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## KEMİK FOLKLORU

### *BONE-LORE*

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### Öz

Tükürük, kan, saç ve tırnak gibi, kemik de büyüde, halk inanışlarında ve halk hekimliğinde kullanılan insan ve hayvan vücudunun parçalarından biridir. Kemikler, etrafı etle sarılmış vücudun temel yapısı olarak ele alındığından, ruhun kendisi veya ruhun bulunduğu yer olarak değerlendirilirler. Vücudun büyük bir kısmının ve etin çürümesinin aksine, kemik çürümez ve bu sebeple de dünyanın yaratılışı çoğunlukla kemikle ilişkilendirilir. Dünyanın pek çok yerinde halk inanışlarında, halk hekimliğinde, efsanelerde, destanlarda ve masalarda kemik folkloruna ilişkin numuneleri görmek mümkündür. Halk muhayyilesinin farklı üretim alanlarını kapsayan sözlü anlatımlar ve günlük hayatın çeşitli safhalarında kullanılan pratik, uygulama ve inanışlar, bu nazarla “kemik” etrafında değerlendirildiğinde kadim bir bilgi açığa çıkmaktadır. Bu bilgi, hâlihazırda deformasyonunu ve gelişimini sürdürmekte, dolayısıyla değişmeye ve dönüşmeye devam etmektedir. Bu çalışmanın amacı da kemik folklorunu farklı kültürlerde ele almak ve dolayısıyla da insanlığın ortak geleneklerinden birini ortaya koymaktır. Böylelikle folklorun bir araya getirme özelliği de vurgulanmış olacaktır. Bu suretle kemik etrafında şekillenen halkbilimi unsurlarından yola çıkarak “kemik folkloru” teriminin alana kazandırılması hedeflenmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kemik Folkloru, Halkbilimi, Halk İnanışları, Anlatılar, Halk Hekimliği.

**Abstract**

Bones just as saliva, blood, hair and nails, they are parts of human and animals that are used in magic, folk beliefs and folk medicine. Since bones are the main structures of the body covered with the flesh, they are considered as the nest of the soul or the soul itself. Unlike rotting of the flesh and most of the body, bones don't molder and for this reason creation of the world is based on it. It's possible to see samples of folklore of bone in folk beliefs, medicine, legends, epics and folk tales all around the world. By examining oral genres, applications, practices and folk beliefs are departments of folklore and reflections of folk imagination used in different stages of life, it's possible to see the ancient knowledge that gathered around bone. The knowledge deforms and also develops, so continues to change and transform. This study aims to handle bone-lore from different cultures and thus to emphasize one of the common customs of human race. It's aimed to put forth the term "bone-lore" with the help of components of folklore based on bone.

**Keywords:** Bone Lore, Folklore, Folk Beliefs, Narratives, Folk Medicine.

**Introduction**

Beside folklore's national feature and functions which unite people and build collective consciousness. Human race come together through folklore even if they don't even know about a common ritual or belief. At that point bone lore can be considered as one of the elements of common rituals of beliefs or the mentioned collective consciousness. Folk beliefs, practices, rituals and narratives based on bone or include it will be handled to demonstrate the importance of bone in folklore. Because of not explaining the components of folklore which shaped around bone, findings won't be handled with the aspect of any spesific method.

The word "kemik" is used for bone in modern Turkish but in Anatolia "gömük, kömük, kemük, kemug, gimuk" are also used. In Azerbaijani "sümük", in Bashkir Turkish "höyäk", in Kazakh Turkish "süyek", "sök" in Kirghiz Turkish, "süyäk" in Uzbek Turkish, (similarly söyäk in Tatars) "sünk" in Turkoman, "üstihan, sönäk and süyäk"<sup>1</sup> in Uigur are used for bone. (Ercilasun and others, 1991: 464-465) For Ismet Zeki Eyuboglu, the word "kemik" is derived from Sanskrit "emuka, yamaka" which also mean bone. (Eyuboglu, 1966: 366) In contrary to Eyuboglu, Sir Gerard Clauson bases "kemik" the word "kom" which means to "gnaw" in Sanskrit (kemir- in old Turkish). (Clauson, 1972: 723)<sup>2</sup> In addition, "kemki" means human

