TRADITIONAL YAKUT WEDDING AND ALGYS

Geleneksel Yakut Düğünü ve Algıs Töreni

Oksana DMITRIEVA*

ABSTRACT

This article considers the traditional Yakut wedding and its blessing ceremony called "algys". There are several stages in the research of Yakut wedding ceremonies and wedding poetry. The collection of Yakut blessing ceremonies – algys – and their first publications dated back to the first half of the XVIII century. The second stage encompasses entirely the Soviet period. The third stage covers Post-Soviet period and proceeds till today. This article analyzes materials and publications on wedding traditions and its blessing ceremony – algys – from XIX century until now. Based on the studied materials the author claims that in old times the traditional Yakut wedding consisted of four stages and of two main celebrations. The first wedding celebration occurred in the house of a bride after partial payment of kalym. The second wedding celebration occurred in the house of a groom after a bride's movement. The relatives from both parties took active part in the preparation of a wedding celebration. Each stage of a wedding celebration was accompanied by several kinds of blessing ceremony – algys – such as: algys for treating the spirit of fire, algys for a bride's departure, algys of a bride's parents, algys for treating the Patroness of Earth, algys at a hitching post, algys for treating the spirit of fire in a new house, algys of matchmakers. In this article the wedding ceremonies, their structure and the functional value of algys are characterized. Blessing ceremony – algys – reflects traditional and mythological views of the Yakut people.

Key Words

Traditional Yakut Wedding, Algys, Asking for the Girl's Hand in Marriage, Soul, Wedding Clothes.

ÖZ

Bu makale, geleneksel Yakut düğünü ve onun *algıs* olarak adlandırılan kutsama töreni ile ilgilidir. Yakut düğün törenlerinin ve bu törende söylenen şiirlerin araştırılmasında pek çok safha vardır. Yakut kutsama törenleri *algıs*ların yayımlanma tarihinin ilk etabı 18. yüzyılın ilk yarısına kadar uzanır. İkinci aşama tamamıyla Sovyet dönemini kapsar. Üçüncü aşama ise Sovyet sonrası dönemi kapsamaktadır ki bu dönem günümüzde de devam etmektedir. Bu makalede 19. yüzyıldan şimdiye kadar düğün törenleri ve *algıs*ları ile ilgili yayımlanan eserler analiz edilmiştir. Literatür taramasından alınan bilgelere istinaden eski zamanlarda geleneksel Yakut düğününün dört aşamadan geçtiği ve iki ana kutlamadan ibaret olduğu savunulmaktadır. Onlardan biri, *kalım* (başlık parası) kısmi olarak ödendikten sonra, damadın akrabalarıyla birlikte, gelinin evinde yapılmaktadır. İkinci kutlama ise, gelinin katılmasıyla damadın evinde yapılmaktaydı. Her iki taraftan akrabalar düğün töreninin hazırlığında aktif rol oynamaktadırlar. Düğün töreninin her etabında *algıs*ların bulunduğu tören düzenlenmekteydi. Bunlar: ateş ruhuna (iyesine) yapılan *algıs*, gelini gönderme *algıs*ı, gelinin anne-babası için yapılan *algıs*, yer-su iyelerine yapılan *algıs*lar, atların bağlandığı direğin yanında yapılan *algıs*, yeni evde ocağın ateşini yakarken yapılan *algıs* ve dünürcü *algıs*ıdır. Bu makalede, her etapta görülen törenler karakterize edilmiş, *algıs*ların kompozisyon yapısı ile Yakutların geleneklerinin ve mitolojik görüşlerinin aynası olan *algıs*ların fonksiyonel önemi araştırılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Geleneksel Yakut Düğünü, Algıslar, Kız İsteme, Ruh, Düğün Elbisesi.

* Yakutsk North-Eastern Federal University 677000 Russia, Republic Sakha (Yakutia), Candidate of Philology, Associate Professor, Department of Foreign Languages of technical and natural specialities, Institute of Foreign Philology and Regional Studies, oksanadm2006@mail.ru

The actuality of the research is determined by the necessity of the complex approach to the study of the preservation and reconstruction of material and spiritual culture of the Yakut people, its customs and traditions, rich folk heritage, essential part of which are wedding ceremonies and blessings (*algyses*). The term *algys* in the Yakut folklore, is referred to different kinds of works of ceremonial poetry - wishes, blessings or spells, hymns, votive chants performed when conducting ceremonies. Passed from generation to generation, *algys* preserves the most ancient samples of language, mythological representations and poetic traditions of the people. Reflecting national philosophy, priceless evidence of national mentality, ancestors views on the nature and attempts to influence it by the word, *algyses* plays an important role in the life of the Yakuts.

