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³⁴Zelenin, D. Narodnye prislovya i anekdoty o russkikh zhitelyakh Vyatskoi gubernii.
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THE BEAR FEAST OF THE KAZYM KHANTY

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Linguistically, the Kazym Khanty are a group of the Northern Khanty. Their territory is situated on the right-hand tributaries of the Ob river, in the Beloyarsk region of the Tyumen district.

Between 1988 and 1989, the expeditions of the Novosibirsk Research Centre worked in the aboriginal villages of Yuilsk, Kazym and Amnya of the Kazym Khanty. There they made 70 recordings of both ceremonial and non-ceremonial songs. Ceremonial songs allow us to reconstruct the musical aspect of the bear feast and the traditional world outlook of the Khanty.

Scientists and travellers who have described the everyday life of the Ostyaks (the Khanty) in the 18th and 19th centuries have pointed out the peculiarity of their mythological conceptions and religion. Even as early as in the 17th century, Stephen of Perm made several mission trips to christianise the small nations of Siberia; the Ostyaks, however, managed to keep to their native religion. Unfortunately, the shamanist customs have not survived to our days. The traces of paganism that the Khanty culture bears have been pointed out by several 19th-century ethnographers. There have been detailed descriptions of

the rich pantheon, sacrificing customs and idol worship.

The genealogy of the high gods of the Kazym Khanty and their myths about the origin of the earth, heaven and man have survived in the songs of the bear feast. These texts make it clear that the Khanty used to divide the world around them in three hierarchical levels. The upperworld is inhabited by ancient gods, that is to say Torum as'i ('heavenly father') and Muv anki ('mother Earth'). Usually, the prayers begin with invocations of these gods. The netherworld is inhabited by anthropomorphic beings that are hostile to humans. In the middle world, i. e. on the earth there are human beings, but also gods and spirits of the second generation. According to the mythology of the Kazym Khanty, the high goddess was sent to the earth from Heaven, she could manifest in seven sacred forms and assume the forms of worshipped animals: weasel, black cat, diverbird, drake, etc. Sometimes she was called Pupi s'asi ('Bear's Grandmother'). The high goddess had seven heroic brothers and seven sisters who protected the Khanty. Inviting the godess's brothers and sisters to participate in the bear feast, they sing special songs where they describe their feats and achivements. The Bear who, as the myths say, is the ancestor of the Kazym Khanty, was also sent to the Earth from Torum's realm.

Bear cult forms the basis of the traditional world outlook of the Kazym Khanty. Celebrating a bear feast is grounded on the belief in the magic power of a totem animal.

According to the tradition, the founder of the tradition of bear feasts was the Old Man of Pelym, who established the order of the celebration and handed it down to earthly human beings. The strict sequence of musical and verbal action has remained unchanged until the present day, but the differences between the local Kazym and Yuilsk set of customs of the Northern Khanty bear feast complicate the investigation of the tradition.

The bear feast of the Kazym Khanty lasts for three to seven nights. According to that, the number of obligatory songs to be sung in one night varies from night to night. What remains is the scheme which requires that these songs be sung according to the hierarchy of their genre. The number and sequence of songs is marked with cuts on a special stick (shomtlang yuh - 'incised wood'). The stick is cut from a branch of a holy tree- either a larch or a cedar. In addition to the obligatory sacral songs, other songs are sung at a bear feast, the number which is not fixed, although they always belong to the repertoire of a bear feast. these are singing performances about gods, animals and birds who participate at the feast. These songs form a genre that the Khanty call lumultupty ar and they have their own characteristic style. The tunes are short and suitable for dancing. The genre under discussion includes the sub-group of jocular songs (us'hul ar). Both the song-performances and jocular songs are performed in

birchbark masks (Example 1).

Example 1. Sort juhan ho ar. Us'hul ar. Singer Kuzma Moldanov (b. 1905).