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<sup>1</sup> The word "üstihan" is derived from Persian.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. in Mongolian gnaw means "kemki" and "kemeli" but bone means "yasu".

skull in Anatolia folk medicine. (Öztek, 2006: 86) In *Dîvânü Lugâti't Türk*, the first dictionary of Turkish in 11<sup>th</sup> century, the word 'bone' means 'süngük'. (Mahmûd el-Kâşgarî, 2005: 302)

The word bone was used as boon in Middle English (1100-1500) The variations of the word are as following: In Iceland "bein", in Swedish "ben", in Denmark "been", in Old High Germany "pein, peini. The word is always connected with the festival bonfire in etymological dictionaries (Skeat, 1888 70; Klein, 1966: 185) As Onian records, bonfires were made of bones to produce fertility and luck (Onians, 2000: 268) For Isabol E. Williams, bonfires on spesific days, goes back to the old Celtic region. The power to make fire was the main difference between humans and animals. Fire itself was sacred and it didn't only provide heat and light but also protected people against evil. (Williams, 1991: 15)

### **In World Culture**

As Berber reports, Pausanias the Greek travel writer of 2<sup>nd</sup> Century tells about painting of the demon Eurynomus. The demon eats all flesh of corpses leaving only their bones. (Berber, 1988: 116) Moreover, Berber has analyzed about bone folklore and found that the vampire has no bones, but is a sack filled with blood and comes into being when the devil pulls the skin off a particular corpse and blows it up. To prevent that, they wound the bodies of people who are believed to become vampires (If the skin should inflate, the air would escape). In Balkans, it is expected to be reduced after a few years nothing but bones remains, the remains are dug up for one last ceremony. After this they are disposed of once again, sometimes placed in an ossuary, sometimes reburied. As he quotes from Peter Metcalf in Borneo (an Island in Asia) as the body rots away to leave dry bones, the soul is transformed slowly into spirit form. (Berber, 1988: 158; 162; 164; 169) As known, there are several ways of generation of vampires cases. Cases of suicides buried in consecrated ground; violent death; improper burial; disproportionate mourning; being born with a caul. Locke-Vaughan and Greenhill says that sometimes vampires come back from the death to have sexual relations with their partners (especially for wives). If someone is pregnant, the child borns without bones. (Locke-Vaughan-Greenhill, 2009: 673)

Slenderman is one of the recently believed demons; but there are lots of stories about it. Chess and Eric quotes following story: Once upon a time, there were little twin girls, Stela and Sorina-who were so brave. They had no fear of the dark, spiders and other crawling things. Where other young ladies and even young boys

would cower, Stela and Sorina would walk with their heads held high. They were good girls, obedient to their mother and father and to the word of God. They were the best children a mother could ask for. One day, Stela and Sorina were out with their mother gathering berries from the forest. Their mother bid them stay close to her, and they listened, as they were good children. The day was bright and clear, and even as they walked closer to the center of the forest the light barely dimmed. It was nearly bright as noon when they found the tall man. The tall man stood in a clearing, dressed as a nobleman, all in black. Shadows lay over him, dark as a cloudy midnight. He had many arms, all long and boneless as snakes, all sharp as swords, and they writhed like worms on nails. He did not speak, but made his intentions known. (Chess and Eric, 2015: 27) In Chinese folklore, there's a well-known demon / tale named as White-Bone Demon which tries to eat a monk. (Yuan, 2006: 152)