The first information about the wedding ceremonies of the Yakuts are works of pre-revolutionary researchers Ya. I. Lindenau, R. K. Maak, I. A. Khudyakov, V. M. Ionov, E. K. Pekarskiy, V. L. Seroshevskiy, C. C. Yastremskiy, who described many important aspects of the wedding. In more detail these practices were investigated by Soviet scientists A. E. Kulakowski, G. V. Ksenofontov, A. A. Popov, S. I. Bolo, G. M. Vasiliev, H. I. Konstantinov, A. A. Savvin, the G. U. Ergis, N. A. Alekseev, P. A. Sleptsov. In recent years significant contributions to the study of wedding ceremonies and poetry were contributed by N. E. Petrov, A. S. Fedorov. The materials give an opportunity to describe wedding ceremonies and Yakut *algyses*, starting from the 19th century to the present time.

In ancient times traditional Yakut wedding took place in four stages and consisted of two main holidays. The first holiday (*туһэ барар*) consisted of a groom's relatives trip to the bride after paying part of ransom (*күтүөттүүр* 'to be a son in law') and a festive feast in the house of her parents. The second festival (ypyy) included the relocation of the bride to the groom's house (*кыыс сүктэр*) and festive feast in it. The relatives on both sides took an active part in wedding. At each stage of the wedding were observed obligatory rites with the following *algyses*:

The 1st stage of the wedding – *кэргэн кэпсэтии* 'matchmaking (conspiracy, engagement)'

In many cases, in the traditional wedding the starting point for the matchmaking was the collusion of the parents. The parents of the boy and the girl agreed to marry their children of a certain age. As noted by Ya. I. Lindenau, rich Yakuts usually married their children from the cradle, with the collusion of relativet rates for the bride. The Yakut ransom called suluu. In the materials of Ya. I. Lindenau it was indicated that for ransom Yakuts used cattle. This is also evident from the words of the spell of the bride:

Аммaннаах ас курдук
Like a good food,
Атыыга ананан,
which is sold for a price
Үтүө сүөһү курдук
Like a cattle,
Сыанаҕа быһыллан бардаҕым.
which is bought expensively, I leave.

As is evident from this passage, the bride's parents were sent to the parents of the bride dowry cattle. This was called annie (Lindenau 1983: 32).

S.I. Bolo writes that when the girl reached seven years and the boy reached eight years their parents begin to ask for marriage of their children. The matchmakers (*suorumnyu*) choose a commonly respected and eloquent man who likes to be a future guest. Matchmakers were mainly men, but sometimes in the ceremony participated women (Bolo 1938: 45).

Matchmaking occurred in winter months, when Yakuts had free time. It was not customary to send matchmakers in the second half of summer when everyone was busy by haymaking. Matchmaking would not occur during the ninth lunar month (January) as, according to the legends in these months the famous rich man *Kutuyakh Bay* matched for his son the daughter of the formidable celestial being *Gjulkha Toyon*.

The main matchmaker *(tustaakh tynyr*) had to be reasonable. It was a matter of collusion on the size of the dowry, on the date of payment. As writes G.V. Ksenofontov, Northern Yakuts with the collusion of the bride's parents were supposed to present a special gift of valuable furs (*tumustaakh*) - fur fox, polar fox or wolf. The groom and his father during the collusion may not be present, the negotiations had to keep a special matchmaker. If the parents of the bride agreed to marry their daughter, they took the gift from the matchmaker (Ksenofontov 1992: 321).

The Northern Yakuts rite of hand beating existed until the end of the 19th century. After a successful matchmaking matchmakers received the *tul baayuuta* (lit. 'word binding') - remuneration from the groom such as livestock or money for their works. After this the collusion was over.

