because as it will be seen later, the first descriptions of shamanism will come from the clergy. (Nişanyan, 2019, 515) Important steps are taken in the studies related to Siberia and its people following Peter The Great's accession to the power (Shimkin, 1990, p.36) The peoples of Siberia, which had not been the subject of much research before are now under the lens of the Russian academy. The relations established between German historians and naturalists and Russian educators played a very important role in the birth of Siberian ethnography. In this context, the Kunstkamera museum, founded by Peter the Great in 1714, served as a locomotive. The Academy of Sciences, which was established after the foundation of Kunstkamera, is seen as one of the most important steps taken in the field of education. (Shimkin, 1990, p.38)

Scholars from France, Switzerland, Scotland, Sweden, the Netherlands, Denmark, or Germany were invited to conduct scientific studies. At this point, it is necessary to accentuate that German Scientists had a very special role in anthropological studies related to Siberia. One of the first notable names among these German scientists is Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt. After studying medicine, the path of Messerschmidt, who was looking for new horizons regarding his career, crossed with Peter the Great. The contract signed between Messerschmidt and the Academy of Sciences in 1718 showed that comprehensive studies on Siberia were aimed. As a result of these studies, it was expected to obtain important data about the geography of the region, its nature, the diseases prevailing in the region, the cultural life of the people of the

region, and their languages. Abakan, Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk, Chitin and Savarov Yam were among the first places to visit. Although Messerschmidt played an important role in studies related to Siberia, ethnography was not handled by Messerschmidt as a separate discipline. However, Müller, another German scientist, filled the gap in this regard by introducing ethnography into the studies regarding Siberia. (Shimkin, 1990, p.45)

Müller, who took the path opened by Messerschmidt brought a new breath to Siberian studies by making use of his historian formation. Müller, who wrote down the studies he had done, planned to write a total of 3 books about his studies, but his life was only enough to see the book called Siberian history. Müller, who did not use the term ethnography related to these studies at that time, named his studies as *VölkerBeschreibung* (Description of peoples). Encouraged by the new discoveries made and wanting to take their studies further, German scientists started a feverish study to the farthest reaches of Siberia. Müller who could not go to the Kamchatka Peninsula due to some bureaucratic obstacles, commissioned Russian Scientist Stepan Petrovich Krashenninkov to complete the studies on the Kamchatka Peninsula. Müller informed Krasheninko about the history, languages, religions, and settlements of Tunguses, Lamuts, Gilyaks, Koryaks, Itelmens and Ainu people. (Shimkin, 1990, p.46)

As stated earlier, the basis of these studies was the Russian Academy of Sciences. For example, the Academy of Sciences played a very important role in uncovering the history of the Kamchatka Peninsula and discovering the natural resources of the region. Krasheninnikov introduced the communities, plant species and animal species living on the Island in his work «Opisaniye zemli Kamchatki», which he wrote based on the discoveries he had made in the Kamchatka Peninsula and included the map of the Island in the work. As in the first Kamchatka expedition, the second Kamchatka expedition aimed to find the link between America and Asia

(Shimkin, 1990, p.47) As a result of this expedition, which lasted about 20 years and was led by Bering, important astronomical observations related to the region were made and the map of the region was drawn. The examinations made by the German scientist Georg W Steller in 1774 also contained important information about the mythology and religious life of the peoples living in the Kamchatka region.

V I Zuyev who followed the path of his teacher Pallas enlightened important points of Ostyak and Samoyed ethnography by his studies. G D Verbov and N N Stepanov also wrote ethnographic studies based on Zuyev's studies that constituted also important steps to enlighten the cultural life of Ostyak and Western Samoyeds. (Shimkin, 1990, p.46) Certain points have been revealed after the studies carried out by these researchers related to shamanism, exogamy, and other social rituals. A holistic approach was adopted by J G Georgi, a friend of Pallas to write the ethnographic structure of the entire Russian Empire. However, its work contained errors and could not meet the expectations (Güzel, 2015, p.102) The work was entitled as «Beschreibung aller Nationen des Russischen Reichs, ihrer Lebensart, Religion, Gebräuche, Wohnungen, Kleidung und übrigen Merckwürdigkeiten/ Description of all the nations of the Russian Empire, their way of life, religion, customs, dwellings, clothing and other curiosities» The related work was published in four volumes in total. The first book is on Finnish people and the name of the book is Nationen vom finnischen Stamm / Nations from the Finnish tribe. Second book is entitled as «Tatarische Nationen/ Tatar nations». The third book is entitled as «Samojedische, Mandshurische und ostlichste Sibirische Nationen/ Samoyed, Manchurian and easternmost Siberian nations»(Güzel, 2015,p.102) The fourth book is entitled as «Mongolische völker, Russen und die noch übrigen Nationen/ Mongolian peoples, Russians and the remaining nations».(Güzel, 2015,p.103) Although the work put forward by the author may not meet the

expectations, it must be admitted that it is an admirable effort to undertake an ethnographic study of an entire empire that was domination a wide geography like Russia. The «Northeastern Secret Geographical and Astronomical Expedition», financed by Catherine II in 1785, lasted 8 years in total and important information about the North Pacific Region was collected after this scientific expedition (Shimkin, 1990, p.39) «Accurate maps were made of the Chukchi Peninsula of Eastern Siberia, the west coast of Alaska, and the Aleutian Islands. Members of the expedition landed on Kodiak Island and made an examination of the islands and mainland of Prince William Sound» (The Library of Congress, Learning from each other: On a history of Russian-Native contacts in the exploration and mapping of Alaska and Aleutian Islands, 2016).The admiralty's expeditionary instruction stressed the need to study and describe the native customs, behavioral patterns, and languages of the American and Siberian Indigenous peoples and their demographic information, political power, customs, and traditions were also among the objectives of this exploration. (The Library of Congress, Learning from each other: On a history of Russian-Native contacts in the exploration and mapping of Alaska and Aleutian Islands, 2016).

In the 19th century, it is seen that new studies were added to the ethnography of Siberia. As in other academic centers in the Western world, it is seen that there was an increase in studies in the field of anthropology in Russia in the 19th century. These studies are divided into two, private studies and institutional studies. Written by the German scientist Otto Von Böhlingk in 1851, the work entitled as «Über die Sprache Jakuten-On Yakut Language» is the first work who systematically examined the languages of the tribes living in Siberia (Feuerhann, 2010, p.166) In addition to this, another work that should be emphasized is Reise in den äussersten Norden und Osten Sibirien (Travel to the North to the East of Siberia) written by

Alexander von Middendorf, a German scientist. The related work is the product of Middendorf's expedition to Siberia between 1842-1845 and offers a wide range of information on Siberia. This wide range consists of four volumes in total, and the third volume contains a Yakut-German dictionary and information on Yakut Grammar (Feuherhann, 2010, p.169)

Another name that revolutionized studies on Siberia in the 19th century was Radlov. V.V. During his sixty-year scientific life, Radlov studied dialectography and dialect science (dialectology), lexicography and rhetoric (lexicology), history-comparative phonology and grammar of Turkic languages; He was interested in all fields of Turkology, such as the printing of runic, Uighur, Turkish inscriptions with Arabic letters and textology, Turkish folklore, ethnography, history, and archeology. Radlov became interested in the field of Turkology under the influence of the work «Grammatika Yakutskogo Yazıka» written by Otto Von Böhtlingk, devoted his life to the history of Turkish peoples. Radlov made his first trip to the Altai region in the 1860s. Radlov began to publish the results of his scientific expeditions while he was still in Altai. He published «Letters from Altai» in German in 1861-1863, and «Observations on the Kyrgyz» (Kazaks. - F.Y.) in 1863-1864. Then, his articles «Travel to Teletskoye Lake and Abakan via Altai» (1865), «Tli Valley and Its Inhabitants in Central Asia», «Ethnographic Summary of Turkish Tribes in Siberia and Mongolia» (1883) written in German were published. (Yusupović, 2014, p.292)

In the 20th century one of the prominent names in this area is Maria Czaplicka. A young polish woman trained in anthropology at Oxford University, Czaplicka brought a new breath to studies related to Siberia. The work named *Aboriginal Siberia*, which was produced because of an intense field research in order to eliminate the false information about the natives of Siberia, is a milestone related to Siberian studies. (Nahya, 2017, p.87) The work, which

contains important information on beliefs and social life in Siberia, divided Siberians into two as Neo-Siberians and Paleo-Siberians. (Kubica, 2015,p.16) «The main, and longest, part of Aboriginal Siberia is devoted to Religion and consists of several chapters: «Shamanism» (definitional problems); «The Shaman» (functions, vocation, and preparatory period); “Types of Shaman”; «The Accessories of the Shaman»; «The Shaman in Action»; «Shamanism and Sex» (female shamans, sex reversals); «Gods, Spirits, Souls»; and «Some Ceremonies.» (Kubica, 2015, p.6) Beside «Aboriginal Siberia», the work «My Siberian Year» written by Czaplicka also contains important information about Siberia. (Kubica, 2015, p.7) These works are important for young historians to gain experience in field research and how a field research should be.