The importance of bone folklore can also be seen in fairy lore, too. Ashliman recorded a tale the "*Thieving Fairies*" in which a wife finds a bag full of bones: Next morning, his wife went out to the shed, and saw that the diamond was for all the world as wisht a looking creature as Facey—nothing but a bag of bones, all the flesh gone, and half a rick of wood was gone too, but the fireplace was piled up three feet high with white wood ashes. The farmer determined to watch on the third night; so he hid in a closet which opened out of the parlor, and he left the door just ajar, that he might see what passed. (Ashliman, 2006: 127)

In one of the folktales told in Anatolia tells about a girl who marries with a demon dervish. His house is full of bones and animal corpses and the pray nibbles bones of animals (Şimşek, 1990: 588). Another folktale recorded from Erzurum bases on the same thing: Dervish eats human bones (Seyidođlu, 1975: 188).

According to British archaeologists, if people cut the meat from the bones of their dead enemies, this shows the reason why they eat meat. However, the Caribs people-whose- name is derived from the word 'cannibal', believe that the dead person can't go land of souls without flesh. The reindeer may have been intended also to accompany the dead into the world of the spirits. In Lapp belief, a new reindeer could be created from the bones of the old. (Berber, 1988: 172; 42) As Önay recorded from the folktales of Van in Turkey, cannibals don't have bones, vessels or foots. (Önay, 1995: 294)

In Nebraska, it's believed that the the first man who walks across the threshold of the door above which the lucky part of a wishbone has been placed will be the future husband of the one who

put it there (Welsch, 1967: 268). Another example of folk-medicine based on bone is as the following: Walk in the woods until you find the bone of an animal. Rub the bone carefully over the wart with the side which is next to the ground. Then dig a hole in the ground and bury the bone. When it decays the warts will disappear. Rub the wart with a bone which you find under a tree. You must hunt until you find the bone under a tree, then after rubbing the wart with it, put the bone back in its identical position. Pick up a bone from the ground and rub the warts with it. Then throw the bone backwards as far as you can. Do not look back at bone and your warts will come off. (Welsch, 1967: 348) There's also a practice about tiger bones. As Nobrega and Rosa records, tiger bone was said to have the properties of warding off harmful air, killing evil pathogens, stopping convulsions, and curing carbuncles and ulcerative scrofula. Tiger bone is also most valued treatment for various conditions such as rheumatism. (Nobrega and Rosa, 2013: 9; 190) In Buddhist temples, the hair, feathers and bones of the creatures in bodies that the great teacher inhabited have been preserved as relics. (Logeman, 1917: 58)

As Simpson and Roud reports in England and Scotland from the 19<sup>th</sup> century burning the bones will hurt them. (Simpson and Roud, 2000: 29-30) In *American Indian Myths and Legends* published by Erdoes and Ortiz, in a myth named as "Corn Mother" a woman asks her husband to kill herself and create the known world by covering the world with her blood and flesh. She says "take my bones, gather them up, and bury them in the middle of this clearing. Wait seven moons and then come back, and you will find my lesh there, flesh given out of love, and it will nourish and strengthen you forever and ever. The husband does what she says and after seven months they saw the world covered with tall, green, tasseled plants." (Erdoes and Ortiz, 1984: 13) In the same book there are two more myths/tales based on bone folklore. The first one is *Creation of Animal People* in which the earth is alive but has been changed. The soil is her flesh, the rocks are her bones, the wind is her breath, trees and grass are her hair. She lives spread out and people live on her. When she moves, we have an earthquake. (Erdoes and Ortiz, 1984: 14) The second tale is called