Stage II wedding -

Tyhe barar - wedding-feast of Uruu that occurred after paying a dowry to the bride's house, and kytyottyyr (lit. 'to satiate') - visiting the groom, the bride in her home

The main part of the traditional Yakut wedding was a rite *tyhe barar* (lit. 'to arrive for fixing conspiracy about marriage'), which was organized after the payment of the dowry of the bride, seeing her to the residence of the groom and the wedding feast in the house of his parents. The rite *tuhe barar* was made in the house of the parents of the bride.

According to I. A. Khudyakov, groom's wedding side consists of the following family members: a father, who is called main matchmaker (Bastyn tynyr), he goes ahead, riding behind him a groom's friend (kytyet dogoro), then the mother of the groom (tustaakh hodogoi), then other matchmakers (tynyr) the number of mares in dowres, together with these matchmakers rides 'raising meat' with a stock of boiled horse meat, which is called *yner qurum* (lit. 'meal with a bow') (Khudyakov 1969: 161). The bride took part in the festival with her parents and close relatives, mostly wealthy people from the clan of her father.

At the end of the 19th century the

groom often went to the bride alone, or accompanied by his father or one of the matchmakers. He took with him the whole *qurum* (delivery of provisions), gifts *kytyot kehyyte* (lit. 'the gift of the bridegroom'), and *khonohor kehyy* (lit. 'gift for separation of the bed with the bride'). Always took with him entirely welded horse head wrapped by boiled guts filled with blood and fat. Of course, the mandatory use in the wedding ceremonies of a horse's head, symbolizing all of the horse reflects the cult of this animal that existed with the Yakuts.

Detailed descriptions of this stage of the wedding are found in the materials of I. A. Khudyakov, where the author describes the rites performed by the groom's house. As he drove to the home of the bride's train, groom went around the horse standing in front of the house, while with Northern Yakuts around chum (their house) three times that reflects the way of a sun. Hometeam meet the wedding train in the yard, taking the reins in the all-law. The bride's father took the reins of the horse of his future family member and supported the stirrup, when he came down to the earth. The same did the mother of the bride (Khudyakov 1969: 161).

According to I. S. Gurvich, special person accompanying the groom recites the blessing with the words about *urasy*:

Yrgynnekh saga
With the size of about heart fat,
Yryn orduum ichite!
The spirit is the master of my white place!
Djollookh olokhkho olot,
Happy life give us,
Djolu-sorgunu tusculaa!
Happiness-luck send!

As you can see from *algys*, blessing speaker asked the spirit master of the house to receive the bridegroom, to ensure newly-married a happy life. *Urasa* is a conic tent of poles. In *algys* blessing speaker instead of *urasy* says y*ryn ordouou* 'white my home' because the Yakuts covered the *urasa* by birch bark, and therefore it was a solid white construction that served as a summer house.

Sometimes the role of blessing speaker fulfilled the father of the groom, however, in most cases it was respected, eloquent man, to whom was entrusted this honorable duty.

After this they sat down on one knee facing each other sipping slowly *kumys*, three times pushed knees, every time turning around, and thrice asked one another symbolic issues: *En tuokh dien sanaalakhkhun?* 'What do you think?' - *Silgy, ynakh elbetin dien sanaalaakhpyn* 'My point is this, that bred horse and cattle'. So asking each other, they tried to drink a lot of kumys. On representations of the Yakuts, happiness had to come to the one who would drink more. This ceremony was called *tyhekhter kerustekhtere* (lit. 'knees met') (Gurvich 1948: 124).

The main part of this stage of the wedding - bountiful feast of future relatives, the characteristic feature of the Yakut wedding feast was the abundance of dairy products ('yellow-white bountiful buffet'), which meant rich, happy life of the youngs in the future.

Specific spells and good wishes, performed at carrying out of the cer-

emony *tyhe barar*, was the spell, pronounced by the bridegroom when treating them the spirit master of the fire in the house of the bride. The groom first, was down on his right knee on the right side of the fireplace and was treated to the fire, throwing pieces of meat and fat. In this time, father and mother of the bride stood on the left side of the fireplace. After that, the bride went out into the yard, dressed in a festive dress and went into the tent with all. Then uttered such *algys*:

Aar holumtan ichite,
the Spirit is the master of sacred hearth,
Nohsol toyon ehem!
Nohsol toyon!
Djuuyalah butukkar,
In the grace of his groin,
Djollookh khonnokhkhor horgot!
In happy his bosom, hide!
Tymnyy tuunnagy
Those with cold breath
Khatan kharagyn uotunan
Flames of fire eyes
tagurja dialkyt!
Push out!
Itii tuunnaakhkhun
Those with hot breath,
Ihirge okhsun!
Take in itself!

