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BAŞLARKEN

Çağdaş dünyada bilimin yapıldığı kurumların başında üniversiteler ve üniversitelere bağlı araştırma merkezleri gelmektedir. Bu kurumların bilimsel araştırmalar içinde olması, şüphesiz hem o kurumların üniversiteler arasındaki konumunu belirlemede, hem de eğitim ve öğretim seviyesini göstermede bir ölçü olmaktadır. 1995 yılında Kırgızistan ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti arasında imzalanan anlaşma ile kurulan Kırgızistan-Türkiye Manas Üniversitesi de belirtilen bu hususları kendisine rehber edinmiş bulunmaktadır. Bu bakımdan Manas Üniversitesi, daha kuruluş yıllarında özellikle Türk Uygarlığının araştırılması ve ortaya konulabilmesi için Türk Uygarlığı Araştırma Merkezi'ni kurmuştur. Merkez, kurulduğu ilk yıllarda, I. Uluslar arası Türk Uygarlığı Kongresini düzenlemiş ve bu Kongrenin bildirilerini bir kitap halinde bilim dünyasının istifadesine sunmuştur.

Türk Uygarlığı Araştırma Merkezi, ilk Kongreden edindiği bilgi ve tecrübelerden de yararlanarak 4-6 Ekim 2004 tarihleri arasında II. Uluslar arası Türk Uygarlığı Kongresini düzenlemektedir. Uygarlıkların ve dolayısıyla Türk Uygarlığının dünyada her zaman aktüel bir konu durumunda olması ve bilim adamlarının konuya giderek büyük bir ilgi göstermesi, bu Kongrenin düzenlenmesinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Küreselleşme karşısında uygarlıkların ve tabii olarak Türk Uygarlığının geleceği, şüphesiz düzenlenen bu gibi bilimsel kongreler ve bu kongrelere katılacak uzmanların fikirleriyle daha iyi ortaya konacaktır.

Araştırma Merkezi, bu Kongre ile birlikte Türk Uygarlığı alanında çalışan değerli araştırmacıların yazılarını yayımlamak ve bunları bilim adamlarının istifadesine sunmak için yeni ve önemli bir karar almış bulunmaktadır. Bu karar, *Journal of Turkic Civilization Studies* (Türk Uygarlığı Araştırmaları Dergisi) adlı yeni bir derginin yayımlanmasıdır. Derginin temel amacı, Türk Uygarlığı kavramını dünya bilim literatürüne yerleştirmek ve Uluslararası indekslere giren nitelikli yazıların yer aldığı bir yayın organı olmaktır. Böylece, Merkezimiz II. Uluslararası Türk Uygarlığı Kongresinde sadece uzman bilim adamlarını bir araya getirmekle kalmamış, bilimsel bir dergi de yayımlamaya başlamış bulunmaktadır.

Türk Uygarlığı konusunda uzmanlaşmış olan bilim adamlarına açık olan dergimiz, altı aylık periyotlar halinde yayımlanacaktır. Derginin yazı dili, uzman-

ların tercihlerine göre Türkçe, İngilizce, Kırgızca, Rusça ve diğer bir Batı dilinde olacaktır. Türk Uygarlığı alanında uzmanlaşmış bilim adamlarının görüşlerine her zaman açık olacak olan *Journal of Turkic Civilization Studies*'in bilim hayatına yeni katkılar getireceğini ümit ediyor, katkıda bulunacak değerli meslektaşlarımıza şimdiden şükranlarımızı sunuyoruz.

Prof. Dr. Karıbek MOLDOBAYEV
Rektör

Prof. Dr. Seyfullah ÇEVİK
Rektör Vekili

FOR THE BEGINNING

Universities and institutions which belong to those universities are the most important science centers in the modern world. To make valuable scientific studies determines the scientific level of those universities among the other ones and also indicates the level of teaching and training at them.

Kyrgyzstan-Turkey Manas University established as a result of an agreement between Kyrgyzstan and Turkish Republics in 1995 sees these scales and principles as the most important values. For this aim, Manas University established the Center for Turkish Civilization Studies especially to do scientific research on Turkish civilization and to give them to the scientific world. The center, in the beginning years, arranged the I. International Turkish Congress, and published the presentations presented at the congress so that the world of science could use them.

The Center for Turkic Civilization Studies is arranging the Second International Congress on Turkic Civilization between October 4-6, 2004 and we will use our experience we gained at the first symposium. That the other civilizations and Turkish civilization are always an actual subject in the world has played an important role for the arrangement of this congress. There is no doubt that the future of the other civilizations and the Turkish civilization in the process of globalization will be shown better through these scientific symposiums.

The center has made a new decision to publish the writings of the valuable researchers and to present them to the scientists interested in this field. This decision is that *Journal of Turkic Civilization Studies*, a new journal, will be published. The main aim of the journal is to find a place in the scientific literature of the world, and to be a publication in which qualified writings that could be published in the international indexes will be published. In this way, our center has not only brought the scientific experts together at the Second International Turkic Civilization Congress but also has begun to publish scientific journal.

This journal of ours, which is always open to the service of the specialized scientists, will be published every six months. The language of the journal will be in Turkish, English, Kyrgyz, Russian and the other western languages in

accordance with the preferences of the scientists. We hope that the *Journal of Turkic Civilization Studies*, which is always open to the specialized scientists in the field of Turkish civilization, will contribute a lot to the world of science, and we already thank those who will contribute.

Prof. Dr. Karybek MOLDOBAEV
Rector

Prof. Dr. Seyfullah ÇEVİK
Deputy Rector

ПРЕДИСЛОВИЕ

Как известно, в современном мире основные центры научно-исследовательской работы сосредоточены в университетах. Собственно уровень научно-исследовательской деятельности любого университета и определяет его рейтинг среди других образовательных учреждений. Исходя из этого практически со дня основания в 1995 году, Кыргызско-Турецкий университет «Манас» также начал реализацию ряда крупных научно-исследовательских проектов.

Одним из ключевых направлений деятельности нашего университета является организация и проведение комплексных научных исследований феномена тюркской цивилизации, которому до сих пор не уделялось должного внимания. С этой целью при университете был создан Центр исследования тюркской цивилизации, на базе которого ещё в 2000 году был проведён Первый международный конгресс по проблемам тюркской цивилизации. С публикацией его материалов категория «тюркская цивилизация» начала активно входить в научный обиход.

Центр исследования тюркской цивилизации, опираясь на опыт первого конгресса, 4-6 октября 2004 года проводит Второй международный конгресс по проблемам тюркской цивилизации. Всевозрастающая актуальность проблемы цивилизаций вообще и тюркской цивилизации в частности, а также проявление огромного интереса учёных к данной теме вызвало настоятельную необходимость в подготовке и проведении данного конгресса. Несомненно, основные мысли и суждения, а также концептуальные положения, которые будут вынесены на обсуждение предстоящему конгрессу, будут способствовать конкретизации самого понятия «тюркская цивилизация» и более чёткому определению её места среди других цивилизаций.

Кыргызско-Турецкий университет «Манас» с целью активизации научных исследований по данной проблематике учредил также научый журнал «Исследования тюркской цивилизации», где регулярно будут публиковаться результаты научных изысканий видных учёных в данной области. Журнал будет выходить два раза в год на турецком, английском, кыргызском и

русском языках и приглашает к сотрудничеству учёных, занимающихся проблемами тюркской цивилизации.

Редколлегия надеется, что журнал с честью выполнит поставленные перед ним задачи и внесёт достойный вклад в развитие научно-исследовательской работы в области тюркской цивилизации. Выражаем также искреннюю благодарность всем уважаемым авторам статей, включённых в первый номер нашего журнала.

Ректор
Проф. Карыбек МОЛДОБАЕВ

Первый проректор
Проф. Сейфуллах ЧЕВИК

KÜRESELLEŞME VE TÜRK UYGARLIĞI

Askar AKAYEV
Kırgız Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanı

Tarihin dönüm noktalarında milletler, her zaman ve her yerde "Biz kimiz?", "Soyumuz nedir?","Millî ve uygarlık kimliğimizi korumak için sahip çıkmamız ve arttırmamız gereken değerler nelerdir?" sorularıyla karşı karşıya kalmışlardır.

Bu soruların Orta Asya ve Kafkasya'daki genç Türk Cumhuriyetlerini de ilgilendirdiğini belirtmeme gerek var mıdır, acaba?

Küreselleşme çağında manevî kültürel kimlik meselesi son derece önemli bir sorun haline gelmiştir. Çağdaş tarihsel gerçek, çağın düşünce örneği olarak küreselleşme sürecini ve ona karşı tepki olarak uygarlık kimliği olgusunu ön plana çıkarıyor.

XXI. yüzyılın başındaki sosyal varlığın temel anlamı, en başta bu iki unsurun birbiriyle uyum sağlamalarının yanı sıra çelişmeleri ile belirleniyor.

Bağımsızlığın ilk yıllarında, şüphesiz, her şeyden önce millî değerlere öncelik tanınıyordu. Biz daha çok millî etnik kökenlerimiz üzerinde durmaya ve millî tarihimizin derinlerine indikçe, bağlarımızın bütün Türk Dünyasından kopmaz olduğunu kavramaya başlamıştık.

Bu bakımdan, Manas destanının 1000. yıldönümü ve Kırgız Devletçiliğinin 2200. yıldönümü gibi tarihimizin önemli olaylarına ithaf edilen bilimsel faaliyetlerin önemi büyüktür. Bu faaliyetler çerçevesinde hem vatan tarihi, hem de tüm Türk Dünyası tarihi konusundaki bilgi ufkumuzu büyük ölçüde genişletmemizi sağlayan geniş çaptaki bilimsel araştırma ve forumlar gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Kısaca ifade edecek olursak, millî ruhumuzu ve kültürümüzü besleyen Türk topluluklarının ortak uygarlık bağları, tarihin detaylı incelenmesiyle ortaya çıktı. Küreselleşmenin çağdaş şartlarında millî değerlerimizi ve kendimizi bir millet olarak sadece ortak Türk uygarlığı ışığında koruyabileceğimize gittikçe daha çok inanıyoruz.

Bununla ilgili olarak, ister istemez, A.J. Toynby'nin aşağıdaki sözü akla geliyor: "Her defasında bir şeyi parçalar halinde değil, bir bütün olarak düşünmeli,

öykü bölümlerini toplum hayatının olayları olarak görmeli, aynı koronun, bir araya gelip ahenk oluşturdukları zaman belli anlamlar kazanan, fakat ayrı ayrı notalar haline dönüştüklerinde o anlamlarını kaybeden sesleri olarak kabul etmeliyiz."

Dolayısıyla, ortak tarihsel değerler, Orta Asya'daki Türk Cumhuriyetleri arasındaki entegrasyon süreçlerinin ileride kuvvetlenmesinde manevî bir esas olmalıdırlar. Sözü gelmişken, Batı Avrupa kültürü ve uygarlığının sağlam temeline dayanan Avrupa Birliğini örnek almamız gerektiğini ifade edelim.

Bu nedenle, çağdaş küreselleşme süreçleri çerçevesinde Türk uygarlığı meselelerinin incelenmesi, sadece bilimsel kuramsal bakımdan değil, aynı zamanda Avrasya'daki ortak ekonomik ve kültürel beşerî mekânın oluşumunda büyük önem taşımaktadır.

Bugünlerde, hem Batı, hem de Doğu oryantalistlerinin çeşitli yöndeki araştırmaları sayesinde Çin, Hint, Yunan , Bizans ve Arap Müslüman uygarlıkları ile karşılıklı etkileşim içerisinde olan Türk uygarlığının temel unsurlarının Orta Asya topraklarında ortaya çıktığı ve şekillendiği dönemin genel durumu belirlenmiştir.

Türkoloji alanında tanınmış bilginlerin vardıkları sonuca göre, Türk uygarlığının ilk belirtisi, zaman bakımından Orta Asya'nın tarih sahnesine Türk Kağanlığının çıkmasıyla meydana gelmiştir. Bu Türk Kağanlığı, kuvvetli olduğu dönemlerde doğuda Kore, güneyde Çin, Hindistan ve İran, batıda Bizans ve Doğu Avrupa ile sınır komşuları olmuştur. Orta Asya'daki ortak Türk kültürünün bir sonraki şekillenme ve gelişme evreleri, Uygur ve Kırgız Kağanlıklarının tarihi ile iç içe bağlıdır.

Yukarıda sözünü ettiğimiz eski Türk Devletleri, Türk uygarlığının oluşumu ve şekillenmesine şüphesiz büyük katkıda bulunmuştur. Bu kağanlıkta icat edilen veraset yönetim sistemi, kendi döneminin en etkin askerî yönetim sistemlerinden biriydi. İşte bu yönetim sistemi sayesinde, devletin iç güvenliğinin yanı sıra yeni toprakların plânlı fethedilmesi ve ele geçirilmesi de sağlanırdı.

İşte bu devletin kurulması Türk uygarlığını oluşturan diğer unsurların; runik yazılara dayanan ortak edebî dil, bölgesel yönetim merkezlerinin yanı sıra zanaat ve ticaretin bulunduğu yerleşik tarım ve şehir kültürü, bütün Türklerin ortak manevî kültürünün temelini oluşturan ve aynı zamanda ortak dini olan Tanrıcılığın gelişiminde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Böylece Türk halkları, kendi tarihinin gelişim zirvesinde yeni kuvvetli bir askerî-siyasî teşkilâtın yanı sıra Çin, Hint, İran ve Bizans uygarlıklarının en güzel taraflarını tamamıyla benimseyen yegâne bir uygarlığı meydana getirmişlerdir. Bu özgün uygarlık, sonuçta, doğuda Büyük Okyanustan, batıda Adriyatik Denizine kadar uzanan Avrasya'nın uçsuz bucaksız topraklarını meskûn kılan tüm Türk boyları ve halklarının kültürel kimliğinin başlıca işareti olmuştur.

Doğa ve toplum gelişimi konusunda evrensel tekamülcü bakış açısını benimseyen bir fizik bilgini olarak, her zaman, bütün çağdaş kültür ve uygarlıkların

başlangıç noktalarının ortak genetik kökenlere dayandığını düşünüyorum.

Burada ben, kültürü, uygarlık süreçlerinin temel unsuru ve sosyal-tarihsel gelişimin ruh ve yönünün belirleyicisi olarak anlıyorum. İnsanlığın binlerce yıllık tarihsel tecrübesinin gösterdiği gibi, bu gelişimin yönü, ezelden beri çeşitli çağ, kıta ve halkların diyaloguna ve karşılıklı zenginleşmesine yöneliktir.

Buna, Doğu ile Batı arasındaki ticarî ekonomik işbirliği ufkunu genişleterek ve manevî birlik bağlarını pekiştirerek Avrasya'nın uçsuz bucaksız topraklarında mal, bilgi ve kültürel değerlerin sürekli akınlar halinde hareket ettiği **İpek Yolunun** işlek dönemleri örnek olabilir.

Dikkate değer bir husus ise, Türk uygarlığının, bu iki kültür arasındaki bir köprü olarak tarihî bir görevi üstlenmiş olmasıdır. **Ulu İpek Yolu** adıyla ün kazanan bu köprü, insanlık tarihindeki en önemli dönemlerden biri olmuştur. Bu köprü ortaya çıkana kadar Akdeniz ve Uzak Doğu kültürleri birbirinden ayrı olarak gelişmişlerdir.

Böylece, Türk uygarlığı daha şekillenme devresindeyken, kıtalar arası bu ilişkilerin gelişmesinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Neticede günümüzde, Doğu ile Batı arasındaki güçlü bir bilgi alış verişinin akmakta olduğu iki yönlü yol statüsünü kazanan uygarlıklar diyalogunun sağlam bir temeli atılmıştır.

Bu nedenle, Kırgızistan Cumhuriyeti Yönetimi bağımsızlığını kazandıktan sonra, Birleşmiş Milletler Teşkilâtı ve dünya toplumları tarafından destek verilen **Ulu İpek Yolunu** yeniden canlandırma projesini dış politikasında ele aldı.

Devlet yapısının kurulması ve ekonomik, siyasî, manevî değerlerin belirlenmesi sürecinde biz, her zaman, hem uygarlık öğelerini, hem de insan hakkı, pazar ekonomisi ve demokrasi gibi küresel değerleri esas tutuyorduk.

Üstelik, ben, bir devlet başkanı ve esaslı araştırmalar alanında bir bilgin olarak tecrübelerim esasında, insanlık gelişimindeki anayolun, çeşitli kültür ve uygarlık başarıları temelinde insanlık şuurunun tüm yeni entelektüel imkânlarının benimsenmesi ve gerçekleşmesinden ibaret olduğuna inanıyorum.

İnsanlık gelişiminin aslına ve amacına yönelik böyle bir yaklaşım, kesinlikle, son zamanlarda geniş ölçüde yaygınlaşan "Uygarlıkların Çatışması" anlayışı ve "Tarihin Sonu" ideolojisini tamamen reddediyor. Tam tersine, bu yaklaşım, her şeyden önce, insanlığın ortak uygarlık değerlerini tamamlamak ve sağlamlaştırmak için, her uygarlıkta bulunan çeşitli zenginliklerin keşfedilmesini sağlıyor.

Uygarlıklar diyalogu fikrinin gelişmesinde, dünya aydın sınıfının rolü şüphesiz büyüktür. Çünkü, bilindiği gibi, bilimsel gerçeğe, ancak birbirine aykırı anlayışların ortaya konduğu geniş bir alandaki verimli bilgi alış verişi aracılığıyla ulaşılabilir. Bu durum ise, çeşitli uygarlık ve kültürler arası karşılıklı anlaşma ve işbirliğini sağlar.

Bunun göze çarpıcı örneği, geçenlerde Isıkköl'de düzenlenen "Avrasya XXI. yüzyılda: Kültürler Diyalogu mu, Uygarlıklar Çatışması mı?" adlı uluslar arası

forumdur. Bu forum sonucunda, "Avrasya'da Uygarlık ve Kültürler Arası Diyalog" Isıkköl Deklarasyonu onaylanmıştır.

Günümüzde Orta Asya ve Kafkasya'da yeni bağımsız Türk Cumhuriyetlerinin ortaya çıkması ile Türk uygarlığı ve kültürünü yeniden canlandırmanın yanı sıra, millî dil, kültür ve ruhaniyeti çağdaş koşullara uygun bir şekilde elden geldiği kadar geliştirmeye imkân tanındı. Orta Asya Türkleri ile Anadolu Türklerinin birbirleriyle ilişki kurmalarını engelleyen yapay bariyerlerin ortadan kalkmasıyla birlikte çağdaş koşullarda, yavaş yavaş, ortak Türk uygarlığının tek bir mekânı oluşmaktadır.

Yukarıda bahsedilenler temelinde, Türk uygarlığının dünya uygarlıkları arasında belirli bir yeri ve rolü olduğunu güvenle söyleyebiliriz. Bu açıdan, "Türk uygarlığının oluşumunun ve gelişiminin önemli kademeleri, çelişkili çağdaş dünyada eski Türk uygarlığının yeri ve rolü" gibi meselelerin masaya yatırılması söz konusudur.

Belirtilen bu hedeflerin gerçekleştirilmesinde, Kırgızistan-Türkiye Manas Üniversitesi'ne bağlı Türk Uygarlığı Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezinin yaptığı çalışma ve faaliyetlerin önemli bir yeri vardır. Adı geçen araştırma merkezi, Türk uygarlığı ve kültürünün meydana gelme, şekillenme ve tarihsel gelişiminin evreleri ile ilgili araştırmalar yaparak ve bu konuda uluslar arası önemli sempozyumlar düzenleyerek, Türk uygarlığı olgusunun nihayet dünya uygarlıkları arasında hak ettiği yeri bulmasını ve uluslar arası bilginler topluluğu tarafından kabul edilmesini başarılı bir şekilde sağlamaktadır.

Manas Üniversitesi Türk Uygarlığı Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezinin çalışma yönleri doğru belirlenmiştir. Merkez, Avrasya ülkelerinin önde gelen araştırma merkezleri ile sıkı bir işbirliği içerisindedir.

Belirtilen amaçların gerçekleştirilmesinde, atılan diğer bir önemli adım da şudur: Bilimsel bir kurum olarak Türk Uygarlığı Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi tarafından hazırlanan **Türk Uygarlığı** adlı yeni derginin yayın hayatına başlaması ve 4-6 Ekim 2004 tarihleri arasında dünyanın 25'ten fazla ülkesinden gelen ilgili alandaki önde gelen uzmanların katılımıyla "Dünya Uygarlıkları Arasında Türk Uygarlığının Yeri ve Rolü" konusunda düzenlenecek olan II. Uluslar arası Türk Uygarlığı Kongresinin yapılmış olmasıdır.

Bu bilimsel forumun alanının genişlemesi ve buna önde gelen şahısların katılması, Türk uygarlığı kavramının gittikçe kendisine engin bir yol açmasını sağlamakta ve uluslar arası aydınlar ortamının bilimsel ilgi alanının kapsamına girmekte olduğunu göstermektedir.

Bu bakımdan bütün dünyanın Türk uygarlığı ve kültürü olgusu hakkında konuşmaya başlayacağı gün uzak değildir. Ben buna yürekten inanıyorum.

GLOBALIZATION AND TURKIC CIVILIZATION

Askar AKAYEV
President of Kyrgyz Republic

On the turning point of the history before the nations always and everywhere certainly were standing questions: Who are we? Where we from and what are are our values, which are necessary to take care, multiply and to keep our national and civilizational identity.

It is necessary to speak about that it is fully refer to the young Turkic speaking Republics of the Central Asia and Caucasus.

In the epoch of globalization the problems of spiritual and cultural identity had got the most particular character. Modern historical reality is so that it is like a paradigm of thinking of the epoch is pushing to the primary position namely the process of globalization and as the reply the phenomenon of the civilizational identity.

The main content of the social existence at the beginning of the XXI century is being displayed first of all in the unity and opposition of these two origins.

Undoubtedly, during the first years of Independence the priority was given first of all to the national values, were mostly thinking about the national and ethnical roots. And more we were deepening into the national history, we were more being persuaded in the indissolubility of our ties with the Turkic world.

The important meaning in this relation had the scientific and practical arrangements devoted to the meaningful dates from our history as Millennium of the epos Manas, 3000 years of the Osh city, also 2200 years of the Kyrgyz statehood.

In the frames of holding these arrangements there were fulfilled scaly scientific researches and forums, which let considerably widening our cognition of national history also the history of the whole Turkic world.

In one word the deepened studying of the history has lightened the united, for all the Turkic peoples have the same civilizational root, which nourishes our national spirit and culture, and the further the more we are being persuaded in keeping our national values and ourselves in the modern conditions of globalization, we can keep only in the bosom of Turkic civilization.

In the connection with this there are unwillingly coming to the mind the following words by A.Toynbi: "… in each case we have to think in the terms of the whole, but not of the part, to see the heads of the story as the event in the life of the society…- to get them as the voices of the united choir, which have the meaning and the sense in the general line of the harmony, but they are loosing them as they become the unit of separately sounding notes".

It seems that exactly these wholly historical values have to serve as the spiritual premise in the further reinforcement of the integration processes between the Turkic speaking states of the Central Asia. By the way, here we have to study on the sample of the European Community, which is being leaned on the firm basis of the Western European civilization and culture.

So in the context of the modern processes of globalization, the studying of the problems of the Turkic civilization has not only scientific and theoretical meaning, but also the important practical meaning for creation of the common economical and humanitarian space in Eurasia.

Nowadays, thanks to the different researches of the orientalists as from the West, so from the East, there was defined the general picture of that epoch, when and how there was formed the main components of the Turkic civilization on the territory of Central Asia in the interaction with Chinese, Indian, Hellenistic, Byzantine and Arabic-Moslem civilization.

By the conclusion of the authoritative scientists in the sphere of turkology, the addition of the roots of the Turkic civilization according the time has coincided with the appearance on the historical arena of Central Asian Turkic Kaghanat, which during its most powerful time had bordered with Korea in the east, with China, India and Iran in the south, with Byzantia and Eastern Europe in the west. Next terms of formation and development of the general Turkic culture in the Central Asia were connected with the history of Uigur and Kyrgyz Kaghanat.

Today it is out of arguing the prominent role of the mentioned ancient Turkic states in the building and formation of the Turkic civilization. The invented in the kaghanat original independently stair cased system of governing had turned out as the most effective administrative and military system of that time, thanks to it there were supplied not only inner safe of the state, but the planned occupation and mastering of the new territories.

The creation of the state gave the powerful push to the competition of the other components of the Turkic civilization-over dialectal common literary language, had based on the runic writing of the developed settled- agrarian and urban culture, where was concentrated the centers of the administrative governing, handicraft and trade, and also the united religion-Tengrianity, on the basis of which was formed the general spiritual culture of all Turks.

So, the Turkic nations on the top of their history had created not only the new

powerful military and political organization, but the unique civilization, which had organically absorbed the best achievements of Chinese, Indian, Iranian and Byzantine civilizations. This original civilization later became the main sign of the cultural identity of all Turkic speaking tribes and nations having populated the vast territory of Eurasia from Pacific Ocean in the east to the Adriatic Sea in the west.

As a scientist-physicist, having held the universal evolutional view onto the development of the nature and society, I always considered and considering, that all the modern culture and civilization have in their starting source the common genetic root.

Moreover I understand the culture as the essential component of the civilizational processes and defining the spirit and the directness of the social and historical development. And the main direction of this development, as it was certified by long historical experience of the mankind from the ancient time was oriented to the dialogue and mutual nourishment of the cultures of different epochs, continents and nations.

As the sample to it is the time of the Great Silk Road, when on the vast territory of Eurasia were going intensive stream of goods, knowledge and cultural values, having widened the horizons of trading, economic co-operation and strengthening the ties of spiritual unity between the East and the West.

It must be noted that the Turkic civilization was given the historical mission-to be the bridge between two cultural poles of the world. Namely this bridge, which was widely known as the Great Silk Road became as one of the turning point in the history of the mankind. Before the appearance of it the Mediterranean and Far Eastern cultures were developing isolated, out of each other.

So, even on the stage of its formation the Turkic civilization gave powerful impulse to the dynamic development of the inter-continental ties. In the result there was put the firm basis for the dialogue of civilizations which taking in the modern epoch the status of the road with doubled movement, where are flowing the most powerful informational stream between the East and the West. That's why, with getting Independence, the Head of the Kyrgyz Republic in its Foreign affairs has immediately taken for its armament the Doctrine of renascence the Great Silk Road, having actively supported by UN and international community.

During the process of creation the national statehood and defining the economic, political and spiritual priority we always going out from the civilizational components and at the same time such global values as democracy, market economy and human rights.

So, proceed from my own experience, as the head of the state and also as the scientist in the sphere of fundamental researches, I am deeply sure in the magisterial way of developing the mankind is in the mastering and realization of all the

new intellectual possibilities of the human mind which are based on the synthesis of the varied cultures and civilization's achievements.

Such approach to the meaning and the goals of the human development, naturally fully deny the widely speaking during the last time the conception of "clash of civilizations" and ideology "the end of the history". Vice versa it considers first of all, the maximum openness of the whole vary of the wealth, which are in each civilization to strengthen and fulfillment the high-watered stream in common to all mankind.

The role of the world's intellectual elite is undeniable in the pushing the idea of dialogue between civilizations, or it is well-known that only on the basis of the fruitful exchange with the ideas in its wide form, where are being sounded even the polar conceptions, the scientific truth is being achieved. It is in its own turn put the way to the mutual understanding and co-operation between the different civilizations and cultures.

The bright sample of this kind discussion was not long ago held the Issyk-Kul International forum "Eurasia in the XXI century: dialogue of the cultures or conflict of the civilizations?". According the result of which was taken the Issyk-Kul declaration "Dialogue between the cultures and civilizations in Eurasia".

Nowadays with the appearance of the new sovereign Turkic speaking states of Central Asia and Caucasus, there is appeared a real chance to revive the Turkic civilization and culture, and also for every kind of development of the national language, culture and spirituality with the demands of the time.

Simultaneously with the disappearing of the artificial barriers, which disturb the intercommunication of the Turkic nations in Central Asia with the Turkish Republic, and step by step is forming the united territory of the general Turkic civilization in the modern conditions.

As it was mentioned, we are with full right to it can say about the role and the place of the Turkic civilization among the civilizations of the world. In this case it is rather urgent to discuss problems of the Turkic civilization origin and the main periods of its development, and the place and role of the ancient Turkic civilization in the modern multi-polar world.

In the realization of the pointed problems a considerable importance has the efforts and activities of the Center of Researches of Turkic civilization at Kyrgyz-Turkish Manas University.

Starting from the researches of the original sources of conception, formation and periods of historical development of the Turkic civilization and culture, having held International symposiums according the mentioned problem this Center purposefully having achieved that the phenomenon of the Turkic civilization at last find its honored place in the line of the world's civilizations and will be recognized by International Scientific Community.

The goals of the Center on Turkic civilization at Manas University are correctly defined - they act in a closed co-operation with the leading research centers of the Eurasian countries.

One more meaningful step in the achievement of the pointed goals is undoubtedly the setting up the journal “Turkic Civilization”, as a scientific body of the Center of Researches on Turkic civilization and formation of the Second International Congress on the theme: “The role and the place of the Turkic civilization among the world civilizations”, which will held in the first decade of October 2004, with participation of the leading scientists on this problem from more than 25 countries of the world.

The increase of number of countries and multiplying of participants at this scientific forum is certifying that the understanding of the Turkic civilization step by step open the way for itself and more and more getting into the circle of the scientific interests of the international intellectual surrounding. And it is not far away day, when the whole world will speak about the phenomenon of the Turkic civilization and its culture. I am deeply sure in it!

ГЛОБАЛИЗАЦИЯ И ТЮРКСКАЯ ЦИВИЛИЗАЦИЯ

Аскар АКАЕВ
Президент Кыргызской Республики

На крутых переломах истории всегда и везде перед народами непременно вставали вопросы: кто мы, откуда мы и каковы те ценности, которые необходимо беречь и умножать, чтобы сохранить свою национальную и цивилизационную идентичность.

Надо ли говорить о том, что это в полной мере относится и к молодым тюркоязычным республикам Центральной Азии и Закавказья.

В эпоху глобализации, проблемы духовно-культурной идентичности приобрели особо обостренный характер. Современная историческая реальность такова, что она в качестве парадигмы мышления эпохи выдвигает на первый план именно процесс глобализации, и, как ответную реакцию на него, феномен цивилизационной идентичности.

Основное содержание социального бытия начала XXI века проявляется, прежде всего, в единстве и в противоречии этих двух начал.

Безусловно, в первые годы независимости приоритет отдавался, прежде всего, национальным ценностям, мы больше задумывались о своих национально-этнических корнях. И, чем больше углублялись в свою национальную историю, тем больше убеждались в неразрывности наших уз со всем тюркским миром.

Большое значение в этом отношении имели научно-практические мероприятия, посвященные таким знаковым датам нашей истории, как 1000-летие эпоса «Манас», 3000-летие г.Ош, а также 2200-летие Кыргызской государственности.

В рамках проведения этих мероприятий осуществлялись масштабные научные исследования и форумы, которые позволили значительно расширить наши познания как отечественной истории, так и истории всего тюркского мира.

Одним словом, углубленное изучение истории высветило единые для

всех тюркских этносов цивилизационные корни, которые питают наш национальный дух и культуру, и, чем дальше, тем больше убеждаемся в том, что сохранить свои национальные ценности, и себя как нацию в современных условиях глобализации, мы сможем лишь в лоне цивилизации тюркской общности.

В этой связи невольно приходят на ум следующие слова А.Дж. Тойнби: «...в каждом случае мы должны мыслить в терминах целого, а не части, видеть главы повести как события жизни общества... - воспринимать их как голоса единого хора, которые имеют значение и смысл в общем строе гармонии, но теряют их, как только становятся набором отдельно звучащих нот».

Думается, именно такие общеисторические ценности должны служить духовной предпосылкой в дальнейшем усилении интеграционных процессов между тюркоязычными государствами Центральной Азии. Кстати, здесь мы должны поучиться на примере Европейского сообщества, которое опирается на прочный фундамент западноевропейской цивилизации и культуры.

Поэтому в контексте современных процессов глобализации, изучение проблематики тюркской цивилизации имеет не только научно-теоретическое, но и важное практическое значение для создания общего экономического и культурно-гуманитарного пространства в Евразии.

В настоящее время, благодаря разноплановым исследованиям ориенталистов как Запада, так и Востока, определена общая картина той эпохи, когда и каким образом формировались основные составляющие тюркской цивилизации на просторах Центральной Азии во взаимодействии с китайской, индийской, эллинистической, византийской и арабо-мусульманской цивилизациями.

По заключению авторитетных ученых в области тюркологии, сложение архетипов тюркской цивилизации по времени совпало с появлением на исторической арене Центральной Азии Тюркского каганата, который в периоды своего наибольшего могущества граничил на Востоке с Кореей, на Юге с Китаем, Индией и Ираном, а на Западе с Византией и Восточной Европой. Дальнейшие этапы становления и развития общетюркской культуры в Центральной Азии связаны с историей Уйгурского и Кыргызского каганатов.

Сегодня неоспорима роль упомянутых древнетюркских государств в становлении и формировании тюркской цивилизации. Изобретенная в каганате оригинальная удельно-лестничная система управления оказалась одной из самых эффективных административно-военных систем своего времени, благодаря которой обеспечивалась не только внутренняя безопасность государства, но и планомерное завоевание и освоение новых территорий.

Именно создание государства дало мощный толчок к созреванию других составляющих тюркской цивилизации - наддиалектного общего литературно-

го языка, основанного на рунической письменности, развитой оседло-земледельческой и городской культуры, где концентрировались центры административного управления, ремесел и торговли, а также единой религии - тенгрианства, на базе которой сформировалась общая духовная культура всех тюрков.

Таким образом, тюркские народы на взлете своей истории создали не только новую мощную военно-политическую организацию, но и уникальную цивилизацию, органически впитавшую в себя лучшие достижения китайской, индийской, иранской и византийской цивилизаций. Эта оригинальная цивилизация впоследствии стала главным признаком культурной идентификации всех тюркоязычных племен и народов, населяющих огромные просторы Евразии от Тихого океана на Востоке до Адриатического моря на Западе.

Как ученый-физик, придерживающийся универсально-эволюционистских воззрений на развитие природы и общества, всегда считал и считаю, что все современные культуры и цивилизации имеют в своих изначальных истоках общие генетические корни.

При этом, я понимаю культуру как сущностное составляющее цивилизационных процессов, определяющее дух и направленность социально-исторического развития. А вектор этого развития, как свидетельствует многовековой исторический опыт человечества, исстари ориентирован на диалог и взаимообогащение культур различных эпох, континентов и наций.

Тому примером - времена Великого Шелкового пути, когда на бескрайних просторах Евразии шли интенсивные потоки товаров, знаний и культурных ценностей, расширяя горизонты торгово-экономического сотрудничества и укрепляя узы духовного единства между Востоком и Западом.

Примечательно, что на долю тюркской цивилизации выпала историческая миссия – быть мостом между этими двумя культурными полюсами мира. Именно этот мост, широко известный под названием Великий Шелковый путь, стал одним из переломных моментов истории человечества. До его появления средиземноморская и дальневосточная культуры развивались изолированно, в отрыве друг от друга.

Тем самым, еще на стадии своего становления тюркская цивилизация дала мощный импульс развитию межконтинентальных связей. В результате был заложен прочный фундамент для диалога цивилизаций, который в современную эпоху приобретает статус дороги с двусторонним движением, где протекают мощные информационные потоки между Востоком и Западом.

Вот почему, с обретением независимости, руководство Кыргызской Республики в своей внешней политике сразу же взяло на вооружение Доктрину возрождения Великого Шелкового пути, активно поддержанной ООН и международной общественностью.

В процессе создания национальной государственности и определения экономических, политических и духовных приоритетов мы всегда исходили из цивилизационных составляющих, и одновременно таких глобальных ценностей, как демократия, рыночная экономика и права человека.

Потому, исходя из своего опыта как главы государства, и как ученый в области фундаментальных исследований, я глубоко убежден в том, что магистральный путь развития человечества заключается именно в освоении и реализации все новых интеллектуальных возможностей человеческого разума на основе синтеза достижений различных культур и цивилизаций.

Такой подход к рассмотрению сути и цели человеческого развития, естественно, начисто отвергает широко муссирующуюся в последнее время концепцию «столкновения цивилизаций» и идеологию «конца истории». Наоборот, он предполагает, прежде всего, максимальное раскрытие всего многообразия богатств, заложенных в каждой из цивилизаций для усиления и пополнения полноводного потока общечеловеческих цивилизационных ценностей

Неоспорима роль мировой интеллектуальной элиты в продвижении идеи диалога цивилизаций, ибо, известно, что только на основе плодотворного обмена мнениями в широком формате, где озвучиваются порой полярные концепции, достигается научная истина. Это в свою очередь прокладывает дорогу взаимопониманию и сотрудничеству между различными цивилизациями и культурами.

Ярким примером подобной дискуссии стал недавно проведенный на Иссык-Куле Международный форум «Евразия в XXI веке: диалог культур или конфликт цивилизаций?», по итогам которого принята Иссыккульская Декларация «Диалог между культурами и цивилизациями в Евразии».

В настоящее время с появлением новых суверенных тюркоязычных государств Центральной Азии и Кавказа возник реальный шанс для возрождения тюркской цивилизации и культуры, а также всемерного развития национального языка, культуры и духовности в соответствии с требованиями времени.

Одновременно с исчезновением искусственных барьеров, мешавших взаимосвязям тюркских народов Центральной Азии с турецким народом Анатолии, постепенно формируется единое пространство общетюркской цивилизации в современных условиях.

В свете сказанного, мы, с полным на это правом, можем говорить о роли и месте тюркской цивилизации среди цивилизаций мира. В этом плане представляется весьма актуальным обсуждение проблем происхождения тюркской цивилизации и основных этапов ее развития, места и роли этой древнейшей тюркской цивилизации в современном многополярном мире.

В осуществлении указанных задач немаловажное значение имеют усилия и деятельность Центра исследований тюркской цивилизации Кыргызско-Турецкого университета «Манас». Начиная с исследований первоначальных истоков зарождения, формирования и этапов исторического развития тюркской цивилизации и культуры, проводя крупные международные симпозиумы по данной проблематике, названный Центр целенаправленно добивается того, чтобы феномен тюркской цивилизации наконец-то нашел свое заслуженное место в ряду мировых цивилизаций и был признан международной научной общественностью.

Ориентиры Центра тюркской цивилизации университета «Манас» определены верно - он действует в тесном сотрудничестве с ведущими исследовательскими центрами евразийских стран.

Еще одним значительным шагом в достижении намеченных целей, бесспорно, является учреждение нового журнала «Тюркская цивилизация», как научного органа Центра исследования тюркской цивилизации, и организация Второго Международного Конгресса на тему: «Роль и место тюркской цивилизации среди цивилизаций мира», который состоится в первой декаде октября 2004г. с участием ведущих специалистов по данной проблематике из более чем 25 стран мира.

Расширение ареала и авторитетное представительство участников этого научного форума свидетельствует о том, что понятие тюркской цивилизации постепенно пробивает себе дорогу и все более проникает в круг научных интересов международной интеллектуальной среды. И недалек тот день, когда о феномене тюркской цивилизации и культуры заговорит весь мир. Я в этом глубоко убежден!

KUTLAMA

Recep Tayyip ERDOĞAN
Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanı

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kurucusu büyük önder Atatürk'ün her vesile ile belirttiği gibi, Türk kültürü ve uygarlığı, dünya uluslarının kültür ve uygarlıkları arasında önemli bir yere sahiptir. Bu durum, Türk uygarlığının tarihinin hem çok eski bir döneme dayanmasından, hem de geniş bir coğrafyaya yayılmasından ileri gelmektedir. Böyle olmakla birlikte Türk kültür ve uygarlığının bugüne kadar yeterince araştırılıp ortaya konulduğunu söylemek çok güçtür. Bu bakımdan Kırgızistan-Türkiye Manas Üniversitesi Türk Uygarlığı Araştırma Merkezinin, *Türk Uygarlığı Araştırmaları Dergisi (Journal of Turkic Civilization Studies)* adı altında bir dergi yayımlamasını büyük bir memnuniyet ve sevinçle karşılamaktayım.

Bu bilimsel dergide şüphesiz pek çok uzman bilim adamının yazıları yer alacaktır. Esasında uygarlıkların temelinde yazı dilinin bulunduğu dikkate alınacak olursa, ulusların varlığının bekası olan uygarlıkların tanınmasında, ortaya konulmasında ve ifade edilmesinde yazı dilinin önemi kendiliğinden meydana çıkar. Bilindiği gibi Türkler, tarihin en eski dönemlerinden itibaren bir yazı diline sahip olmuşlardır. Bu yazı dili, dünya bilim âleminde runik olarak adlandırılan yazılardır. Bugün Türklerin ata yurdu olarak bilinen Merkezî Asya coğrafyasındaki en eski Türk yazıtları, runik yazıyla yazılmış ve varlıklarını günümüze kadar devam ettirmişlerdir. Nitekim Türk uygarlığının temeli olan fikir ve düşünceleri, Orhun abideleri örneğinde olduğu gibi, runik yazıyla yazılmış kitabeler ile taş ve kaya resimlerinde görmek mümkündür. Bu durum Türklerin oldukça eski ve köklü bir uygarlığa sahip olduğunun açık bir delili olmalıdır. Bu yazı türü ve bundan sonra kullandıkları yazı türleri ile Türkler, kendilerine has maddî ve manevî kültür unsurlarını ve uygarlıklarını, dünyanın her köşesine taşıma imkânı bulmuşlardır. Taşınan bu kültür ve uygarlık ile şüphesiz başka kültür ve uygarlıklar üzerinde müessiriyet kaydetmişlerdir. Buna karşılık başka kültür ve uygarlıkları alma düşüncesine de her zaman açık olmuşlardır. Bu durumun tabii bir sonucu olarak

Türkler, diğer dünya ulusları ile karşılıklı olarak kültür ve uygarlık elemanları alışverişinde bulunmuşlardır.

Türk uygarlığının araştırılması, ortaya konulması ve dünya ilim âlemine sunulması, şüphesiz bilim adamlarının zor ve önemli bir görevidir. Bu görevin yerine getirilmesinde, *Türk Uygarlığı Araştırmaları Dergisi (Journal of Turkic Civilization Studies)*'nin önemli bir rol üstleneceğine olan inancım tamdır. Bu duygu ve düşüncelerle adı geçen derginin yayımlanmasını düşünenleri ve bunu fiiliyata geçirenleri can-ı gönülden kutluyor, başarılarının devamını diliyorum.

CONGRATULATIONS

Recep Tayyip ERDOĞAN
Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey

As Atatürk, the great leader, founder of the Republic of Turkey, underlined in every occasion, Turkic culture and civilization has an important place among the other world civilizations. This situation derives from the phenomena that the history of Turkic civilization goes back to very early periods and it is spread to vast geography. In spite of all these facts, it is difficult to claim that the Turkic culture and civilization has been investigated enough. For all these reasons, I welcomed with great pleasure and happiness the event that the *Journal of Turkic Civilization Studies* starts to be published by the Center For Turkic Civilization Studies at the Kyrgyz-Turkish Manas University.

In this scientific journal, undoubtedly, articles of many distinguished scholars from all over the world would take place. Even in the ancient periods the Turks invented an alphabet which is known to the scientific world as runic scripts. On the bases of the runic inscriptions was founded literary language, with the help of which they could reflect their life style and point of view. Literary language is one of the most important components of civilizations. The ancient inscriptions and monuments are scattered over the whole Central Asia, the region which is today known as the motherland of the Turks, and they are written in the runic script, many samples of which till now keep their existences. It is possible to see the thoughts and ideas, which are the bases of the Turkic civilization, as in the example of Orhun and Yenisey monuments, on the stone inscriptions and rock pictures. It is obvious proof that the Turks have quite ancient and advanced civilization. With this kind of scripts and the other types of the scripts and written languages, the Turks had an opportunity to bring the material and spiritual details of culture and civilization which are peculiar to them in each part of the world. Undoubtedly, their culture and civilization had impacts on the other cultures and civilizations. On the other hand, they were always open to the outside influences of other cultures and civilizations. As a natural result of this impact, the Turks had mutual relations in terms of the world cultural and civilizational values.

The mission of the scholars to study, to investigate and to present to the scientific society is surely difficult and important duty of. I had a strong belief that the *Journal of Turkic Civilization Studies* will take an important place in the realization of this mission. I sincerely congratulate the initiators and all those who served in publishing the above-mentioned journal and wish them good luck.

ПОЗДРАВЛЕНИЕ

Режеп Тайип ЕРДОГАН
Премьер-министр Турецкой Республики

Как отметил основатель Турецкой Республики Ататюрк, тюркская культура и цивилизация занимают важное место среди мировых культур и цивилизаций. Это объясняется, во-первых, тем, что корни тюркской цивилизации восходят к глубокой древности и, во-вторых, её широким распространением на все регионы Евразии. Несмотря на это проблемы тюркской цивилизации до сих пор не стали объектом пристального внимания исследователей.

В связи с этим я с глубоким удовлетворением и радостью поддерживаю идею издания журнала «Тюркская цивилизация» - научного органа Центра исследования Тюркской цивилизации Кыргызско-Турецкого университета «Манас». В этом научном журнале, несомненно, будут публиковаться статьи видных учёных и исследователей всего мира.

Как известно, одной из основных составляющих любой цивилизации является наличие литературного языка. В этом отношении, разумеется, трудно переоценить роль древнетюркского наддиалектного литературного языка. Этот язык формировался на основе так называемого «рунического» алфавита. Значительная часть образцов древнетюркской письменности, обнаруженная на родине предков современных тюркоязычных народов Центральной Азии, написанная руническим письмом, сохранилась до наших дней.

Именно в этих памятниках, найденных на берегу реки Орхона, написанных на древнетюркском языке руническим алфавитом, запечатлены основные ценности тюркской цивилизации. Сам факт наличия подобных памятников свидетельствует о том, что корни тюркской цивилизации уходят далеко в глубь истории, и она является одной из развитых мировых цивилизаций. Тюркские народы распространили свойственные им элементы материальной и духовной культуры во все уголки Евразийского континента через руническую письменность, а также через другие системы письма, которые были освоены ими позже. В свою очередь, в результате постоянных контактов с

представителями других культур, тюркоязычные народы восприняли многие элементы других цивилизаций.

Исследование проблем тюркской цивилизации, введение в научный обиход самого понятия «тюркская цивилизация» является наиглавнейшей задачей научного сообщества, которое инициировало создание журнала «Тюркская цивилизация». Я абсолютно уверен, что журнал «Тюркская цивилизация» с честью выполнит возложенную на него миссию. Я искренне приветствую издание журнала, сердечно поздравляю его создателей и желаю творческих успехов в его деятельности.

THE TURKIC CIVILIZATION IN THE CONTEXT OF HISTORY AND GLOBALIZATION

Karybek MOLDOBAYEV *

Genesis of the Turkic Civilization

To be able to comprehend and understand the core of any type of phenomenon, it is necessary to investigate the sources of its origin, and to study when, how and why it has appeared in the historical reality. First of all, it refers to the arch-difficult system, as the phenomenon of civilization, which undoubtedly stays as the highest indicator of the public existence according to its difficulty and many-sidedness of the components and also according to the level of its development. Hence it appears that as the heavily organized public body, the phenomenon of civilization springs from different sources and the roots of this process are deep in its stratum of space and time.

Proceeding from this postulate and leaning on the results of the historical investigations we try to clear up the genesis of the Turkic civilization.

If cast a glance on the history of human being, it can be seen that its creative genius in its development, giving birth to non-transferable values, causes by this one the basis for the creative ascension of the next generations. The peaks of these values are exactly the civilizations, as civilizations are the values being created by mature period of the human development.

A man, as a mind-owner (Homo Sapience), since the time of his birth till nowadays has completed two great revolutions: Agrarian (Neolithic) and Industrial, which brought to the deep changes in the fate of mankind. Now is the time of the third revolution, ever-growing informational one.

The process of agrarian (Neolithic) revolution took historically rather long period of time, which was going on from the 10th until the 3rd centuries B.C. As a result, people passed from getting the means of existence by hunting and gathering

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to the economics of producing. By domestication of the wild plants, they created an agrarian culture. By domesticating the wild animals, they developed livestock breeding. All these achievements naturally brought to the deep qualitative changes in the life of the human society. Labor productivity had grown up. Life conditions had substantially improved the human existence. Achievement of self-sufficiency in producing of vitally necessary products left more leisure time for developing the creative forces of human being and resulted in the appearance of new types of activities. Handicraft developed as an individual branch of labor. The division of the public labor into physical and mental one became the culmination of all these achievements. Transformation of the latter into the specific creative power of the human spirit undoubtedly became as the stardom in the history of human being.

Certainly, all these innovations have naturally introduced the radical changes in the sphere of social and political life of the society.

The appearance of the writing became the crown of all of these developments.

The first hearth of the Neolithic revolution had appeared in those zones of the Earth's surface where were built favorable climatic conditions for rising the agrarian economy, in the result of freeing from the glaciers. These zones were, as it is known, Middle East, Mesopotamia, Egypt and the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea. During the millennia, the creators of those cultural hearths overcoming thorny and at the same time fruitful way of development, were creating values, corresponding to the phenomenal existence of civilization.

The first civilization in the history of mankind is rightly considered the Sumerian civilization, which was situated in the southern part of Mesopotamia, between the Tigris and Ephrata Rivers. According to the historical sources, the name Sumer was given to the Southern Mesopotamia by comers from Central Asia[1]. Having assimilated to the local population, they had created Sumerian civilization on the borderline of the 4th-3rd centuries B.C., the earliest one known in the history.

The values, which the Sumerian society had raised at that time, to the civilization level are:

a) Appearance of cities as the centers of commerce, handicrafts and political power (Archaeological digs and researches showed that there were several city-states functioning in this territory, such as Ur, Uruk, Umma, Lagash, Kish and Mari). They are sufficiently studied in terms of their faiths, how they lived, how was their socio-economic and socio-political structure in these city-states;

b) Appearance of the state system of governing;

c) Emergence of the writing, as the necessary tool of governing;

d) Establishment of the united spiritual culture.

[1] Khronika Chelovechestva. Bolshaya Entsiklopedia, 1961, p. 24.

After the Sumers, Egyptian, Greek, Indian and Chinese civilizationshad appeared on the historical arena.

It is necessary to note that the sources and specific peculiarities of the civilizations in much case are defined by natural conditions of the history, and their emergence and development.

The creators of the first civilizations, as it is known, inhabited exactly in the places of *oykumen,* where the glaciers had stepped earlier, and in the result of which, there was settled temperate warm climate. In addition, the soil was more fertile. This kind of conditions was in the basin of the great rivers, as Tigris and Ephrata, Nile, India and Huang-he. The population of these aerials lived compactly and were settled. They had to pass to the intensive working of the land, because of the limited arable areas and the population growth. This kind of agriculture naturally demanded inventing of new tools of labor, qualitatively new technologies of industry. As time passed, these demands were carried out into the life.

Crucial changes in the material basis of the society at the same time were followed by deep changes in the social and cultural sphere, by complicating their structure.

Particularly, the social structure of the society took the forms of a pyramid. On the top of the pyramid there were the governors, such as the khans and pharaohs. Then there were slaveholders, priests, military governors and officials. After them, agrarians and artisans came; and in the bottom there were slaves: bond men and bondmaids.

In the same way the culture has turned into multileveled structure. If some of them appeared in the deep grounds of people and functioned in the wide surrounding of people's mass, the others, the so-called elite forms of it, had appeared in the highest social levels and they served to the refined tastes of aristocracy. To the latter, first of all belongs the monumental architecture with its majestic and richly decorated khan's palaces, temples, pyramids and mausoleums. It was intended to raise the rulers and other governors, to show them as sacral individuals, noted by the stamp of the divine powers. The same purpose was followed by the other various types of the fine arts (sculpture, panel and fresco) which were included into the ensemble of the monumental buildings.

In the rising cultural development, a special role belongs to the writing. According to Arnold Toynbee, "… society in its life confronts with series of problems, which it solves them by the most acceptable way for himself. Every such problem is a call of history"[2].

There is no doubt that writing also emerged as an answer to the call of the history.

[2] A.G. Toynbee, "Postijenye Istorii", Moscow, 1991, p. 6.

With the strengthening and complicating the tempos of the development in the social and economic life of the society, accordingly the extent of information has grown up which was necessary for their regulation. To keep so much information in the memory of a man became impossible. Therefore, there had appeared a necessity in a specific tool. Indeed, as the answer to this call of the history people invented the writing.

It was demanded as an air, first of all in the sphere of administrative and diplomatic activities.

It is necessary to note that as the nature is so many sided and full of mystery, civilizations inextricably related with it, are so diverse and mysterious. Therein lies a phenomenon of civilization.

Culture and civilization, are the fruits of the human intelligence and will, which were created by his hard working and creative power after the nature's second reality.

In the Paleolithic era, when the Homo Sapience just began to make his shy steps, he was not yet able for individual productive activity. He had to take all necessary things for his existence from the nature, being in constant movement in searches of convenient places for his life and dwelling.

Due to this reason, development of different width of the terrestrial surface occurred in different periods. People have followed closely receding glaciers, developing new sites of the Earth.

That's why civilizations arose in different parts of the world and at different times. As for the natural factor, it made significant influence for the formation of the human mentality.

Cultural values created by human being and mechanisms adapted during the process of developing the surrounding, anyhow, had to display and reflected its features. Otherwise, it would be impossible, not only for the development, but also for the elementary survival of human communities.

Distinctive features and individual characteristics of each civilization in many cases were related to the geographical factor. Therefore the destinies of civilizations are closely connected with the Motherland, generated by them.

Naturally, that's why, in order to clear up the genesis of the Turkic civilization, it is necessary to glance over its cradle Central Asia and Southern Siberia.

The mentioned environment with the severe climate was developed later than the many other parts of *oykumen.* People who came from distant areas in the search of happiness, gradually adapted its natural conditions, and later on these lands became their mother and benefactor. Gradually all these corners of the world began to turn into creative smithies of people.

In this connection, there should be a question: Where do they come from?

Only archeological findings can certify it. When we turn to them, the first steps of the comers are found out in three places[3].

The first place is Central Asia. On this territory favorable conditions began to be built rather early. As a result, Caspian lowland, foothills of Kopet-Dag, basins of Amu-Daria and Syr-Daria have turned into the cultural centers at the very ancient times.

The second place is the East and Southeast Asia, the native lands of pithecanthropus and sinanthropus, which also include Northern India.

The third is Eastern Europe.

All these routes were functioning not only at the Paleolithic era, but they successfully acted in the Neolithic and Bronze eras. As time went on, the one-way directions of the present routes began to have multi-directed character with more branches. In other words, if they went on to come to the Central-Asian and South-Siberian areas, the others on the contrary, would leave the long-standing places in a search of more favorable places and conditions because of the various oppressions. Hence, it had brought to the noticeable revival between the communities' contacts, and promoted an active exchange of skills and experience of labor activity, having made the invention of ones as an achievement of all. In consequence, the tempos of culture's development had increased.

According to the historical sources, in the Neolithic era, the Central Asian tribes had gone through the following stages in their cultural development:

The first stage is the invention of bow and arrow. Appearance of the mentioned arms had effectively multiply the hunting. The second one was the development the grinding of stony tools. It is obvious that the tools made in this way, for example, the sharply grinded light hammers and adzes in terms of their efficiency, were much better than the former roughly grinded cutting and thrusting weapons. The third stage is the invention of ceramics and the beginning of producing subjects of the wide use from it.

Certainly, the next step of great importance in the development of culture was the developing of metal and its processing. This stage entered into the World History under the name of "Bronze Age".

In the second half of the 3rd century B.C. the tribes of South Siberia, Altai and Minusinsk hollow, for the first time started to use metal products. They were produced from gold and bronze.

At first metal was used for embellishment (ear-rings, bracelets) and in producing the everyday things (needles, pin-holes and knives). The technology of that time was not suitable to produce the instruments of labor, because the development of metal was made only by forging.

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[3] Istoriya Sibiri. Leningrad, 1966, Vol. 1, pp. 38-40.

As it is shown in the archeological researches in the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C., the Central Asian and South-Siberian tribes had passed to the foundry technology of producing the bronze. It was principally a new technology which enabled to raise the quality of metalworking on a higher level.

As a result, a possibility of producing the industry tools has appeared. The samples of molded axes found on archeological digs prove it.

Another important achievement of that era was the development of livestock breeding. On the first place in the content of the livestock there was a cow, then there were sheeps and horses.

One more achievement was the appearance of the agricultural branch. At the beginning it had rather primitive character. Agricultural facilities settled on the coasts of the flowing waters and rivers. The land was ploughed with the help of mattock and choppers. The sowing territories were small and harvest was poor. Despite all these conditions, the first branches of the agricultural facilities put the start for the future revolutionary changes in the sphere of industry.

The critical point in the historical development of people of Central Asia and South Siberia belongs to the Scythian epoch. The Scythian epoch, including the 7th-3rd centuries B.C. has generated two great innovations of cultural importance.

First of all from the settled animal husbandry and agricultural way of living, they passed to the nomadic way with livestock breeding. However, nomadic life didn't mean that the agriculture would cease to exist at all. It was going on further. Yet, although it satisfied the material needs of people, agriculture never (both in the past and the future) played the decisive role. The reason was that Central Asian steppes were not suitable for agriculture.

The question here is about the emergence of the fundamentally new type of economy and about its determining role in the structure of economy. Nomadic livestock breeding had skillfully developed the endless steppes of Central Asia and it created an effective economy of that time which brought to the sharp growth of the livestock.

Secondly, the nomadic way of living had quickly increased the dynamics of interethnic contacts, which strengthened the economic and cultural interrelations. There is no doubt that all these processes had served for the thorough development of the nations and tribes inhabiting these severe lands.

Archeological researches, conducted in Central Asia, more concretely in the regions of Tuva and Altai, show brightly that the Scythian culture had gone through two stages in its development. The first stage was in the 7th-6th centuries B.C, and the second stage included the 5th-3rd centuries B.C.

The second stage was the period of flourish and maturity for the Scythian culture. Its classical monuments were found on the territories of Mountainair Altai and Tuva. Since the most valuable samples of the Scythian culture were found in

the Pazyryk Valley of Altai region, they were more known with the name of Pazyryk culture, among the researchers' environment.

The archeological digs, conducted on this territory and in the other places proved that during the Scythian epoch in the content of cattle, the predominating place was given to sheep breeding both for its qualitative relation and for its economic role. In certain degree, there was also a cattle rearing.

Moreover, certainly, the most desired essences for the nomads were the horses. They were thickset and very hardy, aboriginal type and also of high-graded horses of imported origin and they were very well adapted to the severe climate of the stepped vast territories of Central Asia.

The tribes and clans of Pazyryk Valley inhabited rather suitable places for nomadic way of living in portable woolen yurts; at the same time they built carpentered houses as well.

They used two kinds of transport means: first was the working cattle, the second was for the purpose of various carriages (for ceremonial move and transportation of goods).

During the Scythian epoch, the Central Asian tribes made rather meaningful step in the development of industrial branch. The achievements in the sphere of industry are well seen especially in the producing of weapons of armament. The basis of the military arms at that time was composed of bows and arrows, as well as daggers and pole-axes. The edges of arrows and battle-axes were molded from bronze.

The peak of creative searches of the nomads at that epoch was certainly so-called "Scytho-Siberian beast style" in their fine arts. This phenomenon was a really impressive embodiment of the nomads' spiritual existence. In the basis of this phenomenon lies the high level of the spiritual culture of nomads and its great social meaning in the public life. Therefore, all of them were vitally important furnitures of the dwelling, subjects of everyday usage, household utensils, details in their clothes and weapons, and they tried to decorate and gave them the lines of esthetical attraction. In consequence, even the things of rather utilitarian character have finally got the character of genuine art creativity works.

Nevertheless the creative potential and unique art originality of present phenomenon were fully and clearly opened in some special types and genres of art. Among them, the most widely spread type was the carved art shapes of the animals and wild animals, made from bones, horns and wood. Next to them, the sculpture and jewelry art rose also to the right level of development.

In the center of attention of the earlier painters there were first of all the figures of animals, both domestic and wild, due to the constant being in their sight. In the customs and habits, even in describing their aesthetic features, these animals played a special role. For example, such domestic and wild animals were described as the magnificent beautiful mountain rams and goats, noble deers and fine roes,

elegant panthers and lynx, and certainly horses were described as the most beautiful among these animals and so on. In reproducing the figures of animals they have reached the highest point of art and skill.

The most wide spread and beloved motives were showing the violent dynamic of the animals and wild beasts' movement, the picture of the scenes of their bloody fighting with each other in the ruthless struggle for survival. Briefly, the definite and dominant creative thinking was praising the romanticism of the combats and glorifying the pathos of struggle for existence.

No doubt that the beginnings of all these motives lie in the priorities of the social life of nomads, such as close ties with animal world, necessity in constant readiness to war and struggle, and holiness of the heroic ideals.

In reality, the early nomads fought constantly and hold merciless struggles for the new pastures, for the expansion of their supremacy over the neighboring tribes and clan, or vice versa. It wasn't seldom that they had to repulse the retreat to the aggressive invasions of the neighboring tribes and states.

Therefore, heroism and selflessness of man had a special honorable place. On this basis, it is possible to ascertain and claim that the genesis of their heroic epos has its origin just from that time, when the military fame and daring was valued more than anything.

Today the monuments of art, found in the archeological digs, and remained rock pictures (petrogliphs), certainly cannot give us full and exhaustive representation of this art. Nevertheless, they undoubtedly certify how the creations of "Scytho-Siberian beast style" were artistically original and how they had reached the high level of perfection. That's why it has a special place in the world history of art and that's why the works of the mentioned style have been successfully demonstrated in the exhibition halls of the famous world museums.

It really deserves such a great honor, which is called "Scytho-Siberian beast style" and the greatest creative phenomenon.

The material differences of the Central Asian tribes during the Scythian epoch are distinctly followed by the results of archeological digs. These differences actually promoted the strengthening of the social stratification of the society at that time.

On the top of the social ladder there were the leaders of the big intertribal communities. The following places belonged to the elders of the definite clans and tribes.

The lowest stratum was represented by the ordinary nomads, who composed the absolute majority. The social strata had deep differences from each other, also depending on their social and role functions and responsibilities[4].

[4] Istoriya Sibiri, Leningrad: Nauka, 1968, pp. 228-229.

The nomadic economy brought to the sharp increases in the livestock number, which in its turn caused the necessity in the expansion of the pastures. The destiny of the clan and tribal groups fully depended on the having of reliable and rather vast pastures. Because of the suitable pastures there were serious fightings and bloody struggles between competetive sides. Each man was considered as a "soldier", and accordingly they were named with the rank of "*Er*".

The stronger clans, either by violate invasions or by compromise agreements have been organizing big intertribal unions. System of governing of the intertribal unions, as well as the separate clans, according to the definition of the American historian of the 19th century L. Morgan, there was built like the system of "military democracy". This system was headed by three powers: commander, board of leaders and public meeting (*kurultai*).

The role and meaning of the public meeting (*kurultai*) was not less and not worse than the other components of this triumvirate, because all the participants of this *kurultai* at the same time were soldiers. Thus, this was the power, influence and strength of public *kurultai*.

For all these reasons, there are all bases to look at the "military democracy" as a proto-state.

The important period in the further development of Central Asia certainly was the Hun epoch. As it is certified by the historical sources, the economic life of the Hun society was based on the nomadic livestock breeding. In its development they had reached the important results both in quantitative and in qualitative senses. In the content of livestock, the most important place belonged to the horses, because in the condition of extensive forms of stockbreeding the horses were at grass during the whole year. For wintering of the cattle it was necessary to prepare special stocks of forage, but there were not such opportunities. In such conditions, the preference of the horses was in their stableness to the severe climate of the steppes, indefatigability in the long driving and the most important factor was their skills to find grass under the snow and the usage of the scanty pastures. In addition to the horse breeding, they successfully developed the goat and sheep breeding. Within the livestock, yaks, cows and camels also took the leading place. To a certain extent, there was donkey breeding. From the historical sources it is also known that at that time, for the first time there appeared new and pure-blooded types of horses and mules.

The agriculture played insignificant role. It was mostly an occupation of the settled part of the population.

The Huns reached considerable successes in the development of metal industry. Archeological researches show that they were getting copper and iron resources, and on their basis they established the production of various tools of labor and armament.

The progresses in the economy, political and economical interrelations with the neighboring countries stimulated the fundamental changes in the social structure of the society. The material differences between the people and the tendencies of social differentiation among population gradually started to more and more deepened and strengthened. It resulted in the appearance of the crack in the basement of the patriarchal and clan system. **As a result, the embryos of the primitive statehood had grown up from the bosom of the military democracy**.

Another important innovation of the epoch was the introduction of the tax system which was worked out on the basis of registration census, cattle and property accounts. Although the Huns had not their writing, in the necessary cases, especially in the cases of state importance, they turned to the help of the other writings, and more often they had used Chinese writing.

During the last decades of the 3rd century B.C., the union of the Hun tribes, headed by Shanyu Maodun, had conquered the people of Sayan, Altai and Upper Yenisey (including the ancient Kyrgyz) and made their lands their own northern borderlines of the state. After conquering the Yüeh-chih, Eastern Turkistan became the western borderline of the Hun state.

The structure of the Hun society was represented in the following way: there were leading clans and tribes. They consisted of four clans. The supreme governor of the state could be only the heir of the most famous clan among them the representative of the Landi clan.

The clans and tribes according to their importance of their social and political status occupied different steps in the hierarchical ladder of the society. On the lower position there were people of the conquered lands and countries.

In the bottom of the social ladder there were slaves.

The head of the Hun state was called Shanyu. He was the head not only of the state, but also a commander-in-chief of the whole army and the spiritual leader of his people. The power of Shanyu was hereditary.

The second place in the system of the state power belonged to the rulers of the Eastern and Western parts of the Empire. The heads of these two important parts of the state, which were called Left and Right Wings, at the same time, led the military forces of their wings. The mentioned places, as usually, were occupied by the sons of Shanyu, or their close relatives.

Next were *temnik*s (the leaders of 10 000 soldiers). In the empire, their number was exactly 24. The appointing and dismissing of high officials were exclusively in the hands of Shanyui.

In this way, the system of state governing of the Huns proceeded mainly from the interests and needs of the military time and was built in a full coincidence with the needs and purposes of a military character. Therefore, military obligation was

the main destination of each man. Those who denied military service were immediately punished by death penalty.

Formation of the Turkic Civilization

Turning point in the historical development of the nations of Central Asia was undoubtedly the emergence and formation of the Turkic civilization.

Certainly it did not appear accidentally like a bolt from the blue. The roots and the beginning of the formation processes go back to the very ancient times, and their milestones were the above-mentioned epochs of the Scythians and Huns.

Civilization, as it is known, is an embodiment of varied and complicated, but at the same time united on its fundament high cultural community. Arnold Toynbee, one of the well-known classics of the philosophy of history defined the essence and meaning of the unity, which is the core of civilizations and cultures, in the following way: " In each case we have to think in the terms of the whole, but not partially to see the chapters of the story as the events from the society's life, and not as a separate member to follow the fates of its representatives-not separately after each other, but in common stream to get their voices as the voices of a united choir, which has the meaning and idea in the common line of harmony, but they are loosing them immediately they are becoming the member of a separately sounding note"[5].

Indeed, the cultural community, created by the nations of Central Asia, according to its essence refers to such type of cultural community. These nations consisted of different ethnical groups, and each of them had their individual features within their unified cultural community. As they have grown up on the basis of common roots, then naturally these individual communities organized entire harmonically sounding polyphonic chorus.

However, it does not mean that these ethno-cultural sources had served as the ready sources for a civilization from the very beginning. They were raised to this level, first of all, by their civilization values.

Now let's pay our attention to the civilization values, created by Turkic people.

As it was mentioned above, one of the main conditions in building of any civilization is the presence of a developed state system.

At the same time, the real role and place of the states in the formation of civilizations is often different in their depending on the historical conditions in which the mentioned process is going on.

For example, let's take city type of state. As it is known, their classical

[5] A.G. Toynbee "Comprehension of the History", Moscow, 1991, p.26.

samples are Sumerian, Lagash, Ur, Kush, and so on as well as the Greek city-states Athens and Sparta. Each of them governed only one city. Thus, they are known in the history as city-states.

States of this type, according to its genesis and also to the system of governing, are completely different from the types of the states, which were in Central Asia, since their bases and characters of structure were based on the other principles. First of all, city-states were homogeneous. Secondly, their system of governing was not divided into central and local levels of power, but it was headed from the single center.

These circumstances, undoubtedly, made easier their creative activity, which was one of the important components of civilization. Role and place of Central Asian states, the lands of which covered the territories equal not in hundreds, but in thousands of the city-states territories, plus to it they were populated by lots of different tribes, were different from the role and place of the state establishments of the city-state type. In the city-state, the unity of the society was built on the factors of homogeneity. As for the Central Asia, the unity was of a heterogeneous character, which appeared either by agreements or in the result of violent conquests.

Moreover, the latter one had included the nomads, constantly migrating from one place to another. In order to be able to keep them in a single community, it was necessary to have a strong and powerful state.

There is no doubt that only big and powerful state formations could establish strong social unions, composed of various tribes and clans at that time. The Turkic Kaghanate was one of such states in the history of Central Asia.

After subjugation of the various clan and tribal unions, fights for the power and influence in the steppes of Central Asia, the Turkic Kaghanate could create highly organized, powerful army of that time. The Turkic Kaghanate, together with the nomads, had also conquered urbanized, settled and agrarian countries, which were more progressive in terms of the cultural and economical developments, and in this way, it became a great and powerful empire of the early Middle Ages.

At the time of its highest power, the lands of Kaghanate were spread till the endless areas of Manchuria, River Huang-he and till the borders of the Byzantine.

Defining factors of Kaghanate's power were as following:

a) Military forces;

b) Interstate structure adequate to the calls of that time.

The power of its military forces was already mentioned. Now, in characterizing the second factor, first of all it is necessary to evaluate the question, how long the Kaghanate had existed in its historical being. If Turkic Kaghanate could be wellpowered during 200 years despite of the constant inner and outside clashes and fights it says about its coincidence to its inner construction, requirements and demands of that epoch.

According to Lev Gumilev, the specific scaled construction had served as a pivotal construction which tried to keep the separated parts of the empire into one whole and would not let them be broken[6].

The main point of the question is as the following: To keep the subordinated tribes in submission and obedience to the central power, there was only one way. It was the support of the armed forces. For such aims, Kaghan had divided the territory of the empire into several provinces and put a representative from the governing family as a Head of each province. At the same time, these Heads also had the right the military forces on their territorial part.

Another efficient means which became a serious barrier on the way of possible separatist directions was the scaled system, inherited by Khan Power. According to this system, the heir of the throne of the elder brother was younger brother, as for the right to inherit the throne of his own brother's father was given to the elder among the cousin brothers. It was opening the way for coming of the landlords from the provinces to the head of the central power. Such system promoted strengthening of their interests in keeping the unity and integrity of the Kaghanate and it prevented the schismatic tendencies.

It must be noted that all Turkic states (Turkic Kaghanate, Uighur Kaghanate and Kyrgyz Kaghanate), without any exception, were built on a type of the developed states.

It is well-known from the history, that the fundamental components of the developed states are the **society** and **law**. With the emergence of the mentioned components the functioning of mutually tied three-united powers had started as **society-state-law**. The Turkic states belonged exactly to this type of states. The monuments of the ancient Turkic writings are their proofs. In the epigraphic monuments, in honor of Bilge-kaghan, Kul-tegin, Tonyukuk and other well-known state officials of theTurkic, Uighur and Kyrgyz aristocracy, there is a formula of triad: *bodun* (union of tribes), *el* (state) and *töre* (law), which were always in the center of attention of the scholars.

This formula undoubtedly was the marked expression of the highest level in the development of social and state system of that time.

The ancient Turkic states had played important role in multiplying the interethnic cultural communities, and the emergence and formation of the Turkic civilization became the culmination. As L. Bazin, the French turkologist, states, in Central Asia "at the end of the 6th century, from the confederations of the Turkic tribes, uniting nomadic shepherds and soldiers, powerful states were formed with brightly expressed cultural traditions, and all these created good conditions for the development of an original culture"[7].

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[6] Lev N.Gumilev. Drevniye Turki, Moscow, 1999, vol. 1, p. 25.
[7] Cited from Lev Gumilev "Drevniye Turki", Moscow, 1997, vol. 2, p. 317.

According to another famous expert Sergey Kliashtornyi: "Tendency to establish an Empire has been noticed among the Huns, already in the 3rd century A.D. However, the Turkic Kaghanate became the first Eurasian Empire, spread in 576 from Manchuria and Yellow River till Caucasus and Bosporus of Kimmery (Kerchen strait). Thus, exactly in the Turkic Kaghanate for the first time it was noted the prevailed empire traditions above the particular aspiration, which was shown in the material culture, in the forms of social and political organizations, in the ideology, and finally in the lingual situation. On the vast Eurasian space, mainly in the steppe zones that form of culture and vital activity, which we have right to mark, may be with some reservation as the ancient Turkic civilization was built"[8].

Exactly these historical citations prepared the **necessary ground for the emergence of such civilization value as the writing.**

In accordance with the classical theory of history, human being in its development had gone through three main stages, such as the stages of wildness, barbarism and civilization. If the face of culture in barbarian period was defined by producing metal by moulding, the significant feature of the civilization would be the writing.

The last stage is an answer to the call of the time. The nomadic empire of the Turks, as the most powerful state of that time highly needed in such an important tool as writing in conducting the active internal and external policies.

Continuous creative searches have been done to realize this high task. As the historical researches show, different approaches were tested in the solution of the problem. On the beginning stage the writings of the other nations were used. The monument in honor of Taspar-kaghan, whose date of death is marked as 581 is the well-known example. In the monument the Soghdian and Sanskrit writings were used. However, since any writing coincided fully to the features of the Turkic language, they were not able adequately display its all features, that's why the searches in this direction did not cease. Finally, an original and unique writing was worked out on the basis of the Soghdian alphabet, which fully coincided to the phonetic structure of the Turkic language. As a result of many years of creative search, the runic alphabet became enriched by new phonetic signs, lacking in the Soghdian writing. Graphic of writing had got original drawings, different from others. The clan tamgas served as the main sources of the graphic signs of the Turkic alphabet.

On the periodization of the written Turkic monuments, the modern linguistics divides them into three periods: Ancient Turkic period (the 5th-10th centuries), Middle Turkic period (10th-11th centuries) and New Turkic period (15th XV-XX centuries). Certainly we are interested, first of all, in the ancient period of Turkic writing including the process of formation of the Turkic civilization.

[8] S.G. Kliashtornyi "Istoryia Tsentralnoy Azii i Pamyatniki Runicheskogo Pisma", Saint Petesburg, 2003, pp. 490-491.

Single literary language was the great heir left by this epoch and it was undoubtedly common for all Turkic people. As A. V. Radlov defines, on the basis of the ancient Turkic literary language there lie three dialects: early northern dialect (this dialect has reflected to the Orhon-Yenisey monuments), southern dialect (Uighur), and the mixed dialect which consists of the elements of northern as well as the southern dialects. That is, the Language of runic writings is the over-dialectal common Turkic literary language. It has cleaned up as fusion of all wealth and variety of dialects of the ancient Turkic language. The researchers note one important feature of the runic monuments' language: insignificance of foreign influence and touches, and its purity and transparence. According to the researcher's ideas, people had to specially study this language, because it was quite different from the ordinary dialects and speakings[9].

The language of the runic monuments, like the other developed literary languages, has many functional stylistic variants, for example:

a) High noble and ceremonial style (it includes comparatively big Orhon inscriptions in honor of Kul-Tegin, Tonyukuk, Mogilan-Khan, El-Etmesh, Boyla Kutlug-Jargan, Kuli-Chura, Moyun-Chura etc.);

b) Epitaphic style (the samples are not so big texts of the Yenisey inscriptions);

c) Common-colloquial style (samples are the Altai inscriptions).

Additionally, the Ancient Turkic writing monuments are much richer also in terms of genre relation[10]:

a) Historical and biographical inscriptions;

b) Funeral (epitaphic) inscriptions;

c) Edifying-moralizing texts, inscribed on the rocks, stones and common-colloquial things;

d) Texts of the religious and magic character;

e) Inscriptions on juridical themes.

The feature of the important role of the Turkic Runic writings is in its unparalleled wide-spreadness.

The areas of spread of these monuments are: Mongolia, Central Asia, South Siberia, Baikal, Eastern Turkistan, basin of Volga, North Caucasus and Eastern Europe. For the early middle age, this kind of widely spread of geography for writing was a unique event.

Third civilization value, which was generated by the Ancient Turkic epoch is the united spiritual field, into which entered all Turkic nations. Its

[9] I.V. Kormushin "Orhono-Yeniseiskih Nadpisey Yazik", Moscow, World Languages, Turkic languages, 1966, p.93.

[10] E.R. Tenishev "Turkoyazichnih Pismennyh Pamyatnikov Yaziki", Moscow, World languages, Turkic languages, 1966, p.35.

formation was caused by linguistic, religious, ideological and cultural community, which has appeared on the basis of interethnic contacts and interaction. The moving powers of all these processes were state establishments, such as the Turkic, Uighur and Kyrgyz Kaghanates.

According to the data of historical sources, it occurs that the beginning to the ethnogenesis of the Turkic people was put in the 5th century by the coming of Ashina clan to Altai. Into the Turkic genealogical tradition together with Ashina entered also its neighbors, inhabitants in the north of Central Asia and South Siberia as individual clan and tribal unions. We are speaking about Yenisey Kyrgyz, Kypchaks and tribes of Tele group. The core of the Turkic Kaghanate consists of four main groups of these ancient Turkic tribes headed by the clan of Ashina.

As a result of the mentioned political alliance the renaissance and strengthening of the processes had happened between the ethnic interactions and intercommunication, which finally brought to the formation of the common spiritual culture. This spiritual community found its concrete embodiment in Tengrianity (the Tengri faith), common for all Turkic people of that time. World outlook and religious system was in the ideological views, in the ritual customs and traditions, in the mythology, and in the literature and fine arts.

Thus the origin of the name "Turk" means not one or another ethnos, but it is the common title for all the relative people, who organized an united political union[11]. Exactly under this title ("Türk *bodun*", the union of Turkic tribes, or "Türk el", Turkic state) they were widely performed at that time in the ancient Turkic Runic monuments, Chinese, Arabic, Byzantine, Iranian and Tibetan written sources and in the sources written in Sanskrit.

However, the integration processes in the Turkic world were not smooth and flat. They always were subjected to different types of testing. Among them the hard tests on the way of integration processes belonged to the clan and tribal groups in particularism and aspiration to independence.

Exactly as a result of dialectal clashes of these two centro-aspirated and centrifugal tendencies, the community of spiritual culture was born, which was made of harmonically coincidence of different ethnical voices and colors.

The history itself unhesitatingly certifies how this spiritual unit, as one of the most important fundaments of the Turkic civilization, so deeply entered into the essence and soul of the Turkic ethnos. The Turkic empires, which have once included the unity and solidarity of the relative people and tribes, later on were destroyed because of some different reasons. Nations, that founded those empires, they also were divided and gradually went into different parts.

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[11] A.N. Kononov, "Opyt Analiza Turk", cited from L.N. Gumilev, Drevniye Turki, 11, Moscow Institute Di Dick, 1999, pp. 307-315.

Nevertheles, the unity and common language, common aspects of religion and culture were kept. It must be the persuasive certification of how deeply was established the spiritual unity in the cores of the national existence and mentality of each Turkic people.

The fourth civilization value of the ancient Turkic epoch is the emergence of the cities as the centers of trade, handicraft and political power. Certainly, the founders and builders of these Turkic states were actually the nomads. Nonetheless, at the same time, they were not aliened of settled culture of urbanism.

From the historical sources, it is known that even at the time of the Hun Empire there existed small cities, where strategic stocks of bread and food were kept.

Archeological digs, conducted on one of the Hun villages, Ivolga city, which was located in the eastern side of the Baikal lake, showed us the following: the city was surrounded by four defensive ditches, enclosed by the earthen banks, total area of which was 70 ha (172,97 a). The number of the found houses was 80. In the city, the traces of the iron and bronze processing plants were maintained. The most valuable findings were the cast-iron ploughs and forms for moulding them.

It is possible to state that the beginning of the urban culture in Central Asia was built already in the Hun epoch. Then during the ancient Turkic period the role and meaning of the city had just improved. It is also explainable.