Apart from these individual studies, group studies also allowed new discoveries to be made about the peoples of Siberia and the North. One of the most ambitious of these studies was the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, which embarked on a large field survey of the peoples of Siberia and the Northeast of the Americas. (Kubica, 2015, p.16) The trip aimed to explore the possible links between the populations of North-East Asia and those of North-West America in the fields of archaeology, folklore, languages, art, material culture and physical anthropology. Researchers involved in this expedition included Waldemar Bogoras, Lev Sternberg, Vladimir Jochelson, and Berthold Laufer. (Kalinowski, 2018,p.319) Jochelson surveyed Koriaks, Yukaghirs, and eventually Yakuts and Old Believers communities; Bogoras stayed with the Chukchi and the Yupik; Laufer studied the people living on Sakhalin Island and along the Amur River. This expedition led to the revealing of very important works related to Siberian studies. These important works are as below: The Decorative Art of the Amur Tribes de Laufer (1902); The Chuckchee (1904, 3 volumes) et Chuckchee Mythology (1910) de Bogoras ; The Koryak de

Jochelson (1905, two volumes) ; The Eskimo of Siberia de Bogoras (1913) ; The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirised Tungus de Jochelson (1924-1926), trois tomes) ; The Yakut de Jochelson (1933). (Kalinowski, 2018,p.320)



5. SHAMANISM AND ITS HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

5.1. First descriptions about Shamanism

The word shaman appears for the first time in modern languages in the writings of the Russian tsar's ambassador, Everard Isbrand, regarding his Chinese expedition in 1693-1695 (A journal of an Embassy from Muscovy to China by Land) According to the narrative of the German researcher Adam Brand, who participated in the journey, the embassy delegation met the Tunguses, a warrior tribe, after crossing the Yenisei River (Nişanyan, 2019, p.515) .In the Tungus tribes, there is a magician or priest called as shaman. The notes written by the ambassador Everard Isbrand will appear twenty years later as an appendix to the Dutch Cornelius van Brujn's travel to Asia.Brujn calls the priests of Samoyeds living in the north of the Ural Mountains as shamans and describes their ceremonies. However, Brujn does not give any indication of whether the word shaman exists in the Samoyed language.

The History of Siberia, written by the historian Johan Eberhard Fischer, also contains important information on Shamanism Shamanic tradition is widespread in Siberia and its environs, Buddhist Mongols also had shamans. The work written in 1780 by William Toke contains the term «Shamanism». As the information about shamanism increases, the prejudices about the subject begin to increase as well. For example, the French philosopher Benjamin Constant used the term shamanism to describe primitive tribal religions. Thanks to the increasing knowledge over time, new theories about shamanism were emerging. Max Müller, one of the founding fathers of modern Turcology, counted shamanism among the cultural characteristics of Turani tribes. Entitled as «Alaska and its resources», published by the American naturalist William Dall in 1870, the religious practices of the Eskimos and other Alaskan Indians were defined as shamanist (Nişanyan, 2019, p.515) «In the life of the average native, especially in the

far north, there is little but a struggle for existence with a niggardly environment. Their festivals are few and consist chiefly of eating and violent motions, termed dancing for want of a better and more characteristic word, or in donations where the host is the giver. Their shamanistic performances, full of excitement and interest, still have little to satisfy the love of enjoyment latent in every human being». (Dall, 1878, p.2)

By 1848, the American historian and missionary Samuel W Williams definitively revealed the origin of the word «shaman». The word shaman is primarily Mongolian, used in Chinese as well. In the Buddhism school adopted by the Mongols and the Tibetans who learned from them, monks of the monastery are called shamans. Buddhists who follow the path of the Dalai Lama are shamans. In ancient Indian the word «Sramana» means someone who abandons worldly affairs. Buddhism, an Indian religion reached the Mongols through the Central Asian Sogdians, and the religious literature of Buddhism was translated into these languages through Sogdian. In Sogdian, shaman means Buddhist monk. (Nişanyan, 2016, p.516)

The nature of shamanism has been a question of debate since long time ago. Everard Isbrand, the first to use the term shaman described shamans as idolaters. (Roux, 1961, p.41) In «Short Descriptions of the Ostyak People» by Gr Novisky, shamanic activities were described as demon's work and shamans were portrayed as servants of demons (Arvas, 2014, P.51) It seems that this negative point was still dominant at the second half of XVIII century. Traveling scholars Gmelin and Pallas accused shamans of charlatanism. The striking point in the comments made by the first European observers is the general juxtaposition of the shaman figure and the devil figure In the 19th century, it was revealed that the studies on shamanism were handled more comprehensively, and the concept was not unique to Siberia. Russian researcher Mihalovsky

examined shamanism within the framework of the development of other religions and underlined the point that the concept is not unique to Siberia.

Whether shamanism is a Siberian concept or not has led to new debates, and I think taking these discussions further will lead to new findings about shamanism. German ethnologist Fritz Graebner defined shamanism as a characteristic element of arctic cultures within the scope of the «Kulturkreis» theory that he put forward. V Shmidt and Alexander Gas who supported the theory put forward by Grebner, thought that shamanism had passed from south to north and they claimed that Buddhism had influences on shamanism in this way Swedish researcher Ohlmarks, who puts forward a thesis diametrically opposed to this theory, stated that shamanism is a phenomenon that can only emerge under difficult conditions in the North (Arvas, 2014, p.52)

In his book entitled as «Studien zum Problem des Schamanismus» Swedish author Ake Ohlmarks examines the phenomenon called shamanism (Åkerlund, 2006, p.201) In his book, Ohlmarks, evaluates shamanism as an arctic hysteria and argues that geographical factors are effective in the formation of this psychopathological state of mind (Åkerlund, 2006, p.212) Ohlmarks divides shamanistic activities into two separate categories as large and small shamanistic activities. He states that the shamanistic rituals called «Large» are seen near the northern arctic regions and the rituals performed last longer. On the other hand, the shamanistic rituals called Small exist in the arctic as well as the Sub Arctic Parts. The phenomenon introduced by Ohlmarks and called the Small Shamanistic Ritual has a special importance since Ohlmarks characterizes this type of shamanism as original shamanism. Although the effects of geography on lifestyle are undeniable, it is not a very reliable approach to accept the phenomenon called Shamanism which includes years of experience and is based on deep-rooted traditions, as hysteria.

Polish scientist Maria Czaplicka, who had the opportunity to make many observations about the region as a result of her field studies on Siberia, opposes the idea that shamanism is a hysteria (Kubica, 2015, p.6) Stating that the Siberian natives have a very deep respect for the world of belief that they have created at the end of many years, Czaplicka stated that this term, which was put forward by European travelers, was created on the basis of some pathological symptoms seen in Europe. Maria Czaplicka, who took Paleo Siberians and Neo Siberians as her reference point while explaining shamanism, describes the shamanism seen in Paleo Siberians as family shamanism (Czaplicka, 1914, p.53) Stating that each family has its own drum and comes together on special occasions, Czaplicka mentions that Family Shamanism is different from Professional Shamanism seen in Neo Siberians. (Czaplicka, 1914, p.53) Stating that professional shamanism is under the influence of Christianity, Czaplicka states that professional shamans have more people around them during ceremonies. Czaplicka mentions that the different climatic conditions in Northern and Southern Siberia led to diversity in shamanistic rituals.

This distinction made when introducing shamanism is also present in other authors who write works on shamanism. Mircea Eliade, who has created important repercussions in the scientific community by his writings on shamanism, examines shamans in two separate categories as white shaman and black shaman «White shamanism is characterized by the ecstatic heavenward journey of the shaman, who is concerned with the (benevolent) gods and spirits of the heavenly zones, whereas black shamanism is marked by possession and the journey towards the underworld, in other words, the black shaman in the state of possession travels to the underworld, and even to the land of the dead, and he deals with the subterranean (evil) spirits» (Waida, 1983, p.216) Although there is a distinction on the basis of the route on which the shamans travel, it seems that there is a common point in both types of shamans. This common

point is that shamans communicate with spirits. (Waida, 1983, p.216) Eliade who sees white shamans as the representative of the classical form of shamanism states that white shamans' journey to heaven is the main characteristic of white shamans. In addition, According to Eliade white shamanism lies at the root of shamanism, and that the shamanistic tradition represented by white shamans is best preserved in Central Asia and Siberia.