Groom's *algys* differs that to traditional curse of fire is added the request to take under his protection: *Djuyalah buttukkar, djollookh khonnokhkhor horgot* 'In the grace of his groin, happy in his bosom hide'. This rite with chanting *algys* symbolizes adjusting the groom to the family hearth and the worship of the ancestors of the house of the bride (Dmitrieva 2014: 235).

After the feast and the ritual *tyhə barar,* the bride and groom spent their wedding night. Since then the groom received the right to attend future wife in her house until full payment of dowry.

At the first night newly-married put a marriage gift under the pillow - boiled liver and heart (khonogor kegy). Sometimes as a gift, at the head of the young was put a cup with melted butter and pancakes. The newlyweds necessarily had to eat or at least to taste prepared for them presents. This food, in the opinion of the Yakuts, had magic value and had to call in young affection for each other – *syrekhterin-buardaryn* (lit. 'unite hearts and livers'). According to the beliefs of the ancient Turks, the liver is the main organ in humans. The heart symbolizes the mother, and liver - father.

The first wedding feast usually lasted three or four days, last night was called *bihirem honuk* 'a soiree'. It was attended by only immediate family members and invited guests, then the groom and his relatives went home. While all those leaving, sitting on horses, stood opposite the door the bridegroom. Gave them the cup of *kumys*, part of *kumys* they were drinking, a little was poured on their horses, and gave them the remaining, then three times went around the horse standing in front of the house and quickly left.

After *tyhə barar* the groom had the right of each party to visit the bride for three or four days, according to the custom kutuettuur (lit. 'to satiate'), which was carried out till full dowry payments.

Stage III of wedding -

***Uruu* - the second wedding celebration, which included *kuus sykter* - transfer of the bride to the groom's house and festive feast in it**

After full payment of dowry, the groom came for the bride and took her. On the appointed day in the house of the bride was arranged a small celebration (*barar malaahyn*).

This festival was attended by only close family members and some guests. At this stage, as noted by S. I. Bolo, Yakuts made a number of obligatory traditional ceremonies: *neryon kersuhyy* (lit. 'the meeting of the relatives'), *hatta uopsuuta* (lit. 'eating mare fat'), *djol (khara) bulgaguta* (lit. 'contention for happiness'), *kily kurbaan selliah ayagunan kumys ygyyta (buyan bulgaguuta)* (a ritual drink of kumys with a mane of a horse), uot *ottuu (hatat Sagardakh)* (the rite of striking fire) (Bolo 1938: 197).

Before fireplace was put a white horse-skin with a black rim (*kharallah aas tallah*), on which stood the bride, and she was dressed in fancy clothes. Wedding clothes of a rich Yakutian bride in the 19th century consisted of fur or cloth caps (*chopchurdaakh djabeka bergehe*), lavishly decorated winter coat (booktaakh son) or summer dressy jacket (*kityylaakh son*), shirts (*haladay*), sleeveless jackets (*kehiechik)* of satin, velvet pants, winter fur shoes (*tus eterbes*) or summer leather (*saaru*), fur or leather gaiters (*ytylyk*) and breastpiece of squirrel tails (*mooitoruk*). The costume jewelry was made up of a silver or silk belt (*cur*), a silver bracelet (*berhyokh*), silver, or gold earrings (*utarga*), cervical necklace (*mooy simege*), complete (*suguokh kyystete*) and headgears (*bastuna*) with silver chains, ending with the round silver metal plate (*kyn*). To the back of the neck (*kildgy*) was attached a back adornment (*kelin kebikher*), to the front - breast decoration (*ylygn kebkher*). Sometimes decoration *kelin kebikher* hung to *bastyna*. This suggests that the decoration once was intended to cover the hair of the bride, but with partial loss of this custom began to bind to the *hryvnia* (metal hoop around his neck).