Since the Turkic Kaghanate, reaching it apogee of power, turned into a Eurasian period, several countries that had developed urban culture, joined the Empire. It is told mostly about states of Central Asia and Eastern Europe first of all, where were coming back from the history rather solid traditions of urbanization[12]. After the power passed into the hands of the Turkic tribes, they had mixed up with the local population and actively entered into the process of urbanization. The Soghdians also played an important role in developing the agrarian and urban culture by the Turks. With their active help, in the ancient Turkic period, or more concretely in the 6th-8th centuries, tens of cities were built only in the Chui Valley. San Tzan, who passed through the lands of South Turkic Kaghanate in 630, mentioned that:

"Having gone through more than 500 li to the north-west from the Transparent Lake, we came to the city Suyab. This city's in surrounding is about 6-7 li. There live traders from different countries and *hustzi* (Soghdians). The lands are available for cultivating the red millet and grapes. The forests are seldom here, and the climate is windy and cold. People put on woven woolen clothes. Directly in the west from Suyab, there are some other solid cities, and in each of them there is their own elder man. Although they do not depend on each other, all of them are governed by Tu-chüeh.

[12] S.G. Kliashtornyi, T.I. Sultanov. "Kazakhstan. Letopis triekh tysiachaletii", p.60.

…Having gone about 400 li to the west from the Suyab city, we came to the place "Thousands of sources". The place "Thousands of sources" occupies the territory about 200 li, in the south there are Snowy Mountains, and from three sides there are flat steppes. The earth is wet, the forests are thick, and there are various flowers during the springtime, like silk decorations. Here are thousand sources and lakes and the place has the same name. Tu-chüeh Kaghan every year hides here from the summer hot.

…Having gone 140-15 li to the west from the "Thousands of sources" we came to Talas city. The city occupies the territory about 8-9 li, where merchants from different countries and hustzi (Soghdians) live in a mixed way. The earth and climate are the same as in Suyab. In about 10 li into the south from Talas, there is another solid city with population about 300 households. They are from the Middle reign. Sometime ago they were taken captive by Tu-chüeh, but later on they were united under communities and had settled in this city, living in the central farms of this city. When their clothes were wore out, they began to put on clothes of Tu-chüeh, but their language, traditions and laws are the same as in China"[13].

In the ancient Turkic period, as in all other parts of the world, the centers of power, trade and handicraft were in the cities. These circumstances had highly valued the meaning of the cities and stimulated for more active participation of the Turkic people in the creation and development of the culture of urbanism.

* * *

In conclusion, it is possible to state that the process of the genesis of Turkic civilization is covered by two epochs: Scythian (the 7th-3rd centuries B.C.) and the Hun (3rd century B.C.-5th century A.D.) periods. Consequently, the beginning of the Turkic civilization is the historical heir of the mentioned two epochs. Whereas the process of Turkic civilization also went on in the ancient Turkic period. Establishment and its emergence in the historical arena of the Turkic civilization values were exactly going during that epoch.

The subject is the developed state establishments, Turkic Kaghanates, who had an opportunity to unite the ancient Turkic tribes into one powerful political union, which had successfully competed with the great and more powerful neighbors, such as China, Iran and Byzantine. Here the common literary language of the Turks, which entered into the history as Runic *koyne* and its achievements of the highest level of the development are mentioned. The culture of urbanization is investigated here, which had actively developed and successively cultivated by the Turkic tribes. Finally, the united spiritual field is analyzed, created by the Turkic

[13] Materiali po istorii Kyrgyzov i Kyrgyzstana, Kyrgyz-Turkish Manas University, Bishkek, 2003, pp.64-65.

tribes. Here it must be specifically noted that civilization values existed not isolated from each other, but constantly being in mutual interaction and mutual influence. Briefly, they are inseparable parts of the live body, whose name of is the civilization.

In fact, could the Turkic Kaghanate stay united and kept under its own power so many people of the vast Eurasia, keep the affairs as it was necessary, without the writing, the most important communicational meaning of that time? Certainly could not. That's why the power having strengthened its forces and resources, put into the practice this vital necessity.

Could the powerful union of the Turkic tribes so successfully function without centers of trade, handicraft and political power, in other words without the cities? In the same way, the phenomenon of spiritual unity, no doubt was anything else but value, which was born by the interaction of the ancient Turkic tribes. It is obvious that in its own turn this value was helpful for the development and flourish of the other values. The above-mentioned subject fully refers also to the urban culture of the Turkic people.

The Islamic Period in the Development of the Turkic Civilization

With accepting Islam, the Turkic people joined to the culture of *Koyne* of all Muslim people to the Arabic language and vie of it to their culture. As it is known, the area of expansion of the Arabic Language was rather wide, it was spread to the Near and Middle East, Central Asia, Northern India (modern Pakistan) and to the Southwestern Europe. Close interaction of cultures of this vast geography had positive impacts on the development of each of them. Moreover, it is not accidentally, that exactly at that period, more exactly from the 8th century the Muslim culture began the rise. Indeed its peak was in the $10\text{-}12^{th}$ centuries. It was pointed by stormy development of Muslim religious studies (*kalama*) and the aristocratic culture. And the flourish of the Middle aged aristocratic culture here began earlier than in the West. And the most important in the Middle aged aristocratic culture of the Islam world rather had clearly displayed the ideas of freedom and humanism. So, as it was underlined in the heir of Antiquity as Hellenistic, so the eastern. At that epoch in the Muslim world got the stormy development such branches of science as mathematics, medicine, and natural studies. In its turn, it has well influenced to the discipline of world view, philosophy, art, literature and architecture. The important role in the development of free ideology played the conception of "doubled truth", which was based on the right of existence together with the religious studies and rational method of studying the reality. It is not by chance that there was the peak of flourish of science and culture in the Muslim world to this exactly in this period .

The other characteristic feature of that epoch was its close tie with the creative interaction of the East and West. And the impulses were coming from the East, from the Muslim world. Thanks to the trials of the active people of culture of the Muslim world the European again had opened for themselves immortal creations of the antique ideologists as Aristotle, Plato, Hippocrates, Euclid, Ptolemy and others in the translations into Latin. Simultaneously, the Latin translations became their property and also other great achievements in the scientific ideology of the Muslim world of that time. The most popularity had the works of Ibn-Sina and Ibn-Rushta.

Together with the scientific literature from the Muslim world were coming to the West and the works of belles-lettres.

Thus there are all bases to say that this exchange with cultural values became one of the sources of European renaissance.

From the 9th century began the new term in the development of culture in the Islam world-the tem of Renaissance of cultural traditions not Arabic people of Caliphate, which had got two reasons:

The first is the struggle of these people for their political and cultural freedom.

Secondly, it was by weakening of the central power of Caliphate and its destruction.

The process of renaissance of the ethnical cultures had touched even all people of Caliphate. It involved even some definite parts of the Arabic creative people in the opposition to the Shubit ideology (Ideology of independence movement of the conquered by Arabs people), who turned their attention to the antique Arabic literary traditions. The process of renaissance gave to the world such bright events of spiritual culture as great literature of Firdosi and Omar Hayam, and the symbols of the second one, Yusuf Balasagun and Mahmud Kashgari.

The birth of these literatures was noted by itself not only the returning to their own roots, but together with it the most important it was an answer for the Call of the Time. The case is in, that the windows of change were blowing simultaneously to the sails of independence movements and to the sails of the tendencies of spiritual renewal.

Its bright embodiment these tendencies had found, particularly in the creative work of coryphaeus of Renaissance of Turkic civilization.

First of all it is spoken about the monumental poetic works of Yusuf Balasagun “Beneficent knowledge” (Kutadgu bilig). The appearance of which had marked by itself the deep qualitative jump as in the development of Turkic civilization, so in the development of Turkic philosophy and social-political ideology. It was also realized by the author. In the prosaic introduction to the poem he wrote: “The scientists and wise men of machine agree that in the works of eastern properties, in the states of Turkistan nobody left better one than this book,

which was composed on the language of Bograhan and Turkic speech[15]". In it, by the way, are united with the author all the experts, researches of his creation.

But there are appearing some questions according the other confirmation of the author. In the introduction he underlined:

"Yes, the Arabs, and Tadjiks have a lot of kind books,
But in our dialect it is just a beginning" (beit 72).
Analogical idea was expressed in the other abstract of his work:
"Like a mountain deer pastured the Turk words desired
*And made them obedient, and trained them till tired" (6617) **

Is it consequent from here that Yusuf Balasagun's creative work had appeared out of all ties with his followers?

To make such conclusion from the said above was quite incorrect. The deeper meaning of the said, to our mind, was fully in the other thing.

By A.N. Kononov's view, as the well-known expert of Yusuf Balasagun's creative work, all these confirmations are: "certifying that, after adoption of Islam (the end of the 8th - beginning of the 9th centuries) the monuments of Buddhist, Manicheistic, and Christian literature in Turkic languages were forgotten or, being quite correct, were under the strong forbidden. Was it possible to think, that so perfect according the form, and deep according its philosophical content and wide according the size (13290 poetic lines!) composition became the fruit of the first experience, which hadn't the predecessors in the Turkic poetry, and it was based fully on the achievements of foreign-Arabic and Persian poetic traditions"[16].

Actually this masterpiece could appear all of a sudden on the empty place. There are all reasons to persuade, that it could be born only on the national ground.

A powerful impulse was necessary, that by those reasons could appear the seeds of a qualitatively new culture. Such impulse was the stormy growth of the Muslim culture. The existence at that time of such a wide cultural surrounding, favorable for the creative search and pointing by the author: "What governor and what limit would get this book-is told in the introduction of the book- it is the great perfection and unlimited beautiful of its wisdom and wise men of the countries were worshipping it and giving it different titles. The men of China called it "the Arch of Devout", the fellow-champions of the governor from Machina called it "Holder of the states", the Iranian called it Turkic "Book of Sheikhs", and some other "The book of manual for governors", Turanians called it "Beneficial knowledge"[17].

In many cases exactly this spiritual climate of common interest in the creative

[15] Yusuf Balasagun. "Blagodatnoye znanye", Moscow, 1983, p. 5.
[16] Cited from Yusuf Balasagun. "Blagodatnoye znanye", Moscow, 1983, p. 205.
[17] Yusuf Balasagun , "Blagodatnoye znanye", Moscow, 1983, p. 6.

innovations where they would be made, the phenomenon was grown up by Yusuf Balasagun.

However the book according to its outside features refers to the ethical-dialectal genres, but according its deep meaning it was highly belles-lettres display of the human values of changeable meaning. And it can be fully called the real encyclopedia of this bright epoch in the history of Muslim world.

There is no doubt that in his monumental poetic work "Beneficial knowledge", Yusuf Balasagun gave the due to the traditions of the ancestors in the sphere of building state building and also in the sphere of spiritual life. Which was certified his often cites to the folk wisdom, taken from folklore and sayings of the Ötüken beks (antique Turkic Kaghans). Nevertheless his sights were directed, first of all to the present and future. In the poem from the very beginning till the end as a red line was shown the idea of reasonable state, which was built on the principals of justice and social harmony.

Such an ideal state according to the author's ideas could rely only on the science and knowledge:

In the science all is blessing, in cognition it is an importance
For godly servants are given two highest importance

* * *

And thus did we men through our reason grow great,
With knowledge divined many secret of late(150)

* * *

For greatness is given with good common sense.
From knowledge-the basis of great deeds comes hence.

* * *

O you, who desire all the people to lead,
First find the humility which you will need!
O you, who desire a great ruler to be,
*Learn knowledge and science, then you can rule free! (5250) **

* * *

With knowledge, experience, one then must rule,
And act like a wise man, and not like a fool.
With knowledge his people a good Bey must nurse.
If they remain stupid-their fate is a curse.
And if a Bey's errs, and the wise people know,
*His rule will be worse. He must cure himself so.(1965-1970)**

The author is deeply sure, that the reasonable (ideal) state-this is the reign of law:

Oppression's flame which all goodwill consumes!
The law-that is water, which quenches all fumes (2030)

* * *

The land's firm supports, its upholders at length,
Two things, two deep roots, two stays for its strength-
The law of firm justice-the first one of these.
The second-good wages, which all soldiers please. (2130)*

* * *

But force and oppression can never rule long-
The folk will revolt, break the yoke, though it's strong. (2030)

* * *

For the good of the law, and if you have no power,
Then fall on your kness, pray to God for an hour (1450)
Where is law, there is justice and equality. *

* * *

When serving one's master does not bring delight,
However one strives, still nothing goes right.
"If you serve with honor, then honor you'll gain.
If you can't serve so then the doors closed remain.
But if good Bey with your service you please,
The road is wide open to generous ease!" (845) *

The basis of blossom in whole, and in each case of a man- according Yusuf Balasagun-it is education:

For learning means light that will drive our dark night.
Your wise face will shine like a candle alight!

* * *

With knowledge and learning you'll reach a great height,
And both will then bring you respect and delight. (285-290)

The ignorant man is as blind is a bat-
The world is lit up by wise eyes-and that's that!

* * *

Where laws are in power, there folk are secure.
In time's glorious hour their fame will grow more.

* * *

"Just learn- as the words of the wise men all tell:
Even sinners return thus, from torments of hell!"(300)

* * *

Wise men use their judgment, their sense and belief:
They only have power to rule well as a chief. *

Yes, Yusuf Balasagun was the great singer of the Intelligence. So he had raised the man as the highest value in this world.

Yes, Yusuf Balasagun was the passionate adherent of Science and Education. So he had called to the light and progress.

Yes, Yusuf Balasagun was a persuaded missioner of equality before the law. So his ideal was social justice.

So, as we can see, Yusuf Balasagun in principal case was fighting for the same ideals, that had the state men of European Renaissance and education-has only overheaded them for several centuries.

The other big contribution of Yusuf Balasagun was the renaissance of the Turkic literary language on a much higher level. As it was told, the first literary language of Turks was the language of monuments of Runic writing (Runic *koyne*).

His own contribution into this process had closely and graphically described by Yusuf Balasagun himself:

To knowledge with unfailing will aspired,
Set word beside word, in the pattern required
Like mountain deer pastured the Turk words desired,
And made them obedient, and trained them till tired.
I treated them kindly, submission acquired,
But still they were frightened, some nearly expired!
But I then unceasingly these words inspired,
By odors of musk on the breezes was fired!(6615)[*]

The other signed phenomenon of that period, which had opened the new page in the development of Turkic culture was the creative work of the great philologist Mahmud Kashgari the author of the famous "Divan lugat at-Turk" (the dictionary

[*]All abstracts of the poems are cited from Yusuf Balasagun "Beneficent Knowledge", translated into English by Walter May, Moscow & Bishkek, 1998.

of the Turkish language).

Mahmud Kashgari had made most important contributions for the renaissance of the Turkic literary language . He devoted his own fellow-champion labor for studying and collection of the Turkic alive dialects of that time. According to him, he was being aspired to study all the things and differences of the Turkic dialects, Turkmen, Oghuzs, Chigils, Yagma and Kyrgyzs, and he drove all around the pastures and villages, collecting the "words". In consequence, capital work was born which had displayed all the richness and variety of the folk layer of the Turkic literary language. But the meaning of the "Divan lugat at-Turk" by Mahmud Kashgari is not limited only by lexicography; it includes also rich materials of historical, ethnographic and poetical characters. It is also the invaluable source for the historical researches in literary studying.

The process of renaissance of the Turkic civilization of the mentioned period is built from two main components: first-from the own Turkic cultural layer. Second is seen from the layer of cultural achievements of all nations from the Muslim world. The top to which raised the Turkic civilization in the process of their own renaissance, became the result of this cultural mould of these two components.

The process of the Turkic civilization was going also in the sphere of material culture. The bright prints of it are well seen mostly in the monuments of urban culture. In the states of Karahanids and Seljuks was going stormy growth of the cities and monumental buildings.

These cities, usually, were located whether on the basis of colonies of the settled people, or on the basis of the Khan's camps and military-trading factories. Its typical sample was the location of the cities, which appeared at that time, on the territory of modern Kyrgyzstan. According the data of A.N. Bernshtam, most of the cities in Kyrgyzstan appeared on the basis of the antique colonies[18]. The famous monuments of that period were mostly in the south of the country, these are Uzgen and Medva. The great number of the cities was located in the north of the country. In the Talas region, Atlah, Hamukat, Sheldji, Sysi, Kul, Tekabket. In the Chui valley there were Ashpara, Nuzket, Harran Djuvan, Djul, Saryg, Balasagun, Nevaket, Kumbriket and Suyab. About ten of the cities were located in the basin of the Issyk-Kul Lake.

To the second type of the cities, which had appeared in the nomadic surrounding on the basis of the military and trading factories and Khan's camps were: Atbashi, Kadjinkarbashi and cities Shirdakbek, Koshoy-Korgon and some others.

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[18] A.N. Bernshtam, "Arhitecturnye pamyatniki Kirgizii", Moscow-Leningrad, Publishing house of the Academy of Science of the USSR, 1950, pp. 17-18.

The structure of the cities of that time, as they were described by A.N. Bernstam, had consisted following parts:

a) Center of the city, where was located the Palace-Temple of the Governor (Ark-citadel). Behind the powerful walls were its main state establishments, arsenal and others.

b) Around the citadel was located Shahristan, which was surrounded by common wall with towers and strengthened gates. There were state establishments, the Mosque, markets, the houses of aristocracy and officials.

c) Behind the walls of Shahristan located trading and industrial buildings.

For supplying the safety of the trade routes between the cities populated points were building strengthened caravan-sarays.

The process of urbanization in the imperial establishments of Karahanids, Seljuks and Timurids had undoubtedly brought to the mutual enrichment of the cultures between the settled and nomadic people. There is no doubt, that the architect and experienced builders during designing and building the cities, and urban objects very attentively looked through the cultural traditions and tastes of the governing layers, having grown up in the nomadic surrounding.

In its own turn, the city surrounding itself, I was highly influencing to the formation of the taste among the governing layers, which was close to the nature and culture of urbanism.

In detail to follow the way of this process is impossible. Nevertheless, serious attention is being honored by the consideration of A.N. Bernshtam about the genesis of the portal-domed architecture, which became the sign of that time. According to him the domes and their building in monolith was referred to the nomad people. "What further ways in the creation of dome will be, it is necessary to note, that in the building practice of the settled regions was going on the constructional realization of the idea in the spherical shelter, the idea, which was done by nomads in wood and wool of the yurts or in the earthen hills of the kurgans. The building of the Frontal East and Iran had formed the idea of spherical domes, which was taken from the nomads"[19].

In an analogical way, by A.N. Bernshtam, was coming process of birth of the portal in the monumental architecture. "If according to the idea", he writes, "the domes appeared among the nomads, but practically was realized in the surrounding of the settled agrarian population, where the first it has got its widespread in the monumental architecture, so it may be considered, that portal for the first time appeared among the nomads in Kyrgyzstan and South Kazakstan, in the result it was being spread on the regions of the settled population-Babdjan Hatun on the River Talas and Uzgen.

[19] A.N.Bernshtam, "Arhitecturnye pamyatniki Kirgizii", Moscow-Leningrad, Publishing house of the Academy of Science of the USSR, 1950, pp. 128-130.

…This idea (idea of portal-K.M.) was represented to us by the result of pulling out and increasing the size of the door in yurts of the nomads…Richly decorated by cut terracotta of portal is reminding us the door of yurt, which was successfully taken in the monumental architecture in the given hypertrophied size"[20].

Absolutely, the mentioned hypothesis of A.N. Bernshtam is not the scientifically improved truth. But at the same time, it can deserve the most serious attention.

Is this a fact, that during the thousand years the nomadic and settled culture of Eurasia was constantly mutually-acting between each other? And this kind of relation couldn't leave its own reprint in all the spheres of their life and activities: and also in the sphere of economics, and in the sphere of military affairs, and in the sphere of policy, and in the sphere of culture and other spheres. So the putting of the problem about mutual-enrichment and mutual-influence of these cultures during the process of their constant mutual-acting is fully legal. Moreover, the key to most of the fateful secrets of the creative acts was exactly in this layer.

During the evaluation of A.N. Bernshtam's hypothesis, first of all, it is necessary to take into consideration the historical phone, on which was going on the development of the monumental architecture in the region. That period, about which is spoken by Bernshtam, was the period of intensive turning of the nomads to the culture of urbanism: as the clients, so as the creators of it.

It is necessary specifically to note, that it was coming in the context of the common cultural integration of people in the Muslim world of that time. The uniting of different cultural streams into one common united channel during the Arabic Caliphates brought to the unprecedented flight of the culture as of the whole Muslim world, so of its each branch.

The creative mutual-acting of the settled and nomadic cultures particularly intensively was flowing at the time of the Karahanids and Seljuk's states. The yesterday nomads, having confirmed their own power among the settled people began actively involve into the cultural surrounding. And in its turn, the state people of the settled culture very attentively were looking at the cultural achievements of the nomads, to their esthetical tastes and preferences. According the principle, as it is said, who pays, that one can order the music.

Related the esthetical preferences of the nomads in the sphere of monumental architecture was rather moral sample, which was given in the memories of the Spanish ambassador at the yard of Timur Ryie Gonzales de Klaviho. And it is much more interesting that it has direct relation to the hypothesis of A.N. Bernshtam. In his diary, the ambassador has noted an exclusive attention of the governor to the architectural-art solution of the monumental buildings, which were

[20] A.N. Bernshtam, "Arhitecturnye pamyatniki Kirgizii", Moscow-Leningrad, Publishing house of the Academy of Science of the USSR, 1950, pp. 130-131.

building according his order.

Here he paid much more attention to the solution of the dome and portal

According to this one, Gonzales de Klaviho tells the following. Coming back from the far-away trip, Timur, first of all decided to look through and evaluate the building of the just finished his creative-work-Mausoleum to Gur-Emir. In whole he approved the building, but he was not satisfied by the height of the dome. As he was thinking, that the architectural dominant of the building must be the dome, and ordered to re-do it.

About the esthetical preferences of Timur in the building activity satisfies the other case too. It is spoken about the dramatic story of building in Samarkand the mosque of Bibi-Hanum. According Timur's idea it must be became the personification of the last achievements in the architectural idea and building technique, and it was also building when he was out. After arrival, he looked around it and became indignant, because the main portal of the mosque was lower than the staying near medrese. And he ordered to remove the building and to build it again.

These facts, are undoubtedly saying, that for Timur the architectural dominant of monuments were these two elements: dome and portal. And as for the esthetical views of Timur were influenced by archetypes of nomadic civilization- is the fact of course without any arguments.

From the other side, could the interest of the experienced architects and builders of the architectonic of the yurt be by itself, without will of the orders -of the nomads.

Actually the architectonic of the yurt, coming from one generation to another on the duration of thousand years, as in the plan of function, so in the plan of art could reach the highest perfection. And not by chance it was admired by the deep evaluators of the beautiful from the surrounding of that people, who were the fashion-makers in the culture of settled people. The bright sample to it was the lovely, beautiful devotion to this creation of the nomads the famous Chinese poet Bo-Tsyui-E:

The blue yurt

The wool is collected from thousand sheep,
The hundred rings were made for it
The round frame from the weeping willows
It is firm and, fresh, suitable and beautiful.
I n the northern transparent blue
The soldier was bleeding a yurt onto the grass a
And now it is as a blue haze

Together with him she came to the south
The storm can't shake the yurt
From the winds her breast becoming more stronger
There are no walls and corners in it
Went away from the steppes and mountains
The yurt has come to my yard
The shelter of which so beautiful under the Moon
And in winter she is always with me.
The thick felt like a wall from the snow
She doesn't afraid of the snowy storm
There are atlas furs in it
Covering the singing line of the strings
There is singer in a side
There is a dancer near the fire
It is better for me to enter my yurt than my home
And tight I am sleeping in a dry felt.
The fire from the hearth
Are funny interlaced in shelter
Coals are keeping hot in themselves
Like orchid in the morning
And slowly above the empty dusk
Longing the mighty saint smoke
Melting the frozen ink, at last
The poem like a waterfall in spring
Flowing to the door from orchids
It is hard to take away people from it
For them who are in the huts from the reeds,
The mild winter is rather harmful fro them,
To the yurt is envying the monk,
And the scholar, who lost his way in debts
In yurt I'll meet my friends
The yurt I'll keep for my children
The prince has covered his palace with fretwork-
What are they near my blue yurt!

I'll never exchange my yurt to the palaces of the noble princely-inherited kins.[21]

It is thought, that there is basement to look through the certification of Klaviho as an indirect confirmation of A.N. Bernshtam's hypothesis.

[21] Cited from Lev N. Gumilev "Ancient Turks", Moscow, 1999, pp. 283-284.

May be at some other time it will be possible to clear up in details the genesis of portal-dome architecture of architectonic, and may be not. But, there is no doubt, that portal-dome architectural method was born exactly on the joint of two cultures: nomadic and settled in the result of the creative mutual-influence.

Concluding the above mentioned with full evident may be confirmed-this is one of the fateful terms in its history. It was marked by the birth of the developed for that time philosophical and scientific thought. We are grateful to it for the real masterpieces of word art, architecture and many other things. And the most important, that it has appeared as an answer to the call of that time and brought to **the Renaissance of the Turkic civilization in whole.**

The Turkic Civilization in the Context of Globalization

With the collapse of the bipolar system on the world arena of history two tendencies began to dominate, the tendency of globalization and renaissance of civilizations.

Simultaneously there began callous arguing about future of both of these tendencies.

First was given by American historian Francis Fukuyama. In his work "The end of history" he announced that with the crash of communism came the era of prevailing of one civilization the Western, and as the best creation of mankind must exist forever.

In the work of another American scientist Samuel Huntington "Clash of the civilizations", which had made a lot of noise in the scientific world, there was approved something quite oppositional. According to his conception the civilization variety of the world as it existed, would exist in the future. Conflicts between them are inescapable and it is only because they are quite different from each other.

In one word the problem of civilizations at present time is the most thrilling problem, which is in the center of attention as of the world scientific society, so political circles. And at the same time it is one of the most difficult problems for solution.

Not for nothing in the investigations of the phenomenon of civilization there are appearing more and more mutual-eliminating paradigms.

It may be explained by the following:

First of all the fates of civilizations are difficult for foreseeing, and it is connected with a lot of unknown things.

Second, the fates of civilizations of their present and future are closely connected with the fate of the whole mankind.

So, saying with the help of Arnold Toynbee's words, the fields which are possible to get by mind are something like reserved in themselves. It can be

subjected to the winds of change in the context of the whole historical processes. And the appearances of the phenomenon of civilizations of different paradigms are diametrically oppositional and it is quite a legal phenomenon.

The present life realities in each step are confirming us that the modern world is made of oppositional dialectical union of two tendencies: globalization and renaissance of civilizations.

From one side they are mutually supplementing each other and enrich each other, but from the other side there is constant struggle between them fro the life space.

So how to keep necessary equality between globalization and civilization and it is a real fateful antinomy of the 21st century. The most possible solution of it can be the real answer for the call of the history. The way to it may be long and difficult.

Undoubtedly the solution of the wide scaled problem is in the practical flat first of all. But the important role must be played by creative thinking.

At present time the attention of the scientific society is concentrated on the geopolitical aspect of the world structure.

And, of course it is not by chance. As the bipolar system had gone into the history, the other problem has stand for its full height-it is the problem of what system must come for an exchange of being-one-polar or multi-polar? While here is not any word about the fate of civilizations, but it is always exist being not seen.

The matter is that the fate of the world is undividable from the fate of civilization. So it is impossible to look through them separately, because the world is beautiful by its vary and blossom, which is thanks the civilizations and their unrepeatable, individual features, together with the common which has each civilization.

As it is considered by a universally recognized authority in the sphere of futurology O. Toffler the variety is not the interference but it is like a basement for it. He particularly underlines that: "the more we come to the economy of the "third wave" (under the term here is the informational epoch- K.M), the bigger the meaning of the culture. Hence it appears that no any racial and ethnical culture, no any religious, and nationality have a monopoly for the best features, which demands the economy of the "third wave". Each culture, weather it is West-Indian, Algerian, Cuban's or Korean, they come to the "third wave" with their psychology, with their social character, developed on the long way of centuries"[22].

If it is so, and there is no any doubt, so there is no more important problem for the science, as to investigate the ways and mechanisms of functioning of some specific cultures and civilizations in the conditions which are being dictated by the

[22] Cited from Fyodor Burlatsky "Novoye Myshlenie", Moscow, 1989, pp. 22-23.

epoch of globalization. For this one, first of all, it is necessary to look deeply at: is there that or another culture, civilization, and why they are dear, both for the natives, and for another. What are the premises for their renaissance as an answer for the call of the informational revolution's era?

The main condition to keep and renaissance of the civilizations is the humanization of globalization. Without it the tendencies of marginalization, which began in different part of the world as the result of economic competition and more strengthening sovereignty of the mass culture could have an irreversible character.

When it is spoken about the present or future of any specific civilization, particularly Turkic, we have constantly keep an eye as on inner, so outside premises of its full functioning of renaissance.

If we speak about inner premises in the use to the Turkic civilization, we can surely say that they are favorable.

First of all, Turkic people having lived through its long historical background a lot of social dramas, cataclysms, it hasn't lost, but vice versa has strengthened its civilization identity. It became their genetic code. So, its steadiness against negative influence from outside is very big.

Second, the rooted geopolitical movements which had happened with the leaving of the Soviet Empire from the historical arena, opened perspectives of reunion of the torn parts from one body of the Turkic civilization.

Third is the stipulation with specific historical conditions of existence and receptivity of the Turkic civilization to the other civilization innovations. It was receiving the innovations not mechanically, but it let them go through the prism of its own worth.

As for the outside premises of functioning and renaissance of the Turkic civilization, as it was mentioned above they are directly tied with the humanization of globalization.

As the analysis shows, the process of renaissance of civilizations is from one side, the process of returning the civilization to itself, and from the other side its self-renewing.

The bright example of it is the renaissance of the national and civilization values in the Turkish Republic during the revolutionary changes, which were made under Atatürk's leading. For it, the first thing was to clean the national cultural and civilization ground from the imperial heir. In consequence, theocratic imperial state had yielded to the national secular state, and *Osmanlıca*, the official language of the Empire, also yielded to the national language. This process had taken place in all other fields.

But the return to itself was not a return to the past, but it was a step directed for freedom of creative forces of nation fro the chains of the all old, having lived away. It was a step to the reneissance. How it was well calculated, had showed the

time.

In consequence, as the bird phoenix from the ash, in its direct and indirect meaning, has grown the Turkish republic. It has marked by itself the rooted turn in the historical fate of the country, which has opened the way to the deep social and political, economic and cultural changes. Thanks to them it could enter the stuff of the countries walking together with the time.

Almost through the same processes of civilization renaissance are going now new young Turkic Republics of Central Asia and Caucasus. As all other deep changes these processes are going in the suffering searches of themselves, and the place in the whole world's processes under the title globalization.

The search of them is becoming more difficult mostly according the following reasons:

Firstly, it is necessary to take into consideration those deep injures which left on the body of the national civilization values from the Soviet period. Communistic doctrine was looking through them not as the parts of the one, but as the conglomerate of incompatible with each other two different antagonistic elements. And all those values which are not Procruste's bed of the Communistic ideology, and they were uprooted callously.

And the most important, in the nearest perspective the national civilization values have to go away because of their being not in use. It was considered that during the way of socialistic building all people of the Empire had lost their civilization identity. They turned into new historical society-Soviet people.

So, for people of Turkic Republics, who had newly taken the state independence, it is necessary to find themselves again and their civilization identity too, but to find themselves not for repeating the past way, but for present and future. And it demands critical relation to the things which was gathered during the long historical history of people, which was in the national bank of values, resulting from the demands of the time.

But unfortunately, in practice it is not always lucky. Sometimes we are in a captivity of values, which has already finished serving, and because of it they just interfere to our movement ahead.

Process of finding ourselves, our civilization identity can be productiveo0nly at that time, when it goes together with the context of time and its denominator-globalization.

As it is shown by the present day reality the phenomenon of globalization is a rather difficult phenomenon and contradictory. It consists of both the beginning of creative and of the destructive. First of all we have to take into consideration that globalization for the first time in the history have united the whole mankind into something single whole, and her breath is felt all over the world.

Subsequently the present and the future of the Turkic civilization as any other

one depends on how it can creatively realizes all those positive beginnings which hold globalization.

First it should be mentioned about the values of democracy and market mechanism.

The other one is of course positive side of globalization and it is certainly information technology.

Simultaneously, the powerful waves of globalization keep in themselves threatening of destroying civilization values, if there will not be taken effective measures to keep them and defend. Today as never before is actually sounds the warning of Mahatma Gandhi: "I don't have a desire that my house will be surrounded from outside by completely closed windows. Vice versa, I want that cultures of different people fresh my house as much as possible without any prevention. But at the same time I let in no way that the stormy of any of them will take away my culture with its root".

As it is well known, civilization values are divided into two groups. First of them is monuments of the ancient times. These invaluable relics certainly must be kept. They can be kept and defended with the help of conservation.

The second group is acting values. They can be kept and defended only by the development and renaissance in accordance with the demands of the time. All living organisms, including also civilizations, which have sometime ago announced about them and later gradually left the historical arena are going through the filters of the history. Going through all the tests and sharp turnings of the history not all of them can act and continue to live. Among the alive civilizations, there is the Turkic civilization too. With the coming of the globalization epoch it is, as all the other acting civilizations, standing before the new call of the history. Future of the Turkic civilization depends on how an answer will be for this call of the history.

ДРЕВНЕТЮРКСКАЯ ЦИВИЛИЗАЦИЯ: ДИАХРОНИЧЕСКИЕ СВЯЗИ И СИНХРОНИЧЕСКИЕ АСПЕКТЫ

С.Г. КЛЯШТОРНЫЙ *

Облик и общий уровень цивилизации, возникшей в результате интенсивных процессов классообразования в древнетюркском обществе и создания тюркскими племенами первых государств, определяют: а) унаследованные социокультурные и материальные комплексы, традиционные для евразийских степей уже в дотюркский период; б) заимствованные и адаптированные социально-политические и идеологические представления, производственные и художественные приемы; в) новации, возникшие в самой древнетюркской среде. В специальной литературе, однако, наличествуют лишь дескриптивные характеристики древнетюркской культуры, главным образом в ее вещественном и функциональном выражении. Рассмотрение традиционности и генетической преемственности степных культур, как и выявление новаций, ограничивается анализом отдельных археологических комплексов.

Между тем наиболее ярким показателем общего уровни древних цивилизаций является письменность, причем по только в ее содержательном, но также и в палеографическом аспектах. Поэтому представляет интерес в рамках анализа культурообразующих факторов, рассмотрение тех унаследованных или адаптированных элементов древнетюркской культуры, которые нашли отражение в памятниках древнейшей тюркской письменности. Естественно, представленные сюжеты по необходимости ограничены в числе и в подробностях изложения.

Аспект палеографический. Если момент возникновения письменности и время генезиса цивилизации в какой-то степени сопряжены, то древнетюркскую культуру, манифестируемую порожденной ею письменностью, следует признать весьма молодой. Как о том свидетельствуют открытия, дешифровка и интерпретация согдоязычной Бугутскон надписи — мемори-

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ального памятника четвертого тюркского кагана Таспара (572-581), письменность в каганате появилась одновременно с возникновением государства, но это была адаптированная письменность на иноязычной основе [1]. Не комментируя сейчас столь знаменательного синхронизма, отметим, что появление в конце VII в. в Монголии, а в начале VIII в. и на Енисее памятников древнетюркского рунического письма и рождение древнетюркского литературного языка-койне имели гораздо более длительную предысторию, чем это кажется согласно распространенной гипотезе об одновременности возникновения письма и дошедших до нас рунических памятников [2],

Ни в коей мере не солидаризируясь с так называемой «тамговой» теорией происхождения тюркской руники, ибо совершенно очевидно структурное и собственно палеографическое воздействие на нее согдийского алфавита, мы все же не можем не упомянуть некоторых обстоятельств, требующих разъяснения.

В результате новейших археологических открытий установлено существование в центрально-азиатском кочевнической среде, у ирано-язычных сакоюечжийских племен, а также в созданных ими государствах руноподобпой алфавитной письменности, существовавшей во второй половине I тыс. до н.э.– первых веках н.э. Делались попытки связать это письмо с тюркской руникой. С нашей точки зрения, обнаружить какую-либо преемственность между двумя письменностями, разделенными многими веками, невозможно. Там, где мы видим некоторое сходство начертаний, знаки слишком элементарны, и их сопоставление не имеет смысла, во всяком случае до дешифровки надписей из Иссыка, с городища Ан-Ханум и из Дашт-и Мавура [3].

Другим обстоятельством, действительно заставляющим искать свое объяснение, является существование в Восточной Европе и в Хазарском каганате по меньшей мере трех вариантов тюркского рунического письма, ни один из которых не стал основой письменной культуры хазар, хотя само письмо в IX-X вв. вместе с праболгарами проникло далеко на запад [4].

Ни по репертуару знаков, ни по их атрибуции восточно-европейский алфавит не совпадает с нейтрально-азиатским; более того, он явно архаичнее центрально-азиатской руники. Остается загадкой, существуют ли генетические связи между обеими системами тюркского рунического письма? И все же смущающим обстоятельством является не само существование двух систем тюркской руники, а выявление в Центральной Азии хотя бы и немногих рунических надписей, выполненных теми же знаками, что н хазаро-болгарские надписи Восточной Европы.

Поэтому мы полагаем возможным вернуться к высказанной нами еще в 1964 г. гипотезе о весьма раннем (не позднее IV-V вв.) приспособлении согдийского алфавита к тюркскому языку в оазисах Восточного Туркестана.

Результатом процесса и стал вариант рунического письма, зафиксированный в Центральной Азии н в Восточной Европе. Этот тип тюркской руники, весьма неразвитый и примитивный, лишенный строгой нормативности и не получивший государственной протекции в первом Тюркском каганате, тем не менее был некоторое время употребителен среди тюркоязычного населения западной части Центральной Азии. Именно оттуда вместе с племенами теле (т.е. праболгарскими), мигрировавшими в Восточную Европу после крушения гуннской империи Атиллы или за несколько десятилетии до того, это письмо проникло в Поволжье и Подонье, а затем и в долину Дуная и просуществовало там на вторых ролях некоторое время [5].

Между тем в Центральной Азии не позднее VII в. старое руническое письмо под определяющим влиянием согдийского алфавита было коренным образом реформировано, после чего стало там нормативным государственным письмом не только второго Тюркского каганата, но также и его преемников в Монголии, на Енисее и в Восточном Туркестане.

Изложенная гипотеза о дореформенной и пореформенной тюркской рунике, естественно, не может быть подтверждена до открытия достоверно ранних памятников рунической письменности в Центральной Азии. Тем не менее явная связь одной из разновидностей рунического письма с праболгарами дает исследователю новые возможности для•оценки историко-культурной роли племенного союза теле, большая часть которого во главе с уйгурами влилась к началу VII в. в суперсоюз огузских племен.

Аспект историографический. Одним из важнейших элементов духовной культуры любой этнической общности является историческая память. Овладение письменном культурой, как правило, влечет за собой письменную фиксацию ее различных проявлений. С известными оговорками, касающимися неполноты письменного выражения собственной истории в любом архаическом социуме, зафиксированная историческая память определяет ту или иную древность самой культуры, независимо от обычно прокламируемой создателями текстов жесткой связи между рождением мира и их собственного этноса. Вместе с тем именно в исторической памяти социума таятся в какой-то степени стертые и мифологизированные следы, которые определяют пути поиска истоков культурного наследия.

Если историчность енисейских памятников ограничена сроком одной человеческой жизни, а гораздо более широкая и полная картина в орхонском тексте настолько актуализирована, что исторический фон в них, по существу, совпадает с описанием синхронной или близкой по времени политической ситуации, то даже плохо сохранившиеся фрагменты, посвященные историческому прошлому в недавно открытых уйгурских рунических текстах (Терхинский и Тэсинский памятники), а также в надписи из Могон Шине

Усу, выводят исследователя на новый уровень представлений о хронологической глубине и повествовательном диапазоне, заложенном в огузской традиции. Во всяком случае, до образования последнего по времени Уйгурского эля в 744 г. авторы надписей сохраняли намять о двух предшествующих уйгурских царствах, о двух периодах упадка и господства иноплеменников (тюрков и кыпчаков) [6]. Особенно насыщен эмоциональной информацией рассказ о втором уйгурском эле, просуществовавшем 80 лет и погибшем из-за внутренних распрей и смут, из-за предательства вождей бузуков, в особенности двух «именитых» - Беди Берсила и Кадыр Касара. В целом реальная глубина исторической памяти уйгурского историографа опирается на традицию, по крайней мере, двухсот пятидесятилетней давности, что, впрочем, совершенно не исключает обычной при устной передаче исторических событий их «фольклоризации». Тем не менее глухой отзвук потрясений V в., когда менялась этническая карта евразийских степей, прорвался в систему представлений уйгуров VIII в. об их собственной древней истории.

Аспект мифологический. Та часть культурного наследия любого древнего этноса, в которой отражено восприятие окружающего мира и определено его место в общей «картине мира», неизбежно мифологизирована. Жанровые особенности рунических памятников исключали последовательное и полное изложение какой-либо мифологическом фабулы. Однако образ мышления и стиль повествования побуждали создателей текстов к намекам и упоминаниям, за которыми скрывались общеизвестные представления, верования, идеологические конфликты.

В памятниках рунического письма наряду с верованиями и мифами собственно тюрков нашли отражение аналогичные представления енисейских кыргызов и огузских (уйгурских) племен Монголии и Восточного Туркестана. Полное совпадение пантеона во всех доступных проверке случаях позволяет рассматривать исследуемое, на материале рунических памятников явление как достаточно гомогенное, а источники, его характеризующие, — в единстве, выходящем за границы общности письма и языка. Естественны несовпадения мифологем, касающихся этногонии и генеалогии различных племен. Впрочем этногонические мифы очень слабо отражены в надписях и до некоторой степени известны лишь в изложении источников других стран, синхронных древнетюркским памятникам. Сведения иноземных наблюдателей, имевших прямые или опосредованные контакты с тюрками, часто уникальны, но возможности их использования ограничены недостаточной определенностью, зачастую и тенденциозностью изложения, так как в сообщениях воспроизводится совершенно чуждый наблюдателю мир, с трудом адаптируемым в рамках иных концепции.

Тем не менее именно китайские сообщения позволили за последние двадцать лет дважды обращаться к мифам о происхождении племени тюрк в достаточно широком контексте общей этногонии Центральной Азии I тыс. до н.э.-I тыс. н.э. [7]. Сравнительное же изучение рунических памятников и некоторых древнетюркских легенд, зафиксированных в такских источниках, позволило осветить древнейшие этапы истории кыпчакской племенной конфедерации и, таким образом, окончательно установить, что четыре основных объединения древнетюркских племен, в течение почти тысячелетия влиявших на судьбы Центральной и Средней Азии, — собственно тюркское, огузское, киргизское и кыпчакское — сложились практически одновременно, между V-VII вв. Тем самым получает более прочную основу исследование этнической истории средневековых народностей, ставших непосредственными предками нынешних тюркоязычных нации.

Возвращаясь к теме мифологии, следует особо выделить ту ее часть, которая характеризует древнетюркский пантеон. Исследования последних лет именно в этом мифологическом слое выявили системные совпадения в столь отдаленных пунктах евразийских степей, как долина Орхона, Дагестан и Дунайская Мадара [8]. В начале VI в. в предгорном Дагестане сложилось «царство гуннов» (термин Анания Шираками), образованное группой тюркоязычных праболгарскпх племен. Сохранившееся в труде Моисея Каганкатваци части жития епископа Исраэля – главы албанской христианской миссии в стране гуннов позволяют восстановить гунно-болгарский пантеон, включавший главного небесного бога Тенгри-хана, божество Земли-Воды (орхонское Йер-Суб), женское божество плодородия, именуемое албанским клириком Афродитой (орхонская Умай) и «некиих богов путей» (древнетюркские йол-тенгри). Как видно, гунно-болгарский пантеон детально совпадает с пантеоном рунических текстов Монголии и Восточного Туркестана. Тот же круг религиозно-идеологических представлений фиксируется у дунайских праболгар. Учитывая несомненное тождество гунно-болгарского и древнетюркского пантеонов и время миграции праболгарскпх племен (племенного суперсоюза теле), оставивших свою центрально-азиатскую прародину не позднее V в., следует считать, что та сложная религиозно-мифологическая система, которую мы именуем «древнетюркским пантеоном», сформировалась в окончательном виде еще до середины I тыс. н.э.

Таким образом, рассмотрение сообщений рунических памятников позволило обратиться к проблеме сложения социокультурных и идеологических представлений, возникших накануне появления древнетюркских государств внутри и за пределами центрально-азиатской ойкумены. В течение последующих столетий унаследованная традиционная культура была преобразована в новую цивилизацию, которой оказались свойственны столь значительные

явления, как письменность, прошедшая путь от камнеписных стел до рукописей на бумаге, строительство городов и религиозные искания. Все это позволяет характеризовать древнетюркскую культуру Центральной Азии как систему, включавшую в себя наряду с архаичными и консервативными прогрессирующие и подвижные структуры, определившие сравнительно высокий динамизм ее развития. Эта культура, погибшая вместе с породившими ее этническими и социальными группами, была лишь частично унаследована тюркскими и монгольскими народностями позднего средневековья.

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KUZEY ASYA'DAKİ ESKİ BOZKIR DEVLETLERİNİN TEŞKİLÂTI

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Giriş

Merkezî Moğolistan olan Kuzey Asya'da bulunmuş eski bozkır devletlerinin teşkilâtı ve toplumsal bünyesi konularına dair araştırmalar, sadece Sovyetler Birliği'ndeki İç Asya tarihçileri tarafından yapılagelmişti. Fakat, onların tetkikleri, sağlam malzemelere dayanmamakta ve ancak F. Engels'in boş bir nazariyesine istinat etmektedirler.

Konu ile ilgili olarak Hsiung-nu ve Gök-Türklerin devlet teşkilâtı ve toplumu hakkında bir kaç makaleyi daha önce neşretmiştim. Bunlar, yukarıda söylediğimiz boşlukları doldurmak amacını gütmekteydi. Bu makalede ise eski bozkır devletlerinden bir örnek olarak Hsiung-nu devletini ele alarak başlıca onun teşkilâtı üzerinde durmak niyetindeyim. İlk olarak Hsiung-nu devletini ele almamın sebebi, bana verilen sayfaların pek fazla olmamasından ziyade, Hsiung-nu devleti teşkilâtının, Gök-Türkler, Bulgarlar, Karahanlılar ve saire ondan sonraki eski bozkır devletleri ile ortak noktalara sahip olmasıdır.

Hsiung-nu'ların Devlet Teşkilâtı

1) Shan-yü soyu ve onunla evlenme ilişkilerinde bulunan soylar

M.Ö. 3. yüzyılın sonlarında, genellikle kabul edilen fikre göre, M.Ö. 209 senesinde, Mao-tun (?-M.Ö. 174) tarafından kurulan Hsiung-nu devleti, Kuzey Asya tarihinde ilk bozkır devleti olarak kabul edilir.

«Ch'ien Han-shu», Hsiung-nu ch'uan ve «Hou Han-shu», Nan (Güney) Hsiung-nu ch^{c}uan'a göre, Hsiung-nu devletinin hükümdarı olan Shan-yü'ler, ancak Lüan-t'i (=Hsü-lien-t'i) soyundan çıkmışlardır. Her Shan-yü'lerin hangi soydan olduklarını teferruatlı olarak tetkik edersek, netice olarak adları geçen vesikaların doğru olduklarını, esas olarak kabul edebiliriz.

Bunun gibi soy ve doğum bakımlarından görülen sınırlama usulü, Shanyü'lerin eşleri, yani E-shih'ler için de geçerli idi.Çünkü, Shan-yü soyuyla evlenme ilişkilerinde bulunmuş olan soylar'ın (Schwager-geschlecht), evvelâ Hu-yen ve Lan soylarına tahdit edildiği, sonra bunlara Hsü-pu soyu, daha sonra da Ch'iu-lin soyunun katıldığı ve bu dört soyun «her zaman Shan-yü'lerle evlendiği» kaydedilmekte ve örneklerin hepsi bu kayıtların doğru olduklarını göstermektedir. Hu-yen, Lan ve Hsü-pu'nun «Hsiung-nu'nun aristokrat olan soyları» denilmesi ve bunlarla Ch'iu-lin'in «devlet içindeki soylular» denilmesi, bu dört soyun Lüan-t'i soyu yani Shan-yü soyu ile birlikte, Hsiung-nu devletinin «aristokrat soyları» (Adelsgeschlechter) nı oluşturduklarını açıkça göstermektedir.

Hsiung-nu devletinde, «babası ölen çocuklardan her biri, kendi annesinden başka olan babasının karılan ile evlenebilir ve erkek kardeşleri ölünce de onların karılan ile evlenebilirdi». Bu âdetin, etnologların «levirate» (leviratus) diye tarif ettiği âdet olup olmadığı belli değildir. Fakat, bu âdetin, birbiriyle evlenme ilişkilerinde bulunan soylar arasındaki bağlantıyı kuvvetlendiren vazifeyi gördüğü âşikârdır. Bunun gibi evlenmenin Shan-yü soyu ile adları geçen dört soy arasında vuku bulduğunu gösteren delil de az değildir. Shan-yü soyu yani Lüan-t'i soyu, bu evlenme şekli vasıtasiyle kendisi ile dört akraba soyu arasındaki bağlantıyı kuvvetlendirebilir ve ebedîleştirebilirdi.

Hulâsa olarak şöyle diyebiliriz: Shan-yü soyu olan Lüan-t'i soyu, ancak «aristokrat soyları» veya «soylular» grubu ile evlenmiş, aralarındaki bağlantıyı muhafaza etmiş ve bunun vasıtasiyle Hsiung-nu devleti içindeki aristokratlar ve idare sınıflarını tesbit etmeye çalışmıştır. Bu, Hsiung-nu devletinin hâkimiyet usulünün soy ve doğum prensibine dayanılmakta olduğunu göstermektedir.

2) Yirmi dört chang (başbuğ)

«Shih-chi», Hsiung-nu lieh-ch'uan ve «Ch'ien Han-shu», Hsiung-nu ch'uan, Hsiung-nu devletinde «24 chang (başbuğ)» un bulunduğunu anlatmakta ve onların bazılarım sıralamaktadır (Bk. Levha 1). Fakat, «Hou Han-shu», Nan (Güney) Hsiung-nu ch'uan'da ise adları geçenlerden oldukça farklı unvanlar sıralanmaktadırlar (Bk. Levha 2).

Levha l

I) Tso (Sol) ve Yu (Sağ) Hsien (Bilge) Wang'lar = Tso ve Yu T'u-ch'i Wang'lar (l, 2)

II) Tso ve Yu Lu-li Yvang'lar (3, 4)

III) Tso ve Yu Ta-chiang'lar (5, 6)

IV) Tso ve Yu Ta-tu-wei'ler (7, 8)

V) Tso ve Yu Ta-tang-hu'lar (9, 10)

VI) Tso ve Yu Ku-tu-hou'lar (11, 12)

Levha 2

A) «Ssû Chiao (Dört Boynuz veya Köşe)»

1) Tso Hsien Wang. 2) Tso Lu-li Wang. 3) Yu Hsien Wanğ. 4) Yu Lu-li Wang.

B) «Liu Chiao (Altı Boynuz veya Köşe)»

5-6) Tso ve Yu Jih-chu Wang'lar. 7-8) Tso ve Yu Wen-yü-ti Wang'lar. 9-10) Tso ve Yu Chan-chiang Wang'lar.

C) «Başka Soylardan çıkan Ta-ch'en'ler»

11-12) Tso ve Yu Ku-tu-hou'lar. 13-14) Tso ve Yu Shih-chu Ku-tu-hou'lar.

Bu iki levha daha önce tarafımdan karşılaştırıldıktan sonra özetle şöyle demiştim: «Levha l, M.Ö. 97 yılından evvel, Hsiung-nu devletinde bulunan unvanları sıralamıştı. Buna mukabil, Levha 2'deki (B)'Liu Chi-ao (Altı Boynuz veya Köşe) ise, M.Ö. 97 yılından sonra vukua gelen olayların neticesi olarak yeniden meydana getirilen unvanları göstermektedir».

Prof. Dr. O. Pritsak, benim fikrimi tenkit etmişti. Prof. Pritsak, Jih-chu Wang unvanının «Ch'ien Han-shu», Hsi-yü Ch'uan'da daha M.Ö. 176 sıralarında görüldüğünü öne sürmüştü. Bundan başka, iki üç delile dayanarak Levha l'deki (III) Tso ve Yu Ta-chiang'lar (5, 6) ve (IV) Tso ve Yu Ta-tu-wei'lerin (7, 8), Levha 2'deki (B) Tso ve Yu Jih-chu Wang'lar (5, 6) ve Tso ve Yu Wen-yü-ti Wang'ların (7, 8) Çince tercümeleri olduklarını söylemiş ve Levha l'deki unvanlar ile Levha 2'dekilerin aynı olmaları gerektiğini ileri sürmüştü.

Burada, Prof. Pritsak'ın iddia ettiği görüşleri teferruatlı olarak tenkit etmeğe lüzum görmüyorum. Yalnız, onun «Ch'ien Han-shu», Hsi-yü Ch'uan'da görünen Jih-chu Wang ile ilgili kayıtların yapısını tamamen ihmal ettiğini söylemekle iktifa etmek isterim.

Asıl olarak, «24 chang (başbuğ)» konusunda ortaya koyduğum fikrin doğru olduğuna inanmaktayım.

3) Tso yu wang chiang (Sol ve Sağ'daki Kral ve Generaller) ve onların ayrı sahaları

Tso ve Yu Hsien Wang'lar, Tso ve Yu Lu-li Wanglar, Tso ve Yu Ta-chiang'lar, Tso ve Yu Ta-tu-wei'ler, Tso ve Yu Ta-tang-hu'lar ve sonra meydana gelen Tso ve Yu Jih-chu Wang'lar, Tso ve Yu Wen-yü-ti Wang'lar ve Tso ve Yu Chan-chiang Wang'lar -bundan sonra «Tso yu wang chiang» diye özetlemek isterim-, örneklerinin hepsinden anlaşıldığına göre, Shan-yü soyu yani hükümdar soyuna mensup idiler. Bu bakımdan, « Hou Han-shu», Nan Hsiung-nu Ch'uan'da «Ssû Chiao (Dört Boynuz veya Köşe)» ve «Liu Chiao (Altı Boynuz veya Köşe)» konularında görülen «(onların) hepsi Shan-yü'nün oğulları veya küçük erkek kardeşleri (yani Shan-yü'nün akrabaları) olup, sırasıyla Shan-yü tahtına çıkarlar» yolundaki kayıt, doğru olarak kabul edilebilir.

«Shih-chi», Hsiung-nu lieh-ch'uan ve «Ch'ien Han-shu», Hsiung-nu ch'uan'da «Tso (Sol)'daki Wang ve Chiang'lar, doğu taraf, Shang-ku'dan doğu'da Wei-mo kabileleri ve Kore'ye kadar uzanan sahalarda bulunmaktadırlar. Yu (Sağ)'daki Wang ve Chiang'lar ise batı taraf, Shang-chün'den batı'da, Yüeh-shih, Ti ve Ch'iang kabilelerine kadar uzanan sahalarda bulunmaktadırlar. Shanyü'nün (hükümdarın) karargâhı, Tai ve Yün-chung'nun kuzey tarafında bulunmaktadır. Onların hepsi ayrı saha'ya hâkim olmakta ve su ve otları takip ederek göç etmektedirler» denilmektedir. Yani Tso (Sol)'daki Wang ve Chiang''lar, Hsiung-nu devletinin doğu kısmında, Yu (Sağ)'daki Wang ve Chiang'lar, onun batı kısmında kendilerine mahsus «ayrı sahalara» sahip idiler. Ve Shan-yü yani hükümdarın karargâhı ise, onların ortasında bulunmaktaydı.

Fakat, burada şu iki noktayı gözden uzak tutmamalıyız.

1) Yukarıda zikredilen kayıt, Hsiung-nu devletinin en parlak ve en kuvvetli devrine dair kayıttır. Han hanedanı Wu-ti (Wu İmparatoru)'nin çok defa sefer heyetlerini göndermesi üzerine Shan-yü, kendi karargâhını Gobi çölü'nün kuzey tarafına naklettirdi. M.Ö. 119 senesinden sonra «Hsing-nu'lar uzak yerlere kaçtılar ve çölün güneyinde onların karargâhı yok oldu» ve nihayet M.Ö. 105 senesinden sonra ise «Shan-yü, gittikçe batı-kuzey tarafa kaçtı, sol (doğu) daki askerler Yün-chung'un kuzey tarafında ve sağ (batı) daki askerler ise Chiu-ch'üan ve Tun-huang'ın kuzey tarafında bulundular». Fakat, genellikle, doğu sahalarda, Tso (Sol) Hsien (Bilge) Wang, güney kısmında, Tso (Sol) Lu-li Wang, kuzey kısmında bulunmuş ve batı sahalarda ise, Yu (Sağ) Hsien (Bilge) Wang, güney kısmında ve Yu (Sağ) Lu-li Wang, kuzey kısmında bulunmuşlar. Bunların dışındaki başbuğların «ayrı sahaları»nın nerelerde olduğu hiç belli değildir.

2) «Ayrı sahalar», binaenaleyh onlara hâkim olan başbuğların mevkileri ve unvanları, her zaman babadan oğluna miras olarak geçmezlerdi. «Hou Han-shu», Nan (Güney) Hsiung-nu ch'uan'da, Levha 2'de göründüğü gibi, «Dört Boynuz veya Köşe» olarak 1) Tso (Sol) Hsien (Bilge) Wang, 2) Tso (Sol) Lu-li Wang, 3) Yu (Sağ) Hsien (Bilge) Wang ve 4) Yu (Sağ) Lu-li Wang sıralandıktan sonra «Altı Boynuz veya Köşe»ye ait Wang'lar gösterilmekte ve «bunların hepsi, Shan-yü'nün oğulları veya küçük erkek kardeşleri (yani erkek akrabaları) olup, sırasıyla Shan-yü tahtına çıkabilirlerdi» denilmektedir. Ve «Shih-chi», Hsiung-nu lieh-ch'uan ve «Ch'ien Han-shu», Hsiung-nu ch'uan'a göre, «Tso (Sol) ve Yu (Sağ) Hsien Wang'lar ve Tso (Sol) ve Yu (Sağ) Lu-li Wang'lar, başbuğlardan en büyükleri idiler» ve «veliaht, daima Tso T'u-ch'i Wang (=Tso Hsien Wang, Sol Bilge Wang) oldu». Yani, hiç olmazsa «Dört Boynuz veya Köşe»ye gelince, Yu (Sağ) Lu-li wang'dan Yu (Sağ) Hsien (Bilge) Wang'a, ondan Tso (Sol) Lu-li Wang'a ve ondan Tso (Sol) Hsien (Bilge) Wang'a, sırasıyla terfi eder ve nihayet Tso Hsien Wang'dan Shan-yü mevkiine geçerlerdi. Halbuki, bu terfi usulünün fiilen ve her zaman uygulanmadığını gösteren delil pek çoktur. Fakat, bu usule göre, terfi etmiş

olan başbuğlar da yok değildi. Meselâ, Fu-chu-lei Shan-yü (M.Ö. 31-M.Ö.20)'nün üç kardeşi, Levha 3'te gösterilen şekilde terfi ettiler.

Levha 3

Fu-chu-lei Shan-yü
Tso (Sol) Hsien (Bilge) Wang — Shan-yü
Tso (Sol) Lu-İi Wang — Tso Hsien Wang — Shan-yü
Yu (Sağ) Hsien Wang — Tso Lu-li Wang — Tso Hsien Wang — Shan-yü

Bundan başka, doğu ve batıdaki başbuğların «ayrı sahaları», mevkileri ve unvanların babadan oğula miras olarak geçmediğini gösteren örnekler de pek çok bulunmaktadır. Özet olarak, doğu ve batıda bulunan başbuğlar, Shan-yü'lerin değiştiği zaman, çeşitli sebeplerle, bir «ayrı saha»dan başka bir «ayrı saha»ya göçetmişlerdir, diyebiliriz.

Kat'î olarak söyleyebilirim ki, tek bir nokta vardır, o da böylelikle Hsiung-nu devleti içinde bir «ayrı saha»dan başka bir «ayrı saha»ya göçeden başbuğların, resmen Shan-yü soyuna mensup olmalarıdır. Bu manada, Hsiung-nu devletinin ülkesini Lüan-ti soyunun (Shan-yü soyunun) «aile malı» veya «ortak mülkü» zannetmek de imkânsız değildir.

«Shih-chi», Hsiung-nu lieh-ch'uan ve «Ch'ien Han-shu», Hsiung-nu ch'uana göre, devletinde, Lüan-ti soyuna mensup olan Tso ve Yu Hsien Wang'lar, Tso ve Yu Lu-li Wang'lar, Tso ve Yu Tachiang'lar, Tso ve Yu Ta-tu-wei'ler ve Tso ve Yu Ta-tang-hu'lardan başka Tso ve Yu Ku-tu-hou'lar da bulunmuşlardır. Fikrimce aşağzda kısa olarak bahsedileceği üzere bunların dışında Tso ve Yu Ta-chü-ch'ü (Büyük Chü-ch'ü) unvanı da bulunmuştur. Bunların arasında «Tso ve Yu Ku-tu-hou, (Shan-yü'nün) idarelerine yardım ederlerdi». Bu göz önüne alınırsa, Tso ve Yu Ku-tu-hou'nun Çin'deki «ch'eng-hsiang (vezir)» ile aşağı yukarı aynı mevki olması muhtemeldir. M.Ö. 59 senesinde, bir isyan bastırmak için Shan-yü tarafından gönderilen «Yu Ch'eng-hsiang», «Yu Ku-tu-hou» unvanının Çince tercümesi olsa gerekir.

Oysaki, «Shih-chi», Hsiung-nu lieh-ch'uan'da, doğu ve batıdaki başbuğların altında «Ch'ien-chang (Binbaşı), Po-chang (Yüzbaşı), Shih-chang (Onbaşı), Pi-hsiao Wang (Küçük Wang), Hsiang, Feng (?), Tu-wei, Tang-hu ve Chü-ch'ü»nün bulunduğu gösterilmektedir. Bunların arasında «Feng» kelimesinin manası hiç belli olmadığından dolayı bu unvanı bir yana bırakacağım. Yukarıda sıralanan unvanlar içinde Ch'ien-chang (Binbaşı), Po-chang (Yüzbaşı) ve Shih-chang (On-başı)'ın «Chiang» yani bir nevi subay olduğundan hiç bir şüphe yoktur. Bunu nazari itibara alırsak, Hsiung-nu devletindeki doğu ve batıda bulunan başbuğların «ayrı sahaları» içinde a) Pi-hsiao Wang (Küçük Wang), b) Chiang (Subay), c) Tu-wei, ç) Tang-hu, d) Hsiang ve e) Chü-ch'ü bulunmuşlardır, diyebiliriz (Bk. Levha 4).

Levha 4. Başbuğların «ayrı sahâları»nda bulunanlar

a) Pi-hsiao Wang (Küçük Wang)
b) Chiang (Subay)
c) Tu-wei
ç) Tang-hu
d) Hsiang
e) Chü-ch'ü

Burada, önce gösterdiğimiz Hsiung-nu devletinin bütün sahasını idare ettirmek için doğu ve batıda bulundurulmuş olan başbuğların unvanlarına bakalım. Onlar, a) Tso ve Yu Hsien Wang, Tso ve Yu Lu-li Wang, b') Tso ve Yu Ta-chiang, c') Tso ve Yu Ta-tu-wei, ç') Tso ve Yu Ta-tang-hu, d') Tso ve Yu Ch'eng-hsiang (=Tso ve Yu Ku-tu-hou) ve kanaatimce, e') Tso ve Yu Ta-chü-ch'ü idiler. Bunların arasında, a') Tso ve Yu Hsien Wang ve Tso ve Yu Lu-li Wang, «başbuğlardan en büyükleri» yani Büyük Wang idi. Ve b') Ta-chiang, c') Ta-tu-wei, ç') Ta-tang-hu, d') Ch'eng-hsiang ve e') Ta-chü-ch'ü, sıraya göre, Büyük Chiang (Büyük Subay, General) Büyük Tu-wei, Büyük Tang-hu, Büyük Hsiang (vezir) ve Büyük Chü-ch'ü (Büyük Subay, General) anlamlarına gelirler (Bk. Levha 5).

Levha 5. Başbuğların unvanları

a') Büyük Wang
b') Büyük Chiang (BüyükSubay)
c') Büyük Tu-wei
ç') Büyük Tang-hu
d') Büyük Hsiang (vezir)
e') Büyük Chü-ch'ü

Levha 4 ve 5'i birbiriyle karşılaştıracak olursak, Hsiung-nu devletindeki doğu ve batıda bulunan başbuğların «ayrı sahaları»nın idare teşkilâtının, Hsiung-nu devletinin idare teşkilâtını daha küçük bir şekilde örnek tuttuğunu anlayabiliriz. Başbuğların «ayrı sahaları»na ara sıra «devlet» denilmesi de bundan ileri gelmektedir. Shan-yü soyuna mensup olup doğu ve batıda bulunan başbuğlar, yukarıda açıkladığımız şekilde kendi «ayrı sahaları» içindeki kabileler ve devletleri, siyasal ve iktisadî bakımlardan idare etmekteydiler.

4) (Shan-yü soyundan) başka soylardan çıkan Ta-ch^{c}en'ler

«Hou Han-shu», Nan Hsiung-nu ch'uan'da, C) «(Shan-yü soyun dan) başka soylardan çıkan Ta-ch'en'ler» olarak Tso (Sol) ve Yu (Sağ) Ku-tu-hou'lar ve Tso ve Yu Shih-chu Ku-tu-hou'lar sıralanmaktadır. «(Shan-yü soyundan) başka

soylar», Nan Hsiung-nu ch'uan'a göre, «devletin soyluları»nı, yâni, «her zaman Shan-yü soyu ile evlenme ilişkilerinde bulunan» Hu-yen, Hsü-pu, Ch'iu-lin ve lan soylarını gösterirler. Şu halde, «(Shan-yü soyundan) başka soylardan çıkan Ta-ch'en'ler», Shan-yü soyu ile evlenme ilişkilerinde bulunan soylardan çıkan Ta-ch'en'ler anlamına gelir. Kanaatımca, Tso (Sol) ve Yu (Sağ) Ta-chü-ch'ü'ler de, Tso ve Yu Ku-tu-hou'larla aynı olarak «S (Shan-yü soyundan) başka soylardan çıkan Ta-ch'en'ler»den biri idi. Çünkü, bir Shan-yü'nün karısının babası ve küçük erkek kardeşi, Tso ve Yu Ta-chü-ch'ü mevkiinde ve Yu Ku-tu-hou Hsü-pu Tang'ın — Hsü-pu soyundan olan Tang'ın — oğlu olan Hsü-pu She, gene Ta-chü-ch'ü mevkiinde bulunmuşlardır.

Yukarıda zikredildiği gibi, «Tso ve Yu Ku-tu-hou, Shan-yü'nün idaresine yardım eder» ve önce bahsedilen Yu Ku-tu-hou Hsü-pu Tang, «Hsiung-nu'larda devlet işlerini yapan Ta-ch'en» idi. Bunu göz önüne alırsak, Ku-tu-hou'nun — ve belki Ta-chü-ch'ü'nün de — Shan-yü'ye doğrudan doğruya tâbi bulunan bir çeşit memur olması muhtemeldir. Ku-tu-hou ve Ta-chü-ch'ü'nün, «asılzadeler»den biri sıfatıyla Shan-yü'ye çeşitli nasihatlarda bulundukları, Shan-yü'nün tahta oturmasına karıştıkları, Shan-yü'nün maiyyetinde bulundukları ve Shan-yü'nün elçisi olarak diplomasiye ait ve ticarî işlerde çalıştıkları, yukarıdaki tahminin doğru olduğunu göstermektedir. Şu halde, Ku-tu-hou'lar, başka başbuğlar gibi «ayrı saha»ya sahip olmamışlardır. «Shih-chi», Hsiung-nu lieh-ch'uan ve «Ch'ien Han-shu», Hsiung-nu chu'uan'da, «ayrı sahalar»a sahip olan» «Tso ve Yu Hsien Wang'lardan sonra (Ta) tang-hu'lara kadar bulunan» başbuğların ve «Hou Han-shu», Nan Hsiung-nu ch'uan'da, «Dört Boynuz veya Köşe» ve «Altı Boynuz veya Köşe»nin Tso ve Yu Ku-tu-hou'lardan ayrı olarak sıralanmaları, bundan ileri gelmektedir. Bu durum, Ta-chü-ch'ü'ler için de geçerli olsa gerekir.

«Hou Han-shu», Nan Hsiung-nu ch'uan'da, Shan-yü soyu ile evlenme ilişkilerinde bulunan soylar, özellikle Hu-yen, Lan ve Hsü-pu soylarının vazifesinin «yargıçlık» olduğu söylenilmektedir.

Burada dikkati çeken hâdiseler şunlardır: Jih-chu Wang Pi (sonra II. Hu-han-yeh Shan-yü oldu)'nin Shaın-yü'ye ikiyüzlü olduğu zaman, Shan-yü, Tso ve Yu Ku-tu-hou'ları göndererek «Pi'nin idaresi altındaki askerleri göz altına aldırmıştır». Bu Shan-yü'den sonra tahta geçen bir Shan-yü öldüğü zaman, tahta geçememiş olan Pi'nin, yeni Shan-yü'ye kin besleyerek M.S. 47 senesinde Hou Han hanedanına boyun eğmek istemesi üzerine Tso ve Yu Ku-tu-hou bunu, Shan-yü'ye duyurmuştur. Bunu bilen Pi'nin, kendi askerlerini toplayıp, «iki Ku-tu-hou'nun dönmesini bekleyerek» onları öldürmek istediği zaman, Ku-tu-hou'lar, «onun entrikasını sezip, hafif teçhizatlı atlarla kaçarak bunu Shan-yü'ye bildirmiştir». Bu hadiselerden, Ku-tu-hou'nun, Shan-yü tarafından Jih-chu Wang Pi'nin «ayrı sahası»na gönderilmiş olduğunu, orada oturduğunu ve ona nezaret ettiğini biliyoruz. Bu nezaret hakkı ile birleştirilen yargıçlık, Ku-tuhou'nun görevi idi.

Burada bize biraz tuhaf gelen, Shan-yü soyu, yâni hükümdar soyuna mensup olan başbuğların, Shan-yü soyu ile evlenme ilişkilerinde bulunan soylara ait Ku-tu-hou tarafından nezaret edilmeleridir. Bunu açıklamak için, Shan-yü soyu ile evlenen soyların yargıçlıkla uğraştığını anlatan kayıtların, M.Ö. 97 senesine kadar vukua gelen hadiseleri nakleden «Shih-chi», Hsiung-nu lieh-ch'uan ve «Ch'ien Han-shu», Hsiung-nu ch'uan'da görünmediğini ve buna mukabil aşağı yukarı M. Ö. 96 senesinden sonraki hadiseleri anlatan «Hou Han-shu», Nan Hsiung-nu ch'uan'da gözüktüğünü nazarı itibara almak gerekir.

Yukarıda bahsettiğimiz üzere, Hsiung-nu devletinin bütün sahaları, Shan-yü soyu, yâni Lüan-ti soyunun «aile malı» veya «ortak mülkü» mahiyetindeydi. Fakat, zamanla, Lüan-ti soyu, bir kaç sülâleye parçalanmış ve sülâleler arasında hükümdarlık mücadeleleri başgöstermiştir. Bu hükümdarlık mücadeleleri, I-chih-hsieh Shan-yü'nün tahta geçişinde (M.Ö. 126), Chü-ti-hou Shan-yü'nün ölümünde (M.Ö. 96), Hu-Lu-ku Shan-yü'nün ölümünde (M.Ö. 85) ve Hsü-lü ch'üan-ch'ü Shan-yü'nün ölümünde (M.Ö. 60) vuku bulmuştur ve nihayet Wo-yen_chü-ti Shan-yü intihar etmiş (M.Ö. 58), beş tane – daha doğrusu sekiz tane- Shan-yü bağımsızlıklarını ilân etmiş ve Hsiung-nu devleti, Doğu Hsiung-nu ve Batı Hsiung-nu olmak üzere ikiye parçalanmıştır. Jih-chu Wang Pi'nin, M.S. 48 senesinde Hou Han hanedanına boyun eğdikten sonra «Shan-yü tahtına geçerek kendisini Hu-han-yeh Shan-yü olarak ilân etmesi» üzerine Hsiung-nu devletinin Güney Hsiung-nu ve Kuzey Hsiung-nu olmak üzere ikiye parçalanmasının nedeni de hükümdarlık mücadelesiydi. Bunun gibi Shan-yü soyu içindeki sülâleler arasında meydana gelen hükümdarlık mücadeleleri, Han ordularının Hsiung-nu'lara saldırışları, karın çok yağışı ve kıtlıktan neticelenen iktisadî sıkıntılar, sonra bahsedeceğimiz idare edilen kabilelerin idareci sınıflara karşı ayaklanmaları ve bağımsızlıklarına kavuşmalarının neticeleri olarak «Hsiung-nu'lar, pek zayıflamışlardır».

Bunun gibi durumlarla karşı karşıya gelen Shan-yü, kendi sülâlesine karşı çıkmaya meyil gösteren başka sülâlelere mensup olan başbuğların hareketlerini iyice bilmek için, kendi soyu ile evlenen soyların yardımlarını istemiş ve bu soylara ait olup, Shan-yü'ye doğrudan doğruya tâbi bulunan Ku-tu-hou'lara nezaret ve yargıçlık haklarını vermiştir.

Önce söylediğimiz gibi, Shan-yü soyu ile evlenme ilişkilerinde bulunan soylar, Shan-yü soyu ile birlikte Hsiung-nu devletinin başlangıcından beri bunun bir çeşit «aristokrat soyları» sıfatıyla idare sınıflarını oluşturmuşlardır. Fakat, bu soylara ne zamandan beri, yukarıda bahsettiğimiz gibi daha büyük kuvvetin tanınmaya başlandığı belli değildir. Bu meseleyi açıklamaya yardım eden, Hsü-lü-ch'üan-ch'ü Shan-yü'nün (M.Ö. 68-M.Ö. 60) karısının babası Yu (Sağ) Ta-chiang mevkiinde bulunmasıdır. Daha evvel söylenildiği üzere, Tso (Sol)- ve Yu (Sağ) Ta-chiang'ların mevkiinde, asıl olarak Shan-yü soyuna mensup olanlar bulunmaktaydılar. Bu Yu Ta-chiang olarak Shan-yü soyu değil, onunla evlenen soyun üyesinin tâyin edilmesi, Shan-yü soyunun, onunla evlenen soylara yavaş yavaş teslim etmeye

başladığını göstermektedir. Ve bu durum ile, önce değindiğimiz gibi, Shan-yü'nün, kendi sülâlesine karşı çıkmaya meyil gösteren başka sülâlelere mensup olan başbuğlar kontrol altında tutarak, soylar arasındaki evlenme ilişkilerine önem vermekteydi. Bu, hükümdarlık mücadelelerinin şiddetlenmeye başlandığı M.Ö. I. yüzyılın birinci yansında -fakat, aşağı yukarı M. Ö. 96 senesinden sonra- vukua gelmiştir diyebiliriz.

Böylelikle, Hsiung-nu devleti içindeki Shan-yü soyu ile evlenen soyların ehemmiyeti, günden güne artmıştır. Fu-chu-lei Shan-yü ile Wang Chao-chün arasında doğan Yün adlı prensesin kocası olan Hsü-pu Tang-Hsü-pu soyuna mensup olan Tang-, Yu (Sağ) Ku-tu-hou mevkiindeydi ve onun «Hsiung-nu'larda devlet işlerini yapan Ta-ch'-en» olarak, Yün ile birlikte devletin içişleri ve dışişlerinin yürütülmesinde büyük ölçüde rol oynaması ve Wang Mang tarafından Hsü-pu Shan-yü unvanıyla Shan-yü tahtına oturtulmuası, Shan-yü soyu ile evlenme münasebetlerinde bulunan soyların öneminin artmasıyle ilgili olsa gerekir.

Ondan sonraki zamana gelince, Kao-lin Wen-yü-tu Wang, Yu (Sağ) Hsü Jih-chu (Kuzey Hsiung-nu), Tso (Sol) Hu-yen Jih-chu Wang (Güney Hsiung-nu) ve saire gibi unvanlar zikredilmektedir. Bunlar arasında, «Kao-lin» adı, Shan-yü soyu ile evlenen soylardan birinin adı olan «Ch'iu-lin» ile aynı kelimenin Çince karşılığı ve «Hsü Jih-chu» ise «Hsü-pu Jih-chu Wang» unvanının kısaltılmış şeklidir. Şu halde, yukarıda söylendiği üzere zaten «Shan-yü'nün oğulları veya küçük erkek kardeşleri»nin tâyin edilmesi gereken Wen-yü-ti Wang (Wen-yü-tu Wang) ve Jih-chu Wang olarak, Shan-yü soyu ile evlenen soylar, Ch'iu-lin (Kao-lin), Hsü-pu ve Hu-yen soyları da tâyin edilmeğe başlamışlardır diyebiliriz. Ve nihayet, kuzey Hsiung-nu'ların, Hou Han hanedanının ordularına yenilip, «kaçarak nerelere gittiği bilinmediği», M.S. 91 yılından sonra da, 123 yılı sıralarında Hu-yen Wang unvanını taşıyan bir Wang, P'u-lei Hai (P'u-lei Denizi: Barkul Gölü) ile Ch'in Hai (Ch'in Denizi: Aral Gölü) arasında göç ederek «Orta Asya'ya hâkim olmaktaydı». Bu Hu-yen Wang, Shan-yü soyu ile evlenen soylardan biri, Hu-yen soyunun başbuğudur. Böyle durum göz önüne alınırsa, Hsiung-nu devletinde «aristokrat soyları»nı oluşturmakta olan soylardan, kuzey Asya ve Doğu Türkistan'da en sona kalan, Shan-yü soyu yâni Lüan-ti soyu değil, onunla evlenen Hu-yen soyunun bir mensubu idi denilebilir. Bu da Hsiung-nu devleti içerisinde, Shan-yü soyu ile evlenme ilişkilerinde bulunan soyların ehemmiyetinin artmasının sonucudur.

5) Lung-ch'eng'deki toplantı

Hsiung-nu devletinde hükümdar yâni Shan-yü'nün karargâhına «Lung-ch'eng» veya «Lung-t'ing» adı verilmiş, Hsiung-nu'lar orada senede üç defa (birinci ve beşinci aylar ile sonbahar) toplanmış, bir çeşit «Şamanizm» âyini ve törenini icra etmiş, ahalinin ve hayvan sürülerinin sayısını kontrol etmiş ve «kabileleri toplayıp, devlet işlerini danışmış»lardır.

Bu «Lung-ch'eng'deki toplantı»ya, stratejik meseleler, Han hanedanı arasındaki dışişleri konuları, Han'dan gelen elçilerine yapılacak muameleler, yeni Shan-yü'nün seçimi ve saire gibi mühim devlet işlerini müzakere etmek amacıyla olağanüstü olarak çağırılmıştır.

Hiç olmazsa Tso (Sol) ve Yu (Sağ) da bulunan başbuğlar ve Tso ve Yu Ku-tu-hou'lar, bu toplantıya katılmak zorundaydılar ve buna iştirak etmediği takdirde ikiyüzlü veya isyankâr olarak kabul edilirlerdi.

Bunlardan başka, Hsiung-nu'ların hâkimiyeti altına girmiş olan kabile veya devletlerin – mesela Wu-su'lar'ın gibi – başbuğu veya kralı da buna iştirak etmeliydi ve Hsiung-nu devletine boyun eğdikten sonra Wang olarak tâyin edilen Çinliler'in – meselâ Wei Lü ve Li Ling gibi – de bu toplantıda bulunduğunu tahmin etmek mümkündür.

Shan-yü, lâik hükümdar olmakla birlikte, «Gök-Tanrı'nın tahta oturttuğu Hsiung-nu'nun Büyük Shan-yü'sü» veya «Gök-Tanrı ve Yer-Tanrı'nın doğurduğu ve Güneş ve Ayın tahta çıkardığı Hsiung-nu'nun Büyük Shan-yü'sü» unvanını taşıyarak, kendisini kutsal yâni dinî hükümdar olarak telâkki etmekteydi. Fakat, Shan-yü'ler, çoğu defa «Lung-ch'eng'deki toplantı»da alınan kararları veya buna katılanların sözlerini dikkate alıyorlardı. Şu halde, Shan-yü'nün kudreti, bu toplantıda, hiç değilse buna iştirak eden Shan-yü soyu mensupları olan Tso ve Yu başbuğlar ve onun akraba soyları mensupları olan Tso ve Yu Ku-tu-hou'lar tarafından tahdit edilmiştir. Bunu nazarı itibara alırsak, Shan-yü'yü müstebit bir hükümdar zannetmek yanlıştır diyebiliriz.