Austrian anthropologist Wilhelm Schmidt thinks that black shamans are the basis of shamanism. Placing ecstatic experience at the center of shamanism, Schmidt states that the best examples of ecstatic experience are found in black shamans. Stating that the perfect ecstatic experience only occurs in black shamans, Schmidt defines ecstatic experience as the replacement of the self with another supernatural quality. In addition, Schmidt does not define shamanism as a religion, be it white or black shamanism (Waida, 1983, p.217) It is seen that there is no complete definition on the definition of shamanism, and there are different views on the scope of shamanism and the functions of shamans.

As a result of my readings about shamans, I am convinced that shamanism is one of the characteristic elements of Siberia's cultural life. Shamans occupy a central position in Siberia's social and cultural life, be it the places they have acquired in social life or the position that traditions have attributed to them. Like the opinion leaders who play a binding role in the decisions of the society, the shamans in Siberia have a determinant role in the course of their society.

The problem-solving ability attributed to them by the society they live in emerges as an important clue about the reputation of shamans in society (Peoples, Duda, Marlowe, 2016, p.266) The privilege of contacting realms that ordinary people are unable to communicate with is one of the main elements that distinguishes the Shaman from other people in society (Hamayon, 2006,

p.15) The privilege of communicating with spirits is reserved for shamans. (Hamayon, 2006, p.15) Does this privileged position they have held allow us to speak of a shamanic aristocracy? The struggle between Genghis Khan and the shamans shows that the reputation of the shamans has turned into an aristocratic threat that disturbs the power (Roux, 2018, p.142) Shamans, who did not spare their efforts to make the society prosperous and stable, were the address that unhappy masses turned to when things did not go well. It is possible to find the charismatic leader figure, who will emerge when things go wrong, and save people, in Siberian shamans. In the civil war that followed the First World War in Russian history, shamans were among the consulted and mindful authorities. This leadership quality and position attributed to shamans also shows itself etymologically. For example, the Yukaghirs ascribe to shamans the epithet «Khozyain», which means lord of spirits (Nistler, p.5)

Although the rituals of shamans differ from society to society, it is possible to talk about common shaman rituals. Playing drums, singing folk songs, making noise with iron objects can be seen among the common rituals of shamans. Two prominent elements in shaman rituals are tambour and shaman costumes. The drums represent the characteristic attributes of North Asian shamans (Nistler, p.5). However diverse they may be in shape and size; North Asian drums have the common feature of having one side open and one side closed by a membrane. In some populations, the surface of the membrane is adorned with a profusion of painted figures of people, animals, and trees. The images on the drum are closely related to shamanic cosmography and their perception of the world. «One of the essential attributes for Siberian shamans has been the drum that reflects the universe. It is both the main vehicle in attaining and maintaining the shamanic altered state of consciousness and a medium of protection and armour» (Nistler, p.11). The importance of the drum for some shamans in Southern Siberia is so important that the

breaking of the drum is equated with the death of the shaman. As a result of the atheist atmosphere in the Soviet Union period, the drums and shamans, who were described as the enemies of the regime were also targeted (Sidky, 2010, p.77). On the other hand, Mihayl Hoppal, a fine arts historian working on shamanistic materials, states that symbols are an integral part of shamans. (Nistler, p.11).

The shaman's drum is considered a sacred item and care is taken to avoid contamination during transport or migration. After the shaman's death, his drum is left next to his grave (Harva, 2015, p.251). In some Yakutsk legends, the drum is envisioned as the shaman's horse. Buryats also consider the drum as the shaman's horse. The shaman's ecstatic travel by the sound of the drum and his soul leaving his body and traveling are also related to the relationship between the shaman and the horse. Altai peoples and Yakuts hold the belief that souls gather in drums. Based on this belief, after the dead, shamans play drums to exorcise evil spirits. As a result of his efforts, the shaman succeeds in trapping the evil spirits between the drum and the mallet and completes his task. In Central Asia and Siberia, it is seen that the drum is replaced by other instruments from time to time. Kyrgyz magicians (Baksı) do not use drums, instead they play kopuz while singing. The baksı has one wand on which there is a piece of wood with bells and rattles. After Baksı plays kopuz and sings, he takes his wand in his hand and starts to shake it and dances in an ecstatic state. The figure of wand is also occasionally seen in Buryat and Yakut shamans. Before moving on to the shamanistic practices practiced by Koryak and Chukchi, it is necessary to mention certain points about the world view of shamans. To examine the characteristics of a belief system in depth, the world view of that belief system is of great importance.

The first point that attracts attention in the shamanist world view is the idea of the underground and the sky dome (Harva, 2015, p.17) This idea is expressed as follows in the Altai Tatars. The Upper World is conceived as the world where the Chief God Ulgen and his assistants reside. Middle Earth is reserved for humans, and the Lower World is considered the land of the dead. Yakuts also divide the visible and invisible world into three as upper middle and lower. In the Yakut legends, the concept of middle earth appears as a frequently mentioned concept. The privileged position attributed to the shaman also shows itself in this world view. Shamans can enter the underground world that people fear. Shamans enter the underworld through a hole. The Altai Tatars called this hole the smoke hole of the earth. Shamans who travel to the underground world through this hole return to the ground through this hole. This hole is seen in the pictures made about the earth. In other pre-Asian cultures, there is the idea that one can travel to the underworld through a slit in the navel (Harva, 2015, p.18) The idea that the universe consists of three layers shows that the shamanistic world view is based on a hierarchical basis. The shaman, who enters the realms that everyone cannot enter and is unable to enter, stands out as an intermediary against a world of darkness that spreads death, disease, and fear (Manhec, 1991, p.45) In this context, the concept of the world of the dead in the shamanistic conception of the world also serves to legitimize the role of the shaman.

Known for his studies on Siberian shamanism, Abdulkadir Inan underlines that the concept of Ongon has an important place in Siberian shamanism. Indicating that the term Ongon comes from Mongolian, Inan states that the equivalent of this term is Töz in Turkish. Chagatays took the word Ongon from Mongolian and used the word as a stamp, as something distinctive (Inan, 1986, p.44) Swedish officer Strahlenberg, who went to Central Asia in the 18th century and conducted scientific research observed the Ongon concept. The Yakuts considered the

creatures they regarded as their ongon sacred and thought that every tribe was descended from this lineage. These creatures were animals such as geese and crows that the tribes considered sacred. These animals were inedible. But for those who are not descendants of that animal, it was not a problem. Others could eat the animal considered sacred by that tribe. At this point, we see that the concept of ongon is a serious social acceptance mechanism in Yakut society. Because Yakuts thought that those who killed, ate and frightened the sacred animal of their tribe would suffer a great deal of trouble. We have other important evidence that the concept of ongon is an important indicator of social hierarchy. For not every tribe and every animal's ongon was equally acceptable and valuable. The tribes, which were related to important animals such as the eagle, constituted the noble strata of the Yakuts. At this point, the concept of ongon not only reflects the ritual dimension of shamanism, but also emerges as an important social phenomenon. The social dimension of the Ongon concept is also seen in Buryats. Buryats call the concept of ongon as *utha* in Mongolian. The Mongols, who did not eat the meat of animals they called *Utha*, did not even want to see the blood of these animals. Dolgans who were geographically close to Yakuts and spoke Yakut Turkish, did not even mention the names of sacred birds such as eagles and swans. (Ögel, 2010, p.34)