People Brought In a Basket: Kumush, Old Man of the Ancients, went down with his daughter to the underground world of the spirits. It was a beautiful world, reached by one long, steep road. In it were many spirits—as many as all the stars in the sky and all the hairs on all the animals in the world. When night came, the spirits gathered in a great plain to sing and dance. When daylight came, they returned to their

places in the house, lay down, and became dry bones. After six days and six nights in the land of the spirits, Kumush longed for the sun. He decided to return to the upper world and to take some of the spirits with him to people his world. With a big basket in hand, he went through the house of the spirits and chose the bones he wished to take. Some bones he thought would be good for one tribe of people, others for another. When he had filled his basket, Kumush strapped it to his back and together with his daughter started up the steep road to the upper world. Near the top he slipped and stumbled, and the basket fell to the ground. At once the bones became spirits again. (Erdoes and Ortiz, 1984: 109)

In *Archeology and Folklore*, Amy Gazin-Schwartz and C. J. Holtorf gives details about soul and its relation with bones. The souls are usually inactive though they may sometimes haunt a particular location. However, when the bones are disturbed the results can be severe: It is said that the person may suffer from trauma, misfortune, illness or even death. In spite of this prescription, if there is a particularly important reason, any bones in the location being dug may be simply ignored. However, the particular person who disturbs them may feel perturbed later. If they do so, it is held that reburying the remains may redress the grievance. (Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf, 1999: 140-142)

In motif 720 of *The Types of The Folktale* by Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, the tale named as *My Mother Slew Me; My Father Ate Me; The Juniper Tree*” tells about a kid who is killed by his stepmother and eaten by his father unwittingly. A tree grows up from the bones of the child and a bird on the tree tells about the murder. (Aarne and Thompson, 1961: 249-250) Variations of the same folktale can also be seen in folktales of Turkey and Turkish World. But in those folktales there are always two children who escape or just die. The same motif recorded by Aarne and Thompson can be seen in Turkish World epics. Instead of his parents, the child killed by an enemy, turns into a tree or bird and tells about the murder. There’s no cannibalism in motif of Turkish World epics. Thus, the child kills his enemy with the help of another hero. The *Singing Bone* recorded as 780 in *The Types of The Folktale* is another tale based on bones. A girl is murdered by his brother and an shepherd makes a flute from her bones. By playing the flute it tells about the murder. Likewise, the same motif in Turkish folktales can be seen in a different way: Flute is made of plants where the girl is buried. (Taner, 1995: 60; Arslan, 2017: 426)

An Eskimo tale of *The Eagle and Whale Husbands* which is known all from Greenland to Siberia, tells two girls playing with bones of an eagle and a whale. The girls are carried off by those animals and abducted. The girl kidnapped by the whale escapes by herself and the other one is rescued by her brothers. (Garry and El-Shamy, 2005: 383-384)

In Hawaii, there are three terms used for people: Kanaka Maoli (true people), Kanaka Oihi (bone people) or 'Oihi Maoli (true bone). In pre-Christian times, the body is placed in a hut away from the house while in later times, the body is kept in the house facing toward the door. Traditionally, often a relative chooses to remove the organs and flesh from the decaying corpse to preserve the iwi, or bones, which is where the 'uhane, spirit is believed to dwell. Because one, such as a kahuna, or ritual priest, or an enemy, could enslave a purloined bone to do good or evil, the bones are wrapped in a bundle and taken to a secret place where the 'aumakua are believed to live the life of the spirit. (Jonathan and Nadeau, 2011: 922; 946)

Hatfield reports that human skull is used as physical remedy in folk and official medicine all around the world. In Wales (UK) in 19<sup>th</sup> century there's a well-known story about miner's wife who asks a small portion of skull from a local sexton. The skull is powdered and used for epilepsy. In Scotland, man skull was used for female patients and woman skull was used for male one. Hatfield also says that in Scotland drinking from a skull of a suicidal were recommended for epilepsy and insanity. In North America, a piece of human skull was used for the same disease. (Hatfield, 2004: 309) In northern Europe, bone-throwing is one of the ancient customs of hurling gnawed bones. As recorded in Funk & Wagnalls Dictionary, the trick was to catch the bone/bones in mid-air and throw it/them back so that no one was injured. In Scandinavia, the custom was considered as sport, punishment and insult. (Leach, 1949: 155)