Buna benzeyen toplantılar, daha küçük ölçüde, doğu ve batıda bulunan başbuğların «ayrı sahaları»nda da görünmekte idi.

6) Kabileler birliği devleti

Burada, yukarıda söylediğimiz «soylu ve idareci sınıflar»a -Shan-yü soyu ve onunla evlenme ilişkilerinde bulunan soylara -karşı, «sıradan ve idare edilen sımflar»ın ne şekilde tâbi oldukları meselesi ile karşı karşıyayız.

Mao-tun, doğudaki Tung-hu'lar ve batıdaki Yüeh-shih'lere saldırmış, Ordos bölgesindeki Lou-fan ve Po-yang kabilelerini hâkimiyeti altına almış, kuzeydeki Ting-ling'ler (Türük'ler?) ve yukarı Yenisey ırmağı civarındaki Chieh-k'un'ları (* Kırkın > çoğul şekli: Kırkız) fethetmiş, Yüeh-shih'lere yeniden hücum edip, onların karargâhını İli ırmağı taraflarına naklettirmiş ve onların hâkimiyeti altında bulunmuş olan Altay dağlarındaki Hu-chieh'leri (Wu-chieh'leri), Cungarya ve doğu T'ien-shan dağları (Tanrı dağları)'nınm kuzey eteğindeki Wu-sun ve başta Lou-lan olmak üzere Tarım çukurovası çevresindeki vaha şehir- devletlerini zaptetmiştir.

Bunlardan, merkezi Moğolistan olan bölgelerdeki kabilelerine gelince: Onlar, kendi «Wang (Kral)»na sahip olarak Hsiung-nu'nun doğu ve batıdaki başbuğlarına

tâbi bulunmuşlardır. Ordos'taki Lou-fan ve Po-yang kabileleri, Mao-tun tarafından fethedildikten sonra da Lou-fan Wang ve Po-yang Wang vasıtasıyla Yu (Sağ) Hsien (Bilge) Wang'ın hâkimiyeti altındaydılar. Ve bugünkü Kan-su vilâyetinin batı bölgesinde, doğu kısmındaki Wu-wei civarında Hsiu-t'u Wang ve batı kısmındaki Chang-yeh ve Chiu-ch'üan civarında ise Hun-yeh Wang (K'un-yeh Wang) oturmaktaydılar. Kanaatımca, Hsiu-t'u ve Hun-yeh (K'un-yeh), ikisi de kabile ismiydi ve Hsiu-t'u Wang ve Hun-yeh Wang (K'un-yeh Wang) ise bu kabilelerin «Wang (Kral) ları» idiler. Prof. Dr. O. Pritsak, Hun-yeh Wang (K'un-yeh Wang)'ın Yu Hsien Wang ile aynı Wang olduğunu iddia etmişse de, bu fikir yanlıştır. Bu Wang, Hsiu-t'u Wang ile birlikte Yu Hsien Wang'ın hâkimiyeti altında idi. Daha sonra 8 tane Shan-yü'nün bağımsızlığını ilân ettiği zaman, onlardan biri olan «batı taraftaki Hu-chieh Wang», Hu-chieh Shan-yü olmuştur. Bu Hu-chieh Wang, Mao-tun tarafından fethedilmiş olan Hu-chieh (Wu-chieh) kabilesinin «Wang (Kral)»ı idi. Onun Lu-li Wang'a tâbi olduğunu tahmin edebiliriz.

Böylelikle, Lou-fan, Po-yang, Hsiu-t'u, Hun-yeh (K'un-yeh) ve Hui-chieh (Wu-chieh kabileleri, kendi «Wang»larına sahip olmakta ve onlar vasıtasıyla, Lüan-ti soyu (Shan-yü soyu)na mensup olan doğu ve batıdaki başbuğların «ayrı sahaları» içinde bunlar tarafından idare edilmekteydiler. Buradaki «Wang»lar, adları geçen kabilelerin, «aristokrat soyları» veya «idareci soylar»ın hâkimiyeti altına girmeden önce sahip oldukları başbuğlar olup, eskidenberi başbuğ sıfatıyla haiz oldukları salâhiyetini ve kendi kabileleri arasında bulunmuş olan ilişkileri bozmaksızın, yeniden kurulmuş Hsiung-nu devletinde «Wang» olarak tâyin edilmiş olsa gerekir. Çeşitli «Wang»ları içine alan «Ta-cn'en»lerin, «Ta-jen» yâni «başbuğ» kelimesiyle de gösterilmesi, buna bir delil sayılabilir.

Oysa ki, mahiyeti itibariyle, bunlardan farklı «Wang»lar da bulunmuştur: Yâni, Ting-ling Wang ve Tung-hu Wang gibi.

Hsiung-nu'lar, Mao-tun zamanında Ting-ling kabilesini fethetmiş ve Wu-ti (Wu İmparatoru)'nin hüküm sürdüğü zaman Wei Lü Çin'den Hsiung-nu'lara kaçınca, Shan-yü, onu Ting-ling'lere Wang olarak tâyin etmiştir. Wei Lü, ondan sonra Çin elçisi olarak Hsiung-nu devletine gelen Su Wu'ya şöyle söylemiştir: «Aziz Bay Su! Bendeniz, biraz önce Han devletinden ayrılıp, Hsiung-nu'lara itaat etmiştim. Bereket versin, Hsiung-nu hükümdarının sayesinde «Wang» unvanını aldım. Benim idare etmekte olduğum halkın sayısı onbinlercedir. Ve benim sahip olduğum at ise, dağ dolusu halindedir. Kendim, bu kadar zenginim». Bu sözler içindeki «halk» ve «at», Ting-ling kabilesine ait olmalıdır.

Bundan başka, Mao-tun, doğu bölgede bulunan Tung-hu kabilesine saldırıp, onun halkı ve hayvan sürülerini yağma etmiş ve M.Ö. 195 yılında Lu Wan Çin'den kaçarak Hsiung-nu'lara itaat edince, onu Tung-hu'lara Wang olarak tayin edip, kendi memleketinde kalmakta olan Tung-hu kabilesini -daha ziyade Tung-hu'ların torunları sayılan Wu-huan kabilesini- idare ettirmiştir. Lu Wan ölünce, onun torunu

Lu T'a-chih, Tuhg-hu'lara Wang olmuş ve M.Ö. 145 yılında Han hanedanına boyun eğmiştir.

Ting-ling ve Tung-hu -belki de Wu-huan- kabileleri, kendi kabile teşkilâtını muhafaza ederek Wei Lü, Lu Wan ve Lu T'a-chih tarafından idare edilmiş ve onlar vasıtasıyla Luan-ti soyu (Shan-yü soyu)na mensup olan başbuğlar veya Shan-yü'nün hâkimiyeti altında bulunmuşlardır.

Wei Lü'den başka Ting-ling Wang'a dair ve Lu T'a-chih'nin Han hanedanına itaat etmesinden sonra Tung-hu Wang'a dair kayıtlar yoktur. Kanaatımca, Ting-ling ve Wu-huan kabileleri, tıpkı yukarıda söylediğimiz Lou-fan, Po-yang, Hsiu-t'u, Hun-yeh (K'un-yeh) ve Hui-chieh (Wu-chieh) kabileleri gibi, eskidenberi haiz oldukları kabile teşkilâtını bozmaksızın, Shan-yü soyu tarafından idare edilmekteydiler.

Wu-huan, «Hsiung-nu'ların hâkimiyeti altına girdikten sonra, her sene sığır, at ve koyun derisini Hsiung-nu'lara göndermiş ve gönderme zamanı geçince onların karıları ve çocukları, esir olarak tutuklanmışlardır» veya Hsiung-nu'lara «at ve saire hayvanlar, deriler ve kumaşlar» veya «deri ve kumaştan ibaret olan vergileri» vermiştir. Wu-huan'lardan başka olan idare edilen kabileler de, bunun gibi vergileri, ya kendi «Wang» vasıtasıyla, ya da doğrudan doğruya, doğu ve batıdaki başbuğlara veya Shan-yü'ye vermekteydiler.

Hsiung-nu devleti içinde idare edilen kabileler, yukarıda söylenilen şekilde, «aristokrat veya idareci sınıflar»a tâbi bulunmaktaydılar. Bu fikir kabul edilirse, Hsiung-nu devleti, «aristokrat soyları» Shan-yü soyu (Lüan-ti soyu) ve onunla evlenen soylar (önce Hu-yen, Lan soyları, sonra Hsü-pu ve Ch'iu-lin soyları) olmak üzere, onların altında, onlar tarafından idare edilen kabileler olarak, kendi kabile teşkilâtlarını muhafaza eden Lou-fan, Po-yang, Hsiu-t'u, Hun-yeh (K'un-yeh), Hu-chieh (Wu-chieh), Ting-ling, Wu-huan ve saire kabilelerin bulundukları «kabileler birliği devleti (Konföderation von Stâmmen)» mahiyetindeydi denebilir.

7) Hsiung-nu'ların toplumsal teşkilatı

Hsiung-nu'ların toplumunda kölelerin bulunduğu bilinmektedir. Meselâ, «Shih-chi», Hsiung-nu lieh-ch'uan ve «Ch'ien Han-shu», Hsiung-nu ch'uan'da, «Onların (Hsiung-nu'ların) savaşlarında elde ettikleri ganimetler, onlara verilmiştir. Eğer insanlar esir edilirseler, nü ve pei (erkek ve kadın köleler) hâline düşmüş olurlardı. Bu nedenle, (Hsiung-nu) insanları, kendi menfaatlerini arayarak, seve seve savaşlara giderlerdi» diye kaydedilmektedir. Yâni, esirler, Hsiung-nu insanlarına -savaşçılara ve sıradan göçebelere- verilip, onların «erkek ve kadın köleleri» haline getirilmişlerdi. Ve «Ch'ien Han-shu», Hsi-yü ch'an'da, «Hsiung-nu devletinin batı kısmında bulunan Jih-chu Wang, T'ung-p'u Tu-wei'e Hsi-yü (Orta Asya, özellikle Doğu Türkistan) bölgelerini idare ettirmekteydi» kaydı bulunmaktadır. Buradaki «T'ung-p'u Tu-wei», Doğu Türkistan'daki devletlerden

vergi ve haraçları almakla birlikte, oralardaki ahaliyi «t'ung-p'u» yâni köleler olarak toplamak vazifesini görmekteydi.

Fakat, Sovyetler Birliği bilginlerinden S. P. Tolstov'un ileri sürdüğü gibi, Hsiung-nu'ların toplumunu, «kölelere sahip olan (rabovladel'ceskij)» toplum olarak zannedebilir miyiz?

Burada, şu hadise ile karşı karşıyayız:

I. Hu-han-yeh Shan-yü, Han hanedanının Yüan İmparatoruna bir mektup göndererek, kendisinin «Shang-ku'dan batı tarafa, T'un-huang'a kadar uzanan» sınırlarda muhafızlıkla uğraşacağından dolayı, «sınırlarda oturan Çinli askerlerin kaldırılmalarını» rica etmiştir. Yüan İmparatoru, bu meseleyi danıştığı zaman, herkes buna razı olduğunu söylemiştir. Yalnız, sınır meselesinde üstat olan Hou Ying, 10 tane sebeb göstererek buna karşı çıkmıştır. Hou Ying, buna karşı çıktığı sebeblerden biri olarak şöyle söylemiştir: «Bizim sınırlarımız içinde yaşayan köleler pek sıkıntı çektiği için., (Hsiung-nu'lara) kaçmak istiyenlerin sayısı çoktur ve onlar Hsiung-nu memleketinde insanların ıztırapsız ve zahmetsiz yaşadıklarını duyduğunu, fakat, sınırlardaki bekçi teşkilâtının pek sıkı olduğundan dolayı Hsiung-nu topraklarına kaçamayacağını söylüyorlar. Fakat, buna rağmen onlar, sık sık sınırlarımızdan dışarıya kaçmaktadırlar». Bu sözler, Hsiung-nu memleketindeki insan yaşayışının, Çin'in «sınırları içinde yaşayan köleler»inkinden «ıztırapsız ve zahmetsiz» olduğunu, yâni Hsiung-nu topraklarına kaçanlar veya oradaki göçebelerin, Çin'in «sınırları içinde yaşayan köleler»den daha hür olduğunu açıkça göstermektedir. «Shih-chi», Hsiung-nu liehch'uan ve «Ch'ien Han-shu», Hsiung-nu Ch'uan da, «onların (Hsiung-nu'ların) âdeti şöyledir: Barış ve rahat olduğu zaman, onlar hayvan sürülerini takip etmekle ve yabanî hayvanları avlamakla uğraşıyorlar. Buna karşılık, savaş ve gergin olduğu zaman ise, insanlar savaşçı olarak saldırılarda bulunuyorlar. Bu, onların yaradılışıdır» denilmesi, Hsiung-nu'ların toplumunda asıl üretici ve yetiştiricilerin, «köleler» olmayıp, «(hür) insanlar» olduklarını bildirmektedir. Bunları nazarı itibara alarak, Hsiung-nu devletindeki «köleler»in çoğu, özellikle Shan-yü'nün doğrudan doğruya idare ettiği bölge ve doğu ve batıdaki başbuğların «ayrı sahaları» içinde çiftçilik, zanaatçılık, hayvan yetiştiricilik ve saire gibi işlerle uğraşan «aile köleleri» veya «üretimlerin ancak yardımcıları»ndan öteye geçememekteydiler kanaatindeyiz.

Halbuki, önce söylendiği üzere, Han ordularının Hsiung-nu'lara karşı saldırıları gittikçe muvaffak olunca ve Shan-yü soyu mensupları arasındaki ihtilâflar şiddetlenince, idare edilen kabileler, «aristokrat ve idareci sınıflar»a -Shan-yü soyu ve onunla evlenen soylara- karşı muhalefet ve savaş etmeğe başlamışlardır. Daha M.Ö. 121 yılında Hun-yeh Wang (K'un-yeh Wang)'ın Hsiu-t'u Wang'ı öldürüp, Han hanedanına boyun eğmesi, bir çeşit muhalefet hareketi mahiyetindeydi. M.Ö. 87-M.Ö. 78 yıllarında doğudaki Wu-huan'lar, isyan alâmetini göstermiş ve M.Ö.

71 yılında ise, Wu-sun'lar, Han ordularıyla birlikte «batı taraftan girip », Hsiung-nu'lara, özellikle Yu (Sağ) Lu-li Wang'a taarruz edince, «Hsiung'nu'lar, bu durum karşısında zayıfladıkları için, Wu-sun'lara karşı kir tutmuşlardı». Aynı yılın kış mevsiminde, Hsiung-nu'lar, Wu-sun'lara yaptıkları saldırılardan dönerken, pek çok kar yağıp, «(Hsiung-nu'ların) insanları ve hayvan sürülerinin soğuktan donarak öldükleri ve memleketlerine dönebilenlerin, ancak 10da l'i geçemedikleri hale geldikleri zaman, Ting-ling'ler, Hsiung-nu'ların zayıflamalarından faydalanarak onların kuzey tarafına saldırmış, Wu-hun'lar onların doğu tarafına girmiş ve Wu-sun'lar ise onların batı tarafına taarruz etmişlerdir. Bu üç devlet, onbinlerce insanı, gene onbinlerce atı ve çok sayıda sığır ve koyunu öldürmüşlerdir. Üstelik kıtlıktan ölenler de çok olmuştur. Yâni, insanlardan 10'da 3'ü ve hayvan sürülerinden 10'da 5'i ölmüştür. Hsiung-nu'lar, çok zayıflamış, onların hâkimiyeti altında bulunmuş olan devletlerin hepsi bağımsızlıklarına kavuşmuş ve saldırı ve hırsızlık hareketlerinde bulunmuşlardır». M.Ö. 61 yılında ise, «Ting-ling'ler, 3 sene arka arkaya Hsiun-nu'lara taarruz edip, binlerce insanı öldürmüş veya götürmüş ve başta atlar olmak üzere hayvanları çalmışlardır». Bundan sonra da, Ting-ling'ler, Wu-huan'lar, Hsien-pi'ler ve saire gibi idare edilen kabilelerin, idareci sınıflara karşı isyan ve savaşlar yaptıları kaynaklarda görünmektedir.

Bunları göz önüne alırsak, Hsiung-nu'ların toplumundaki asıl rekabetin, «köle sahipleri» ile «köleler» arasında değil, soy sülâlesi ve doğum usulüne dayanan, «aristokrat ve idareci sınıflar» - Shan-yü soyu ve onunla evlenme ilişkilerinde bulunan soylar- ile idare edilen kabileler arasında bulunduğunu söyleyebiliriz.

ОБ ОБЩЕМ И ОСОБЕННОМ В РАЗВИТИИ ТЮРКСКОЙ СТЕПНОЙ ЦИВИЛИЗАЦИИ

Б.Е. КУМЕКОВ*

Кардинальный скачок в развитии степных обществ на обширных просторах евразийской аридной зоны произошел с переходом к кочевому скотоводству. В эту эпоху наблюдаются существенные изменения в уровне общественного развития и материальной культуры, позволяющие связать кочевое общество с понятием цивилизация. Между тем, основные параметры цивилизации оседлого ареала большинство исследователей сопрягают с институтом государства, городами и письменностью. Это понимание дефиниций главных составляющих цивилизации проистекало из закономерностей развития оседло-земледельческих культур, где формировались основы урбанизма и первых цивилизаций.

Впрочем, парадигмы цивилизации оседлых культур имеют проявления и в степной цивилизации соответственно со свойственной ей самобытной спецификой.

Зарождение государственности на территории Казахстана связано с сакским обществом (VIII-III вв. до н.э.), основным видом деятельности которого было кочевое и полукочевое скотоводческое хозяйство. Очевидцы характеризуют их как доблестных воинов, богатых конями, великолепных наездников и самых искусных стрелков из лука в мире. Саки находились на стадии формирования раннеклассового общества, с рельефным выделением трех сословий во главе с элитой, с тенденцией развития по пути военного аристократического политогенеза. Верховный вождь (царь) считался избранником богов, посредником между небом и землей. Принципиально новым явлением в культурном творчестве саков стало изобразительное искусство, получившее наименование «звериный стиль», который сложился как

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выражение их мировоззрения, как воплощение в художественной культуре их мифологии, как особая знаковая система для выражения идеологии кочевников. Это и свидетельство высокого уровня знания технологии металла и развитости художественного мышления.

В IV-III вв. до н.э. у саков появляется письменность - важный атрибут государственности. Судя по всему, ход становления государства и появления письма у саков был процессом взаимосвязанным, одновременным.

Специфика кочевого быта порождала характерные особенности в социуме. В условиях номадного общества наибольшее значение имела не земля, а население. Кочевники могли подвинуться, передвинуться, более того мигрировать, чего нельзя сказать о земледельческом населении, привязанном к земле. В кочевой среде действовал принцип – будет народ, найдется земля. Приоритет населения в Великой степи по отношению к земле является одним из важнейших методологических принципов в понимании степной цивилизации как важного явления в мировой истории.

Вместе с тем специфика степной цивилизации нашла отражение и в культуре основополагающей скотоводческой деятельности, доминанте развития производительных сил.

С эпохи ранних кочевников, как мне представляется, в развитии производительных сил происходит радикальная трансформация. После перехода к всадничеству, оснащения конской упряжи и вооружения, рассчитанного на кочевника, скотоводы Великой степи ступили на биологический путь развития производительных сил вместо технологического характерного для оседлых культур. Знамением эпохи стало генеральное направление, связанное с выведением пород и мастей скота. Гунны разводили лошадей лучших пород. Конница гуннов, как отмечается в китайской летописи, делилась на четыре армии, различавшиеся мастью коней, при этом десятки тысяч воинов восседали на одной масти: на белых, серых, вороных и рыжих конях. Хорошо обученные и выносливые, они были основой армии и могущества государства. В эпоху раннего средневековья арабский путешественник Тамим ибн Бахр (IX в.) видел царя кимеков и его войско, восседавших на лошадях «с тонкими копытами», по всей вероятности, он имел в виду стройную породу лошадей. Вследствие высокой специализации лошади Дешт-и Кипчака были всегда востребованы в сопредельных и отдаленных странах и ценились высоко.

Наряду с этим в источниках имеются описания пород овец. У тюрков, сообщает арабский географ X в. Ибн аль-Факих, «овца дает приплод не менее четырех, а бывает, что и пять и шесть ягнят. Если же приплоду бывает два или три, то только в единичных случаях». Вместе с тем одна порода овец была с маленьким хвостом и короткой шерстью, приспособленная покрывать

большие расстояние. Другая, очень крупная с большим хвостом (курдюком), который волочился по земле. Иногда такие курдюки клали на маленькие тележки.

Выведение пород скота, способного к сезонному кочеванию, выработка методов использования пастбищ и водных ресурсов территории позволили создать экологическую материальную основу развития степной цивилизации. При отсутствии внешних воздействий такая цивилизация вела к интенсификации производства без ущерба экологического фонда.

Процесс зарождения государственности, начавшийся в сакском обществе, получил дальнейшее развитие в обществах кыргызов, кипчаков, усуней, канглы и, в особенности, крупном военно-политическом образовании гуннов, создателей первой кочевой империи, а вскоре тюркских преемников в Центральной Азии. Политегенез гуннов служит во многом моделью для последующих государственных образовании. Специфика верховной власти гуннского общества заключалась в том, что государством правил династийный род во главе с верховным правителем. Конфедерация гуннов состояла из 24 племен, структура которой была строго регламентирована в соответствии с династийным, социальным и политическим уровнем каждой из этнических единиц. Строгая иерархия родов и племен в кочевнических государствах Великой степи была основополагающим принципом общественного и государственного развития. Своеобразие динамики этносоциальной общности степной цивилизации обнаруживает атрибуты развитой государственности с родоплеменными структурами, существующими как активно действующие социальные и социально-психологические факторы.

Армия гуннов строилась по десятичной системе исчисления, для поддержания в ней строго порядка и дисциплины. Военно-административная система в кочевом обществе составляла единое целое в отличие от оседло-земледельческой полосы, где они были разделены. Все высшие администраторы одновременно являлись и военачальниками. Военной организации и военно-административной системе придавалось исключительное значение, ибо они отражали специфику кочевого быта и были наиболее органичными и удобными для кочевого способа существования.

Государственные традиции гуннов стали реальным прообразом государств кочевников евразийских степей.

В VI в. начинается новый этап в развитии государственности кочевников, связанный с первой евразийской империей – Тюркским каганатом. Китайская историография связывает историю тюрков с распадом гуннской державы. По представлениям тюрков, средоточием их государственности, лицом, воплощавшим в себе государство, являлся каган. Тюркские каганы правили по воле Неба, которое они чтили и понимали в двух ипостасях – в

материальном смысле и как верховное божество. Они верили, что каганы обладают «небесной харизмой», особой силой и качествами, дарованными им Небом.

Традиционная форма военно-административного управления включала разделение на центр, восточную и западную части, обеспечивая стабильность управления и обороны.

Племена в социальном плане делились на аристократические, подчиненные и вассальные, связанные между собой строго установленными иерархическими отношениями.

Одним из высших достижений эпохи стало создание и широкое распространение в Центральной и Средний Азии, Восточной Европе древнетюркской письменности, которая обладала двумя существенными и неоспоримыми достоинствами – автохтонностью и аутентичностью. Древнетюркская письменность была наиболее приспособленной для передачи фонетических закономерностей тюркских языков и диалектов. Очевидно, необходимость в письме возникла из нужд административной, хозяйственной и дипломатической практики, из потребности фиксации государственных актов и традиций. Древнетюркское письмо стало важным атрибутом духовности кыргызов на Енисее и в Семиречье. Арабский путешественник Абу Дулаф (X в.) свидетельствовал о наличие письменности у кимеков. Археологические находки двух бронзовых зеркал из Прииртышья и Тарбагатая с древнетюркской надписью были прочтены С.Г. Кляшторным и атрибутированы как кимекские. Впрочем Джанаха ибн Хакана ал-Кимеки, пожалуй, можно считать первым известным нам писателем, уроженцем Восточного Казахстана, жившего, по всей вероятности, в X-XI вв, написавшего книгу на арабском языке о своем народе и государстве.

Разнообразно собственно кипчакское письменное наследие XII-XVII вв., охватывающее хроники, юридические документы, ярлыки, лингвистические труды, агиографические сочинения, военные трактаты, художественные произведения в прозе и лирике.

Этнополитические объединения IX-XII вв. огузов, карлуков, кыргызов, кимеков, кипчаков продолжили государственно-административные, военные и социально-культурные традиции тюркских каганатов. Схожесть общественного устройства, политической организации, их этнокультурное родство позволяет рассматривать время их существования как относительно цельный историко-культурный период степных империй.

Исследование степной цивилизации периода ее расцвета в особенности значимо на материалах по Кипчакскому ханству (XI-нач.XIII в.), так как именно оно явилось последним государством с наиболее развитой системой цивилизацией, приспособленной к условиям хозяйствования в аридной зоне.

В этой связи необходимо выработать новые подходы к изучению цивилизации степного населения Евразии, сумевшей создать возможности для освоения человеком аридных зон, недоступных для других способов хозяйствования. Номадная цивилизация, основанная на применении биологических объектов в качестве предмета и орудия труда, вела к максимально возможному использованию экологического потенциала степной зоны, что имеет не только актуальное теоретическое, но и большое прикладное значение.

Описание в древней и средневековой иноземной историографии тюркоязычных народов и племен Великой степи как кочевников, не знающих других занятий, кроме скотоводства и охоты, стало обязательным трафаретом. Однако, в этом же блоке письменных памятников совершенно другие сведения сообщают независимые друг от друга средневековые авторы IX-XII в.в. об освоении кочевниками городской культуры. В частности, Тамим ибн Бахр, лично видевший кагана кимеков, свидетельствует, что около ставки кагана имеются селения и возделанные земли. Большую информацию о городской культуре огузов, карлуков, кыргызов, кимеков, кипчаков приводит ал-Идриси. Их города располагались по берегам озер, рек, неприступных горных районах, местах разработок полезных ископаемых. Значительная часть городов и поселений находилась на торговых трассах. Характерной чертой этих городов было то, что все они были хорошо укреплены, в каждом из них располагалось войско с наместником.

Сильная каганская власть и запросы элитарной кочевой знати стали атрибутами социального заказа, стимулировавшего развитие высоких образцов ремесел и изготовление престижных предметов повседневного быта. Так, в кимекском городе Гагане имелась мастерская по изготовлению одежды из красного и желтого шелка, которую носили только знатные люди. «Из железа тамошние мастера делают предметы необычайной красоты», сообщает ал-Идриси. Поэт ал-Джахиз (IX в.) воздает хвалу кимекской деревянной посуде, которая наряду с китайской посудой повсюду пользовалась популярностью.

Тесная взаимосвязь городской и степной культур в кочевом обществе привела к новации в сфере урбанизации, к появлению ремесленно-торговых городов, специализирующихся на производстве экспортных товаров. В том же городе Гагане делали искусные меховые одежды, а «купцы развозили их во множестве в другие страны» (ал-Идриси).

В целом наметившийся симбиоз степной и городской культур составил подвижную структуру, определивший сравнительно высокий динамизм степной цивилизации.

Благодаря межпоколенной адаптации к географической среде и доминирующему скотоводческому хозяйству кочевые племена развивали традиции степной культуры, наиболее устойчивый блок которой был связан с особым

феноменом, со степным образом жизни. Его глубинные истоки берут начало в бронзовом веке, стандарты утверждаются в сакской историко-культурной общности, дальнейшее развитие по линии преемственной связи наблюдается в тюркский период. В целом высокая степень преемственности характерна для степного образа жизни во времени и пространстве. При всех этнических и локальных вариантах были выработаны стереотипы в культуре, сохранившиеся в течение длительных исторических периодов. Особенно рельефно они проявились в материальной и духовной культуре, в нравственных и поведенческих нормах тюркских этносов.

В то же время степная цивилизация была обществом открытым, находилась в постоянном взаимодействии с земледельческими оседлыми цивилизациями, пользуясь их достижениями и обогащая их своими. В недрах степной цивилизации зародились такие мощные идеологические течения, как зороастризм, ислам и тенгрианство. До настоящего времени практически не исследованы процессы возникновения и распространения этих учений и верований, которые оказали заметное влияние на развитие духовной культуры человечества.

Вместе с тем, на просторах Великой степи создается информационное поле повышенной коммуникабельности, приведшей к высокой степени преемственности хозяйственных, социальных, культурных и политических институтов, возникавших в разное время и сохранявшихся в течение длительных исторических периодов. Сложившееся в степной цивилизации историко-культурное наследие стало бесценным достоянием и неувядаемой сокровищницей тюркских народов.

Обобщая длительный период изучения истории тюркских кочевых скотоводческих народов, можно сделать вывод, что к настоящему времени завершился в основном этап накопления фактов. За последние два века поколениями ученых накоплен огромный банк данных, характеризующих ход исторического процесса, позволяющий в значительной степени ответить на вопросы о том, что происходило в том или ином регионе, в тот или иной период. Пришло время осмысления этих данных, выявления внутренних закономерностей развития человеческого общества, отвечать на вопрос, почему происходило то или иное событие, ставить задачи осознания процессов на уровне цивилизации, их взаимодействия, взаимовлияния, постепенной интеграции в единую общечеловеческую цивилизацию.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UIGHURS AND TANG CHINA, 744-840

Colin MACKERRAS *

This article focuses on the relations between the Uighur state of the period 744 to 840 and China under the Tang dynasty and their mutual impact. The article covers four aspects of the relationship: the military, diplomatic, economic, as well as alliances through marriage.[1] Although the influence was mutual, that from China on the Uighur state was greater than the other way around. This was hardly surprising given the imbalance between the size of the populations and age of the cultures. Moreover, not all this influence from China was specifically Chinese, since a major element was in the form of Manicheism, which is Persian in origin and not a religion the Chinese liked.

The Uighur state of 744 to 840 was among the earliest established by the Turkic peoples and forms a major milestone in the development of Turkic civilization. At that time the Uighurs controlled a vast territory, their capital city being Karabalghasun, which was located on the High Orkhon River in what is now the Republic of Mongolia.[2] They were a warlike people, among whom the horse was a particularly important cultural icon for a range of reasons, including above all its use for transport.[3]

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[1]This article is slightly adapted from 'Uygur-Tang Relations, 744-840', *Central Asian Survey* Vol. 19, No. 2, June 2000, pp. 223-34.

[2]On the extent of the Uighur state and its ethnic composition, neither of which were entirely constant over the ninety-six years of its existence, see Colin Mackerras, 'The Uighurs', in Denis Sinor, ed., *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 320-3.

[3]One highly scholarly and annotated Japanese translation of the Uighur biographies in the *Jiu Tangshu* (*Old Tang History*) and the *Xin Tangshu* (*New Tang History*) includes them among the 'horse-riding peoples'. See Saguchi Tōru, 'Kaikotsu den' ('The Biographies of the Uighurs'), in Saguchi Tōru, a.o., *Kiba Minzoku Shi 2, Seishi Hokuteki Den* (*The History of Horse-Riding Peoples 2; The Biographies of the Northern Peoples in the Standard Histories*) (Tokyo: Heibon sha, 1972), pp. 299-462. On the transportation network in the Uighur state see also Yang Shengmin, *Huihe Shi* (*History of the Huihe*) (Changchun: Jilin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991), pp. 149-60.

The Uighur state was founded by a kagan whom the Chinese sources call Guli peiluo. After forming a coalition with the neighbouring Basmil and Kharlukh peoples to overthrow the Eastern Türks (whom the Chinese sources term Tujue), the main power-holders in the region of the day, Guli peiluo immediately turned against his allies and subdued them to place himself in total control. His successor, whom the Chinese sources call Moyancho, took over in 747 and died in 759. The most powerful ruler of Guli peiluo's Kagan's dynasty was his grandson Bögü Kagan (reigned 759-79), but under the latter's successor Dun Bagha, Uighur power began to decline. After Dun's death in 789, the disintegration of the dynasty gathered momentum, with power falling into the hands of the chief minister entitled *El ögäsi* (Adviser of the Empire). Despite his best efforts this man failed to hold the Uighur outpost Beiting, situated close to the contemporary city of Ürümqi, as a result of which the Uighurs lost much of their western territory.

In 795 the 'Adviser of the Empire', having earlier retaken Beiting for the Uighurs, overthrew the ruling dynasty and established his own. The Tang court acknowledged him as the Kagan Who Cherishes Sincerity (Huaixin Kagan). This man, possibly the greatest of all Uighur rulers of the period under discussion here, brought about a major revival of the Uighur state. He died in 808, after thirteen years on the throne.[4] His successor, to whom the Tang court accorded the title of Kagan Who Preserves Righteousness (Baoyi Kagan), also enjoyed a long and reasonably successful reign. However, decline thereafter was fairly rapid and decisive, leading to a famine, pestilence and unusually heavy snowfalls in 839, which killed large numbers of the Uighurs' horses and sheep. The following year the Uighur state was overthrown by the Kyrgyz, and the main body of the Uighurs fled to the west.[5]

One of the most important areas of social change which the Uighurs underwent during the century or so under discussion in this article was their conversion to Manicheism, an originally Persian religion which posits a sharp dichotomy between spirit, embodying the forces of good, and matter, representing all that is evil. It was while he was in Luoyang from late 762 to early 763 fighting against the last embers of the An Lushan rebellion that Bögü Kagan was converted to Manicheism. This religion reached China early in the eighth century but, as one contemporary authority states, 'it was only allowed to be propagated among

[4]There is considerable confusion in the Chinese sources over Huaixin Kagan's death, some accounts putting it in 805, not 808. For a brief summary of the issues, together with references to the accounts of many other scholars and reasons for preferring the year 808 over 805 for the dynastic founder's death, see Colin Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire According to the T'ang Dynastic Histories* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1972), pp. 187-90. It rests to a large extent on arguments put forward by Yamada Nobuo in 'Kyūsei Kaikotsu kahan no keifu', ('Genealogy of the Kagans of the Nine Surnames', *Tōyō Gakuhō* (*Oriental Studies*), Vol. 33, Nos. 3 and 4, 1950, 95-108.

[5]See Ouyang Xiu, Song Qi, a.o., comp., *Xin Tangshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), Ch. 217B, Vol.. 19, p. 6130.

members of the foreign communities'.[6] However, there were temples dedicated to it in parts of China during the Tang dynasty, including in Luoyang, which was the most important city in all China other than the capital Chang'an.[7]

When Bögü Kagan returned to Karabalghasun, he took steps to impose Manicheism on his people.The Uighur state was the only one in Eastern Asia ever to adopt this religion as its formal faith, making Bögü Kagan's conversion of considerable historical interest and significance. Although there was a reaction against Manicheism under Dun Bagha, its power was reestablished under the second dynasty.[8] The influence of Manicheism survived for a while among some Uighur communities after 840, but was gradually replaced first by Buddhism and later by Islam, in which the great majority of Uighur people still believe.[9]

Military Relations

Overwhelmingly the most important example of Uighur military assistance to Tang China was against the An Lushan rebellion, which broke out at the end of 755 in the last days of the great Tang Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712-56), one of the most famous monarchs in Chinese history, and ravaged China until 763. In return for this assistance the Uighur rulers exacted a very high price. They were able to secure substantial political influence in China as well as a range of other advantages, including great economic benefit.

The An Lushan rebellion was by far the largest and most important rebellion in medieval China. Although the Tang court eventually defeated the rebellion, it was dealt a blow so heavy that it never fully recovered. Moreover, the rebellion unleashed forces in China that exercised a long-range impact on its history.

Uighur military assistance to the Tang court against the rebellion took place mainly in two phases. The first was late in 757 in battles for China's two main cities, Chang'an and Luoyang. The second took place almost exactly five years later and saw the Uighur forces play a decisive role in recapturing Luoyang from the rebels. In the first phase, the main Uighur commander was the eldest son of Moyancho Kagan, but in the second it was Bögü Kagan himself.

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[6]Samuel N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia & China* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), p. 11.

[7]See Samuel N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China, A Historical Survey* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), pp. 189-99 for an account of Manicheism in Tang China. For the Kagan's conversion to Manicheism, Edouard Chavannes and P. Pelliot, 'Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine', *Journal Asiatique*, 11e sér. 1, 1913, pp. 189ff remains the classic account.

[8]For an account of Manicheism in the Uighur state see Mackerras, op cit, Ref 2, pp. 330-4.

[9]For an account of Uighur history during this period, including reference to many primary sources, see Feng Jiasheng, a.o., comp., *Weiwuer Zu Shiliao Jianbian* (*Concise Extracts from Historical Materials on the Uighur Nationality*), 2 vols. (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1981), Vol. 1, pp. 14-36, including a chronological chart of rulers and main events, pp. 21-2.

The rebellion itself may be divided into two phases. In the first An Lushan seized Chang'an in the summer of 756, having declared himself emperor at the beginning of the same year. However, early in 757 he was assassinated by a subordinate, in collaboration with his own son An Qingxu, who took control of the rebellion. The second phase began in April 759 when the rebel general Shi Siming won a great victory at Xiangzhou in Hebei, following it up by bringing about An Qingxu's death and taking command of the rebellion. In June 760 he succeeded in taking Luoyang again for the rebels but in April 761 Shi Siming was assassinated by his son Shi Chaoyi who declared himself emperor, killed his brothers and took command of the rebellion. It was not until Shi Chaoyi's suicide in 763 that the great rebellion was finally over.

Uighur troops played a role in the recapture of the capital Chang'an in November 757. A Tang force approached the city from the Xiangji Temple to the southwest attempting to retake it. When the rebels advanced from Chang'an to confront them, the Uighurs assisted in a successful attempt to prevent them from ambushing the Tang force's rear. Moving north the Uighurs cut off the rebel retreat back into the city and wedged An Qingxu's forces between themselves and the Tang forward guard to the south. It was due to the Uighurs that the Battle of Xiangji thus resulted in a major Tang victory.

On 30 November 757 the great Chinese commander Guo Ziyi (697-781), whose efforts were second to none in the defeat of the rebellion, fought a battle outside Luoyang against An Qingxu's followers. Guo's army was on the plain, while the rebels were advancing against it from a hill and thus at a strategic advantage. Suddenly a Uighur contingent descended on the rebels from further up the hill taking them by surprise and winning the day for the Tang government. A few days later the government forces entered Luoyang, while the Uighurs plundered the city for three days, following an agreement reached earlier at Chang'an.

The second phase of Uighur assistance against the rebellion was considerably more important than the first. In May 762 both Xuanzong and his successor Suzong (r. 756-62) died and China went into mourning. Shi Chaoyi used the occasion of the double mourning to solicit help from the Uighurs, claiming that China was without an emperor. In fact, although the country was undoubtedly in a most parlous state, Daizong, who as heir apparent had led troops against the rebellion, ascended the throne on 18 May 762. Uighur troops, led by Bögü Kagan responded to Shi's request and had reached as far as the northern arm of the Yellow River when they were persuaded to change their mind and support not the rebels but the Tang government. What happened was that Bögü Kagan's wife, the Katun, was the daughter of one of the Tang's foremost generals Pugu Huaien. She arranged a meeting between her husband and father, who persuaded the Kagan that Shi Chaoyi had lied to him, that there was indeed a Tang monarch on the throne and that he should support the Emperor, not the rebels.

Pugu Huaien and the Uighurs advanced as the Tang forward guard to the north of Luoyang, intending to try and retake the city. Shi Chaoyi took up the challenge and, on 20 November 762, fought a battle against the Tang in the northern suburbs of Luoyang. The result was a decisive victory for the Tang. Shi Chaoyi fled to the east, giving up the city to the Tang.[10]

If the Uighurs had engaged in pillage after the 757 victory, that which followed their 762 triumph was far more savage. One particularly shocking incident is recorded in the Chinese sources. In order to escape the plunder, many citizens sought refuge in the stupas of two Buddhist temples, including the famous Baima Temple, often regarded as a kind of cradle of Buddhism in China. The Uighurs set fire to the stupas, both standard histories claiming very high casualties from the blaze.[11]

Late in 764, Pugu Huaien, after rendering so much help against the An Lushan rebellion, himself rebelled against the Tang under very complicated circumstances which are well beyond the scope of this article. Among his supporters were some Uighurs and Tibetans. The latter had posed a considerable threat to Tang China in the period leading up to this and even occupied the capital Chang'an for a few days in 763. In the autumn of 765 Pugu Huaien renewed his rebellion with armies much larger than in the previous year, including Uighurs and Tibetans, as well as from several other non-Chinese peoples. Pugu died in September 765, and the news of his death reached his Uighur and Tibetan followers just when they were about to attack the city of Jingyang, not far northeast of Chang'an. However, just as in 762, the Uighurs were persuaded to change their support towards the Tang. This time, the man who brought about this change of heart was Guo Ziyi. The result was that the Uighurs fought not against the Tang but the Tibetans, seriously defeating them in November 765.

This was the last time that the Uighurs fought on the same side as the Tang in an effective military alliance. For the Tang, the price was very high, since the Uighurs used their services against rebellion for political and economic purposes. It is clear that they were unreliable allies, quite prepared to turn against the Tang if it suited them to do so. All cases of military assistance came in the first Uighur dynasty. It is interesting that the only case of assistance offered to the Tang under

[10]The fight against the An Lushan rebellion looms very large in the early part of the Uighur biographies in the Tang standard histories. See Liu Xu, Zhao Ying, a.o., comp., *Jiu Tangshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), Ch. 195, Vol. 16, pp. 5198-204 and *Xin Tangshu*, Ch. 217A, Vol. 19, pp. 6115-9. For translations of the relevant passages into English see Mackerras, op cit, Ref 4, pp. 54-75, where the texts of the two histories are presented side by side to show the importance of parallel passages. For translation into Japanese see Saguchi, Ref 3, pp. 313-29 (*Jiu Tangshu*) and pp. 376-88 (*Xin Tangshu*).

[11]The *Old Tang History* gives the figure of 10,000, while the *New Tang History* says more than 10,000. The figures are clearly approximations and mean 'a large figure'. See *Jiu Tangshu*, Ch. 195, Vol. 16, p. 5204 and *Xin Tangshu*, Ch. 217A, Vol. 19, p. 6119.

the second dynasty was actually declined. This was in 821 when the Tang Emperor Muzong (r. 820-4) wanted to suppress the independent military governor Wang Tingcou (d. 834), who had seized power in Hebei without authority from Chang'an. Some 3,000 Uighur troops came to give unsolicited help, but the court decided to refuse it on the grounds that the Uighurs had taken advantage of China's debt to them for their meritorious service in the recapture of Luoyang in 762 and 'been overbearing, unrestrained and difficult to manage'.[12]

Perhaps one should add, in fairness, that the details of the relationship come from the Chinese side, not the Uighur. From the Uighur point of view there was no reason why they should be loyal to the Tang Emperor, nor was there any reason why they should not exact a price. What may have seemed 'overbearing, unrestrained and difficult to manage' to the Chinese may have looked quite different, and much more defensible, to the Uighurs. To me the most shocking incident of the time was the incineration of civilians who had fled to the Buddhist monasteries. I have no wish to defend the Uighur action, but point out that again we are hearing it only from the Chinese point of view. It is quite possible that a Uighur account might have the facts, the slant and the allocation of blame very differently from the Chinese sources, which are the only ones to which the modern historian has access.

Diplomatic Relations

In diplomatic terms, perhaps the most important items recorded in the Chinese histories are that the Tang court gave each new kagan an officially appointed (*feng*) title. This was equivalent to a formal recognition by the Tang court. The Chinese term suggests that it was the Emperor himself who bestowed power on the kagan. It is in fact highly unlikely that the kagans saw it like that, since their ideology was specific that it was Heaven from whom they received their power.[13] Nevertheless, there is no reason at all to doubt that the Uighur kagans placed great value on the Tang court's recognition. Except for the decade 795 to 805 they regularly sent envoys to court to keep the Chinese Emperor informed about what was happening in their realm and to give tribute.[14]

Despite this, the various kagans and their courtiers were not entirely consistent in their attitude towards Tang China. Another community in the Uighur state with

[12] *Jiu Tangshu*, Ch. 195, Vol. 16, p. 5212.

[13] See Olaf Hansen, 'Zur sogdischen Inschrift auf dem dreisprachigen Denkmal vol Karabalgasun', *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, Vol. 44, No. 3, 1930, p. 15. Here is cited a passage from the Sogdian version of the Karabalgasun Inscription referring to one kagan as 'the great Turkic ruler of the world who has received his splendour from Heaven'. See also Mackerras, op cit, Ref 2, p. 326.

[14] For a list of all the embassies sent between the Tang and Uighur courts between 744 and 840 see Colin Mackerras, 'Sino-Uighur diplomatic and trade contacts (744 to 840)', *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol 13, No. 3, 1969, pp. 221-38.

substantial political and economic power was the Sogdians, a people with a strong and long-standing connection with Manicheism. Although Sogdian influence predates Bögü Kagan's conversion to Manicheism, it grew greatly after that event. Indeed, so influential did they become that they came to form a kind of state within a state which no ruler could afford to ignore.

Yet there remained a group at court which resented both the Sogdians and the new religion. One of these was Dun Bagha, the first cousin and chief minister of Bögü Kagan. In 779 the Sogdians advised Bögü Kagan to invade China, taking advantage of the mourning which followed the death of Emperor Daizong (r. 762-79). Dun Bagha was strongly opposed to the plan and, when he saw his influence succumb to that of the Sogdians, took matters into his own hands, assassinated Bögü Kagan and seized the throne himself. He then instituted an anti-Sogdian and pro-Chinese policy, one part of which was an attempt to counter the influence of Manicheism. However, it appears that Manicheism had struck deep roots among the Uighurs and it was reinstated as the favoured religion soon after Dun Bagha died in 789.

It is likely that there were virtually no relations between Tang China and the Uighur state between 795 and 805. The evidence for this is that the Chinese sources make hardly any reference to the Uighurs for those years.[15] Indeed, it appears that the restoration of relations in 805 was taken by some historians to indicate that the dynastic founder Huaixin Kagan had died. The *New Tang History* records that the official Sun Gao was ordered to Karabalghasun to offer condolences and recognize his successor.[16] However, what Sun was actually doing was not condoling over a kagan's death but reestablishing diplomatic relations after a decade of hiatus.[17]

Religion was involved also in the diplomatic relations between Tang China and the restored Uighur state of the second dynasty. Early in 807 a Uighur embassy arrived in Chang'an. There was nothing unusual about that. What was striking was that that 'for the first time they were accompanied by some Manicheans'. Evidently these religious devotees were stronger than ever at the restored Uighur court. The *New Tang History* comments tersely that the kagan 'had them take constant part in affairs of state'.[18]

Further evidence of Manichean interest in Tang-Uighur diplomatic relations at this time comes from an imperial letter of 807, written by the imperial censor and famous poet Bai Juyi. It grants permission to the Uighur Kagan, no doubt requested

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[15]See ibid., p. 232.
[16]*Xin Tangshu*, Ch. 217A, Vol. 19, p. 6126.
[17]See Mackerras, op cit, Ref 4, p. 189.
[18]*Xin Tangshu*, Ch. 217A, Vol. 19, p. 6126. See also Chavannes and Pelliot, op cit, Ref 7, pp. 275-6.

by the embassy that had arrived earlier the same year, to establish Manichean temples both in Luoyang and Taiyuan. The significance of Luoyang was that it had been the city where Bögü Kagan had been converted to the religion. According to the letter, the Emperor considered the request to be 'a matter which has as its cause the accumulation of merits and the spirit of it is pure and dignified'.[19] The court even agreed to send imperial envoys to the Manichean priests, bringing them small gifts from the Emperor, and to detail a local military official to look after the priests and furnish them with shelter. It is likely that this imperial letter was a sign of great concession to a powerful neighbour on the part of the court, probably still due to the part the Uighurs had played in the suppression of the An Lushan rebellion.

Relations Through Diplomatic Marriages

One of the most important of all aspects of diplomatic relations between Tang China and the Uighurs was marriage between Chinese princesses and Uighur rulers. Indeed, the sending of princesses to marry foreign rulers was a very common feature of the Tang court's diplomacy, as indeed of other Chinese dynasties. Together with trading silk for horses, it was one of the most important ways of preserving peace along the north-western borders of Tang China. It is undoubtedly true, as modern Chinese scholars claim, that diplomatic marriages 'promoted cultural and economic relations' between the Tang court and surrounding peoples.[20]

Uighur kagans married six Chinese princesses during the period 744 to 840. The second of the kagans, Moyancho, was granted a marital alliance in 758, his bride being the Princess of Ningguo, who was the second daughter of Emperor Suzong. He also took as concubine the Younger Princess of Ningguo, who had gone to accompany the Princess of Ningguo. Bögü Kagan married two of the daughters of Pugu Huaien. Whereas the Princess of Ningguo returned home on Moyancho's death in 759, the Younger Princess stayed behind as another katun for Bögü Kagan. Dun Bagha married the Princess of Xian'an, the eighth daughter of Emperor Dezong (r. 779-805). The Princess of Taihe was the seventeenth daughter of the Tang Emperor Xianzong (805-20) and went to marry the Uighur kagan in 821. What is striking is that, among those women whom the Tang court granted to foreign rulers as brides, three of them, the Princesses of Ningguo, Xian'an and

[19]Lieu, op cit, Ref 7, pp. 194-5. See also P. Zieme, 'Die Uiguren und ihre Beziehungen zu China', *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 17, 1973, pp. 285-7.

[20]For instance, see Ren Chongyue and Luo Xianyou, 'Shilun Tangdai de heqin zhengce' ('On the Diplomatic Marriage Policies of the Tang Dynasty'), in Policy Research Room of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, comp., *Zhongguo Minzu Guanxi Shi Lunwen Ji*, *Xiaji* (*Papers on the History of China's Nationality Relations, Last Volume*) (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1982), p. 630.

Taihe were actually the daughters of Chinese emperors.[21] This shows something very special about the Uighurs in terms of their importance for Tang China among foreign peoples.

Dun Bagha's marriage with the Princess of Xian'an was definitely a sign of his positive attitude towards Tang China. He sent out a large embassy to greet her, so large indeed that not all of it was allowed to go right to Chang'an. The Princess of Xian'an went to marry Dun Bagha in 787 and lived twenty-one years among the Uighurs, dying in 808. She was the katun not only of Dun Bagha but of his successors as well, since she followed the custom of simply marrying whichever kagan was on the throne. She was the first Tang imperial daughter actually to die as wife of a foreign ruler.

The most interesting aspect of relations during the second dynasty, and the most important of the diplomatic marriages, was that between the Uighur kagan and the Princess of Taihe. This marriage was anything but automatic. Baoyi Kagan first requested a Chinese princess as early as 813, but Xianzong rejected him for several years. It was not until a third mission had come to court that Xianzong finally gave his consent in 820. As it happened, he died immediately afterwards and it was his successor Muzong who actually implemented his decision. We find a similar irony on the Uighurs side: it was Baoyi Kagan's successor who actually married the Princess of Taihe, Baoyi himself having died before her arrival in Karabalgasun.

The reason why Xianzong refused the marriage for so long was probably because of political struggle at the Chinese court. The most powerful opponent of the marriage was the eunuch Tutu Chengcui, who dominated the government throughout much of Xianzong's reign. He was murdered and his clique defeated late in Xianzong's period. It was soon afterwards that the third delegation arrived from Baoyi Kagan requesting a diplomatic marriage, and only then that Xianzong finally gave his consent.[22]

The marriage clearly meant a great deal to the Uighurs. The delegation sent to greet her included 2,000 chiefs of tribes, as well as tribute of 20,000 horses and 1,000 camels. According to the *New Tang History*, 'never before had any embassy to the Central Kingdom from any foreign state', not merely from the Uighurs, 'been as large as this one'.[23] The Chinese themselves apparently placed considerable weight on the marriage. Emperor Muzong went out to one of the gates in the city walls to see his sister off, while the masses of the people 'poured out of the city to

[21]See the still classic account of Kuang Pingzhang, in 'Tangdai gongzhu heqin kao' ('A Study of the Diplomatic Marriages of Tang Dynasty Princesses'), *Shixue Nianbao* (*Historical Studies Annual*), Vol 2, No. 2, 1935, pp. 49ff.

[22]On the reasons for Xianzong's agreement to the marriage after holding out against it for so long see Kuang, op cit, Ref 21, p. 54 and Mackerras, op cit, Ref 4, pp. 176-7.

[23]*Xin Tangshu*, Ch. 217B, Vol. 19, p. 6129.

watch',[24] with 'crowds of officials standing in order of rank to farewell her along the way'.[25] The Chinese sources also allocate considerable space to describing the Princess of Taihe's wedding ceremony in Karabalghasun.

What follows from this material is that the Princess's marriage to the Uighur Kagan was an event with major implications for diplomatic and cultural relations between the two peoples. It suggests most strongly that, with Xianzong's misgivings overcome, friendship had reached a level higher than at any previous time. It is also clear that the Uighurs had by that time become very enthusiastic about China and its cultural impact on their own society.

Trade and Economic Relations

Another very important aspect of Uighur-Tang relations, and a further one influenced by the military assistance given against the An Lushan rebellion was the trade of silk for horses. The reference to 'service to China' in the following passage is clearly a reference to the role of the Uighurs against the great rebellion.

After the Qianyuan period (758-60), the Uighurs sent frequent embassies with horses to trade at an agreed price for silken fabrics. In doing so, they were taking advantage of their service to China. Usually they came annually, trading one horse for forty pieces of silk. Every time they came they brought several tens of thousands of horses.... The Uighurs were able to acquire as much silk as they wanted, but we got only useless horses. The court found the whole trade extremely distressing.[26]

That this was an imposed trade, into which the Chinese entered only because they were forced to do so, is quite obvious from the above passage. According to a British authority, a piece of silk at that time represented the product of about one day's work, in other words it took one woman one day to produce a piece of silk.[27] The quantity of silk which the Uighurs were able to acquire was very large.

In September 773 a Uighur ambassador brought in to Chang'an a herd of some 10,000 horses to trade. The report in the *Old Tang History* carries some interesting implications for the trade. 'The payments for the horses came from taxation in grain and money, so Daizong, who did not wish to increase the burden on his people, ordered officials to make an estimate of the year's financial income and allowed the trade of only 6,000 horses'.[28]

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[24] *Jiu Tangshu*, Ch. 195, Vol. 16, p. 5211.
[25] *Xin Tangshu*, Ch. 217B, Vol. 19, p. 6129.
[26] *Jiu Tangshu*, Ch. 195, Vol. 16, p. 5207. There are varying accounts of the precise numbers of horses. Yang Shengmin (Ref 3, p. 147) cites research suggesting that over the eighty years following its large-scale beginning, the Uighurs brought in on average 10,000 to 20,000 horses each year.
[27] Arthur Waley, *The Life and Times of Po Chü-i, 772-846 A.D.* (New York: Macmillan, 1949), p. 221.
[28] *Jiu Tangshu*, Ch. 195, Vol. 16, p. 5207.

It appears that the Emperor did not simply bow down automatically whenever the Uighurs came to sell their horses. These may have taken it for granted that they could get rid of their horses, but that was by no means what the Tang court thought. The Emperor could resist if he really wanted to.

It emerges from this passage, also, that the court did not automatically pay for the horses with silk. The Uighurs could hope to secure not only silk but even money for their horses. Such money might come from government revenue, in the form of taxation, upon which there were many other demands. It is also clear from the passage that the trade in horses was very substantial, many thousands per year. This was the official state-to-state trade only. Uighurs who went to China for non-commercial purposes could also pursue trading activities on the side. There is evidence also that Chinese envoys who went to Karabalghasun for official purposes could make money by privately selling commodities from China.[29]

It is very likely that the scale of this trade was such that the Chinese never actually paid for many of the horses, which remained a bad debt. It is likely, also, that there was considerable bargaining over the prices, especially as the trade developed. The Uighurs were keen to extract as much as they could, but the Chinese constantly tried to lower the cost of horses, which they did not want anyway.[30]

Despite such occasional attempts at restraint such as Daizong's in 773, the trade in silk for horses continued throughout virtually the whole century under consideration in this article. The Arab traveller Tamīm ibn Bahr al-Muttawwi'i, who actually visited Karabalghasun in about 821, reports that the Chinese Emperor sent the Uighur Kagan 500,000 pieces of silk every year.[31] Chinese sources indicate that the decade 820 to 830 was the period when the Chinese gave the greatest amount of silk to the Uighurs as payment for horses.[32]

Another commodity which the Uighurs began trading with China for their horses was tea. It is not known precisely when this trade began, but the *New Tang History* mentions the trade as part of the biography of Lu Yu (d. 804), author of a classic work on tea. 'At the time, the Uighurs came to court. For the first time they bought tea with the horses they were driving [into China]'.[33]

The economic relations of the Uighur state with Tang China exercised a considerable impact on both Uighur and Chinese economy and society, but probably the Chinese influence on the Uighurs was greater. The silk appears to have made the

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[29]Feng, a.o., comp., op cit, Ref 9, Vol. 1, pp. 25-6.

[30]See Mackerras, op cit, Ref 14, pp. 218-19.

[31]V. Minorsky, 'Tamim ibn Bahr's Journey to the Uyghurs', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 1948, p. 283.

[32]See all notifications on the silk/horse trade as reported in the Chinese sources between 744 and 840 in Mackerras, op cit, Ref 14, pp. 238-9.

[33]*Xin Tangshu*, Ch. 196, Vol., 18, p. 5612. See also Feng, a.o., comp., op cit, Ref 9, Vol. 1, p. 26.

court want the comfortable life much more than their ancestors had done. The fact that it was not only the court that wanted Chinese silk suggests strongly the rise of a prosperous urban class. Both the silk and horses became a kind of currency within Uighur society, and either could be traded for another commodity. Karabalghasun became a much larger and richer city than it had been when the Uighur state was established in 744 and there were other cities dominated by the Uighurs too. Tamim ibn Bahr describes the capital as a 'great town, rich in agriculture', as well as 'populous and thickly crowded' with 'markets and various trades'.[34]

Another aspect of Uighur-Tang commercial relationship worth mentioning is that Uighurs actually took up residence in Chang'an, married, established trading enterprises and even bought up property. Some of them also set themselves up as money-lenders and were able to make very substantial profits by charging high rates of interest. In 831 the Tang authorities decided to take action against this practice when Li Shen, the son of the general Li Sheng (727-93), got himself into serious debt through alcoholic addiction: Shen 'was wasteful and extravagant, accumulating debts worth several million strings of cash'.[35] In order to help him, his son (that is Li Sheng's grandson) borrowed 'Uighur money' worth 11,400 strings of cash, but because he could not repay it, a Uighur accusation was brought forward, which led to Li Shen's dismissal from his post. The Emperor promptly issued an edit forbidding such loans. In future Chinese were to carry on financial dealings with Uighurs only for the purposes of legitimate trade. It is not reported whether the edict in fact stopped Uighur money-lending, but it is unlikely, since we know that Uighur money-lenders were still active, indeed stronger than ever, during the Song dynasty.[36]

Conclusion

The contemporary Chinese scholar Feng Jiasheng has summarized the development of the Uighur economy and society over the period 744 to 840 as follows:

The Uighurs had regarded nomadic animal husbandry as the mainstay of their economy. But due to their friendly dealings with the Tang and their control of the east-west communication lines, their economy and society underwent great changes. The trend was from nomadic to semi-settled life, from animal husbandry to commerce.[37]

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[34]Minorsky, op cit, Ref 31, p. 283.
[35]*Jiu Tangshu*, Ch., 133, Vol. 11, p. 3686.
[36]Hino Kaizabur**o,** 'Tōdai no Kaikotsusen' ('Uighur Money in the Tang Dynasty'), *Tōhōgaku* (*Eastern Studies*)**,** Vol. 30, 1965, pp. 38-9.
[37]Feng, a.o., comp., op cit, Ref 9, Vol. 1, p.23.

In one respect Feng has painted an unduly pretty picture of Uighur-Tang relations. My reservation is that the relationship was not particularly friendly for most of the time. Indeed, the assistance of the Uighur military in the suppression of the An Lushan rebellion gave a very sour taste to mutual relations. The trade and economic dealings between the two peoples do not seem to have contributed to a particularly friendly relationship. With some notable exceptions, the reality is that the Chinese and the Uighurs of those days did not like each other very much.

On the other hand, the general processes which Feng describes did indeed take place and were assisted by Uighur relations with Tang China. It is true that the silk/horse trade, the diplomatic marriages, especially that of the Princess of Taihe, and the various kinds of interaction between the Tang and the Uighurs changed Uighur society enormously. It is also true that commerce grew enormously over the century or so from 744 to 840. Feng is right to point to a trend towards transfer from nomadism to settled life as well as to a process of urbanization, especially in the main Uighur areas towards the east.

However, it is likely that there were already settled Uighur communities in the oasis cities of the west in what is today Xinjiang before the establishment of the Uighur state. What this suggests is that there were internal processes going on within Uighur society, leading in the direction of urbanization and the settled life, that would have happened even without relations with Tang China. The Turkic peoples were already developing their own civilization.

One aspect of the change which was of very little interest to the Tang Chinese writers was the adoption of Manicheism. It rates but few mentions in the Chinese histories. Yet what glimpses we do get in the Chinese documents and the Uighur sources, such as they are available, suggest that Manicheism became very important indeed for the Uighurs at that time. What is ironic, in these circumstances, is that it was from China that Manicheism was introduced among the Uighurs, since Manicheism is not a Chinese religion and has never even been particularly widespread in China. Had Bögü Kagan not gone to Luoyang to help retake the city from Shi Chaoyi, it is doubtful that the Uighurs would have been converted to Manicheism. What this implies is that even in their religion, Tang China was, however inadvertently, the source of a major social change among the Uighurs during the period 744 to 840.

If we look at the situation the other way around, that is Uighur impact on Tang China, then we can certainly see some influences. But they are very slight by comparison with Tang impact on the Uighurs. Bögü Kagan's assistance in retaking Luoyang at the end of 762 may have been of crucial military importance, but there is no proof that the outcome of the great rebellion would have been essentially different without the Uighurs. The silk/horse trade was a forced one, but its impact on the Chinese economy was but slight when seen in the context of how it affected

the Uighur economy. The Uighurs may have pressured the Chinese in favour of Manicheism, but that religion never became a mainstream one in China, or ever even came anywhere near being one.

In noting that Chinese influence on the Uighurs was somewhat larger than the other way around, I should note again that these two states were very uneven in many ways. Although the extent of the Uighur territory was very large, its population was very small by comparison with that of the Tang. Moreover, in cultural terms China was much older than the Turkic culture of the day. It was already well over a millennium old, whereas Uighur culture had had comparatively little time to develop and the main development of Turkic culture was somewhat later and somewhat further west. The imbalance in the mutual influence is hardly surprising.

Overall, what emerges is that the impact of Tang China on the Uighurs was profound. The economic and social change which the Uighur state underwent was highly significant in historical terms and would not have happened in the way it did but for the impact of Tang Chinese culture. For the history of the Uighur people the century from 744 to 840 is an extremely important period.

It is worth adding that the Uighur state is an excellent case study of how neighbouring and frequently hostile neighbours influence each other. And such a case study may have something to tell us about how peoples of differing cultures and powers interrelate and exert impact on the history of their own region and, in some cases, even of the world as a whole.

НАСЕЛЕНИЕ СРЕДНЕГО ЕНИСЕЯ В ЭПОХУ СЛОЖЕНИЯ СКОТОВОДЧЕСКИХ ОБЩЕСТВ (III ТЫС. ДО Н.Э. - СЕРЕДИНА I ТЫС. Н.Э.)

Д.Г. САВИНОВ*

Минусинская котловина — родина енисейских кыргызов — сравнительно небольшая территория на стыке Центральной и Северной Азии, ограниченная на юге и на востоке хребтами Западного и Восточного Саяна, на западе — отрогами Алтайских гор и Кузнецким Алатау, на севере — лесостепной полосой и началом сибирской тайги. Минусинская котловина или бассейн Среднего Енисея, в силу благоприятных условий, всегда были местом притяжения различных групп населения, носителей разных культурных традиций, которые из-за определенной изолированности территории не исчезали со сменой археологических культур, а сохранялись достаточно долгое время, обеспечивая преемственность в общем потоке культурогенеза. В полной мере это относится к енисейским кыргызам, в культуре которых можно проследить элементы многих традиций, в силу различных обстоятельств «стянувшихся» на Енисее. Кроме того, само проживание в степях Минусинской котловины, среди древних курганов, окруженных высокими камнями, загадочных изваяний эпохи бронзы, многочисленных скоплений петроглифов и остатков поселений, которых было значительно больше, чем в настоящее время, должно было определенным образом сформировать «ауру» культуры енисейских кыргызов как наследников и преемников этого великого прошлого.

Минусинскую котловину иногда называют «Сибирской Троей», в верхних слоях которой около середины I тыс. н.э. Фиксируются этнические контуры культуры енисейских кыргызов, многие элементы которой имеют значительно более глубокие истоки. Немаловажное значение в этнокультурогенезе кыргызов на Енисее играли и различного рода миграционные

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процессы. Однако, как писал С.М. Абрамзон, один из самых видных этнографов-киргизоведов, «этническая история — это совокупность явлений социальных, экономических и других, а также процессов, затрагивающих культурные, бытовые и этнические традиции. Она не может быть сведена главным образом к миграциям, вызванным политическими событиями и военными столкновениями» (Абрамзон, 1971, с. 17). Именно с этих позиций ниже рассматриваются историко-культурные процессы, происходившие в Минусинской котловине, начиная с появления первых скотоводов на Енисее (III тыс. до н.э.) до самых ранних упоминаний о енисейских кыргызах в письменных источниках (середина I тыс. н.э.).

Периодизация древней истории племен Минусинской котловины была создана в 20-х гг. XIX в. С.А. Теплоуховым, выделившим по результатам своих раскопок у с. Батени на левобережье Енисея ряд последовательно сменяющих друг друга археологических культур — от эпохи ранней бронзы до монгольского времени включительно. Несмотря на огромное количество полученных впоследствии археологических материалов, периодизация С. А. Теплоухова до сих пор сохраняет свое значение, а предложенные им по местам первых раскопок наименования культур — афанасьевская, андроновская, карасукская, таштыкская — навсегда укрепились в научной литературе. Единственное добавление — это выделенная позднее Г. А. Максименковым окуневская культура, занявшая «свое место» между афанасьевской и андроновской культурами, названная по погребениям Окунева улуса, также раскопанным в 1928 г. С.А. Теплоуховым.

Первая из ряда скотоводческих культур на Среднем Енисее — афанасьевская культура, с которой связаны крупнейшие инновации в культурогенезе древнего населения Южной Сибири, надолго определившие весь путь ее дальнейшего развития. Во-первых, это появление скотоводства, именно с этого времени (на Енисее — с середины III тыс. до н.э.) скотоводство (сначала пастушеское, а затем отгонное и полукочевое) становится основой производящей экономики населения горно-степных районов Южной Сибири. Во-вторых, это появление европеоидного населения (афанасьевцы — первые европеоиды в Южной Сибири). Впоследствии европеоидность (в чистом или смешанном виде) будет характерна для носителей всех южносибирских культур эпохи бронзы и раннего железа, вплоть до конца тагарской культуры, т.е. до хуннского времени. В этом смысле не исключено, что легендарные «рыжеволосые и голубоглазые» динлины, вошедшие, согласно сведениям письменных источников, в состав енисейских кыргызов, могли быть далекими потомками этого европеоидного населения. В-третьих, это знакомство с производством металлических изделий (сначала в виде отдельных украшений и мелких орудий из меди, а затем из искусственных сплавов, из бронзы). С

этого момента начинается поступательный процесс развития южносибирской металлургии, приведший к появлению знаменитых минусинских (карасукских и тагарских) бронз. Указанные инновации, в первую очередь, скотоводческое хозяйство и металлургия, привели к опережающим темпам развития населения Южной Сибири по сравнению со всеми окружающими областями, где еще долгое время продолжали существовать прежние неолитические традиции. Поэтому вполне закономерно, что первое государственное образование на территории Южной Сибири - государство енисейских кыргызов — появилось именно здесь, в Минусинской котловины, где процессы культурного, а следовательно и социального развития происходили наиболее динамично.

Памятники афанасьевской культуры на Енисее представлены главным образом погребальными комплексами. Всего, по данным 1986 года, было раскопано 183 кургана, содержащих 309 погребений (здесь и далее количество исследованных памятников указывается по книге Э.Б. Вадецкой «Археологические памятники в степях Среднего Енисея»; позднее подобные подсчеты не производились). С точки зрения погребального обряда, минусинские памятники афанасьевской культуры достаточно однородны. Это круглые ограды, диаметром от 5-8 до 12-15 м, сложенные из горизонтально положенных плиток. Погребения чаще всего коллективные, в неглубоких (до 1,5 м) квадратных ямах. Положение погребенных — на спине с поднятыми вверх коленями или реже — на боку с подогнутыми ногами. Высказано предположение о том, что подобная «поза» погребенных может объясняться тем, что до этого они могли быть усажены в каких-то специальных центрах, а уже затем «окаменевших в таком положении покойников клали в могилу на бок, а иногда на спину» (История Сибири, 1968, с. 160-161). Возможно, что это является первым указанием на то, что у афанасьевцев существовали какие-то определенные места, где до погребения хранились тела умерших. Об этом же свидетельствуют следы зубов диких животных на некоторых костях, случаи отдельного захоронения черепов, а также то, что все коллективные захоронения, иногда до 5-8 человек, совершались одновременно.

Инвентарь афанасьевских погребений сравнительно беден. Это — медные украшения и мелкие изделия, кремневые наконечники стрел, костяные и каменные предметы. В единичных экземплярах известны украшения из золота, серебра и метеоритного железа (своеобразная «проба пера» при первом знакомстве с металлами). Основную часть находок из погребений афанасьевской культуры составляет характерная остродонная керамика, украшенная «елочным» орнаментом; встречаются также ритуальные сосуды-курильницы. Афанасьевский вещественный комплекс достаточно цельный и не делится на хронологические этапы, что скорее всего свидетельствует о появлении этой

культуры на Енисее уже во вполне сформировавшемся виде. На общем фоне ровных в социальном отношении погребений афанасьевской культуры выделяется курган у с. Восточное: одиноко стоящее крупное сооружение с высотой ограды более 2 м, площадь которого изнутри была выложена плоскими плитами. В центральной могиле здесь находилось захоронение двух обезглавленных людей — мужчины и женщины. В ногах и головах у них обнаружены останки младенцев, а на площади кургана — одно сопроводительное захоронение, обычное для других афанасьевских могильников. Рядом с мужским скелетом найдено более 200 костяных гвоздиков, некогда украшавших посох (или длинный жезл) и указывающих на исключительно высокий социальный статус погребенного. По справедливому замечанию Э.Б. Вадецкой, с кургана у с. Восточное «начинается серия особо монументальных курганов знати, имевшихся в Минусинских степях во всех эпохи» (Вадецкая, 1986, с. 22).

Вопрос о происхождении афанасьевской культуры окончательно не решен. Долгое время господствовала миграционная теория, связывавшая появление афанасьевцев с приходом в Минусинскую котловину населения ямной культуры (или одной из культур ямной культурной общности) из степных районов Северного Причерноморья; однако из-за отсутствия аналогичных памятников на промежуточных территориях принять эту теорию трудно. Высказанные позже гипотезы о переднеазиатском, среднеазиатском или центральноазиатском происхождении афанасьевцев также лишены достаточного обоснования. Обращаясь непосредственно к археологическому материалу, следует отметить, что в настоящее время приблизительно равное минусинскому количество памятников афанасьевской культуры известно на Горном Алтае; причем, в отличие от минусинских, они типологически разделяются по крайней мере на два хронологических этапа. Отдельные погребения, аналогичные горно-алтайским раннего этапа, известны в Монголии и в Туве. Минусинские же памятники афанасьевской культуры синхронны горно-алтайским позднего этапа. Таким образом, как будто в общих чертах намечается последовательность расселения первых скотоводов-афанасьевцев: от широкого субстратного основания, охватывавшего обширные и пока еще, к сожалению, малоизученные в археологическом отношении пространства горно-степных районов севера Центральной Азии, к локализации отдельных групп населения в долинах Горного Алтая и, очевидно, уже отсюда, а не из далекого Причерноморья, переселение их с уже сложившейся культурой в благодатную Минусинскую котловину.

В начале II тыс. до н.э., приблизительно в XVIII в. до н.э., на смену афанасьевской приходит новая, окуневская культура — одна из наиболее ярких и загадочных культур эпохи бронзы Южной Сибири. Количество

погребений окуневской культуры, по данным 1986 года, составляло более 300; сейчас их известно значительно больше. Памятники окуневской культуры разделяются на два хронологических этапа: ранний — уйбатский (по названию могильника Уйбат III; раскопки И.П. Лазаретова) и поздний — черновский (по названию могильника Черновая VIII; раскопки Г.А. Максименкова). Общая протяженность существования окуневской культуры охватывает около пяти столетий (приблизительно до XIII в. до н.э.). Некоторые элементы окуневского культурного комплекса (поза погребенных и ритуальные сосуды-курильницы) могли быть восприняты от афанасьевцев; однако в целом это совершенно иная культура, отличная от афанасьевской. В хозяйстве окуневцев, наряду со скотоводством, значительную роль играла охота. В антропологическом типе населения сочетались черты европеоидности и монголоидности. Отличны устройство и планиграфия погребальных сооружений, форма и орнаментация керамики, состав металлических изделий и, главное, — виды изобразительной деятельности. Одной из важнейших составляющих окуневского культурного комплекса является великолепное сюжетное, с мощной мифологической основой окуневское искусство, в то время как у афанасьевцев существовала только орнаментация керамики.

Для памятников раннего, уйбатского этапа окуневской культуры характерны квадратные ограды из крупных блоков камня, иногда с крестообразно расположенными «дорожками»; четко выделенные центральные погребения в глубоких, иногда двухъярусных могильных ямах с каменными ящиками на дне и деревянным перекрытием на уступах; отдельные захоронения в катакомбах; впервые зафиксированный при раскопках могильника Уйбат III обычай установки на месте погребений каменных стел со схематическим изображением человеческого лица. При раскопках некоторых погребений этого времени найдена афанасьевская керамика, что исследователи объясняют по разному: как свидетельство сосуществования позднеафанасьевского и раннеокуневского населения; как наличие впускных окуневских захоронений в прежние ограды афанасьевской культуры; или как свидетельство того, что афанасьевцы и окуневцы могли занимать разные экологические ниши: афанасьевцы — степные районы, а окуневцы — районы предгорий. Окончательный ответ на этот вопрос может быть получен только с поступлением новых материалов; однако сам факт сосуществования носителей различных культурных традиций в условиях Минусинской котловины представляется вполне возможным.

Для памятников черновского этапа характерны низкие подчетырехугольные ограды с длиной стороны до 20-25 м из вертикально вкопанных плиток с большим количеством погребений в каменных ящиках. Сами ящики «тесные», расположены близко от уровня древней поверхности, с захороне-

ниями одного или двух человек; однако часто в них же сделаны последующие подхоронения, в результате чего количество погребенных в одном ящике может достигать 3-4 и более человек. Традиционная поза погребенных — на спине, с поднятыми вверх коленями. Известны случаи отдельного захоронения черепов со следами искусственной трепанации. На некоторых черепах сохранились следы раскраски. При сооружении каменных ящиков часто использовались тонкие плиты девонского песчаника с нанесенными на них ранее рисунками. Судя по всему, такие плиты с рисунками первоначально были сделаны для каких-то ритуальных сооружений, связанных с «проводами» умерших, а затем, уже в качестве конструктивных деталей каменных ящиков, сопровождали их в «потусторонний» мир. Все это вместе взятое значительно более определенно, чем можно предполагать для афанасьевской культуры, говорит о существовании особых ритуальных центров, где сохранялись до погребения и каким-то образом «экспонировались» тела умерших. Впоследствии та же самая идея нашла свое наиболее яркое выражение в знаменитых таштыкских масках или посмертных «портретах» носителей таштыкской культуры, исторических предшественников кыргызов на Енисее.

Принципиальных различий в сопроводительном инвентаре погребений уйбатского и черновского этапов нет. Наиболее распространенные находки — это орнаментированные глиняные сосуды баночной формы; причем в зону орнаментации входят не только стенки, но и дно сосуда, что является одним из отличительных признаков керамики окуневской культуры. Рисунки на дне сосудов (крест, ромб, многолучевые знаки) имеют явно солярную символику. В состав сопроводительного инвентаря входят также различного рода изделия из камня (наконечники стрел, топоры, тесла), бронзы (черешковые ножи, кольца, шилья, пронизки), кости (острия, игольники, мелкие украшения) и др. Особенностью некоторых погребений является большое количество предметов культового назначения (костяные пластинки и пестиковые фигурки с изображением женского лица; в одном случае вместе найдены луновидная подвеска, навершие жезла и ритон с зооморфными изображениями и т.д.). Интересен состав костей животных, найденных в погребальных сооружениях: непосредственно в погребениях обычно находятся кости диких животных (или изделия из костей диких животных); на площади курганов — кости домашних жертвенных животных, использованные при проведении погребальных ритуалов. Все это вместе взятое свидетельствует о высокой степени сакрализации общества, отраженной в материалах окуневской культуры.

Говорить о социальной структуре населения окуневской культуры можно только на основании косвенных данных. Судя по находкам предметов сопроводительного инвентаря, можно предполагать, что в некоторых погребениях похоронены люди, исполнявшие определенные ритуальные

(жреческие?) функции. Самое крупное сооружение окуневской культуры раскопано Л. Р. Кызласовым на р. Туим. Это был гигантский кромлех диаметром 82 м из поставленных вертикально гранитных камней-менгиров высотой от 0,6 до 1,2 м, посредине которого находилась земляная «пирамида» высотой до 3 м и ограда с перекрещивающимися «дорожками». В месте пересечения «дорожек» обнаружено погребение женщины в каменном ящике, стенки которого были украшены рисунками быков и хищников. К месту захоронения вел специальным образом оформленный «вход» из шести (по три с каждой стороны) вертикально стоящих камней. По своим планиграфическим особенностям сооружение на р. Туим относится к раннему уйбатскому этапу окуневской культуры. Кем была похороненная здесь женщина — великой «шаманкой», главой могущественного клана или, как это было во многих древних цивилизациях, соединяла в себе жреческие и властные функции, сказать трудно. Однако сам факт появления подобных сооружений на раннем этапе окуневской культуры говорит о достаточно сложной системе организации общества, в целом стоящего на более высокой ступени развития, чем афанасьевское.

Самая яркая составляющая окуневской культуры — это искусство, представленное разнообразными видами изобразительной деятельности: наскальные изображения и рисунки на каменных плитах (выбивка, гравировка, красочные изображения), статуарные памятники (знаменитые минусинские каменные изваяния) и предметы мелкой пластики (фигурки из кости, мягкого камня и т.д.). Столь же широк и «репертуар» окуневского искусства: сложные антропоморфные образы — личины с поперечной линией посередине лица и третьим глазом на лбу, украшенные бычьими рогами или сложными «коронами»; фигуры фантастических хищников с длинным высунутым языком и сложной солярной символикой; выполненные в различной стилистической манере изображения быков и др. Представленные по отдельности, в различных сочетаниях и многофигурных композициях они несомненно являются отражением сложной системы мифологических представлений, существовавших у населения окуневской культуры. Повторяемость некоторых сюжетов позволила определить содержание отдельных окуневских «мифов» («миф о тотеме и женщине-прародительнице», «миф о космической охоте», «миф о Солнечной повозке», «миф о Солнце и змеях»), в которых, по образному выражению М.Д. Хлобыстиной, чувствуется «дыхание древневосточных цивилизаций» (Хлобыстана, 1971, с. 166). В дальнейшем отдельные образы, стилистические и композиционные приемы, сложившиеся в рамках окуневской изобразительной традиции, «переживут» хронологические границы окуневской культуры и сыграют значительную роль в формировании скифо-сибирского звериного стиля.