When the etymological origin of the word shaman is examined, new perspectives on the concept of shaman and the different duties of the shaman emerge. In his work called *Shamanism*, Abdulkadir Inan states that people who mediate between mortal people and spirits who perform the rites and ceremonies of the shaman religion are called as *Kam* in Turkish tribes. In his work known as *Divan-ı Lügati't Türk*, Mahmut Kashgari translates the word *Kam* as a soothsayer. In his work entitled *Kutadgu Bilig*, Yusuf Has Hacib described *Kams* as useful people for the society and equated them with doctors. One of the important reasons why Mahmut

of Kaşgar considers shamans as seers may be the shamans of Altai. Announcing that one day the end of this world will come, Altai shamans call this end as follows «Kalgancı Çak» According to this understanding, as time passes, the community of human beings will decrease, and evils will increase. The good god Ülgen and the bad god Erlik will engage in a relentless struggle. At this point, the striking element is the belief that evil will increase in the future according to this understanding. (İnan,1986, p.24) This belief can also be interpreted as follows, seeing that evil will increase in society, the shaman indirectly warns society and tries to lead society to the right path based on the prestige he has. To become a Kam, it is necessary to come from a certain generation of Kam. No one wants to be Kam, but one of the spirits of their ancestors will haunt the person who will be Kam and force him to become Kam. As in other occupational groups, we see that the master-apprentice relationship is important in the shamanic profession as well. Experienced shaman teaches the names of the master shaman spirits, the prayers to be read, the genealogies of the great Kams and gods in his line, and the rules of rituals and ceremonies (Ögel, 2010, p.76) At this point, a difficulty related to shamanism arises and the following question about shamanism also arises. As in other organized religions, there is no corpus in which the acquis of shamanism is written and the rituals to be followed are described. As it is seen, rituals are fed from oral traditions and at this point the following question arises. Does word serve the same function as writing in the transmission of traditions? It is also an important question to be asked why shamans prefer the oral way of transmitting tradition. In this context, studies on shamanism have made a positive contribution to the formation of a shamanic acquis. If we continue with the shamanist rituals, Abdülkadir İnan states that fortune-telling is one of the main elements of shamanism. Among the shamanic traditions, the most famous method of fortune-telling is the omoplatoscopy. Franciscan missionary William of Rubruck who went to visit

Mengü Han, stated that omoplatoscopy had a very important place in Mongolian palaces. Expressing that the Kyrgyz and Kazakhs also have a great respect for the scapula, Inan states that scapula fortune-telling is a frequent theme in Kyrgyz and Kazakh folk literature. In epics, Muslim heroes act according to scapula horoscope. (Inan,1986, p.153) We also observe this practice in the Mongolian army. Genghis Khan consulted the shamans about the route he would use during his expedition to India, took a step back in the face of the negative response from them. (May,2023, p.207) At this point, it is an important question what kind of advantages the shamans' power of envisioning the future gives them over the current governments. Based on the philosophy that knowledge is power, the view that such predictions give them a certain authority stands as a reasonable option.

It is also stated by the French historian Jean Paul Roux that the practice of divination by looking at the scapula is an ancient tradition among Turks and Mongols. As a rule, the scapula of sheep is used, and more rarely goats or any other animal instead of them. In Yakuts, who live in the northern regions where they cannot raise sheep, the scapula of the deer is used. Again, the Chukchi living in the north use the scapulas of the reindeer, while the Koryaks use the scapulas of the seals. These examples are again important examples of how geography shapes social and cultural life. This practice is not an ordinary practice and contains some details. Among these details, the animal must have been killed recently, and the flesh on the bone must be carefully scraped. It is seen that this practice is used not only in Mongols, Yakuts, Koryaks and Chukchi, but also in different states. In the European Hun state, predictions are made about the future by looking at the gut. If it comes to Hitays, scapula fortune telling is a preferred method. If the shoulder, which is caught in the flame, cracks, war is declared, otherwise peace is continued. (Those who prophesy with the scapula are called *Dallaci* in Mongolian, and they are

called *Yagrıncı* in Turkish. (Roux, 2021, p.96) The subject of scapula horoscope also points to the continuity of the cultural heritage in Turkish history. The subject of scapula horoscope also points to the continuity of the cultural heritage in Turkish history. For example, this tradition is also seen in Safavid Iran and Egyptian Mamluks. (Roux, 2021, p.96) Here, the following question can be asked about the subject of the scapula. Which feature of the scapula aroused a desire to envision the future in the imagination of shamans. Why did the scapula, and not another organ, play a role in determining the future? At this point, it becomes clear how important the science of psychology is in historical research.

The hallmarks of shamans are not limited to scapula horoscope. According to a common belief in Turkish tribes since ancient times, the great Turkish god gifted the ancestors of the Turks with a magic stone called *Yada* and thanks to this gift climatic events can be shaped. This magic stone stands as one of the most important weapons in the hands of Turkish shamans. (İnan,1986, p.160) Mahmut Kashgari defines *Yada* stone as follows «It's kind of prophetic. It is made with certain stones. In this way, rain and snow are produced, the wind blows. This is a well-known thing among the Turks. I saw this with my own eyes in the land of Yagma. There had been a fire, it was summer. This is how it snowed. By the grace of the great god the fire was put out» (İnan,1986, p.162) Yakuts call their magic stone as *Sata* and this stone is found in animals such as horses, cows, bears, and wolves according to rubies. By *Sata* stone, Yakut shamans can bring rain and snow in summer. (İnan,1986, p.163) The ability to make climate change, thanks to instruments such as the *Yada* stone, also shows that shamans have an important propaganda and deterrent power. The warring forces could have followed a strategy of intimidating the other side by spreading the knowledge that they had the *Yada* stone. Apart from this, it is seen that thanks to this stone, which is believed to be owned by shamans, they provide

themselves with an important reputation. he Timurid ruler Ebu Said Mirza would apply to the Yada stone to save his soldiers who were suffering from hunger and thirst in Hungary, and the Ottoman historian Seyfi Çelebi would still apply to the Yada stone to safely cross the Gobi Desert. (Roux, 2021, p.99) Zahiraddin Babur, the founder of the Mughal state, also states in his memoirs that there were soothsayers who were using *Yada* stone in the army of Muhammad Shaybani (İnan,1952, p.26) Abdülkadir İnan also states that *Yada* stone was one of the most important war weapons. (İnan,1952, p.26) Turkish scientist Yusuf Ziya Yörükan who deals with the subject of yada stone in his work called Shamanism states that Turks use the *Yada* stone during the rain prayer. (Yörükan, 2005, p.72)

6. PALEO SIBERIAN SHAMANISM

6.1. Koryak Shamanism

In this section, the shamanistic practices of Koryaks and Chukchi who are considered to belong to the Paleo Siberian group by Maria Czaplicka will be examined. Koryaks, one of the peoples living in Kamchatka Krai today, are divided into two groups. These groups are called Reinder Koryak and Maritime Koryak whom the socio-economic conditions of each group have very important effects on their beliefs. (Britannica, Koryak People, 2016) In order to understand the main points of Koryak shamanism, it is necessary to examine the world view of Koryaks. They conceive of the universe as being divided into three main vertical layers (Magnarella, 1972, p.25) The upper level, including the sky and the heavens, is seen as the home of the Supreme Being and other benevolent deities. The middle level or earth is composed of ordinary people and various earthly being. Evil spirits and the souls of deceased ancestors are placed in the layer below the earth. The only authorized person to enter these worlds that ordinary people are not authorized to enter is the Koryak Shaman. From this point of view, we can put forward the idea that Koryak shamans also have a privileged position.

One of the first striking elements in Koryak Shamanism is the separation of shamans into professional and family shamans. Family shamans who perform their duties in rituals and festivals practiced by the family work for the family to lead a prosperous life (Magnarella, 1972, p.26) Vladimir Jochelson, a Russian anthropologist who conducted field research in the area where the Koryaks were living, as part of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition defines family shamanism in the Koryaks as follow «common ritual practices seen in many native Koryak households, such as playing the drum and uttering incantions» (Plattet, 2013, p.70) German botanist Steller and Russian geologist Krashenninnikov, who conducted field research on the

Kamchatka peninsula in the 18th century, stated that they did not coincide with professional shamans in Koryaks (The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Shamanism and Incantations, 2005). Stating that there is no need for any qualifications to be a family shaman, Jochelson stated that Professional shamanism emerged later in the Koryak society.