A special part of the wedding dress of the bride was the so-called *kuabaka simege* - decoration women's pants-short hip pants, consisting of several copper chains and necklaces hung them rattles, reaching to the knees. The bride, for the first time crossing the threshold of the house of the groom had to ring the bells of hip pants, testified moral purity and virginity.

In the late 19th - early 20th centuries many parts of the costume of a Yakut bride was made of imported materials: silk, satin, linen, cotton and etc. Wealthy Yakuts tried to dress their daughters richly. In the old days, the bride even in summer dressed in fur clothes. In the garment of the bride imperceptibly left one stitch not stitched in order not to deprive her of happiness in marriage. When the bride finished dressing, she was given a cup of *kumys* and she, treating the fire, pronounced a blessing *algys*:

Kyys Buolan
being born a girl
Atyn omuk analygar
For the happiness of other people -
Tereebyt kuhalgam,
this is my grief,
Djahtar buolan
being born a woman
Tuspa omuk telketuger
for the fate of another nation
Tereebyt aldjarhayum.
This is my scourge.

The above passage from *algys* clearly reflected the fate of the Yakut woman should she marry a man of another kind.

Yakuts in the past believed that prosperous life of man and his family greatly depended on the good-spirits-owners of the house, the home, yard, sheds, etc. So the bride necessarily sought the blessing on the marriage of these spiritual masters, thanking them for their protection and requested to continue to patronize her.

That she must follow certain rules in the groom's house, in *algys* bride reads as follows:

Hanas dieki khomunan,
Sitting on the left side of the house,
Una dieki kerbet
Not daring to look on the right side of the house,
Tollugas kharakhtaakh,
with timid eyes,
Kihini kytta kepseppet,
Not talking to the people,
Kistelen tyllaah,
With an inaudible voice,
Muakaska songuyan,
all Sorts of jokes
Kylbet mohuoktaakh,
not rejoicing,
Kiyiit buolan,
Should be
Kilbigiya kemchieriye
shy bride
Suldjuakh beyekkem turdaga.
from now on, I.

The behavior of the bride, in the house of the groom's parents differed by shyness and humility. For her there were certain restrictions and bans. For example, *algys* says that she should take place only on the left side of the Yurt, should not look into the eyes of my father-in-law. She had to sit in a room girl (*khappakhchy*), she couldn't be seen by people, talk to them, or laugh and enjoy. Also found valuable information that the girl during the first three years of marriage had to hide her face with fur that she could only remove before her husband.

The bride was escorted by parents (*tustaakh tyknyr, tustaakh hodogoi*), close relatives (*tustaakhtar*), invited (*ugnuryylaakhtar*) and uninvited guests (*sahynjan*), who also spoke *algys*, with the desire to be the mistress of the different livestock species, to have many children, to live well and be friendly:

Almost all researchers noted the rite called *siel baayar* (lit. 'the suspension of horsehair') - treats of the spirit-Housewives areas that occurred at the entrance to the land of the groom with the obligatory *algys* bride:

Aan doydum ichita
Spirit-the owner of my homeland
Aan Alakhchyn khotun,
the Aan Alakhchyn Madam,
Betteh keren micheerdee!
Smile, turning your face to me!

Ehigi aakkutygar omuk siritten
Holding *choroon*,
Aragas aruulaakh kyoyuu kymyhynan
Filled with strong kumys,
Flavored yellow oil
Ayakh tutan turan aattahan erebin:
You begin to beg!
Omuk siritten
Thinking that from a strange land
Ychchat ogo kelle diennit,
This little child has arrived,
Oruhuya kerymen!
Do not be angry!

The bride asked Ghost-mistress areas graciously take his new resident, not to offend her, considering as an alien, and to take under its protection. For this rite it binds beams horsehair to the tree, drops to one knee, says *algys* and sprinkles tree Mare's milk, flavored with oil (*Aragas aryylaakh keryu kymyhynan).*

With the arrival of the bride to the groom's house was set on the North side of the house bride's horse standing (*kiyiit sergete*), to which was tied only horse on which she came. The spirit master of horse standing Yakuts called *haan tyhymer toyon* 'the Reverend Tyhymer Mr.'. It could be useful or could cause disease. The bride asked the spirit master to protect the horse standing, put on her happiness, from evil spirits. About honoring the spirit master of tethering post it shows that one part of the dowry of the bride was called *serge belege* 'gift of horse standing'. The so-called horse, which was tied to tethering post. From all this it follows that the horse standing is a symbol of fertility, happiness and family wellbeing.