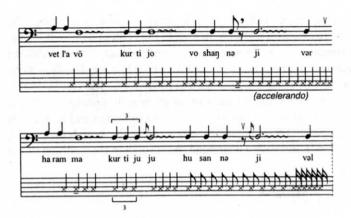


While singing sacral songs, they wear coats sewn specially for that purpose. The song is finished with some dance gestures or movements. The singer (male) covers his head with a scarf, takes a wand or an iron arrow in his right hand and moves from one corner of the hut into another.

In general, there are over 300 sacral songs, each one of which is dedicated to some spirit or god, protector of rivers, woods or a sacred place.

The first level of the genre hierarchy is formed by songs belonging to the vyon ar ('great songs') and po yakty ar ('songs of worship/devotion') genres. These are performed in the final part of the bear feast, except the Kaltas' imi ar, which is one of the first obligatory songs of the first night (Example 2 - an excerpt of a Kaltas' imi ar performed by Semyon Tarlin). Its type of intonation is characteristic of sacral songs: typical is its way of producing sound (low

Example 2. Kaltas' imi ar Vjon aar. Singer Semyon Tarlin (b. 1935).



pharyngalisation), slow and deep *vibrato* of a wide diapason, and *glissando*'s. Songs known as *kayoyang aar* are discerned by their special initial word or cry '*kayo*!' and their characteristic way of performance. These are sung by an

Example 3. Kayoyang aar. Singer Pyotr Jukhlymov (b. 1935).



old person who is well versed in the tradition together with two young men. They hold and swing their hands while singing. The content of the songs is based on the tradition of the heavenly descent of the bear - Torum's son (Example 3).

Songs belonging to the *mish'* ar genre are sung in the initial phase of the bear feast. These represent a sort of heroic epic, the content of which are the miraculous adventures of the sisters of the spirit of the Kazym river living on the rivers of Kunovat and Sosva and the exploits of her brothers *Uvas iki*, *As tyi iki* and *Jem vos'iki*. These were long songs that lasted for hours. The characteristic feature of the architectonics of the *mish'* ar genre is the constant repetition of a melody. In the final part of the song the tempo increases and its range is expanded to an octave (Example 4). The last days of the bear feast usually include *mul'te* - divination with a bear-head. According to the tradition of the

Example 4. Z'eb kutup iki äkvi ar Miš ar. Singer Semyon Tarlin.



Example 5. Pupi s'asi ar Tarnyng ar. SingerKuzma Moldanov.



Yuilsk Khanty, this act is preceded by tarnyng ar songs, but in the Kazym tradition the songs of this genre are not sung within the ceremony. The texts of these songs are more stable. They are characterised by allegories and linguistically marked by invocations of the high goddess of the upperworld of the Kazym Khanty:

Jemang kev,

Holy Stone,

Pasang kev,

Golden Stone,

Sin sh'i nai,

Holy Woman-Goddess.

The manner of performance of tarnyng ar resembles that of the sacral songs (Example 5). The songs of the above-mentioned genres render sacral quality to the action at which they are sung. One can also observe desacralisation, which is connected with the inclusion of merry pantomimes as well as erotic scenes and a 'puppet theatre' performed with toes into the structure of a bear feast.

A bear feast undoubtedly includes rich material for a study of folklore and folk customs. A detailed analysis of local styles helps us to present all variabilities in the culture of the Kazym Khanty and in doing so, to stress its individuality.

Translated by Kai Vassiljeva
Notation of songs by the author.

Transcription and translation of the Khanty texts by Tatyana Moldanova.

CUSTOMS RELATED TO CHILDREN'S INFECTIOUS DISEASES IN GEORGIA

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According to the methods of treatment of diseases in Georgia, one can distinguish between three groups of diseases:

- a) maladies treated basically by the empirical-rational means,
- b) treatment which combines both empirical-rational and magical-religious means,
 - c) maladies treated only by magical-religious methods.

Children's infectious diseases can be referred to these last maladies.

General terms designating these diseases in Georgia are the following: sakhadi ('a debt, something to be paid'), batonebi ('masters, rulers') which is the most widely used term, and angelozebi ('angels'); an occasional usage of