The professional shaman is called enenalan in Koryak society. It refers to a man inspired by spirits Professional shamans are inspired by special spirits and their opportunities to display their power were not limited to a particular group of people, spread their activities to a wider base Professional shamans have a protective spirit that will protect them against diseases and struggles with other shamans, and these guardian spirits manifest themselves in the form of an animal The wolf, the bear, the raven, the seagull, and the eagle appear as the most common guardian spirits (The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Shamanism and Incantations, 2005). Professional Koryak shamans who are the guardians of the social order established by the big raven perform their duties to ensure that the Koryak society attains a prosperous structure (Magnarella, 1972, p.26) It is seen that the Big Raven figure is at the forefront in the shamanistic rituals practiced by the Koryaks. (Jochelson, 1904, p.417) Big Raven appears as the assistant of the will that created the world, gave people the light, showed them how to hunt, and also guided shamans on how to fight evil spirits (Jochelson, 1904, p.417) An anthropomorphic quality has been attributed to Big Raven and is believed that he had his own children, wife and sister (Magnarella, 1972, p.25). There are different views on Big Raven's disappearance, including the view that people did not heed Big Raven's advice and as a result Big Raven disappeared (Magnarella, 1972, p.26) Big Raven, who has declared a war with his son against the

underworld invaded by evil spirits, has won this war by using different tools (Jochelson, 1904, p.417)

Big Raven takes its place in Koryak mythology as an actor who stands on the side of good in a struggle between good and evil. The supreme will which is the assistant of Big Raven and called as Supreme Being is called with different names in the mythological texts about the Koryaks. He is seen as Universe, World, Master of the Upper World, the one on the High, Master, Existence, Being or Strength (Jochelson, 1904, p.417). Based on this mythological structure, the question of how to explain the relationship between Supreme Being, Big Raven and Shamans becomes important. At this point, the impression of a hierarchical order emerges. The Supreme Being creates the world with the help of Big Raven, and shamans are entrusted with certain tasks to maintain order in the world. Within the framework of this hierarchical structure, can we describe the shamans as a clergy class in Koryak society? The mythological narrative based on this hierarchical structure gave the impression that Koryak shamans also formed a kind of clergy in the society. (Jochelson, 1904, p.418)

It is seen that the geography in which the Koryaks live also has important effects on their beliefs. The Russian geologist Krasheninnikov who conducted field research in the region in the 18th century, explained the belief world of the peoples living in the Kamchatka peninsula as follows. « Like ancient Greeks, Kamchadal people are great artists of creating fables. They attribute something extraordinary to the most famous and visible mountains and to supposedly horrible places such as boiling waters and smoking mountains. Thermal waters are inhabited by evil spirits and volcanoes by the spirits of those who passed away» (Degai, 2009,p.40) The points expressed by Krasheninnikov also give clues about the Koryak's understanding of death. The concept of the immortality of the soul seems to be present in the Koryaks (Degai, 2009,

p.40) Koryaks do not consider death as a natural process see death as a revenge of evil spirits or because of the activities of shamans (Magnarella, 1972, p.29)

Koryaks, who believe that physical death does not completely remove the dead from this world, believe shamans can bring the dead back to the world. On the other hand, if it is determined that the soul of the deceased has met with the Supreme Being, it is accepted that the deceased has lost his life. The death vision of the Koryaks also shows the hierarchical structure in the Koryak's mythology. It means there's nothing left to do when it comes to the Supreme Being. After death, cremation is carried out to release the second soul of the dead. After the cremation, the relationship of the dead with the world is cut off (Magnarella, 1972, p.30) The time when the death takes place, and the cremation process is called a dangerous period by the Koryak society. It is believed that the dead will be exposed to the attacks of the evil spirit Kalaw, and the opinion that the soul of the dead will be captured by the Kalaw comes to the fore. The relatives of the deceased are sitting next to each other in order to prevent the evil spirit named Kalaw from seizing the soul of the dead. The concept of death in the Koryaks also has a close relationship with the shamans. As the evil spirit Kalaw, shamans as well try to capture the soul of the dead (King, 1999, p.60)

Compared to shamans with healing powers, evil shamans take their place in society as an element of hatred and fear. Either they are good shamans or bad shamans, there is a common belief in the Koryak society that shamans are more intelligent and stronger than ordinary people (King, 1999, p.58). This point also shows that Koryak shamans serve as an opinion leader in society. It is also necessary to examine the characterization of Koryak shamans as an enemy in the eyes of the Soviet regime from this perspective. Religious figures play an important role among the leaders chosen by the society as the leader in any social unrest. Wasn't the call for

independence in the Yuan Empire, founded by Kublai Khan in China, also made by a Buddhist monk, Zhu Yuanzhang ? (Roux, 1961, p.492) Based on the prestige and reputation that tradition ascribed to them, shamans had the charisma to drag the masses along in case of social unrest.

The Encyclopædia Britannica defines charisma as follow «attribute of astonishing power and capacity ascribed to the person and personality of extraordinarily magnetic leaders» (Encyclopaedia Britannica, Charisma, 2015). Such leaders may be political and secular as well as religious. They challenge the traditional order, for either good or ill (King, 1999, p.58). Observing Koryak shamans, it is seen that this definition is also valid for them. Koryak society believes that shamans have more knowledge than average people. For example, the rest of the community cannot see the evil spirits called Kalas, but Koryak shamans are able to see them. Likewise, the struggle with the devil named Ninvit, which normal people are not able to fight is carried out only by shamans (Charring, 1984, p.444) In the same way, relying on its healing properties, shamans come to the forefront as the element that helps the Raven in the fight against evil forces in the oral traditions of Koryaks (Charring, 1984, p.444)

In Paleo Siberian shamanism, it is seen that there are not very strict rules about the clothes that shamans will wear. This argument is also valid for the clothing of the Koryak shamans. The Russian ethnographer Valdemir Jochelson, who has collected considerable data about the region as a result of his field research in the north of Russia, describes the clothing of the Koryak shamans as follows. «The Koryak Shamans do not have their own drums. They use the drum of the family in the house where they perform their shamanic rituals. They do not appear to be wearing any special clothing». (Czaplicka, 2022, p.260) The drum used by the Koryaks is called *yayai* and is oval and only one surface is covered with reindeer skin. (Czaplicka, 2022, p.260) Why Koryak shamans do not have strict dress codes is an important

question mark. The fact that Koryak shamans do not have a strict attitude about clothing does not mean that the ritual dimension of Koryak shamanism is unimportant. The rules required for a novice to become a shaman in Koryak society include important rituals. Learning to sing, dance and drum are among the rituals that a shaman is expected to learn. Waldemir Bogoraz, who closely examined the religious life of the peoples of the region as a result of his studies in Northern Siberia stated that it takes one or two years for Koryak shamans to become shamans (Czaplicka,2022, p.230) It is significant that playing the drums and singing well are among the skills expected from the shaman. Because with these two abilities, the shaman tries to appeal to the souls of his followers. At this point, we are faced with the following question. Do visual or acoustic elements come to the fore in shamanistic rituals? It is significant that playing the drums and singing well are among the skills expected from the shaman. Because with these two abilities, the shaman tries to appeal to the souls of his followers. At this point, we are faced with the following question. Do visual or acoustic elements come to the fore in shamanistic rituals? Although it is difficult to predict exactly whether visual or acoustic elements play a more important role in Siberian shamanistic rituals, it can be started from this point. The mask is not a prominent element in Siberian and North Asian shamanism. (Eliade,1999, p.196) Romanian religious historian Mircea Eliade stated that in Siberian shamanism, the dress has already replaced the mask. (Eliade,1999, p.198) From this perspective, there is a need for works that examine shamanism from a neurological perspective to understand the effect of shamanism on humans and to understand the symbolism represented by shamanistic rituals. There are regular and seasonal sacrifice ceremonies. There are communal rituals in Reindeer Koryak and Maritime Koryak society. These rituals are related to bear feast, wolf feast and fox hunting. (Czaplicka, 2022, p.361) While the bear is taken home at the bear feast, the purpose of this ceremony is to

make future hunts successful and to protect people from the wrath of the slaughtered animal. This point is similar to the Yakut hunting ritual reminiscent of a contract with an animal. The wolf ritual has the following meaning. According to the Koryak world view, the wolf is the owner of a rich herd of deer and is the ruler of the Tundra. It is thought that the wolf will take revenge on those who hunt it. (Czaplicka, 2022, p.362) The Koryak shaman takes part in the performance of these rituals.

To summarize, Koryak shamans exercise their efforts to make their society prosperous. Koryak society attributes to their shaman the capacity to do things that are impossible for ordinary people to do. If a distinction is made between shamans, it is seen that shamans are divided into white shaman, black shaman, professional shaman and family shaman. Coming to the place of the shamans in the Koryak's cosmogony, it is seen that the shamans emerged as the assistants of the raven and the supreme being, which are the cornerstones of the Koryak's cosmogony.

6.2. Chuckchi shamanism

In this section, the shamanistic practices of Koryaks and Chukchi who are considered to belong to the Paleo Siberian group by Maria Czaplicka will be taken into consideration and analyzed. The social structure of the Chukchi society is divided into two groups. One of this group is Reindeer Chukchi and the other one is called Maritime Chukchi. This social distinction is a result of the difference in economic activities in the Chukchi society. Hunting of sea animals and fishing constitute the main economic activity of Maritime Chukchi (Bogoras, 1901, p.87). On the other hand, reindeer breeding stands out as the main economic activity of Reindeer

Chuckci (Vaté, 2005, p.49). As it is in Koryak Society, the Chukchi's mythology and beliefs are products of social conditions in Chucki's society.