Вопрос о происхождении окуневской культуры на Енисее очень сложен и окончательно не решен. В настоящее время можно уверенно говорить о ее двухкомпонент-ном составе. Первый компонент — местный, скорее всего неолитический (значительная роль охоты и рыболовства в хозяйственном комплексе и связанные с этим находки костяных и каменных орудий; монголоидная примесь в антропологическом типе населения; известные, правда, в небольшом количестве изображения лосей в характерном «ангарском» стиле; возможно, некоторые формы керамики и приемы ее орнаментации). Вполне вероятно, что это «лесное» население могло занять территории, освободившиеся после исчезновения афанасьевской культуры. Второй компонент — явно пришлый, связанный с приходом новых групп населения с развитой скотоводческой экономикой (в целом европеоидный облик носителей окуневской культуры; многочисленные свидетельства развитого пастушеского скотоводства, в том числе кости домашних животных, найденные на стоянках и при раскопках погребальных сооружений; в изобразительном искусстве — рисунки быков с деталями упряжи, повозок с бычьими запряжками, различного рода солярных знаков и космологических образов, характерных только для обществ с развитой производящей экономикой). Мнения исследователей относительно происхождения этого пришлого компонента, прослеживаемого главным образом по памятникам изобразительного искусства, расходятся. В качестве возможных вариантов предлагались Передняя Азия, Малая Азия, Средняя Азия, горные районы Северной Индии, степное Причерноморье. Однако все это требует дальнейшей разработки и дополнительной аргументации. Ясно одно: в результате симбиоза местных и привнесенных культурных традиций в середине II тыс. до н.э. на Среднем Енисее сложилась своеобразная и яркая «сибирская цивилизация», влияние которой так или иначе испытали все окружающие племена (т.н. «окружение» окуневской культуры). Интересно, что границы этого «окружения» (от Байкала до Иртыша) в принципе совпадают с будущей зоной влияния культуры енисейских кыргызов, самого северного «форпоста» центральноазиатских государственных объединений.

Оку невская культура, как и другие культуры «доандроновской бронзы», была разрушена в начале XIII в. до н.э. пришедшими сюда андроновцами (федоровская культура или федоровский вариант андроновской культурной общности). По общему признанию специалистов, андроновцы — европеоиды, скотоводы, передвигавшиеся на колесницах, индоиранцы по своей языковой принадлежности. В настоящее время известно большое количество археологических памятников, маркирующих путь движения андроновцев на восток: по югу Западной Сибири, лесостепному Алтаю, через Мариинско-Ачинский «коридор» до Енисея, на север Минусинской котловины. Существовал и другой, южный путь движения андроновцев — через Тянь-Шань в

сторону Синьцзяна и западных провинций Китая, но он пока обозначен менее четко. На Енисее андроновцы столкнулись с племенами окуневской культуры и оттеснили их на юг. При этом часть окуневцев, по всей видимости, мигрировала на территорию Тувы и Северо-Западной Монголии, где следы их присутствия прослеживаются вплоть до скифского времени. Сами же андроновцы «освоили» только северные районы бассейна Среднего Енисея; на юге Минусинской котловины, несмотря на высокую степень археологической изученности этой территории, памятников андроновской культуры до сих пор не обнаружено. Общее количество андроновских погребений, по данным 1986 года, около 300 (включая детские захоронения). В настоящее время это количество существенно не увеличилось. В хозяйственном отношении андроновцы сочетали занятия пастушеским скотоводством и примитивным, скорее всего, пойменным земледелием, что в целом определило относительную стабильность населения. Охота и рыболовство играли вспомогательную роль. Такая комплексная экономика, более всего соответствующая физико-географическим условиям Минусинской котловины, станет впоследствии определяющей для населения тагарской культуры.

Погребальные памятники андроновской культуры — это круглые и квадратные ограды с одиночными или парными захоронениями. Обычно длина сторон (или диаметр) ограды составляет 5-10 м; однако известны и более крупные сооружения диаметром до 30 и более метров (могильник Сухое озеро 1). В погребениях андроновской культуры впервые появляется обряд трупосожжения, получивший впоследствии широкое распространение в такштыкской культуре и ставший господствующим в культуре енисейских кыргызов. Положение погребенных по обряду трупоположения довольно устойчиво — на левом боку с согнутыми ногами и сложенными перед лицом руками («андроновская поза»). Внутримогильные сооружения отличаются значительным разнообразием: каменные ящики, деревянные рамы или одновенцовые срубы, цисты или сооружения, сделанные в «смешанной» технике (сочетание каменного ящика и цисты). На стенках каменных ящиков иногда нанесены геометрические узоры «коврового» типа, возможно, имитирующие ковры (или циновки) на стенках реальных жилых построек. Других видов изобразительной деятельности, кроме орнаментальных композиций на керамике и на стенках каменных ящиков, у андроновцев, как и у афанасьевцев, не обнаружено. Разнообразие внутримогильных сооружений, своеобразный «биритуализм» погребального обряда (сочетание в одних и тех же комплексах трупосожжения и трупоположения), по всей видимости, можно рассматривать как отражение сложного происхождения населения андроновской культуры, обогащенного различными традициями при продвижении на Енисей.

Сопроводительный инвентарь из погребений андроновской культуры из-за отсутствия в нем, в силу каких-то обрядовых представлений, предметов вооружения, явно не отражает «вещный мир» оставившего их населения. Между тем именно в это время получают широкое распространение бронзовые предметы вооружения сейминско-турбинского типа, в первую очередь, наконечники копий, известные и по случайным находкам на Среднем Енисее. Вполне вероятно, что ими могли пользоваться и андроновцы. Основной инвентарь из погребений андроновской культуры составляют глиняные сосуды двух видов, условно называемые «горшки» и «банки», а также определенное количество сосудов «переходных форм». Сосуды баночной формы, очень просто орнаментированные, представляют собой обычную кухонную посуду. Так называемые «горшки» — это прекрасно сделанные из хорошо отмученной глины крупные сосуды тюльпановидной формы с очень сложным геометрическим орнаментом, состоящим из рядов треугольников, различным образом скомпонованных зигзагообразных линий, орнаментальных полос из меандровых фигур и солярных символов. Западные истоки подобной системы орнаментации, ранее не встречавшейся в Южной Сибири, не вызывают сомнения. Андроновские «горшки» или парадная утварь, по всей видимости не использовалась в быту, а изготовлялась специально для погребений. С этого времени изготовление специальной погребальной утвари входит в практику населения всех южносибирских культур. Афанасьевская, в одном из своих компонентов окуневская и особенно андроновская культуры, носители которых, возможно, продвигаясь по одним и тем же маршрутам, достигали Среднего Енисея, заложили основу устойчивых западных связей, характерных для населения Минусинской котловины и в последующие исторические эпохи.

В эпоху поздней бронзы с появлением карасукской культуры (XI-середина VIII в. до н.э.) активизировалось восточно-центральноазиатское направление культурных (а, скорее всего, культурно-генетических) связей минусинских племен. Термин "карасукская культура" после выделения ее С.А. Теплоуховым, получил более широкое значение, чем название одной из минусинских археологических культур — «карасукская эпоха», «карасукские бронзы» и др. На территории Минусинской котловины в настоящее время известны тысячи погребений карасукской культуры, достаточно однотипных и без четко выраженных признаков социальной дифференциации. Резко возросшее, по сравнению с андроновскими, количество погребений карасукской культуры, распространенных по всей территории Минусинской котловины, свидетельствует о притоке нового многочисленного населения, вступившего в сложные процессы взаимодействия с носителями прежних археологических культур.

С карасукской культурой связан целый ряд существенных инноваций, завершивших формирование скотоводческого комплекса на Енисее. Во-первых, это переход к яйлажному или отгонному скотоводству, о чем свидетельствует состав костей животных, найденных в погребальных памятниках и на поселениях — не только крупного рогатого скота, но и лошади, и главным образом овец, требующих именно такой формы выпаса. Начиная с этого времени, «мясную пищу», судя по находкам костей овцы или барана, стали класть в могилы непосредственно с погребенным, как бы подчеркивая этим неразрывную связь умершего человека с его предшествующим образом жизни.

Остатки «мясной пищи» (ребра, лопатки и длинные кости ног) встречаются и во всех кыргызских погребениях на Енисее. Во-вторых, это неоспоримые свидетельства использования верхового коня, а именно роговые псалии, найденные на поселениях кара-сукской культуры (Каменный Лог и Торгажак). Все псалии (а их уже найдено более 10) различной формы, что свидетельствует о поисках оптимальных конструктивных решений этой важнейшей детали конской упряжи. Появление верхового коня, несомненно, не только сыграло важнейшую роль в развитии хозяйственной деятельности, но и значительно активизировало и другие стороны общественной жизни — военные действия, товарообмен, общую мобильность населения и т.д. В-третьих, это расцвет металлургии бронзы. Многочисленные бронзовые изделия, главным образом, предметы вооружения — кинжалы, ножи и секиры, найденные в Монголии и северных провинциях Китая, — получили общее наименование «карасукских бронз». Навершия некоторых ножей и кинжалов украшены головками горных козлов и баранов, в стилистическом отношении очень близких ранним образцам скифо-сибирского стиля. В самих погребениях карасукской культуры на Енисее, в силу каких-то обрядовых причин или из-за очень высокой степени ограбленности могил такие находки встречаются исключительно редко; однако это не означает, что предметы вооружения типа «карасукских бронз» не использовались самими карасукцами.

Формирование карасукской культуры (или карасукской культурной общности), по всей видимости, имело достаточно сложный характер. В антропологическом типе карасукцев, как правило, смешанном, исследователи находят черты как дальневосточной, монголоидной расы, так и более западного европеоидного, памиро-ферганского типа. Ряд особенностей сближают отдельные группы населения карасукской культуры с предшествующими андроновцами и окуневцами. При этом на севере в большей степени проявляются андроновские черты, а на юге — окуневские, что соответствует общему направлению культурно-исторических процессов, когда андроновцы, занявшие северные районы Минусинской котловины, оттеснили окуневцев на

юг. Из многочисленных теорий происхождения карасукской культуры наиболее аргументирована точка зрения Э.А. Новгородовой, считающей, что местом исхода населения карасукской культуры были северные районы Монголии, где, по-видимому, находился центр производства карасукских бронз». Отсюда карасукцы двигались несколькими волнами: часть их проникла на север Минусинской котловины, где смешалась с поздними андроновцами; часть освоила южные районы Минусинской котловины, где заимствовала некоторые элементы окуневскои культуры; наконец, какие-то группы мигрировали на восток, в сторону западных и северных провинций Китая, откуда также происходит большое количество бронзовых изделий «карасукского типа». Именно это последнее направление расселения карасукцев обусловило центрально-восточноазиатские связи населения Минусинской котловины, которые, наряду с традиционными западными, с этого времени становятся определяющими. Однако и такая внешне убедительная реконструкция событий может быть принята только в самых общих чертах, так как анализ археологических материалов рисует близкую, но не совсем адекватную картину.

Как можно сейчас считать установленным, под понятием карасукская культураскрываются два, по сути дела, различных культурных комплекса. Один из них можетбыть назван собственно карасукским; другой был выделен М.П. Грязновым как «каменноложский этап» карасукской культуры, а Н. Л. Членовой — как самостоятельная, отдельная от карасукской лугавская культура. Четкого территориального разграничения между этими двумя группами памятников нет, хотя наблюдается определеннаятенденция «стяжения» собственно карасукских могильников к степным районам, а каменноложских (или лугавских) — к предгорным.

Погребения собственно карасукской культуры — это многочисленные захоронения в каменных ящиках из тонких плит девонского песчаника, расположенные очень близко к поверхности и заключенные в квадратные ограды с пристройками, часто сливающимися сторонами друг с другом. Положение погребенных на спине или вполоборота на левом боку, головой на северо-восток. Металлические изделия представлены в основном мелкими украшениями, в типологическом отношении близкими к андронов-ским. Наиболее характерный вид керамики — небольшие сферические сосуды с лощеной поверхностью, украшенные геометрическим орнаментом в виде заштрихованных треугольников, фестонов, зигзагообразных линий и ромбов. Отдельно выделяются наиболее эффектные сосуды с черной лощеной поверхностью и орнаментом, заполненным белой пастой. Несмотря на явное отличие (по форме сосудов) карасукской керамики от андроновской, многие мотивы орнамента на карасукской посуде также сопоставимы с андроновскими. Вместе с тем в формировании карасукской культуры на юге Минусинской

котловины определенную роль сыграли и традиции окуневской культуры. Лучше всего это видно по материалам карасукского поселения Торгажак, где было найдено большое количество галек с различного рода гравировками. Значительная часть из них представляет собой изображения женщин в богато декорированных одеждах, стилистическое исполнение которых выполнено в русле окуневской изобразительной традиции. Здесь же, в одной из специально выделенных «ниш» был найден каменный блок (или обработанный фрагмент изваяния) окуневского типа, явно пользовавшийся особым почитанием у обитателей Торгажака.

Погребения каменноложского этапа (или лугавской культуры) — это небольшие могильники, состоящие из расположенных «цепочками» оград квадратной формы. По углам ограды иногда установлены более крупные камни — конструктивная деталь, в дальнейшем определившая своеобразие внешнего облика всех минусинских курганов, вплоть до каменных стел, установленных у кыргызских чаа-тасов. Захоронения совершены в сравнительно глубоких могильных ямах, на дне которых находились каменные ящики или деревянные срубы. Положение погребенных — на спине, головой на запад, юго-запад. Керамика совершенно отлична от карасукской. Это округлодонные крупные сероглиняные сосуды, по внешнему виду чем-то напоминающие афанасьевские. Орнамент чаще всего в виде простых наклонных линий или косой «сетки», нанесен только на венчике сосуда. Встречаются и плоскодонные баночные сосуды, а также сосуды на поддоне, типологически предшествующие тагарским. Именно с погребениями этого типа (а не собственно карасукскими) связаны большинство находок «карасукских бронз»: коленчатые ножи, браслеты, так называемые «пряжки колесничего», лапчатые подвески, шестилепестковые массивные бляхи и др. Скорее всего, в этом же контексте следует рассматривать и наскальные изображения, выполненные в так называемом «карасукском стиле», известные как в Минусинской котловине, так и в Монголии.

Даже такое поверхностное сопоставление двух рассматриваемых групп памятников показывает, что они отражают разные культурные традиции, одна из которых (собственно карасукская) больше связана с андроновской и, возможно, окуневской; другая (каменноложская или лугавская), скорее всего пришлая из более южных районов Центральной Азии, хотя точное место исхода этого населения, как и во всех предыдущих случаях, остается неизвестным. С носителями этой (каменноложской) традиции на Енисей попадают «карасукские бронзы», которые затем, возможно, заимствуются карасукцами. Таким образом, рубеж II и I тыс. до н.э. был переломным для населения Минусинской котловины не только в хронологическом, но и в историко-культурном отношении. Впервые здесь объединились (или пришли

во взаимодействие) сферы влияния двух культурных миров: западного, связанного, в первую очередь, с наследованием андроновской традиции; и восточного, точнее — центральноазиатского, связанного с формированием раннекочевнических культур.

На этой основе в середине VIII в. до н.э. складывается тагарская культура. Первоначально она была выделена С.А. Теплоуховым под наименованием «минусинская курганная культура» — название достаточно точное (именно курганы этой культуры с их земляными насыпями и вертикально установленными камнями составляют неотъемлемую часть исторического ландшафта Минусинской котловины), но неудобное и впоследствии заменённое С.В. Киселевым на более лаконичное — тагарская культура (по первым раскопкам на острове Тагарском около г. Минусинска). Тагарская культура — одна из культур скифского типа, включающая в себя основные характерные элементы так называемой «скифской триады» (определенные виды предметов вооружения, снаряжения верхового коня и скифо-сибирский звериный стиль), но в то же время, в силу специфических условий Минусинской котловины, отличающаяся более устойчивой комплексной экономикой, большей стабильностью общества и длительным сохранением культурных традиций. Памятники тагарской культуры четко локализованы в пределах Минусинской котловины и юга Красноярского края и распространяются только на северо-запад, в пределы соседней Кузнецкой котловины (так называемая «лесостепная тагарская культура»).

Общая протяженность существования тагарской культуры охватывает около семи веков — приблизительно от середины VIII в. до н.э. до середины I в. до н.э. Имеющиеся периодизации тагарской культуры, несмотря на различные наименования выделенных этапов (четыре этапа минусинской курганной культуры, по С.А. Теплоухову; три стадии тагарской культуры, по С.В. Киселеву; баиновский, под-горновский, сарагашенский и тесинский этапы, по М.П. Грязнову) существенно не отличаются друг от друга. Все они одинаково демонстрируют эволюционное развитие культуры, охватывающей, как и принято в общеисторической периодизации, три последовательных периода: начала, расцвета и упадка. Пользуясь периодизацией М.П. Грязнова, будем называть их подгорновским, сарагашенским и тесинским этапами развития тагарской культуры.

Вопрос о происхождении тагарской культуры не имеет однозначного решения. Ясно, что она аккумулировала многие компоненты, воспринятые от предшествующих культур. Из них наиболее ощутим каменноложский (или лугавский): квадратные ограды с высокими камнями по углам, захоронения в деревянных рамах и одновенцовьгх срубах, вытянутое положение погребенных, баночная форма керамики и некоторые приемы ее орнаментации,

отдельные виды бронзовых изделий — ножей, зеркал, украшений и т. д. В свое время на основании этих признаков происхождение тагарской культуры непосредственно связывалось с карасукской (баиновский этап, по периодизации М.П. Грязнова); однако такое чисто эволюционное развитие не объясняет всего многообразия татарского культурного комплекса. Высказывались также предположения о связи тагарской культуры с андроновской; о приходе в это время в Минусинскую котловину новых групп населения — саков с территории Казахстана или большереченской культуры с Верхней Оби, но все это требует дополнительных доказательств. По-видимому, основное значение в решении данной проблемы могут иметь антропологические материалы. Тагарцы — европеоиды. По данным антрополога А.Г. Козинцева, «по сумме признаков тагарская группа ближе всего к афанасьевской суммарной серии из Минусинской котловины и с Алтая, к андроновцам (суммарная серия из восточного, Северного и Центрального Казахстана), к атипичным карасукцам (т.е. каменноложцам — Д.С.) и к алайским сакам» (Козинцев, 1977, с. 67). Две из сравнительных серий / (афанасьевская и каменноложская) могут считаться местными, две (андроновская из Казахстана и алайские саки) — пришлыми. Вполне вероятно, что такое распределение отражает реальный состав населения, участвовавшего в сложении тагарской культуры на Енисее.

Памятники тагарской культуры представлены многочисленными курганными могильниками; отдельными, чаще всего плохо сохранившимися поселениями; оросительными каналами и остатками производственных мастерских; рисунками на курганных плитах и наскальными изображениями. Общее число погребальных сооруженийили курганов тагарской культуры, в значительной степени распаханных, разрушенныхили ограбленных, не поддается учету. Количество раскопанных курганов, по данным1986 года: подгорновского этапа — более 435; сарагашенского этапа — около 200. Внастоящее время это число значительно увеличилось. Более 1500 (!) могильников подгорновского этапа зафиксировано археологическими разведками (Вадецкая, 1986, с. 79-80). Такая концентрация памятников свидетельствует о чрезвычайной плотности населения, проживавшего на территории Среднего Енисея в скифское время и, скорее всего, образовывавшего мощный союз (племен со своеобразной и яркой культурой.

С.А. Теплоухов первым отметил и выделил в качестве хронологического признака количество вертикально установленных плит в оградах минусинской курганной (тагарской) культуры. В курганах подгорновского этапа — 4 (по углам ограды) или 6 (по углам ограды и посередине длинных сторон); в курганах сарагашенского этапа — 8, 10, 12 и более угловых и простеночных камней; в больших курганах тесинского этапа — до 20-30 столообразных плит, установленных с равными промежутками вдоль стен окружающей

ограды. Дальнейшее развитие этой традиции отражают высокие каменные стелы, установленные четырехугольником в кыргызских чаа-тасах. Начиная от невысоких угловых камней в оградах курганов каменноложского этапа до этих стел, достигающих высоты 3-х и более метров, в местах погребений енисейских кыргызов, протягивается «сквозная» линия развития единого архитектурного принципа оформления надмогильных сооружений, свидетельствующая о преемственности мировоззрения, общих представлений о сакрализованном пространстве и т. д. В этом же хронологическом диапазоне, с большей или меньшей степенью интенсивности проявляется обычай нанесения на курганных плитах различного рода изображений, вероятно, каким-то образом «участвовавших» в обряде. Таким образом, татарская культура, наиболее стабильная из всех археологических культур Минусинской котловины, с одной стороны, аккумулирвоала и развивала предшествующие традиции; с другой, являлась своеобразным «ретранслятором» их в последующие исторические эпохи.

Погребения раннего, подгорновского этапа тагарской культуры расположены под невысокими (до 1, но не более 1,5 м) земляными насыпями с квадратной или прямоугольной оградой, с длиной сторон от 6 до Юм. Общее количество вертикально установленных камней — 4 или 6 (в редких случаях 8). Иногда несколько оград пристраивались друг к другу; соответственно увеличивалось и количество угловых и простеночных камней. На площади курганов в ряд располагались несколько могил с деревянным или каменным покрытием. На дне могильной ямы помещался каменный (ящик или деревянная рама, укрепленная по стенкам каменными плитками. Погребения одиночные или парные, иногда с последующими подхоронениями. Сопроводительный инвентарь включает в себя преимущественно крупные глиняные сосуды баночной формы, украшенные по венчику несколькими желобками; полномасштабные бронзовые изделия: кинжалы, боевые чеканы, ножи, втоки, дисковидные зеркала, шилья; детали костюма и многочисленные украшения. Произведения звериного стиля в погребениях подгорновского этапа встречаются редко; в их моделировке еще ощущается влияние «кара-сукских бронз». Известно несколько так называемых «курганов знати» — больших размеров, с длиной стороны ограды до 30 м и специально оформленным «входом» (улус Полтаков, Узун-Оба, Тигей), но во всем остальном они мало отличаются от обычных подгорновских погребений.

На рубеже VI-V вв. до н.э. в традиционной культуре тагарских племен происходят существенные изменения, обусловившие переход к следующему, сарагашенскому этапу. Н.Л. Членова первая отметила это явление, выделив «алтайский» стиль в искусстве тагарских племен (Членова, 1967, с. 135-144). Однако ясно, что происшедшие изменения коснулись и других сторон

тагарской культуры: каменные конструкции в погребениях целиком заменяются деревянными, появляются золотые изделия, широкое распространение получают изображения лежащего оленя (т. н. «оленные бляхи»), ранее не встречавшиеся в погребениях подгорновского этапа. Объясняется ли это возросшим влиянием со стороны соседнего Горного Алтая, или отражает общие культурные трансформации, происходившие в степной полосе Евразии на рубеже раннескифского и скифского времени — сказать трудно. Во всяком случае памятники сарагашенского этапа, будучи генетически связанными с подгорновскими, представляют уже несколько иной облик тагарской культуры.

Курганы сарагашенского этапа, обычно не образующие крупных могильников, по величине значительно превышают подгорновские: земляные насыпи достигают высоты 2-3 и более метров, ограды сделаны из массивных каменных плит, увеличивается количество простеночных камней. Посередине площади кургана чаще всего находится одна, реже две обширные могильные ямы, на дне которых помещаются деревянные срубы с перекрытием из бревен и бересты. Погребения коллективные — до 10-15 человек в одном срубе; при этом выделяются захоронения социально зависимых лиц, находящиеся обычно за стенками сруба. Набор предметов сопроводительного инвентаря тот же, но бронзовые изделия (кинжалы, ножи и чеканы) чаще всего меньших размеров (вотивные). Более разнообразной по формам становится керамика; часто встречаются сосуды на поддонах и котловидные сосуды; на сосудах баночной формы увеличивается число желобков-каннелюров. Появляются новые виды бронзовых изделий: колоколовидные навершия и «факельницы» с фигурками горных козлов, многочисленные оленные бляхи, коромыслообразные предметы с головками животных на концах, внешне напоминающие «пряжки колесничего», ножи с зооморфными навершиями и др. В целом сарагашенский предметный комплекс значительно богаче подгорновского.

В социальном отношении выделяется группа больших или «царских» курганов. Один из них — раскопанный С.В. Киселевым знаменитый курган Салбык. Высота насыпи этого кургана составляла 11м, длина стороны ограды из массивных каменных плит 70 м, высота угловых и простеночных камней 5-6 м, а вес каждого из них достигал 50 т. К сожалению, погребение было полностью ограблено, но грандиозный характер этого сооружения не оставляет сомнения в принадлежности его особе высшего ранга в социальной (династийной?) иерархии тагарского общества. Здесь же, в Салбыкской долине, известно еще пять таких же курганов, но несколько меньших размеров — высотой 7-9 м, еще не раскопанных. Очевидно, что вторая половина IV в. до н.э. — время сооружения подобных курганов — была периодом наивысшего расцвета тагарской культуры.

К III в. до н.э., выделяемому некоторыми исследователями в качестве самостоятельного (лепешкинского) этапа, относится уже значительно меньшее количество памятников. Увеличивается число погребенных в коллективных захоронениях. Появляется обычай сожжения погребальной камеры; иногда встречаются следы глиняной обмазки на черепах — предвестник тесинских и таштыкских глиняных масок. Продолжается процесс вотивизации предметов сопроводительного инвентаря и появляются настоящие «миниатюры» — упрощенные копии бронзовых оригиналов, никогда не бывшие в употреблении и изготовленные специально для погребений. Исчезают золотые изделия и происходит общая схематизация изображений звериного стиля. Все это вместе свидетельствует о внутренних эволюционных процессах, происходивших в тагарской культуре, подготовивших переход к следующему, тесинскому этапу.

Памятники II-I вв. до н.э. (или тесинского этапа) рассматриваются исследователями по-разному: как последующий этап развития тагарской культуры (М.П. Грязнов, М.Н. Пшеницына), третья «переходная стадия» тагарской культуры (С.В. Киселев), «переходный тагаро-таштыкский этап» (Л.Р. Кызласов), как ранний этап таштыкской культуры (Н.Л. Членова). Причина указанных расхождений заключается, прежде всего, в разнообразии видов погребальных сооружений, существовавших в одно и то же время, но отражающих различную культурную традицию.

Большие одиночные курганы с оградами, вертикально поставленными камнями и коллективными захоронениями в деревянных камерах-срубах (их известно всего около 10; по одному из них — Большому Тесинскому кургану, раскопанному еще в конце XIX в. — было дано название тесинского этапа) явно связаны с сарагашенскими и представляют дальнейшее развитие тагарской традиции. Верхняя дата этих памятников вряд ли может выходить за пределы I в. до н.э. Основная отличительная особенность больших тесинских курганов — огромное количество погребенных (до 200 и более; в одном случае около 300) в одной могильной яме. Совершенно очевидно, что эти захоронения производились не одновременно, а сами курганы подобного типа представляли собой долгодействующие склепы. По сути дела, каждый такой курган как бы заменяет собой целый могильник, раньше состоящий из многих сооружений, а теперь сконцентрированный в одном месте, под одной курганной насыпью. Причины этого могут быть различными, в том числе и сокращение родовых территорий, вынужденное смещение традиционных мест для сооружения кладбищ. По-прежнему встречаются случаи сожжения погребальной камеры; широкое распространение получает обычай искусственной мумификации трупов и изготовления «манекенов» с глиняными масками. Несомненно, что до погребения они хранились в каких-то специ-

ально отведенных для этого местах, где производились соответствующие обрядовые церемонии. Вполне возможно, что изображение такого «поселка мертвых» представлено на известной Боярской писанице, относящейся приблизительно в этому же времени. Инвентарь из больших курганов-склепов беден и состоит в основном из сосудов баночной формы, чаще всего не орнаментированных, и бронзовых вотивных изделий, чисто формально воспроизводящих прежние тагарские формы.

Другой вид памятников, существующих в это же время — это т. н. «грунтовые могильники», включающие многочисленные погребения в каменных ящиках, деревянных рамах, грунтовых ямах под каменными выкладками; неоднократно зафиксированы случаи последовательных захоронений в одни и те же ящики, впускные погребения и т.д. Всего таких курганов-«кладбищ», каждое из которых насчитывает многие десятки могил, известно около 30. Положение погребенных разнообразно: вытянуто, на боку, с поднятыми вверх коленями (прежняя «окуневская поза»). Столь же неустойчива ориентировка погребенных. Среди погребенных в тесинских грунтовых могилах встречаются представители центральноазиатского антропологического типа. В комплексе предметов сопроводительного инвентаря в основном представлены железные вещи, ранее не встречавшиеся в памятниках тагарской культуры: кольчатые ножи, пряжки, наконечники стрел и др.; сравнительно много изделий из кости. Состав керамики более традиционен: в основном это неорнаментированные сосуды баночной формы; встречаются и новые виды сосудов — кувшинообразные с арочным орнаментом, плоские «блюда» с перегородкой, небольшие сосудики многогранной формы и др. Бронзовые предметы, в том числе и художественные изделия (ажурные пряжки, кольца, ложечковидные застежки и др.) представляют не прежние тагарские формы, а имеют ближайшие аналогии в материалах хуннских погребений из Монголии и Забайкалья. В двух случаях (Тепсей VII и курган «Ближний») найдены китайские монеты *у-шу,* первый выпуск которых относится к 118 г. до н.э., что определяет terminus post quern для погребений подобного типа. Время их существования с наибольшей вероятностью определяется концом II в. до н.э.-I в. н.э. В социальном отношении тесинские «грунтовые могильники» мало дифференцированы, но известны и несколько явно привилегированных, «богатых» захоронений (Тепсей VII, Каменка V), отличающихся деталями погребального обряда и большим количеством импортных изделий.

Археологические материалы тесинского этапа позволяют представить этнокультурную ситуацию, сложившуюся на Среднем Енисее в конце I тыс. до н.э.: завершение тагарскои культуры, вызванное, очевидно, как внешними, так и внутренними причинами; появление нового населения, хорошо знакомого с хуннской культурной традицией, приток которого, судя по количеству

«грунтовых могильников», был достаточно велик; включение Южной Сибири в сферу культурного влияния государства Хунну, явившееся на новом историческом витке продолжением центрально-восточноазиатских связей, заложенных еще в карасукскую эпоху. Собственно хуннских погребений на территории Минусинской котловины не обнаружено, но одним из наиболее ярких индикаторов их незримого присутствия здесь являются бронзовые поясные ажурные пластины, известные как по материалам тесинских погребений (Тепсей VII), так и по многочисленным случайным находкам, а также в составе кладов, найденных на севере области. В наиболее крупном из них (Косогольском кладе) содержится около 200 бронзовых изделий, в том числе и несколько поясных ажурных пластин хуннского типа. Судя по количеству и социальной значимости этих находок, можно предполагать, что территория Минусинской котловины входила в сферу не только культурного, но и политического влияния Хунну.

События этого времени нашли отражение и в письменных источниках, когда появляются первые этнонимы, имеющие уже непосредственное отношение к началу этнической истории енисейских кыргызов. Отправным моментом здесь является указание китайской хроники *Синь Таншу* о том, что «Хагас (т.е. кыргызы — Д.С.) есть древнее государство Гяньгунь... Жители перемешались с динлинами» (Бичурин, 1950, с. 350-351). В истории государства Хунну известны два события, при которых совместно упоминаются динлины и гяньгуни. Первое, когда в 201 г. до н.э. основатель хуннского племенного союза шаньюй Мао-дунь покорил на севере несколько народов, в том числе динлинов и гяньгуней. Второе, когда в 49 г. до н.э., уже после распадения Хунну на северных и южных хуннов, предводитель северных хуннов Чжичжи шаньюй вновь разбил динлинов и гяньгуней. При этом указывается, что земли гяньгуней «находились на расстоянии 7 тыс. ли западнее ставки шаньюя (на р. Толе в Монголии? — Д.С.) и на расстоянии 5 тыс. ли севернее владения Чэши (Турфанский оазис в Восточном Туркестане — Д.С.). В них Чжичжи и остался жить» (Таскин, 1973, с. 37). К сожалению, этих первых сведений по этногеографии севера Центральной Азии недостаточно для того, чтобы точно определить места проживания динлинов и гяньгуней — двух основных «участников» раннего этапа этнической истории кыргызов. Исторические реконструкции, главным образом основанные на приведенных сведениях письменных источников, расходятся.

«Голубоглазые и рыжеволосые» динлины чаще всего связываются с европеоидным населением тагарской культуры, что даже вызвало появление такого условного наименования, как «тагарские динлины». Однако бесспорных оснований для такой идентификации нет. Известно, что динлины, первые сведения о которых относятся к IV-III вв. до н.э., занимали очень широкую

территорию по северной периферии хуннских владений и были кочевниками-скотоводами. В состав динлинов могли входить и племена тагарской культуры, но область расселения динлинов не ограничивалась Минусинской котловиной. Что касается гяньгуней, то, видимо, не вызывает сомнения лишь то, что они обитали южнее динлинов. При этом принципиальное значение имеет исследование С.Е. Яхонтова, установившего, что названия гэгунь, гяньгунь, кигу, цигу, гегу, хэгуни, хягасы представляют собой разновременные фонетические варианты одного этнонима — кыргыз (Яхонтов, 1970). О месте первоначального расселения гянь-гуней-кыргызов также нет единой точки зрения. Географические координаты относительно нахождения ставки Чжичжи шаньюя позволили В. В. Бартольду предположить, что «киргизы тогда жили не только на Енисее, но и южнее, в той местности, где теперь озеро Киргиз-нор» (Бартольд, 1963, с. 477), то есть в Северо-Западной Монголии. На этом предположении в значительной степени основана высказанная С.В. Киселевым и развернутая Л.Р. Кызласовым гипотеза о двухэтапном проникновении (при Маодуне и при Чжичжи шаньюе) тюркоязычных гяньгуней на север, в Минусинскую котловину, где произошло их смешение с племенами тагарской культуры, что и положило начало сложению кыргызского этноса. В подтверждение монгольской «прародины» гяньгуней приводятся и некоторые археологические данные, но, судя по всему, они относятся к более позднему времени. На основании тех же сведений письменных источников Л.А. Боровкова локализовала владение Гяньгунь значительно западнее, в северных предгорьях Тянь шаня и южнее оз. Алаколь (Боровкова, 1989, с. 61-62). На этом в значительной степени основывается гипотеза Ю.С. Худякова о проживании гяньгуней, начиная с хуннского времени, в Восточном Туркестане, где они перемешались с западной ветвью телеских племен (гаоцзюйскими динлинами) и были переселены отсюда на Енисей уже в виде сложившейся общности в период господства жуань-жуаней, в V - первой половине VI в. н.э. (Худяков, 2001). К сожалению, и эта интересная гипотеза лишена какого-либо археологического обоснования. Таким образом, вопрос о первоначальной локализации гяньгуней также пока остается открытым.

Обращаясь к археологическим материалам, следует подчеркнуть, что длительные процессы культурогенеза, происходившие на территории Минусинской котловины, к этому времени уже, очевидно, подошли к своему завершению. Некоторые «сквозные» элементы культурных традиций впоследствии вошли в культуру енисейских кыргызов. Вместе с тем, не менее важным представляется обоснованный как археологическими, так и письменными источниками вывод о том, что начало этнической истории енисей-ских кыргызов так или иначе было связано с этнокультурными

процессами, происходившими на территории государства Хунну. С этой точки зрения, помимо военных походов хуннских шаньюев, по-видимому, определяющее значение имеют события хуннской истории, свидетельствующие о постепенном сокращении границ государства Хунну: от оттеснения их из оазисов Восточного Туркестана и потери Ордоса до перенесения около 120 г. до н.э. политического центра всего объединения в Северную Монголию, после чего «к югу от пустыни (Гоби — Д.С.) уже не было ставки их правителя» (Таскин, 1968, с. 55). Такое смещение на север границ хуннских владений безусловно должно было активизировать взаимоотношения хуннов с соседними южносибирскими племенами. Именно к этому времени, а не раньше, должны относиться хуннские художественные бронзы, найденные в большом количестве в Минусинской котловине; китайские монеты *у-шу,* время первого выпуска которых (118г. до н.э.) фактически совпадает с перенесением ставки хуннских шаньюев на север; а также появление на Среднем Енисее новых групп населения, хорошо знакомых с хуннской культурной традицией. Вполне возможно, что среди них могли находиться и гяньгуни письменных источников, хотя точное место их первоначального расселения остается неопределенным. Замечательным памятником симбиоза китайских и среднеазиатских традиций, которые хунну могли заимствовать как в результате тесных связей с Ханьской династией Китая, так и во время пребывания в Восточном Туркестане, является дворец "гуннского правителя" на р. Ташебе около г. Абакана. Независимо от его интерпретации — как ставки хуннского наместника, взятого хуннами в плен в 99 г. до н.э. китайского полководца Ли Лина (С.В. Киселев, Л.Р. Кызласов); или как дворца китайской принцессы Имо, датированного по надписям на кровельной черепице 9-23 гг. н.э. (С.И. Вайнштейн, М.В. Крюков) — дворцовый комплекс на р. Ташебе представляет собой наиболее яркое свидетельство включения местных племен в социальную структуру хуннского этнополитического объединения. Немногочисленные вещи, найденные при раскопках дворца — хуннские (керамика с каннелированной поверхностью и когтевидная подвеска из нефрита) или тесинские (нож с кольчатым навершием, бронзовая пряжка с выступающим язычком). Немаловажное значение имеет и то обстоятельство, что на месте дворца, уже после разрушения, было сделано таштыкское кладбище, что позволяет рассматривать его в ряду других памятников тесинского этапа. Период зависимости от хуннского влияния должен был закончиться в середине II в. н.э., когда предводитель сяньбийцев Таньшихуай «овладел всеми землями, бывшими под державою хуннов» (Бичурин, 1950, с. 156). Отдельные вещи сяньбийского происхождения, найденные во впускных таштыкских могилах кургана Салбык, позволяют предполагать, что эти события коснулись и населения Минусинской котловины.

Со временем господства сяньбийцев и жуань-жуаней в Центральной Азии (II -середина VI в. н.э.) может быть синхронизирована таштыкская культура на Енисее, выделенная первоначально С.А. Теплоуховым как «таштыкский переходный этап». Памятники таштыкской культуры представлены двумя основными видами погребений — в грунтовых могильниках и склепах, мнения исследователей о хронологическом соотношении которых расходятся. Одни считают их одновременными; другие, начиная с С. А. Теплоухова, относят грунтовые могилы к более раннему времени, а склепы — к более позднему. По данным 1986 года, было раскопано 55 склепов и около 400 грунтовых могил (сейчас известно несколько больше). По периодизации М.П. Грязнова, грунтовые могилы (батеневский этап) датируются I-II вв. н.э.; склепы (тепсейский этап) — III-V вв. н.э. С некоторым «омоложением» каждого этапа эту периодизацию можно принять. «И по форме и по орнаменту керамика батеневского этапа, — отмечает М.П. Грязнов, — очень близка к керамике предшествующего тесинского этапа и генетически с нею связана», в то время как «в памятниках тепсейского этапа аналогии с тесинскими уже не наблюдаются» (Грязнов, 1971, с. 96-99). Однако и в этом случае состав таштыкской культуры оказывается достаточно сложным: разные виды погребальных сооружений сосуществовали в различное время.

К началу таштыкской культуры полностью исчезают погребения в каменных ящиках и грунтовые захоронения с каменными конструкциями тесинского этапа, что свидетельствует об ассимиляции их создателей в среде местного населения. Исчезают и большие одиночные курганы-склепы позднего этапа татарской культуры. Основным видом погребений становятся захоронения в неглубоких ямах с квадратными или прямоугольными срубами, генетически связанные с одним из видов погребений тесинских грунтовых могильников. В них по-прежнему сочетаются обряды трупосожжения и трупоположения (традиция, восходящая еще к андроновской древности), только теперь кремированные остатки погребенных помещаются в специально сделанных мешочках, куклах-манекенах, иногда с глиняными масками. Сопроводительный инвентарь из этих , погребений сравнительно беден; в отличие от тесинских могил, в них ни разу не были найдены вещи, связанные с хуннской культурной традицией. Как долго существуют такие погребения, сказать трудно.

Начиная с III в. н.э. население с обрядом трупосожжения занимает господствующее положение в Минусинской котловине. Основным видом погребений становятся склепы с большим количеством погребенных, что само по себе свидетельствует о возрождении прежних тагарских традиций. Таштыкские склепы — это большие, почти квадратные в плане неглубокие

котлованы, размером до 100 кв. м, окруженные стеной из горизонтально положенных плит, со специально оформленным входом-дромосом и деревянным перекрытием. По своим размерам и сложности конструкции таштыкские склепы делятся на «большие» и «малые» склепы; в количественном отношении их распределение приблизительно одинаково. Внутри склепов находились остатки многочисленных трупосожжений, покрытые «портретными» погребальными масками и бюстами. Поражает точность передачи и разнообразие лиц, запечатленных в этих масках: типичных европеоидов, монголоидов, представителей различным образом смешанных антропологических типов. Если проводить какие-либо аналогии, то скорее всего именно к этому времени должно относиться то «смешение» гяньгунеи и динлинов, на которое указывают письменные источники. Процессы изготовления этих масок, проведения соответствующих обрядов, последующего сожжения и погребения должны были занять определенное количество времени. Вероятно, то же самое было у енисейских кыргызов. Как сообщают письменные источники, кыргызы «обвертывают тело покойника в три ряда и плачут; а потом сжигают его, собранные же кости чрез год погребают» (Бичурин, 1950, с. 353).

Сопроводительный инвентарь таштыкских склепов состоит в основном из многочисленных и разнообразных по формам и приемам орнаментации глиняных сосудов, различного рода украшений, бронзовых деталей поясных наборов, вотивных железных предметов (колчанные крюки, витые цепочки для крепления ножен, удила, ножи, в одном случае найдена модель петельчатого стремени). Несмотря на различия в размерах и отдельных конструктивных деталях, таштыкские склепы, несомненно, представляют однокультурный вид памятников, свидетельствующий о достаточно высоком уровне развития оставившего их населения. Особого внимания заслуживают некоторые элементы таштыкского культурного комплекса, сохраняющиеся потом в культуре енисейских кыргызов: обряд трупосожжения, господствовавший в той и другой культуре; обычай обставлять стенки могильной ямы вертикальными столбиками и помещать в погребения фигурки животных; некоторые сходные формы керамики и своеобразные украшения — амулеты с обращенными в разные стороны головками лошадей, найденные как в таштыкских, так и в кыргызских погребениях. Количество таких «переходных элементов в целом достаточно велико и вряд ли может объясняться случайностью «попадания». Нет никакого сомнения, что в данном случае речь о преемственности кыргызской культуры (или ее части) от таштыкской.

Замечательным источником по истории и культуре таштыкских племен являются деревянные планки с многофигурными композициями, найденные в таштыкских склепах у г. Тепсей. Среди многочисленных представленных

здесь сюжетов (охоты, угона лошадей, бычьих запряжек и др.) следует выделить батальные сцены. В одном случае это столкновение таштыкцев, которых можно узнать по характерным прическам с костяными булавками, одетых в легкие кафтаны и вооруженных сложными луками, с чужеземцами, приплывшими на лодке, очевидно, с верховьев какой-то реки, в подпоясанной, видимо, глухой одежде и плоских головных уборах (из бересты?), вооруженных простыми луками; в другом — изображения «рыцарей» в шлемах и пластинчатых доспехах, также вооруженных сложными луками; несколько фигур таких «рыцарей» показаны поверженными. Ясно, что на тепсейских пластинах показаны люди различной этнической принадлежности, что полностью соответствует сложному характеру образования таштыкской культуры. С этого времени мифологическое содержание древних памятников изобразительного искусства на Енисее сменяется новым, повествовательным. Несомненно, эта традиция оказала определенное влияние на формирование искусства енисейских кыргызов, наиболее ярким памятником которого является знаменитая Сулекская писаница.

Вместе с тем, в материалах таштыкских склепов представлен и ряд восточноазиатских элементов: погребальные статуэтки животных, церемониальные зонты или фрагменты моделей повозок, сохранившиеся головки и руки возничих, обломки ханьских зеркал, имеющие аналогии в погребениях Ханьской династии Китая и, скорее всего, проникшие на Енисей уже после ее падения (220 г. н.э.). Можно предполагать, что и характерные особенности т. н. «таштыкского стиля» являются производными от художественных приемов оформления каменных барельефов с изображением погребальных процессий из Ханьских гробниц. Все это вместе взятое позволяет говорить не только о многокомпонентности культуры таштыкских склепов, но и об интенсивных процессах социального развития общества по пути этнической интеграции различных групп населения в новую форму этносоциального объединения, центр которого, по Л. Р. Кызласову, находился на левобережье Енисея, в Уйбатской степи.

Название этого объединения — Цигу — сохранилось в древнетюркских генеалогических преданиях. Согласно исследованию С.Е. Яхонтова, Цигу (или Кигу) — одна из ранних фонетических транскрипций этнонима «кыргыз», относящаяся ко времени до 700 г. н.э. (Яхонтова, 1970, с 114), В одной из древнетюркских генеалогических легенд, записанной в династийной хронике *Чжоу шу,* рассказывается, что прародитель древних тюрков Ичжинишиду, названный «сыном волчицы», имел несколько сыновей, каждый из которых получил во владение свое наместничество. Один из них, Нодулу шад, стал родоначальником древнетюркской правящей династии; другой «царствовал между реками Афу и Гянь под наименованием Цигу»

(Бичурин, 1950, с. 222). Наиболее подробно расследовавший древнетюркские генеалогические предания С.Г. Кляшторный отметил «имеющуюся в них реалистическую основу, историографическая ценность которой в настоящее время кажется несомненной» (Кляшторный, 1965, с. 278). Указанные в легенде географические наименования «Афу» и «Гянь» большинством исследователей отождествляются с названиями рек Абакан и Енисей, в междуречье которых находилось древнетюркское владение Цигу. По времени своего существования (после переселения тюрков Ашина на Алтай в 460 г.) и месту расположения владение Цигу совпадает с концом тепсейского этапа таштыкской культуры, что является достаточно веским основанием для их идентификации.

Можно предполагать, что именно в это время в Минусинской котловине появляются немногочисленные каменные изваяния тюркского типа (т. н. «таштыкские стелы»). Не исключено также, что изображения «рыцарей» в пластинчатых доспехах на тепсейских планках представляют древнетюркских воинов, попавших на Енисей и столкнувшихся с населением таштыкской культуры. Название Цигу для обозначения ранней общности кыргызов на Енисее упоминается в письменных источниках еще один раз при описании походов третьего правителя Первого тюркского каганата Мухан-кагана, который в 555н. н.э. в числе других завоеваний «на севере покорил Цигу и привел в трепет все владения, лежащие за границей» (Бичурин, 1950, с. 229). Скорее всего, эту дату условно можно считать концом таштыкской культуры и началом распространения на Среднем Енисее древнетюркского культурного комплекса, значение которого в культуре раннесредневековых кыргызов стало определяющим.

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КОЧЕВНИКИ И ЗЕМЛЕДЕЛЬЧЕСКИЕ ЦИВИЛИЗАЦИИ

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Экологическая и экономическая адаптация номадизма являлась далеко не полной. Перейдя к подвижному скотоводству, номады тем не менее не утратили необходимости в потреблении растительной земледельческой пищи. По этой причине номадизм редко бывал отделим от иных отраслей присваивающе-производящего хозяйства. Казалось бы, проще всего дополнять свою экономику иными видами хозяйственной деятельности, в первую очередь земледелием, тем более, что многочисленные факты свидетельствуют о наличии у самих кочевников зачатков собирательства и земледелия. Но оседлость и земледелие в массовом масштабе невозможны на большей части степных пространств Евразии. Занятие земледелием возможно только там, где количество годовых атмосферных осадков не менее 400 мм или имеется разветвленная речная сеть. Большая часть территории Монголии под эти условия не попадает. Здесь всего 2,3% земель пригодны для занятия земледелием.

Поэтому кочевники использовали различные способы адаптации к "Внешнему Миру". Эта проблема подробно была изучена в трудах А.М. Хазанова.[1]

Адаптация могла осуществляться различными способами:

(1) посредническая торговля между земледельческими цивилизациями и соучастие в ней;
(2) широкие обменные и торговые связи с соседними оседло-земледельческими обществами;
(3) периодические набеги, нерегулярный грабеж и разовая контрибуция с земледельческих обществ;
(4) данническая эксплуатация и навязывание вассальных связей земледельцам;

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[1] A.M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World,* Cambridge, 1984, p.84.

(5) завоевание земледельческих обществ;
(6) вхождение в состав земледельческих государств в качестве зависимой, неполноправной части социума.

Первые два способа, а также последний являлись "мирными" способами адаптации кочевников к оседлому миру. Третий - пятый способы адаптации номадов к внешней среде являлись "немирными". Вопрос о том, какие из них имели у кочевников большее распространение, имеет давнюю историю. Существуют свои сторонники и своя аргументация как точки зрения враждебности или неприязни номадизма и оседлого мира, так и концепции кочевническо-земледельческого "симбиоза". И номадофобия, и номадофилия одинаково односторонне, редукционистски изображают реальные исторические отношения между кочевниками и земледельцами. Номады в процессе приспособления к окружающим условиям использовали как "мирные", так и "немирные" способы адаптации.

Вместе с тем, в различных пространственных и временных условиях менялось соотношение данных способов адаптации, как менялась и роль кочевничества во всемирно-историческом процессе в целом.

(1) В период генезиса пастушества очевидна его важная позитивная роль в освоении Ойкумены, металлургической революции (сейминско-турбинский феномен тонкостенного литья), распространении культурных инноваций по территории Евразии, цивилизаторское воздействие на "мир тайги" и др.
(2) На стадии расцвета кочевничества нередко именно народы степи выступали инициаторами многих войн и завоеваний, сопровождавшихся массовыми убийствами и уничтожением культурных ценностей.
(3) Наконец, с периода нового времени, когда принципиально изменилось соотношение сил между номадами и их более могущественными соседями, кочевники стали активно уничтожаться или вытесняться в отдаленные и плохо пригодные для обитания районы.

В целом, из сложного переплетения различных насильственных и ненасильственных политических методов как в отношении номадов к их оседлым соседям, так и наоборот, складывались оригинальные формы приграничной степной политики. Кочевники использовали несколько пограничных стратегий, которые могли на протяжении истории одного общества сменить одна другую:

(1) стратегия набегов и грабежей (сяньби, монголы XV-XVI вв. по отношению к Китаю, Крымское ханство по отношении к России и др.).

(2) подчинение земледельческого общества и взимание с него дани (Скифия и сколоты, Хазария и славяне, Золотая Орда и Русь), а также контроль над трансконтинентальной торговлей шелком.

(3) завоевание оседло-городского государства, размещение на его территории гарнизонов, седентеризация и обложение крестьян налогами в пользу новой элиты (тоба, кидани и чжурчжэни в Китае, монголы в Китае и Иране).

(4) установление мирных обменных и торговых связей с соседними оседло-городскими обществами, а также участие в посреднической торговле между земледельческими цивилизациями.

(5) политика чередования набегов и вымогания дани в отношении более крупного общества. Сначала лидер использовал силу объединенных в империю племен для набегов на оседло-земледельческого государство с целью захвата добычи, которую он раздаривал своим сподвижникам. После этого заключался мирный договор, по которому земледельцы снабжали степную "ставку" богатыми дарами, используемыми правителем номадов для повышения своего престижа. Последующие набеги правитель использовал уже как средство политического давления на китайское правительство с целью вымогания так называемых "подарков" или установления стабильной торговли между кочевниками и земледельцами.

Некоторые из данных стратегий (1,4,5) реализовывались во взаимоотношениях между Хунну и Хань. Можно выделить четыре этапа отношений между ними.[2]

На *первом этапе* (200-133 гг. до н.э.) для вымогания все более и более высоких прибылей хунну пытались чередовать войну и набеги с периодами мирного сожительства с Китаем. Первые набеги совершались с целью получения добычи для всех членов имперской конфедерации номадов независимо от их статуса. Шаньюю требовалось заручиться поддержкой большинства племен, входивших в конфедерацию. После опустошительного набега, как правило, шаньюй направлял послов в Китай с предложением заключения нового договора "*О мире и родстве*", или же номады продолжали набеги до тех пор, пока китайцы сами не выходили с предложением заключения нового соглашения. После заключения договора и получения даров набеги на какое-то время прекращались. Однако через определенный промежуток времени, когда награбленная простыми номадами добыча заканчивалась или приходила в негодность, скотоводы снова начинали требовать от вождей и шаньюя удовлетворения их интересов. В силу того, что китайцы упорно не шли на открытие рынков на границе, шаньюй был вынужден "выпускать пар" и отдавать приказ к возобновлению набегов.

Второй этап (129-58 гг. до н.э.) хунно-ханьских отношений - это время правления ханьского императора У-ди. В годы его правления принципиально изменился характер политических отношений кочевников с Хань. Император

[2] *Крадин Н.Н.* Империя Хунну. 2-е изд. М.,2002.

У-ди был категорически против заключения договора с хунну на прежних равных условиях. Номадов также не устраивал более низкий статус вассалов. Не имея возможности получать товары и продукты из-за пределов степи мирными способами, кочевники были вынуждены компенсировать отсутствие "подарков" и рынков грабительскими набегами. Они совершались с определенной периодичностью в 108, 103-102, 92-91, 82, 80-78 и 73 гг. до н.э. Однако после кампании 73-72 гг. до н.э. набеги кочевников на Китай прекратились. Это было связано с тем, что несколько климатических стрессов подряд (72, 68 гг. до н.э.) ослабили экономический и военный потенциал хунну. Затем внутри хуннских племен началась "гражданская война".

Третий этап (56 г. до - 9 г. н.э.) хунно-китайских отношений можно отсчитывать со времени принятия шаньюем Хуханье вассалитета от Ханьского императора. Официально политика *хэцинь* была заменена системой "даннических" отношений. Хунну обязывались признавать сюзеренитет Хань и платить дань. За это император обеспечивал свое покровительство шаньюю и дарил ему как вассалу ответные подарки. В действительности вассалитет номадов, замаскированный в терминах, отражавших китайское идеологическое превосходство, был старой политикой "дистанционной эксплуатации". "Дань" шаньюя имела только номинальное значение. Однако ответные "благотворительные" дары были даже намного больше, чем при системе *хэцинь*. Кроме того, по мере необходимости шаньюй получал от Китая земледельческие продукты для поддержки своих подданных.

Четвертый, последний этап (9-48 гг.) отношений между империей Хань и имперской конфедерацией хунну по своему содержанию схож с первым этапом. Поводом к разрыву мирных отношений послужили территориальные претензии Ван Мана, вмешательство в хунно-ухуаньские отношения (что с точки зрения шаньюя было вмешательством в его личные дела) и, наконец, подмена шаньюевой печати китайскими послами. Судя по всему, в отличие от первого этапа отношений хунну и Китая, номады несколько изменили акцент своей внешнеполитической стратегии в сторону активизации набегов на территорию Хань. Возможно, это было связано с ослаблением пограничной мощи Китая и нестабильной политической ситуацией внутри страны. Если раньше северные границы Китая охраняла мощная сеть сигнально-караульных служб, города и наиболее ответственные участки Великой стены охраняли хорошо вооруженные гарнизоны, то в ранний период Младшей династии Хань (с 23 г.) содержание такой армии было китайскому правительству не по средствам. Набеги оказывались более безопасными и безнаказанными для степняков, чем ранее.

Таким образом, изложенный материал показывает, что взгляд на историю взаимоотношений кочевников и земледельцев только через призму

извечного *антагонизма* или извечного *симбиоза* представляется излишне упрощенным. История хунно-ханьских отношений в частности показывает, что на протяжении 250 лет в степи существовали как периоды мира, так и периоды военного противостояния. Конечно, *ксенократическая* природа степных империй предполагала милитаризованный образ жизни кочевников и, в известной степени, более воинственный характер пограничной политики номадов со всеми вытекающими из этого последствиями. За время с 209 г. до н.э. по 48 г. н.э. хунну по разным подсчетам вторгались на территорию Китая от 40 до 70 раз (если условно один набег приравнять как бы к одному году), тогда как ханьцы за это же время только в течение 15 лет вели военные действия против хунну вне пределов Великой стены.

Особенное внимание хотелось бы обратить на стратегию вымогательства. Письменные источники позволяют подробно рассматривать "дистанционную эксплуатацию" кочевников с хуннского времени. Придя в Европу, гунны практически воспроизвели старый хуннских механизм внешнеполитического преуспевания. Сначала совершался набег, после чего поступало предложение о заключении мирного договора, который предполагал богатые "подарки" номадам. Только Византия платила Аттиле до 700 фунтов золота в год. Но это было, вероятно, для Константинополя выгоднее, чем содержать большие гарнизоны на границе.

Более поздние кочевые империи практиковали такой же набор стратегий эксплуатации оседлых аграрных обществ. Тюрки практиковали такую же дистанционную модель эксплуатации, что и хунну. Набеги они чередовали с мирными посольствами. Уйгурский вариант поведения выглядит, например, несколько иначе. Доходы уйгуров складывались из следующих частей: (1) Согласно "Договорам" с Китаем они получали ежегодные богатые "подарки"; (2) Китайцы также были вынуждены нести обременительные расходы по приему многочисленных уйгурских посольств; 3) Уйгуры также активно предлагали свои услуги китайским императорам для подавления сепаратистов внутри Китайского государства. Их помощь была очень специфической. Участвуя в военных компаниях на территории Китая в 750-х-770-х гг., они нередко забывали о своих союзнических обязательствах и просто грабили мирное население, и угоняли его в плен; 4) В течение почти всего времени существования Уйгурского каганата номады обменивали свой скот на китайские сельскохозяйственные и ремесленные товары.

Аналогичные механизмы политического поведения можно было обнаружить и в более позднее время в отношениях между древнерусскими княжествами и половцами, Московской Русью, Золотой Ордой и татарскими ханствами более позднего времени. Так, например, Константин Багрянородный (гл. 7, 13) описывает печенегов столь же "ненасытными и крайне жадными"

до подарков. Но он сам подчеркивает, что ханы выпрашивали дары для своих родственников и соратников.

"Когда василик (т.е. посланник императора – Н.К.) вступит в их страну, он требуют прежде всего даров василевса и снова, когда ублажат своих людей, просят подарков для своих жен и своих родителей" [1989:43, 55].[3]

Вся история внешнеполитических отношений между Москвой и Крымским ханством, по сути, история постоянного рэкетирования своих соседей, вымогания от Москвы и Литвы богатых *поминков* ("подарков") и иных льгот. Татары постоянно играли на "повышении курса", мотивируя тем, что противоположная сторона дает больше. Свои неуемные аппетиты ханы оправдывали тем, что если они не будут выпрашивать поминки и раздавать их своим мурзам, те будут им "сильно докучать".

"Крымский юрт стал, таким образом, гнездом хищников, которых нельзя было сдерживать никакими дипломатическими средствами. На упрек хану в нападении у него всегда был готовый ответ, что оно сделано без его разрешения, что ему людей своих не унять, что Москва сама виновата – не дает достаточно поминков князьям, мурзам и уланам".[4]

Даже известные своей мощной армией турки страдали в XVIII-XIX вв. от рэкета арабских бедуинов, контролировавших торговые пути.[5]

Подводя итоги вышеизложенному, необходимо подчеркнуть, что в литературе по-прежнему нередко встречаются утверждения о кочевниках только как о грабителях, способных лишь грабить и уничтожать достижения оседло-земледельческих цивилизаций. Сами этнонимы гунн и вандал стали синонимами для обозначения разрушителей культурных ценностей. Спору нет, война и внешнеэксплуататорская деятельность являлись чрезвычайно важными компонентами жизнедеятельности древних и средневековых скотоводов. Но видеть в номадах только отсталые дикие орды – это серьезное заблуждение. Дикарям не под силу было создать мощную политическую организацию, способную противостоять густонаселенным земледельческим цивилизациям. Дикари едва ли были способны разработать хитроумную политику, позволяющую выживать в суровых природно-климатических условиях и пополнять экономику своего общества (пусть даже такими жестокими методами) дополнительными источниками существования. В целом, значение хуннской политики для истории Евразии очень велико. Трудно удержаться, чтобы не процитировать меткую мысль Т.Барфилда:

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[3] *Константин Багрянородный*. Об управлении империей. М., 1989, с.43, 55..

[4] *Любавский М.К.* Обзор истории русской колонизации с древнейших времен и до XX века. М., 1996, с.286-294.

[5] *Першиц А.И.* Некоторые особенности классообразования и раннеклассовых отношений у кочевников-скотоводов. - Становление классов и государства. М., 1976, с.298-300.

"Далеко не такие простые варвары, какими их часто изображают, сюнну открыли классическую модель великих кочевых империй, которые следовали за ними. Поняв сюнну, можно намного яснее представить себе большую часть более поздней истории степи".[6]. Этот тезис остается актуальным не только для истории народов собственно Халха-Монголии, но и для других номадов евразийских степей.

[6] T. Barfield, "The Hsiung-nu Imperial Confederacy: Organization and Foreign Policy", *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XLI, No 1, 1981, p.59.

SİR TARDUŞLAR

Ahmet TAŞAĞIL[*]

Boylar halinde yaşama Orta Asya Türk tarihinin eski ve yeni devirlerinin en önemli gerçeklerinden biridir. Bir başka deyişle boylar ve boy sistemi geçmişten günümüze uzanan bir köprüdür. Gök-Türk tarihi döneminde(542-745) bir çok boy tarih sahnesinde belirmiş, mühim tarihi roller oynamışlardır. İlk önceleri Töles adıyla anılan boylar topluluğu, 603 yılından sonra her bir boyun kendi adıyla kaynaklara geçmesi suretiyle farklı mecraya kaymıştır. 627'de Doğu Gök-Türk devletinin zayıflaması üzerine, boylar tamamen güçlenmişler ve bağımsız hareket etmeye başlamışlardı. Bunların içinde o zaman en kuvvetlisi Sir Tarduşlar idi. Bu incelememizde Sir Tarduş boyunun tarihini ele almaya çalışacağız.

Boylar birer birer dikkate alındığında Sir Tarduşlar, Gök-Türk coğrafyasında 647 yılından önce varlığını en çok hissettiren boydur. Özellikle Doğu Gök-Türk Devletinin 630 yılında yıkılmasından sonra büyük bir güç olarak ortaya çıkarak, bağımsızlıklarını kazandıkları 628'den 647 'e kadar bir devlet gibi rol oynadılar.

Onların menşeyi söz konusu bütün kaynaklarda Töles boylarının içinde gösterilmektedir. Her ne kadar açıkça bahsedilmese de, Gök-Türk Devletinin kuruluşunda vazife yapan Töleslerin içinde önemli bir gurup olduklarını kabul ediyoruz. Dolayısıyla onların 603 yılında birden bire kuvvetli bir boy olarak ortaya çıkışını daha açık bir şekilde değerlendirebiliyoruz.

Batı Gök-Türk kaganı Ch'u-lo'nun ağır baskılarına ve vergilerine boyun eğmeyen Sir Tarduşlar için ona karşı başlattıkları isyan kendileri için bir dönüm noktası olmuştur. Dolayısıyla Türk boylarının 603'ten 647'ye kadar en kuvvetlisi olarak görünen Sir Tarduşlar, kaynakların bildirdiğine göre Sir ve Tarduş kabilelerinin birleşmesi ile meydana gelmişlerdi. Buna rağmen "karışık oturur-lardı" ifadesinden de sadece iki boydan müteşekkil olmayıp, çok sayıda boydan meydana geldiğini tahmin ediyoruz. Bilhassa Sir (hsie) kabilesi Tarduş (Yen-t'o) kabilesini mağlup edip, onun halkına sahip olmuştu. Bundan sonra Sir Tarduş

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(Hsie-yen-t'o) adıyla anılmaya başladılar. Yönetici ailenin kabile adları ise İ-li-hsi (belki İlci)idi[1]. Diğer taraftan bazı kaynaklarda hanedanın kabile adlarının İ-li-t'u olduğu bildirilmiştir[2]. Ayrıca kaynaklarda bu boyun geleneklerinin Gök-Türklerle aynı olduğu da ifade edilmektedir.

I. Gök-Türk Devleti, Juan-juan'ları ani bir baskınla bozguna uğratıp, hokumdarlarını savaş meydanında intihar etmesine sebep olup bu devletin tamamen yıkılmasını sağlayınca kendileri Bumın liderliğinde bağımsızlıklarını ilân etmişlerdi. Sir Tarduşlar bu devletin içinde yer aldılar. Bir kısmı Ötüken (Yü-tu-chin shan) dağının doğusunda otururken, diğer grubu Tanrı Dağlarının doğu ucundaki Tafgan (T'an-han) dağında ikamet etmeye başladı[3]. Bu yukarıda söylediklerimizi destekleyen en önemli delildir. Yani açık bir şekilde ifade edilmemesine rağmen 603 yılına kadar Sir Tarduşlar, Altay ve Tanrı dağlarının doğu kısımlarında varlıklarını sürdürüyorlardı.

552 yılından önce Gök-Türk devletinin kurucusu Bumın, daha devletini kurmadan önce Töles boylarını mağlup etmiş ve hepsini kendine bağlayarak kuvvetini artırmış, neticede bu hadise ona bağımsızlığını elde etme yolunda büyük aşama kazandırmıştı[4]. Söz konusu Töles boylarının içinde açıkça zikredilmemiş olmalarına rağmen (zaten hiçbir boyun adından bahsedilmemiş) Sir Tarduşların da bulunduğu kabul edilmelidir. 603 yılında Batı Gök-Türk kaganı Tardu, mağlup olup T'u-yü-hun'lara sığındığında Töles boyları, Batı Gök-Türk idaresinden ayrılarak dağıldılar ise de onun yerine alan Ch'u-lo, bütün Töles boylarına yeniden saldırmış, hatta yüksek vergilerle onların mallarının çoğunu ellerinden almıştı[5]. Arkasından boyların ileri gelen reislerinden birkaç yüzünü toplayıp idam ettirdi. Bunun üzerine Ch'u-lo'ya karşı isyan etmeye başlayan Töles boyları iki boy etrafında toplanmaya başladılar.

Bu iki boyun biri Ch'i-pi, diğeri ise Sir Tarduşlar idi. Ch'i-pi boyu bugünkü Karaşar'ın kuzeyinde Tanrı Dağlarının eteklerinde P'u-lo-chih, İ-shih, Su-po, Na-ho, Wu-hu, Ho-ku, Ye-shih, Yü-ni-hu gibi boylarla birlikte oturuyordu. Chi'pi'lerin etrafında toplanan diğer boylar onların erkini Ko-leng'ı, İ-wu-chen Baga Kagan ilan etmişlerdi. Bunlar Tanrı Dağlarının doğu ucundaki T'an-han,

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[1] HTS 217B(Hsin T'ang Shu Ting-wen shu-chü yayınevi, T'ai-pei 1985 baskısı), s.6134; Hsüe Tsung-cheng, *T'u-chüe Shih*, s.404 vd.

[2] TT 1080b(T'ung Tien, Shang-wu baskısı Shang-hai 1935); TPHYC,198(T'ai-p'ing Huan-yü-chi(T'sung-ch'en-mien yayını,pekin 1955), s.697; WHTK 2698b(Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao(Shang-wu yaınevi 1935 Shang-hai baskısı).

[3] TT 1080b; TPHYC,198, s.697; WHTK 2698b.

[4] CS 50(Chou Shu, Ting-wen shu-chü yayınevi, T'ai-pei 1987 baskısı) s.908; SS 84(Suei Shu, Ting-wen shu-chü yayınevi, T'ai-pei 1987 baskısı) s.1879-80; PS 99,(Pei Shih, Ting-wen shu-chü yayınevi, T'ai-pei 1987 baskısı) s.33030; Liu,*Die Chinesischen Nachrchten zur Geschichte der Ost*-Türken,I, s.127-128; Taşağıl, *Gök-Türkler*, Ankara 1995, s.16 vd. ; Lin En-hsien, *T'u-chüe Yen-chiou*., Tai-pei 1988, s. 1 vd.

[5] SS 84, s.1876-77; PS 99, s.3300.

İslam kaynaklarındaki adıyla Tafgan dağında otururak hüküm sürmeye başladılar[6].

Sir Tarduşlar ise reisleri İ-hsi-po (Işbara)'ya Ye-hsi Kagan unvanını verdiler[7]. Töles boylarına ağır darbeler indiren Ch'u-lo, 611'den sonra Çin'deki Sui hanedanı hizmetine girince, Batı Gök-Türk ülkesinde hakimiyeti ele geçiren She-kui Kagan kuvvetlendiği zaman söz konusu iki boy da ona itaat etti. Bu esnada doğuda bulunan Uygur, Bayırku, Ediz (A-tie), T'ung-lo (Tongra, P'u-ku (Bugut) gibi boylar doğuda Ötüken'de oturan Doğu Gök-Türk kaganı Shih-pi'nin idaresine girmişlerdi[8]. She-kui'den sonra (619) Sir Tarduşların batıdaki Yabgu Kagan'a (T'ung Yabgu) bağlandıkları anlaşılmaktadır[9].

628 yılında T'ung yabgu idaresindeki Batı Gök-Türk ülkesi karışmıştı. Bu kargaşalık içinde kalmak istemeyen İ-shih-po'nun torunu İ-nan, yetmiş bin çadırlık ahalisi ile doğudaki İl Kagan'a bağlılığını bildirdi[10]. Bu şekilde Doğu Gök-Türk ülkesine gelmiş oluyordu. Fakat, çok geçmeden Doğu Gök-Türk ülkesi de karışıklığa sürüklendi. Bu fırsattan faydalanan İ-nan, İl Kagan'a baş kaldırdı ve üzerine gönderilen Gök-Türk ordularını yendi. Onun galibiyetinden sonra çok sayıda boy ve kabile gelip, Sir Tarduşlara itaatini bildirirken Ötüken bölgesinin kontrolü de tamamen Sir Tarduşların eline geçti. Bütün boylar Sir Tarduş reisi İ-nan'a kendini kagan ilân etmesi için ısrar ediyordu. Ancak, o henüz kendini kagan olarak görmüyordu. Doğu Gök-Türk devletinin büyük zaafa uğramasını fırsat bilen T'ang hanedanının imparatoru T'ai-tsung, İ-nan'la yakınlaşmak istedi. Onunla kuracağı ittifak sayesinde İl Kagan ve Doğu Gök-Türklerini kuzeyden de vurabilirdi. Bu maksadını gerçekleştirmek için general Ch'iao Shih-wang'ı gizli yoldan davul ve sancakla Sir Tarduş reisine gönderdi. Onun Chen-chu (Yincü?) Bilge Kagan olarak tanındığını bildirdi. Bunu kabul eden yani kagan olduğunu ilan eden İ-nan, karşılığında Çin'e elçi gönderip kendi ülke mallarından sunmuş ve teşekkür etmişti. Merkezi Ötüken dağında bulunuyordu, Çin'in başkenti Ch'ang-an'dan kuzey batıya altı bin li mesafede olduğu belirtilen Ötüken merkezleri idi; ancak, doğularında Moğol asıllı kabile Mo-ho'lara kadar uzanan sınırları batıda Batı Gök-Türk ülkesine yani Tanrı Dağlarının kuzeyine kadar ulaşıyordu. Güneylerinde Gobi Çölü Çin ile aralarında hudut iken Kerulen nehri kuzeylerini çevrelemişti[11]. Bu arada kardeşi T'ung Tegin, Çin sarayına geldi. Gök-Türklerden Çin'e gelen elçilerin çoğu tegin unvanını taşıyorlardı. Sir Tarduşlar da artık kendilerini bağımsız bir devlet olarak gördüklerinden hanedanlarından bir tegini

[6] CS 50, s.908; SS 1879-1880; PS 99, s. 3303 ve de CTS 199B(Chiou T'ang Shu,Ting-wen Shu-chü yayınevi baskısı, Tai-pei 1985, s.5343-44.
[7] CS 50, s.908; SS 1879-1880; PS 99, s. 3303 ve de CTS 199B, s.5343-44.
[8] HTS 217B, s.6134.
[9] HTS aynı yer.
[10] B.Ögel, "Uygur Devletinin Teşekkülü ve Yükseliş Devri", *Belleten*,75,1955, s.336. Fakat, Ögel, bu konuyla ilgili HTS'deki metinlere müracaat etmemiştir.
[11] CTS 199B, s.5344; HTS 217B, s.6135. Ayrıca bkz. Ögel, *Uygur Devletinin*, s.337, Hou Lin-po, *T'ang Tai İ-ti Pien-huan Shih-lüe,* T'ai-pei, 1979 s.85,86 vd.

göndermişlerdi. İmparator, T'ung Tegin'e bir Çin kırbacı (süslü) ve keskin bıçak sundu. Ayrıca eğer gelecekte Sir Tarduşlar Çin'e saldırırlarsa onları kırbaçla cezalandıracağının söyledi. İ-nan, Çin imparatorunun dediklerini kabul etti. Böylece siyasi alanda onların üstünlüğünü tanımış oluyordu. Az sonra İl Kagan, Çin'e mağlup olup Doğu Gök-Türk devletini tamamen ortadan kalkınca İ-nan boyunu yavaş yavaş doğuya kaydırıp Tola Irmağının güneyindeki Tu-wei-chien dağına (Togu Balık) ulaştı[12]. Tola Irmağının yanına merkezine kurdu. Ondan sonra Çin başkentine mesafeleri üç bin li' (yaklaşık 1500 km)ye inmişti. Şimdiki mevkileri daha iyi şartlara sahip idi. Baykal Gölüne ulaşmışlar, daha doğudaki Shih-wei kabilesine kadar otoritelerini genişletmişlerdi. Yani Gobi Çölünün güneyi hariç hemen Doğu Gök-Türk devletinin kapladığı sahayı kontrollerine almışlardı. Ordularındaki yetişmiş asker sayısı iki yüz bine ulaşınca askerî güçleri arttı. İki oğlu Tardu ve T'u-li-shih, kuzey ve güney boyu olmak üzere iki kısımda devleti yönetmeye başladılar. Merkezde İ-nan oturuyordu. 633 yılının başında Çin sarayına elçi yolladılar[13].

Bundan sonra aradan geçen yedi yıl içinde Çin sarayına sekiz defa elçi göndermişlerdi. İmparator T'ai-tsung, onların kuvvetlenip büyümelerini endişe içinde izliyordu. Bir gün Çin'e hücum edeceklerini düşünüyor ve yıkılmalarını arzu ediyordu. Hatta onları parçalamak istemiş, bu yüzden iki oğlunun da "küçük kagan" olarak tanıdığını ilân etmişti.

Sir Tarduşların asıl korkusu Gök-Türklerin yeniden kuvvetlenmesi idi. Çünkü, onlar Çin'den geri gelirlerse kendilerine bağlı boyların çoğu ayrılıp, Gök-Türkler etrafında toplanabilirlerdi. 641 yılında Ssu-mo Kagan idaresinde Çin sınırları içindeki Gök-Türkler kuzeye gönderilince önce ses çıkarmamışlar, sadece askerlerini hazırlayarak Gobi çölünün kuzeyinde beklemişlerdi. Zaten Çin'deki T'ang hanedanı imparatoru da Ssu-mo Kagan ve beraberindekilerin Gobi Çölünün güneyine yerleşmelerini istiyordu. Kısacası Çinlilerin planına göre Gök-Türkler ve Sir Tarduşlar birlikte komşu olarak yaşayacaklardı.

Çin imparatoru T'ai-tsung, doğudaki T'ai dağına ziyarete gidecek idi. Bunu fırsat bilen Bilge Kagan, bütün Çin askerlerinin oraya imparatorla beraber gittiğini, sınırlarının boşaldığını, hatta Çin'e vassal olan kavimlerin askerlerinin dahi adı geçen dağa gittiğini dolayısıyla Ssu-mo'nun kolayca yakalanabileceğinin maiyetindekilere söyleyerek harekete geçti. Önce oğlu Tardu Şad'ı iki yüz bin askerle çölün güneyini kesmesi için gönderdi. O da Pai-tao-ch'uan'da kamp kurdu ve arkasından bir askere dört at vermek suretiyle aniden Ssu-mo'ya hücum etti. Ssu-mo, Tardu Şad karşısında hiçbir şey yapamayacağının biliyordu; derhal geri çekilerek Shuo-

[12] Tu-wei-chien Dağındaki merkezin Togu Balık şehri olduğu konusunda bkz. Ögel, Uygurların Menşe Efsanesi, DTCF,VI,1-2,1948, s.19; unvan açıklamaları için bkz. Mori, "On Chi-li-fa(eltäber/eltebir) and Chi-chin(İrkin) of T'ie-le Tribes", *Acta Asiatica*, 32-40. CTS 3, s.43.

[13] CTS 3, s.43; TT 1080b; TPHYC 198, s.697; WHTK 2698b.

chou'ya geldi. Askeri vali Chang Chien, Moğol boyları Hsi, K'u-mo-hsi, Kıtan gibi boylarla, Li Chi ise emrine altmış bin piyade üç bin süvari alarak Shu-chou'da mevzilendi. Diğer generaller Chang Shih-hui ve Li Hsi-yü onlarla savaşmak üzere yola çıktılar.

İmparator ziyaretinden geri döndükten sonra bütün generallerine bir ferman yayınladı. Fermana göre Sir Tarduşların artık çölün güneyine geçtiklerini, atlarının bitkin olduğunu, dolayısıyla derhal hücuma geçilerek bu fırsatın kaçırılmaması gerektiğini vurguluyordu. Sir Tarduşlar, Çinlilerin büyük bir seferberlik ilan etmesi ve üzerlerine birkaç ordunun birlikte gönderilmesi neticesinde bir şey yapamayacaklarını anlamışlardı. Tardu Şad elçi göndererek, Gök-Türklerle barış yapmak isteklerini bildirdi. Fakat, imparator daha önce kendisinin Sir Tarduşların çölün kuzeyini, Ssu-mo idaresindeki Gök-Türklerin güneyini kontrol edeceğini tayin ettiğini ancak Sir Tarduşların anlaşmayı bozduğunu bu yüzden cezalandırılacaklarını ve asla barış yapılmayacağını bildirdi.

Tardu Şad'ın bu cevap üzerine daha da güneye doğru ilerlediğini, hatta biraz kendini toparladığını anlayabiliyoruz. Ssu-mo, daha önce kaçıp Çin Seddinin güneyine sakladığı için yakalayamayacağını anlayan Tardu Şad, elçi göndererek ona hakaret etti. Çinli kumandan Li Chi onunla savaşmak üzere yola çıkmıştı, Ch'ing-shan'ı geçtikten sonra seçme askerlerini yanına alarak La-ho'ya ulaştı. Tardu Şad bir yerde sabit kalmıyordu. Juo-chen suyunu geçerek ordusunu düzenledi ve beklemeye başladı. Çinliler, daha önce Sir Tarduş Işbara ile A-shih-na She-er'ın süvarilerle hareketli savaş yaptıklarını hatırlayarak piyade savaşı yapmaya karar verdiler. Ancak, Sir Tarduşların mağlup olduktan sonra kaçmalarını engellemek için yeni bir yönteme başvurdular. Beş kişilik ekipler oluşturuldu. Bunların biri at tutacak diğer dördü savaşacaktı. Eğer galip gelirlerse kaçmalarını önlemek için atlara atlayıp onları takip edeceklerdi. Neticede savaş başlamıştı. Çin ordusundaki Gök-Türk askerleri acele ileri atılmışlar, fakat, Sir Tarduşlar onları geri püskürtmüşlerdi. Aynı anda Sir Tarduş okçuları hazırlanan ekiplerin atlarını öldürmüşlerdi. Li Shih-chi, Gök-Türkleri kurtardığı gibi Sir Tarduşların tam zayıf yerine hücum ederek onları dağıtmayı başardı[14]. Üstelik Çinli kumandan Hsie-ch'e daha enerjik askerlere kumanda ederek önce onların atlarını ele geçirmişti. Mağlup olan Tardu Şad kuzeye doğru çekilirken diğer Çinli kumandan Wan Chie onu takibe çıkmıştı. Çölün kuzeyine ulaşıldığında Çin ordusu aşırı derecede karla karşılaştı. Zaten Çinliler çok soğuğa alışık değillerdi. Sir Tarduşlar da soğuktan nasiplerini almışlar epey zayiat vermişlerdi. 641-642 kaşında cereyan eden bu hadiselerden sonra Çinli kumandan Ting-hsiang'a dönmüş ve imparatoruna rapor sunmuştu.