In Germany, putting the bones of a dead person together brings him/her to life. Same motif can be seen in German folktales, too. (Naithani, 2014: 49) Similarly, in Altai epics, putting all bones of dead hero together and applying a special medicine (which is taken from a mythical being) brings hero back to life. (Dilek, 2001) In Russian folk beliefs, hallowed bones traditionally are considered as clean and prophylactic to the unclean force. (Ivantis, 1989: 96)

As known there are lots of myths about creation of earth based on bones. In Greek and Rome, oral tradition as Anderson tells, bones, the hardest part of the human body transform into the hardest part of the earth, stones. The story of Deucalion and Pyrrha has the bones of

Mother Earth, stones, cast behind them to repopulate the human race; the bones of Atlas turn to stone, as does the skeleton of Echo. In recent years, it has proved possible as never before to make a link with the progress of modern paleontology. There had been a tendency through most of the twentieth century to regard accounts of giant bones in antiquity as purely fanciful and to judge reports of evidence in terms of mythological stories about dragons, monsters, and the like. However, it is the service of Mayor to emphasize the genuine archaeological dimension to the evidence and indeed to note its part in the generation of monster myths themselves. This can be seen in the Elder Pliny's account of a Triton (Anderson, 2006: 166)

In Alaska, there's a folktale (Faithless Wife) about a man who plays with the bones of the dead so that he may obtain power of a witch and destroy his faithless wife and her lover. It's believed that Kushtaka, one of the most fearful demons of Alaska, was scared of dog bones. So that women of villages worked all day to weave the bones of dogs into a rope to catch Kushtaka. (Pelton and Hacqueline, 1992: 23; 153)

*How the Poor Boy Got the Wife He Wanted* is a folktale of Texas which tells a girl wishing to find one of her brother's bones. She promises to marry the man who finds a bone of her brother. (Boatright-Hudson and Maxwell, 1998: 228) Porteus tells about burial on trees in *The Forest in Folklore and Mythology*. He says that people would place their dead bodies on a tree instead of interring. Thus, parts of the dead could be spread on the world. (Porteous, 2002: 98)

In *The Blacksmith and the Demon* a Pagan tale, an old lady is thrown to furnace fire and she was burnt up until only her bones were left. When the coachman returned with the two buckets of milk, he emptied them into a tub and tossed the bones in too. There was a bubbling, then after a minute or two the lady emerged from the milk alive, young, beautiful and new. (Jennings, 2014: 54-58)

Bones are also used for folk entertainments. In Macedonia, a fowl's skeleton is used for entertainment with a game called Yadis or Remembrance (it's known as Lades in Turkey). It is still called in some parts of England and Ireland, wishing-bone of the fowl is picked out, and two persons take hold of it, each gripping one arm with his little finger and tugging until the fork has snapped. From that moment, the two parties are careful not to accept any object handed by one to the other, without saying Yadis." He who is the first to forget forfeits something agreed upon beforehand. It is a wager, or rather a trial of rival memories. (Abbot, 1903: 98)

For Varner, ancient people believed that they could make the dead people pass through the otherworld by putting their bones into holed stones. This seems like they considered holed stones as portals. (Varner, 2004: 14) In Britain folklore, Blue Ben is the name given to a dragon who once lived in Somerset. He built a stone causeway from the entrance of his lair to the sea so that he could go swimming when he found his cavern too hot. Unfortunately for Blue Ben the Devil caught him one day and from time to time harnessed him to use as a mount for riding through the streets of Hell. The dragon hated this because of the intolerable heat. One day, when he was hurrying along his causeway to cool off he slipped and fell into the mud below and was drowned. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the fossilized bones of an ichthyosaurus were unearthed near Glastonbury, which local people were ready to claim proved the truth of the Blue Ben legend. (Alexander, 2013: 26) In a Native American (Caddo) legends named as *The Twins*, two children find bones of the Medicine-Man's wife but one finger missing. They pile the bones together and cover them with buffalo calfs hide and shot an arrow through her. Thus the woman comes back to life. (Lankford, 1987: 169)