When the world of belief of the Chukchi is examined, one of the first features that stands out is the role that fire plays in the Chukchi society. One of the roles that fire plays in rituals is to drive away evil spirits. The housewives who set fire to the tundra after their husbands go to the tundra to graze their animals think that this fire will protect their husbands. (Vnré, Beyries, 2007, p.404) Fire is also lit during funerals to keep evil spirits away from the house. Fire is also seen as a marker of family identity. It is forbidden to mix fires from two different. Being in close contact with a fire from a house outside of one's own is considered as a threat to the family. Based on the relationship between the house and the fire of the house, it can be said that each member of the Chukchi society belongs to the house (called as *Yaranga* in Chukchi language) she was born in. This relationship, between the family member and the *Yaranga*, is renewed by making pictures from coal fire and sacrificing reindeer in seasonal rituals. The ritual that puts an end to the relationship between family member and home is marriage. The person who left his home after marriage now emerges as a threat to the fire of the house because she herself came into close contact with the fire of another house. (Vnré, Beyries, 2007, p.414)

Considering the role of shamans in Chukchi society, it is seen that the fire factor is again in the foreground (Bogoras, 1901, p.97) The fire of another house is seen as destructive and is believed to harbor evil spirits. (Bogoras, 1901, p.97) The task falls to the shamans in the fight against these evil spirits. Chukchi shamans are fighting at the front against evil spirits that bring diseases to people and are shown as the cause of death. This type of shaman is also accepted as healer in Chukchi society. In addition to this type of shaman, there are two other types of shamans in the Chukchi society. One of these shaman types transmits some messages

that they say they heard from the unknown, they are called as ventriloquists. The task they perform is seen more as an element of entertainment. Other types of shamans are shamans who make predictions about the future and share their visions of the future (Bogoras, 1901, p.99)

The adjectives attributed to Chukchi shamans also give important clues about the place of Chukchi shamans in society. People with shamanic abilities are called *lygeplaiānvyt ynpynasgyt*. It is possible to translate it as «experienced old man» This adjective also shows that shamans are attributed to wisdom (Zoia, 2007, p.265) The shaman, who goes to the realms in an ecstatic mood that ordinary people are not able to enter, achieves this ecstatic mood by singing and playing the tambourin. These songs sung by shamans, were also used while hunting whales and other sea creatures. During the transportation of the whale, which is very heavy, the pain caused by the weight of the whale is tried to be relieved by singing. It is seen that shamanic elements are used for the successful completion of the hunting process (Zoia, 2007, p.265)

The fact that the concept of the soul is at the center of the belief world of the Chukchi community also gives the Chukchi shamans an important position in the society. Chukchi people believe that everything that surrounds them has a spirit. The Chukchi society, which protects themselves against evil spirits through the spells and talismans made by the shamans, also performs the purification process to purify themselves from evil spirits when they enter their homes. (Lykkegård, Willerslev, 2016, p.3) If a ranking is made among the spirits in the imagination of the Chukchi society, it will be necessary to open a separate parenthesis about the spirit named Kely. Kely is seen as a constant concern in Chukchi society, is associated with death in Chukchi society (Vaté, 2007, p.232) In order to prevent death by Kelly, the Chukchi sacrifice a dog or a reindeer to Kelly. Vladimir Bogoras, who obtained important findings about the Chukchi because of his field research in the north of Russia, mentions that there are 3 types

of Kely in the Chukchi society. Bogoraz also sees the spirit named Kelly as the assistant of the Chukchi shamans (Vaté, 2007, p.222)

As it is in Koryak society, the mythological world of the Chukchi also contains important clues about the Chukchi shamans. The sun, stars and moon have a very important place in this mythological narrative (Siimets, 2006, p.131) In the Chukchi belief, the most important character in the heavens is the Sun. The relationship established between the sun and the moon also points to the dualist structure in the Chukchi mythology. Chukchi shamans are also included in this dualist structure (Siimets, 2006, p.134) The evil spirit of the sun is symbolized as the moon. Chukchi shamans seek help from the moon when they want to curse someone. Chukchi shamans believe that looks addressed to the moon will drag people to different realms and they are convinced that the moon catches people thanks to its lasso.

One of the most important elements that shamans use to increase the effect of their magic and to make the magic effective is the moon. These verses directed to the moon by the shaman in a shaman ritual are one of the most important proofs of the importance that the Chukchi shamans ascribe to the moon. « Oh Moon, Moon. You govern the night. You can break the darkness, help me. You see how humbly I am crawling before you. I have no secrets from you. I present my body to you completely. Help me» (Siimets, 2006, p.136). The priority of the moon in Chukchi shamanism also shows itself in rituals. The moon is invoked, and healing is expected from it. Shamanic rituals are performed during the full moon. An important part of these rituals is related to sacrificing. At the beginning of each new moon, there are objects sacrificed to the moon (Siimets, 2006, p.137). Meat, blood soup, fat and rarely reindeer are among the products sacrificed.

One of the important points to be emphasized about these rituals is that shamans do not show all their skills in these rituals, and especially if there is a stranger, they are hesitant against foreigners. One of the reasons for this reservation is that Chukchi shamans think that foreigners who come to visit them may have a hostile spirit in their bags. (Siimets, 2006, p.138) It can also be thought that one of the issues underlying this fear is that shamans do not share their privileged position with others. Because one of the most important elements that makes shamans privileged in society is the belief that they have abilities that other people do not have. This fear can also be interpreted as shamans do not want people who are rivals in society against them. In other words, this attitude adopted by shamans against foreigners can also be interpreted as an effort to keep knowledge in their own monopoly.

The Chukchi do not have a special shamanic dress, as is the case with the Koryaks. Chukchi shamans are seen wearing a caftan, and their attire has the symbol *Tetkeyun* (Meaning life force in Chukchi language) This figure is made in the form of a leather ball and is filled with reindeer feathers. The drum used by the Chukchi is similar to the drum used by the American Inuit. (Czaplicka, 2022, p.230-231)

As a result, it is seen that the prominent points in Chukchi shamanism are as follows. Fire is seen as one of the prominent elements and it plays a very important role in the safety of the household. Fire is considered as the element that separates one house from the other, and the evil spirits that haunt a house because of different fires are also removed by the shaman. This means that the shaman is responsible for the welfare of the family. Another attribute attributed to Koryak shamans stands out as wisdom. Finally, it is clearly seen that the moon figure has a central place in Chukchi shamanism. The element that is prayed for and from which help is expected is the moon. From this point of view, it is seen that the concepts of moon, fire, and

Yaranga, the place where the Chukchi live, should be taken into consideration in the examinations to be made about Chukchi shamanism. These three factors seem to be the main elements that shape Chukchi shamanism.



7. NEO-SIBERIAN SHAMANISM

7.1. Buryat Shamanism

As in the Paleo Siberian example, Neo-Siberian shamanism was shaped under the influence of local factors and geographical conditions. Neo-Siberian shamanism is shaped in line with rich local traditions carries the characteristics of the region it originated from. In this chapter, the shamanistic practices of the Buryats will be examined. The shores of Lake Baikal in Southern Siberia today are considered the homeland of Buryats. Northern Mongolian language is spoken among Buryats (Perrucho, Sévin, Sazhinova, Bazarov, Konovalov, 2006, p.200). One of the most important issues to be mentioned regarding buryats is Lake Baikal and it divides Buryats into two different worlds. One side of these two worlds is the forest, on the other side is the endless steppes. Described as a symbol of fertility in Buryat society, the forest is called Bajan. This nomenclature is an important clue regarding collective consciousness of Buryat society. It is accepted by the Buryats that the forest which is called rich also contains many spirits. As will be seen later, one of the important pillars of Buryat shamanism is the forest. In the Buryat collective memory, the steppe is a symbol of fertility and the proliferation of the herd, the expected from the steppe is the increase of the herd. (Hamayon, 1990, p.73)

In all Mongolian languages the shaman is called *Böö*. Shamanic terms were created in Buryat society based on this etymology. While the shamanic session is called *Böölöön*, shamanism is expressed by the phrase *Böö Mürge* (Hamayon, 1990, p.142) This etymological term carries important clues about Buryat shamanism. The word *böğü* in the Buryats one of the neighboring peoples of the Turks in Siberia, refers to the shamans as *böğü* in old Turkish. (Nişanyan Sözlük, Büyü, 2021) On the other hand, shamans are called *Enanalan* (The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Shamanism and Incantations, 2005) In Koryak society and they are

known as *Lygeplaiianvyt Ynpynasgyt* in Chuckhi society (Zoia, 2007, p.265) Buryats who share a common cultural circle with Turks in Siberia, also have parallels in terms of terminology related to beliefs.