Sir Tarduşlar, Çin sarayına elçi gönderdiler ve barış yapmak istediklerini

[14] CTS 3, s.53; HTS 2, s.41; HTS 217B, s.6136; CTS 199B, s.5345; TCTC 196, s.6171,6172.

bildirdiler. Tardu Şad'ın amcası Işbara üç bin at sunmuş ve bir prensesle evlenme teklifinde bulunmuştu. İmparator ise hala onlara çok kızgındı. Sir Tarduşların aslında bir erkin tarafından idare edilecek kadar küçük bir boy iken kendi sayesinde kagan olduklarını ve güçlerinin Doğu Gök-Türk devletini geçtiğini, dolayısıyla Çin sınırlarını tehdit ettiğini söyleyerek evlilik teklifini kabul etmediğini açıkladı. Ancak; Sir Tarduş kaganı ertesi yıl yine elçi göndererek daha önce sunduğu at ve koyunların sayısını artırmış evlilik teklifinde ısrarını sürdürmüştü. Bu sefer endişeye kapılan imparator, büyük veziri ile istişareye oturdu. Onun düşündüğü iki planı vardı: Birincisi Sir Tarduşlara saldırmak, ancak o zaman Sir Tarduşlar ortadan kalkacak ve Çinlilerin Gök-Türk ülkesini yönetmek için daha önce hazırladıkları uzun vadeli plan bozulacaktı. İkincisi evlilik teklifinin reddedilmesi halinde sınırlara saldıracaklardı. O halde daha büyük problemler ortaya çıkacak idi. Büyük vezir Fang Hsüan-ling ise imparatora Gök-Türklerin yıkılmalarının daha bitmediğini dolayısıyla en iyi yolun Sir Tarduşlarla iyi geçinmek olduğunu ve evlilik ittifakının yapılmasının faydalı göründüğünü açıkladı. Bu sırada Sir Tarduş kaganı Bilge'nin ağabeyinin oğlu T'u-li Şad elli bin at, on bin deve ve sığır, yüz bin koyun sundu. Onun şerefine düzenlenen eğlencede bütün vezirler dizildi, kıymetli hazineler, eşyalar düzenlendi, Ch'ing-shan, P'o-chen müzikleri ve on makamdan oluşan müzikleri çalındı. Bu eğlence çok hoşuna giden T'u-li Şad başını eğdi ve imparatora on milyon yıl uzun ömür diledi[15].

Bu hadiseden sonra imparator, Bilge Kagan'a yakınlık göstermeye başlamıştı. Ling-chou'yu ziyaret ettikten sonra evlilik işini tamamlayacaktı. Gelişen durumdan gayet memnun kalan kagan Bilge, öğünerek etrafındakilere, kendilerinin Töles boyu olduklarını imparatorun onu kagan yaptığını,prenses dahi verdiğini, üstelik arabasıyla ziyarete geldiğini, kendisinin en şerefli kişi olduğunu söylüyordu. Arkasından vergiler artırmasıyla koyun ve atları çoğaldı, Bazı devlet adamları onu tahrik ederek Sir Tarduşlar ile T'ang'ın aynı seviyede olduklarını dolayısıyla saraya gitmemesi gerektiğini, eğer malların çoğunun çeyiz için verilmesi halinde halkının üzüleceğini söylüyorlardı. Bilge ise buna karşı çıkıyor ve T'ang imparatoruna karşı gelemeyeceğini ileri sürüyordu.

Bundan sonra imparator T'ai-tsung'a yabancı kavimler vergi sunduğu sırada Sir Tarduşlar bir şey sunmadılar. Çünkü at ve koyunlarının çoğu ölmüştü. Onlardan vergi gelmeyişine kızan imparator seyahatini durdurmuş ve yeni müzakerelere koyulmuşlardı. Devlet adamları onların vergi getirmemesinin Çin için bir hafiflik sayılacağını ve bundan sonra diğer kavimlere kötü örnek olacağını ileri sürerek imparatora evliliğin reddedilmesini tavsiye ettiler. O da tavsiyeleri kabul ederek evlilik işinden vazgeçti.

Çinli prensesle evliliğin gerçekleşmemesi üzerine, Sir Tarduşlar düşmanca

[15] CTS 3, s.55; HTS 217B, s.5137; Liu,*aynı eser*, I, 153,155,204,206.

tavır takındılar. T'u-li Şad, Ting-hsiang'a hücum ettirildi. Daha sonra gelişecek olaylardan bunun sadece ufak bir tehdit olduğunu anlıyoruz. Çünkü arkasından elçi gönderen Bilge Kagan, Korelilerle Çin arasında yapılan savaşta yardımcı olmak istediklerini bildirdi. İmparator onun bu teşebbüsünü şüphe ile karşıladı. Kendilerinin doğuda bulunmalarından faydalanarak tekrar Çin sınırlarına hücum edeceklerini tahmin ediyordu. Bu arada Koreliler, kendilerine tabi Mo-ho adlı Moğol boyu vasıtasıyla Sir Tarduşlarla ittifak yapmak için teklifte bulundular. Fakat, Bilge Kagan, Çin'e yaklaşmak istiyordu. Bunun için Korelilerle her hangi bir ittifaka yanaşmadı. Aynı sırada hastalanan Bilge Kagan, fazla yaşamadı ve öldü. İmparator T'ai-tsung, kurban keserek onun yas törenlerine uydu (645)[16].

Sir Tarduşlar onun ölümü üzerine ülkelerini ikiye böldüler. Bilge'nin kadınlarından birinin oğlu Ye-mang'ın T'u-li-shih unvanıyla ülkelerinin doğu tarafını, onun yeğeninin oğlu Pa-chuo'nun Lü Yabgu Kagan olarak batı tarafını idare etmesine karar vermişlerdi. Ye-mang Pai-tao bölgesine gelerek Çin'in askeri hizmetine girdiğini bildirdi ise de diğer devlet adamları onu Lü Yabgu'ya şikayet ettiler. Onun yaptığı sürpriz saldırı sonrası Ye-mang öldürüldü ve ülkenin tek hakimi olarak Lü Yabgu, Hsie-li-chü-li-shih-hsie-shao-to-mi (İl küllüg Şad shao-to-mi) unvanını aldı. Bu sırada Çin ordusunun çoğu kuzey doğuda Liao bölgesinde savaşta iken fırsattan yararlanmak isteyerek, Çin sınırlarına hücum etti. Çin imparatoru yine savunma savaşı için önlemler aldı. Tao Tsung, Shuo-chou'ya, Hsie Wan-ch'e ile A-shih-na She-er, Sheng-chou'ya, Sa-hu Wu-jen, Ling-chou'ya mevzilenmeleri için gönderdiler. Chih-ssu-shih-li ile Çin idaresindeki Gök-Türkler Çin Seddinin dışında kanatlara ayrılarak boynuz gibi olmuşlardı. Bu hazırlıkların büyüklüğünü öğrenen Sir Tarduşlar geri çekildiler.

Sir Tarduş ülkesinde tek başına hakim olan ve Çin'e dahi en kuvvetli zamanlarında akın yapabilen Lü Yabgu Kagan, ülkesinde huzurlu bir idareyi tesis edemedi. Bunun sebebi kendisinin ihtiras sahibi olması idi. Babası zamanındaki değerli vezirlerin çoğunu öldürttü. Arta kalanları da bundan huzursuz idiler. Ayrıca şadlardan A-p'o ile Çinlilerin gönderdiği elçi doğudaki Mo-ho'ların bölgesinde buluştular. Arkasından aralarından çıkan iç savaşta netice alınamadı. Bazı devlet adamları Çinlilerin A-p'o'nun tarafını tutması yüzünden onların askerlerinin geldiğini zannetmeleri üzerine halk endişeye kapıldı ve Lü Yabgu'yu terketmeye başladı. Neticede asker sayısı iyice azalan Lü Yabgu, on kadar süvariyle A-shih-na Shih-chien'e sığınmak üzere yola çıktı. Fakat yolda Uygurlar tarafından öldürüldü. Ailesi tamamen katledildi. Elli altmış bin kadar ahalisi Doğu Türkistan'da küçük devletçiklere sığındı. Bilge Kagan'ın ağabeyinin oğlu Tuo-mo-chih geride kalanlar tarafında İ-t'e-wu-shih Kagan unvanıyla hükümdar yapıldı. Bu arada Çin İmparatoruna elçi göndererek aslında Ötüken'de yerleşmek istediklerini bildirdiler.

[16] CTS 3, s.58; HTS 217B, s.6137,6138; TT 1080b,c; TPHYC 198, s.697-699; WHTK 2698b,c.

Çin imparatoru Ts'ui Tun-li ile Li Shih-chi'ye onları güvenli ve pasif bir halde yerleştirme görevi verdi. Böylece onların ülkeleri yeniden tesis edildi. Tuo-mo-chih, Sir Tarduşların başına geçince eskisi gibi çok sayıda küçük Töles boyu gelip ona itaat ediyorlardı.

Bu durum Çinlileri yeniden endişeye sevketti. Özellikle imparator ani bir Sir Tarduş saldırısından korkuyordu. Li Shih-chi onların üzerine gönderildi. Kendisine verilen emre göre teslim olanlara bir şey yapılamayacak, karşı gelenler ise öldürülecek idi. O, Tuo-mo-chih'nin bulunduğu yere vardığında Sir Tarduş hükümdarı çok şaşırmıştı. Tuo-mo-chih teslim olacağının söyledi ise de gizlice Çinlilere baksın yapmayı düşünüyordu. Fakat, Çinli kumandan onun asıl niyetini öğrenince hücuma geçti ve beş-altı bin kişiyi öldürdü. Yaşlı genç otuz bin kişiyi de yakalamıştı. Bu arada Hsiao Ssu-ye adlı bir elçinin Uygurlara gönderildiğini duyan Tuo-mo-chih, gidip adı geçen elçiye teslim oldu. Çin başkentine gitti, orada Sağ muhafızları generali tayin edildi. Ayrıca orada ikamet etmesi için tarla sunulmuştu.

Sir Tarduşlar yıkıldıktan sonra Chi'pi, Uygur gibi on bir Töles boyu Çin İmparatoruyla temasa geçerek itaatlerini bildirdiler. Sir Tarduşlardan arta kalan A-p'o Ta-kan (tarkan-tarhan)'ı yendi ve binden fazla baş kestikten sonra iki yüz li kuzeye sürdü. 650 yılında Sir Tarduşlardan arta kalan bir kısım Çinli kumandan tarafından Çin'e getirildi ve Ch'i-t'an Chou'da yerleştirildiler[17].

669 yılında Sir Tarduşlardan arta kalanlar Çin hakimiyetine karşı isyan ettiler. Ötüken bölgesindeki bu ayaklanmayı T'ang hanedanı imparatoru Kao-tsung, Gök-Türklere bir ferman gönderip, onlara hücum ettirmek suretiyle bastırdı[18].

[17] Bu bilgilerin en teferruatlı bulundukları metinler HTS 217B, s.6134-6139 ve CTS 199B, s.5345-5349'da kayıtlıdır. HTS'deki Sir Tarduş bölümünün kısmen tercümesi için bkz. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kioue Occidentaux*, Paris 1941, s.94-96.

[18] TPHYC 198, s.699.

ON THE ANCIENT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TURKIC AND KOREAN PEOPLES

Gaybullah BABAYAR *

In early periods there lived mainly *Turkic, Mongol, Tungus, Manchu* and *Korean* tribes in the northern and northeastern parts of the Asian Continent and they were neighbors to each other. According to linguistic studies of some researchers, those tribes in the origin were belonged to one linguistic family, i.e. to Altai Language Family and during the historical process they separated into several modern languages. However, today the relativity of *Turkic, Mongol, Tungus* and *Manchu* languages have been clarified thoroughly, and all of these language groups are accepted as "Altai language family" by world known linguists, the problem of dependency of the Korean to these group hasn't been solved yet.

Although this is just a theory, the history of relations between the Turkic and Korean tribes started in the early times and it could be supported by the information not only from ancient manuscripts but also from archaeological and linguistic data. Among the written sources the Chinese chronicles of *Han-shu* (the 2nd c BC), *Shi-ji* (the 1st c AD), *Pei-shih* (the 7th c AD), *Sui-shu* (the 7th c AD) and *Tang-shu* (the 10th c AD) are very important ones. Besides this, the *Orhun-Yenisei* sources (the Old Turkic manuscripts of the 7th-9th c AD carved on stones) and the *Tibetan* manuscripts (the 8th-9th c AD) give a clear notion on this question.

According to the linguistic facts and written sources we can classify the relations of ancient Turkic-Korean peoples as following:

1. Lingual-Cultural Relations

The scientific problem of the relations between Korean and Turkic nations in the language aspect was put up into consideration at the end of the 19th century – the beginning of the 20th century in Europe. The scientific views concerning this matter was only on the way mentioned by most linguists, but as G. Ramsted[1], N.

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[1] G. Ramstedt "Zur Verbstammbildungslehre der mongolisch-turkischen Sprachen", *Journal de*

Poppe[2] studied "Altai language family" deeply. And among them the Korean Altaist Han-Woo Choi[3] is considered to be the significant one.

This mainly appears in the similarity of the grammatical structures of these two ethnic languages and in their lexicology, where could be found some similar words in the shapes and meanings. For example, Ko. *"tong"* – T. *"tang"* (dawning); Ko. *"pchok"* – T. *"puchuq"* (half); Ko. *"kam"* – T. *"qam"* (shaman); Ko. *"ke-kwan"* – T. *"kaghan"* (king); Ko. *"tar-kwan"* – T. *"tarkhan"* (the title of *tarkhan*), etc.[4] These similarities between the Korean and Turkic languages could be originated either from one linguistic root or from living of these tribes close to each other. This problem needs to be worked out.

Some similar words in the Korean and Turkic languages such as Ko. *"aguri"* – T. *"agir ~ agiz"* (mouth), Ko. *"al"* – T. *"al ~ ash"* (food), Ko. *"il"* – T. *"il ~ ish"* (work), etc. do not belong to the modern Turkic languages and they are considered to be either Pro-Turkic or Pro-Turkic-Mongol or even from the ancient Turkic languages of the Hun Period[5]. This proves the fact that the relations between these languages started very early. It is notable that, in the Korean language there are many words similar to the LIR Dialect of Turkic languages which is characteristic for the Western Turkic tribes (*European Huns, Onogur, Bolgar, Khazar, Sabir* and modern *Chuvash* peoples), rather than to the ŜAZ Dialect of the Eastern Turkic tribes (*Köktürk, Oghuz, Karluk, Uyghur, Kipchak*) which is comparatively closer to in distance to the Korean tribes.

It is important to emphasize that the scientific problem of Turkic-Korean nations dependency of each to other on the linguistic aspect still remains unsolved on the scientific base.

2. Ethno-kultural and Socio-political Relations

According to researchers studying on the basis of archaeological data the migration processes of Altai language tribes lived around the Altai and Tien-Shan mountains to Far East occurred in the end of III millennium BC – the beginning of the II millennium BCsome Korean researchers believe that in that time Altai tribes (Tungus-Manchu) came to Southern Manchjouria and Korea from the North and

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la Societe Finno-Ougrienne, 28-3, Helsinki, 1912, pp. 1-86; "Remarks on the Korean language", *Memoires de la Societe Finno-Ougrienne*, 58, Helsinki, 1928; *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft Formenlehre,* Helsinki 1952.

[2] N. Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies.- Memoires de la Societe Finno-Ougrienne*, 110, Helsinki, 1955; *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics,* Wiesbaden, 1965.

[3] Han-Woo Choi, "A Comparative Morphology of Altaic Languages – Deverbal Noun Suffixes", *International Journal of Central Asian Studies*, vol. 7, Seoul, 2002, pp. 23-40.

[4] Z.V. Togan, *Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş,* İstanbul, 1981, s. 15-16; Choi Han-Woo, "A Study of the ancient Turkic TARQAN", *International Journal of Central Asian Studies*, Vol. 5, Seoul 2000, p. 104-110.

[5] Z.V. Togan, *Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş*, s. 15.

North-West[6]. According to their opinion, the synthesis between those Altai tribes and Paleoasiatic tribes lived in Korea Peninsula started at this stage of time. Several researchers think that the Korean formed as a result of synthesis of Altai (Protokoreans) and Paleoasiatic tribes.

There is a lot of information in the *Li-ji* and *Shi-ji* chronicles that in the middle of I millennium BCthe tribes which lived in Northern China and Mongolia moved to Manchjouria and Korean Peninsula. The researches think that these tribes were Protokoreans which synthesized whith Paleoasiatic tribes of the Peninsula.

Ancient Turkic-Korean socio-political relations placed and organized through their historical states given below:

1) The relations between *Asian Hun Empire* (209 BC – 216 AD) and *Choson (Wi Man dynasty;* 3th -2 th c. BC*),* Three Kingdom *Goguryeo* (37 BC – 668 AD), *Baejie* (18 BC – 668 AD) and *Silla* (57 BC – 668 AD). As it is written in the *Shi-Ji* and *Han-Shu* chronicles the Emperor of Huns – Mo-tun (209 BC – 174 AD) enlarged his territory, after he had seized *Dun-hu* tribes and then became neighbor to Korea.

There are some records about political relations between Hun Empire and Korean kingdoms in the Chinese chronicles of *Han-Shu* and *Pei-Shih*. Particularly, there is an information that the King Wan Man (7-23y. BC) has sent Korean army against the Huns but the army refused the Kings will[7]. There is also another record in *Pei-Shih* about Korean King Iimo (the last quarter of the 2 c. AD) who accepted to his country 500 Hun families[8].

2) The relations between *Turkic Kaghanate* (552-744), *Uyghur Kaghanate* (745-840), *Khirghiz Kaghanate* (840-920) and *Goguryeo, Baeje, Silla, Unified Silla* (668-935). There is a lot of information about it in Chinese Chronicles like *Pei-Shih* (the 7th c AD), *Sui-Shu* (the 7th c AD), and *Tang–Shu* (the 10th c AD). For example, in 555 Turkic Kaghanate extended it's territory to the Korean Gulf after it had invaded the *Shivey* (Far East), *Tatabi* (located in the Western part of the Xingan mountain), and *Kidan* (continental parts of Manchjuria) tribes[9]. At that period some information was saved in the Chronicles of *Turkish Kaghanate* and China. There are some facts certified the Turkic and Korean commanders served for *Sui* (581-618) and *Tang* (618-906) dynasties in these chronicles. For instance, the *Tang-Shu* Chronicle informs that in 645-668 while *Sui* dynasty was trying to occupy Korea there were some Turkish commanders like *Ashina Shini, Ashina Mishe, Ashina Simo,* and *Kibi Kheli* who fought against Koreans for Chinese

[6] История народов Восточной и Центральной Азии. М., 1986, с. 106.

[7] Бичурин Н.Я. Собрание сведений о народах обитавших в Средней Азии в древние времена. М-Л., 1950, Том II, с. 26, 51.

[8] op. cit. P. 52.

[9] Бичурин Н.Я. Собрание сведений о народах обитавших в Средней Азии в древние времена. Том I, М-Л., 1950, с. 229.

Emperors[10]. There is an interesting text informing about a Turkish commander called *Kibi Kheli* who played a great role during those battles once injured by a Korean soldier (near *Bay-yay-chen* city). According to that fact, the Emperor *T'ai-tsung* ordered his men to capture that Korean soldier and gave death penalty. But *Kibi Kheli* immediately said to the Emperor: "He fought for his King. He is a brave and trustworthy soldier, I can forgive him"[11]. By the way, there are some facts about Korean commanders who served for Chinese Empire. For example, there is information in *Tang-Shu* Chronicle about a Korean commander called *Kao-Sianchji* who represented the king of the *Tang* dynasty in the Western Regions who in 740 had led the Chinese army to Tibet and Eastern Turkistan. In the Chronicle it is written that in 751 during the battle between Arabs and Chinese some Turkic tribes fought for *Kao-Sianchji* near Talas valley. In that war *Kao-Sianchji* fought against Arabs[12].

3. Diplomatic Relations.

On this issue, the Early Medieval Old Turkic manuscripts, Chinese Chronicles, Tibetan documents, and the Wall Paintings of *Afrasiab* give quite important information.

In the ancient Turkic sources such as *Kul-Tegin Tomb Stone* (732) it was noted that when the founder of the Turkish Kaghanate *Kaghan Bumin* died (in 552) some people who represented Korean state *Bukli* participated in his death ceremony[13]. We think that these people were from the diplomatic corps of the Korean Kingdom who came in order to condole. According to the researchers, the term *Bukli* is the same as *Kao-li* in Chinese chronicles and *Mug-lig* in the Tibetan documents by which a Korean tribe used to be expressed[14]. On my opinion, Korea was situated in the Far Eastern part of the Turkic Kaghanate and therefore it was named as *Bukli*. That was asserted even in the manuscripts of Kul-Tegin and Bilga Kaghan in which it was stated that in 734 when Kaghanate was under the control of Tabghach (China) some Turkic commanders served for the Empire and sometimes fought with *Bukli Kaghanate*[15]. Here we must emphasize that by the term *Bukli Kaghan* a well-known Gay-suvin who struggled against Chinese Empire should be recognized.

According to most of researchers, among the Afrasiyab (Samarkand) Wall

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[10] op. cit. Том II, с. 106-123; Гумилев Л.Н. Древние тюрки. М., 1967, с. 231-233.
[11] op. cit. c. 110.
[12] op. cit. c. 314.
[13] A. von Gabain, *Eski Türkçenin Grameri*, Ankara, 1988, s. 230.
[14] Потапов Л.П. Новые материалы о древних этнографических связях народностей Саяно-Алтайского нагорья//«Труды XXV Международного конгресса востоковедов" Т. III, М.:1963.-С. 296.
[15] H.N. Orkun, *Eski Türk Yazıtları,* Ankara 1986, 32-33.

Paintings (dated to the second half of the 7th century) there is a group of Korean ambassadors[16]. At that time Samarkand was the capital of Soghd (its King was *Avarkhuman*), while these palace pictures concern to the reception ceremonies. It is known that Soghd was one of the parts of Turkish Kaganate and Kings of Samarkand had a great role in the life of the Kaganate.

According to L.I. Albaum who studied Afrasiyab materials, Avarkhuman was from one of Turkic tribes and had a powerful army[17]. In the Afrasiab Wall Paintings the soldiers who defend *Avarkhuman* were from Turkic tribes. Besides this, in this picture the people meeting the Korean ambassadors look as they were from Turkic tribes.

Chinese Buddha religious man *Huei-ch'ao* in 726-729 years traveled in the Western countries, and had been to some of Turkic countries. Originally he was from Korea, born in 700. He had been to the countries of Central Asia, Tibet, India, Tokharistan, Zabulistan, Kapisa (Afghanistan). *Huei-ch'ao* in his daybooks wrote about the dynasty of Turkic tribes of Syrdarya river, Tibet and Tokharistan, Zabulistan, Gandhara, Gibin (North-eastern Afghanistan and north-western historical provinces of India) who built their Buddha Temples[18].

In the Tibetan documents (of the 8th – 9th c AD) there is information certifying that the *Khur (Uyghur) Kaghanate* sent expeditions to study the peoples of the northern and eastern regions. According to the messages from those expeditions it could be supposed that they also had been to Korea. In the documents it is noted that there had been a tribe called in the East in *Drugu* (Turk) language as *Muglik* and in Chinese as *Kao-li* located in the East of *Tatabi* (ancestors of Manchu's)[19]. According to the ideas of researchers, this fact is about the Koreans. We think that the expedition sent by *Uyghur Kaghanate* had diplomatic purposes.

We gave brief information below just about the relations between Turkic and Korean peoples in the spheres of culture, linguistics, social-political and diplomatic ties. Besides this, there were the relations between them in ethnic and religious processes caused some similarities in Folklore.

Finally, a brief notice to the written sources shows that the relations between the Turks and Korean nations were very close and had a deep root. It created the similarities in the their culture and living styles.

In order to study these relations between these peoples it is important to make deep investigations. Actually this process demands on wide linguistic, ethnographic and archaeological investigations.

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[16] Альбаум Л.И. Живопись Афрасиаба.Т.: Фан, 1975, с. 74-75, табл. VII.

[17] op. cit. с. 38.

[18] Бернштам А.Н. Тюрки и Средняя Азия в описании Хой Чао (726)//ВДИ 1, М., 1952, с. 187-195.

[19] Абдухолик Абдурасул Али. Туркий халклар тарихига оид тибетча хужжат// Узбекистонда ижтимоий фандлар. №6, Т., 1997, б. 74.

PETROGLİFLER (KAYA ÜSTÜ TASVİRLER)

Cengiz ALYILMAZ*

Petroglif, esas itibarıyla "taş üzerine yapılan oyma" anlamına gelmektedir. Bu kelimeyi karşılamak için Türkiye Türkçesi'nde "kaya üstü tasvirler", "kaya üzerine levhalar", "kaya resimleri", "taş oymaları"… gibi kavram işaretleri de kullanılmaktadır.

"Oyma", "dövme", "kazıma" ve "boyama" teknikleriyle taşlara, kayalara ve mağaralara işlenen petroglifler, bulundukları yerleri âdeta "müze"ye çevirmekte ve konunun uzmanlarınca ait oldukları devrin "ifade vasıtası", "iletişim aracı", hatta "yazısı" olarak nitelendirilmektedir.

Asya'dan Avrupa'ya birçok kıtada bugün farklı dönemlerde farklı Türk boyları tarafından vücuda getirilmiş petroglifler bulunmaktadır. Büyük bölümü yazının bulunuşundan önceki dönemlere (Mezolitik ve Neolitik dönemlere) ait olan bu eserler, tıpkı yazıtlar, dikili ve damgalı taşlar, kurganlar, anıt mezarlar, heykeller, balballar, süs ve kullanım eşyaları… gibi eski Türk kültür ve medeniyetinin en değerli maddî varlıkları içinde yer alır. Zira bu eserler, Türk yaşayış ve inanışı hakkında derin izler taşımakta; Türk kültür ve medeniyetinin özellikle Saka, Hun, Avar, Kırgız, Köktürk ve Uygur dönemlerine ait birçok bilinmezinin aydınlatılmasına ışık tutmaktadır.

Türkler'e ait petroglifler, genelde insanın doğayla, evrenle ve Tanrı'yla ilişkisini ana çizgilerle (grafiksel ögelerle) ifade eder. İnsanın Tanrı'yla ve kutsal sayılan varlıklarla ilişkisi grafiksel ögelerle (tasvirlerle) ifade edilirken, büyük ölçüde, Türk boylarınca olağanüstü (mitolojik) özelliklere sahip olduğuna inanılan evrendeki varlıkların (güneşin, ayın) ve hayvanların (geyiklerin, dağ keçilerinin / tekelerin, kurtların, atların, kartalların, yılanların) tasvirlerinden yararlanılmıştır.

İnsanın Tanrı'ya yakarışını ve bağlılığını bildiren tasvirlerde genelde şamanların, kamların (sonraki dönemlerde Budist ve Maniheist rahiplerin), kağanların veya kumandanların (buyrukların, sübaşılarının, süvarilerin) ön plânda yer aldıkları dikkati çeker. Dinî ve ritüel içerikli petrogliflerin yanında günlük hayatı, av ve savaş sahnelerini, sıradan olayları konu alan petroglifler de oldukça fazladır. Söz konusu petrogliflerin her iki türü de birçok yönüyle Türk resim ve minyatür sanatına da esas teşkil etmiştir.

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Dağlar, tarihin her döneminde Türk boylarının kutsal sayıp hem dinî duygularını ifade ettikleri hem Tanrı'ya yakardıkları, hem de ölülerini yaktıkları mekânlar olmuştur. Bu yüzden de Türk boylarına ait dinî ve ritüel nitelikli petrogliflerin ilk örneklerine genelde (bugün Doğu Türkistan, Moğolistan, Tuva, Altay, Hakasya, Kırgızistan, Kazakistan, Özbekistan, Türkmenistan… cumhuriyetleri sınırları içindeki) dağlarda (Altay, Deel, Sayan, Pamir, Tanrı dağlarında…), yüksek tepelerde rastlanmaktadır. Eski Türk devletlerinin ve imparatorluklarının sahip oldukları topraklar genişledikçe ve diğer milletlerle sosyo-kültürel ilişkileri arttıkça petrogliflerin vücuda getirildikleri alanlar hem dağlarla, tepelerle sınırlı kalmaz hem de Avrupa'nın içlerine kadar uzanır. Nitekim Azerbaycan'da, Türkiye'de (özellikle Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu bölgelerinde), Afganistan'da, İran'da, Irak'ta, Suriye'de, Ukrayna'da, Bulgaristan'da, Yunanistan'da, Macaristan'da, Fransa'da… bulunan petroglifler de bunu açıkça göstermektedir.[1] Farklı Türk boylarına ait petrogliflerin binlerce kilometre mesafedeki bölgelere taşınmasında / görülmesinde Türk akınlarının, egemenleğinin yanı sıra İpek Yolu'nun ve göçlerin de rolü büyüktür. Aralarında binlerce kilometre mesafe bulunan ve birbirlerinden tamamen farklı coğrafî özellikler arz eden bölgelerde vücuda getirilmiş olsalar da petrogliflerin hem yapım teknikleri, üslûp özellikleri ve ifade ettikleri anlamlar, hem bunların içinde zaman zaman rastlanan damgalar ve yazıtlar hem de bölgedeki arkeolojik bulgu ve belgeler bu eserlerin aynı duygu ve düşüncenin ürünü olduklarını açıkça ortaya koymaktadır.

Türk boylarına ait Asya ve Avrupadaki petrogliflerin bir kısmı üzerinde Türk, Moğol, Rus, Alman, İngiliz, Amerikalı, Belçikalı ve Koreli... bilim adamları tarafından araştırma ve incelemeler yapılmış; kitaplar yayımlanmıştır[2]. Ancak yapılan çalışmaların pek çoğunda kaya üstü tasvirlerin Türk Milleti'ne ait olduğu gerçeği sürekli göz ardı edilmiş; bunların tarihlendirilmeleri, sınıflandırılmaları ve anlamlandırılmaları da ayrıntılı bir şekilde yapılıp incelenmemiştir.

Türkler'in yaşayış ve inanışları, dünya görüşleri, sanat ve estetik anlayışları ile ilgili önemli bilgileri / mesajları binlerce yıl sonrasına taşıyan petroglifler, yalnız Türk boylarının kültür ve medeniyetleri hakkında değil; bulundukları bölgelerin tarihî-coğrafî özellikleri, bu bölgelerde daha önce yaşayan canlılar ve doğal hayat hakkında da değerli bilgiler sunmaktadır. Ancak petroglifler bütün bu önemlerine (Türk tarihinin, kültürünün ve medeniyetinin binlerce yıllık geçmişe, gelişmişliğe ve köklülüğe sahip olduğuna tanıklık etmelerine) rağmen, hem yeterince araştırılıp incelenmemiş; hem de gerekli şekilde korunmamışlardır. İnsanlık tarihi bakımından da herbiri hazine niteliği taşıyan petrogliflerin bulundukları bölgelerde uluslar arası anlaşmalarla koruma altına alınmaları; ilgili bilim adamlarının (paleografların, antropologların, etnografların, halkbilimcilerin...) işbirliğiyle araştırılıp incelenmeleri ivedilikle sağlanmalıdır.

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[1] Bu düşünce, "dünyadaki petrogliflerin tamamının Türkler'e ait olduğu" savını doğurmamalıdır. Çünkü dünyanın birçok bölgesinde Türk petrogliflerinden hem yapım teknikleri, hem üslup özellikleri hem de içerikleri bakımından farklılık arz eden petroglifler de bulunmaktadır.

[2] Bu çalışmaların önemli bir kısmı "Bibliyografya"da dikkatlere sunulmuştur.

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Foto 1: Farklı hayvan türlerini gösteren kaya üstü tasvir. Bugut, Moğolistan.



Foto 2: Zoomorfik kurt (dağ keçesi/teke boynuzlu kurt) ve teke tasviri.
Altay dağları-Bayan Ölgey, Moğolistan.



Foto 3: Yak, teke ve geyik özelliklerini taşıyan zoomorfik bir hayvan ile şaman tasviri. Altay dağları-Bayan Ölgey, Moğolistan.



Foto 4: İnsanın Tanrı'ya teslimiyetini ve yakarışını gösteren kaya üstü tasvir. Gobi, Del dağları, Moğolistan.



Foto 5: Tanrı'ya yakarışını ve bağlılığını bildiren bir insanın (şamanın) tasviri.
Gobi, Del dağları, Moğolistan.



Foto 6: İnsanları kötü ruhlardan koruyup tedavi eden çift (teke) başlı şaman tasviri.
Gobi, Del dağları, Moğolistan.

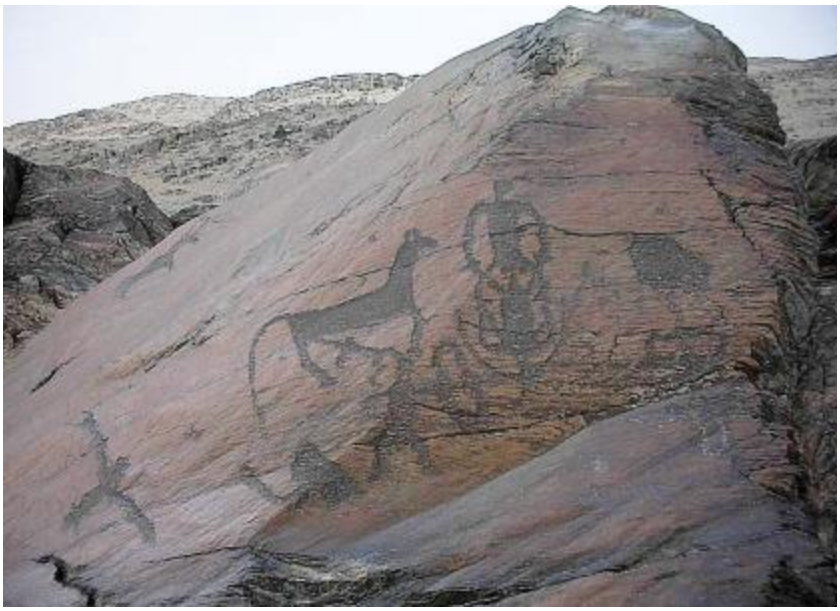

Foto 7: Cinsel hayatı, üremeyi ve çoğalmayı ifade eden bir kaya üstü tasvir.
Gobi, Del dağları, Moğolistan.



Foto 8: Anlaşmazlığı, savaşı ifade eden kaya üstü tasvir
Gobi, Del dağları, Moğolistan.

DIWANU LUGATI'T-TURK AND CONTEMPORARY LINGUISTICS

Timur KOCAOĞLU[*]

The branches of linguistics such as Sociolinguistics and Applied Linguistics are relatively young disciplines compared to the much older fields of linguistics such as General Linguistics, Historical Linguistics, and Theoretical Linguistics.[1] These new disciplines have not only brought new dimensions to linguistics, but have also expanded our general understanding of the world languages. In this article, I will attempt to evaluate both the approaches and techniques that had been employed in the composition of the eleventh century Turkic dictionary Diwanu Lugati't-Turk (DLT) by Mahmud Kashghari (1072-1077).[2] To undertake this task, I will examine this work consistent with the most recent approaches in Applied Linguistics and Sociolinguistics.

First of all, it should be noted that this earliest Arabic-Turkic dictionary was compiled with an obvious intention to assist the Arabic-speaking elites around Caliphs of Baghdad who would like to improve their knowledge on the culture and language of the Turks, especially the Oghuz Turks, as a rising great political power in the Middle East and Central Eurasia in the tenth and eleventh centuries as stated in the introduction of the dictionary:

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[1] Although the beginnings of some of these contemporary branches can be traced back to late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, their developments as independent linguistic fields emerge after World War II. See, *The Handbook of Linguistics* (ed. By Mark Aronoff and Janie Rees-Miller). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001, p. 564; Rl. L. Trask, *Key Concepts in Language and Linguistics*. London: Routledge, 1999, pp. 171-173.

[2] The precise dates of this work is from 25 June 1072 (1 Jumadil-ula 464) to 9 January 1077 (12 Jumadi'l-axır 469), see Robert Dankoff, James Kelly, *Mahmūd al-Kāšgarī: Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dīwān Luγāt at-Turk), Parts 1-III.* Duxbury, Mass.: Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures, 1982, 1984, 1985; these dates are discussed in detail in the Part I (p. 7) of this work. The full name of its author is given in the preface of the dictionary in Arabic as Mahmud ibn al-Husayn ibn Muhammad al-Kashgari (DLT, I. 2/3; Dankoff-Kelly, ibid., Part I, p. 70).

> I heard from one of the trustworthy informants among the Imams of Bukhara, and from another Imam of the people of Nishapur: both of them reported the following tradition, and both had a chain of transmission going back to the Apostle of God, may God bless him and grant him peace. When he was speaking about the signs of the Hour and the trials of the end of Time, and he mentioned the emergence of the Oghuz Turks, he said: "Learn the tongue of the Turks, for their reign will be long." Now if this Hadith is sound – and the burden proof is on those two! – then learning it is a religious duty; and if it is not sound, still Wisdom demands it.[3]

Therefore, Mahmud Kashghari has deliberately incorporated many pedagogical features along with encyclopedic background information in order to educate the learners of the Turkish language in a broad cultural methodology. The English translators of the dictionary, Dankoff and Kelly, points that Mahmud Kashgari "follows the model of the Arabic lexicographers" by citing "a large number of illustrative sentences and also proverbs and verses of poetry" in explaining the meaning and usage of the Turkish word entries.[4] Mahmud Kashgari, however, needs to be credited for his choice of this methodology from various other models available in the Arabic lexicographic schools. The major input by Mahmud Kashgari in his dictionary is the use of explanatory texts (phrases from daily conversations, proverbs, selected parts of poetry, etc.) and other cultural background data (from ethnography and folklore) in the instruction of a foreign language (Turkish) to the Arabs as seen in the following entries of the Diwanu Lugati't-Turk:

> **ağız** "Mouth of a man or animal." Proverb: **ağız yése köz uyadur** "When the mouth eats the eye is ashamed." This is coined about someone who has "eaten" another person's gift and then is ashamed for failing to do what he should in return.[5]

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[3] English translation: Dankoff-Kelly, ibid., Part I, p. 70; Arabic text: DLT I. 2/3 – I. 3/4.

[4] Dankoff-Kelly, ibid., Part I, p. 5. In citing this and other entries from Dankoff and Kelly's work in this article, I avoided the diacritical marks and the Arabic phrases used by them. It is also extremely difficult to represent the letters of the transcription alphabet used in their book, instead I changed those complex letters with their equivalents in the Latin alphabet of Turkey (with the addition of letters "q" and "x"). Thus, these simplified and abridged excerpts here don't exactly match with the original entries of the Dankoff-Kelly edition.

[5] Dankoff-Kelly, ibid., Part I, p. 101.

> **av** "Hunt" **beg avğa çıqtı** "The emir went out to hunt"[6]
>
> **aq** "White" of anything. Oğuz dialect. Among the Turks it is used for horse colors: **aq at** "Gray horse."[7]
>
> **ay** "Month," also **qışqa anun kelse qalı qutluğ yay / tün kün keçe alqınur ödleg bile ay** "Prepare for winter when blessed summer comes, for Time runs out and months come to an end with the passing of night and day." The reason "month" is called by the word for "moon" is simply that the passing of the month is known by it. Proverb: **ay tolun bolsa elgin imlemes** "When the moon is full one does not point to it with the hand" – since anyone who has eyes can see it. This is coined about any matter of which the defect is apparent.[8]

The above entries illustrate finely how Mahmud Kashgari makes a great effort in the word entries of his dictionary to enhance the knowledge of the Arabic-speaking readers about the deep cultural background behind the given Turkish words in the daily lives of the various Turkic groups. The contemporary foreign-language teaching textbooks and handbooks in the US and other European countries, especially ones that are published in the last two decades, incorporate more and more cultural information about the given foreign country or the people. In the field of second language teaching, the emphasis is now being switched from heavy reliance on grammar and lexicon to more cross-cultural discourse:

> Accurate description of language use with the ultimate goal of teaching has motivated research in cross-cultural discourse and pragmatics. Concentration on spoken language, combined with speech act theory among others, has engendered numerous research projects in applied linguistics investigating specific speech acts such as making requests and apologies in different languages and cultures.[9]

Living in the eleventh century, the first-known Turkologist Mahmud Kashgari was well aware and familiar with the pedagogical methods of teaching and learning a

[6] Dankoff-Kelly, ibid., Part I, p. 118.
[7] Dankoff-Kelly, ibid., Part I, p. 118.
[8] Dankoff-Kelly, ibid., Part I, p. 119.
[9] Janie Rees-Miller, "Applied Linguistics" in *The Handbook of Linguistics*., ibid., p. 643-644.

foreign language. Because of its rich cultural information in the word entries, the Turkish linguist Ahmet Caferoğlu wrote that "As its name point out, the Diwanu Lugati't-Turk is not a dictionary of the living Turkic dialects of that time, but an unequaled treasury of Turkish language and culture of its era".[10] We can further formulate that DLT is not a plain dictionary which assembles the Turkish words and their Arabic meanings in a mere fashion, but is a bilingual guide that has an affluent pedagogical dimension in the contemporary sense. Mahmud Kashgari proudly states in the introduction that he had "adorned it with words of wisdom and elegant speech, proverbs, verses of poetry, and sentences of prose" by having spend "long years of labor over it, causing each word to lie down in its proper place, and lifting each one out of obscurity; so that the one who seeks it may find it in its correct compartment, and who desires it may observe it in its allotted order."[11]

Aside from its importance in regard to Applied Linguistics, Diwanu Lugati't-Turk is also remarkable for containing invaluable features that falls within the discipline of Sociolinguistics. Both the introductory part and many entries comprise information about the language contact between the Turks and other nations. The section, entitled "On the Turkic Dialects," of the introduction begins with:

> The most elegant of the [Turkic] dialects belongs to those who know only one language, who do not mix with Persians, and who do not customarily settle in other lands. Those who have two languages and who mix with the populace of the cities have a certain slurring (*rikka*) in their utterances – for example, Sogdaq, Kençek and Arğu. The second category are such as Khotan, Tübüt [Tibet] and some of Tangut – this class are setters in the lands of the Turks.[12]

Mahmud Kashgari gives further information that "the people of Masin and Sin have a language of their own, although the sedentary population know Turkic well and their correspondence with us is in the Turkic scipt." According to Mahmud Kashgari, the peoples in both Tübüt (Tibet) and Khotan don't know Turkic well. He informs that Qay, Yabaqu, Tatar, Basmil know Turkic well, although each of them has its own language. He names Qirqız, Qıfçaq, Oğuz, Tuxsi, Yağma, Çiğil, Oğraq, and Çaruq as speaking "pure Turkic" by having a single language. He also

[10] Ahmet Caferoğlu, *Türk Dili Tarihi*, Cilt II. Istanbul, 1972, p. 21. (its new edition with both volumes together: Ahmet Caferoğlu, *Türk Dili Tarihi*. Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1984).

[11] Dankoff-Kelly, ibid., Part I, p. 71.

[12] Dankoff-Kelly, ibid., Part I, p. 24; the words in brackets are mine.

report that the peoples of Balasaghun, Titaz (Talas), and İsfijab speak both Soghdian and Turkic. This information is strikingly significant for contemporary Sociolinguists. Mahmud Kashgari undoubtedly describes the linguistic contacts (of adstratum, substratum, and superstratum types) between two communities belonging to diverse language groups from each other. He finally refers to bilingualism and multilingualism among various Turkic and other ethnic groups living in the areas where the Turks are settled.

I would like to make a final remark on Mahmud Kashgari's dictionary concerning its various translations. For any detailed linguistic inquiry, one desperately needs a reliable text. The only sound translation of Diwanu Lugati't-Turk so far is its English edition by Dankoff and Kelly.[13] The dictionary has also four editions in various Turkic languages (Turkey Turkish, Uzbek, Uyghur, and Kazakh).[14] The Uzbek, Uyghur, and Kazakh editions are mainly based on the Turkey Turkish edition by Besim Atalay and therefore repeat the errors of this edition. The English edition, however, was a new attempt to translate it from original Arabic manuscript with cross examination of the Besim Atalay edition. One previous Uzbek translation by Abdurrauf Fitrat from 1927 has remained unnoticed by other Turkologists for a long time.[15] Fitrat's edition, entitled "The Specimen of Ancient Turkic Literature," consists of the transcriptions in the Arabic script of the verses of poetry that scattered throughout the dictionary and their Uzbek translations. Unaware of Fitrat's work, the Turkish scholar Talat Tekin also produced a Turkish edition of the verses of poetry in the DLT in 1989.[16] Another recent effort to prepare a new Turkey Turkish edition of the dictionary by the Turkish scholar Ahmet Bican Ercilasun hasn't been completed yet.[17]

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[13] Robert Dankoff, James Kelly, *Mahmūd al-Kāšgarī: Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dīwān Luγāt at-Turk), Parts 1-III.,* ibid.

[14] Aside from its Arabic transliteration by Kilisli Rıfat, *Mahmud al-Kaşgarî: Kitâb Divân Luğat at-Türk*. 3 Cilt. İstanbul, 1917-1919, the Turkish edition is by Besim Atalay, *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk Tercümesi, I-III*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1939-1941 (New edition: 1985-1986); *Besim Atalay, Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk Dizini "Endeks"*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1943 (New edition 1986); the Uzbek edition is by Salıq M. Muttalibov, *Türkiy Sözler Divânı I-IV*. Taşkent: 1960, 1961, 1963, 1967; the Uyghur edition is by *Mahmud Qaşğarî, Türkiy Tillar Divâni: Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk* (3 Cilt). Ürümçi: Şincang Xalq Neşriyati, 1981 (Yayınlayanlar: Abdusalam Abbas, Abdürahim Ötkür, Abdurahim Habibullah, Damulla Abdülhamit Yusufi, Halimi Salih, Hacı Nurhacı, Osman Mehmed Niyaz, Sabit Ruzi, İbrahim Muti, Emin Tursun, Mir Sultan Osmanov); the Kazakh edition is by Asqar Qurmaşulı Egeubay, *Maxmut Qaşqariy: Türik Sözdigi I-II-III*. Almatı: Cediger, 1997-1998.

[15] Fıtrat, *Eñ Eski Türk Edebiyatı Nemüneleri*. Taşkent-Semerkant: Özbekistan Devlet Neşriyatı Neşri, 1927.

[16] Talat Tekin, *XI. Yüzyil Türk Şiiri.* Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1989.

[17] Ahmet Bican Ercilasun informed me in 2001 about his continued work.

KORE'NİN ESKİ KAYNAKLARINDA GÖRÜLEN GEYİK MOTİFİNİN ANLAMI

Hyo-Joung KİM[*]

Özet

Bugüne kadar yapılan araştırmalar Kore kültürünün Altay kültürleri ile bağlantılı olduğunu göstermektedir. Bazı halk edebiyatı ürünlerinden elde edilen veriler de bu tezi doğrulamaktadır. Kore kültür ve edebiyatında sıkça görülen kutsal geyik motifi de bunlardan biridir. Tarihi ve kültürel birçok kaynakta görülen bu motif içerdiği şamanist unsurlar ve kutsallık gibi yönleri bakımından Altay kültüründeki karşılıklarıyla tam bir paralellik sergilemektedir. Ayrıca çeşitli mezarlardan çıkarılan buluntular ve mağara resimleri de bu benzerliği desteklemektedir. Bütün bunların ışığında Kore ve Altay Kültürlerinin tarihin eski dönemlerinden beri birbirleriyle çok yakın bir bağlantı içerisinde olduklarını söylemek doğru olacaktır.

1. Giriş

Kore milleti ve Korece hakkında bugüne kadar yapılan çeşitli araştırmalarda mesele dil bilimi, arkeoloji ve etnografya bakımlardan incelenmiştir. Sonuç olarak Kore milletinin ve Korece'nin Altay etnik grubu çevresinde şekillenmiş olduğu yönündeki görüşler ağırlık kazanmıştır. Söz konusu bilim dallarının yanında, folklor araştırmaları da yukarıdaki düşünceyi destekler tarzda sonuçlar vermektedir. Folklorun önemli bir unsuru olan halk ddebiyatı da bu araştırma alanlarından biridir.

Halk edebiyatının hem bütün milli destanların kaynağındaki ana sanat, hem de milli kültürü oluşturan önemli bir unsur olduğu bilinmektedir. Halk edebiyatı gerçekten de ait olduğu milletin dünya görüşünü, düşünce sistemini ve inancını çok iyi yansıtmaktadır. Ayrıca halk edebiyatı bir milletin menşeini ve eski zamanlarda

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o millet ile yakın ilişkide bulunan kültürleri saptamakta çok iyi bir kaynak olarak kullanılabilmektedir. Özellikle bu alanın malzemeleri içerisinde görülen çeşitli hayvan motiflerinin eseri meydana getiren milletin iptidai dini ile ilgisi a çıktır. Taş ve bronz çağlarına ait kaya resimleri ile mezar veya kurganlardan çıkan hayvan kemikleri, çeşitli hayvan parçaları ve bazı hayvanların tasvirleri eski inançlar ile ilgili olmalıdır.

Hayvan motiflerinin eski inançlarla ilgisi olduğunu gösteren iyi örneklerden biri de Kazakistan'ın Esik kurganından çıkan 'Altın Adam'ın başlığıdır. Bu başlıktaki hayvan motiflerinin süsleme amacından ziyade birer sembol olduklarını ve bunların derin anlamlar taşıdığını savunan Azerbaycanlı bilim adamı Seydof olmuştur. M. Seydof (1982:30-32), 'Altın Adam'ın başlığındaki kuş, dağ keçisi ve koyun gibi hayvan motiflerinin birer totem olduğunu ve bunların başlıkta bulunmasının çeşitli kabilelerin birleşmesini ifade ettiğini ileri sürmüştür.

Eski Kore kaynaklarında da hayvan motifi taşıyan masal ve efsaneler çoktur. Geyik motifi, bilindiği gibi, kutsal bir hayvan olarak pek çok mitolojik öyküde ve arkeoloji buluntularında görülür. Bu motifin özellikle Kuzey ve Orta Asya'daki şamanist kültürlerde büyük bir önemi vardır[1]. Geyik, Çin mitolojisinde uzun ömrünün simgesi olarak kullanılmışsa da burada önemli bir yeri yoktur (Eberhard 2000:124). Williams (1960) ölümsüzlük tanrısını "geyikli Taocu ölümsüzlük tanrısı" olarak adlandırmaktadır. Ayrıca eski bir Kore devleti olan Puyeo'nin manası geyiktir. Choi (1994:42-26) 'ye göre bu devlete kabilenin kendisinden türediğine inanılan bu hayvanın adı devlet ya da makam adı olarak konulmuştur.

Burada, önce geyiğin Kore tarihinde ve edebî eserlerinde ne tür bir karaktere sahip olduğu incelenecek sonra da geyik motifi içeren Kore halk hikayelerinden 'Oduncu ile Peri Kızı' tanıtılacaktır. Sonuçta, mitolojik malzeme olan bu geyik motifinin eski Kore inanç sistemiyle olan ilgisi ve Korelilerin düsüncelerinde her zaman kutsal bir hayvan olması bakımından yeri gösterilecektir. Dolayısıyla bu motifin Kore kültürü ile diğer Altay kültürleri arasındaki bağlantıyı gösteren bir kutsal unsur olduğu görülecektir.

2. Kore Tarihinde ve Edebî Eserlerinde Görülen Geyik (Ceylan)[2] Motifinin Kayıtları

Kore tarihi ve edebiyatı ürünleri incenlendiğinde geyik kutsal bir hayvan

[1] Ögel(1989: 573)'e göre, Orta Asya'da ve Türk Mitolojisinde de geyik kutsal ve iyilik getiren bir hayvan olarak tanınmıştır. Nitekim Güney Sibirya'daki Baraba Om Türklerinin Jestey Möngkö masalında da olayın kahramanının yardım ettiği bir geyik yavrusunun daha sonra bir kıza dönüştüğü ve kahramanın da bununla evlendiği anlatılmaktadır. Jestey Möngkö masalındaki mitolijik motifler için bkz. H.J. Kim(2004 : 43-57)

[2] Geyik ile ceylan görünüşü bakımından birbirine benzediği için kaynaklarda aynı hayvan olarak kaydedilmiştir.

olarak kaşımıza çıkar. Korelilerin halk inançlarına göre geyik kutsal bir hayvandır ki, törenlerde kurban hayvanı olarak kullanılmış, ayrıca Kore halk edebiyatı ürünlerinde de kutsal bir kahraman olarak rol üstlenmiştir. Kore halk edebiyatında geyiğe yardım etmesinin karşılığında mutluluğa ermiş insanları anlatan hikayeler çoktur: örnek olarak, bir avcının kovaladığı geyiği sakladığı için geyik tarafından zengin edilen adamın hikayesi; yine bir avcıdan kaçan geyiğe yardım etmesine karışılık geyikten iyi bir mezar yeri öğrenip kendi soyuna mutluluk kazandırmış olan adamın hikayesi; bir de canını kurtardığı geyik sayesinde sihirli otların (Jinseng) yerini öğrenen ve bu otları alıp mahalledekilere dağıtan temiz yürekli adamın hikayesi vb. gibi. Bu hikayelerdeki geyik, başka hayvanlardan farklı olarak kutsal yerleri bilmesi ve kendine iyilik eden kişilere mutluluk verebilmesii gibi özellikleriyle her zaman iyilik yapan bir hayvan niteliğindedir. Buradaki hikayelerin tümü geyiğin kutsal bir güce sahip olduğunu düşünen Korelilerin inançlarını yansıtmaktadır. Geyiğin kutsallığı bazı yazılı kaynaklarda ifade edilmiştir. Üç Krallık döneminden Coseon Krallığı'na kadar olan yazılı kaynaklarda Koreliler arasında geyiğin kutsal bir hayvan olarak görüldüğünü ifade eden deliller aşağıda gösterilmiştir:

1) Üç Krallık ile ilgili Kaynaklarda

Gerçekten geyik eskiden beri Korelilerce kutsal bir hayvan sayıldığı için eski Krallık Tarihi Kitaplarında geyiğin avlanması hakkındaki haberlere bile yer verilmiştir. Samguksagi (Üç Krallık Tarihi) kitabında geyikle ilgili 25 tane yazı vardır: Üç Krallıktan Goguryeo ve Bekje krallarının av sırasında beyaz geyiği tutup ziyafet vermesi; üç boynuzlu geyiğin avlanıp krala sunulması; tek boynuzlu geyiğin avlanıp krala sunulması gibi (J.D.Kim, 2001:245-248). Kore'nin Üç Krallık dönemindeki Goguryeo devletinin kurucusu Kral Dongmyeong'un babası olan Haemosu (Gök Tanrı'nın oğludur) ile Habaek (Deniz Tanrısı)'in boy ölçüşmesinde ikisi de çeşitli hayvan donlarına girerler. Bu sırada Deniz Tanrısı olan Habaek geyik donuna girerken Gök Tanrının oğlu Haemosu ise kurt donuna girip onu kovalar. Dövüşmeden sonra Habaek Haemosu'ya gerçekten Gök Tanrının oğlu olarak saygı gösterir (G.B.Lee Donggukisanggukjip 3, Dongmyeong Wang (Kral Dongmyeong Babı). Deniz Tanrısı olan Habaek'in değiştirdiği geyiğin, deniz ile ilgili olduğun Göktürklerin efsanesinde görülür. Çinliler tarafından yazılan Tài-píng guăng-jì (太平廣記 480) adlı eserde yer alan bu efsanede Göktürklerin atasının deniz ilahesi olduğu ve bu deniz ilahesinin her akşam güneş battığı zaman ak marala dönüşüp denize girdiği zikredilir.

Ayrıca Dongmyeong kralı efsanesinde ak geyiğin kutsal bir hayvan olduğu apaçık gösterilmiştir:

Dongmyeong Kralı batıya doğru ilerlerken ak geyiği yakaladıktan sonra ters tutup asmış ve lanetleyerek demiş ki; 'Eğer gökten yağmur

yağdırarak Biryu devletinin başkentini suya batırmazsan, ben seni bırakmayacağım. Bu zor durumdan kaçınmak istiyorsan sen göğe dua edip yalvar!' Bunun üzerine geyik ağlamaya başlar ve geyiğin ağlayış sesi göğe ulaşıp göğü duygulandırmış olmalı ki, yedi gün yağmur yağar. Sonunda Biryu devletinin başkenti suya gömülür.

Bu yazıya göre Kral Dongmyeong düşman olan Biryu devletini yok etmek için kutsal hayvan olan ak geyiğe başvurur. Ak geyik de Dongmyeong kralının isteğini yerine getirmek için göğe ağlayarak yalvarır ve gökten yağmur yağdırır. Bu geyiğin ağlayışı motifi Radloff'un derlediği Kuzey Türk destanında da görülür (Ögel 1995:104) :

Tanrı, bir geyiğin ağladığını görmüş.
Buna üzülen Tanrı, kendisini tutamamış ve o da ağlamış.

2) Goryeo Krallığı ile ilgili Kaynaklarda

10. yüzyılda kurulmuş olan Goryeo Krallığının tarih kitabında da geyik kutsal bir varlığın oğlu olarak zikrolunmuştur (Goryeosa Goryeo Tarihi 97 ,Yeoljeon 7, Seo-Hi):

Seo-pil'in babası Seo-Sinil köyde otururken günün birinde bir geyik koşup gelmiş. Sinil geyiğin vücuduna bir ok saplanmış olduğunu görmüş. Sinil oku çıkarıp geyiği bir yere sakladıktan hemen sonra avcı gelip geyiği aramış ve bulamadan gitmiş. O gece Sinil'in rüyasında ilahi biri çıkıp teşekkür ederek, 'Geyik benim oğlumdu. Bugün sizin sayenizinde canını kurtarabildi. Sizin torunlarınız nesilden nesile yüksek mevkilere çıkıp büyük adam olacaklar', demiş. Gerçekten de Sinil 80 yaşındayken oğlu Seo-Pil doğmuş ve onun neslinden olanlar devamlı yüksek mevkilere çıkmıştır.

Ayrıca, Goryeo Krallığı devrinde (10-14. yüzyıl) halk arasında söylenen ve yazarının kim olduğu bilinmeyen Cheongsanbyeolgok (青山別曲) adlı halk şiirinde de geyik motifi görülür. Şiirin, anlamı kesin olarak kavranamadığı halde bilimadamları tarafından en uygun görülen yeni çevirisi şöyledir:

Yolda giderken dinle
Yeceongciye giderken dinle
Ağaca çıkan geyiğin
Hegeum çalışını dinle (**http://www.hanvit99.com/text/gayo/chungsan.htm**)

Buradaki anlaşılamayan 'Yeceongci' ile 'ağaca çıkan geyik' ifadeleridir. 'Yeceongci' Korecenin bir şivesinde 'ıssız yerde olan mutfak' anlamındadır. Bundan dolayı Korece uzmanları ve halkbilimciler bu anlamını kabul edip şiirin yorumunu şöyle yapmıştır:

Yolda giderken dinle
Issız bir mutfağa giderken
Ağaca çıkan geyiğin
Müzik çalışını dinle

'Ağaca çıkan geyik'e gelince, geyiğin bir ağaca çıkıp müzik çalmasının mümkün olmadığı için bu durum bir mucize olup o andaki zor yaşamından kurtulmayı bekleyen yazarın ümidini ifade eder; bu konudaki bir başka yorum da buradaki geyiğin sahnede geyik kılığına giren bir oyuncu olduğu yönündedir. Bu oyuncu ayrıca ağaca çıkıp müzik çalmaktadır.

Sekiz kıtadan oluşan bu halk şiirinin tam anlamı çıkarılamasa da uzmanlar tarafından halkın hayat zorluğunu ifade eden bir şiir olduğu fikrine varılmıştır (**http://www.seelotus.com/gojeon/gojeon/korea-gayo/cheong-san.htm**). Bu şiirin ilhamına uygun ve gösterilen iki yorumdan daha mantıklı olan Koreli tarihçi Jo'nun açıklamasıdır. Bu çözülmesi zor olan 'ağaca çıkan geyik' dizesi hakkında Jo (B.J.Jo, 1998:484), bunun, şamanın ayindeki durumunu andırdığını ileri sürmüştür. Bu mısranın ifadesinin bir oyun sahnesi olmayıp bir dinsel tören ve bu törende insanın dileklerini göğe veya gök tanrıya sunan bir şamanın tasviri olduğunu söylemiştir. Zaten Altaylı şamanlar ayin yapmadan önce kayın ağacı dikerler. Ayin sırasında şaman kayın ağacına tırmanıp adım adım göğün katlarına çıkıyormuş gibi hareket eder (Eliade 1992: 182-189). Dolayısıyla buradaki 'ağaca çıkan geyik', Jo'nun ileri sürdüğü gibi, ayin sırasında geyik şeklinde elbisesini giymiş şaman olarak nitelendirilebilir. Geyik şeklinde elbiseye gelince, Orta Asya ve Sibirya'daki şamanların elbisesi çoğunlukla geyik derisinden ve geyik tipinde yapılır (Eliade 1992: 151, 153; Dioszegi 1998:351). En son mısradaki Hegeum da bu görüşünü doğrular. Hegeum bambudan yapılmış telli çalgıdır ve Kore milli müziklerinde ve danslarında da vazgeçilmez bir çalgı olarak kullanılır. Hegeumın yayının kılları at kılından yapılmaktadır. Bu çalgı Türklerin iki telli yaylı kopuzuna (bir çeşit kemençe) benzer. Kazak kopuzları en eski Türk sazlarının en orijinal ve eski karakterdeki tiplerinden olup bunların telleri burulmamış at kılından yapılmaktadır. Kopuzlar gizemli ve mırıltıyı andıran bir ses çıkardıkları için bunlarla dua edilir, sihir yapılır ve fal açılır (Ögel 1991:242,261). Bu mısradaki durum da tıpkı şamanın veya ozanın (destancı) Hegeum çalarak dua etmesi veya destan söylemesi olarak izah edilebilir. Orta Asya'daki şamanizmde görülen vazgeçilmez bir özellik de şamanın ayin sırasındaki müzik faaliyetidir. Onun içindir ki, Orta Asya şamanları müzisyen ya da şarkıcı olarak kendilerini gösterirler (Diószegi 1988: 295*)*. Zaten Orta Asya Türklerinin destancıları da destan veya halk hikayesi anlatırken müzik aleti kullanırlar. Kazaklar saz aşıklarına bahşi derler (Ögel 1991: 244). Kırgız, Uygur ve Kazak Türkleri de şamana bahşi, baksı derler (Karşılaştırmalı Türk Lehçeleri Sözlüğü 1991).

3) Coseon Krallığı ile ilgili Kaynaklarda

Goryeo devletinden sonra 14. yüzyılda kurulmuş olan Coseon krallığının tarih kitabında da geyiğin her törende kurban olarak sunulduğu hakkında bilgi vardır (Sejongsillok Kitap 3; Sejongsillok Kitap 14, Dördüncü yıl.).

3. 'Oduncu ile Peri Kızı' Kore Halk Hikayesi

'Oduncu ile Peri Kızı' adlı halk hikayesinin Kore'de yaklaşık 140 civarında varyantı bulunmaktadır (W.R.Pai 1993:14). Bu Kore halk hikayesinin kahramanı olan geyik, yukarıda zikredilen hususlar bakımından önemli bir rol üstlenmektedir. İkeda Hiroko (1961:118-123) bu hikayeyi çok erken oluşmuş bir halk edebiyatı ürünü olarak değerlendirmiştir. Hikaye şöyledir:

Bir zamanlar ormanda yaşlı annesi ile yaşayan fakir bir oduncu varmış. Bir gün oduncu ormanda odun keserken avcıdan kaçan bir geyik gelir ve kendisini saklaması için oduncudan yardım ister. Oduncu geyiğe acıyarak onu bir yere saklar. Biraz sonra avcı gelip o tarafa doğru gelen geyiğin nereye gittiğini sorar. Oduncu, uzaklara gittiğini söyleyerek geyiği kurtarır. Geyik avcının gitmesinden sonra oduncuya teşekkür ederek onun, kendisinden isteğini sorar. Oduncu da fakirlikten hala evlenemediğini ve bir eşe ihtiyacı olduğunu söyler. Geyik oduncuya dolunay gecesi perilerin yıkanmak için gökyüzünden yakındaki bir göle ineceğini, o zaman bir peri kızının uçan elbisesini saklamasını söyler. Oduncu geyiğin dediklerini yerine getirir ve uçan elbisesini kaybeden peri kızıyla evlenir. Zamanla peri kızı iki çocuk doğurur. Bir gün oduncu gökteki dünyayı özleyip ağlayan peri kızına acır. Sadece bakması şartıyla uçan elbiseyi peri kızına gösterir. Fakat peri kızı, uçan elbiseyi görür görmez hemen onu giyer ve çocuklarını da alıp gökyüzüne yükselir. Oduncu üzülerek günlerini geçirirken aynı geyikle karşılaşır ve geyik ona çözüm yolunu gösterir. İlk dolunay gecesinde su almak için gökten büyük bir kabın ineceğini ve o kaba binerek göğe çıkabileceğini söyler. Ve geyiğin dediklerine uyan oduncu peri kızıyla çocuklarına kavuşur.

Bu hikayenin içinde eski Korelilerin dünyaya bakışını ve inanç sistemini gösteren mitolojik unsurlar çoktur: Mesela peri kızı, konuşan geyik, göl (su), ay, gökten inen kap v.s. gibi. Bu motiflerin hepsi Orta Asya'daki Altay halklarının kültürüleründe de mitolojik unsurlar olarak görülürler. Bu hikaye Orta Asya'daki Altay halklarının ve Korelilerin de önemli inançları arasında yer alan şamanizm anlayışı ile meydana gelmiş bir halk edebiyatı ürünü niteliğindedir (H.J.Kim 2002: 87-92): Örneğin geyik, canını kurtaran oduncunun dileğini gerçekleştirir. Peri kızı göğe çıktıktan sonra çözüm yolunu gösteren de yine odur. Geyiğin buradaki rolü tıpkı tören yaparken kurban sunup insanın dileklerini yerine getiren şamanın görevine benzer. Hikayenin bir başka varyantında ise göğe çıkan oduncu gökteki dünya tarafından kabul edilebilmesi için peri kızının ailesi tarafından çeşitli sınavlardan geçirilir. O sırada geyik de göğe çıkıp oduncuya yardım eder. Şaman da ayin sırasında göğe çıkıp, insanların dileğini yerine getirmeye çalışır. Ayrıca Eliade'ye göre, gökten inen kap motifi, yani gök ile yeri bağlayan sembol ise dünya ağacını simgelemektedir ve şamanizmden daha eski bir devirde yayılmış bir motif olarak şamanın göğe çıkmasına yardım eder (Eliade 1992: 420-421).

4. Sonuç

Bu yazıda tarihî kaynaklardan ve 'Oduncu ile Peri Kızı' adlı Kore halk hikayesinden hareketle geyik motifi incelenmiştir. Eski bir Kore devletine "geyik" anlamına gelecek bir ad verilmesi geyiğin Kore tarihi ve kültürü bakımından basit bir hayvan olmadığını gösterir. Bu motifin Kore halk edebiyatının Puyeo devletinden sonra ortaya çıkmış ürünlerinde de kutsal bir karakter sergilemesi, söz konusu kutsallığın Kore kültürünün eski dönemlerinden beri devam edegeldiğinin bir ifadesidir. Orta Asya'da da kutsal kabul edilen bu hayvana Koreliler'le Altay halklarının yükledikleri anlamlar birbirine benzemektedir. Bu durum, Kore kültürünün eskiden beri Altay kültürü ile bağlantılı, hatta Altay menşeli, olduğunun delili sayılabilir. 'Oduncu ile Peri Kızı' hikayesi de hem içerdiği geyik motifi ve peri kızı unsuru, hem de şamanizm etkisinde oluşması bakımından eski Korelilerin Altay halkları ile olan ilişkilerini gösteren mitolojik karakterli bir hikayedir. Yukarıda incelenen Kore halk hikayesi ile geyik hayvan motifinin de milletlerin menşeini ortaya koymakta önemli roller üstlenebileceğini göstermektedir.

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THE MONGOL YOKE REVISITED: DID IT HOLD RUSSIA BACK OR PROPEL IT FORWARD?

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Abstract:

Many in believe that the cause of Russia's lag vis a vis Europe was caused by the Tatar-Mongol invasions of the 13th century. Russia, under Mongol domination was isolated from European developments and therefore failed to participate in the crucial events of the period 1240-1480 that propelled Europe into the modern age. However, since Russia was practicing swidden (slash and burn) farming at that time, there was no subsistence basis on which to build a powerful state. Mongol taxation encouraged intensification of production, and by the 1460's movement on peasant mobility and the European 3-field system were being introduced into Russia, which became the economic bases of the Muscovite state. Thus without Mongol taxation, Russia might have remained in swidden for much longer than it did, with a consequent greater lag in development than was actually experienced.

Russia's major historic problems have been its relations to the countries of the west, mainly an effort to keep up with them and avoid conquest, both military and cultural from that direction, and its relations to the countries to its southeast, by whom it was first dominated but which it later dominated itself, as part of the Russian Empire and Soviet Union. It is common opinion in Russia that its weakness vis a vis the West was caused by the Mongol domination of the 13th through 15th centuries. This 'Mongol Yoke' is thought to have isolated Russia from the West and therefore prevented it from participating in the Renaissance and Reformation as well as the commercial transformations that produced strong modern states in Western Europe. According to this scenario, Russia was thus left behind.

Here, I will present an alternative interpretation of the effects of Mongol hegemony in Russia. Rather than holding Russia back, it pushed Russia forward.

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My thinking is based on the theory of Antonio Gilman, who relates subsistence modes to state formation. Gilman outlines the existence of four subsistence modes in pre-industrial societies: hunting and gathering, swidden, pastoral nomadism and agriculture. Gilman states that in the first 3 systems, primary producers can simply run away from a would-be exploitative ruler, and thus hierarchy and class-based states seldom form in these societies. But with the transition from swidden ('slash and burn') cultivation to agriculture, the primary producers become vulnurable to domination and exploitation. He says that the "…desire for material security led later Neolithic (swidden) farmers to create productive works of long-term and general utility. These assets would be of value to others than their creators. Thus capital-intensification of subsistence transfers the problem of security from the material to the social field. The investments of labor to insure future production would have to be defended. But the value of these same assets would dampen the potential for social fission, so that it would be difficult to check the aspirations of those to whom the defense had been entrusted.

In the face of a protector whose exactions seem excessive, the household's choices are limited: it may abandon the asset for which it sought protection; it may find another protector (who may prove no less self-aggrandizing than his predecessor); or it may submit to the excessive exactions. Over the long term, these options favor the protectors. In the end there would have arisen a permanent ruling class." (Gilman, p. 7)

It is the establishment of this ruling class, which seldom exits outside of agricultural and industrial societies, that is the basis of state formation in pre-modern times. While the states and ruling classes were a severe burden to the cultivators, they were also the basis of strong state structures, which do enhance the power of the societies that are subject to them, and enable societies newly organized as states to compete with already existing states.

Ernest Gellner has noticed the same pattern resulting from the immobility of resources in agrarian society, although he doesn't appear to be aware of Gilman's earlier explanation.

"…though pastoral societies possess storable wealth, it is mobile wealth, and those who own it may escape the dilemma of the pre-emptive conflict. They do not need to become either oppressors or oppressed, and they can flee those who would oppress them.

Something similar is true of peasant societies in difficult terrain. Generally speaking, peasants are tied to their fields and therefore eminently exploitable: they cannot run away. Nevertheless, if their fields are located in terrain that is difficult of access, then the imposition of domination may be too arduous to be worthwhile." (Gellner, p. 150).

Turning to Russia, it should be noted that it had a swidden economy until at

least the late 15th century. The main reason for this was their northern location and the consequent shortness of their growing season, which limited agricultural productivity there, much as excess heat and rainfall limit it in the tropics.

In the early Middle Ages, Russia's swidden economy was host to intertribal wars that produced captives. These were encouraged by the Vikings who invaded Russia in the 9th century, who besides, simply went slave-raiding in the weakly organized swidden countryside. With slave-hungry empires nearby, it was profitable to sell the captives down the river, in this case the Dnepr or secondarily, the Volga. The main purchasers were the Byzantines and a succession of Islamic Empires. Kiev was the southernmost of the Russian towns of the forest zone, inhabited by Slavic swidden cultivators and thus it was the closest Russian town to the major imperial customers for Russian furs, lumber, and metals, as well as slaves. Thus at an early period it became the most important center of Russian export trade and of imported wealth and culture. Its location determined its importance.

The Mongol invasions of the 13th century upset this pattern by reorienting the bulk of this trade from the Dnepr to the Volga, where the Tatar-Mongol Golden Horde built its capital, Serai. The Horde ruled the Russian forest indirectly, collecting tribute from native princes through a series of envoys who were backed by the threat of invasion if the Horde felt the need of it.

During this period the Russian cultivators moved freely, making swidden clearings wherever the farming seemed best. In general this movement was from west to east, gradually taking land from hunting and gathering peoples deeper within the continent. Neither Mongols nor local princes tried to stem this flow. The latter simply taxed, at a relatively low rate, whoever happened to be farming in their district. The fact of the peasant's ability to move, because he was still a swidden farmer, combined with a general shortage of labor, kept seignorial abuse within bounds. (Hellie, p.77.)

Russia, under pressure to pay taxes to the Horde, needed to organize itself for tax collection. In one sense it was the scale of the nomads' reach that enabled this change. If each prince who ruled a small area tried to increase taxes, the swiddeners could decamp, but if all the princes were compelled to collect taxes over a very large area, the farmers would gain little or nothing from moving, for the princes could no longer compete for labor by offering lower tax rates. This would tend to dampen peasant movement.

I cannot prove that the Horde's exactions were directly responisible for the binding of peasants to the land (serfdom) nor the intensification of farming that led to a switch from swidden to full-scale agriculture. Yet the logic of the situation, that production had to be intensified to pay the taxes, points in that direction. What is known is that the pressure from both more powerful neighbors and military

rivalries at home created more militarized and bureaucratized state structures, and there was a need to intensify production to raise the income to support them.

It is also a fact that the right of peasants to move was first curtailed between 1455 and 1462 when the Muscovite prince Vasilii II, needing the support of the economically powerful Troitse Sergiev monastery in his prosecution of a civil war, granted the monks the right to tie peasants to the land (Hellie, p. 81). Hellie states that: “This step was of great importance in that it initiated the legal enserfment of the peasantry, a step taken by the state power at the request of a particular monastery which was to become the weathiest in all Rus’ by the time all the peasants had become enserfed in 1649” (p. 82).

Sometime before 1470, other monasteries won the right to restrict the movement of peasants to a period following the autumn harvest. It became the rule that they could go only within a two-week period around St. George's day, November 26, and only after paying off their debts. This became general throughout Muscovite lands in 1497 (p. 83).

Furthermore, the three field system was introduced in the 1460's and there was also "...a need for limiting the extremely wasteful assartage (podseka), system of agriculture which was inherited from much earlier times and was only significantly limited in Ivan III's reign (1462-1505)”. (Hellie, p.85) 'Assartage' is another term for swidden. All of this had the effect of making the peasants much more vulnerable to taxation, and it is noted by Halperin (Halperin, p.84) that the Muscovite state economy flourished during this period. This was probably because they were now squeezing more from the farmers than they had before. Thus the critical events that got the process of enserfment in motion did take place in the latter part of the ‘Mongol Yoke’ period.

Halperin also observes that during the Mongol period, although Russia was taxed, "Oriental goods such as silk, glass, beads, cowrie shells, and boxwood combs have been dug up at village sites throughout the Russian countryside." (p.81) What was probably happening was that the Russian elites were being taxed by the Mongols, and they naturally complained of it in their chronicles, thus we get the impression that they were sorely pressed. The mobile (and mute) cultivators were still beyond the reach the kind of taxation that they were to experience once agriculture and the accompanying serfdom were firmly in place, and thus had something to spare for little luxuries during the earlier period.

When they had the chance, cultivators returned to swidden. During the chaos of the latter years (1570's-80's) of the reign of Ivan IV (Grozny), peasants decamped from lands in central Muscovy at a great rate, partly because better lands had been made available to the south and east of the forest zone, and swidden was reestablished in the old forest zone of Russia (Hellie, p. 94). This alarmed those of the noble and military classes who depended on peasant production for their

support. As a result, the remaining rights to mobility were gradually curtailed beginning in 1581 (pp. 95-6). This trend culminated in the law of 1649, which forbade moving altogether and locked the system of Russian serfdom in place. This must have impoverished the farmers, who were not rich to begin with.

The terrible poverty of the Russian countryside in the 18th and 19th centuries was the result of the enforced settlement of the 15th, 16th and 17th, which enriched the nobles by subjecting the farmers to much heavier exactions than they had ever experienced before. The violent peasant rebellions of the 17th and 18th centuries were a direct consequence of these new burdens.

Throughout this period, Russia gradually came into direct military and cultural competition with the European states to its west, particularly Sweden, Poland and Lithuania. Much of the intensification of production and the need to force peasants to settle was driven by the need to finance the military forces needed to resist the western threat. But without the start given by the 'Mongol Yoke', it probably would not have been a competition at all. Russia also had the good luck to face Europe's least developed powers. The unfortunate peoples of Africa (another swidden region), by contrast had to deal with the Portuguese, Dutch, English and French, Europe's strongest states, hence they were overcome when the Europeans got around to bothering to do so.

The study of the process of the intensification of agriculture in the Mongol period is thus important to the understanding of the long term development of the Russian state and its relations with its neighbors. It is my hope that younger scholars with the appropriate language skills, many of whom exist in the Central Asian republics, would pursue such research. If the process of intensification can be tied to the Mongol taxation, it would suggest a major revision of our view of the causes of Russia's difficulties in accommodating to the West.

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КУЛЬТОВЫЕ И ОБЩЕСТВЕННЫЕ ЦЕНТРЫ СРЕДНЕВЕКОВЫХ ГОРОДОВ СРЕДНЕЙ АЗИИ В ЭПОХУ КАРАХАНИДОВ (НА ПРИМЕРЕ САМАРКАНДА)

Н.Б. НЕМЦЕВА*

С утверждением ислама в средневековой Средней Азии, как и в других регионах Арабского Халифата начали складываться крупные городские мемориально-культовые, общественные и дворцовые комплексы, как главные идеологические, образовательные и правительственные центры.

Как правило, строительство новых сооружений, периода ислама, происходило в традиционных местах, где с глубокой древности располагались дома правления (арк, цитадель), культовые постройки и общественные сооружения (соборная мечеть Самарканда на месте зороастрийского храма. Бартольд).

Строительство культовых центров, в частности, мечетей началось сразу после завоевания этого региона арабами, с X в. началось строительство мавзолеев и медресе, вслед за этим, в XI-XII вв. ханака (странноприимные дома для суфиев) по всей Средней Азии и другим регионам мусульманских стран.

Особенно строительство культовых комплексов в Средней Азии развернулось в период правления регионом тюркских династий из рода Караханидов. Сельджукидов и Газневидов в XI-XII вв. Это был период распространения суфизма по всему мусульманскому Востоку, возрождения культа святых, сложения многочисленных машадов на местах гибели за перу первых миссионеров ислама.

Культовые и общественные центры в виде комплекса построек заключали как правило, священные могилы первых миссионеров ислама, крупных шейхов (гробница, мавзолей, мазар, гумбаз), мечети, минареты, чилля-хана, ханака. Нередко в состав таких мемориально-культовых комплексом входили и высшие мусульманские школы - медресе, построенные от имени правите-

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лей. Такой состав комплекса свидетельствовал не только о религиозно-культовой, но и культурной, общественно - образовательной роли петров в структуре городов.

Медресе появились в X в., являлись единственным высшим учебным заведением в странах ислама, в них кроме богословия (Коран, хадисы). как известно, велось обучение светским наукам, давалось элементарное образование, изучалась юриспруденция, литература, география, математика, медицина и др.

Медресе, являлись городским учебным заведением, в XI-XII вв. как и позже строились исключительно в крупных городах Средней Азии, Хорасана и стран Ближнего Востока (Бухара, Самарканд, Мерв. Нишапур, Дамаск. Багдад. Каир и др.)/

Введение медресе в культовые комплексы расширяло функцию последних, придавало мусульманским святыням статус общественно-образовательных центров. Создание таких центров в крупных городах стран ислама было важным явлением в духовной жизни и являлось делом государственной политики средневековых государей, (ансамбль Гур эмир в Самарканде XIV-XV вв. в составе которого кроме фамильной гробницы Гемуридов. были придворные медресе и ханака, функционально сложным ансамбль имама ар-Рази в Мешхеде).

Велика была роль таких религиозно-общественных центров и в градостроительной структуре городов. Как правило, культовые и общественные центры представляли собой комплекс монументальных сооружений высокого художественного облика, с богатой декоративной отделкой. Об этом свидетельствуют сохранившиеся в городах памятники зодчества, на базе которых в наше время созданы городские заповедники, города-музеи (Самарканд, Бухара. Хива. Шахрисябз).

В градостроительной и планировочной системе такие ансамбли или комплексы подчеркивали наиболее жизненно важные коммуникационные узлы средневековых городов.

Сохранившиеся памятники зодчества XI - XVII вв. в крупных городах Средней Азии до сего дня являются не только живым свидетельством высоком строительной культуры в прошлом, но позволяют заглянуть в некоторые аспекты духовной жизни средневекового общества.

Городские культовые центры (мечети, мавзолеи) играли важную роль в духовной жизни местного населения, показателем высокого статуса или напротив снижение роли нормативного ислама (его течений) в обществе на том или ином этапе (например, снижение роли ислама на первом этапе во времена монгольского владычества).