Siikala says that in Finland like in any other countries, hunting rituals are turned into sacrificial ceremonies. In hunting rituals from northern Eurasia to North America which ended by returning the bones of slaughtered animals, were repeated whenever a large or rare game animal was killed. (Siikala, 2002: 25-26) In Brazilian folklore, the God Jurupari's bones are seen as Paxiuba tree (*Socratea exorrhiza*) which came about from a child's ashes. The God forbade women to see the musical instrument made by that tree. Should a woman accidentally happen to see them she is at once poisoned, and whenever the women happen to hear the "Jurupari music" during festivals they at once conceal themselves until the danger is past. (Porteous, 2002: 162)

### **In Turkey And Turkish World**

In Elazig, its believed that the dead is free of cerement in someone's 7<sup>th</sup> day of dead and for this a coach is sacrificed. People came to the dead's house and eat the food. If the dead is foster-child, a few children are invited to house and they drink milk (Kilic, 2012: 57). As Sedat Veyis Örnek tells in *Turkish Folklore*, on 40<sup>th</sup> day of being undersoil halvah, water and a dinner are served to people. Quran and a prayer called "forty prayer" are read. Rituals that are done on 52<sup>nd</sup> day of undersoil are based on the believe that bones and flesh seperate. There's a specific belief on 52<sup>nd</sup> day of undersoil that nasal

bone of the dead falls apart and dead suffers. (Örnek, 2000: 220) For Khazars when someone is about to die, his/her bones know it and his behaviors change. As it's known there are lots of way to determine gender of a baby in Turkish World. Needle and thread practice is used in Azerbaijan, Nakhchivan and Erbil through Nevruz by young girls. In these regions a bone fish which looks like a cross is throwed through back of the bride. If inner part of the bone looks upside, it's believed that the gender of the fetus is female. (Kalafat, 2002: 39)

In epic of Ural Batır, the most known epic of Bashkirs, Ural's body composes the world and his bones turn into gold and silver. (Atnur, 1996). For Uranhaytars, souls of good people go to God's Landing, to the sky and bad ones go to Erlik's Landing to undersoil. There are layers of sky and undersoil. People are classified as black bone, middle one and white bone by Tarbagatays who live in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. Anklebones and ribs are used for fortune-telling by Circassian. Likewise Karachays and Balkars future tellers use scapula of sheep. (Kalafat, 2006a: 101; 307; 397) As Radloff recorded *From Siberia*, there is a well-known fortune-telling among Kazakhs. According to this, the scapula of a sheep is held on fire and fortune-teller looks movements of the bone. In addition to this, place of a lost horse or anything and enough hints to chase a thief is determined by looking the scapula. Scapula used for fortune telling should be cleaned in specific times, flesh of it shouldn't be bit with teeth and cartilages shouldn't be cut with a knife. Finally, giving scapula to a dog brings bad luck. If one will, specific prayers must be done. (Radloff, 1956a: 483)

In Turkmens, there are seven mothers and seven authorities of these mothers. One of the mothers is milk-mother, known as "bone-mother". (Kalafat, 2006:b. 39) It's also known that Turkmens use "snow" meaning of bone. Light-snot and heavy-snot are adjectives which mean friendly and arrogant. (Kalafat, 2007: .332) Pollux, the Greek writer, records that Turkmens (also known as Caspii) played funerary songs on the hollowed-out bones of vultures. (McNamee and Leggit, 1996: 141) As Ciplak reports, same ritual can be seen in Mersin, Kirsehir and Cankiri. (Çıblak, 2002: 3-4).