The shaman himself was at the center of the shamanistic tradition that has survived among the Buryats (Krader, 1975, p.111). The male shaman was called *Bö*, and the female shaman was called *Odogon*. However, within the framework of Buryat shamanistic belief, there is not only one type of shaman, but both white shamans and black shamans. White Shamans are in the service of the Gods in the West and are described as benevolent. On the other hand, Black Shamans are in the service of the Gods in the East and are described as destructive to humans. This dual situation, which is revealed in the separation of shamans is also due to the status of shamans in Buryat society. On the one hand, shamans, who were respected and held in great esteem, were also figures who were feared in society and sometimes killed because they were seen as witches. Another factor in the decline of their prestige was the Buryat's recognition of the dominance of the Russian Empire. In the early days of Buryat culture, they lost their titles and qualifications such as religious leadership and law-making, which they had in the eyes of the society, because the Russian Empire did not see themselves as the representative of Buryat Culture. When it comes to the question of how to become a shaman among the Buryats, one of the most important qualifications to be possessed was the necessity of having another shaman in the family tree of the person who wanted to be a shaman. The family elder who had a shaman spirit was called *Utxa* in Mongolian (Krader, 1975, p.115)

According to the Buryat shamanistic belief, the deceased shaman family elders came back to the world three years after their death by entering the body of the surviving shaman who was his apprentice at the time (Balogh, 2008, p.166) In addition, deceased family elders should

be regularly commemorated and not forgotten by the survivors. This relationship between the spirit and the shaman was so strong that it was believed that if the spirit did not dominate the shaman, the shaman would become ill and even kill the shaman. In order not to hurt the souls, Black Shamans were performing their rituals on 9th, 19th and 29th of every month. On the other hand, white shamans were performing their rituals on 8th, 18th and 28th of every month. (Balogh, 2008, p.166) These rituals are performed outdoors or indoors. Made once a year and in nature rituals performed in sanctuaries were of greater importance than rituals performed in a shaman's tent. The purpose of these rituals was not just to commemorate the dead, pragmatic solutions were also expected from the shamans. As a soldier going to war, a Buryat shaman traveling to the spirit realm protected himself with weapons like a soldier. It was believed that the weapons carried by the shamans were made by *Damdin Dorlig*, the God of blacksmiths. This relationship between blacksmiths and shamans also

It also showed up in rituals. It is also a shamanic ritual for Buryat blacksmiths to sacrifice the horse and extract its heart, dedicated to Boşinto known as the God of Blacksmiths (Balogh, 2008, p.167)

The phenomenon of dividing society into different layers on the socio-economic basis seen in Koryak and Chukchi also shows itself in Buryats. Lake Baikal is an important reference point for understanding the different social strata of Buryats (Hamayon, 2004, p.54) Buryat tribes in the west of Lake Baikal are called Ekhirit Bulagat Buryats, while Buryats in the east of Lake Baikal are called Hori Buryats. This geographical division, based on Lake Baikal, also points to a division that occurred in the belief worlds of the Buryats. On the other hand, Hori Buryats adopted Buddhism and entered a deep Buddhist culture circle. (Hamayon, 2004, p.54) It is believed that hunting activities played an important role in the dominance of shamanistic beliefs

among Ekhiri Buryats. In the hunts, called Zegete-Aba in Mongolian, the shaman served to legitimize the action against the hunted animals. This legitimation manifested itself as an agreement by the shaman between the spirit of the hunted animal and humans. (Hamayon, 2006, p.16)

The collective hunting ritual called Zegete Aba assigned Buryat shamans a central role in society (Krader, 1975, p.118). French ethnologist Roberte Hamayon, who gathered considerable information about the region as a result of her field research in Siberia, states that shaman and shamanism have a central place in societies where hunting is the main activity and living in the taiga or forest (Hamayon, 2006, p.21) It is seen that this definition made by Roberte Hamayon is also valid for Buryat society. Hunting is seen as an essential activity for the continuity of society, and at this point the shaman takes the role of the one who leads the society to salvation. In a situation where it is impossible for ordinary people to communicate with the spirits of wild animals, the shaman makes hunting possible. In this case, the hunter's luck rests on the shaman's initiative (Hamayon, 2006, p.222)

With the economic decline of hunting activity, the shaman has gained a negative status in society. The Buryat shaman, who was a positive figure in the early Buryat history, felt that his role as a community leader was shaken by the 19th century. «In the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries he represented an intercessor to whom the Buryats turned in time of trouble; at the same time, shamans were feared, placated and killed for witchcraft. The shaman in this later period maintained a minor role as the representative of the cosmic and moral order» (Krader, 1975, p.108)

From this point of view, can we ask the following question? «were Buryat shamans born, developed and died according to Ibn Khaldun's point of view» The answer to this question

is yes, given that the shamanic leaders were appointed by the Russian Empire (Krader, 1975, p.108) If we look at it from another point of view, there has not been any structure in history that has finally existed and has maintained its dominant role in society. All this shows that the phenomenon called shamanism is also a social phenomenon and is shaped under the shadow of historical and social dynamics. In Buryat shamanism this point is clear. In this respect, when examining Buryat shamanism, it is necessary to keep in mind the theory put forward by Ibn Khaldun (Cheddadi, 2009, p.85) Not only states but also beliefs feel the need to renew themselves in the face of the irresistible wave of time. On the one hand, the need for self-renewal and on the other hand, the effort to preserve the essence of belief is one of the most important dilemmas in the test of beliefs against time.

Compared to the Koryak and Chukchi shamans, we have more information about the attire of the Buryat shamans. Headgear and caftan are among the basic clothes of the Buryat shamans. There are horse, fish and bird figures in front of the shaman's robe, and behind the dress there are rattles representing snakes. The headdress worn by Buryat shamans is made of lynx leather and has a bundle of ribbons on the top. After the fifth consecration, the Buryat shaman appears to be able to wear an iron cap. Buryat scientist M N Khangalov states that drums are not seen very often in Buryat shaman rituals. The mouthpiece kopuz is another instrument seen in Buryat shamanic rituals. (Czaplicka,2022, p.281)

7.2. Yakut Shamanism

Yakut Turks live in the Sakha Republic which is in the Russian Federation today. As in Koryak, Chukchi and Buryat societies, Yakut Shamanism was shaped under the shadow of historical dynamics, environmental conditions and local culture. To get to know the Yakut

shamanism closely, it is necessary to know their mythology first. Yakuts believe that there are higher beings in the sky who are divided into good and evil. Yakuts, who believe that the sky itself is divided into different layers, believe that good spirits live in the upper layers of the sky and evil spirits live in the lower layers of the sky (Roussy, 1887, p.24) Good spirits are called Ai Tanyara, while evil spirits are called Abassis, Ajarai. On the top of this mythological structure sits Ai Toione, who is believed to have created the world. In this mythological framework, the shaman is consulted to destroy the effects of evil spirits (Roussy, 1887, p.25) It is believed that among the meat sacrificed, the devil loves the heart and lungs the most. The Yakuts, who respected the animals sacrificed to the devil and did not cut their tail and mane strictly, called the shamans when it was necessary to kill these animals. This situation constitutes an important example in terms of showing the social prestige of the shaman in Yakut society.

The qualities that the Yakuts attributed to the person believed to be the first shaman also explain the social prestige of the Yakut shamans.

It was believed that the first shaman, who was given the title of great, could perform miracles, healing the sick, resurrecting the dead, and even enabling the blind to see. At this point, it can be asked whether there are syncretic elements in Yakut shamanism (Roussy, 1887, p.31) These miracles attributed to the first shaman were the miracles believed to have been performed by the Prophet Jesus as well. (Encyclopaedia Britannica, Jesus, 2022). With the arrival of Arshevek Ivan Veniaminov to Yakutia in 1852, Christianization activities gained momentum in Eastern Siberia (Duchesne, 2020, p.36) It is a normal phenomenon for different beliefs to be influenced by each other and it is an important question to what extent this influence transforms Yakut Shamanism.