Наиболее выразительна и показательна история сложения одного in

наиболее чтимых городских святынь, действующих до сего дня в Самарканде -комплекса Кусама ибн Аббаса XI в.- идеологической основы известного ансамбля Шахи-Зинда.

Шахи-Зинда самый крупный и уникальный памятник архитектуры Средней Азии в наше время представлен в основном мавзолеями и мечетями эпохи Темура и темуридов. Первые культовые постройки появились на юге Самарканда еще в домонгольское время. В XIV-XV вв., комплекс на окраине заброшенного городища Афрасиаб (древний Самарканд) был превращен в загородный царский некрополь.

Однако, в XI-XII вв. в домонгольский период это был крупный городской мемориально-культовый и общественно- образовательный центр Самарканда, сложившийся у главной святыни города - комплекса Кусама ион Аббаса (машад Кусама по вакфу). Комплекс Кусама ибн Аббаса – единственное сооружение, которое после многих перестроек, сохранилась в Самарканде с домонгольских времен.

Это была пора, когда по всему мусульманскому Востоку широкое распространение получило мистико-аскетическое течение – суфизм (тасаввуф) и связанные ним культы святых, в том числе машады (место гибели за веру).

Именно в это время, на южной окраине Самарканда возник один из крупнейших в мусульманском мире машадов -– мемориально-культовый комплекс Кусама ибн Аббаса или машад Кусама, заменявший в свое время Хадж в Мекку (Малая Кандийа, XII-XV вв).

Многолетние археологические исследования в 50-60-е годы XX в., а также письменные данные и документы (вакф XI в., Кандийа. Ибн-Баттута) позволили восстановить всю историю появления и функционирования ансамбля, выявить сохранившийся в руинах и фрагментах целый период в жизни памятника, относящийся к XI- VXII вв., восстановить в ретроспективе историю сложения Машада Кусама.

Установлено, что комплекс Кусама или Машад Кусама был выстроен в черте города, на перекрестке между городским каналом и мощеной улицей - дорогой, был окружен целым рядом других сооружений (данные вакфа) вписан в существовавшую тогда жилую часть юга Самарканда. С XIII в. комплекс все больше охватывало мусульманское кладбище.

Во второй половине XI в. (1066 г. по вакфу) напротив Машада Кусама от имени караханидского правителя Ибрахима Тамгач Богра-хана было выстроено крупное ханифитское медресе, в письменных источниках медресе Кусамийе. Мемориально-культовый комплекс получил новое звучание, стал не только главной святыней города, но и общественно- образовательным центром Самарканда.

В 60-е годы XX в. остатки медресе были раскопаны. Это оказалось кру-

тое прямоугольное в плане здание четырехайванной дворовой композиции (55х44 м) с главным портальным входом, обращенным на восток, к Машаду Кусама. По сторонам портала находились квадратно-купольные помещения (дарсхана, библиотека?), по периметру двора шли небольшие худжры для студентов. Это самое старое, и единственное, известное по документам и раскопкам медресе Средней Азии, показывает, что в XI в. в Самарканде сложился архитектурный тип медресе, планировочная композиция которого стала характерной для всех последующих медресе Мавераннахра XIV-XVII вв.

Значение Машада Кусама в XI-XII вв. в жизни города было столь велико, что до наших дней сохранились некоторые топонимы, связанные с ним культом. У подножья крепостных стен Афрасиаба с юга протекаем арык Оби-Машад (в древности Оби-Мугон), в XI-XII вв. вся южная окраина Самарканда называлась кварталом Кусама, южные городские ворога (Кешские, Железные в разное время) в XП в. назывались воротами Мешхад (машад, мешхед, машхад в разной редакции).

Машад Кусама представлял собой единовременно выстроенный комплекс, в состав которого входила гробница Кусама (гурхана), зиаратхана с чилляханой в подпольной части, мечеть, отделанная резным деревом (сохранилась in situ консоль), и небольшой минарет. Этот единый по объемно-планировочному решению комплекс взаимосвязанных помещений был предопределен сложившимся к XI в. обрядом поклонения святым местам - зиаратом. Комплекс отличает классически четкий состав культовых помещений, связанных с местами поклонения святым местами в исламе.

Медресе Кусамийа, выстроенное от имени караханидского правительства г, 1066 г. было установлено западнее, напротив Машада Кусама. в известном градостроительном приеме кош (два противостоящих здания).

Дошедший до нас вакуфный документ сообщает о том, что в медресе Кусамийа, корме помещения для чтения Корана, имелась библиотека, велось обучение не только теологии, но и светским дисциплинам, в вакфе упомянут адаб (литературно-филологический предмет), студенты получали стипендию, выделялись средства для проведения двух главных религиозных праздника - курбан и фитр. Вакфом завещались денежные доходы на обслуживание медресе и Машада Кусама, которые находились рядом.

Два крупных монументальных сооружения эпохи Караханидов на юге Самарканда положили начало известному ансамблю Шахи-Зинда. Существующему вот уже более 1000 лет.

Значение Машада Кусама определялось в первую очередь важностью самого имени святого - Кусама ибн Аббама, который является кровной родней пророка Мухаммада, его двоюродным братом из рода Аббасидов. Это одна из главных причин большой популярности культа Кусама среди

мусульман до сего дня (до сих пор осуществляется зиараг окрестного местного населения).

Исторические данные говорят о том. что Кусам ибн Аббас реальное историческое лицо (данные Табари, Белазури, IX в.). Во второй половине VII в.. за несколько десятилетий до окончательного завоевания Самарканда арабами в начале VIII в., Кусам ибн Аббас в качестве проповедника ислама пришел с арабскими войсками в Среднюю Азию и погиб здесь в 676/677 г. от рук неверующих (кафиров). Похоронен Кусам ибн Аббас был на юге Самарканда, на первом кладбище арабов племени Бану-Нахия или Джанаб (Малая Кандийа.) Видимо застройка юга Самарканда в VII в. была разряженной, Кандийа сообщает, что первое кладбище арабов на юге располагалось на пустующих местах.

Согласно поздним легендам Кусам ибн Аббас, однако не умер, отсюда - Шахи-Зинда (живой царь) Кусам якобы вошел в раскрывшийся перед ним михраб. По другим легендам - спустился в колодец и там живет до сих пор.

На раннем этапе сложения ислама погребения важных почитаемых лиц не отмечались пышными монументальными сооружениями, как позже. Над могилой в VII -VIII вв. устраивался небольшой земляной холм с полочкой в головах. Существовало поверие; чем больше сравнивался холм с поверхностью земли, тем большую святость получала могила. (И. Гольдциер ?) Только с X в. на мусульманском Востоке появляются первые купольные мавзолеи. Именно такова судьба и могилы Кусама ибн Аббаса. Могила Кусама давно затерялась на огромном мусульманском кладбище на юге Афрасиаба, которое существует со второй половины VII в. по сей день и которому около 1400 лет. В гурхане нет могилы VII в, времени когда погиб за веру этот один из первых миссионеров ислама в Средней Азии. Вскрытия в гурхане показали, что под майоликовым надгробием XIV в. находится не потревоженное погребение XI в., – единственная историческая тайна оставшаяся не раскрытой в Шахи-Зинда. Установлено, что территория, где в XI в. был выстроен Машад Кусама обживалась вплоть до конца X в. В XI-XII вв. вокруг комплекса Кусама и медресе Кусамийа продолжали еще некоторое время оставаться городские постройки. Только после монгольского завоевания в XIII в. юг Афрасиаба опустел и кладбище стало занимать все большее пространство. Медресе, как типично городской, в данном случае и государственный учебный институт, прекратило выполнять свою прямую функцию после разгрома Самарканда монголами. В 30-е годы XIV в. по словам марроканского паломника Ибн Баттуты к главной городской святыне машаду Кусама в понедельник и пятницу горожане по-прежнему приходили на поклонение. Язычники - монголы приносили к ней пожертвования - коров и баранов, дирхемы и динары. Медресе Кусамийа во времена Баттуты. в

первой половине Х1У в. выступает уже в новой роли, здание с худжрами по сторонам двора используется как завийа для остановки и проживания паломников. Только в конце XIV в. при Темуре на месте медресе Кусамийа были возведены мавзолеи.

Комплекс Кусама ибн Аббаса является типичным средневековым Машадом - мемориалом в память погибшего за веру. Машады в XI-XII вв. и позже были распространены по всему мусульманскому Востоку, не были связаны с реальной могилой погибшего за веру. Действительная могила называлась - *кабр* и мусульманское духовенство четко различало эту разницу.

Машады в мусульманских странах в период утверждения ислама (примерно к X в. в Средней Авзии) множились в интересах духовенства для создания очередных мест паломничества и соответственно получения доходов.

Наиболее известные машады (кроме Машада Кусама) в Средней Азии и Хорасане – это архитектурный комплекс Ходжа Машад в Таджикистане, связанный видимо с гибелью за веру безымянных теперь ходжей ко времена распространения ислама и арабского завоевания Средней Азии в конце VII - начале VIII в.

Крупным машадом является город Мазари Шариф (благородная гробница) на севере Афганистана, где согласно преданию находится могила халифа Али (зять Мухаммада, шиит), над которой в XV в. построен мавзолей, ставший местом паломничества шиитов. Действительная могила Али и сю сыновей, как известно, находится в Ираке (г. Неджеф и Карбелла).

Есть фиктивная могила Али и в Средней Азии - это Шахимардан в Фергане, культ Али процветает там до сей поры.

Самый крупный машад, существующий до сих пор, возник на с-в Ирана на месте гибели шиитского имама Резы (УШ в.). Вокруг могилы ар-Ризы сложился город Мешхед, в нем грандиозный культовый ансамбль 12-19 вв. включающий усыпальницу имама Ризы, мечеть Гаухар-шад, медресе, караван-сарай и огромные дворы с худжрами для паломников.

Надо подчеркнуть, что появление в эпоху тюрок - Караханидов в XI и. культового (машад Кусама) и общественно - образовательного центра и Самарканде, в который входило правительственное медресе Кусамайа. построенное от имени Ибрагима Тамгач-Богра-хана (1066г.), является ярким проявлением прочного альянса духовной и светской власти, политики тюрок в Мавераннахре в XI-XII вв., направленной на утверждение ислама и государственности.

ИСЛАМ МЕНЕН КЫРГЫЗ МАДАНИЯТЫ

ХУ ЖЕНХУА *

Кыргыз улуту дүйнөдөгү байыркы улуттардын бири болуп, өзүнүн узун тарыхы жана шандуу маданиятына ээ. Бул жөнүндө эки миң эки жүз жылдан мурда эле кытай тарыхый китептеринде алда качан жаза баштаган. Кыргыз улуту тарыхта белгилүү табигый жана коомдук жагдайлардын астында окшобой турган динге ишенип келген. Мисалы, шаманизм, буддизм, ислам.

Кытай тарыхый китеп «ЖАҢЫ ТАҢНАМА» да Энесей дарыясынын боюндагы кыргыздар шаманизмге ишенип, бакшыны «ГАМ» деп атагандыгын жазган. Азыр Кытай Түндүк Синжянда Дөрбөлжүндөгү кыргыздар жана Хыйлуңжяңдагы кыргыздар буддизмге, демек лама динине ишенет. Бирок бүтүн дүйнөдөгү кыргыздардын көпчүлүгү ислам динине ишенет.

Мейли кайсы дин болбосун, алар баары өзүнүн теориясы, түзүм—дөрү, салт—санаалары бар. Мындан башка, дин белгилүү улуттардын тарыхы, этнографиясы, фолклору, адабияты менен байланыштуу. Буларды бүтүндөй диний маданияттын ичине алат. Диний маданият узун мезгилде ошол динге ишенген улуттардын ар жагына күчтүү таасир жеткизет. Кээ бир таасирлер ошол улуттардын маданиятынын катарына кирип, акырында ичинде сиңирилип, ошол улуттун маданияты болуп калат.

Кыргыздар өзбектер, уйгурларга караганда ислам динине кийи—нирээк ишенген окшойт. Алар өзбектер, уйгурлардын таасири менен ислам динине ишене баштаган. Ошондой болгон болсо дагы, ислам дини кыргыз маданиятына жеткизген таасири аз эмес. Муну туура анализ кылуубуз тийиш. Анткени ислам дини жалгыз гана дүйнөдөгү бир миң үч жүз миллион калк ишене турган бир дин болуп калбастан, балким ал да адамзаттын бир түрдүү идеологиясы жана маданият системасы болуп эсептелет. Ислам дини аркылуу араптар жана

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фарсилердин бай жана көркөм маданияттарын да кабыл кылган.

Ислам динин кыргыз маданиятына жеткизген таасири ар тарапта. Мен бул макаламда жалгыз гана гуманитардык жана этнографиялык жактан мисалдарды көрсөтөйүн!

Биринчи, тил жагынан көрөлү!

Кыргыз тилинде көптөгөн арабча сөз бар. Мисалы, аалам, аалым, аба, абал, адабият, адабий, адам, адеп, адил, аажы, акыйкат, албетте, алиппе, амал, аман, аманат, араба, арал, арам, аскер, ашык, балаа, барак, вали, газал, дин, дуба, дүйнө, жарыя, жарыян, заман, зулум, илим, кесип, лайык, мажлис, мазак, макал, макала, маселе, милдет, мугалим, мунайым, мүлк, натыйжа, нур, окуя,пайда, салам, саламат, таалай, тамам, тоос, чара, шакирт, шекил, ысым, кабар... ж.б.

Кыргыз тилинде жана көптөгөн фарсча сөз да бар. Мисалы, абат, абдан, ажыдаар, айнек, акын, анар, ар, арзан, асман, баа, бадам, базар, бак, бакыт, балит, барабар, барча, беде, бейшенби, даана, дарт, дарыя, дастан, дасторкон, дос, дурус, душман, дүкөн, дүйшөнбү, жаан, жан, жеке, жыныс, замбирек, зер, зор, кээ, кез, кем, камкор, калем, кас, кеп, карнай, килем, көөнө, күмбөз, көчө, майдан, мөмө, мөөнөт, наам, намаз, намыс, өнөр, пайгамбар, паракор, пахта, пери, парда, пияз, сабиз, саз, самса, сая, саякат, таза, тараза, терезе, тозок, топу, устаз, үмүт, үрп—адат, чатыр, чырак, чынар, чаршамба, шейшенби, шаар, ширин, ылай, капа, кор, кыял, кыянат... ж.б.

Бул арапча, фарсча сөздөр кыргыз тилине киргенде кыргыз тилинин ички өнүктүрүү эрежелерине моюн сунуп кыргызчалаш—тырылды жана кыргыз тилинин лексикасын көп байытты. Тарыхта кыргыз улуту ислам динине ишенбеген болгон болсо, мындай сөздөр тилинде болбойт эле.

Экинчи, жазуу жагынан көрөлү! Мисалы,

Кыргыздар ислам динине ишенгенден кийин «Куран» окуу менен бирге турмушта арапча тамгалар (Чагатай тамгалары) менен өзүнүн тилин жаза баштады. Азыр архив болуп калган көп кыргызча өжөттөр жана он тогузунчу кылымда ырчылардан, манасчылардан жазып алгандар баары чагатай жазуусунда. Октябрь Революциясынан соң бир миң тогуз жүз жыйырма төртүнчү жылы Ташкентте тарыхта туңгуч иретте басылган Эшеналы Арабай уулу тарабынан түзүлгөн «Кыргыз алиппеси» жана «Эркин Тоо» газетасы баары арапча тамгалар менен чыгарылган. Арапча тамгалар тарыхта кыргыз улутунун маданиятын өнүктүрүүдө көп рол ойногон.

Биздин Кытайда, тарыхта Сиздерге окшош эле чагатай тамгалары жана Эшеналы Арабай уулунун түзгөн кыргызча тамгалары турмушта иштетилген. Кытай Эл Республикасы курулгандан кийин гана Кытай Компартиясы менен Эл Өкмөтү Кытайдагы кыргыздардын жазуусу маселесине көңүл көп бурган. Бир миң тогуз жүз элүү төртүнчү жылы

арапча тамгалар негизделип, Кытайдагы кыргыздардын калыпташ—тырылган (нормалаштырылган) жазуусу бардыкка келтирилди. Азыр бизде «Кызыл Суу» газетасы, «Тил менен котормо» жана «Синжян кыргыз адабияты» деген эки журнал, дагы Кызыл Суу Кыргызча Басмасы бар. Кыргыз орто жана башталгыч мектептеринде баары кыргыз тили, кыргыз арапча жазуусу менен сабак беришет. Даңктуу манасчы Жусуп Мамай уулу аксакалдын айткан «Манас»тын да, атактуу жазуучу Чыңгыз Айтматовдун чыгармаларын да ошол жазуу менен бастырганбыз.

Үчүнчү, адабият жагынан көрөлү!

Кыргыздардын арасында узун тарыхтан тартып, кең көлөмдө таралып келген дүйнө боюнча өтө атактуу эпос «Манас» болсо, ислам динине каирбестен мурун бардыкка келген. Бирок анын тукумдан тукумга таралган жарыясында ислам динине киргенден кийинки кээ бир таасирлери да киргизилди. Анткени манасчы мусулман болгондугунан, ал «Манасты» айтканда исламдын таасирин көрсөтпөй мүмкүн эмес! Мисалы,

Сагымбай Орозбак уулунун варианты боюнча бир миң тогуз жүз сексен экинчи жылы «Кыргызстан басмасы» тарабынан басылган «Манас»тын төртүнчү томунун үч жүз элүү экинчи бетинде мындай жазылган: «Манас»тын ажыга кеткендигин калмак кытайлар угуп, андан өчүн алыш үчүн чабуул жасоого даярданат». «Биздин Кытайда эки миң үчүнчү жылы Кызыл Суу Кыргызча Басмасы жаңыдан чыгарган Эшмат Мамбетжусуп уулунун айткан варианты «Семетей»дин жыйырма сегизинчи бетинде да «Намаз бешим маалда», «Намаз шам болуп келгенде» сыяктуу сөздөр бар. Биздин даңктуу манасчы Жусуп Мамай уулунун айткан вариантында исламдын таасири да бар.

Орто Азияда жана Батыш Азияда кең таралган «Насирдин Апенди» жана «Миң бир түн» катарлуу оозеки адабий чыгармалар да ислам дининин таралганга ээрчип таралгансыйт.

Жазма адабият да ушундай экен!

Мисалы бир миң тогуз жүз он биринчи жылы Казанда басылган «Кыса и Зилзала» деген китептин башында «Бисмин алла алрахман алрахим» жана «Абал сөзүм «Бисмин Алла» деген сөздөр менен башталат. Ал кезде бул жазуучулардын бир деме жазыштын формасы болуп калган.

Төртүнчү, этнография жагынан көрөлү!

Кыргыздар ислам динине ишенгенден кийин турмуштун ар тарабына таасирленип, үрп—адаттарда мусулманча болду. Бала туулгандан кийин аксакал киши же акундары үйгө чакырып мусулманча ат коюлат. Төмөндөгү аттар мусулмандар көп колдонгон. Мисалы, эркек балага Аалы, Абаз, Абакир, Абдыкадыр, Абдылда, Айса, Аман, Асан, Бакир, Бакыт, Дабыт, Жума, Жусуп, Жүсүп Муса, Сулайман, Султан,

Тайыр, Керим .. ж.б. аттар коюп берип, кыз балага Айша, Анар, Батма, Бермет, Жамал, Жумагүл, Зейнеп, Нургүл, Нисакан, Перизат, Саламат, Мария, Фатима, Таажгүл, Шарамат, Гүлхан ... ж.б. аттар коюп берет.

Эркек бала беш алты жашка жеткенде ата энеси ага сүнөт той өткөзөт. Чоңойгондон соң той болгондо, дагы имам же акунду чакырып ыжаб (нике) окутат. Адам өлгөндө имам же акунду чакырып жаназа окутуп жерге көмөт. Менче, турмуштагы «палоо», «нан» сыяктуу тамакты жеш, «топу» кийиш катарлуу адаттар баары ислам динине ишенгенден соң пайда болгон.

Акырында, менин көз карашымды кайта—кайта айтмакчымын. Менче, ислам дини жалгыз гана бир түрдүү ишеним болуп калбастан, ал дагы адамзаттын бир түрдүү идеологиясы жана дүйнөдөгү бир түрдүү маданият системасы болот. Ошону үчүн тарыхта же азыр ага ишенген же ишенип жаткан улуттар ислам дини өз улутунун маданиятына кандай таасирлери жеткизгендигин изилдөөгө тийиш. Демек ислам кыргыз улутунун маданиятынын өнүгүүсүндө кандай рол ойногондугун изилдөөбүз тийиш.

OSMANLILAR'DA BATI'DAN KÜLTÜR AKTARMASI ÜZERİNE*

Halil İNALCIK **

İlim, kültürün bir parçasıdır, ilim metodlarının yayılışını, bu çerçevede incelemek gerektiği kuşkusuz bir gerçektir[1]. Fakat, *kültür değişimi* ile kültür elemanlarının aktarılması *(cultural borrowings)* ayrı süreçlerdir[2]. Bir anlayışa göre, *acculturation,* kültür değişimi, bir kültürü belirleyen temel-değerler sisteminde değişiklik demektir. Gelenekçi toplumlarda ise, temel değerler sistemini *din* belirler[3]. Bazı sosyologlar ve tarihçiler, belli bir kültürün, meselâ Avrupa kültürünün hümanizm kadar Hıristiyan dininin bir sentezi olduğunu ileri sürerler. Bir bölüm tarihçiler ise, Avrupa medeniyetinin akılcı ve hümanist karakteriyle insanlığın ortak mirası olduğu, onun için her laik toplumun esas kültürü olabileceği noktasında birleşirler. Tabii, kültürü bir değeı-sistemi olarak benimseyenlerin, bu sonuncu yorumu kabul etmelerine imkân yoktur. Başka deyimle, sonunda yine, kültür değişimi sorusu, kültürü nasıl anladığımız ve yorumladığımız noktasına gelir, düğümlenir.

Kültür elemanları alışverişine gelince, bu bütün kültürler arasında biteviye olagelen bir *processus,* bir süreçtir[4]. Kültür elamanı deyince, top tüfenkten, modaya ve hükûmet idare organizasyonuna kadar bütün kültür unsurlarını anlıyoruz. Osmanlılar 19. yüzyıla kadar yalnız teknik unsurları almayı kabul ettikleri halde 19. yüzyılda idare, kanunlar ve hatta âdetlerde batıdan iktibaslara başladılar. Bununla beraber 19. asırdan önce de sıkı kültür teması sonucu bazı âdetler girmiştir[5]. Meselâ, 14. yüzyılda

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* Bu makale, Halil İnalcık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu: Toplum ve Ekonomi Üzerinde Arşiv Çalışmaları, İncelemeler* (İstanbul 1993), s. 425-430'da yayınlanmıştır.

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[1] B. Barber, *Science and tlıe Social Order,* Glencoe: Free Press 1952; R. K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure,* Glencoe: Free Press 1949, kısım 4.

[2] Ziya Gökalp, *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization,* çeviren ve neşreden Niyazi Berkes, New York: Columbia University Press, 1959; C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures,* New York: Basic Books, 1973, 97-125.

[3] Z. Gökalp, *op. cit*, 89-109.

[4] M.D. Sahlins, *Evolution and Culture,* Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1960; E. E. Hagen, *On the Theory of Social Change,* Homewood: Dorsey, 1962.

[5] N. Berkes, *The Developnıent of Secularism in Tıırkey,* Montreal: McGiıll University Press,

sakal kesme, Osmanlı toplumunda önemli bir sorun olmuştu. Halk görüşlerini yansıtan anonim *Tevârîh-i Âl-i Osman*[6]*,* I. Bayezid'in Ankara felâketini yorumlarken der ki, onun zamanında Osmanlı beyleri frenkleri taklide koyuldular, sakal kesmeye başladılar, o yüzden başımıza bu felâketler geldi. Bu basit görünen sorunun aslında derin sosyolojik bir anlamı vardır. Bu senbol, aynı zamanda, seçtiğimiz değer sisteminin herkesin önünde, herkese karşı ilânı demektir[7]. Osmanlı kültürü gibi, değer-sistemini, görünür bütün yaşam biçiminde ifadeye özen gösteren bir kültür için, senbolik kültür unsurlarının özel bir önemi vardır. Bu kimlik ve statü ayırımını Osmanlı, mezar taşında bile ifadeye özen göstermiştir. Bir Osmanlıyı, giyim biçiminden, müslüman mı, gayrimüslim mi, hatta yahudi mi, hıristiyan mı, devlet memuru mu, sanatkâr mı, tüccar mı, derhal ayırd edebiliriz.

Kültür unsurlarını, değer-sistemi, yani dinle bağımlı olanlar ve yansız, *neutre* olanlar diye ikiye ayıranlara hak vermek gerekiyor[8]. Giyim kuşam gibi, Batı'nın kültür kimliği belirten unsurlarını reddetme, özellikle çöküş devrinde kuvvetlidir. *Neutre* kategori içine, bütün teknik ve teknolojik araçları, ve pozitif ilmi koyabiliriz. Top tüfenk yapımı, para basımından gümrük idaresine kadar herşey, bu kategoriye girer. Dışarıdan bir korkusu olmadığı yükselme çağında Osmanlılar, batıdan kültür aktarmaları yaparken hiç çekinme göstermemişlerdir. Tersine Osmanlılar, başarılarını başlangıçtan beri, maddî güçlerini arttıran yenilikleri benimsemekte bulmuşlardır. Bu konuya tekrar döneceğim. Burada belirtmek istediğim şey, *acculturation* sürecinde davranışı belirleyen sosyal-psikolojik faktörlerin önemini belirtmektir. Öbür taraftan, *neutre* dediğimiz teknikler, hatta ticaret eşyası yine de bir kültürün parçasıdır ve onu kullanan bir *acculturation* sürecine girmiştir[9]. Osmanlı seçkin sınıfı, batıdan teknik birimleri alırken aynı zamanda yaşam biçimiyle ilgili âdetleri de ister istemez taklide başlamıştır, ve bu sebeple, yüzde yüz gelenekçi olan halk kitlelerinin tepkisi de aynı dönemde ortaya çıkmıştır.

Öbür taraftan denmiştir ki, bir kültür unsuru *kendi-iç (intrinsic)* değeri dolayısiyle yayılmaz, onu taşıyan fert veya toplumun *prestiji* esastır. Osmanlılar, Batı yaşam tarzı ve değer sistemile ilgili, şeyleri Viyana bozgunundan sonra alır oldular. Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi'den[10] önce, Batı kültür ve medeniyetine hayranlığı, hiçbir Osmanlı onun gibi duymamış ve ifade etmemiştir. Başka deyimle, Batı, 18. yüzyılda beğenilen, taklid edilen bir *prestige-culture* haline gelmiştir. Rokoko mimarisi ile beraber, o zaman ekâbir evlerinde frenk eşyasile döşeli *frenk* odaları döşenmeye başlanmıştır.

1964, 23-82. Osmanlıların Batı'dan aldıkları kültürel unsurlar konusunda iyi bid özet veriyor,

[6] F. Giese, *"Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken",* Vol. I, Breslau, 1922, 29-31, Sakalla ilgili referans bu kaynağın bazı basılmamış nüshalarında bulunuyor.

[7] Bak. *Geertz,* op. cit.

[8] Z. Gökalp, op. cit.; E. M. Albert, "Value Systems", International Encylopedia of Social Sciences

[9] A. Appadurai (ed.), Social Life of Things, Commodities in Cultural Perspective, Cambridge: CUP, 1986.

[10] F.M. Göçek, *East Encounters West, France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eigteenth century*, New York ve Londra: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Kültür unsurları iktibasında, böylece bir hiyerarşi ortaya çıkıyor, ilk ve en önemli aktarmalar silâhlarda olmuştur. Savunma aracı, kültür değişiminde özel bir önem taşır. Belli bir toplum, yalnız değer-sisteminin de ötesinde bizzat kendi varlığının tehdit altına girdiğini görünce, düşmanın silâhını almakta tereddüt göstermez. Burada iç-güdü ve rasyonel düşünce sosyal-psikolojik faktörler ve değer hükümlerini geride bırakır. Osmanlı-Türk tarihi bunun açık misâllerini vermiştir. Esasen İslâm kültürü, başlangıçtan beri, bu noktada kesin davranışını belirlemiştir. Düşmanı yenmek için onun silâhını ve kullandığı taktiği taklid etmek dine aykırı değildir hükmü, İslâmın doğuşunda yerleşmiş bir kaidedir.

Batı ilimlerinden memleketimize giren ilk ilimler de savunma ile ilgili olanlardır. *Mühendishane,* askerî ilimlerle ilgili *positive* ilimlerin okunduğu bir mektep olarak açılmıştı.

Daha önce Batı tıbbı ve coğrafya, pratik önemleri dolayısile, Türkçe'ye çeviriler şeklinde 17. yüzyılda aktarılmış, okul programlarında ancak sonraları 19. yüzyılda meslek mekteplerinde yer almıştır.

Islâhat yanlısı İslâm ulemâsı, silah-araç kavramının sınırlarını ziyadesile genişleterek İslam'ın ve İslam topluluğunun bakasını ve yararını sağlayan her çeşit aracı, ilim ve tekniği bu kavram içine aldılar. Hemen kaydetmeliyim ki, Osmanlı devleti doğuşundan beri, bu prensibe göre, Avrupa karşısında bir *acculturation* süreci içine girmişti. 1444'de Haçlı istilâsı karşısında Rumeli'de gerileme toptan bir kaçış halini almıştı. Osmanlı idarecileri, o zaman düşman silâh ve taktiğini almakta tereddüt etmediler. Tüfenk ve tabur-cengi denen *Wagenburg* savaş taktiği o zaman alındı[11] ve Osmanlı fütuhatının en önemli faktörlerinden biri oldu. Türkler, daima batının saldırısını ön cephede göğüsleyen bir İslâm toplumu olarak, İslâm'ın müdafaa ve *bakâ* farizasını, çok defa en yüksek vazife saymışlardır. Bazı modern tarihçiler, Osmanlı devletinin Şeriata aykırı görünen kanunları uyguladığını işaret ederler. Aslında, Osmanlı-Türk tarihi, zaruretler karşısında bir yenilikler ve modernleşme tarihidir. Bu Osmanlı kültür iktibasları olmasaydı, meselâ ateşli silâhlar alınmasaydı, yalnız Türkiye değil, İslâm âlemi bugün batı karşısında bambaşka bir duruma düşmüş olurdu[12]. Osmanlılar 16. yii/.yılda, silâhlarım ve gomilnini kcıidilcıi yapacak derecede hir teknoloji potansiyeline sahiptiler.

Batı teknolojisile birlikte, onun ilim prensiplerini ve sosyal-kültürel gereklerini bir bütün olarak kabul eden modern Türkiye, bu gelişimin tabii ve son halkasıdır. İslâm milletlerinden her biri, tarihî koşullara uyarak çeşitli yapılar kazanmışlardır. Herbiri için bu sonuç, bir *bakâ*-varolma sorunudur. Başka bir deyimle, tarihî koşulları sonucu Türkiye bugün İslâm toplumları arasında şüphesiz, batı *acculturation'*ın en

[11] Bak. *Gazavât-ı Sultan Murâd b. Muhammed Hân*, yayınlayanlar H. İnalcık ve M. Oğuz, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1978.

[12] Bak. D. Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom. A Challenge to a Mediavel Society,* London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1956, 46-133.

ileri aşamada olduğu bir memlekettir, ve bu, Türkiye için bir varolma sorunu olarak gelmiştir[13].

Kültür unsurlarının alınmasında rol oynayan şartları incelerken kısaca, savunma gereği, taklit, prestij ve ekzotizm, yani yabancı kültürlere merak ve hayranlık gibi sosyo-psikolojik faktörlere işaret ettik. Bu şartlar yanında, maddi bakımdan sosyal teması sağlayan ticaret, yabancı ticarete açık liman şehirleri, iki kültür arasında aracı grupların varlığı, sürgün ve göç, din değiştirme veya yabancı uzman istihdamı gibi şartlar ve faktörler de son derece önemlidir. Osmanlı kültür değişiminde, kapitülasyonlar, Galata, İzmir, Selanik, Beyrut gibi liman şehirlerinde batılı tüccar gruplarının yerleşmesi, levantenler, aracı Rum, Yahudi, Ermeniler ve nihayet muhtediler kesin rol oynamışlardır[14]. Klasik Osmanlı döneminde, 15-16. yüzyıllarda, çok önemli kültür taşıyıcılar, sürgünler ve muhtedilerdi. I492'de İspanya'dan Türkiye'ye Yahudi göçü, tekstil, silah yapımı ve başka alanlarda önemli bir teknoloji transferine yol açtı. Bir sanat veya sanayi transferinde, o sanatı yapanları gruplar halinde nakil, Avrupa'da ve Osmanlı imparatorluğunda daima uygulanmış bir metoddur. Bu usûl, uzun sosyal kültürleşme yerine, zorlayıcı ve süratli bir kültür transferi sağlayan bir metoddur.

Osmanlılar, bu usûlü uyguladığı gibi, sarayda çeşitli milletlerden sanatkârları gruplar halinde teşkilâtlandırmışlardı. Resim ve nakış sanatında Anadolu Türkleri *Taife-i Rûmîyan,* İranlılar *Taife-i Acemiyân* ve Avrupalılar *Taife-i Efrenciyan* diye ayrılmışlardı. Tabipler de böyle bir ayrılığa tâbi idiler. Müteferrikalar arasında frenklerden mühendis ve başka teknik adamlar bulundurulur ve gerektiğinde maharetlerinden faydalanılırdı. Bu sistem, 18. yüzyılda değişti, frenkler, yani Avrupalılar açılan meslek mekteplerinde muallim olarak kullanılmaya başlandı.

Özetle, bir kültür unsuru olarak modern ilim metodlarının transferini de sosyo-psikolojik ve maddî şartlar hazırlar. Bu metodların yerleşip devamını garanti eden belli bir sosyal-kültürel çevrenin o toplumda ortaya çıkmış olması şarttır. Osmanlılarda daha 16. yüzyıl sonlarında modern bir rasadhane kuruldu, fakat yaşayamadı; 18 asırda matbaa ve *mühendishane* sürekli bir varlık ve gelişme göstermediler. Bununla birlikte, müspet ilmin bir kültür unsuru olaraka özelliği neutre olmasındandır. Bir medreseli pek alâ bu metodlara hakkile vâkıf olur, İslâm'da bu gelenek çok eskidir. Fakat bu müspet ilim metodları, gelişmemiş, sosyal ve ekonomik hayata girmemiş, bir teknolojiye vücut vermemiştir.

Bazı sosyologlara göre, ilmî-rasyonel zihin yapısının sosyal bir nitelik kazanması, geleneksel *patrimonial* bir toplumda mümkün değildir. Sanıyorum, Osmanlılarda ilim tarihi daha ziyade bu noktayı vurgulamaktadır. Osmanlı tarihinde kültür değişiminde bürokratlar kesin rol oynamıştır. Ulema, Şeriat'in mutlak bütünlük

[13] *Atatürk'ten Düşünceler*, yay. E. Z. Karal, Ankara: İş Bankası Yayınları 1969, 49-51.

[14] Bak. L.T. Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Beirut*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983.

ve kontrolünü sağlamaya çalışırken bürokratlar, devlet ve toplum ihtiyaçları gibi pragmatik düşüncelere tâbi idiler. Bürokratlar için, özellikle 1700'den sonra düşman galebe ve istilâsını önlemek için her çeşit önlemi almak, devleti ıslâh etmek, her şeyden önemli idi. O zamana kadar silâhlar, savunma tesisleri ve askerî taktik, geleneksel ustadan-öğrenme yolu ile pratik usûllerle sağlanıyordu. 18. yüzyılda ıslâhatçı bürokratlar, bunun yetmediğini gördüler. Habsburg ve Romanovlara karşı doğuda müttefik arayan Fransızların bu dönemde bunu Osmanlı ricaline anlatmaları, yardıma hazır olmaları, yani batının siyasî-askerî ilgisi de önemli rol oynadı, böylece Avrupa'da gelişmiş müsbet ilimler ilk defa sistemli bir öğretim konusu olarak girdi.

Özetle, Osmanlı batılılaşma-modernleşme hareketlerini şu çerçeve içinde araştırmak gereklidir. İlk dönem: Hirfet çerçevesinde el sanayiinin hakim olduğu devir. Onun yanında büyük devlet askerî imalât tesisleri, Tophane, tersane, güherçile fabrikaları, çelikhane, madenler, darphane, batı teknolojisinin nüfuz ettiği en önemli kuruluşlardır.

1700'den sonraki ıslâhat döneminde ise, doğrudan doğruya batı metodları ve nihayet müspet ilimler devlet eliyle iktibas olundu. Fakat daima, askerî savunma ihtiyacı iktibasların ana sebebi idi. 1839 Tanzimat döneminden sonra idarî usuller ve kanunlar da iktibas olunmaya başladı ve geleneksel değerler sistemiyle ciddi çatışma bu dönemde ortaya çıktı. O zamanlar yeni-Osmanlılar, Batı'nın teknolojisini alarakr modernleşeceğiz, fakat onun değer sistemini reddedeceğiz, diyorlaradı. Ziya Gökalp bu sosyolojik bir sisteme bağlamak istedi[15]. Kültür değişiminin, sosyal-kültürel bir bütün olarak gerçekleştiğini ileri sürenler, tam modernleşme için belli bir sosyal yapı gelişmesini şart sayanlar, Atatürk ile üstün geldiler.

Kültür unsurları yaratımında, geleneksel ve modern toplumlar arasında bir karşılaştırma yaparak bu konuşmayı sonuçlandırmak isterim. Ferdî yaratma, geleneksel toplumda daha çok *patronage*'a, kapitalist serbest pazar toplumlarında ise daha çok pazar talebine bağlıdır. Osmanlı toplumunda sanatkâr, saray veya ekâbir için yeni ve daha mükemmel çeşitler yaratmaya çalışır, pazar ekonomisinde ise sürüm için model yapılır. İnce ve yüksek zevk için çalışan geleneksel usta, daha çeşitli, daha sanatkârane eserler çıkarır. Seri imalat yapan pazar ekonomisi bu ferdî nefis eserlerin tekniğini taklid eder, kitle için üretir. Sanayi devrimi döneminde ilim araştırıcısı ve laboratuvar, bir dereceye kadar hakim duruma gelmiş ve teknolojik yaratıcılığın odağı olmuştur. Fakat bazı sektörlerde, meselâ tekstilde, ferdî yaratma günümüze kadar önemini korumuştur.

Bir misâl vermek gerekirse; İngiltere'de endüstri devrimi gerçekleştiğinde, büyük pamuklu sanayiinde dokuma tekniği, desen ve boyalar, uzun zaman doğu örneklerini, özellikle Hind geleneksel örneklerini taklide devam etmiştir. Geleneksel toplumda yaratma ve sanatkâr üstündür demekte mübalağa yoktur. Meselâ hâmi

[15] Not 2'de anılan yere bakınız.

patron için yapılan *nefis* Osmanlı ciltlerini, 19. yüzyılda hiç bir basım tekniği seri imâlata uygulayamamıştır.

Burada önemli bir konu ortaya çıkıyor: Halk sanatları dediğimiz geleneksel beceri, teknik ve âletleri korumak. Türkiye'de âcilen yapılması gereken işlerden biri, halk sanatlarımızı, teknoloji ve âletlerini büyük bir müzede toplamaktır. Osmanlı-Türk medeniyeti ve yaratıcılığı orada temsil olunacaktır. Sanayiimiz, Avrupa mallarını, desenlerini taklit edecek yerde o kaynaktan çok çeşitli örnek ve teknikler öğrenerek üretecek ve rekabet gücü artacaktır. Ekonomik potansiyeli yüksek bir çok orijinal teknikler böylece unutulup kaybolmaktan kurtulacaktır. Özetle, toplumumuzda medeniyet ve kültür zenginliği, uzun yüzyıllar boyunca yaratılmış, birikmiş bu beceri ve tekniklerin devam ettiği halk sanatlarının korunmasına bağlıdır.

SCIENCE IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Ekmeleddin İHSANOĞLU*

The scientific activities observed within the borders of the Ottoman Empire throughout the six centuries of its history displayed a unique course of development. Although the Ottomans had shared many mutual elements with the other Islamic societies remaining outside of the Ottoman Empire, from the viewpoint of historical heritage and tradition, they also had some differences due to the geographical location, administration of the state and the dynamism of the society. Thus, Ottoman science had an innovative attribute from the viewpoint of the developments experienced, even though it shared a lot with the Islamic world outside the Ottoman lands from the aspect of its sources. Ottoman scientific tradition was initially formed under the influence of the experience of the earlier Islamic centers of science and culture. However, after a short period of time, Ottoman science reached a point where it could influence the old centers of science and culture and serve as an example to them. On the other hand, this innovative character of the Ottomans was emphasized by the fact that as of the seventeenth century the influences of Western science gradually appeared in the Ottoman world and began to influence the other Islamic countries. These developments brought the Ottomans, who represented the Islamic world as a whole, to a point of constituting a unique synthesis between Islam and the modern West.

The great changes in the scientific and educational life of the Ottomans had been realized within an extensive time span. Consequently, it is difficult to connect the radical changes in Ottoman history to specific events or to start as of a certain date. In general, "old and new" were together and existed in parallel with each other. On this subject it will be attempted to set forth analytically the outline of the two stages of Ottoman science. At the same time, the subject of the formation and development of the classical Ottoman tradition of science that was based on the Islamic tradition of science prior to the Ottomans and especially based on the

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heritage of the Seljuks will be briefly discussed. However, the Ottoman scientific tradition also developed with the contributions made from outside the Empire and the relevant aspects of the Western scientific tradition, which developed as the result of close relations with the West. In this chapter, the works in languages other than Turkish, Arabic and Persian written by scholars from the non-Moslem population composed of the Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians, Serbians, Hungarians and Romanians who were members of the Christian sects and Jews living in the Asian and European territories of the Empire and the scientific activities occurring in these cultural circles will not be considered. The reason for this is that at present the studies related to Ottoman science have not reached an intensity, which would assist in considering this subject in a satisfactory manner. It is without a doubt that the general and comprehensive evaluations related to Ottoman science certainly will become perfected with the consideration of these aspects as well which have not drawn much attention or been given the degree of interest they deserve[1].

The Classical Ottoman Scientific Tradition and Institutions

Ottoman science was established on the scientific heritage of the previous Seljuk State and on the foundation of the educational and scientific institutions that were established in the Anatolian cities in that period. Furthermore, the Ottomans also benefited from the activities of the scholars from the most advanced cultural and scientific centers of the period such as in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Iran and Türkistan (Turkestan). The Ottomans protected and enriched the cultural and scientific heritage of the Islamic world and brought to it a new dynamism and vitality. Thus, besides the old centers of Islamic civilization, new cultural and scientific centers emerged such as in Bursa, Edirne, Istanbul, Skopje and Sarajevo. The Ottoman culture and science that developed during this period constituted the cultural identity and scientific heritage of the present-day Turkey and as well as for many of the Middle Eastern, North African and Balkan countries.

In the classical period, the *medrese* (in Arabic *madrasa* “college”) was the source of education and science and the most important institution of learning in the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman medreses continued their activity from the time

[1] For the history of Ottoman science in general see E. İhsanoğlu, "Osmanlı Eğitim ve Bilim Müesseseleri" (Ottoman educational and scientific institutions), 223-361, in Osmanlı Devleti ve Medeniyeti Tarihi (The history of the Ottoman state and civilization), vol. 2 (Istanbul, 1998); for the Arabic of the same chapter see E. İhsanoğlu, "el-Müessesât el-Ta'lîmiyye ve'l-İlmiyye inde'l-Osmâniyyîn", 441-598, in *el Devlet el-Osmâniyye Tarih ve Hadara*, vol. 2 (Istanbul, 1999) (the English version of this book is being printed); and A. Adnan Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim* (Science in the Ottoman Turks), (Istanbul, 1982); for a general summary see E. İhsanoğlu, "Osmanlı Bilimi" (Ottoman science), 21-38, in *Büyük Cihad'dan Frenk Fodulluğuna* (From the great holy war to the European presumptuousness), (Istanbul, 1996; for the English of the same chapter see "Ottoman Science", in *Encyclopaedia of the History of Science, Technology and Medicine in Non-Western Cultures*, ed. Helaine Selin (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1997), 799-805.

of the foundation of the State until approximately the turn of the twentieth century. The basic structure of the medreses remained the same within the framework of the Islamic tradition, but in terms of organization they underwent several changes during the Ottoman period. Starting with the first medrese, established in 1331 in Iznik (Nicaea), all medreses had *waqfs* (charitable foundations) supporting their activities.

Besides the *ulemā* (scholars who were medrese graduates) that provided religious, scientific and educational services, the medreses also trained the personnel for administrative and bureaucratic posts and the courts. Those ulema who were members of the *ilmiye* (Muslim learned, cultural, and religious institution) also played an important role in every aspect of the social and official life. With the reign of Mehmed II (Fatih, known as the Conqueror, 1451-1481), the number of medreses increased considerably and they were graded to differentiate them from each other.

Shortly after Mehmed II conquered Istanbul in 1453, he built the Fatih *Külliye* (complex) which comprised a mosque at the center with other units located around it, also colleges, one hospital, one *mektep* (primary school), one public kitchen. It set an example for similar institutions that were built by the succeeding sultans and high-ranking members of the ruling class. The structure of an integrated campus was represented by the *Sahn-ı Semān Medreses* (Eight Court Colleges) of the Fatih Complex that comprised sixteen adjacent medreses. Owing to the political stability and economic prosperity of the Conqueror's period, distinguished scholars and artists of the Islamic world assembled in the capital of the Empire. The Ottomans especially protected the Muslim and Jewish scientists fleeing from the persecution that followed the fall of Granada in 1492 and provided them with shelter in the Ottoman lands. Moreover, as the waqfs which were the financial sources of medreses grew rich, scientific and educational life developed further. Following the establishment of the eight court medreses by Mehmed II, the rational sciences comprising mathematics and astronomy, were included in the formal educational system.

The medrese graduates served as teachers, *qādīs*, *kazaskers* (chief judges) and chief *muftis*. Several physicians were trained and many patients were treated in the *daruşşifa* (hospital) of Fatih Complex which was active until the middle of nineteenth century. The Fatih Complex provided services to the society in the fields of religion, education, science and health, as well as offering food to the needy in its public kitchens. As of the second half of nineteenth century, the Fatih Complex gradually became ineffective, its various units, namely the hospital, *tābhāne* (hospice), *muvakkithāne* (office of the timekeeper), caravanserai and the primary school stopped operating. Finally, after all the medreses were discontinued in the Republican Period in 1924, its colleges, too, were closed down. The mosque,

however, continues its principal function from the time of its establishment until the present day.

The establishment of the Süleymaniye Külliye by Süleyman the Magnifīcent (1520-1566) in the sixteenth century marked the final stage in the development of the medrese system where, besides the conventional medreses, a specialized (Medical College) *Dārüttıb* was founded. Thus, for the first time in Ottoman history, in addition to the *şifahānes* (hospitals), an independent institution was established to provide medical education. The other specialized medreses established by the Ottomans were the *Dārülhadīs* and the *Dārülkurrā. Dārülhadīs* held the highest grade in the medrese hierarchy.

In addition to the medreses, there were institutions where medical sciences and astronomy were practiced and taught by the master-apprentice method. These were the şifahānes, the muvakkithānes and the office of the *müneccimbaşı* (chief astronomer of the sultan).

The institutions which provided health services and medical education were called *dārüşşifa, şifahāne* or *bīmāristan.* The Seljukids had built *dārüşşifas* in the cities of Konya, Sivas, and Kayseri. Similarly, the Ottomans built several dārüşşifas in cities such as Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul. Some Western sources mention that in Istanbul they were numerous in number in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which is an indication of the importance attributed to them. The Ottomans constructed the hospitals on which they placed great importance as a unit of the külliye (complex of buildings attached to a mosque) to provide for their continuity, rather than as independent buildings. The Fatih Hospital founded by Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror in 1470, the Bayezid Hospital founded in Edirne in 1481 with an order from Sultan Bayezid II, the Sülemaniye Hospital established in 1550, the Haseki Hospital (1550) founded in the same period and the Hafsa Sultan Hospital (1522-1523) established in Manisa by Hafsa Sultan, the wife of Sultan Selim I, are some of these types of important structures. These hospitals, besides treating patients, also had an important place in the education of doctors and continued their activities until the opening of modern hospitals around the middle of the nineteenth century. '

The timekeeping houses are another of the Ottoman institutions related to science. They were constructed in the courtyard of some mosques in the cities and towns as a component of the *külliye*s, especially after the conquering of Istanbul. They maintained their activities with the revenues of the charitable foundations of the *külliye*. The muvakkit (timekeeper) was responsible for determining prayer times. They used instruments such as the quadrant, astrolabe, sextant, octant, sundials and mechanical clocks with chronometers. The timekeeping houses, besides teaching the knowledge of timekeeping, have also been institutions where mathematics and astronomy were taught.

In addition to the institutions mentioned above which were supported by their own special charitable foundations, there were two other state institutions. One was the office of chief physician and other was office of the chief astronomer. The chief physician and chief astronomer were selected from among the ulema class of scholars who were well educated.

The chief physician provided health services for the sultan and his family and the members of the palace; they were also responsible for all the institutions related to health and for the doctors, pharmacists, surgeons and ophthalmologists in the Empire. A total of forty-two persons have been appointed to this position, some of them more than once, until the termination of office of the chief physician in 1844.

The office of the chief astronomer was established towards the end of the fifteenth century. The chief astronomer's most important duty was the preparation of calendars. Until the year 1800, calendars were based on Ulug Bey's Astronomical Tables and henceforth according to Cassini's Astronomical Tables. Astronomers were responsible for determining the beginning of fasting times *[imsakiye]* before the month of Ramadan and preparing horoscopes *[zayije]* and astronomical tables *(Zics)*. Astronomers and occasionally their assistants would be responsible for determining propitious times such as dates of accession to the throne and declaration of war and launching of ships, and for special occasions such as births, weddings and circumcisions.

The astronomer would interpret horoscopes of the sultan and his family, and statesmen, and when his interpretations came true, gifts would be bestowed upon him. Astronomers would also follow important astronomical events such as comets, earthquakes, fires and eclipses of the sun and the moon and other extraordinary events and would submit their interpretations to the palace. They were also responsible for the management of timekeeping houses. The famous observatory founded in Istanbul during the reign of Murad III (1574-1595) was under the management of Chief Astronomer Takiyeddin el-Rasid (d. 1585). A total of thirty-seven scholars undertook the position of chief astronomer up until the end of the Ottoman Empire. This institution was abolished in 1924 after the proclamation of the Republic and in its place the *bashmuvakkitlik* (office of the chief timekeeper) was established in 1927

In addition to the scientific activities that centered around the madrasas, other active and dynamic scholarly environments were developed around the above-mentioned institutions, such as the Suleymaniye Medical Madrasa", "office of the chief physician and the chief astronomer, and timekeeping houses. Many works produced in the classical period were prepared within the milieu of these institutions.[2]

[2] For general information see E. İhsanoğlu, "Osmanlı Eğitim ve Bilim Müesseseleri", 254-270; for the institution of the Chief Physician see Ali Haydar Bayat, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Hekimbaşılk*

Establishment of the Istanbul observatory

Takiyeddin el-Rasid, was born in Damascus and educated in Syria and Egypt. He came from Egypt to Istanbul in 1570 and was appointed as the chief astronomer by Sultan Selim II. Takiyeddin started the construction of an observatory in Istanbul with the order of Murad III, who had ascended the throne in 1574. The observatory was designed to provide for the needs of the astronomers and included a library and lodgings. This institution was conceived as one of the largest observatories in Islam and completed in 1579. It was comparable to Tycho Brahe's Uranienborg observatory built in 1576. There is a striking similarity between the instruments of Tycho Brahe and those of Takiyeddin. In his astronomical tables called *Sidratu Muntehe'l Efkar* (The Lotus Tree of the Extremity of Thoughts) Takiyeddin states that he started activities on astronomy in Istanbul with fifteen assistants in 1573. The observatory continued to function until 22 January 1580, the date of its destruction.[3]

Takiyeddin, who developed a new method for the calculation of the solar parameters with his studies at the Istanbul Observatory, used the planet Venus and the two stars named Aldebaran and Spica Virginis for the determination of the longitudes and latitudes of fixed stars. He determined the ecliptic degree as 23° 28' 40", which is very close to the current value of 23" 27'. He used a new method in calculating solar parameters as well as determining the magnitude of the annual movement of the sun's apogee as 63 seconds. Considering that today's known value is 61 seconds, the method he used appears to have been more precise than that of Copernicus (24 seconds) and Tycho Brahe (45 seconds).

The Western world used chords for the measurement of angles beginning with Ptolemy from the second century AD up until Copernicus in the sixteenth century. Consequently, the calculation of a 1° chord was one of the important problems of the astronomers. Copernicus used a method based on the calculation of a 2° chord that yielded an approximate value, whereas, Takiyeddin did not use chords in the measurement of angles. Instead, he used the trigonometric functions such as sine, cosine, tangent and cotangent in conformity with the tradition of Islamic astronomy. He developed a different method to calculate the sine of 1° as inspired

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Kurumu ve Hekimbaşılar (The institution of chief physician in the Ottoman state and the chief physicians), (Ankara, 1999); for the institution of Chief Astronomer see Salim Aydüz, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Müneccimbaşılık ve Müneccimbaşılar* (The institution of chief astrologer in the Ottoman state and the chief astrologers), (Master's thesis, Istanbul University, Faculty of Literature, 1993); for Hospitals see E. Ihsanoğlu, "Osmanlı Eğitim ve Bilim Müesseseleri", 259-263; for Muvakkithanes see Süheyl Ünver, "Osmanlı Türkleri İlim Tarihinde Muvakkithâneler" (Muvakkithanes in history of science of the Ottoman Turks), 217-257, in *Atatürk Konferanslan,* V, offprint from 1971-1972 (Ankara, 1971).

[3] For Observatory see Aydın Sayılı, *The Observatory in Islâm and its Place in the General History of the Observatory* (Ankara, 1960); İsmet Miroğlu, "İstanbul Rasathânesi'ne Ait Belgeler" (Documents related to the İstanbul observatory), *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 3 (October 1972): 75-82.

by Uluğ Bey. Rather than using the number system based on the sexagesimal base for the calculations and precision of his astronomical observations, he applied the decimal fractions to trigonometry and astronomy that were previously developed by the Islamic mathematicians such as el-Öklidisi and Giyaseddin Jamshid el-Kashi (d. 1429) and prepared sine and tangent tables in his work called *Ceridetu'd Durer ve Kharidetu'l Fiker.*

Takiyeddin invented new instruments that were added to the array of those already in use for observation purposes in the Islamic world. The following were among the instruments he used: 1} an armillary sphere known to be invented by Ptolemy; 2) a mural quadrant; 3) an azimuthally quadrant 4) a parallel ruler; 5) a ruler-quadrant or wooden quadrant; 6) an instrument with two holes for the measurement of apparent diameters and eclipses; 7) an instrument with chords to determine the equinoxes, invented by Takiyeddin to replace the equinoctial armillary, 8) *Muşabbaha bi'l-menatık,* another of his inventions, the nature and function of which is not clearly explained; 9) a mechanical clock with a train of cogwheels 10) a *sunaydi* ruler, apparently a special type of instrument of an auxiliary nature, the function of which was explained by Alaeddin el-Mansur. Takiyeddin used a mechanical clock of his own make, as well as a wooden wall dial that he set up in the observatory. He described the clock as: "we built a mechanical clock with a dial showing the hours, minutes and seconds and we divided every minute into five seconds." This was a more precise clock than those previously used and considered to be one of the significant inventions in the field of applied astronomy developed during the sixteenth century.[4]

Takiyeddin prepared a solar astronomical table called *Sidratu Muntehe'i Efkar ft Melekuti'l Feleki'd-Dewar* or *Zic-i Şehinşahî* based on his observations at the Observatory and dedicated it to Sultan Murad III. His other book *Ceridetu'd Durer ve Haridetu'l Fiker* contains the lunar tables.

He examined the writings of the ancient astronomers and added a critique of his previous works on astronomy to the new elements he developed. Undoubtedly his studies formed the apogee of Ottoman science while his activities after the foundation of the Istanbul Observatory provided the most advanced development in the tradition of Islamic astronomy. The destruction of the observatory as a result of the competition and jealousy among the statesmen under religious pretexts was considered to be the beginning of the halting of the tradition of the classical Ottoman science.[5]

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[4] See Aydın Sayılı, *The Observatory in Islam and its Place in the General History of the Observatory*, (Ankara, 1960), 300.

[5] For an evaluation of Takiyeddin's works see Sevim Tekeli, "Nasirüddin, Takiyeddin ve Tycho Brahe'nin Rasad Aletlerinin Mukayesesi" (A comparison of the instruments of observation of Nasirüddin, Takiyeddin and Tycho Brahe), *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 21:3-4 (1958), 301-393; Sevim Tekeli, *16'ıncı Asırda Osmandılar'da Saat ve Takıyüddin'in,*

The Ottoman Scientific Literature of the Classical Period

Scientific literature of the classical period is composed of a significant number of original studies and translated works, the great majority of which were textbooks written mainly in the fields of astronomy, mathematics and medicine. Only a few of the works have been studied today, which were written in the three languages known as *elsine-i selase*, that is, Arabic, Turkish and a small number in Persian, which were generally well known by the Ottoman scholars.[6]

Initially, the works of Ottoman scientific and educational literature were generally written in Arabic which was the basic language of Islamic civilization. Furthermore, as of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, works written in Arabic and Persian were translated into Turkish, thus a translation movement was started. This movement spread with enthusiasm by the formation of a wider group of readers who found the opportunity to read the translated works and also with the support of the administrators of the period who did not know Arabic very well. Translations were made in simple and easily understandable Turkish in every field of Islamic sciences (medicine, astronomy, pharmacy, geography, encyclopedic books, dictionaries, interpretation of dreams and music) and were instrumental in the spread of Islamic culture among the people. Original Turkish works were also written. Starting from the beginning of the eighteenth century and specifically after the printing of the first book at the Müteferrika Printing House in 1729, the majority of the scientific books were prepared in Turkish. Ottoman Turkish became the basic language frequently used in the transfer of modern sciences both to the students of new institutions of learning and to the public.

'Mekanik Saat Konstrüksiyonuna Dair En Parlak Yıldızlar" Adlı Eseri (Clocks in the Ottomans in the sixteenth century and Takiyeddin's work called "The brightest stars concerning the construction of mechanical clocks"), (text in Turkish-English-Arabic), (Ankara, 1966); Sevim Tekeli, "Takiyeddin'de Güneş Parametrelerinin Hesabı" (Calculation of the solar parameters by Takiyeddin), 703-706, in *Necati Lugal Armağanı,* (Ankara, 1968); Sevim Tekeli, "Onaltıncı Yüzyıl Trigonometri Çalişmaları Üzerine Bir Araştırma: Copernicus ve Takiyeddin" (A research on the sixteenth century trigonometry studies: Copernicus and Takiyeddin), *Erdem,* 2:4 (1986): 219-272; Sevim Tekeli, "Taqi al-Din", 934-935, in *Encyclopaedia of the History of Science Technology and Medicine in Non-Western Cultures*, ed. Helaine Selin (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1997); and Remzi Demir, *Takiyeddin'in Ceridet el Dürer ve Haridet el Fiker Adh Eser ve Onun Ondalik Kesirleri Astronomi ve Trigonometriye Uygulaması,* (Takiyeddin's work called Ceridet el Dürer ve Haridet el Fiker and his application of decimal fractions in astronomy and trigonometry) (Ph.D. diss., Ankara University, Faculty of Language, History and Geography, 1992).

[6] For a general description of Ottoman scientific literature see E. İhsanoğlu, "Osmanli Bilimi Literatürü" (Ottoman scientific literature), 363-444, in *Osmanlı Devleti ve Medeniyeti Tarihi* (The history of the Ottoman state and civilization), vol. 2 (Istanbul, 1998); for the Arabic of the same chapter see E. İhsanoğlu, "Edebiyât el-Ulûm mde'1-Osmâniyyîn", 601- 689, in el *Devlet el-Osmâniyye Târih ve Hadara,* vol. 2 (Istanbul, 1999) (the English version of this book is in print); for a general summary of this subject see "Ottoman Science in the Classical Period and Early Contacts with European Science and Technology", 1-48, in *Transfer of Modern Science and Technology to the Muslim World,* (Istanbul, 1992).

To get an overview of the scholarly life in the Ottoman Empire until the time of Suleyman I, an analytical study of the biographical dictionary of Taşköprülü-zade İsameddin Ahmed b. Mustafa (1495-1561) titled *Şakayiku'n-Numaniye fî Ulemai'd-Devlet'l-Osmaniye* is made, dealing with Ottoman scholars and Sufis who lived during the reigns of the first ten Ottoman sultans. Accordingly, in that period the proportional distribution of works authored by Ottoman scholars is as follows: 25.7% rational sciences, 25.7% history-literature-ethics, 22.8% exegesis, 14.2% jurisprudence, 8.5% Sufism, 2.8% creed. As for commentaries and translations written by Ottoman scholars on works authored in pre-Ottoman times, the distribution is as follows: 26.6% jurisprudence, 20.8% rational sciences, 15.8% theology, 13.5% history-literature-ethics, 9.5% creed, 8.5°/o exegesis, 2.7% Sufism and 2.2% hadith.[7] These figures correspond to the first 250 years of Ottoman cultural and scholarly life and display clearly the areas of concentration. Taşköprülü-zade who gave information on jurisprudence, hadith, theology, literature and history produced 20 works.

Kadizade-i Rumi (d. ca. 1432) of Bursa, one of the famous Ottoman scholars, made numerous contributions to the development of Ottoman scientific tradition and literature. Kadizade, who wrote his first work in Anatolia where he started his scientific career, later moved to Samarkand. Among his works, the commentary titled *Şerhu Mulahhas fi'l Hey'e* (Commentary on the 'Compendium on Astronomy') which he wrote on the astronomy book of Çağminî *el Mulahhas fi'l Hey'e* (Compendium on Astronomy) and his book named *Şerhu Eşkalu't-Te'sis,* a commentary on Semerkandî's *Eşkalu't-Te'sis* on the subject of geometry are among his well-known works. Kadizade was appointed as head of the Samarkand Observatory and Madrasa which was founded by Uluğ Bey (d. 1449). He contributed to the preparation of the famous Uluğ *Bey Zici (Zîc-i Gurganî)* (Astronomical tables of Ulug Bey) which is in Persian. Another of his famous books on mathematics is the treatise called *Risaie fi Istihraci Ceybi Derece vahide bî Amâlin Müessetin alâ Kavâidin Hisabiye ve Hendesiye alâ Tarikati Giyaseddin el-Kaşî.* As will be understood from the title, this treatise is an explanation about the algebraic method developed for the calculation of the sine of a one-degree arc by Jamshid el Kashî. Scholars such as Ali Kuşçu (d. 1474) and Fetullah Şirvanî (d. 1486), who were trained by Kadizade in Samarkand, came to the Ottoman lands from Turkestan and made significant contributions to the development of Ottoman science.

It is understood that the works of Kadizade of Bursa called *Şerhu Mulahhas fi'l Hey'e* (Commentary on the 'Compendium on Astronomy') and *Şerhu Eşkalu't-*

[7] M. Hulûsi Lekesiz, "*Osmanli İlmi Zihniyetinde Değişme (Teşekkül-Gelişme-Çözülme: XV-XVII. Yüzyıllar)*", (Changes in the Ottoman scientific mentality {formation-development-disintegration: XVth-XVIIth centuries}), (Master's thesis, Hacettepe Univ. Faculty of History, 1989).

Te'sis were basic textbooks for the students who wanted to study these two sciences at the Ottoman madrasas. More than three hundred copies of the first work and about two hundred of the second survived until the present day. When the colophons of the copies of both of these works are examined, it is understood that they were not taught only in the Ottoman world, but also in the madrasas of other Islamic countries outside the administration of the Ottoman State such as Iran, Central Asia, India and Morocco. The colophons of these copies extending from the fifteenth century up until the twentieth century indicate that they were the basic textbooks used for almost five centuries in the Ottoman and generally in the Islamic world.[8]

In the introduction of his work titled *Şerhu Eşkalu't-Te'sis,* Kadizade-i Rumi (d. after 1440) states that "philosophers who ponder over the creation and secrets of the universe, jurists *(fakihs)* who give legal opinions *(fetvas)* on religious matters, officials who carry out state affairs and *(kadis) judges* who deal with legal matters should know geometry" He indicates the need for mathematical and natural sciences in philosophical, worldly and spiritual matters. This scientific understanding expressed by Kadizade-i Rumi constitutes the basic thinking of Ottoman scholars and reflects the character of classical Ottoman science until the modernization period. Ottoman scholars of the modern period were not familiar with the European concept of science and technology that was centered on the idea of "taking nature under the control of human beings by means of science and technology".

Among other books of astronomy in this period, the works of Abdulvahab b. Cemaleddin b. Yusuf el Mardanî called *Urcuze fi Menazili'l Kamer ve'l Tuluiha* (Poem on the Mansions of the Moon and their Rising) and *Mazume ft Silk el Nücum* (Poem on the Orbits of the Stars) written in Arabic should be mentioned. Furthermore, there are two works called *Risale Muhtasara fi'l Takvim* (Brief Treatise on the Calendar) and *Si Fasl fi'l Takvim* (Thirty Sections on the Calendar) written in Persian by Nasireddin Tusî, founder of the Maragha school of astronomy. Probably the first title and definitely the second one was translated from Persian to Turkish by Ahmed-i Daî (d. 1421). He stated that the translations were made for the beginners who wanted to study this science. This and other conjectures similar to these show that the Turkish language was used, though gradually, as a language of education and science in Anatolia and at the same time in the Ottoman territories.

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[8] For Kadızâde's work called *Şerhu'l Mülahhas fi'l Hay'a* (Commentary on the Compendium on Astronomy), the existing copies and studies on this work see E. İhsanoğlu, Ramazan Şeşen, et al., TOsmanlı Astronomi Literatürü Tarihi (The history of Ottoman astronomy literature), vol. l, (Istanbul, 1997), 8-21; for Kadızâde's work called *Şerhü'l Eşkâlü't-Te'sîs* see E. İhsanoğlu, Ramazan Şeşen and Cevat İzgi, *Osmanlı Matematik Literatürü Tarihi* (The history of Ottoman mathematics literature), vol. l, (Istanbul, 1999), 6-18.

In addition to Samarkand, Egypt also constituted another source for Ottoman science in the period of the formation of scientific literature. Hacı Pasha (Celaleddin Hızır) (d. 1417), famous Ottoman physician who was educated in Egypt, wrote a medical book in Turkish called *Kitabu'l Teshil f!'t-Tip* (Book Facilitating the Learning of Medicine) and two works in Arabic called *Şifa el Askam* ve *Deva el Alam* (Treatment of Illnesses and Cure for Pains) and *Kitab el Talim fl't-Tibb* (Book on the Teaching of Medicine). Hacı Pasha, in addition to his numerous works in Turkish and Arabic, made significant contributions to the development of Ottoman medical sciences with these two books.

The works written by Şerefeddin Sabuncuoğlu (d. ca. 1468) on the subject of medicine have an important place in the development of Ottoman medical literature. His first Turkish work on surgery called *Cerahiyyetü'l Haniyye* (Treatise on Surgery of the Sultans) is composed of the translation of the section on surgery from the general medical book named *el-Tasrif* by Ebu'l Kasim Zahrawî (d. 1013), the famous Andalusian physician and surgeon, and three sections which he wrote himself. In the translation, surgical instruments were depicted in miniatures as in the original work. The work, in addition to the classical Islamic medical knowledge, reflects the influences of Turkish-Mongolian and Far Eastern medicine as well as the author's own experiences. The influence of Sabuncuoğlu was observed outside the Ottoman borders and specifically in Safavid Iran, in particular through his student Giyas b. Muhammed İsfahanî. The most important characteristics of this work that attained a great fame in world medical history is that surgical operations are depicted in miniature paintings. [9]

Mehmed II, who took Muslim scholars under his patronage, was also interested in ancient Greek culture and the newly developing culture in the West. He instructed Georgios Amirutzes, a Greek scholar from Trabzon and his son to translate Ptolemy's geography book into Arabic and to draw the world map. The Sultan's interest in European culture began in Manisa where he resided as a prince. In 1445 he took lessons on Roman and European history from Italian humanist Ciriaco d'Ancona and other Italian scholars; had his portrait painted by Gentile Bellini and the walls of the palace decorated with frescoes in the Renaissance style. Greek Patriarch Gennadious wrote the *İtikadname* for him, describing the Christian belief. Both Francesco Berlinghieri and Roberto Valturio wanted to present their works to the Sultan titled respectively *Geogrophia* and *De re Militari* (Verona, 1492) (a copy of this work is in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library). G. Stefano Emiliano, one of the humanists in his court, wrote an elegy when Mehmed II died. [10]

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[9] İlter Uzel, *Şerefeddin Sabuncuoğlu Cerrâhiyyetü'l Hâniyye* (treatise on surgery of the sultans), 2 vols. (Ankara, 1992).

[10] Halil İnalcık, "Mehmed II" *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 7, 535.

Examples of his patronage of Muslim scholars are seen in the encouragement given to Hoca-zade and Alaeddin el-Tusî in writing works in their own fields of expertise and in his instructions asking them to make comparisons between Gazali's *Tehafut el-Falasife* (Criticism of the Philosophers), a work criticizing the views expressed on metaphysical events by philosophers who were members of the Aristotelian tradition, and the book *Tehafutd-Tehafut* (The Criticism of the Criticism) written by Ibn Rushd as a response to Gazali's work.

Undoubtedly, the most noteworthy scholar of the Mehmed II period is Muhammed b. Ali, the representative of Samarkand tradition, who is better known by the name of Ali Kuşçu. He wrote twelve books on the subjects of astronomy and mathematics. One of these is the commentary in Persian on the Uluğ Bey Zîç (The Astronomical Tables of Ulug Bey). The *Risale fi'l Hey'e* (Treatise on Astronomy) written in Persian and the *Risale ft'l Hisab* (Treatise on Arithmetic) on the subject of arithmetic can be mentioned among his other important works. He rewrote these works with some additions in Arabic under the names of *el Fethiye* and *el Muhammediye,* in honor of Mehmed II, which were used as textbooks for many years at the Ottoman madrasas.

Another noteworthy personality was Molla Lütfü, one of the scholars who lived during the reign of Sultan Bayezid II (1481-1512). He wrote a treatise in Arabic called *Mevzuatu'l Ulum* (Subjects of the Sciences) on the subject of the classification of sciences and a work called *Tadif al-Mazbah* (Duplication of the Cube) which was partly translated from Greek on the subject of the Delos problem in geometry.

Another famous astronomer and mathematician of the same period is Mirim Celebi (d. 1525), grandson of both Kadızade (from his son) and Ali Kuşçu (from his daughter). He made great contributions to the development of Ottoman scientific tradition in the fields of astronomy and mathematics with the commentary he wrote on the *Zic-i Uluğ Bey* and his treatises on astronomy.

The Muslim and Jewish scholars who came from Andalusia made another interesting contribution that was discovered recently in the Ottoman scientific literature. Iliya b. Abraham of Andalusia, who came to Istanbul during the reign of Bayezid II, is one of these scholars. This scholar, who took the name of Abdüsselam el Muhtedî el-Muhammedi after he converted to Islam, wrote books on astronomy and medicine in Arabic. In his book originally written in Hebrew, which he translated into Arabic in 1503 and dedicated to Bayezid II, he mentions an instrument of astronomy of his own invention which he called *ei-Dabid* that is larger than the *Zatu'l halak* (armillary sphere) made by Ptolemy. This book reveals an aspect of the Ottoman scientific literature that is still not very

well known.[11] There were also quite noteworthy developments in the scientific literature during the reign of Süleyman I. We encounter two significant works in Turkish in this period written by Matrakçı Nasuh called *Cemâlü'l Küttâb ve Kemâlü'l Hussâb* (Grace of Scribes and Accuracy of Accountants) and *Umdetü'l Hisab*(Treatise on Arithmetic). Furthermore, Taşköprülü-zade İsameddin Ebu'l-Hayr Ahmed b. Mustafa (1495 Bursa - 1561 Istanbul), who wrote works on the subject of the classification of sciences in the Ottomans during the classical period, was at the same time one of the most important biographers of the period who gave information on the cultural and scientific life of the Ottomans. He produced twenty works on the subjects of Islamic jurisprudence, hadith, theology, literature and history. Besides this work, Taşköprülü-zade has a book of the classification of sciences called *Miftah el Saade ve Misbah el Siyade* (The Key to Happiness and the Light of Supremacy) or briefly and widely known as the *Mevzu'ât el Ulûm* (Subjects of the Sciences) and another book of biographies called *Nevadir el Ahbar fî Menakib el-Ahyar* (The Rarity of News on the Legends of the Good and Virtuous).

The classical scientific tradition that produced its finest works in the most magnificent period of the Empire was set forth in the scientific and educational institutions that are briefly mentioned above and in the scholarly circles established and developed around these institutions. This tradition, preserved its continuity during the second phase of Ottoman science i.e., during the stage where translations and transfers were made from European languages and was able to survive with some of its basic elements until the second half of the nineteenth century.

First contacts with the European "science", transfers and translations

The fact that the Ottoman Empire was also a European country and had common borders with the Western European countries, had been influential in making the Ottomans the first country outside the Western world where Western science and technology was spread and provided the Ottomans with an awareness of the new explorations and inventions appearing in Europe. This relationship, which was formed within a selective process of transfer, characterizes the nature of the Ottomans' attitude vis a vis the Western science and technology and their attitudes towards these innovations developing in Europe. The adoption of these innovations by the Ottomans differed from those of the Russians, Chinese and Japanese. Also, it does not conform to the theories of

[11] For the scholars who came from Andalusia and their contributions see E. İhsanoğlu, "Endülüs Menşe'li bazı Bilim Adamlamun Osmanlı Bilimine Katkıları" (The contributions to Ottoman science of some scholars of Andalusian origin), 85-137, in *Büyük Cihad'dan Frenk Fodulluğuna* (From the great holy war to the European presumptuousness), (Istanbul, 1996).

"central-peripheral" and "exploiter-exploited" interpretation of the spreading of Western science outside its cultural environment.[12] The attitudes of the Ottomans towards Western science and technology are interpreted as, "the selective attitude adopted by a powerful empire in response to the developments outside its own sphere and area of influence". Ottomans started to transfer European technology, especially in the fields of firearms, cartography and mining as of the fifteenth century. Furthermore, the Ottomans obtained the opportunity to become acquainted with the Renaissance astronomy and medicine through Jewish scholars who took refuge in the Ottoman Empire. In spite of this, they considered themselves to be superior to the Europeans, both spiritually and culturally, in addition to their military power. Furthermore, their sufficiency from the aspect of both the educational system and economy was the reason for their being selective in the transfer of science. Thus, it is obvious that the Ottomans, in their periods of progress, did not feel the need to follow the intellectual and scientific activities such as the "Renaissance" and the "Scientific Revolution" emerging in the West. The interpretations of some of the modern historians in the direction that the Ottomans did not understand that such developments would constitute a danger for them in the future are anachronistic. Ottomans, along with the other societies which had their own civilizations, became aware of the unsurpassable advancement of the Europeans in science and technology with the effects of the Industrial Revolution. The military striking power of the Europeans that appeared as the result of the "Industrial Revolution" and which grew to an extent not comparable with the past, their speed in reaching every corner of the world on land and sea thanks to the steam engine; filling the world markets with goods unrivaled until then through new industrial production technology, established the crushing superiority of the Europeans.

The continuously expanding borders of the Ottomans during their first centuries, their seizing control of the Mediterranean, the naval campaigns in the Red Sea, Black Sea and the Indian Ocean caused them to have a need for new geographical knowledge. The works of classical Islamic geography and the contemporary literature in Europe became a source on this subject. Furthermore, Ottoman geographers also produced original works which included their own observations.

Ottoman cartography produced its greatest works with the activities of Piri

[12] For the critique from the aspect of the Ottoman world of theories claimed related to the spreading of the Western science outside of Europe by G. Bassala and L. Pyenson, see E. İhsanoğlu, "Ottomans and European Science," 37-48, T*he proceedings of the International Colloquium `Science and Empire`*, eds. P. Petitjean, C. Jami, and A.M. Moulin (Dortechht, Boston, London, 1992); for anather printing of the same article *Scientific Aspects of European Expansion*, ed. William K. Storey (Hamshire, 1996), 315-326.

Reis in the sixteenth century. The part of the map we have today that was drawn by Piri Reis in 1513 is a part of a large scale world map and it was presented to Selim I in Cairo in 1517. He based it on Christopher Columbus' map of America and different European and Islamic maps, as well as on his own experiences. This map includes information about the coastlines of Southwestern Europe, Northwestern Africa, Southeastern and Central America in the new world. This is a portolano type of map which does not have longitude and latitude lines, but incorporates the coasts and islands. Piri Reis presented his second map to Süleyman I in 1528. This map, of which only a small part has survived until the present, includes the North Atlantic Ocean and the newly explored places in Northern and Central America. Piri Reis wrote a geography book by the name of *Kitab-i Bahriye* which he presented to Süleyman I in 1525. This important book that he prepared by making use of Eastern and Western sources includes the maps and drawings of the cities in the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas and gives extensive information on navigation and marine astronomy based on his own observations.

Seydi Ali Reis (d. 1562), an admiral, is one of the outstanding persons on the subject of marine geography who wrote a very valuable work in Turkish called *el-Muhit* (The Ocean) containing astronomical and geographical information which is necessary for long sea voyages and his own observations on the Indian Ocean. On the other hand, Matrakçı Nasuh's work called *Beyan-ı Menazil-i Sefer-i Irakeyn* (Description of the Stopping Places on the Campaign to the Two Iraqs) written in Turkish is one of the best examples of descriptive geography.

The work titled *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî* (History of the West Indies) (probably written by Muhammed b. Emir el-Suudî el-Niksarî [d. 1591] in the sixteenth century) is another study that mentions America and geographical discoveries. This work, based on sources written in Spanish and Italian, was presented to Sultan Murad III in 1573. It is composed of three sections, but the real weight, consisting of two-thirds of the book, is in the third section where exploits of Columbus, Magellan, Cortez and Pizarro over a period of sixty years and Columbus' discovery of America in 1492 to 1552 are related.

Katip Çelebi (d. 1657) translated the work of Mercator and A. S. Hondio called *Atlas Minor* with the name of *Levamiü'n- Nur fi Zulmeti Atlas Minor* (Flashes of Light on the Darkness of Atlas Minor) in the seventeenth century. His work titled *Cihannüma,* which he wrote by making use of the Western and Eastern sources, is a valuable work from the aspect of Ottoman geography and cultural history. Katip Çelebi enriched the Ottoman and Islamic culture and. was a great influence on the Ottoman scholars with his works in the field of bibliography and biography and his translations of some works of history by

European authors to Turkish, as well as *Cihannüma.* The Ottoman science of geography, which started in an earnest manner with Piri Reis, developed with *Cihannüma* and this movement continued without interruption until the nineteenth century.

The number of scientific works translated from European sources increased throughout the seventeenth century. It is observed that the gradual entry of the new scientific concepts into the Ottoman world of science started with these translations. The first work that was translated from European languages on the subject of astronomy is an astronomical table by French astronomer Noel Duret (d. ca. 1650) called *Nouvelle Théorie des Planetes* which was printed in Paris in 1635. Ottoman astronomer Tezkereci Köse İbrahim Efendi of Szigetvar translated this work in 1660 with the name of *Secenceli'l Eflak fî Gayeti't İdrak* (Miror of Revolving Spheres of Heaven on the Limits of Perception). This translation is at the same time the first book in Ottoman literature mentioning Copernicus and his heliocentric system of the universe. The first reaction to this book was given by Mehmed Efendi, the chief astronomer of the period, who said, "Such presumptuousness is abundant among the Europeans". However, after learning how to use it from the translator and after comparing it with the *Uluğ Bey Ziç* (The Astronomical Tables of Uluğ Bey), he appreciated the value of the work and awarded the translator. The initial reaction of the chief astronomer is a typical example of the cautious approach of the Ottomans who were sure of their own scientific tradition and acquisitions and did not immediately accept the scientific superiority of the West.

The matter of the sun being the center of the universe and the earth being in motions, which were the basic components of the perception of the new astronomy of Copernicus that created major disputes in Europe, were considered as a technical detail by the classical Ottoman astronomers and were not made a subject of polemics. Among the reasons is the fact that Ottoman astronomers did not know of any religious dogma which was opposed to it. The majority of the works on astronomy translated from European languages was composed of astronomical tables until the beginning of modern astronomy at the new educational institutions that were established in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century and acquired a sound identity.