Baheaddin Ogel mentions about "töz"<sup>3</sup>, a belief in old Turkish people. Töz is named for idols in form of human or different animals. They are made of bone, tree, stone, metals and clay. It's believed that those idols protect the race, family or fireplace. (Ögel, 2014: 32) In wedding celebrations special for men, an entertainment tool from

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<sup>3</sup> Töz can be translated as "root" or "origin".

camel bone is used. Children and people around fear it in Cankiri. (Avar, 2010: 238) In Turkish Shamanism, when the dead is buried, bones of animals used in the meal for honour of dead are burned. Raki (a traditional and alcoholic drink) is sprinkled through fire. It's believed that raki and food will be delivered to the dead with the help of fire. (İnan, 1995: 185-186) As Jean Paul Roux reports from Yakut people (Urunxay Saxa or Sakha) avoid to leave behind the bone of animals killed through the hunting. First parturition is very important for Yakut people. When a child is born, they have a big feast and sacrifice animals. The sacrificed animal's head is cooked without being broken and the bones of the animal are hanged from a tree. (Şener, 2011: 59). Chinese inscriptions about Kitais tell about human and pig skull in tents which were used for magic. (Madiyarova, 2017: 46)

Abdukkadir Inan reports the same ritual for Shamanism. He says that Shamans never throw away a sacrificed animal's bones. They bury, or burn them. (İnan, 1995, 101). Kazan-Tatar Turks believe that a woman's bones displace and recover after forty days. (Çetin, 2008: 312). Buriats believe that there are three lives/spirits inside a human and one of them belongs to bones. (Eliade, 1992: 248). In Anatolia, a tree is planted near the tomb of a newly dead person. It's believed that when the tree blooms, a connection begins between the dead and happiness of the dead's family. Besides, tree of life is root of the universe and it is identified with human bones. Likewise, family tree is important for presenting the connection between human and tree of life. (Ergun, 2004: 100-101; 251).

As its known and practiced in many countries and folk beliefs, a skull (belonging to human or a horse) is thrown to the water to make it rain. (Barlas, 1996: 19). As seen in Mersin, people write prayers on ox, horse, donkey or dog skulls and throw them into water or hang on a leafless bush so that it rains. If it rains too much the bones are taken from water or bush to stop it. Today, this practice is almost forgotten. (Okuşluk Esen, 2015: 342) Same practice can be seen for repelling the evil eye. In Adana, the skull of a horse or ox is hanged on top of the house for evil eye. (Şenesen, 2015: 602) In Balıkesir, an amulet is made of hedgehog tree and hipbone of an animal is hanged in village. (Olgunsoy, 2007: 234) In some regions of Turkey, the reason of drought is human bones outside. To prevent this the bones should be thrown to water. (Doğrusöz, 1994: 40)

It is believed that bones of a man/woman are like heritage which connects him/her to ancestors and other generations in Altai Turks. Like human skull, animal skulls contain a special power. Just

like any other folks in the Middle Asia, Turkmens believe that horse skull has a magical effect. (Roux, 1999: 126-127) In Yozgat, dead's bones ache for some reasons as following:

1. If dead's children do something bad.
2. If dead's relatives do something he/she wouldn't approve.
3. If his/her will isn't applied.
4. If trees in cemetery are cut. (Kabak, 2011: 62;63)

There is a well-known practice in Turkey which is used to make it rain as Akyol reports it for Diyarbakır. A little puppet is made by children and called "çömçe gelin".<sup>4</sup> Before walking around with puppet, children go to a non-Muslim cemetery and take a skull. They throw it into stream. Then they walk around with the puppet and poetize a well-known folk poet. (Akyol, 2013: 63) In Anatolia (Mugla), chewing gum at night is considered as chewing flesh and bone of the dead. (Eřmeli, 2006: 44) In Khidr tradition, all over the Turkey and Turkish world it's believed that Khidr is seen as an old man, beggar or poor dervish. It's impossible to know him unless he introduces himself. But it's believed that there are signs to recognize him. The length of his forefinger and middle finger is the same and one of his finger has no bone. (Dikme, 2018: 95) A similar belief can be said for demonic beliefs of Anatolia. As it's told in legends of Anatolia when demons turn into a human, they have no nasal bone. (Polat, 2019)