Last rites in the house of the parents of the bride and especially in their native *alaas* groom were a demonstration of power and wealth childbirth, connected by ties of kinship. Most clearly manifested in the late 19th century, in rites, perpetrated upon arrival of the wedding train at the residence of the groom. Once on the horizon appeared the wedding train, to him from the house of the groom rushed rider. As it approached, he turned and raced back. People accompanying the bride riding on the best horse, started pursuit of him. If outpaced by the owners, it was believed that the happiness of the future family was secured by them, and if it, was on the contrary, they were the relatives of the bride. This ceremony was called *kyon kersyhyy* (lit. 'duel').

Only after these rituals relatives took the reins, the horse came. Reins of the horse of the bride took two innocent girls – *tehiin tutaachchylar* 'receiving the reins'for which he received a gift from the bride - rings or coins that were hung on both sides of the bridle. Bride in their company went thrice around the tethering post in the sun. From the foundation of horse standing to the door of the yurta the road was covered with green grass, which is a symbol of happiness and prosperity to the Yakuts.

According to legends, the bride was brought with a covered face. According to I. I. Lindenau, the bride's face was closed with fur of sable. This veil is called *annah* (Lindenau 1983: 32). S. I. Bolo notes that the face is covered by a skin of a wolf, and within three years the bride must not show his face to the parents of the husband

(Bolo 1938: 197). Most rich bride was covered her face with sables, poor - flap mare's skins. It was magical protection the bride from evil spirits. The bride in a Yurt was introduced an elderly and respectable woman called *iye buolachi* 'named mother' or *syetechi* 'leading on about' that came with it. As soon as the bride enters the house, named mother, turning to her, says *algys,* wanting to be a good hostess, always to cook, keep the fire in the hearth, to accept and treat arriving guests, i.e. to be hospitable and generous:

Component of the wedding rituals was a ritual entertainment with the bride spirit-the master of the hearth in the house of the groom's parents. Entering the house, the bride performs the rite of *uot ottor* 'tmake a fire'. By the description of V. L. Seroshevsky, this ritual was carried out thus: "In ancient times, when the bride was introduced to the groom's house, she passed the fireplace, before sitting behind a curtain, stood at the fire on her knees, threw into the fire three pieces of meat, put three splinters and blew several times, so they broke". Bride "treated" spirit-the master of fire, had a blessing and favor with the spiritual masters. Yakuts believed that spirits-protectors for areas, houses, barns were hostile to strangers. Once the bride had finished feeding the fire, fathers, young, and a cry of *Uruj*! 'Help!' were drinking *kumys*. The same was repeated by the guests crowd in the courtyard. In the old days it was attended by the shaman who was blessing the bride:

Tereter ogogut
Let you born a child
Ys hos bihiktennin!
The cradle has three layers!
Iiter syohygyt
Let you bred cattle
Ikki hos keryolennin!
In double fences contains!
Ys hara baraan kykykkytyn
Your three dark shadows
Kyn yotyn
From the sun
Kyoye khaampatunnar!
Let not penalized!

This is a figurative expression *Ys hos hos bihiktennin* 'the cradle of three layers', meaning "strong, happy cradle". The phrase *Ys hara baraan kylykkytyn* 'Your three dark shadows' is associated with the fact that, according to the traditional beliefs of the Yakuts, the light of the divine and healthy people with a happy fate had three shadows, which could see clairvoyant shaman, ordinary people could only see one of them. Perhaps this belief was linked with a mythological view of the existence in the universe of the three suns or the fact that the number " three" was given a magical sense.

Bed of the newly-married spread the venerable head (*oron onoroochchu*), for which she was given a cup of oil and cake brought wrapped in a blanket by the bride. The gift was called *suorgan suuta* 'gift of blanket'. During this time the bride sat behind a curtain, being nobody shown. In the old days, while friends and relatives did not go home, the bride slept with the named mother, who accompanied her everywhere.