The most important work on modern geography -besides Katip Çelebi's C*hannüma*- among those that were translated after the second half of the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century is titled *Nusretü'l İslam ve's-Sürur fî Tahrir-i Atlas Mayor* (The Victory of Islam and Joy on the Redaction of Atlas Major) by Ebu Bekr b. Behram el-Dimaşkî (d. 1691). It is a nine volume work translated in a free style from the eleven volume work by Janszoon Blaeu in Latin which is known briefly as *Atlas Major.*

İbrahim Müteferrika (d. 1745), founder of the first Muslim printing house, attracted much interest with his edition of the *Cihannüma* printed in 1732 with the addition of appendices. Retranslated the work titled *Atlas Coalestis* (first printing 1708) by Andreas Cellarius upon the request of Sultan Ahmed III, under the name of *Mecmuatü'l Hey'eti'l Kadime ve'l Cedîde* (Collections of Ancient and Modern Astronomy) in 1733. Osman b. Abdülmenan, the Ottoman translator in Belgrade, translated Bernhard Varenius' work in Latin with the name of *Tercüme-i Kitab-ı Coğrafya* (Translation of the Book of Geography) in 1751. Besides these translations, the works on classical Ottoman astronomy and geography and the related scientific activities, preserved their continuity within the framework of their own classical tradition. When the Ottoman scientific literature of this period is examined as a whole, it can be said that after the Ottoman scholars overcame their feelings of superiority, they readily accepted the new knowledge, concepts and techniques. Neither the administrators nor the ulema displayed any negative attitudes as seen in the example of the heliocentric system of the universe. There were no conflicts between religion and the Western science at this stage. We observe another characteristic of the Ottoman scientific literature in the eighteenth century - some examples of this characteristic are also encountered at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This is the inclusion of the old Turkish-Islamic tradition of science along with the modern scientific knowledge of European source in the compiled or translated works. An example of this can be seen in the works where the geocentric and heliocentric models of the universe are presented together. Similar situations are also encountered in the field of medicine.

As of the sixteenth century, the arrival of some doctors from Europe in the major Ottoman cities, mainly in Istanbul, and at the same time the spread of many infectious diseases of European origin, brought with it new methods of medical treatment, prevention and ideas. The new medical doctrines of Paracelsus (d- 1541) and his followers, the theories and applications of treatment with chemicals which became widespread in Holland in the seventeenth century, the new iatrochemistry appeared in the Ottoman medical literature with the names of "tibb-i cedid" (modern medicine) and "ttbb-i kimyevi" (chemical medicine). Salih b. Masrullah b. Sellüm (d. 1670), who was one of the most famous followers of these developments, in his work called *Nuzhetü'l Ebdan* (Pleasure of Bodies) quotes many European sources and the compositions *of* their medicines. Furthermore, he translated Paracelsus' work on iatrochemistry from Latin into Arabic. In the same manner, el-İznikî (d. eighteenth century} also prepared his work called *Kitab-t Künüz-i Hayat el İnsan Kavanin-i Etibba-i Feylesofan* (The book on the treasury of the life of humans and the laws of the philosophers-physicians) in which he presented the old and new medicines together by making

use of the works of European doctors along with Arabic, Persian and Ancient Greek sources. Ömer Şifaî (d. 1742) stated that he translated his work called *el-Cevher el-Ferid* (Unique Jewel) from European languages into Turkish and that the compositions of medicines in the book were taken from the books of European doctors written in Latin. Thus, in the Ottoman medical literature, the new medical knowledge and methods of European origin and the medical knowledge and methods based on tradition were applied together until the beginning of the nineteenth century. [13]

Emergence of modern scientific literature in Turkish

The concepts and information related both to the East and the West appeared side by side in the Ottoman scientific literature in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. An example is the presentation of the heliocentric and geocentric systems of the universe in the same work. It is possible to observe the same situation on the subject of medicine. In the eighteenth century, with the transfer of the practical medical knowledge of Europe, the classical concepts such as the "ahlat-i erbaa" (four humors) in physiology and traditional anatomy were still dominant.

The teachers at the Imperial School of Engineering that was established towards the end of the eighteenth century to teach modern sciences to the officers, prepared textbooks by translation and adaptation of the textbooks selected from among the scientific sources which were taught at the military technical schools in the West. The scientific publications at the beginning of the nineteenth century were the books prepared by Hüseyin Rıfkî Tamanî (d. 1817), Chief Instructor of the Imperial School of Engineering. They were compilations and translations on the subjects of astronomy, mathematics and geography and had many editions. These were followed by the works of İshak Efendi (d. 1836) who was Tamanî's student and successor as the chief instructor at the school of engineering. His works totaling thirteen volumes were also compilations and translations based on the Western and especially French sources. Among these *Mecmua-i Ulûm-i Riyaziye* (The Compendium of Mathematical Sciences), composed of four volumes, holds a special place because this work is the first wide scope attempt in the Ottoman world for the preparation of a textbook containing many branches of science. Mathematics, physics, chemistry,

[13] For early contacts with European sciences see E. İhsanoğlu, "Osmanlı Eğitim ve Bilim Müesseseleri", 271-278 (see note 1); E. İhsanoğlu, "Some remarks on Ottoman Science and its Relation with European Science & Technology up to the End of the Eighteenth Century", *Journal of the Japan Netherlands Institute,* 3 (Tokyo, 1991):45-73; and E. İhsanoğlu, "Tanzimat Öncesi ve Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Bilim ve Eğitim Anlayışı" (The Ottoman perception of science and education in the pre-Tanzimat and Tanzimat periods), 335-395, in *150. Yılında Tanzimat* (The Tanzimat 150 years later), ed. Hakkı Dursun Yıldız, (Ankara, 1992).

astronomy, biology, botany and mineralogy can be enumerated among the subjects included; İshak Efendi had a significant role in finding the Turkish equivalents of the new scientific terms and their spread to the other provinces outside Istanbul.

Two individuals had a significant influence on Ottoman medical education around the beginning of the nineteenth century. The first is Şanizade Mehmed Ataullah Efendi (d. 1826), who was an encyclopedist having activities and interests in many fields and was familiar with the European science and various European languages. Şanizade in his famous work called *Hamse-i Şanizade*(Five Works of Şanizade) presented the knowledge of modern medicine and anatomy for the first time to the Ottoman readers in an understandable language and comprehensive manner. The second person is Mustafa Behcet Efendi (d. 1834) who was the founder of modern medical education.

The organization of education with a new perception after the proclamation of the Tanzimat, which was quite different as compared to the classical period, and the diffusion of modern education paved the way for the printing of a large number of books related to new sciences and technology. The number of scientific and technical books printed on various subjects rapidly increased towards the middle of the nineteenth century. While there were only 28 books printed on science from the establishment of the first printing house in 1727 up until the proclamation of the Tanzimat in 1839, this number reached 242 during the Tanzimat period (1839-1876). A comparison of the distribution of these books according to their subjects in these two periods shows that there were changes in the interest towards modern science. In the Tanzimat period, while there was a decrease of interest in military subjects, it is observed that the subjects related to civilian life and social matters became prominent. The same conclusions can be reached by an examination of the forewords of the books written on the same subjects around the beginning of the nineteenth century (both before and after the Tanzimat). While İshak Efendi in his work called *Mecmua-i Ulûm-i Riyaziye* mentions the importance of chemistry only for the war industry, Aziz Bey of Crimea in his work *Kimya-yi Tıbbî* (Medical Chemistry) (Istanbul, 1868-1871) states that chemistry forms the foundation of non-military technologies and many other industries.

It is observed that new and different subjects were also taken up among the scientific books printed after the Tanzimat. *Usul-i Kimya* (Fundamentals of Chemistry) (Istanbul, 1848) which is the first independent work published in Turkish on the subject of modern chemistry by Derviş Pasha and the book called *İlm-i Hayvanât ve Nebatât* (Zoology and Botany) (Istanbul, 1865) that was the first book on zoology and botany translated by Chief Physician Salih Efendi are such examples. Furthermore, while four scientific books were printed per year in the first thirty years after the proclamation of the Tanzimat, this number incre-

ased to eighteen per year in the six year period between "1870-1876". This is an indication of the increase of interest in the Ottoman society towards modern sciences.

The education was initially conducted in French at the Mekteb-i Tibbiye-i Şahane (Imperial Medical School), which was established in 1838 upon the model of European medical schools. In 1870 the decision was taken to conduct the education in Turkish. This also became a means for the development of medical literature in Turkish. As a result, especially after 1870, following the printing of *Lügat-i Tıbbiye,* the first Turkish medical dictionary (first edition in Istanbul in 1873, enlarged second edition in 1901), a great number of compilation and translation works on medicine and related subjects were published.

In the nineteenth century, Ottoman scientific literature studies aimed at research were started abroad, as the objective of research could not be completely realized at the institutions established within the country. The work in English called *Linear Algebra* compiled by Hüseyin Tevfik Pasha of Vidin is an example of an original study of the modern Ottoman scientists. [14]

The most noteworthy and important initiative from the aspect of the history of education in the nineteenth century is the opening of the "Darülfünûn" (University) besides the establishment of vocational and technical academies. The objective of research at the Darülfünûn-i Şahane (Imperial University), which could only be opened in 1900 after three unsuccessful attempts, was not realized on an extensive scale. However, it is too early to make a sound evaluation on this matter as the extent of the studies made on the Ottoman scientific literature until 1923 still have not been completely determined. It can be said that there was not much place for the objectives directed at research in the initial plans of the Darülfünûn, but this objective became more definite in time. The Ottoman Turkish was quite developed around the beginning of the twentieth century and acquired the status of a scientific language and the detailed terminologies that were developed became sufficient to express various sciences. As for the branches of science, there were sufficient textbooks and original publications to a lesser extent. [15]

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[14] E. İhsanoğlu, "Modernization Efforts in Science, Technology and Industry in the Ottoman Empire (18-l9th Centuries)", 15-35, in *The Introduction of Modern Science and Technology to Turkey and Japan: International Symposium October 7 11, 1996,* ed. Feza Günergun and Shigehisa Kuriyama, (Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 1998); for another printing of the same article see "Modernization Efforts in Science, Technology and Industry in the Ottoman Empire (18-190' Centuries)", 45-67, in *The Scientific Thought in the Modern Greek World 18th-19th Century* (Athens, 1998).

[15] For Darülfünûn see E. İhsanoğlu, "Dârülfünun Tarihçesine Giriş: İlk İki Teşebbüs" (An introduction to the brief history of the Dârülfünun: The first two attempts) *Belleten,* 54:210 (1990): 699-738; E. İhsanoğlu, "Dârülfünun" *DİA,* 8 (Istanbul, 1993): 521-525; E. İhsanoğlu, "Dârülfünun Tarihçesine Giriş (II). Üçüncü Teşebbüs Dârülfünun-ı Sultânî" (an introduction the brief history of the Dârülfünun (II) The third attempt Darülfünûn-ı Sultânî), *Belleten,* 57:218 (1993): 201-240; E. İhsanoğlu, "Dârülfünun", 559-562, in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (The Istanbul

New scientific institutions

In the nineteenth century, education in the "modern" sciences, such as medicine, chemistry, botany and zoology was extensive in the newly established educational institutions. Experiments were carried out in the laboratories established at these institutions. At the same time, new institutions were founded which enabled the application of these sciences in different fields. Among these, priority was given to institutions related to health services. The first applications on preventive medicine in the Ottoman Empire started with the quarantine organization in 1831, established especially for the Muslim pilgrims. Quarantine centers were opened in 1862 in many important cities in the vast lands of the Empire, such as Istanbul, Anatolia, Rumelia and the Arab Peninsula to combat infectious diseases. The Ottomans closely followed the latest developments in Europe on the subjects of public health and especially on the subjects of vaccination and microbiology. The lecture given by Pasteur in 1885 immediately after he found the rabies vaccine was published in a journal in Istanbul and a delegation of doctors was sent to Paris to learn the new developments on this subject. This delegation presented Pasteur with a jeweled Ottoman Medal of Honor and 10,000 French Francs sent by Sultan Abdulhamid II as an award for his studies. After the delegation's return, a "Da'ül-kelp Ameliyathanesi" (rabies laboratory) was established in cooperation with the local doctors and their colleagues who were invited from Europe. Later, a Bacteriological Laboratory was established for cholera epidemics. These institutions played a major role in the treatment of rabies, as well as vaccination and methods of treatment practiced during cholera and dysentery epidemics. In the same period, chemical analysis laboratories began to be established by the state for different purposes. Furthermore, it was observed that private chemical analysis laboratories were also established by individuals to meet the needs of the people.

Another modern scientific institution established in the nineteenth century was the "Rasathane-i Amire" (Imperial Observatory). The Imperial Observatory was established in 1863 and connected to the Ministry of Education under the administration of M. Coumbary, a French engineer. In spite of its name being an observatory, this institution performed the functions related to meteorology rather

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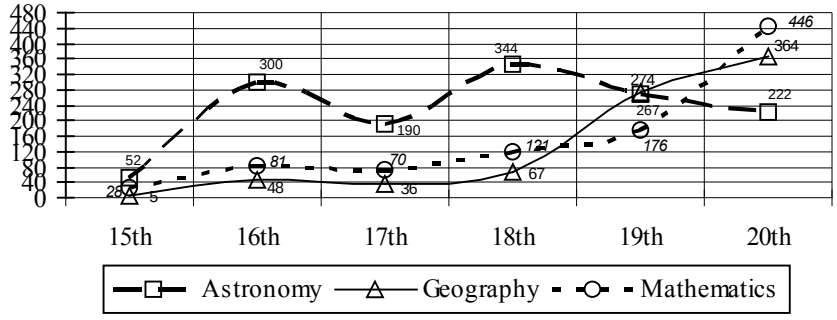
encyclopaedia from the past to the present), vol. 2, (Istanbul, 1994); E. İhsanoğlu, "Dârülfünûn: Mefhum ve Müessese Olarak Sultan II. Abdülhamid Dönemine Kadar Gelişmesi" (Dârülfünûn: The development up to the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II as a concept and institution), 173-190, in *Sultan 11. Abdülhamid ve Devri Semineri* (Seminar on Sultan Abdülhamid II and his reign), 27-29 May 1992 (reprint) (Istanbul, 1994); E. İhsanoğlu, "The Genesis of Darülfünun': An Overview of Attempts to Establish the First Ottoman University", 827-842, in *Historie Economique et Sociale de l'Empire Ottoman et de la Turquie (1326-1960): Actes du Sixieme Congres International* Tenu à Aix-en Provence du 1er au 4 Juillet 1992, ed. Daniel Panzac, (Pans, 1995); and Ali Arslan, *Darülfünun'dan Üniversite'ye* (From the Darülfünun to the university), (Istanbul, 1995).

than astronomical observations. The Imperial Observatory prepared weather reports coming from the major cities and exchanged information with similar institutions in Europe. The succeeding Turkish administrators continued to perform the same services. Astronomer Fatin Gökmen (d. 1955), who had his secondary education at the madrasa and his higher education at the newly established Science Faculty of the University, was appointed as the last administrator and director of this institution in 1910. Besides preparing the weather reports at the Observatory, he made astronomical observations which were the real function of the institution. The Kandilli Observatory, located at the Kandilli district in Istanbul, connected to the Boğaziçi University, continues to be an important observation center in Turkey today.[16]

A general evolution of the scientific language and literature

In recent years, as a result of the increasing research and studies on the survey and cataloging of Ottoman scientific literature, our knowledge of Ottoman literature on astronomy, mathematics and geography has been enriched to a great extent and many new aspects of scientific activities of the Ottoman period were revealed. The results of these studies also illustrate with complete clarity the intensity of scientific activities carried out by the Ottomans. The examination of this literature shows that a total of 582 authors produced 2438 works on astronomy; 491 authors that we were able to establish produced 1,116 works on mathematics and 458 authors produced 825 works on geography. The distribution of these works by centuries is as follows: The works, the dates of which could not be established, are not included in the graph.

Distribution of Works According to Centuries



[16] E. İhsanoğlu, "Osmanlı Eğitim ve Bilim Müesseseleri", 353-354. See note 1.

According to this statistical information, the total number of astronomical works is more than the number of mathematical works. This situation stems from the fact that calendars specifically occupied an imported place in astronomy literature. A continuous increase is observed in the number of works in these three disciplines until the eighteenth century. The number of works attained their maximum in the eighteenth century and then started to decrease. As for mathematics, the total number of works continued to increase except for the eighteenth century. Works on mathematics, which recorded a major increase especially in the nineteenth century, attained the maximum in the twentieth century. There is also an increase in the total number of works on geography similar to that of mathematics. The rates of increase of the works in these three subjects are close to each other.

As of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Ottoman scientific literature, which was initially written in Arabic, was frequently written in Turkish with the start of translations from Arabic and Persian. This situation also enriched Turkish scientific literature and constituted terminologies in various branches.

The language of Ottoman scientific literature was Turkish and Arabic in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Persian works were very few (1 percent). Ratios of all of the works (handwritten or printed) written in Turkish and Arabic also show differences. Works prepared on modern science and technology that were printed in Istanbul during these two centuries - other than a few exceptions - were completely in Turkish, whereas the majority of handwritten works were in Arabic. Out of the 344 handwritten and printed books on astronomy in the eighteenth century, the language of 331 works were determined; 221 were in Arabic, 101 in Turkish, 2 in Persian and 7 in a combination of these three languages. Similarly, out of the total of 267 works *on* astronomy in the nineteenth century, the language of 263 works were determined and 137 were in Arabic, 123 in Turkish, and 3 were in mixed languages. These numbers clearly indicate that the use of Turkish had increased while the total number of works decreased. This shows that in the nineteenth century, the use of printed works because of the prevalence of modern schools and educational institutions had accelerated the transition from the Eastern handwritten tradition to the modern printing tradition.

A great majority *of* the books written on modern astronomy within the borders of the Ottoman Empire, excluding the Arab lands, were written in Turkish. It is possible to record the same observations for Ottoman mathematics literature. In conclusion it can be said that handwritten works prepared in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were in Arabic or Turkish, but printed works (with the exception of Arab Provinces) were almost entirely in Turkish. [17]

[17] For extensive information and evaluation also see E. İhsanoğlu, Ramazan Şeşen et al., *Osmanlı Astronomi Literatürü Tarihi* (The history of the Ottoman astronomy literature), 2 vols.,

Conclusion

As it is seen above, during the classical period, Ottoman scientific activities were conducted mainly in the madrasas, Şifahanes and muvakkithanes where the sciences of medicine, mathematics and astronomy were practiced together with the teaching of these sciences. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, Takiyeddin el-Rasıd founded the Istanbul Observatory. Original studies that were in a way the continuation of the Islamic tradition of astronomy were carried out and new instruments of astronomy were used together with the old. The results of these studies were collected in books. The formation of the classical period Ottoman literature was generally realized in the madrasa environment and in the fields of religious subjects, mathematics, medicine and astronomy. A great number of scientific works in Arabic, Turkish and a few in Persian were produced by the scholars through research, study, compilation, translation or interpretation.

One of the important conclusions set forth here is the contribution made to the formation of the Ottoman scientific literature by the scholars from Anatolia who were educated in the cultural centers within the Ottoman territories and the scholars who were educated outside these centers and then came under the patronage of the Ottomans. The support extended by the sultans and other statesmen ranging from the establishment of madrasas, their encouragement of translations, compilations and the writing of different books had an important role in the formation of the classical period Ottoman scientific tradition.

Ottomans, who were aware of the scientific and technological developments in Europe, became interested in the Western science and technology, especially as of the end of the seventeenth century, and abandoned the limited, selective transfer of information which had been applied ever since the early days of the Empire, so that they could learn the new techniques of war. They closely followed the innovations in Europe, as of around the beginning of the eighteenth century, and started to take steps to make significant changes within the army with the assistance of European experts. New institutions were established in the framework of the activities that were concentrated especially on the subject of modern military technical training. These activities, with the establishment of the Ulufeli Humbaracı Ocağı (Corps of Bombardiers), continued in the nineteenth century with the opening of the schools of engineering and other military schools. As explained extensively in the chapter related to education, modern civilian educational institutions providing primary,

(Istanbul, 1997); E. İhsanoğlu, Ramazan Şeşen and Cevat İzgi, *Osmanlı Matematik Literatürü Tarihi* (The history of Ottoman mathematics literature), 2 vols., (Istanbul, 1999); and E. İhsanoğlu, *Açıklamalı Türk Kimya Eserleri Bibliyografyası* (Anotated Bibliography of Turkish chemistry works), (Istanbul, 1985).

secondary and higher education were established together with the institutions providing military and technical education. Daily newspapers and periodicals gave information on the subject of modern science and technology. Taking all of the above into consideration, it was possible to introduce modern science and technology to the masses at various levels. [18]

Ottoman intellectuals also established civil learned societies and professional associations besides the official educational institutions and expended great efforts to constitute modern scientific literature in Turkish and to publish dictionaries of modern scientific and scholarly terminology. [19]

It seems that the Ottoman's perception of modern European scientific tradition lacked an overall approach though they followed it closely. It is also clear that their scientific activities concerning research and production of new knowledge and technology – despite various relevant examples- did not have priority in their planning. The research activities conducted by Ottoman scientists inside and outside the Empire, particularly in the European countries did not reach the critical mass as compared to the contemporary Russian or Japanese examples.

During the classical period, the Ottoman scientists and scholars showed a remarkable success in developing science and were able to make new contributions to various branches of science. However, in the modernization period, they were not able to show a parallel performance, but were successful in developing modern scientific terminology of universal Islamic character and the Ottoman Turkish language to a level that would enable them to express modern scientific and scholarly knowledge on various disciplines. The cultural and scientific heritage of the Ottoman period constituted the scientific and cultural infrastructure of many states founded in the Balkans and the Middle East, with the Republic of Turkey in the lead, and formed the foundation of the subsequent activities.

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[18] Orhan Koloğlu, *Halka Doğru Bilim*, TBTK (Turkish Society for History of Science) (İstanbul, 1997).

[19] For extensive information on the subject of the learned societies see *Osmanlı ilmi ve Meslekî Cemiyetleri* (Ottoman learned and professional associations), ed. E. İhsanoğlu (Istanbul, 1987); Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "Osmanlı Türkiyesinde Kültür ve Bilim Hayatında Tüzel Kişiliğin Gelişmesi ve Teşkilatlanmanın Başlaması" (The development of juristic personalities in the cultural and scientific life in Ottoman Turkey and the start of organization), *Erdem*; Aydın Sayılı Özel Sayısı 19 (25), (May 1996), 265-292; E. İhsanoğlu, "Genesis of Learned Societies and Professional Associations in Ottoman Turkey", *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 14 (1995-1996), 161-189.

THE OGHUZ TURKS OF ANATOLIA

İlhan ŞAHİN *

The migration and settlement of Oghuz groups, who were also known as *Turkmen*s in Anatolia, were closely related with the political and demographic developments in the Great Seljuk Empire. But in order to understand these developments better, it would be reasonable to dwell first a little on the conditions under which the Oghuz groups lived before migrating to Anatolia, and look to the reasons behind their inclination towards Anatolia. The Oghuz groups, who constituted an important part of the Göktürk and Uygur states, lived along the banks of the Sır Darya River and on the steppes lying to the north of this river in the first half of the tenth century[1]. Those were nomadic people, and they made a living out of stock breeding, so they needed summer pastures and winter quarters on which they had to raise their animals and survive through cold winter days comfortably. In addition to them, there were sedentary Oghuz groups. In those days, the sedentary Oghuz groups were called *"yatuk"*[2] which means lazy. This indicates that leading a nomadic life was more favorable then.

Although most of the Oghuz groups led a nomadic life, they did have a certain political and social structure and order. There are various views about the meaning of the word "Oghuz", and according to dominant one among them, the word means "tribes", and "union of tribes" or "union of relative tribes"[3]. So, in other words, the word had organizational and structural connotations in the political and social sense. The Oghuz groups, consisting of a number of different *boy*s or tribes, can be examined in two main groups since the earlier periods in the most classical age of

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[1] For more information on the Oghuz settlements along Sır Darya, see V, M. Jirmunski, "Traces of Oghuz Peoples Along Syr Darya" (Translation: İ. Kaynak), *Belleten*, XXV/99 (1961), 471-483; Faruk Sümer, *Oğuzlar/Türkmenler Tarihleri-Boy Teşkilâtı-Destanları,* İstanbul 1992, pp. 46-54; İbrahim Kafesoğlu, *Türk Milli Kültürü*, Ankara 1977, p. 133 vd.

[2] Kâşgarlı Mahmud, *Divanü Lûgat-it Türk* (Translation: B. Atalay), III, Ankara 1941, pp. 14-15.

[3] For more information on this view for the meaning of the word "Oghuz" see P. B. Golden, "The Migrations of the Oğuz", *Archivum Ottomanicum*, IV (1972), pp. 45-48; F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, pp. 13-14; İ. Kafesoğlu, *Türk Milli Kültürü*, p. 130.

the political and social organization: *Üç-Ok* and *Boz-Ok*. These two major groups consisted of equal number of *boy*s, namely; Kayı, Bayat, Alka-Evli/Alka-Bölük, Kara-Evli/Kara-Bölük, Yazır, Döğer, Dodurga, Yaparlı, Avşar, Kızık, Beğdili, Karkın, Bayındır, Peçenek, Çavundur/Çavuldur, Çepni, Salur, Eymir, Alayuntlu, Yüreğir, İğdir, Büğdüz, Yıva and Kınık[4]. The Oghuz people actually had a state. In this structure, they were ruled by leaders whom they called "*yabgu*". The capital of this union of tribes was Yenikent located in the winter settlement area[5]. To refer to the state, the words "*il*" or "*el*" were used.

Since the mid-tenth century onwards, a great majority of the Oghuz people started migrating from their homelands. According to various sources, it is understood that the major reasons behind these people's decision to migrate were the internal political conflicts, the pressure of the Kypchak from the north, the insufficiency and narrowness of the settlement areas. A group of the migrating Oghuz tribes moved from the north of the Black Sea to the west. In historical sources, these people are referred as "Uz"[6]. Yet another important group had arrived in Cend, which was one of the border towns of the Oghuz state in southern part. The leader of this group was Seljuk Bey, who was an army commander (sübaşı) in the Oghuz Yabgu state and a member of the Kınık *boy*. The arrival of the Oghuz people in Cend marked the beginning of a new period. In Cend, the Oghuz people converted to Islam. In time, these Oghuz people were mentioned as *Turkmen*s, which was a political term used while referring to various Turkish tribes, before they converted to Islam[7].

Seljuk Bey, the leader of the Oghuz people, started to gain a new identity in Cend. The conflict between the Samanids and the Karahanids came to an end when the Samanids gained victory and built dominance over Mâveraünnehr (Maveraünnehir) with the support they received from the forces led by Seljuk Bey's son Arslan. In return, Samanis gave some parts of the territories near the Samani border town of Nur to the Seljuks (986). In this area, the Oghuz people

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[4] For more information on these *boy*s, see Kâşgarlı Mahmud, ibid. I, Ankara 1939, pp. 55-58; Reşîdüddîn Fazlullah, Câmi'ü't-tevârîh (neşr. Behmen Kerimî), I, Tahran 1338, pp. 38-43. Kâşgarlı Mahmud states that there were 22 *boy*s. Besides, Reşîdüddîn cites that there were 24 *boy*s under *Boz-Ok* and *Üç-Ok* groups. For more information on these *boy*s, see F. Sümer, Oğuzlar, pp. 163-269.

[5] For more information, see Omeljan Pritsak, "Der Untergang des Reiches des Oguzischen Yabgu", *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı*, İstanbul 1953, pp. 379-410.

[6] For more information on the Uz people and their migration movements, see Bela Kassonyi, "On the History of Uz and Koman Peoples in the XI-XII Centuries" (Translation: Hamit Koşay), *Belleten*, VIII/29 (1944), pp. 119-136; A. Nimet Kurat, *Peçenek Tarihi*, Istanbul 1937, p. 150-160; A. Nimet Kurat, *IV-XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Karadeniz Kuzeyindeki Türk Kavimleri ve Devletleri,* Ankara 1972, pp. 65-68; P. B. Golden, *Ibid*., pp. 80-84.

[7] For more information on the name "Turkmen" and its origins, see S. G. Agadzhanov-A. Karryev, "Some Basic Problems of the Ethnogenesis of the Turkmen", *The Nomadic Alternative: Modes and Models of Interaction in the African-Asian Desert and Steppes* (ed. W. Weissledar), The Hague-Paris 1978, pp. 167-177.

who belonged to Seljuk Bey's son Arslan, who had been stuck in the Cend region, settled. This is important in the sense that it proves how much the Oghuz people were loyal to the dynasty. After some time, when Seljuk Bey died, for the Oghuz people, who had been living a nomadic life in accordance with Turkic customs and traditions, it became obvious that they were divided within the Seljuk dynasty. As a result, almost all the Oghuz people, who were living in the Cend region, went to Mâveraünnehr, where Arslan Yabgu had been ruling. However, when the Karahanids, who were allies of the Gaznavids, gained control over the Mâveraünnehr region, the Oghuz people started having great difficulties in finding a place themselves to live in peace. In the meantime, the Oghuz people, attached to Tuğrul and Çağrı Beys, who were not in good terms with their uncle Arslan Bey, started to withdraw to the border regions far from the attacks.

The Oghuz people attached to Arslan Yabgu were left without a leader and detached from each other when Arslan was arrested by the Gaznavids and died in 1032. This situation forced their leaders to apply to the Gaznavid leader Mahmud and ask for a place to live in. Mahmud allocated *yurt*s to these leaders in the around Khorasan. The fact that various Oghuz groups were attached to different members of the dynasty, like Tuğrul Bey, Çağrı Bey and Musa Yabgu, as well as Arslan Yabgu's son Kutalmış's cousin İbrahim Yınal, and the fact that these groups were named after them (eg. Yınalıyan)[8], as it was mentioned before tell us that there was a certain administrative system in these tribes. After some time, Tuğrul and Çağrı Beys, taking the advantage of the authority gap caused by Gaznavid leader Sultan Mesud's going on an expedition to India, took control of Nishabur, which was a strategically important city in Khorasan (1038). This was followed by the Dandanakan victory in 1040, which Tuğrul and Çağrı Beys won against the Gaznavids. Following this victory, a Seljuki state, which could be considered as a continuation of the Oghuz Yabgu State, was established, and Tuğrul Bey became the leader of this state. Shortly after the foundation of the Seljuki State, a central administrative structure started to emerge, and this administrative system developed a set of rules and laws in time. Of course, this system was not in harmony with the nomadic lifestyle that the Oghuz people had until then. Eventually, finding separate places for the nomadic people to live in the summer pastures and winter quarters turned into a serious problem to administer. In the end, the administration found it more appropriate to settle these nomadic people in border regions in the west far from the administrative center.

At first, the nomadic tribes, particularly those attached to Arslan Yabgu and his sons, were settled in today's Azerbaijan. After a short time, the Oghuz people started raiding Anatolia, and proceeded as far as the eastern, central and even

[8] For more information, see Kōsuke Shimizu, "İbrāhīm Yinal and Yināliyān-Turkmans in the Early Days of the Great Saljūqs" (in Japanese language), *Isuramu Sekai*, X (1974), pp.15-32.

western sections of Anatolia. But since there were many Byzantine citadels and cities in the region in the meantime, most of these raids were not successful, and the Oghuz people would eventually return to the Azerbaijan region at the end of these raids. Finally, in 1071, with the Malazgirt Victory, the Oghuz people started flowing into Anatolia in groups, and a huge migration wave, including those in Azerbaijan, Eastearn Anatolia and later relatively internal parts, started. This migration wave reached its peak point between 1221 and 1260, during the course of Mongolian attacks. During the Mongolian invasion, a great part of Turkestan was devastated, and this caused many of the people living in that region at the time to move towards Anatolia and settled there. Among these people there were some Turkic tribes such as the Qarluqs, Halach and Kipchaks. As a result of these population movements, there occurred great and rapid changes in the demographic, toponymic and cultural structure of Anatolia. The element that had the biggest role in these changes, however, was the Oghuz people, who were known in Anatolia as *Turkmen*s.

For the *Turkmen*s, who had come to Anatolia from the vast steppes of Central Asia, Anatolia was a region suitable to lead both a sedentary and a nomadic life. Even so, it is hard to say that there was an established nomadic tradition in Anatolia dating back to earlier times of history. There is no considerable information in available historical sources telling us that there were nomadic tribes in a real sense, living in Anatolia in Classical Antiquity or in the Byzantine period[9]. So, the first time when Anatolian territories hosted nomads was possibly when the *Turkmen*s started to come to the region. Recent studies carried out in the light of fifteenth and sixteenth century Ottoman sources, on the toponymy of various regions of Anatolia[10], showed that there was huge uninhabited space in the vast rural areas that fell outside the boundaries of forts, towns and cities. For the *Turkmen*s, Anatolia, whose countryside was mostly empty and unsettled, was a strange land. However, during the dominance of different Turkic states, including the first Turkic state established in the region by Kutalmışoğlu Suleyman Shah and the Danişmends, Mengücüks, Artuks, Ahlat Shahs, Saltuks and the Anatolian Seljuk State, they began to know the region better. The period when the Turkmen principalities and the Mamlukes that were in conflict with the Ottomans in the south, was the time when the nomads started to be known the summer pastures and winters quarters geographically and to be shaped. Many of the Turkic principalities in Anatolia had been directly established by the members of different dynasties belonging to the big Turkmen clan. This played an important role in the occupation

[9] See X de Planhol, "Geography, Politics and Nomadism in Anatolia", *Unesco International Social Science*, XI (1959), p. 525.

[10] For a bibliographic essay on these studies, see Adnan Gürbüz, *XV.-XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Sancak Çalışmaları*, İstanbul 2001, pp. 57-116.

of the region by the Turks in such a short period of time.

As a result of the migrations, which started after the Battle of Malazgirt in 1071, and which continued until the fourteenth century, substantial numbers of *Turkmen*s must have come to Anatolia. However, it is impossible to say anything on the exact population of Turkmens due to the insufficiency of the records belonging to that period of history. The few sources about Anatolia in this period provide a limited amount of information about the demographic structure of the region. A Latin source written at the end of the 12th century indicates that there were about 100,000 nomadic tents in the regions of Denizli and İsparta[11]. In the second half of the 13th century, geographer İbn Sa'îd at the end of the twelfth century writes that there were 200,000 nomadic tents in Denizli and its environment, 30,000 in Bolu and its environment, and about 100,000 in Kastamonu and its environment[12]. At that time, there were 40,000 tents accommodating nomadic people in Syria[13].

On the other hand, toponymical studies and place names provide us with geographic information on the areas of Anatolia in which the nomadic Turkmen tribes lived. It is seen that these toponymic names were intensively placed in a vast area on the internal regions of the Black Sea and Taurus mountains stretching from west to east which are situated on the southern and northern parts of Anatolia and which are also the places settled by most of those nomadic groups. We come across with these names more frequently in Bolu, Kastamonu, Çorum, Tosya, Tokat and the Ankara plains in the north, in the foothills of the North Anatolia mountain range, and in the Central Anatolian steppes, Çukurova, and the lakes region in the south. In the west, we see that they had settled in the vast plains of Menderes and Gediz. The nomadic people living in these regions would use the wide plains and valleys near the coasts as the winter quarters, and the plains located on the higher altitudes to the internal parts of Anatolia as the summer pastures. Geographically, there was not a great distance between the areas they lived in the winter quarters and summer pastures. However, in the east and southeast of Anatolia, things were completely different. The nomadic tribes living in these regions had their summer pastures on the high plateaus of central and eastern Anatolia and would pass their winter months as the winter quarters in today's border area with Iraq and Syria.

It is much easier to keep track of where the Oghuz, that is *Turkmen*, *boy*s lived and how they were dispersed across this geography from the late 15th century and particularly after the first quarter of the 16th century, when the Ottomans held sway

[11] Halil İnalcık, "The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role", *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire*, Bloomington 1993, p. 98.

[12] Claude Cahen, "Ibn Sa'id sur l'Asia Mineure Seldjuqide", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, VI/10-11 (1972), pp. 42-44, 48.

[13] F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 134.

over Anatolia. In this period, Anatolia covered almost all of the area that falls within the boundaries of Turkey's Asian territories today. However, the Ottomans had to wage a tough and long fight in order to build control over the whole region. These fights, which the Ottomans waged mostly against the other Turkic principalities in Anatolia, came to a halt and recession for some time after the Ankara Battle with Timur in 1402. When the Ottomans put themselves back together following the coming to power of Mehmed Çelebi in 1413, the fighting started again in order to provide the geographic and political unity of Anatolia. These fights to gain control over Anatolia continued for more than a century, until the first quarter of the 16th century, when the Ottomans finally built control over the whole of Anatolia.

The nomadic Turkmen groups did not consist solely of the people that were named after a particular *boy*. Should we make a comparison between these groups and a tree, the *boy* was the trunk of the tree and its branches were the different groups under the *boy*. In other words, each of the *boy*s consisted of some nomadic groups. In the earlier periods, however, there were not so many nomadic groups belonging to a *boy*. The number of nomadic groups increased only after the Oghuz *boy*s came to Anatolia, detached from one another, and started living in smaller groups in different areas. We see that some groups, even though they were formerly the members of the same *boy*, started to be known by different names after parting ways with the rest. Among the major factors leading to this situation are the Mongolian influence and pressure on Anatolia, the increase of the population of the nomadic tribes living in Anatolia, and in connection with the rapid increase in the population, the lack of settlement areas. The inclusion of nomadic people within the administrative and economic structure also played an important role in the division of tribes into minor structural groups.

The *Turkmen*s who migrated to Anatolia were known also generally as "Yörük" or "Yürük", apart from being referred to as "Turkmen" by the Ottomans. The term "Yürük" derived in Anatolia, used while referring to these nomadic people, was derived from the word "yürü" meaning "walk" using the suffix "k" at the end of the root "yörü" or "yürü". In Ottoman archive documents, the term "Turkmen" is used more while referring to the nomadic people living in central and eastern Anatolia, and the term "yürük" or "yörük" is used when referring to the nomadic people living in the western parts of Anatolia[14]. Yet, it is hard to make a clear distinction between the uses of either terms and the people they refer, because both terms were sometimes used interchangeably within the same context in certain documents while referring to their lifestyle of the same people. Terms including

[14] For more information on the definition of "Yürük", see Faruk Sümer, "XVI. Asırda Anadolu, Suriye ve Irak'da Yaşayan Türk Aşiretlerine Umumi Bir Bakış", *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası,* XI/1-4 (1952), pp. 518-519.

"konar-göçer", "göçer-evli", "göçerler" and "göçebe" were also used while referring to the nomadic people.

During the Ottoman period, *Turkmen*s or *Yürük*s were in the administrative and economic structure, just like the sedentary population[15]. The big nomadic groups in the administrative and economic system were known by the names such as Boz-ulus Turkmens, Yeni-il Turkmens, Aleppo Turkmens, Damascus Turkmens, Dulkadırlı Turkmens, Danişmend Turkmens, Esb-Keşân (At-Çeken), Kara-ulus, Ulu Yürük, Ankara Yürüks, and Bolu Yürüks. As we understand from the sources, these different names were generally given by the bureaucrats of the central administration, or the central administration itself. However, these names were not given to them randomly or meaninglessly. The names were especially from the names of geographical locations in which they lived, or the Turkmen principalities under which they lived before going under control of the Ottomans. Such terms as "il" and "ulus", which also reflected the traces of the former administrative and social organization, also played an important role in these given names. On the other hand, smaller nomadic groups were attached in the financial and administrative sense, to the provinces or *sanjak*s in which they lived.

Some of the *Turkmen*s or *Yürük*s continued to live in accordance with the traditional and tribal structure, although they were attached to the administrative and economic structure. Yet, this traditional tribal structure started to lose influence as the *boy*s were divided in time into smaller groups, and some of minor groups emerged and began to be seen as more important than the original ones. It is possible to see thousands, even tens of thousands of nomadic groups or units that emerged from among the major *boy*s in the Ottoman archive documents. These group consisting of certain amounts of people were referred to with such different terms as "cemaat", "oymak", "mahalle", "tîr", "bölük", "oba", "tâbi'", and "taallukat".

Each of these nomadic groups or units had their own names like the "X Cemaat", "X Oymak", or "X Mahalle". These names could be the names of original *boy*s to which they belonged, such as Kayı, Bayat, Döğer, Avşar, Beğdili, or Eymir. Most of the groups were also known by the names of their leaders or ancestors called generally *kethuda* and *boybeyi* as well as distinguished persons like Ali Koca-lu, Bayram-lu, Beçi-lü, Cengiz-lü, Çakır-lu, Gündüz-lü, Güzel Han-lu, İlyas-lu, İne Koca-lu, Kara İsa-lu, Köpek-li, Müslim Hacıl-lu, Nusret-lü, Pehluvan-lu, Sarsal-lu, Süleyman-lu, Yaban-lu, and Yunus-lu peoples. Some other groups were named after their fields of occupation or the region in which they lived[16].

[15] For more information, see İlhan Şahin, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Konar-Göçer Aşiretlerin Hukukî Nizamları", *Türk Kültürü*, XX/227 (1982), pp. 285-294.

[16] For more information, see İlhan Şahin, "Osmanlı Devrinde Konar-Göçer Aşiretlerin İsim

Each of the nomadic groups consisted of closely related families. Therefore, they knew each other very well. The number of families of each of the units changed between 5 and 100, and in some units, there would be even more than 100 families. Each of the groups were represented and governed by a leader titled as *kethuda*, and the *kethuda* would generally be chosen from among the most influential families of the unit. Although it was something that was passed from father to son, the title *kethuda* would sometimes be given to distinguished people who had a certain influence and respectability. The candidate *kethuda* would be elected by the people, and his name would be reported to the qadi of the unit. The qadi would then submit the candidate *kethuda*'s name to the central administration.

During the Ottoman period, reliable information on the Turkmen or Yürük groups that lived in the region of Anatolia is available in the cadastral survey records belonging to the 15th and 16th century provinces and *sanjak*s. However, it should be kept in mind that the information given in those cadastral survey records reflects only that period of time. As it is cited before, nomadic groups would be divided into smaller groups due to political, economic, social, and demographic factors, and each of the minor groups would be known by a new name. So, some of the groups were mentioned in cadastral survey records and archival documents belonging to later years with different names[17]. Also, many nomadic tribes which adopted sedentary life earlier than the others and some of which were even counted as residents of the nearby towns and cities were recorded in the 15th and 16th century cadastral survey records as sedentary elements and not nomadic. It is possible to understand whether they were sedentary or nomadic from the toponymic studies on the names of places.

Information given by the 15th and 16th century cadastral survey records, particularly those belonging to various provinces in Anatolia recorded in the 1530s-the peak period of the Ottoman Empire under the Suleyman Magnificent, suggests that there was a great number of nomadic groups living intensively in different parts of Anatolia at the time. But of course, it would be better to refer to the cadastral survey records written before and after the aforementioned period, dated about 1530s.

West Anatolia was one of the places having the densest nomadic population. Before going under Ottoman dominance, this region was dominated by such principalities as Germiyan, Karesi, Saruhan, Aydın, and Menteşe; and after going under Ottoman rule, the region turned into the hinterland of the province of

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Almalarına Dair Bazı Mülahazalar", *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, XIII(1987), pp. 195-208.

[17] It is difficult to calculate the exact number of these units. In a short encyclopedic study on the names and settlement areas of nomadic groups (see Cevdet Türkay, *Başbakanlık Arşivi Belgelerine Göre Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Oymak, Aşiret ve Cemaatler,* İstanbul 1979), it is stated that their number is about 7, 000. However, the real number is much higher than this calculated figure.

Anatolia. According to the cadastral survey records of the province of Anatolia, arranged in 1530s[18], there were a number of major nomadic nomadic groups known as Yürük living in this province. A large group of tribes lived in Kütahya and its environment. Kütahya, which was also the capital of the province of Anatolia, was the home of three major nomadic groups in 1530s. One of these groups, which was attached to the governor of the province Anatolia, was known as *Hâssa Yürük*s. These people who lived mostly in the environments of Selendi and Taşâbâd were undoubtedly known under this name because they were the subjects financially attached directly to the governor. The name given to them suggests that they probably had close political and economic ties with the center of the province during the period marked by the dominance of the Germiyan Principality. Among the other major groups was the Bozguş group, which consisted of a total of 42 communities (*cemaat*s), the Kılcan group, which again consisted of 42 communities, and Akkeçili group, which consisted of 40 communuties[19]. As far as it is understood from sources, some Bozguş groups, which were scattered over the Osman-ili region, were in fact related to the Bozguş Bahadır, who lived in the Germiyanlı communities fighting against Seljuk Sultan Mesud[20].

In Lazkiye (Denizli) there were three major Yürük groups, namely Kayı, Seyyid Vefa and Çobanlar[21]. The fact that these three groups were registered together in the same area could also suggest that they formerly lived together. The Kayı group consisted of 27 villages and 8 communities, which hints that they had adopted a sedentary life style. The presence of people titled as "sipahizade" and "abdal" is striking in that these titles are traces from their former communal structure. The Seyyid Vefa Yürüks, that consisted of 193 households, 10 single males and l *muhassıl* among whom there were also dervishes, were attached to Seyyid Velayet bin Seyyid Ahmed bin Seyyid el-Vefa. It is interesting that a Yürük group known by this name lived in the same geographical region with the Kayı people. Recent studies prove that Şeyh Edebalı was in fact a member of the Vefa community[22]. The fact that they were registered together in the same area as the Kayı people suggests that they actually were together in the past. As for the Çobanlar group, this group consisted of a total of 8 communities, one of which was

[18] These summary cadastral survey records have been published by the Prime Ministry State Archives General Directorate in the form of exact copies. *438 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Anadolu Defteri (937/1530),* I, Index and Exact Copy, Ankara 1993; II, Index and Exact Copy, Ankara 1994; *166 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Anadolu Defteri (937/1530),* Index and Exact Copy, Ankara 1995.

[19] Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (=BA), *Tapu-Tahrir Defteri* (=TD), no. 438, pp. 17-23.

[20] For more information, see Feridun M. Emecen, "Batı Anadolu'da Yörükler", *İlk Osmanlılar ve Batı Anadolu Beylikler Dünyası*, İstanbul 2001, p. 81, note 12.

[21] BA, TD, no. 438, pp. 49-53.

[22] For more information, see Halil İnalcık, "How to Read Ashik Pahsa-zade's History", *Essays in Ottoman History*, İstanbul 1998, p. 39-48.

living in the environment of Alaşehir. It is possible to say that this group had emerged from the Çobanoğulları people in the earlier periods, when Osman Gazi who was under their dominance at that time launched raids against Byzantine territories.

There were also the Bursa Yürüks, who actually lived in the Şeyhli district of Kütahya, but who were known by this name probably because they lived in an area that stretched as far as Bursa. The Palamut pasture located within the borders of this district was probably the area in which they spent the summer months. In Uşak there was an important yürük group called the Akkoyunlu, tht consisted of 19 communities[23]. The fact that their name was Akkoyunlu, and the fact that they were an important and large group, suggests that they could be related with the Akkoyunlus. Besides, in Uşak, there were also nomadic groups known as Avşar and Alayundlu among various community groups, who were lesser in number, and who had an Oghuz identity[24]. Apart from the aforementioned locations, there were other Yürük groups who lived in Honaz, Küre, Selendi, Kula and Homa, and so we understand that they had already adopted a sedentary or semi-sedentary life.

Afyon (Karahisâr-ı Sâhib) was a location used mostly as a summer pasture area by various Yürük groups coming from other regions[25]. Yet again, it is known that some minor Yürük groups settled in various villages in the Sandıklı and Bolvadin districts in a scattered pattern[26]. Meanwhile, there were 13 community groups in Seydigazi belonging to the Sultanönü province[27]. These people were the subjects of the guardians of the İnönü Fort. The reason why there was not such a crowded group was probably that they had completed their settlement process in earlier periods. In Hamid (İsparta), Yürük groups were seen mostly in Gölhisar and Eğridir regions. The group in Gölhisar consisted of 20, and the one in Eğridir consisted of 19 communities (*cemaat*s) or *bölük*s[28]. The term "bölük" was used especially in Mongolian military system, and this fact suggests that these people could have come to this area from Central Anatolia, where Mongolian influences were more strongly felt.

In the Western Black Sea region, Yürük groups are seen most intensively in Bolu and its environments. In the year 1515, there were a total of 21 Yürük communities living in this area[29]. Two of these communities were known as

[23] 23 BA, *TD*, no. 438, p. 64. The population of Akkoyunlu Yürüks was 6, 253 in 1520, and about 7, 510 in 1570 (Mehtap Özdeğer, *XV-XVI. Yüzyıl Arşiv Kaynaklarına Göre Uşak Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi*, İstanbul 2001, pp. 338-340).

[24] BA, *TD*, no. 438, p. 64, 68.

[25] BA, *TD*, no. 438, p. 156.

[26] BA, *TD*, no. 438, pp. 174-175, 196-197.

[27] BA, TD, no. 438, p. 237-238.

[28] BA, *TD*, no. 438, p. 256-257, 296-297.

[29] BA, TD, no. 51, p. 296-317. The same records on the Yürüks living in Bolu, are cited also in the summary cadastral survey of 1530 (BA, *TD*, no. 438, p. 421).

Horasanlı, probably because they had come to this area from Horasan (Khorasan). Some of these communities had the winter quarters in Tefenni, Ereğli, Ulus and Viranşehir, located to the south of Taraklıborlu (Safranbolu). Some others had already started leading a sedentary life in Konurpa region which covered Düzce, and the Hızırbey-ili, located between Devrek and Mengen. Yet another important Yürük community, known as Tarakcılu, is understood to have played an important role in the opening of the Taraklıborlu or in the surrounding area. The Yürük people living in Bolu and its environment grew so crowded in time that the administration eventually established a district in this region towards the end of the 16th century[30]. Later on, this district was divided into two districts: "İfrâz-ı Yürükân-ı Bolu" and "Yürükân-ı Taraklu" that is "Taraklu Yürüks"[31]. The reason why the district was named as Yürükân-ı Taraklu was that the influential figures of the community formerly belonged to the Tarakcılu community who constituted the core. Surprisingly enough, there was no any major yürük group living in the surrounding area of Kastamonu, possibly they must have migrated to the border regions in the west in parallel with the establishment of the Ottoman Principality. Besides, one should also bear in mind the settlements in the early periods. The reason why there are not Yürük groups in the Koca-ili region must be considered because of the geographical features of the area and to the fact that the settlement in this region date back to earlier times.

In the province of Hudavendigar (Bursa), Yürük settlements are most intensively found in the Söğüt region. The Yürüks in the area where the Ottomans appeared consisted of two groups in the 1530s. One of these groups, registered as the subject of Sultan Murad foundation, consisted of 556 households, 983 single males, and one *imam*; and the other group consisted of 12 households, and 12 single males[32]. These groups were registered as scattered formation groups, probably because they had settled in the area in a spread pattern. Meanwhile, there were a few Yürük groups, some of whom were settled, and some were scattered in Adranos, Kepsud and Tarhala (Soma). Besides, in Bergama, there was an important group named the *Bergama Yürük*s, consisting of 356 tax-payer households and 6 single males. Yet another important group living in this region was the Karacalar group, consisting of 333 tax-payer households and 120 single males. An important group attached to Karacas lived in Tarhala. There were other groups living in the villages in this region; some of them were holding not only yürük way of life, but also were living in a settled pattern[33].

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[30] See Lütfi Güçer, *XVI-XVII. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Hububat Meselesi ve Hububattan Alınan Vergiler*, İstanbul 1964, p. 151.
[31] L. Güçer, *ibid,* p. 204.
[32] BA, *TD*, no. 166, p. 57.
[33] BA, *TD*, no. 166, pp. 188, 191-192.

Interestingly enough, there were very few Yürük groups in Biga Province, and these groups were rather small when compared to the groups mentioned above. The fact that one of these groups, the Yusuflar group, was also known as the Babaî group[34], hints that they might have been one of the groups that came to the West Anatolia border regions after the crushing of the Babaî Revolt of 1243. Some of the groups living in the regions of the Çan district of Biga were known as Söğüdlü[35], which suggests that they might have come to Çan from the Söğüt region.

There were two major Yürük groups living in the central district of Balıkesir Province. Both groups were registered as the Mukataa Yürüks, because they paid their taxes at a certain rate. The one that consisted of 1,450 households, and 485 single males were the subjects of the Emir Gazi foundation; and the other one, which consisted of 460 households and 182 single males were the subjects of the Medine foundation[36]. In Balıkesir's Bigadiç district, there was a group called Sındırgı Yürüks, who were named after the region where they lived[37]. One other important Yürük group lived in the İvrindi district of Balıkesir, and was known as the *İvrindi Zeameti Yürük*s, since they lived in a region of Zeamet, which is the reflection of timar system. Apart from them, there were some minor Yürük groups in Giresin (Savaştepe), Ayazmend and Manyas districts attached to the İvrindi.

There were important yürük groups also in Manisa, which was the capital of the Saruhan principality before going under Ottoman rule, and which became the "Prince's Province" during the early days of the Ottoman dominance. The first of these groups was known as "Ellici", which consisted of 42 communities and 5,311 tax-payer households. The reason why they were named as "Ellici" was that they would serve the state by sending one out of every fifty households on duty. Another group was known as "Mukataa Yürüks". This group, consisting of 3,664 tax-payer households, would pay taxes at a certain rate. They were scattered across a wide area covering mainly Manisa, Güzelcehisar, Tarhaniyat (Menemen), Nif, Ilıca, Adala, Demirci, Gördes, Kayacık, Akhisar, Gördek, Marmara and Gelendos. Another important group was known as Karacıyan and Buğurcıyan. These two groups were registered together because they were given to the *mukataa* together. The Karacıyan group was originally a part of the *Karacakoyunlu Yürük*s, who lived in the region of Aydın. The Buğurcıyan group, on the other hand, was given this name, because the members of this group had made fame with their skills in training camels[38]. The Karacıyan and Buğurcıyan groups, consisting of 735 tax-

[34] BA, *TD,* no. 166, p. 214.
[35] BA, *TD,* no. 166, p. 227.
[36] BA, *TD*, no. 166, p. 227.
[37] BA, *TD*, no. 166, p. 262.
[38] Camels, being the most popular means of transportation, played an important role in the development of camel training as a profession among certain Yürük groups. For more information, see Halil İnalcık, "Arab Camel Drivers in Western Anatolia in the Fifteenth Century", *Revue*

payer households, lived in an area stretching across Manisa, Güzelhisar, Tire, Akhisar, Marmara and Gördek. Apart from these yürük groups living in the Manisa region, there were a great number of Yürüks living in the regions of Adala and Demirci. The Yürük groups living in Adala were known as "Mendehorya" and "Menye", and they were named due to the region in which they lived. The Yürüks in the region of Demirci were 2,050 tax-payers in number, consisting of 120 communities. *Demirci Yürük*s lived in an area covering mainly in the regions of Demirci, Germiyan, Kula, Selendi, Borlu, Adala, Aydın, Yengi, Manisa and Marmara. Meanwhile, there were some minor and scattered Yürük groups in the districts of Güzelhisar, Gördes and Kayacık as well[39].

The most important Yürük group living in the Aydın Province was known as Bayramlu Karacakoyunlusu. This group, living in the Tire district of Aydın, consisted of 56 communities[40]. Their having a large population eventually gave them the chance to become a separate district. The Yürük groups living in İzmir and Birgi were in quite scattered groups. One of the communities living in the region of İzmir was known with the name of "Manavgadiyân"[41]. Today, it is still unclear if the name Manavgat has been derived from this Yürük group, or if this group has taken its name from this region in where they lived. In the Güzelhisar district, there were two Yürük groups. One was the Tahtaciyân or Tahtacılar (i.e. woodmen) group, consisting of 77 taxpayers. According to the historical records, they were responsible for giving 300 wooden planks to the Ayasulug Castle, and in return they were exempted from the avarız (extraordinary taxes)[42]. This was important because this Yürük group was named their field of expertise. Yet another group was known by the name of Alâiyeli, consisting of 160 households, 102 single males, and two *imam*s, and it is seen that they were named like that because they came from the region of Alaiye[43] . In the district of Alaşehir, the members of the Yahşi group lived across a wide area in a rather scattered pattern[44] and it might indicate that they lived a semi-sedentary life. In Bozdoğan district, there were 17 communities, but most of them were the residents of the Ayasulug district[45]. In Yenişehir district, there were 24 communities of Yürük, whose members were scattered across the region[46]. Records say that this group spent their winter months

d'Histoire Magrebine, X (1983), pp. 256-270; Feridun M. Emecen, *XVI. Asırda Manisa Kazası*, Ankara 1989, pp.139-140.

[39] BA, *TD*, no, 166. p. 303-306, 324, 337-341, 348, 351-352. 355. For more information on the Yürüks of Manisa, see F. M. Emecen, *ibid*., p. 127-141.

[40] BA, *TD*, no. 166, p. 374-375.

[41] BA, TD, no. 166, p. 395.

[42] BA, *TD*, no. 166, pp. 438-439.

[43] BA, *TD*, no. 166, p. 439.

[44] BA.*TD,* no. 166, p. 445.

[45] BA, *TD,* no. 166, p. 470.

[46] BA, *TD,* no. 166, pp. 459-460.

within the district and their summer months on the summer pasture lands, which means that they maintained their nomadic customs, traditions and lifestyle. In the Sart district, among the yürük groups there were not only Tatar groups, but also some other groups coming from Diyâr-ı Acem.

Many different Yürük groups lived intensively in various regions of Menteşe Province, which was the actual hinterland of the Menteşe Principality before Ottoman dominance, and they were known as the Yaylacık, Oturak Barza, İskender Bey, Kayı, Kızılcakeçilü, Horzum, Bahsi Bey, Kızılca Balkıç (?), Divâne Ali and Karacakoyunlu *Yürük*s[47]. Ottoman archival records indicate that these groups were scattered across a wide area that covered Peçin, Muğla, Mekri, Milas, Çine, Bozüyük, Balat, Tavas, Ayasulug, Tire, İzmir and Çeşme[48], and that most of them had already adopted a sedentary life in the places they settled. The presence of a group named Kayı, on the other hand, hints that a considerable number of the members of this *boy* had lived in the Menteşe region. Horzum, one of the aforementioned groups, must have belonged to the members of Khorezm khanate, which was an influential state in region of Anatolia and Syria since the first quarter the 13th century and which later was erased from the scene of history. It is interesting that some of the groups living in the Peçin area were registered as "tîr", a Persian term whose Turkish equivalent was "ok", next to "cemaat" or "community". As it is known, the term "ok" would refer to tribe and groups that were divided into small parts and that the separate tribes that had their own administrative and military structures[49]. In this sense, the use of word "tîr" is important, which was used as the social and administrative structure of the nomads although it is originally a Persian word which it hints the roots of the term "ok". There were various Yürük groups also in Çine, Muğla and Köyceğiz districts. Most of them were registered as "tîr" or "cemaat". Still, some of them were both nomadic groups and sedentary groups.

As for the Yürük groups living in the Teke Province: they were mostly in the Antalya district. Each of the groups of Kızılcakeçilü, Mahmadlar and İvacalu consisted of about 20-22 households. The group known by the name Çobansa consisted of 85 households and six single males[50]. It is believed that the Çobansa group, that was one of the most numerous groups of the region, was probably the members of the Çobanoğulları. Along with these relatively small groups, there were two major Yürük groups living in this region, namely Varsak and Ulu Yürük[51]. The Varsak Yürüks were the residents of Karaman province, and

[47] BA, *TD,* no. 166, pp. 482-488.
[48] BA, *TD*, no. 61, pp. 1-107.
[49] For more information, see Osman Turan, "Eski Türklerde Okun Hukukî Bir Sembol Olarak Kullanılması", *Belleten*, IX/35 (Ankara 1945), pp. 315-318.
[50] BA, *TD*, no. 166, p. 576.
[51] BA, *TD*, no. 166, pp. 576-578

apparently, they were the descendants of the Varsak people, who lived in Tarsus. The Ulu Yürük group, on the other hand, consisted of 21 communities, is believed to have been the descendants of the Ulu Yürük people, who had lived across a wide area between Sivas and Tokat. It must be stated that among them a group of Gencelü was divided into various groups. Apart from that, in the Karahisar district of Teke Province, the Serik Yürüks, who consisted of 14 communities, existed.

In the province of Anatolia, Ankara was the vicinity having the densest nomadic population. In the vicinity of Ankara, there were five major Yürük groups, that were the Kasaba, Haymana, Karalar, Tâceddinlü and Ulu Yürük groups[52]. The referring of Ottoman archive registers to these tribes as "boy" or "tavâif" shows that their presence in the region goes to the early period. The Kasaba Yürüks consisted of 55, Haymana Yürüks consisted of 325, Karalar and Tâceddinlü Yürüks consisted of five each, and Ulu Yürük consisted of 33 communities. The Haymana Yürüks lived in a wide area covering Seferihisar, Barçınlı, Karaman, Kırşehir, Bacı, Sandıklı, Karahisar and Sultanönü. The scattered way of life of the Haymana Yürüks leads us to suppose that the word "Haymana" means living in a scattered style. The Ulu Yürüks mainly lived in the area stretching from the north of Sivas to Tokat. However, the recording of one of the groups attached to the Ulu Yürüks indicates that they were scattered over a wide area like Ankara.

Just to the north of Ankara, in the Kangırı (Çankırı) region, there was an important Yürük group called the Kangırı Vilayeti Yürüks (The Province of Kangırı Yürüks). This name was given to them for the area where they had lived and they consisted of 14 communities. There were also the Mahmudlar Yürüks, that consisted of eight *bölük*s[53]. The reason why they were referred to as *bölük* is probably that they had formerly lived in a Central Anatolian region, where the Mongolian influence was felt more strongly.

According to the survey of 1530[54], the Karaman Province, which was the hinterland of the Karaman principality before coming under Ottoman rule, was the area that accommodated the greatest number of nomadic elements in the whole of Anatolia. It is most likely that most of these nomadic elements were the descendants of the nomadic people who had lived in the same area during the Seljuk and Karaman rule. The summer pastures of the nomadic groups in the Karaman province were especially in the regions of Niğde, Beyşehir and Aksaray. In this connection, the nomadic people living in this region spent their summer months in the Hasandağı, Üçkuyulu, Belkuyu, Ağa-seküsü, Aladağ and Melendiz

[52] BA, *TD*, no. 438, pp. 341-354, 358, 401, 403-406.
[53] BA, *TD*, no. 438, p. 707, 743.
[54] BA, *TD*, no. 387. This cadastral survey record, including the records of the Rum Province, has been published by the Prime Ministry State Archives General Directorate in the form of exact copy. *Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Karaman ve Rûm Defteri No. 387 (937-1530),* I, Index and Exact Copy, Ankara 1996; II, Index and Exact Copy, Ankara 1997.

in the province of Niğde, and Ovacık in the province of Aksaray. Apart from that, there were also very important summer pasture lands in the vicinity of Aladağ in the Niğde district. Besides, there were 12 other summer pastures in the province of Beyşehir. The fact that a regular open market was set up every week on Wednesdays in Melendiz indicates that this area was a strategic point for the nomadic people living in the region. This *Çarşamba* open market must have been a meeting and trading point between nomadic and sedentary people of the region where they found the opportunity to get the goods and animals they could not raise themselves.

In the Karaman area, Konya Plain was one of the regions that had the biggest nomadic population in Konya Province. The border of this plain stretched from the south of Ankara in the north to the Taurus mountain range in the south. The major one of the nomadic groups living in this area was "Esb-Keşân" (horse driver). In the Ottoman archival records, this group is sometimes referred to as "At-Çeken", which is the exact Turkish translation of the Persian name "Esb-Keşân", which was probably given to these people in earlier periods when the Persian language was used in literature and bureaucracy before Ottoman dominance. These people, who paid their taxes by giving a certain amount of horses to the state, were named for their fame as skillful horse breeders and trainers. In other words, their economic occupation had an impact on their name.

Ottoman authority established three districts out of this rather crowded group with intensive population living in a vast geography "At-Çeken", namely Eski-il, Turgud and Bayburd. From among them, Eski-il by its name reflected the traces of the old “il” organization, while Turgud and Bayburd were referred as influential nomadic groups and that leaders played an important role in the region in the past.

The At-Çeken people in the Eski-il district consisted of 44 communities and 3,473 taxpayers, whereas the Turgud district consisted of 84 communities and 4435 taxpayers. The Bayburd district had also 21 communities and 2594 taxpayers[55]. Besides, in the Eski-il district there were also seven communities attached to Kuştemür, originally a member of the Varsak people. Some of these communities were settled both in the center of Ereğli district and in the nearby villages. Also, in Turgud district there was an important nomadic group called Yapalu, consisting of 26 communities and 1,300 taxpayers[56]. The reference of Yapalu as a kabile, consisting of more than one community, indicates that they were a group living for a long time in the region they continued a traditional social structure. The aforementioned nomadic elements obviously had social and commercial relations with each other and with the sedentary groups living at that area, since historical records say that a regular market was established near the Yanıkhisâr Mosque in

[55] BA, *TD*, no. 387, p p. 231-237, 241-243, 249-250.
[56] BA, *TD*, no. 387, pp. 244-248.

Turgudlu[57]. According to the same sources, there were also horse (esb) markets in Konya and Akşehir districts which indicate the horse trade in the region.

Aksaray Province, which neighbored Konya Province, was yet another area densely populated by nomadic groups. The nomadic groups settled particularly in the Aksaray, Koşhisar and Ereğli regions. In Aksaray, there was a group named Yüzdeciyan, that consisted of 40 communities and 893 taxpayers[58]. The word "yüz" (i.e. hundred) in their name, was a reference to the *ağnam* (sheep) tax they paid, which was one sheep for every one hundred sheep. In the Hasandağı region, five community groups lived in a scattered way, besides a Tatar tribe called Şeyillah, consisting of six communities, and one other tribe called Bektaşlu, consisting of 30 communities[59].In Koşhisar region, there were community groups belonging to different tribes. One of these groups, the subjects of *Padişah hâs*, most of whose members belonged to a tribe called Runkuş, consisted of 31 communities and 1,063 taxpayers. The group registered as the Bozkirlu tribe consisted of a number of communities. Among these communities were the Kamanlu and Kırşehirli, whose names suggest that they lived in the areas known today respectively as Kaman and Kırşehir. There were also two tribes, namely the Hindlü and Bozdoğanlu, both are cited to be from the Haymana[60]. The groups living in the vicinity of Ereğli were settled in a scattered manner.

In Niğde, there were various nomadic groups including the Bulgarlu, Dündarlu, Yahyalu, and Haymana, most of which had preserved their tribal features. It is interesting that the word "Bulgar", which means "mixed" in old Turkish, was used while referring to both various Turkic groups living in Eastern Europe, and to the nomadic tribes living in Anatolia. The Bulgarlu and Dündarlu groups in Niğde province, lived in the Niğde *nahiye*, and the group known as Yahyalu lived in the vicinity of Karahisâr-ı Develü. The Bulgarlu group consisted of 12 communities, whereas the Dündarlu group consisted of two groups, one of which had 26 communities, and was called Dündarlu Haymanasu due to the scattered pattern it displayed. The other group of Dündarlu consisted of 11 communities[61]. The Yahyalu group consisted of 36 communities or *bölük*s.

Apart from these, there was another scattered group called Haymana in Karahisâr-ı Develü, which consisted of 14 communities[62]. Records show, however, that these people settled in the area they lived, and adopted a sedentary life.

Kayseri was another Central Anatolian region accommodating nomadic elements. The nomadic people living in this area were mentioned with the general

[57] BA, *TD*, no. 387, p. 243.
[58] BA, *TD*, no. 387, pp. 125-126.
[59] BA, *TD*, no. 387, pp. 131-134.
[60] BA, *TD*, no. 387, pp. 140-146.
[61] BA, *TD*, no. 387, pp. 169-171.
[62] BA, *TD*, no. 387, pp. 193-196.

term "Yürük". Of the major Yürük groups were Yahyalu, İslamlu and Küstere. The first two of the aforementioned groups lived in the "Irmak Kenarı" region, and the other lived in the Malya region[63]. There w a great number of nomadic people who preserved their only community structure, but who, at the same time, lived in small, scattered groups. The Yahyalu group, one of whose branches was registered in Niğde's Karahisar-ı Develü district, had some branches in Kayseri, which consisted of 17 communities, preserving its traditional social structure, tribal and nomadic features to a certain extent. The group is also believed to have been influential in the foundation and development of today's Yahyalı as a settlement area. Apart from the aforementioned Yürük groups, there were other nomadic elements in the Karataş and Bozatlu regions of Kayseri[64]. Most of the Yürük groups had their arable lands (mezraa) and winter quarters. They generally used their arable lands for agricultural production and winter quarters, which were to be the permanent settlements of their descendants. In the light of these facts, it could be said that these people started adopting sedentary life from the first quarter of the sixteenth century onwards.

In the İç-il province, situated in southern part of the Karaman province, yürük groups were seen mostly in the Gülnar and Selendi regions. The major groups living in the Gülnar region were known as Cece, consisting of 17 villages and one community; Bozkırlu, consisting of seven villages and three communities; Hacı Bahaeddinlü, consisting of 73 villages and communities and Yuvalu, consisting of 38 communities and villages[65]. As far as it is understood from the Ottoman archival records, most of these groups lived in villages. This indicates that they adopted a sedentary life style. Among these groups, Bozkırlu mainly belonged to the Cece group. In the meantime, the groups of Bozkırlu and Cece were registered as *kabile* because they preserved their traditional social structure to a certain extent. Another region in the İç-il province that had a considerable Yürük population was Selendi. The groups living in this area were registered as residents of the villages in the region[66].

Perhaps the most important Yürük group in the province of Rum was the Ulu Yürük group, that was recorded in historical documents as "Etrâk-ı Yürükân-ı Büzürg". The word "Etrak" is a plural form of the word "Türk" and was referred to the significance of this tribe as a social group. As mentioned before, the Ulu Yürük groups that were scattered in different parts of Anatolia, were mainly living in a large area between Sivas and Tokat. While many other nomadic elements of Anatolia were recorded as a community, the Ulu Yürük groups were mentioned

[63] BA, *TD*, no. 387, pp. 207-211.
[64] BA, TD, no. 387, pp. 212-213.
[65] BA, *TD*, no. 387, pp. 299-305.
[66] BA, *TD*, no. 387, pp. 314-320.

under the name of "bölük", which is the indication of the Mongolian influence on these people and the region itself. The Ulu Yürük groups, that constituted a considerable part of the population of the region in which they lived, consisted of 32 *bölük*s and about 8,000 households in 1530s[67]. The fact that there were 22 *sipahizade* (the cavalrymen) among these people indicates that some of the persons had the military structure in the early period. The Ulu Yürük group had a total of 409 winter quarters. This indicates that they had slowly started adopting a sedentary life in these places. The Ottoman central administration gave them a district status due to the population density of the Ulu Yürük. Apart from the Ulu Yürük, the İnallu group constituting of a part of the Ulu Yürük group was also known as "Etrâk-ı İnallu" in this region. This group consisted of six *bölük*s and about 400 taxpayers[68]. As far as it is understood, this group was given the name of İnallu because they were under the administration of İnaloğulları family. A historical record about this family goes on like: "İnaloğulları tasarruf ederler, eşerler". This phrase indicates that the İnaloğulları family was quite influential in politics and military aspects. This group started leading a semi-sedentary life in the 20 winter quarters they had, where they spent much of the time. Some other groups attached to the Ulu Yürük group were involved in agricultural activity in the nearby districts in order to make a living because the areas, in which they lived, were not enough for their sustenance. According to historical records, two groups, namely the Ballu and Kazancalu belonging to Ulu Yürük, were involved in agricultural production in the fields near Çorum's Karahisar-i Demirli district[69].

According to the summary cadastral survey records in 1530s, Tarsus, Adana and Kars (Kadirli) were the settlement areas hosting the greatest number of Yürüks in the Çukurova region[70]. Most of the Yürüks living in the region of Tarsus originally belonged to the Varsak group, and most of them lived in line with nomadic customs and traditions. The major tribes attached to the Varsak group were Kuştemür, Kusun, Ulaş, Esenlü, Gökçelü, and Elvanlu. There were some communities among these groups that were given the names of their tribal leaders and "ordu" (i.e. army), such as "Cemaat-i Halil Bey Ordusu". The use of the word "ordu" in Ottoman archival records, while referring to these tribes, suggests that those peoples lived within a certain organizational order that had political and military aspects[71].

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[67] BA, *TD*, no. 387, pp. 487-492.
[68] BA, *TD*, no. 387, pp. 492-493.
[69] BA, *TD*, no. 387, pp. 422-423.
[70] Cadastral survey record covering the region of Çukurova (BA, TD, no. 998) has been published by the Prime Ministry State Archives General Directorate in the form of exact copy: *Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Diyâr-i Bekr ve 'Arab ve Zü'l-kâdiriyye Defteri No. 998 (937/1530)*, I, Index and Exact Copy, Ankara 1998; II, Ankara 1999.
[71] For more information, see Faruk Sümer, "Çukurova Tarihine Dair Araştırmalar (Fetihten XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısına Kadar)", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, I/I (1964), pp. 70-85; Ali Sinan

The regions in which these tribes later settled were named in the administrative aspects like the Kuştemür "nahiye" and the Kusun and Ulaş districts. The scattered groups living in these administrative regions opened fields near their settlements. After getting involved with farming, they started firmly to adopt a semi-sedentary life style[72]. We encounter another important Varsak group in the Kırşehir region during the Ottoman rule. The Varsak group, whose population was about 12,000 in 1485in Kırşehir region[73], developed rapidly and turned into a rather crowded settlement area with a population of about 25,000 coming in 1530s, due to a considerable increase in the Varsak population[74]. The Varsak groups, living in this area were referred as "cemaats" or "bölüks", the latter indicating that Mongolians had once been rather influential in this region. Most of the Varsak groups living in the north and northwest of Kırşehir were involved in agricultural activities in those *mezraa*s, and later on adopted a sedentary life in the areas that they formerly used as winter quarters and formed the villages.

In the Adana region, Turkmen groups were seen most commonly in the Adana, Yüreğir, Saruçam, Dündarlu, Bulgarlu, and Kara İsalu regions. The names of some of these places came from tribal leaders' names. The Turkmens, who lived in the form of communities in various districts of the region in the sixteenth century, had lost most of their traditional tribal structures. The Turkmen groups, that consisted of 272 communities in 1530s with a population of about 10,000, had started partly getting involved with agricultural activities in the nearby fields[75]. Besides, in the Üzeyr Province, a neighboring province of the Adana region, there were a few Turkmen groups, that consisted of 18 communities[76], and that were at the time leading a semi-sedentary life. The situation was almost the same as the groups living in the Sis (Kozan) region. In 1530s, the Turkmen groups living as communities existing in this area consisted of 79 communities and 3,428 taxpayers[77].

In southern Anatolia, Maraş and Elbistan were the two regions that hosted the greatest number of nomadic groups. The nomadic groups in this area were descendants of the Dulkadırlı Principality, and were thus referred in the Ottoman period as the Dulkadırlı Turkmens. In addition to Maraş and Elbistan which are the

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Bilgili, "Tarsus Türkmenleri/Varsaklar", Anadolu'da ve Rumeli'de Yörükler ve Türkmenler Sempozyumu Bildirileri, Ankara 2000, s. 35-38.

[72] BA, *TD*, no. 998, pp. 357-388.

[73] BA, *TD*, no. 19, pp. 291-338. The figure regarding the population of Varsak has been obtained through the calculation of the number of Varsak households by five.

[74] BA, *TD*, no. 998, pp. 644-682.

[75] BA, *TD*, no. 998, pp. 306-318, 328-329.

[76] BA, *TD*, no. 998, pp. 348-350.

[77] BA, *TD*, no. 998, pp. 394-403. For more information on the nomadic communities of Sis (Kozan) Province, see Yusuf Halaçoğlu, "Tapu-Tahrir Defterlerine Göre XVI. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Sis (Kozan) Sancağı", *Tarih Dergisi*, vol. 32 (1979), pp. 819-893.

main lands, there were some Dulkadırlı groups in Çukurova in the west, and Bozok and Sivas in the north. The major tribes that belonged to these Turkmens were the Tamirlü, Gündeşlü, Anamaslu (Karacalu), Dokuz, Küreciyân, Bertiz, Cerid, Peçenek, Kavurgalı, Alcı, Döngelelü, Küşne, Eymir, Çimelü, Kızıllu and Alibeylü, Demrek, and Çağırgan. The fact that some of these groups were directly attached to the Oghuzs indicates that they were derivations of Oghuzs. That they were referred as "taife" or "boy" in the cadastral survey record of 1530s suggests that they preserved their traditional social structure. As cited before, *boy*s preserving their traditional features consisted of various communities. This was valid also for the *boy*s that made up the Dulkadırlı Turkmens. However, in time, the Dulkadırlı Turkmens lost most of their traditional boy features and developed a structure that could be associated more with a "community". This was a result of the administrative and financial policies that the Ottoman state pursued towards nomadic groups. In 1530s there were a total of 757 Dulkadırlı Turkmen communities and 21,733 households. This was a significant population for that period, and in turn they played an important role in the development of settlement in the regions they inhabited. The fact that they had 179 cavalry men apart from the aforementioned population indicates that they attached importance to military activities.

A group of Dulkadırlı Turkmens, whose homeland was Maraş and Elbistan, lived in the region of today'sYozgat as well. The reason why this region is also referred as Bozok Province in the Ottoman administrative system is that the Dulkadırlı Turkmens originated from the Bozok tribe of the Oghuz people. The Turkmens who came to this region from the Dulkadırlı homeland preserved their tribal features. The tribes (kabile) living in this region included the Kızılkocalu, Selmanlu, Ağçalu, Çiçeklü, Eymir, Gündeşlü, Küşne, Avşar, Kızıllu, Zâkirlü, Mes'udlu, Ağçakoyunlu, Kavurgalı, Demircülü, Şam Bayadı, Söklen and Hisarbeylü. Some of the communities attached to these tribes lived over a wide geography that covered the Gedük, Çubuk, Akdağ, Boğazlıyan, İlisu, and Sorkun *nahiye*s, and a great many of them were the subjects of timar[78].

One other region in which the Dulkadırlı Turkmens settled was Kars (Kadirli). In this region, there were both nomadic tribe groups like the Zâkirlü, Kavurgalı, Karıkışlalu, Karamanlu, Demircülü, and Selmanlu and also major community groups like the Çobanlu, Hatablu, Mes'udlu, Keçelik, and Kemallu. There were also minor groups attached to these boys and cemaat groups that were less in population and which were scattered over the region. The boys and cemaat groups

[78] BA, *TD*, no. 998, pp. 592-623; BA, *TD*, no. 218, pp. 3-51, 53-111, 114-136, 137-149, 151-176. For more information on Turkmens and Turkmen settlements in the region of Bozok, see Faruk Sümer, "Bozok Tarihine Dair Araştırmalar", *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yıldönümü Anma Kitabı*, Ankara 1974, pp. 309-381.

consisted of about 8,000 taxpayers, according to the cadastral survey records of 1530s[79]. Apart from these, certain groups attached to the Karıkışlalu had settled in various places of the Zamantu district of Maraş[80].

Yeni-il was one of the most significant regions in which Turkmens lived together in Anatolia. The most important characteristic of the region, which is today on the southern part of the province of Sivas, was that it had the summer pastures of groups attached to the Dulkadırlı Turkmens and Aleppo Turkmens. The most popular summer pastures areas of this region were Uzunyayla and Yellüce. The presence of a significant nomadic group in the region resulted in the declaration of this area as a district in 1548, and the district was named as Yeni-il, probably with reference to the Eski-il located in the Karaman region, or as "Türkmân-ı Yeni-il" (Yeni-il Turkmens) district with reference to the considerable Turkmen population. The interesting thing about the Yeni-il district was that there were a number of villages within its boundaries, and that therefore part of the population was nomadic and the other part of the population was sedentary. When this district was first established it was allocated to the foundation of Mihrümâh Sultan in Üsküdar, and later to the foundation of the mother of Sultan Murad III, Nurbânû Sultan (Atik Valide Sultan) in Üsküdar, and because of this the Yeni-il Turkmens living in the district were sometimes referred as Üsküdar Turkmens or Üsküdar Evi Turkmens (the Turkmens of Üsküdar House). In 1548 the population of Yeni-il disrict was about 13,000, 6,800 of which was constituted by the members of the Dulkadırlı and Aleppo Turkmens, and the rest consisted of settled groups living in villages. Coming to the year 1583, the district of Yeni-il's population had reached about 95,000, of which about 69,000 were Aleppo and Dulkadırlı Turkmens, and the rest were settled groups living in villages. It is known that some of the settled of Turkmen groups settled in the region by time[81].