One of the practises in Turkey which is Arabian originated is aqıqah. A sacrificial animal for new-born baby is called aqıqah. In Elazığ, bones of animal sacrificed for akıka are never broken. Bones are separated from knuckles. If a bone of sacrificed animal is broken, it's believed that bones of the new-born will also be broken. (Dođan, 2013: 39) Kalmyks consider bones as sacred. For their beliefs, bones of dead are never broken because they make the dead live in the world and make him/her to revive. (Irimbek Kizi, 2011: 69) As Bahaeddin Ogel reports for some of Gokturks had worshiped fire that shows they were Zoroastrian. For Zoroastrians after dying, dead's flesh should be separated from the bones and bones were buried in ossuaries. (Ögel, 1991: 190)

In Malatya March 21 is accepted as the birth of Hazrat Ali and beginning of the spring. It's seen as sacred and important. Bones are thrown to a newly planted field. Thus, it is believed to be fertile. (Gürer, 2008: 101) As Sedat Veyis Örneđ reports in some regions of Turkey where people fear of dead, people leave the new-tomb, break

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<sup>4</sup> Çömçe: Little child; gelin: bride.

the bones of dead to avoid dead's escape. People also place stones all over the tomb, tie the dead tightly, burn the body or leave it for wild animals to eat. In some regions front door is not used to carry dead and the dead is carried from another door which is closed by building a wall around. As it's seen, this ritual bases on return of the dead and fear of it. (Örnek, 1971: 115-116) In Kastamonu, bones of sacrificed animal are buried. It's believed that bones will unite again and help the one to pass over the As-Siraat. (Karabuber, 2017: 137) As Radloff recorded from Siberia when animals are sacrificed their bones are burned and buried after a year. According to a Siberian myth, God created man first, then devil touched his chest. After this, a bone of man fell by expanding. Woman is created from the bone. (Radloff, 1954: 139; 1956a: 368)

In Shamanism, shaman candidate has to resuscitate to be a shaman. When he/she becomes a shaman carries bone depictions in his/her dress. That symbolizes his/her resurrection. (Çoruhlu, 2011, 70) To prevent corps from evil eye, donkey, sheep, cow or dog skulls are hanged from a pole. In Turkestan, Bashkirs and Kazakh-Kirghiz horse skull is used against demons and evil eye. Hanging skull of sacrificed animal is also seen in Gokturks in 8th century. (İnan, 1963: 3138) When shaman prays people around carry Beech branch with meat. The host reserves the best part of the meat for shaman and gives the rest for guests. The meat is eaten hand to hand and guests pay attention not to break the bones. (Radloff, 1956b: 28)

### **Conclusions**

Folklore (with all components) unites people and it can be considered as collective consciousness not just of a nation but also of human race. Similarly, folk beliefs, medical practices, narratives and the meaning of the bone from different perspectives prove that idea. On the other hand, bone-lore is based on prehistorical periods of human. Because as it has been mentioned, there are very similar rituals, practices and narrative from different cultures. Considering similar folklore elements, it can be argued that the process of making sense of bones for human race occurred in the same prehistorical periods. Thus, folklore can be seen as not just one of the oldest sciences of human, but also one of the oldest communication systems that works with not just symbols. For that, the definition of collective consciousness should be expanded with the help of folklore and for this article with the help of bone-lore. Finally the term "bone lore" should be separated from "body-lore" which is already being used in folklore studies. Even though body consists of flesh and bone, in

folklore, body-lore is handled as a physical phenomenon but as it's explained with flesh. Bone is considered as an extraordinary, spiritual and symbolic phenomenon. Thus the term "bone-lore"

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