Approximately in the first half of the 19th century, on the day after the arrival of the bride to the groom's

house was performed the rite of welcome father-in-law. For this bride was led in the house where she was down on his right knee on the left side of the fire-place and the "feed" the fire. Her face was closed. The shaman blessed her. Shaman necessarily wanted her to have a large herd of cattle as for the Yakuts cattle has long been a source of existence and measure of their wealth. In the blessing of the shaman was underlined the hospitality that the Yakuts was a necessary condition for the existence in the country of permafrost, and happiness, addressed the Yakuts as the key to happiness and wealth in family life. To remain childless meant to interrupt their family.

At the end of the wedding, both sides exchanged gifts. Escorts bride's parents, relatives gave presents cattle, fur, meat. This type of gift was called the *atakh sobolono* (lit. 'the ransom for the work of the foot') and was free. Invited guests received gifts from the groom's relatives. All persons from the groom, who received gifts when *tyhe barar* from the family of the bride, in turn, gave them twice as much. The girl gave gifts (*beleh*) to the families and relatives of the groom without benefits. The same gift was received by these who participated in the wedding ceremonies of the shaman and strongmen, arrows, etc.

I.A. Khudyakov, described an interesting custom *sygynneriileekh uruu*, that was applied in ancient times, on very wealthy weddings. Specifically for this, the groom's party was preparing wild, unbroken horses, drove for special hedge. People from the bride had to catch them by hand (Khudyakov 1969: 172).

The holiday *uruu* usually lasted two three days. On the day of departure relatives of the bride in the morning again was hold the ceremony to of drinking kumys, which was attended by the new married. While they held him to the right side of the green grass. This meant that they drank their past happiness before marriage. Apparently, in this case, it meant the end of the premarital period of their life and a new family. When relatives and guests came from the house of the groom, the bride sat on her bed and turned to the wall, sat before their departure. As soon as the girl's relatives were on their way, the rider of the remaining chased them and crossed their path, so that they not took with them all happiness. At this wedding feast in the house of the groom ended.

IV stage - Terkyttyy - temporary return of brideto the parents ' house in some time after uruu

The last stage of the Yakut wedding - ceremony *Terkyttyy* (lit. 'coming home') - was the trip of a bride after some time to the parents and relatives. According to S. I. Bolo, bride could go three years after moving into the house of the groom, often after the birth of the first child (Bolo 1938: 198).

According to P. A. Sleptsov, with a bride took the gifts, and every relative, by whom she stopped (especially those who had received the gift for the wedding), had to make her a return gift of larger size. To the relatives of the bride it was called in with *Terkyttyy* only if they receiving at a wedding gift, and were warned that these gifts y*estabilleekh* 'giving in return'. Relatives who received the gift of y*es-*

tebilleekh suokh 'without benefits', she came with *kehii*, i.e. the relatives didn't need to give her gifts (Sleptsov 1989: 45).

Traditional wedding with the observance of all complex ceremonies was handled only at the first marriage. If a woman married for the second time, the wedding was limited to the performance of rituals combining it with the family of her husband: the worship of the spirit master of hearth and home of her husband (*uot ottor*), worship of the members of the family of her husband in the presence of his parents and older relatives - the rite of welcome of her father and of the worship of icons her husband's house. If a man married a second time wedding cope with the observance of the rites, the components of the ritual at least. Nowadays, the newly married go to the bride's parents immediately after the wedding.

A full range of wedding rites were performed only by rich Yakuts. Less wealthy were limited to a festive dinner, but the execution spells spirit-the master of fire and good wishes to the newlyweds were a compulsory component of any wedding.

Currently, the Yakut wedding is held mainly by the simplified scheme traditional weddings and consists of the meeting of relatives of the bride is going to the wedding, some of the ceremonies connected with fire. This composite structure of wedding *algys* is almost unchanged. Wedding clothes had undergone great changes. It is interesting to note that recently many couples were wearing wedding clothes with traditional folk elements. Also arranged is a feast, were they often treate spirit-the master of fire and say good wishes. Our observations show that the semantics of traditional wedding aspiration are not subjected to special changes: the newlyweds are wished happiness, many children, wealth.

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