The dualistic relationship established between good and evil also shows itself in Yakut shamanism. The concepts of White Shaman and Black Shaman which manifest themselves in

Buryat shamanism are also present in Yakut shamanism. White shamans take their origins in the spirits of the upper world, they do not wear shamanic costume and do not have a drum. Their rites are performed during the day and they enter into communication with good spirits. They participate in marriages, fertility rites and the healing of the sick, whose function is rather that of healers. Black shamans take their roots in the lower world, they make travels between the worlds, especially the middle world and the lower world. They extract evil spirits, and they may be harmful to humans. Their rites are practiced in the dark (Duchesne, 2020, p.36) During the rituals they practice, white shamans and black shamans travel to the sky and the underworld (Stépanoff, 2014, p.119) In Yakut mythology, White Yakut shaman appears as an assistant to *Ayy Toione*, who is believed to have created the universe. This task performed by the White Yakut shaman shows itself in the healing process undertaken by the shaman. In Dolgans who speak Yakut language, the white shaman first removes the evil spirit from the patient's body and sends this evil spirit to where it came from. After this process is done, the soul must be purified by *Ayy Toione*, who is believed to have created the universe. The quality that distinguishes the shaman from ordinary people shows itself here as well, because *Ayy Toione* is visited by the Yakut shaman, which ordinary people are not able to see (Stépanoff, 2014, p.119)

One of the issues that should be mentioned about Yakut Shamanism is the relationship between shamans and animals. Bear, Tiger, Snake, Eagle and Sheep are animals with shamanic symbols. At this point, it is necessary to open a separate parenthesis about the horse. Because the horse, which is an inseparable part of the life of Yakuts, also shows itself in Yakut beliefs (Maj, 2006, p.76) In Yakut traditions, being compared with and likened to horses is a positive case Ethnographic descriptions prior to the Soviet period mention that, among the Yakuts the shaman could also be identified with a stallion. Emphasis is placed on the strength and masculine aspect

of the Yakut Shaman by the analogy of the stallion. This importance attributed to the Yakut shaman also shows itself in the duties entrusted to the Yakut shaman. In Yakut society, shamans are used to ensure the continuity of the society and the safety of agricultural activities. Expecting help from a shaman in a vital activity such as agriculture indicates the shaman's central position in Yakut society. During the feast of Yhyakh, Yakut shamans ask *D'öhgöj*, the guardian spirit of horses to give birth to new foals (Maj, 2006, p.7)

In the rituals performed by the Yakut shamans, the horse symbolism also shows itself in the shaman's relationship with the drum. In some shamanic rituals, the Yakut shaman sees himself as a horse, neighing and leaping like a horse. The tambour, which is one of the factories of shamanism, is seen as well by Yakut shamans as their horse. In the Yakut society, where the horse figure plays a central role, the mythology and world of belief are also heavily nourished by the horse figure.

Besides the horse figure, another element that plays a central role in Yakut mythology and belief is blacksmiths (Sales, 1981, p.37) Blacksmithing is an important economic activity in the history of the Yakuts. Yakuts who bought fur from the Tunguses, provided Tungus with weapons and hunting knives in return for fur. Based on this central role, the Yakuts believe that the first shaman and the first blacksmith are brothers. This relationship is also a relationship that includes a certain competition. This relationship is also a relationship that includes a certain competition. Blacksmiths cause the creation of a substance by transforming a substance from a liquid state to a solid. On the other hand, it is thought that shamans do not have such power. This power relationship between them shows itself in the belief that Kytay Maxsym, who is considered the ruler of the blacksmiths, sent the first shaman to the world. A Yakut shaman is

not able to kill a blacksmith, but a blacksmith can kill a shaman according to the legend (Sales, 1981, p.37)

The custom of applying to the shaman for the safety of the hunt seen in the Buryats is also observed in the Yakut society. (Maj, 2006, p.310) In order not to disturb the spirits living in the water while fishing and to have a chance to fish, Yakuts consult a shaman (Maj, 2006, p.310) This emphasis on the hunt in Paleo Siberian shamanism emerges as a remarkable feature. If we consider that approximately 3/4 of the region called Yakutia consists of taiga, we can understand why hunting is so important in Yakut shamanism (Hamayon, 1996, p.13) In a geography where forests are of such importance, it is not surprising that the world of belief is shaped in the shadow of this fact. The importance of the forest in the life of Yakuts is also evident in the adjectives used by the Mongols to name the northern peoples. In the famous «Secret History » written by Rashid Al Din, the term forest people (Hoi Yin İrgen in Mongolian) are used to designate various Mongolian and non-Mongolian groups situated to the north of Mongolia (Buell, 1992, p.4)

8. CONCLUSION

When Paleo Siberian and Neo Siberian shamanisms are examined, it is seen that both types of shamanism are the products of the geographies they originated from. It would not be the right approach to put the shamanism practiced by all four societies in the same category, since the mythological structures built by each of the four societies are different from each other. The common points that shamans have in these four societies are the reputation attributed to them by their society and the right to have a say in vital issues concerning their society. In this respect, it would be correct to see the shamans as an opinion leader in these four communities. Another common point is the dualist structure that manifests itself in the shamanist practices of the four communities. Another common point is the dualist structure that manifests itself in the shamanist practices of the four communities. On the other hand, when the subject is analyzed in terms of world vision and rituals, serious differences emerge in Paleo-Siberian and Neo-Siberian shamanism. The Big Raven notion among Koryaks, Yaranga notion among Chukchi, Zegete Aba ritual among Buryats, and vast Taiga among Yakuts are the basis of shamanistic beliefs. Each community has applied these four key concepts to perceive the world that surrounds them. Each world narrative and universe vision are different from each other. While reindeer and whales have an important place in the theatricality of Paleo Siberian shamanism, an important source of theatrical elements in Neo Siberian shamanism are horses and hunting activity. These four communities which make their living thanks to these animals, have given wide space to these concepts in their mythological constructions. A history of Koryak and Chukchi cannot be written without including whales and reindeer, and no analysis can be made of Yakuts without mentioning horses.

One of the most important discussions related to the field of linguistics is shaped on how language is born and how language ability emerges in humans.

This question that Linguists asked about language can also be asked about Siberian Shamanism. This question will also enlighten us on whether shamanism is an element unique to Siberia. Ernest Renan, one of the important thinkers of the 19th century, can enlighten us on whether Siberian Shamanism is an element unique to Siberia. According to Renan, each community creates metaphors who are related to the nature that surround them. (Renan, 2011, p.84) At this point, we see that Siberian Shamanism and Paleo Siberian Shamanism and Neo Siberian Shamanism, to be reduced to more detail, have their own unique lines.

Studies on Shamanism to date have revealed the practices of Shamanism in detail. On the other hand, the question of which elements or which cultural transfers lie in the origins of these practices in Shamanism is also of great importance. The emphasis on good shamans and bad shamans in both paleo-Siberian shamanism and neo-Siberian shamanism makes one wonder whether to find traces of a Zoroastrian worldview in the emergence of these shamanistic beliefs. The story of the emergence of this emphasis on the struggle between good and evil is a question that should be asked not only about shamanism, but also about other monotheistic religions. Because the emergence of the concept of the devil also points to the emergence of this dualist worldview. The story of the emergence of this emphasis on the struggle between good and evil is a question that should be asked not only about shamanism, but also about other monotheistic religions. Because the emergence of the concept of the devil also points to the emergence of this dualist worldview.

Investigations about Paleo Siberian and Neo Siberian tribes will play an important role in illuminating the unknown points of Turkish history. It is now known that cultural references

taken from languages such as Arabic and Persian played an important role on Turkish language after the adoption of Islam by Turks. However, how the languages of other neighboring tribes, where Turks lived in Siberia, affected Turkish, or, to put the question in reverse, how Turkish influenced the languages of other tribes living in Siberia are among the issues that have not yet been resolved. It is an important question to ask what kind of influence Paleo Siberians and Neo Siberians had on Turkish language or vice versa. It is among the important questions to be asked whether Paleo Siberians or Neo Siberians had any effect on animal and plant names in Turkish language. Clarification of these issues will lead to new developments in the field of study called Proto-Turkish studies. In this context, it is important to submit the languages spoken by the Paleo-Siberian and Neo-Siberian tribes to a comparative philological study. For example, the Russian missionary Veniamin, who was among the Nenets in the 19th century, published a dictionary and a grammar book about the Nenet language. (Toulouze,2009, p.18) A grammar detective study related to Turkish can be done by referring to this type of grammar works. In addition to the rock paintings, the examinations to be carried out by examining the grammar books of such tribes will shed light on the life of the Turks in Siberia and the basic structure of the Turkish language. Although such comprehensive studies present great difficulties, I believe that such studies will illuminate the mysterious points of Turkish if they are carried out in a systematic and collective way. If a multidisciplinary perspective is adopted, including anthropology, history, philology, geography and other social sciences, important findings will emerge about the life of the Turks in Siberia.

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