One other important group in Anatolia was the Boz-ulus Turkmens. Boz-ulus Turkmens, who were originally from the Bayındır boy of the Oghuz people, and who were the descendants of the Akkoyunlu people, lived across a wide area stretching from Erzurum, Azerbaijan, and Georgia in the north and the desert land located to the south of Mardin, known as Deyr-i Zor in the south, as well as Diyarbekir region. In fact, the Boz-ulus Turkmens consisted of Aleppo and Dulkadırlı Turkmens, and some other scattered nomadic groups lived in the region of the Diyarbekir region. During the Ottoman rule, the basic structure among the members of the Boz-ulus group was the community. The growing population of the Boz-ulus resulted in their declaration as a district at first, and as a province in the

[79] BA, TD, no. 998, pp. 488-510.
[80] BA, TD, no. 998, pp. 548.
[81] For more information on Yeni-il Turkmens, see İlhan Şahin, *Yeni-il Kazası ve Yeni-il Türkmenleri (1548-1653*), Unpublished Doctorate Study, Istanbul 1980.

second half of the sixteenth century. However, the Boz-ulus Turkmens was declared a district again towards the end of the sixteenth century. Some groups attached to the Boz-ulus Turkmens proceeded towards the west and were present in Central and Western Anatolia in the late sixteenth and especially early seventeenth centuries. The major reasons behind this were the insufficiency of their living areas against their increasing population, and the commercial opportunities that western regions offered[82].

One of the most important Turkmen groups in Anatolia was the Aleppo Turkmens. Although their winter quarters were in the Aleppo region, they would spend their summer months in the regions in Anatolia. Detailed information is available in the cadastral survey records in which the Aleppo Turkmens have been recorded straight after entering the Ottoman rule. According to the first records, those people mostly preserved their traditional social and administrative structures, and the policies to be pursued towards them would also set a model for the policies to be determined for the other nomadic tribes. The Aleppo Turkmens, according to the same sources, consisted of various "boy" or "tâife" within their original social and administrative structure, and each of the *boy*s consisted of a number of community groups. The major boys were the Beydili, Kızık, Karkın, Köpekli Avşarı, Gündüzlü Avşarı, Bayat, Beylikli belonged to Bayad, İnallu and Harbendelü, whose names suggested that among the Aleppo Turkmens there were a considerable number of members of various Oghuz boys.The fact that some communities consisted of the leader family of boy among the other boys, and that they were also known under the name of "ordu" undoubtedly shows their significant political roles in the past. The Aleppo Turkmen population was about 40,000 in 1530s, about 49,000 in 1552 and about 60,000 in 1570. This was a considerably large number that cannot be underestimated, especially as far as the demographical structure of that period of history is concerned. With their large population potential and their population movements across Anatolia from the east to the west which was also the result of the developing economic conditions, they played an important role in the development of new settlements across Anatolia[83].

The important nomadic organizations, known with the names Turkmen or Yürük in Anatolia, generally showed a geographic distribution as was mentioned before, especially in 1530s. Although there were slight changes in this distribution in the sixteenth century in particular, when such major groups as Yeni-il, Aleppo and Boz-ulus Turkmens moved from the east towards the west and when the

[82] For more information on Boz-ulus Turkmens, see Faruk Sümer, "Boz-ulus Hakkında", *Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi,* VII/1 (1949), pp, 29-60; Tufan Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri: Boz-ulus Turkmenleri 1540-1640*, Ankara 1997.

[83] For more information on Aleppo Turkmens, see İlhan Şahin, "XVI. Asırda Halep Türkmenleri", *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, vol. 12, İstanbul 1982, pp. 687-712.

Ottoman administration pursued different policies towards them, the overall structure and distribution remained almost the same. The important thing about them is that they constituted an important part of the population in the areas in which they lived. According to the pioneering on the cadastral survey records chronicles conducted by Ö. L. Barkan, in the geography covering today's Anatolia, Anatolia, Karaman, Dulkadır and Rum provinces there were about 872,610 households in 1520s and 1530s; 160,564 of those households were nomads, and the remainder were settled groups. Of four provinces, province of Anatolia had the largest nomadic population, which were 77,268 households. This number, however, did not include about 52,000 households consisting of nomadic-origin *yaya-müsellem*s[84]. Between 1570 and 1580, 220,217 households of the total 1,360,474 in the aforementioned four provinces were nomadic, and the province of Anatolia was again the province having the most immense nomadic population with 116,219 households[85]. In this period, there was an abnormal increase in the province of Anatolia population compared to the past, which, according to Halil İnalcık, is a result of the population movements from eastern provinces towards the west[86]. The population especially in Aleppo province and Tripoli, Damascus, Baghdad and Basra, there was an immense nomad population including Turkmen and Yürük groups, totaled 371,848 households between 1570-90 and 87,030 of them were nomadic[87]. The summer settlements of most of the nomadic groups of these four regions were in Anatolia.

Of course, we cannot say that the aforementioned figures regarding the Turkmen and Yürük populations within the Ottoman state are absolutely reliable. As has been mentioned before, many of these groups had adopted sedentary lives since the earlier periods, and some had even become the permanent residents of villages, towns and cities, as the names of certain villages prove. Some of the regions were named according to the people intensively settling there, as was in the case of the Kayı nahiye of Mihaliç, which is known to have earned that name as early as 1466. This nahiye had 19 villages, known as Hıntı, Sorkun, Çukur-Viran, Çörüş, Gürleyik, Narlı, Göçet, Çardak, Eğri-Bayad, Ballık, Günce-Bükü, Çukur-Viran, Halil-Oğlanı, Sunkur-Sarayı, Mahmud-Hisarı, İki-Kilise, Büğdüce, Oğuz and Köpek[88]. The naming of this administrative unit as Kayı is not a coincidence: It

[84] For more information on comparisons, see Halil İnalcık, "The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role", *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire*, Bloomington 1993, p. 104.

[85] For more information, see ö. L. Barkan, "Essai sur les donnees statistiques des registers de recesement dans 1'Empire Ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siécles", *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, I/I (1957), 9-36; Ö.L. Barkan, "Research on the Ottoman Fiscal Surveys", *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East* (ed. M. A. Cook), London 1970, p. 163-171.

[86] H. İnalcık, "The Yürüks", p. 106.

[87] Ö. L. Barkan, "Ottoman Fiscal Survey", p. 171.

[88] BA, *Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler*, no. 8, 15b-16a, 23b-27a.

suggests that a large Kayı clan came and settled in the area where the Ottoman principality emerged. A similar case is seen in the Black Sea town of Giresun, which was known as Çepni Vilayeti (the region of Çepni) because a huge Çepni group had settled in the area. The reference to this region as a "vilayet" suggests the presence of some kind of an administrative unit, too. This administrative unit, according to 1515 records, consisted of 52 villages, 26 summer settlement areas, and about 10 *mezraa*s. It is known that settlement in this region dates back before the Ottoman State, during the Seljuk and Anatolian principalities, dominance over the region. The Çepni people and some other Turkmen tribes are known to have played a major role in the occupation of the region[89]. After the region came under the Ottoman dominance, many of the timar and zeamet holders were bound to Çepni leaders, their sons or those who were at their service. This proves that Çepni people provided military service for the state[90].

Many of the Turkmen and Yürük groups in Anatolia eventually adopted sedentary lives and established new settlement areas for themselves as a result of economic, social and demographic conditions. It is understood that the systematic settlement of these people by the state in various regions started from the late seventeenth century. The main reason behind this delay was the long years of warring between the Ottomans and neighboring states, and Celâli rebellions. The Ottoman authority launched its plans of reopening settlements demolished by the Celâli movements of the seventeenth century to settlement and agricultural production, and uniting those people under one roof by providing them with efficient agricultural production facilities. One other important design was that the Ottomans wanted to keep these people busy and prevent them from causing trouble, because the summer and winter settlements became insufficient for the nomadic groups. The state is known to have determined various areas in which to settle the nomads, including Karahisâr-ı Sahip (Afyon), Urfa, Adana, Bozok in the region of Anatolia as well as Rakka and Aleppo. Of these settlement areas, Rakka was strategically important, because it was considered as a fortress to resist possible Arab raids from the south. This settlement policy, contrary to the policies pursued during the expansion period of the Ottoman Empire, was an internal strategy whose main aim was to reopen devastated areas to agricultural production and revive the economy of the region. These settlement strategies seem to have

[89] For more information on the *Çepni*s, see Faruk Sümer, *Çepniler*, İstanbul 1992. For more information on their relations with the neighboring Turkmen principalities and the Empire of Trabzon Rum, see Anthony Bryer, "Greeks and Turkmens: The Pontic Exception", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXIX (1975), 113-148. Here A. Bryer states that the administrative unit known as Çepni emerged after 1461 (see p. 133). However, this statement is not completely right.

[90] For more information, see İlhan Şahin, "Osmanlı Döneminde Giresun Bölgesinde Konar-Göçerlerin İzleri", *Giresun Tarihi Sempozyumu, 24-25 Mayıs, 1996, Bildiriler,* İstanbul 1997, p. 111-117.

worked well in some parts of Anatolia. However, in such critical areas as Rakka, these strategies did not yield the expected results due to psychological, geographical, and climatic factors[91].

The settlement strategies of the central authority for nomadic elements of the late seventeenth century were continued all through the eighteenth century, when nomadic groups were settled mostly in devastated areas or in their own summer and winter settlements. Naturally, some groups preferred to establish their own settlements and adopted sedentary lives by themselves. Again, as had been in the seventeenth century, some other nomadic elements were settled and used as barriers, particularly along the southern borders in the eighteenth century[92]. This settlement policy was continued in the 19th century during the Tanzimat period. As a natural result, some of the largest nomadic groups were in the condition of *muhassıl*s under the control of *müshir*s in the provinces. This situation played an important role in attaching to the areas of living in terms of financial and administrative aspects[93].

As a result of these settlement policies, nomadic groups turned sedentary life style step by step, and established new settlements. This contributed greatly to the settlement and renovation of material and spiritual culture in Anatolia, and the establishment of an orderly settlement pattern.

[91] For more information, see Cengiz Orhonlu, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Aşiretleri İskân Teşebbüsü (1691-1696), İstanbul 1963.

[92] For more information, see Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İskân Siyaseti ve Aşiretlerin Yerleştirilmesi,* Ankara 1988.

[93] For more information, see Cengiz Orhonlu, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskânı", *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*, XV/1-2 (1976), s. 269-288.

TURKMEN MATERIAL CULTURE: PROBLEMS OF INTERPRETATION FOR CARPET STUDIES

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Much literature about Turkmen rugs, at least that of previous decades, deals almost exclusively with the woven products of these people and makes only passing reference to other aspects of their material culture. While there may be occasional references to ethnographic information, even carpet and textile scholars who have visited Central Asia usually have little to say about the way people actually live, leaving undisturbed the romantic notions that have grown up around the weavers of Central Asian carpets. There is a growing understanding that the life of a nomad is quite unlike the modern Western mythology (Eiland Jr. 1990, 116-117).

Coming to grips with ethnographic information from the field is never straightforward. On the one hand there are differences of language to be overcome, which in many ways is the least taxing. On the other, there is the ever-present question of the issues that will be addressed, which will directly influence the kinds of questions one will pose. This is where most of the difficulty lies. When approaching another culture, the issues that are important to an observer may not be significant to the studied culture. Some of the questions one may pose may be so basic that informants may not have thought significantly about the subject. If the roles were reversed, some of the difficulty may be explained, but at the same time, one has to be acutely aware that this is not the case, and the informants may be totally unfamiliar with a scientific viewpoint while the researcher may be only dimly aware of the cultural context of the subject.

The kind of information an anthropologist may bring back may be garbled and have little consistency from one informant to another. In the end an elaborate scientific study may say more about the culture of the researcher than the society of the study. Anthropologists have long been aware of this, and there are many ways of minimizing this bias. But if one wants to study the Turkmen of the last century,

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one must be particularly careful. There is no one alive to interview when the great majority of collectable Turkmen rugs were produced (Pinner and Eiland Jr. 1999).

For Turkmen studies, perhaps the two most useful guides are *Journey to Kiva* (Oguz Press, London, 1977, abbreviated here as *Kiva*) and *The Country of the Turkomans* (Oguz Press, London, 1977: abbreviated here as *Turkmen*). The former contains the travel log of Nikolay Murav=yov who was sent to establish contact with the Khivan Khanate in 1819-20. It is a wonderfully written story with much useful information. The latter volume contains accounts from a number of travelers from 1835-1885 which, in keeping with the motivations of the expeditions, is largely a collection of geographical data, with particular emphasis on those issues that involve the passage of people and supplies through Central Asia. As part of the so called AGreat Game,@ England and Russia vied for supremacy in Central Asia, and in the course of these expeditions, some important ethnographic information was also recorded.

But before delving deeper into the narratives, it is notable that there exist several distinct biases in this literature. One of the most frequently cited is the Turkmen custom of taking captives - usually Persian but also Russian - for sale. While many authors were opposed to the Russian advance through Central Asia, those who covered this period note with great favor that the Russians freed captives where they found them, and after gaining control of the region, outlawed further slave-taking. One account, by Edmund O=Donavan (1882), leaves little doubt as to his position of the Russian freeing of the slaves: AThis was one great step in progress, something that had never been heard of before, perhaps in the whole of Central Asian History; and if to-day these devastating Turkomans are wiped out by some who perhaps are not as liberal as we should be, who shall say whether it is not for the better@ (*Turkmen*, 207). This attitude, far from the kind of romanticization that can plague the Western appreciation of these people, is no less dangerous for scholarship. Most of the reports in this volume express similar sentiments that securely place this Victorian scholarship with the abolitionist movement of the day. Unlike what may be considered a liberal view today, many abolitionists at the time would have favored taking colonies in an effort to bring civilization, including abolishing such practices as slavery. Many authors appreciated Turkmen society in this light, as when compared to the mores of England or the educated city elite of Iran (with whom the English had a long relationship), these nomads were found to be incapable of building anything civilized and sorely in need of colonization, if not complete extermination, as suggested by O=Donavan. But by reading Ain between@ the narrative, which often emphasizes that the Turkmen live in the ruins of civilizations that were far beyond their own culture, one begins to see a different picture, one that is more consistent with what can be observed today.

Perhaps the most significant information I gathered while I was in Turkmenistan concerns my realization that a large segment of the Turkmen now and probably at least for the last several hundred years have been an agricultural people (see also O'Bannon 1974, 28-29). This is what the Turkmen themselves told me when we ventured into subjects not directly connected with rugs. The largest group of Turkmen peoples are now the Tekke, and most of them have lived for at least the last century and a half in three areas: the Merv oasis, the Tedjend oasis, and the narrow but well watered strip of land watered by streams leaving the Kopet Dagh. The reason these lands are valuable to their occupants relates to their ability to produce abundant crops. The desert to the north of the line of settlements along the Kopet Dagh - as well as the desert between Tedjend and Merv - are desolate and could not support a substantial population. Flying over these areas gives one a clear indication as to just how harsh life away from the agricultural lands would be, even for nomads.

And, indeed, the History Museum in Ashgabat shows such artifacts as Turkmen ploughs and other agricultural implements. (FIGURE 1), and everywhere in the oases and along the Kopet Dagh, there is abundant agriculture. This should not be surprising when we reflect that the ceremonial capital of the Parthian Empire was located at Nisa, just a few miles outside of Ashgabat. Merv allegedly had a million people when Genghiz Khan arrived in 1221, and this is readily understandable when one notes that the cultivated region around Merv measures about 40 by 50 miles. The fact that the oases, as well as the lands adjacent to the Amu Darya, were contested in warfare suggests that the Turkmen also appreciated the agricultural potential of this area.

Turkmen living near the Caspian, including the sedentary Ogorjali, took part in the Transcaspian trade, and a model of a large Turkmen cargo boat is also on exhibit at the History Museum in Ashgabat. Turkmen fishnets and other paraphernalia of a seagoing and fishing life are also displayed. (FIGURE 2).

Perhaps the most interesting revision of traditional thought about the Turkmen may relate to use of the yurt (Andrews 1997). While much has been written about Turkmen movements in migrating from one area to another - along with descriptions of how rapidly the yurt could be disassembled and loaded onto pack animals - there has been little discussion of the yurt as a permanent or semi-permanent home. While the modern city of Ashgabat resembles other cities of the Former Soviet Union, one does not have to travel far to see evidence of a different mode of existence. Just outside the city, and dotted throughout the countryside in general, are areas where yurts and houses stand in close proximity (FIGURE 3). Clearly designed for use by one family, these dual structures stand in contrast to one another as Anomad@ tent and permanent structure. Many earlier settlements show evidence that such a dual dwelling system existed centuries ago. There are

often foundations of mud or mud brick houses with a ring of stones nearby to secure a tent. The Victorian literature offers clues as to the reasons for these dwellings. Murav=yov records that while there were Turkmen villages on the Caspian shore, he found that Turkmen yurt settlements near Khiva had regular stables or sheds, which were surrounded by a wooden fence or mud wall, for their cattle (*Kiva*, 45). In 1879 Rawlinson (*Turkoman*, 112) records that Turkmen Aobahs@ [a type of settlement] are scattered along the base of the hills where there is water and pasturage, but little room between the mountains and the desert for migrations. These settlements have a Amore permanent character@ than the settlements of other tribes. Each settlement consists of tents pitched within reach of a stone enclosure, which serves as a refuge from Kurdish attacks.

In 1881 Colonel Stewart records the dwellings of the Turkmen in the vicinity of Merv, called then Kala Kaushid Khan, where there were about 6000 tents. The Achief man@ has a guest house of mud or of sun dried mud brick. AThey themselves@ live in a felt tent, or in a dwelling made of reed mats if reeds are available. Both of the latter dwellings are recorded as being able to be carried away by camels (*Turkmen*, 150). Perhaps the most interesting aspect of these two accounts is that there are three different, but not mutually exclusive reasons, why a sedentary dwelling would be used. For defensive purposes, either a stone or a mud dwelling offers protection. On the other end of scale, a Aguest house@ made of the same materials could also be used as a dwelling or for storage. One may also suggest that this Aguest house@ as described by Stewart also served - when not entertaining foreigners - to house cattle.

The issue of dwelling type rapidly leads to a consideration of what it means to be a nomad. In 1874 Stebnitzky records (*Turkmen*, 67), in unusual detail, the tribes and their way of life. Of the Chomura (one of the Turkmen tribes) they are recorded as living in the Atrek and Hürgen valleys, where they are engaged in fishing and raising wheat, millet, barley and sesame. The encampments are Anot always stationary@ and can be moved for short distances. The Charva, in contrast, are nomads, and remain in the same region in the cold months of December-February. During most of the year they wander Awherever there are wells@ particularly in the Kizil Kum desert. Stebnitzky also adds an important passage that outlines the plasticity in modes of life:

The Chomura [settled] and Charva [nomadic] Turkomans are closely connected; thus, for instance, a father lives a settled life, while the sons are nomads. Sometimes family circumstances compel them to change their nomad for a settled mode of life, as, for instance, marriage or poverty. It sometimes happens that fevers are prevalent in summer on the Attrek and Hürgen; in such cases more Turkomans migrate to the steppe.

This passage brings two important issues into focus. The first is that a

nomadic and sedentary group need not be antagonistic. In fact, they can be the same people. The second point is that other factors, such as wealth or climate can change the lifestyle of a particular group. Romantic concepts of the purity of the Anomadic life@ are not sustained when one studies how nomadic societies are organized. Unlike many Western works that outline various modes of subsistence - each mutually exclusive - as Anomads@ and Aagriculturalists,@ modern ethnographic observations of the Marri Baluch demonstrate that these peoples simultaneously exploit a number of different environments.

Meaningful definitions of Asedentary@ and Anomadic@ individuals are difficult to apply. Land for farming can be held by individuals or communities, and may be held more or less permanently by an individual line or be subdivided at intervals. Many large landowners lease their land for others to work. As a result of the nature of land ownership, individuals or families may be sedentary for a period, only to engage in a nomadic lifestyle at a later time. The residence of the tribal chief may be either a collection of semi-permanent dwellings or a settled village with a fortress and houses for his headmen (Pehrson, 1977: 9-11). The picture that emerges is one of individuals exploiting the opportunities available to them at any given moment.

The Baseri of the Fars province in Iran have a similar organization. The ruling chiefs of the tribe and their immediate family cannot be classified as Anomads.@ While they usually own large flocks, they leave day to day administration to local overseers. They live in Shiraz and are engaged in politics at a national level. One of their most important functions is to represent the tribe in cases against sedentary communities (Barth, 1961: 74-76). Qashqa=i khans lead a similar lifestyle. While they may celebrate their Anomadic@ heritage and receive their nomadic subjects in tents - weather permitting - their mode of life is sedentary (Barfield, 1993:112). This is not to suggest that the nomadic lifestyle is regarded as inferior to a sedentary existence. On the contrary, for the majority of the tribe, a forced settlement means the loss of status, which comes from life as an independent herder. While most nomads owe allegiance to their chief, they have enough capital to remain effectively self-employed. If they were to settle, the majority do not have sufficient capital to purchase enough land to give them comparable status as a self-sufficient landowner (Barth, 1961: 108-109). It is for this reason that two groups out of the nomadic population are likely to settle. The wealthiest chiefs find sedentary comforts enticing. The poorest nomads - who through natural disasters or mismanagement - have no security or status, find more secure work in a sedentary community. The organization of the community is one of the most important issues to address, particularly the artisans.

As Vasjev (quoted by Kalter 1984) noted in 1888, the Turkmen did not apparently have a stable group of artisans. The model instead was one of a peasant

who practiced agriculture and one or more crafts. Trades such as blacksmiths, silversmiths, builders and millers were not nomads [FIGURE 4]. When Kalter attempted to find if any copper was produced by the Turkmen in Afghanistan today, he found that they were probably made by other groups. He notes that the A...slight inclination towards craftwork seems to have virtually disappeared in Turkoman settlement areas after colonization and political stabilization@ (Kalter, 1984: 55).

It is interesting to note that the vessels the Turkmen eat and drink from [FIGURE 5] are not like those found among nomadic Eastern Turkic groups, such as the Khirgiz. The latter people are well known for their leather vessels, made from various parts of the animal and richly ornamented.. Instead, the Turkmen use wooden, ceramic and metallic vessels. Wooden vessels are particularly versatile, and are used by a number of nomadic and semi-nomadic groups. Unlike ceramic vessels, which do not travel well, wood is shock resistant. It is also light, and, importantly, such vessels can be made with simple tools. A simple lathe can be made using a central pole attached to a pivot on one end, and the vessel to be carved on the other. Knives are used to cut away wood on the interior and exterior of the vessel as the lathe is turned. Rotary motion is supplied by an assistant pulling on a cord wrapped around the pole.[1] Such a simple lathe would not be out of place even among the Turkmen nomads, as the parts are neither complicated nor heavy.

In summarizing what can be learned from the field, several issues emerge. First to consider are the negatives. In many cases cultures that have historically woven rugs have undergone cataclysmic change, leaving little, or in some cases no record of local material culture of the recent past. In another example a Afeedback loop@ can be generated, and a Western hypothesis can be Aconfirmed..@ Many rug travelers can attest to finding Western rug books or auction catalogues in even the most remote areas, and it becomes difficult to determine whether a given piece of information comes from a rug book or from the local people themselves. While in Turkestan, I met a woman who earns money by translating parts of the western carpet literature for local carpet specialists.

At the same time there are many positive aspects to fieldwork. There is still an enormous amount to be learned by visiting the descendants of people who made the rugs we collect. With travel faster, cheaper, and safer than ever before, many have taken the opportunity, and ethnographic information, often little more than hastily collected snips from whirlwind tours, is making an impact on the rug field. It would indeed be ironic if the great Victorian travelers, who in a real sense risked life and limb to travel to remote locales, were the last scientists to learn from the

[1] A simple lathe similar to the one described was observed by the author in Syria, there is a picture of one use by Kirgiz in Basilov *et al.* (1989:131-132).

people, geography, art, and artifacts of these places. What is needed - and it can be no more than alluded to here - is a thorough re-assessment of earlier travels in the light of modern first hand experience. By comparing and contrasting modern and Victorian accounts, there is some hope of salvaging valuable information about Central Asian cultures.

One of the most interesting observations to be gleaned from the literature is that the Victorian period was far from stable in Turkmenistan. The Turkmen are recorded as only moving into the Merv region in 1830. Their movements were stimulated by warfare, and throughout the nineteenth century there was constant strife in the region. The powerful Khans of other Central Asian states, such as Khiva, clearly did not want the Turkmen to form a powerful entity, as did the Persian Shah. This trend continued with the Russian advance, which in some ways spelled an end to an incipient state. The nineteenth century can be largely characterized as one of protracted civil war. During such a period, one could hardly expect for the Turkmen to develop cities, along with the craft specializations that went along with the generation of an agricultural surplus. Farming could be undertaken in regions that could support it -during periods of calm - while keeping an eye on often hostile neighbors.

It is therefore in adversity that some of the greatest Turkmen art was created. Although the Turkmen did have Asedentary@ and Anomadic@ elements, all groups were prepared to move from place to place as the political climate demanded. As we look at some of the large Turkoman main carpets, or the Eagle Gul group of rugs, we can appreciate that these were not the work of nomads so much as the art of a coalescing nation [FIGURES 6-7].

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Captions

1. The History Museum in Ashgabat displayed ploughs and other agricultural implements from the beginning of the century (if not before). Wherever water was abundant, particularly the shores of the Caspian sea, in river valleys or at the foot of the mountains, sedentary communities could exist.

2. Models of boats in the History Museum, Ashgabat. As Mrav=yov makes clear, the Turkmen used boats on the Caspian. This fish net demonstrates yet another mode of life practiced by the Turkmen.

3. Model of traditional arrangement of tents and permanent shelter (History Museum, Ashgabat). The function of the structures is unclear, but it is likely that they were used for a variety of purposes.

4. This painting (History Museum, Ashgabat) may suggest that even a jewelry-maker would have been prepared for flight. While the dwelling is a tent, the equipment for making jewelry would be less than simple to transport. At the same time, in an area that could suffer raids from a number of hostile neighbours, such a scheme may have existed in the past.

5. Ceramics were not uncommon in the last century, as is clear from archaeological remains, but wooden vessels no doubt were also important, as is depicted here (History Museum, Ashgabat). Wood is light, and not as susceptible to breakage as ceramics. From ethnographic collections, it appears metallic vessels, such as the small one at the back of this picture, were not common.

6. Tekke bag (chuval). This small weaving may be regarded as a typical nomadic product. It would have been made on a small loom and it uses simple designs that could be memorized by a weaver. Wiedersperg Collection, San Francisco.

7. Tekke main carpet. These large carpets have often been assumed to have been made for the export market only. Their large size suggests they were made for Western rooms, yet it is possible that carpets such as these could pre-date the late 19th century. Wiedersperg Collection, San Francisco.







TÜRKÇE SĀʿATNĀMELER VE HİBETU'LLĀH İBNİ İBRĀHİM'İN SĀʿATNĀMESİ

Ahmet BURAN *

Giriş

Nesnenin harekete başladığı an ile durduğu an arasında geçen süre, bir bütün halinde, zaman kavramıyla ifade edilmektedir. Atom sürekli hareket halinde olduğuna göre, aslında genel anlamda hareketin bittiği an yoktur. Dolayısıyla zaman, sürekli var olan ve içinde geçmiş, yaşanan an ve gelecek gibi üç temel bölüm bulunan bir kavramdır.

Fizik bilginleri ve felsefeciler zamanı "birbirini izleyen anlardan oluşan çizgisel bir bütünlük; önce olandan sonra olana doğru giden sonsuz anlar bütünü" olarak tanımlamaktadırlar. Zaman, "hareketin ölçüsü", zaman duygusu ise, "insanın ayırt edici" bir özelliğidir. Zaman, "a priori" olarak vardır ve "görüngüler" ancak onun içinde gerçeklik kazanırlar. Dolayısıyla zaman, kimi düşünürlerce, "varlığın dördüncü boyutu" , hatta zamanın dışında herhangi bir varlıktan söz edilemeyeceği için "varlığın kendisi" olarak da tanımlanmaktadır.

Eşyayı, insanı, varlığı kuşatan bu kavramın kontrol edilmesi, durdurulması veya tersine çevrilmesi mümkün değildir. İnsan hayatının her anını ilgilendiren ve dünya üzerinde yaşadığımız süre ile de yakından ilgili olan bu kavramı insanoğlu tanımaya çalışmış ve bunu yaşadığı doğal ortamın şartlarına bağlı olarak bölümlere ayırmıştır. Böylece, dünya zamanına ait olmak üzere asır, yıl, mevsim, ay, hafta, gün, gece; saat, dakika, saniye... gibi zaman bölümleri ve birimleri ortaya çıkmıştır.

İnsanın hayatını belli bir düzen ve disiplin içinde sürdürebilmesi için zamanı iyi ve doğru kullanması gerekir. Onun için her din ve felsefe zamana değer verir. Kuran-ı Kerim'in bir ayetinde[1] zamana yemin edilmesi ise, bu önemin belirtilmesi bakımından özel bir anlam taşımaktadır.

Çok eski çağlardan beri insanlar zaman ve zaman kavramının oluşumunda

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[1] Asr / 1.

etkili olan faktörler üzerinde düşünmüş ve yıldız sistemleri ile burçları, bu oluşumun aslî unsurları olarak ele almışlardır. Böylece, Babil, Eski Mısır, Hint, Eski Çin, Maya, Eski Yunan, Roma ve Arap uygarlıklarında da görülen ve bizim ilm–i nücûm veya gök bilimi, batılıların ise astroloji dediği bilim ve bilgi dalı doğmuştur. Bu bilgi dalının çeşitli yönleri ile ilgili olmak üzere, sāʿatnāme, rūznāme, şemsiyye, yıldıznāme, sebʿa-i seyyāre ve sāʿat-i zamāniye, ilm-i nücūm ve benzeri adlarla çeşitli eserler ve konular kaleme alınmıştır.

Biz bu çalışmada Hibetu'llāh ibni İbrāhim'in Sāʿatnāme adlı eserini incelemeye çalıştık.

XV. yüzyılın ikinci yarısı ile XVI. yüzyılın birinci yarısı arasında yazıldığını sandığımız eserin Türkiye'deki resmî ve özel kütüphanelerde çok sayıda yazma nüshası bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca eserin değişik tarihlerde yapılmış basımları da vardır. Biz, özel kütüphanemizde bulunan ve yazıldığı dönemi en iyi yansıtan H.1128(1716) tarihli bir yazma nüshayı esas alıp Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Laleli-1378 numarayla kayıtlı olan H.1130(1718) tarihli nüshayı da yardımcı nüsha olarak dikkate alıp incelememizi yaptık. Eserin bilinen en eski nüshası Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Serez-1609 numarayla kayıtlı olan H.1103(1691) tarihli nüshadır. Ancak dili yenileştirildiği için bu nüshayı esas almadık.

I . Sāʿat

Arapçadan Türkçeye geçmiş olan "**sāʿat**" sözcüğünün Arapçada "**sāʿat**" ve "**sāʿa**" biçiminde iki ayrı kullanımı vardır. Her ikisi de, zaman ölçen alet anlamındadır. Bu ilk ve genel anlamdan başka **sāʿa / sāʿat** sözcüğünün, dinî bir terim olarak " ölüm ve kıyamet anı ya da belirlenmiş an" gibi özel anlamları da vardır[2].

"**Sāʿat** " sözcüğü Türk Dil Kurumu'nun Türkçe Sözlük'ünde: "1. Bir günlük sürenin yirmi dörtte birine eşit zaman parçası, 2. Vakit , zaman, 3. Bir işin yapıldığı belli bir zaman, 4. Yürüyerek bir saatte alınan yol, 5. Günün hangi saati olduğunu gösteren alet " şeklinde açıklanmaktadır[3].

İslam Ansiklopedisinde ise bu konuda şu bilgiler verilmektedir: "Muayyen bir zaman fasılası ve bilhassa tespit edilmiş bir başlangıca göre herhangi bir anda zamanı gösteren alet olup, Yunan heyet alimlerine imtisalen aynı zamanda "mustaviya" da denilen ve yıldızlar semasının 15 derecelik dönmesine tekabül eden müsavî veya nücumî saat "saʿa falakiya" ile gündüzü ve geceyi 12 saate bölmek sureti ile elde edilen ve bu sebeple de mahallin arz dairesine ve mevsimlere göre değişen, bununla beraber zaman süresini belirten ve zamaniya da denilen gayrı müsavi saat, muvacca arasında bir tefrik yapılmıştır"[4].

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[2] *İslam Ansiklopedisi,* MEB. Yay. İstanbul, 1980, C. 10, s.3.
[3] Bkz. *Türkçe Sözlük,* TDK Yay., Ankara, 1988, s.1235.
[4] *İslam Ansiklopedisi,* C.10, s. 2.

Bu bilgilerden **sāʿa** / **sāʿat** sözcüğünün üç temel anlamda kullanıldığını görüyoruz:

1- Zamanı ölçen aletin adı

2- Dünyanın kendi çevresinde bir kez dönmesi esas alınarak yapılmış eşit aralıklı yirmi dört bölümden her biri

3- Belirlenmiş an, kıyamet günü

Zamanı "hareketin ölçüsü" olarak algılayan insan[5], yaşadığı yıldız sistemleri içinde güneşi ve güneşin hareketini, zamanı belirten en uygun cisim olarak kabul etmiştir[6]. Herhangi bir mahalde güneşin batışı bir zaman başlangıcı olarak alınmış ve o anda saatin 12 olduğu var sayılmıştır. Ertesi gün güneşin batışına kadar geçen süre 2 x 12 olarak kabul edilmiş ve böylece 24 saat bulunmuştur[7].

Zamanın dışında var olmanın mümkün olmadığını[8], onunla birlikte ve ona uyarak yaşamak zorunda olduğunu fark eden insan, yaşadığı süreyi bilmek ve bu süreyi doğru kullanmak için saati icat etmiştir. Gece ve gündüz saatlerinin geçişini ölçmek için "gece ve gündüzün almaşmasından, mevsimlerden, güneş (güneş zamanı) ve yıldızlardan (yıldız zamanı) yararlanılmıştır. Antik çağda gonomonlar, dikili taşlar, kum saatleri, dereceli mumlar, su saatleri kullanıldıktan sonra, Ortaçağda (XIV.yy.) hiç bir duyarlılığı olmayan ilk mekanik duvar saatleri ortaya çıkmıştır"[9]. Daha sonra bu saatler geliştirilmiş ve günümüzde de kullanılan çeşitli şekilleri yapılmıştır..

II. Sāʿatnāme

Sāʿatnāme, Arapça kökenli **sāʿat** sözcüğüne Farsça kökenli "**nāme**" sözcüğü getirilerek kurulmuş bir birleşik sözcüktür. **Nāme**, İsim olarak: "1. mektup, 2. sevgiye ve aşka dair yazılmış mektup, 3. kitap, mecmua" anlamlarındadır. Sıfat olarak ise, "yazılı, yazılmış, "küçük kitap" anlamlarına gelen birleşik sözcükler yapar. Dolayısıyla "**Sāʿatnāme**", saat ile ilgili olarak yazılmış metin veya eser anlamındadır. Ortak İslam kültürü dairesinde, sāʿatnāme, rūznāme, şemsiyye, yıldıznāme, sebʿa-i seyyāre ve sāʿat-i zamāniye, ilm-i nücūm gibi adlarla yazılmış, benzer konuları işleyen çok sayıda eser vardır. " **-Nāme**" sözcüğü getirilerek adlandırılmış olan bu eserlerin büyük bir bölümü hakkında edebiyat tarihi kitaplarımızda bilgiler var iken, sāʿatnāmeler hakkında, doğru ve doyurucu bir bilgi mevcut değildir[10]. Dolayısıyla biz bu çalışmada, öncelikle Sāʿatnāmeleri, konuları

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[5] Hawking, Stephen W., *Zamanın Kısa Tarihi,* (Süleyman Gül-Çağrı Gürbüz) İstanbul, 27 ve d.

[6] Borst, Arno, *Avrupa Tarihinde Zaman ve Sayı Computus,* (Çev. Zehra Aksu Yılmazer), Ankara 1997, s.26.

[7] *İslam Ansiklopedisi,* C.10, s. 2-3.

[8] Çüçen, A. Kadir, *Heideger'de Varlık ve Zaman,* Bursa 1997, s. 27 ve d.

[9] *Büyük Larousse,* 19. cilt, s. 1018.

[10] Taradığımız edebiyat tarihi kitaplarının hemen bütününde ve çok sayıda ansiklopedide konu ile ilgili bilgilere rastlayamadık. Sadece, V. M. Kocatürk'ün *Büyük Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* ile Kocatürk'ün eserine atıfta bulunan *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi*nde kısa bir bilgi yer almaktadır. Ancak bu bilgiler de eksik ve yanlıştır.

ve yazarları bakımından, ana hatlarıyla tanıtmaya ve özel olarak da Hîbetu'llāh ibni İbrāhim'in Sāʿatnāme'sini incelemeye çalışacağız.

Tespit ettiğimiz Sāʿatnāmelerin bir kısmı müstakil kitap şeklinde iken, bir kısmı da başka adlarla yazılmış bazı eserlerin içinde bir bölüm olarak yer almaktadır. Yazılış tarzları itibariyle bütünüyle manzum olanlar olduğu gibi, bütünüyle mensur olanlar da vardır. Bir bölümü ise manzum ve mensur karışıktır.

İncelediğimiz sāʿatnāmeleri konu ve muhtevaları itibariyle kısaca şöyle değerlendirebiliriz:

Sāʿatnāmeler, zamanın nasıl tayin edileceğini ve bu belirlenen zamanın, bir ucu astrolojiye (ilm-i nücum) de dayanan, özelliklerini ve hikmetlerini yedi yıldız 12 burca (Hamel-Koç, Sevr-Boğa, Cezva-İkizler, Seretan-Yengeç, Esed-Arslan, Sünbüle-Başak, Mizan-Terazi, Akrep-Akrep, Kavs-Yay, Cedy-Oğlak, Delv-Kova, Hût-Balık) dayalı olarak anlatan eserlerdir. Bu eserlerde, haftanın yedi günü, "Şems-Güneş, Zühre-Venüs, Utarid-Merkür, Kamer-Ay, Zühal-Satürn, Müşteri-Jüpiter ve Merrih-Mars" gibi yedi yıldız tarafından temsil edilmektedir. Haftanın yedi günü yedi vakte bölünmüş ve her bir vakitte bu yedi yıldızdan birinin etkili olduğu kabul edilmiştir[11]. Ayrıca Sāʿatnāmelerde, "sāʿa / sāʿat" sözcüğünün dinî terminolojideki anlamına uygun olarak "belirlenmiş an, kıyamet günü " ve bu günlerin özellikleri de anlatılmaktadır. İncelediğimiz altı yazma arasında Millî Kütüphanede Yz.A.4039 numarayla kayıtlı olan Sāʿatnāme ile Hîbetu'llāh ibni İbrāhim'in Sāʿatnāmesinde bu anlamda bilgilere daha çok yer verilmiştir. Millî Kütüphanede bulunan söz konusu Sāʿatnāmede Allah'ın isimleri ile günün saatleri arasında ilgiler kurulmakta ve hangi adın anlamının hangi saatte tecelli edeceği de açıklanmaktadır. Hîbetu'llāh'ın eserinde ise yıldızlara, burçlara ve güneş sistemine ait zamanın tayini konusuna fazlaca yer verilmemiştir. Bu eserde daha çok Tanrı tarafından belirlenmiş "**akşam saati, uyku, saati, gaflet saati, gökler saati ve arş saati**" şeklinde adlandırılan ve gerçek zamanla ilgisi olmayan saatlerden söz edilmekte ve bu saatlerin özellikleri ile yapılması gereken ibadetler hakkında bilgiler verilmektedir. Bu içeriği ve niteliği ile Hîbetu'llāh'ın Sāʿatnāmesi diğerlerinden önemli ölçüde ayrılmaktadır.

Sāʿatnāmelerde genellikle bir gün yedi vakte bölünmekte ve her bir vakitte yedi yıldızdan birinin etkili olduğu kabul edilmektedir.

Mesela:

Yevm-i yekşenbe:

şems	**zühre**	**ʿuṭārid**	**ḳamer**	**zühal**	**müşteri**	**merrih**
(tuluʿ-i afitāb)	(ḳuşlıḳ)	(zevāl)	(öyle)	(beyne'ṣ-ṣalāteyn)	(vaḳt-i ʿaṣr)	(āḫir-i rūz)

[11] Dünyanın değişik medeniyetlerinde ve ülkelerinde olduğu gibi Abbasîlerden itibaren bütün islam saraylarında "müneccimler" bulunuyordu. Osmanlı padişahları önemli kararlar alırken, müneccim başının yıldızların hareketlerine bakarak uygun zamanı tespit etmesini isterlerdi.

Yevm–i duşenbe:

ḳamer	**zühal**	**müşteri**	**merrih**	**şems**	**zühre**	**ʿuṭārid**
(ṭuluʿ)	(ḳuşlıḳ)	(zevāl)	(öyle)	(beyne'ṣ-ṣalāt)	(ʿaṣr)	(āḫir–i rūz)

şeklinde devam etmektedir. Her günün ve saatin kendine göre bir özelliği olduğu gibi, her yıldızın hükmü de farklıdır. Yedi yıldızın kendi saatleri ile ilgili özellikleri ve bu saatlerde yapılan işlerin iyi ve kötü neticeleri "ḥükm-i sāʿat-i şems, ḥükm-i sāʿat-i zühal, ḥükm-i sāʿat-i ḳamer..." gibi başlıklarla ve "Hükm-i sāʿat-i Müşteride zafer bulur avlanan ve sefer itmek, almağ ve ṣatmaḳ ve giymek ve biçmek ve ulular ile yemek ve içmek iderse ḫoşdur o sāʿatde eyü degildür merḥabālaşmak ve ṭaleb-i ḥācet itmek ve ḫoşdur sünnet itmek ve ʿıyş ü ṣulḥ dādın virmek ve av ü kuş itmek ġayet mübārekdür ve bu sāʿatde ṭoġan oġlan zāhid ve ʿālim ve zīrek ve ʿābid ola." şeklinde açıklanmaktadır.

III. Türkçe Sāʿatnāmeler

III. 1. Sāʿatnāme

Ebū Maşʿar el- Belḫî'den Şeyhü'l-Vaiz Yusuf el-Kağızmanî tarafından tercüme edilen Sāʿatnāme'nin başında yer alan " mintellifat el-Şeyhu'l-Vāiz Yusuf el-Kağızmanî, saḥābeden Ebū Maşʿar el-Belhî'nüñ Sāʿatnāmesinden, Farsîden Türkîye terceme olunmışdur." cümlesi, söz konusu eserin Farsçadan çevrildiğini açıkça göstermektedir. Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi 4988/1 numarayla kayıtlı bir mecmuanın 1-b / 15-a varakları arasında yer alan eserin tercüme tarihi 1158 (1745) dir. Mensur olan eserin satır sayısı 10, 11 ve 12 olarak değişmektedir.

III. 2. Sāʿatnāme

Ebū Maşʿar el- Belḫî'den tercüme edilen Sāʿatnāmenin bir nüshası da Rasim Deniz'in (Kayseri) özel kütüphanesinde "Cönk-16 " numarayla kayıtlı bir yazmanın 26-b / 27-a varakları arasında bulunmaktadır.

"Der beyān her günde vāḳiʿ olan sāʿatlerin neye mazhar oldukların hükmüni beyan ider" cümlesiyle başlayan bu Sāʿatnāme H. 1081 (1670) tarihlidir. Söz konusu Sāʿatnāmenin sebeb-i telifinde şu bilgilere yer verilmektedir: " ci ḥānıñ hükmi merḥūm ve maġfūr Ebu'l-Maşʿar el-Belhî ki maʿlūmı idi bu fenn-i nücūm ehl-i tasnīf idi zamānıñ dürr-i meknūnıdur beyānıñda şöyle kim her 'ulūmı keşf ile bilmiş idi 'Acem şāhlarından Ebū Saʿīd Ḫān aña didi kim baña bir ʿaceb rūzname te'līf eyle kim aslā mensūḫ olmaya ve hem de hem ḫoş ve hem şūḫ ve bāṭıl olmaya ve hükmi ebedü'l-ābād ola ve yeni taḳvīme ihtiyāç olmaya tā ḳıyāmete deger nāmı ḳala ol eser bir çerāġ olup ṭoġrı yolı seçüp gideler oḳıyanlar ḫayr duʿā ideler çün

Ebū Maşʿar bu sözi ol ḫāndan işitdi, yedi yıldızı bu tarz üzre iḫtiyār ve bünyād eyledi ve her fesād ü salāḥı bildürdi bir ʿaceb düzdi ve gice ve gündüzde eyü ve yavuz işden ne gelür ḫoş gördi. ḫān-ı mezbūr gördükde didi:

Her kim bu ʿilmi ṣaḳlaya ey cān
Hergiz işinde görmeye noḳṣān "

Eser "bu faḳīr ü ḥaḳīr Şaʿbān el-Ḥāfıẓ becāmi miyāne-i bālāda mesṭūr Şemsiyye nām manzūm kitābdan ḥāṣṣaten Sebʿa-i Seyyāre ve Sāʿat-i Zamāniyeyi bu tarz (...) ḳodum müstefid ve nazır olan ẕāt-ı şerīflerden umarum ki bir fātiḥa-yı şerīf ile rūhumuzı şād ideler" (sene 1081) cümleleri ile son bulmaktadır.

III. 3. Risāle-i Sāʿatnāme

Manzum olan bu Sāʿatnāme, Millî Kütüphanede Yz.A. 3459 / 8 numarayla kayıtlıdır. Sāʿatnāme bölümü, eserin 134-a / 136-b varakları arasında yer almaktadır. H. 1113 (1701) tarihli olan eserin yazarı ve yazıldığı yer belli değildir.

"Ahvāl-i sāʿate müteʿallik nazmdur" başlığıyla başlayan eserin her sayfasında 15 satır vardır.

Konu ve muhteva olarak birinci sırada belirttiğimiz Sāʿatnāme ile büyük bir benzerlik göstermektedir. Burada da her yıldızın bir saati ve her saatin de çeşitli hükümleri olduğu belirtilmektedir. Günlerin özellikleri ile beraber, yıldızların saatlerinin hükümleri ve yapılması iyi olan ve olmayan işler anlatılmaktadır.

Eser,

"İşit yine bir aşl bizden şüruʿ
Ki lubt oluna niçe füruʿ

Şehinşehlere rūznāme gerek
Ne anlara her ḫāş ü ʿāmlara gerek " beyitleri ile başlamakta ve

"Ḳatı māldār ve ʿazīz olur
Cihān içre ehl-i temīz olur " beytiyle de son bulmaktadır. Muhtemelen ilk sırada belirttiğimiz Sāʿatnāmeden yararlanılarak nazmedilmiştir.

III. 4. Sāʿatnāme

Millî Kütüphanede bir yazması bulunan bu Sāʿatnāme, İbrāhim Hakkı Erzurumî'ye aittir [12]. H. 1195 (1781) tarihli ve "Haza Kitāb-ı Tertibi'l-ʿulūm" adlı yazmanın 64-a / 66-b varakları arasında yer almaktadır. Müstensihi Yusuf en-Nesîm fi Karye-yi Tillo adlı bir kişidir.

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[12] İ. H. Erzurumî'nin Saatname'sinin H. 1164 / M.1751 tarihli asıl nüshası Mesih İbrÀhimhakkıoğlu'ndadır. Bkz. İsmet Binark, Nejat Sefercioğlu, *Erzurumlu İbrÀhim Hakkı Bibliyografyası,* Kültür Bak. Yay., Ankara 1977

"Öyle maʿlūm olsun ey oġlum Nesīm
Kim bu sāʿatnāme ḥikmetdür ḳadīm " beytiyle başlayan eser,
.....

"Ḥaḳḳı der-ʿilm-i felek sırrını āyān itdüm
Otuz beyt içre naḥs u sūd sāʿati beyān itdüm " beytiyle devam etmektedir. Nazım ve nesir karışık olan eser,
"Ḳoy üç mevlūdı dörd ümmīdi abā-yı nüh ṭāḳı
Ḳamu şey ġāliḳ u fānī hüveʿl–ḥayyu hüve'l-bāḳī " beytiyle son bulmaktadır. Muhteva itibariyle ilk iki esere benzemektedir.

III. 5- Sāʿatnāme

Millî Kütüphanede bir yazması bulunan eser, Yz. A. 4039 numarayla kayıtlıdır. Bütünüyle mensur olan bu Sāʿatnāme, 65 varaktan ibarettir ve her sayfasında dokuz satır vardır.

Eser, "İş bu eser tertīb üzerine günde yedi yılduzuñ yedi şerīf sāʿati vardur" cümlesiyle başlamakta ve " Cumʿa irtesi gecesi yatsu her birleri beyān oldı. İḳti żā itdükce ẕikr olunan mahalle naẓar oluna "cümlesiyle sona ermektedir. Eserin müellifi ve yazılış tarihi belirtilmemiştir.

IV. HĪBETU'LLĀH İBNİ İBRĀHİM

IV. a. Hayatı

Hībetu'llāh ibni İbrāhim'in hayatı hakkında kaynaklarda bilgi yoktur. Tarama Sözlüğünün başında, taranan eserler listesinde Hībetu'llāh'ın Sāʿatnāmesi de yer almaktadır[13]. Eser, Zahir Hasırcıoğlu tarafından taranmış fakat, hayatı hakkında sadece "Hībetu'llāh ibni İbrāhim ibni İsmail adlı bir bilgin" şeklinde kısa bir bilgi verilmiştir. Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk'ün Büyük Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi[14] adlı eserinde ve bu esere dayalı olarak da Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisinde, Sāʿatnāme hakkında bazı bilgiler verilirken, yazarı hakkında herhangi bir bilgi yoktur. İncelediğimiz Sāʿatnāme nüshalarında da Hībetu'llāh hakkında çok açık bilgiler bulamadık. Sadece "alim ve şeyh" olduğunu belirten ifadeler kullanılmıştır. Hangi tarikata mensup olduğu, şeyhinin kim olduğu veya müridlerinin bulunup bulunmadığı konusunda herhangi bir bilgi mevcut değildir.

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[13] Söz konusu eser TDK'nin "Türkiye Türkçesinin Tarihsel Sözlüğü" projesi içinde tarafımızdan yeniden taranmaktadır.

[14] Bkz. Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk, *Büyük Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi,* 1970, s.197

Bazı kütüphanelerdeki kayıt fişlerinde yazarın adı, " Heybetullah veya Hiybetullah" şeklinde tespit edilmiştir. Ancak, gördüğümüz nüshaların büyük bir kısmında yazım, bu adın "Hibetu'llāh" olduğunu açıkça göstermektedir. Yine bazı kayıt fişlerinde yazarın adı, "Hibetu'llāh b. İbrāhim Gözci veya Hibetu'llāh Gözcü b. İbrāhim " şeklinde geçmektedir. Bu yanlışlık, " ol ulu heybetlü ḳıyāmet güninde bu kitābuñ mü'ellifi Hibetu'llāh bin İbrāhim gözci ve çavuş olup ḫalḳı ṭamudan döndürüp peyġambere ḫaber idici olmaḳdur..." şeklindeki ifadede yer alan "gözci" sözcüğünün ismin bir parçası zannedilmesinden kaynaklanmıştır. Elimizdeki nüshanın 91b/12. satırında Muṣṭafa Hibetu'llāh şekli geçmekle birlikte, doğru ve tam adı, Hibetu'llāh ibni İbrāhim ibni İsmā'il'dir. Ancak nüshalarda en çok kullanılan şekli Hibetu'llāh ibni İbrāhim'dir[15]. İncelememize esas olan nüshanın 3b/14, 6a/12, 7a/11, 7a/11, 7b/1, 7b/10, 8a/5, 10b/1, 11b/3, 47a/4, 91b/12 ve 92a/6 satırlarında müellifin adı geçmektedir.

IV. b. Sā'atnāme'si

Hayatı hakkında bilgi bulamadığımız Hibetu'llāh ibni İbrāhim'in eseri ise oldukça meşhurdur. Başta, Millî Kütüphane ve Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi olmak üzere, birçok resmî ve özel kütüphanede çok sayıda nüshası vardır. Kırım'dan Cezayir'e kadar uzanan çok geniş bir alanda istinsah edilmiş olması, eserin çok tanındığını ve okunduğunu gösterir. Özel kütüphanemizde de dört yazma nüshası bulunan bu Sā'atnāme, Muhiddin Efendi Matbaasında, 1301 (1883) tarihinde bastırılmıştır. 96 sayfa ve her sayfada 21 satır olmak üzere basılan eserin dili yenileştirilmiştir[16].

Eser hakkında kaynakların çoğunda bilgi yoktur. Sadece Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk'ün Büyük Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi ile bu edebiyat tarihini kaynak gösteren Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisinde bazı bilgiler verilmektedir. Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisinde bu konuda verilen bilgi şöyledir: "Mesnevi (Hibetu'llāh b. İbrāhim bs. 1857) gece ve gündüzün çeşitli saatlerinin hususiyetlerinden, bu saatlerde yapılması gereken dualardan ve ibadetlerden bahseder. Tevrat'tan Kuran-ı Kerim'den çeşitli efsanelerden islamileşmiş mitolojik bilgilerden devşirilmiş, dünya ve ahiret hakkında malumat veren bir eserdir. Yazma bir nüshası Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk'ün özel kütüphanesindedir. Eser daha ziyade halkiyat mahsulü sayılmaktadır, ümmilerin faydalanması için kaleme alınmıştır" [17].

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[15] Eser hakkındaki ilk bilimsel tanıtım ve değerlendirme tarafımızdan yapılmıştır. Bkz. "Türk Edebiyatında Saatnameler ve Hibetu'llÀh ibni İbrÀhim'in Saatnamesi", *9. Millî Türkoloji Kongresi,* 15-19 Eylül 1997-İstanbul

[16] İnceleme fırsatı bulduğumuz 1883 tarihli baskısından başka, *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi*nde söz konusu eserin daha önce 1857 tarihinde de basıldığı belirtilmektedir. Ancak bu baskıyı görme imkânımız olmadı.

[17] Bkz. *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi,* Dergâh Yay., İstanbul 1990, C.7, s.379.

Ancak bu bilgiler, hem yetersiz hem de yanlıştır. Zira, söz konusu kaynakta, manzum olmadığı gibi, "mensur mesnevî" özelliği de taşımayan bu esere "mesnevî" denmektedir.

Hībetu'llāh'ın hayatı hakkında geniş bilgiler bulunamadığı gibi, eserinin yazılış yeri ve tarihi hakkında da açık ve kesin bilgiler yoktur. Muhammet Yelten, eserin Farsça veya Arapçadan tercüme edildiğini belirtmektedir[18]. Ancak eserin başında yer alan " bu eserin Kuran ve hadisler ile çeşitli kitaplardan alıntılar yapılarak oluşturulduğu" ve özellikle de "bu kitābuñ muṣannifi naḥīf ve żaʿīf bir ẕerre ṭoprak̟ Hībetu'llāh ibni İbrāhim" (6a/12) , "...bu kitābuñ mü'ellifi Hībetu'llāh...(47a/4) ve "bu kitābı iden Muṣṭafa Hibetu'llāh..."(91b/12) şeklindeki ifadelerden eserin telif olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Eserin adı incelediğimiz nüshanın 4a/11, 7b/12, 8a/8, 8b/12, 13b/8, 59b/10, 60a/5, 60b/5, 78b/12, 100b/1 satırlarında geçmektedir.

Eserin tespit edebildiğimiz 98 nüshasının büyük bir bölümünü görüp inceledik. Çoğu harekeli olarak yazılmış bu nüshaların her birinin varak ve satır numaraları farklıdır. Nüshaların bir kısmı eksik olduğu için varak sayıları arasında büyük farklar görülmektedir. Doğal olarak kitabın boyutları ile satır adedinin çokluğu ve azlığı da varak sayısını etkilemektedir. Tespit ettiğimiz en küçük nüsha 47, en büyüğü ise, 163 varaklıdır. Yazma nüshaların en azı 11, en çoğu ise 19 satırlıdır.

Dil özelliklerinden, eserin XV. yüzyılın ikinci yarısı ila XVI. yüzyılın ilk yarısı arasında yazıldığını tahmin ediyoruz[19]. Bilinen en eski tarihli istinsahı, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Serez-1609 numarayla kayıtlı H.1103(1691) tarihli nüshadır[20]. Eserin müellif hatlı olanı henüz ele geçirilememiştir. Telif tarihi belli olmadığı için, incelememize esas olan H.1128 tarihli istinsah nüsha ile müellif nüshası arasındaki tarih farkını tespit etmek mümkün değildir. Ancak elimizdeki yazma nüshaların genellikle XVII. yüzyılın sonları ile XVIII. ve XIX. yüzyıllarda istinsah edilmiş olması ve XVII. yüzyıldan daha eskiye giden nüshaların tespit edilememesi, eserin XVI. yüzyıldan daha önceye ait olmadığını gösterir. Zira tespit edebildiğimiz en eski nüsha, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Serez- 1609 numarayla kayıtlı, H. 1103 (1691) tarihinde Lütfullah b. Hacı Hüseyin b. Mustafa Konstantiniyye tarafından istinsah edilen nüshadır.

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[18] Muhammet Yelten, Hìbetu'llÀh b. İbrÀhim'in Saatnâmesi ve Eserde Dudak Uyumunun Durumu, *İ. Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi, Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi,* C.XXVIII, İstanbul 1998, s.588.

[19] Muhammet Yelten, Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk'e atıfta bulunarak ve "dil ve ifade"yi dikkate alarak eserin XIV. yüzyıla ait olduğunu belirtmektedir. Bkz. **agm**., s. 588.

[20] Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Serez-1609 numaralı ve H. 1103 tarihli nüsha bilinen en eski tarihli nüsha olmakla birlikte dili yenileştirilmiştir. Onun için biz bu nüshayı incelememize esas almadık.

IV. b. 1. Konusu

1/b- "(1)bu kitāb taṣnīf ḳılındı ilerü aḥbārdan ve daḫi (2) ʿacāyib aḥvālden ve geçmiş ḳażiyyelerden ve ne kim (3) Ḥaḳ Teʿālā ve teḳaddes yirüñ ve gögüñ yaradılmışları (4) ʿibretdür işidenlere ve bu kitāb her kitāblardan (5) alınmışdur. Levāmī gibi ve daḫi Tefsīr–i Netāyiḥü'ṣ-Ṣanāyiʿ (6) gibi ve Tefsīr-i Fetāvī gibi ve daḫi nice bunuñ (7) emṣāli kitāblar gibi ..."

4/a -"kitāba (11) Sāʿatnāme dirler bu ḳadar delīl–i Kur'ān ve ehādīṣ–i nebeviyye (12) ile ulu kitāblardan intiḫāb olup tercüme olmışdur ümmīlere (13) ve ümmī ḫātunlara nefʿi ġayet çoḳdur oḳuması daḫi bunuñ (14) ile ʿamel itmesi lāzimdur bu cümle Kur'ān-ı Kerīm tefsīrinde (15) mündericdür"

Kitabın sebeb-i teʾlifinden alınan bu cümleler, kitabın konusu ve muhtevası hakkında bazı bilgiler vermektedir. Bir kaç cümle daha ilave etmek gerekirse, şunları söyleyebiliriz: Eser bütünüyle dini, didaktik bir eserdir. Bir çok mesele, ayet ve hadislere dayandırılarak açıklanmakla birlikte, verilen bilgilerin büyük bir kısmı da efsane ve rivayetlere dayanmaktadır. Özellikle cennet, cehennem, melek (ferişteh), huri, şeytan gibi kavramlar Kuran ve hadis ile bildirilen özelliklerinin de ötesinde, farklı bazı boyutlarıyla anlatılmaktadır. Yine gece ve gündüzün, mevsimlerin, yağmur ve karın oluşumu, kendine has bazı tespitlerle anlatılmaktadır.

Bu eserde, "akşam saati, gökler saati, uyku saati, gaflet saati ve arş saati " şeklinde adlandırılan beş farklı saat söz konusudur. Bu saatlerin her birinin kendine göre özelliği vardır. Bu saatte yapılacak ibadetlerin ve alınacak mükâfatların neler olduğu açıklanmaktadır. Yer, gök, cennnet ve cehennem tasvirleri oldukça ilginçtir.

İnsanları iyiye, güzele ve doğruya yönlendirmek, günahlardan ve kötülüklerden korumak ve ahiret hayatına hazırlamak amacıyla kaleme alınan eser, daha çok okur yazar olmayan insanlara, özellikle de "ümmi hatunlara" hitap etmektedir. Ümmi hatunlara hitap eden bu özelliği dolayısıyla eserin sonuna erkeklerin kadınlar üzerindeki haklarını anlatan bir bölüm eklenmiştir.

IV. b. 2. Nüshaları

Eserin Türkiye kütüphanelerinde çok sayıda nüshası vardır. Hemen bütün yazma eser kütüphanelerinde ve bir çok kişinin özel kütüphanesinde eserin bir veya bir kaç nüshasını bulmak mümkündür. Dolayısıyla eserin nüsha sayısını kesin olarak tespit etmek oldukça zordur. Blochet 1312, Top. T. Yaz. 1.141, TÜYATOK 07 El. 499'da kayıtlı olan eserin şimdilik 98 yazma nüshasını tespit edebildik:

1-Millî Kütüphanede: Yz.A.4039, Yz.A.2562, Yz.A.5662, Yz.A.3538/1, Yz.A.3578 , Yz.A.3544/1, Yz.A.2154, Yz.A. 77, Yz.A.729/3, Yz.A.27/2., Yz.A.886, Yz.A.3267, Yz.A.632, Yz.A.3698, Yz.A.612, Yz.A1106, Yz.A.2721,

Yz.A.2699, Yz.A.1666, Yz.A.2142, Yz.A.2778, Yz.A.548, Yz.A.1862 (23 adet)

2-Süleymaniye Kütüphanesinde: Hacı Mahmud Efendi, nr.1942; İzmir, nr.833, 744; Serez, nr.1634, 1609, 1610, 1652; Nuri Arlasez, nr.87; Mesih Paşa, nr.109; Laleli, nr.1378; Yazma Bağışlar, nr.1859, 3428, 3693, 4209, 2813, 3410, 3572 (17 adet)

3-İstanbul Belediye Kütüphanesi: nr.1, 77, 311, 508, 418, 222 (6 adet)

4- İstanbul Millet Kütüphanesi: Ali Emiri Efendi nr.737, 738, 739, 740, (4 adet)

5- Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi: Üçüncü Ahmet ve Bağdat Köşkü bl., nr. 372, 1059 1803, 3098(4 adet)

6- Türkçe Yazmaları Toplu Kataloğu: nr.20, 47, 804, 814, 1126, 1391 (6 adet)

7- Afyon Gedik Ahmet Paşa Kütüphanesi: nr.18179, 18180, 18183 (3 adet)

8- Hacı Selim Ağa Kütüphanesi, Kemankeş bl. nr. 311, 312 (2 adet)

9- Tercüman Gazetesi Kütüphanesi: nr. 138, 304 (2 adet)

10- Kütahya Tavşanlı Zeytinoğlu İlçesi Halk Kütüphanesi: nr. 694, 1055, 1225 (3 adet)

11- Samsun Vezirköprü Fazıl Ahmet Paşa İlçe Halk Kütüphanesi: nr. 462, 4383(2 adet)

12- Manisa İl Halk Kütüphanesi: nr.1495, 1496 (2 adet)

13-Kayseri Raşit Efendi Kütüphanesi: nr. 4987(1 adet)

14- İstanbul Merkez Kütüphanesi: nr. 5879 (1 adet)

15- Çorum İl Halk kütüphanesi: nr. 9581 (1 adet)

16- Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi (nr. 4424 (1 adet)

17- Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Kütüphanesi: nr. 56 (1 adet)

18- Erzurum İl Halk Kütüphanesi: nr. 3049 (1 adet)

19- Fazıl Ahmet Paşa Kütüphanesi: nr. 462 (1 adet)

20- Eskişehir Memleket İl Halk Kütüphanesi: nr. 294 (1 adet)

21- Tire Kütüphanesi: nr. 610, 1342 (2 adet)

22- Türk Dil Kurumu Kütüphanesi: nr. 344 (1 adet)

23- Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Kütüphanesi: nr. 786 (1 adet)

24- Balıkesir İl Halk Kütüphanesi: nr. 10 Hk.869, 10 Hk. 368, 10 Hk. 581/1 (3 adet)

25- Erciyes Üniversitesi, İlahiyat Fakültesi Kütüphanesi: (1 adet)

26- Konya İl Halk Kütüphanesi: (?)

27- Rasim Deniz(Özel) (2 adet)

28- Sabahattin Küçük(Özel) (1 adet)

29- Ahmet Buran (Özel) (4 adet)

30- Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk (Özel) (1 adet)

V. YAZIM VE DİL ÖZELLİKLERİ

V. 1. Yazım Özellikleri:

Eser yazım özellikleri itibariyle Eski Türkiye Türkçesinin son dönemlerini yansıtmaktadır. Aslında Eski Türkiye Türkçesi yazımının kalıplaşmış bazı şekilleriyle son dönemlere kadar taşındığını biliyoruz[21]. Dolayısıyla bu yazım özellikleriyle yazılmış olan her eseri Eski Türkiye Türkçesi eseri saymak doğru değildir.

İncelediğimiz Sāʿatnāme nüshası harekeli ve okunaklı bir yazı ile yazılmıştır. Dikkatlice yazılan ve harekelenen eserin yazı ve harekelerinden yazım ve dil özelliklerine ait bir çok ayrıntıyı tespit etmek mümkündür. Bunlardan bazıları şunlardır:

1- Eski Türkiye Türkçesinin karakteristik özelliklerinden biri olan ünlülerdeki yuvarlaklık, eserimizde de görülmektedir. Bu fonetik durum yazımda ya doğrudan vav (و) yazılarak ya da hareke kullanılarak gösterilmiştir: **ḳulıñuñ** / قُولِكُك (4b/10), **ilerü** / اِلَرو(1b/1), **yirüñ** / يِيرُوكْ (1b/3), **ʿibretdür** / عِبْرَتْدُر (1b/4), **çeküp** / جَكُوبْ (3a/14), **oldum** / اُولْدُمْ (4a/2)

2- Türkçe sözciklerin ilk hecelerinde görülen bazı asli uzunluklar medli elif ya da elif ve üstün ile gösterilmişlerdir: **alına** / آلِنَه (87b/11), **ṣac** / صاَجْ (63a/13)

3- ė / i bakımından metnimiz daha çok i taraftarıdır. Ancak zaman zaman kapalı ė'nin açıkça belirtildiği sözcükler de vardır: **ėşidenlere /** اَشِدنْلَرَه (1b/4), **gėymişler** / كَيْمِشْلَر (29a/7), **gėydüreler** / كَيْدُورَه‌لَرْ (79a/6)

4-Sözcüklerin sonunda yer alan dar-yuvarlak ünlüler genellikle kalıplaşmış olarak dar-düz (Ḍ) yazılmışlardır: **ḳonşularuñı** / قُونْشُولَرِيكى (79a/4), **göñli** / كُوكلى (18a/11), **güni** / كُونِي (70a/7)

5- Bazen sözcüklerin sonundaki düz-dar ünlü ile izafet tamlamalarındaki terkib ünlüsü bir kesre ile gösterilmiştir: **ḥadīṣ-i ḳudsīde** حَدِيثِ قُدسِيدَه (50a/13), **ḥadīṣ-i meşārıḳda** حَدِيثِ مَشارِقْدَه (76b/15)

6- Ünlü ile biten bazı sözcüklere ünlü ile başlayan bir ek geldiğinde, bu ek, sözcüklerin son ünlüsü üzerine konan bir hemze ile belirtilmiştir: **Mekke'i** / مَكّهٔ (19b/2) Biz bu yazılışları y bağlayıcı ünsüzü ile Mekke'yi biçiminde okuduk.

7-Bazı sözcüklerin farklı yazım ile yazıldıkları görülmektedir: **yıldız** (98b/1), **yılduz** (98b/6), **kendü** (102b/6), **kendi /**(1b/11), **oḳı-** (4b/7), **oḳu-** (6b/12)

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[21] Bkz.Faruk Kadri Timurtaş, *Eski Türkiye Türkçesi,* İstanbul 1981; Mustafa Özkan, *Türk Dilinin Gelişme Alanları ve Eski Anadolu Türkçesi,* İstanbul 2000, s.91-97; Hayati Develi, 18. Yüzyıl Türkiye Türkçesi Üzerine, *Doğu Akdeniz, Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü Dergisi*, S. 1, Yıl 1998, s. 27-36.

8-Bazı Arapça sözcüklerde iki ünlü arasındaki "hemze", "y " ile yazılmıştır: **sayirinde** / سآيِرِنْدَه (95b/1), **dayim** / دآيِمْ (5a/12)

9-Farsça asıllı olumsuzluk ön eki olan " bī " bazı sözcüklerde "bey" biçiminde yazılmıştır: **beysaʿādet** / بَيْ سَعآدَتْ (62a/2, 12)

10-Birçok Türkçe Arapça ve Farsça kökenli sözcüklerde p yerine b, ç yerine de c kullanılmıştır. -Up ekinde olduğu gibi düzenli olarak p yerine b yazılan şekiller olmakla birlikte, bu iki sesin yazımında genellikle bir karışıklık görülmektedir. **şac** / صاَجْ (63a/13), **alduḳca** اَلْدُقْجَه (4a/4), **itmişce** اِتْمِشْجَه (4b/2)

Ayrıca, günümüzde p- ile söylenen bazı sözcüklerin metnimizde asıl şekillerini koruduklarını ve b- ile yazıldıklarını görüyoruz: **barmaḳları** / بَرْمَقْلَرِي (76a/6, 84b/7), **bişen** / بِيشَنْ (55a/12), **bişirüp** / بِشُورُبْ (104a/9)

11- ile ve için edatları ile imek fiili zaman zaman ekleşmiş ve bitişik yazılmışlardır. **ḥaḳḳıyçün** / حَقِّيجُونْ (26a/1), **itdiyse** / اِتْدِيسَه (4b/9), **berekātıyla** / بَرَكآتِيلَه (4a/8)

12- t > d değişmesi bakımından metnimizde Oğuz Türkçesinin genel yapısına[22] uygun bir tonlulaşma hakim ise de özellikle kalın ünlülü sözcüklerin önemli bir bölümünün " ¨ " ile yazıldığı görülmektedir. Bu durum fonetik bir özellik olabileceği gibi yazım ile ilgili bir özellik de olabilir: **ṭaġ** (22b/147, **ṭaġıt-** (97b/15), **ṭam** "dam, ev" (90a/6), **ṭamar** (85b/6), **ṭamla-** (69a/15), **ṭarlıḳ** (30b/3), **ṭart-** (36b/8), **ṭavar** (16b/5), **ṭoġ-** (67a/4), **ṭoḳın-** (97b/7), **ṭoḳuz** (42a/2), **ṭol-** (10b/14), **ṭolu** "dolu"(97b/11), **ṭon** "don, elbise" (90b/2), **ṭoy-** (85a/15), **ṭudaḳ** (43a/11), **ṭur-** (16b/14)

Günümüzde "t " ile söylenen bazı sözcüklerin metnimizde "d " ile yazıldıkları da görülmektedir: **dut-** (46a/4), **ditre-** (79a/13), **derle-** "terlemek" (84a/1), **depe** (63b/7), **depret-** (43a/12), **diksin-** (90a/8), **dürlü** (6b/8)

13- Kalın ünlülü bazı sözcüklere gelen eklerin ince ünsüz ile yazıldıkları görülmektedir: **rāḥatlik** / üÄţÇQ÷bAm (94a/1)

14- Sin (**q**) ve sat (**y**) ünsüzlerinin yazılışı genellikle kurallıdır. Ancak az da olsa bazı karışıklıklar görülmektedir. Mesela : "saç" sözcüğü 63a/13 satırda "**şac** / üWD÷z " şeklinde sat ile yazılmışken, aynı sözcük 63b/1, 2 ve 7. satırlarda **sac** / WD÷r biçiminde " sin / q " ile yazılmıştır.

V. 2. Dil Özellikleri

1. Metnimizde Türkçenin bilinen sekiz ünlüsü dışında, kapalı **ė** olarak adlandırdığımız dokuzuncu bir ünlü de yer almaktadır: **ġėy-** (29a/7), **ėşit-** (1b/9), **ėyü** (7b/4)

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[22] Zeynep Korkmaz, "Kâşgarlı Mahmud ve Oğuz Türkçesi", *Türk Dili*, DLT Özel Sayısı, S. 253 (Ekim 1972), s. 3-19.

2- Boğumlanma yerleri ve biçimleri bakımından kalın-ince, dar-geniş, ve düz-yuvarlak olarak sınıflandırdığımız dilimizin ünlülerini, boğumlanma süreleri bakımından da kısa-uzun ya da normal süreli-uzun ünlüler şeklinde sınıflandırabiliriz. Türkçe sözcüklerdeki aslî uzun ünlüler, böyle bir tasnif yapmamızı gerekli kılmaktadır: **al** "hile, aldatma" (87b/11), **sac** "saç" (63a/13)

3- Kalınlık -incelik uyumu metnimizde, genel Türkçede olduğu gibi sağlam işleyen bir kuraldır. Ancak Türkçe ekler almış bazı sözcüklerde az da olsa kuralın bozulduğu olmaktadır: **ġarralenmekdür**(67b/12), **ḥaḳḳıyçün**(30a/13), **faḳirlıġı** (72a/5)

4- Düzlük yuvarlaklık uyumu ise, ünlülerdeki yuvarlaklaşma nedeniyle önemli ölçüde bozuktur[23]: **itdürüp**(81b/14), **sevgüli**(82b/7), **olmazuz**(81a/4), **virsün** (79b/7), **ḳonşularuñı**(79a/4), **virmediñüz** (63b/4)

Eklerdeki yuvarlaklaşmalar dışında, **ḳapu, ḳarşu, yatsu, ilerü, girü, kendü, ḳamu, ḳonşu, eyü...** gibi sözcüklerin kök ya da gövdelerindeki ünlülerin sürekli veya çoğu zaman yuvarlak olmaları da uyumun bozulmasına sebep olmaktadır.

Düzlük yuvarlaklık uyumu, bazı şekillerin sürekli düz-dar ünlü ile yazılmaları sebebiyle de bozulmaktadır: **urmış** (64a/5), **öküzi** (42a/15), **göricek** (47a/14), **ölinceye (**50b/1), **getürürsiz** (81a/13-14), **görgil** (7b/11)

5-Ünlü yuvarlaklaşması Eski Türkiye Türkçesinin genel ve karakteristik bir fonetik özelliğidir. Metnimizde de bu yuvarlaklığın devam ettiği görülüyor:

5. a. Sözcük Kök ve Gövdelerinde Ünlü Yuvarlaklaşmaları:

ḳapu, ḳarşu, yatsu, girü, ḳamu, ḳonşu, ilerü, girü, eyü gibi sözcüklerin kök ve gövdelerindeki ünlü hep yuvarlaktır. **yılduz / yıldız** , **kendü / kendi**, **oḳı- / oḳu-** gibi bazı sözcükler ise çoğunlukla yuvarlak, zaman zaman da düz biçimleriyle kullanılmışlardır.

5. b. Eklerde Ünlü Yuvarlaklaşmaları:

Metnimizdeki yuvarlak ünlülü ekleri, sürekli yuvarlak olanlar ve hem yuvarlak hem düz kullanılanlar olarak ikiye ayırabiliriz:

5. b. 1.Sürekli Yuvarlak Ünlülü Olan Ekler

Ettirgen çatı ekleri **-dUr-, -Ur-: itdür-** (81b/14), **göndür-**(79a/5), **geydür-** (79a/6), **degür-**(81b/9)

Bildirme eki - **dUr-: çoḳdur** (4a/3), **ʿibretdür** (1b/4)

Sıfat-fiil eki **-dUK: itdüginden** (21b/6), **ḳorḳduḳları**(21b/7)

Zarf-fiil eki -**Up: virüp** (1b/8)**, çıḳup**(3a/10)

Fiilden isim yapma eki -**Uk: uyanuḳ(**43b/8)

Geniş zaman eki **-Ur: virilür** (42b/1), **gelür** (518a/12)

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[23] Muhammet Yelten'in Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Serez-1609 numaralı nüshada dudak uyumuna bağlandığını belirttiği örneklerin çok azı elimizdeki nüshada dudak uyumuna bağlanmıştır. Bkz. Muhammet Yelten, *agm*., s.589-593.

Emir üçüncü teklik şahıs eki -**sUn: virsün** (79b/7), **ḳorḳmasunlar**(37b/15)

Emir birinci çokluk şahıs eki **-AlUm: gelelüm** (41b/8), **işidelüm** (11a/14)

İstek birinci çokluk şahıs eki **-vUz : idevüz** (11b/37, **sevinevüz** (11b/2), **çıḳmayavuz (**2a/1)

5. b. 2. Hem Düz Hem Yuvarlak Ünlülü Olan Ekler

İsimden isim yapma eki **lIk, lUk: ḫoşnūdlıḳ** (85b/8), **muştuluḳ** (39a/12) **muştulıḳ** (53a/4), **ululıḳ** (94a/6)

İsimden isim yapma eki **lI, lU**: **tatlu**(80b/3), **sevgüli**(82b/7)

İyelik birinci teklik ve çokluk şahıs ekleri +**Im, +Um / +mIz, +mUz: şuçım** (37a/5), **şuçum** (37a/6) **menzilimizi** (45a69), **yirimüz** (45a/10),

İyelik ikinci teklik ve çokluk şahıs ekleri: +**Iñ,+Uñ / +ñIz, +ñUz: işleriñüz** (61a/14)**, ḳulıñuzdan**(28a/4), **māluñ**(53b/2), **Tañrıñam (**30b/11)

Tamlama hali eki +**Uñ, +nUñ: kişinüñ**(18a/4), **göklerüñ** (99a/9)

ehliniñ(83b/4), **ḥabībiniñ**(100b/5)

Görülen geçmiş zaman bir ve ikinci teklik ve çokluk şahıs ekleri : **bağışladım** (80b/14), **aldandıñuz** (63b68), **unutduñuz** (63b/9), **söyledük** (1b/10), **añdum** (59b/12)

Dönüşlü çatı eki -**In-, -Un-: olunmışdur**(7a/4), **ṭolın-**(11b/13)

İşteş çatı eki -**Iş-, -Uş-: durışur** (48b/13), **tutuşup** (77b/1)

Edilgen çatı eki **Il-, Ul-: virilür**(42b/1), **döküleydi** (48a/7)

İsimden isim yapma eki **cIk, cUk: ḳocacıḳlara** (5a/10), **ḳarıcuḳlara**(5a/10)

6- Metnimizde bazı eklerin ünlüsü ise sürekli düzdür. Bu durum genellikle eski Türkiye Türkçesinin karakteristik ekleri ile yazımını yansıtmaktadır.

5. b. 3. Sürekli Düz Ünlülü Olan Ekler

İyelik üçüncü teklik ve çokluk şahıs ekleri **I, sI / lArI: suçını** (88a/5), **nūrından**(42b/2), **gitdügi**(3b/5), **ḳapucısı** (27a/2), **yüzleri(**18a/8)

Belirtme hâli eki **+I: ḳonşularuñı** (79a/4) **öküzi** (42a6157, **diliñüzi**(50b/4)

Emir ikinci teklik şahıs eki **GIl: görgil**(7b/11), **virgil**(7b/12)

Anlatılan geçmiş zaman eki **mIş: çözmiş** (6a/3)**, urmış** (64a/5)**, öldürmiş** (64a/3)

Görülen geçmiş zaman üçüncü teklik şahıs eki **dI: geçdi**(80a/12)**, bildürdi**(2b/7), **ḳoydı**(5b/6)

Fiil çekiminde ikinci teklik ve çokluk şahıs ekleri **sIn, sIz**: **göresin** (79b)9), **viresiz** (81b/3), **degüresiz** (81b/9), **getürürsiz** (81a/14)

Zarf-fiil ekleri **IncA** ve **IcAk**: **ölinceye** (50b/1), **göricek** (47a/14), **ölicek**(51a/9)

İsimden isim yapma eki **+cI / +çI: gözci** (19b/9), **ḳapucısı**(27a/2)

Fiilden isim yapma eki **-IcI: ḳoparıcılardur** (34b/5), **yuyıcı** (84b/9)

7- Metnimizde yumuşak **g** hariç Türkçenin bütün ünsüzleri kullanılmıştır. Çağdaş Türkiye Türkçesi yazı dilinden farklı olarak metnimizde **ḫ** ve **ñ** ünsüzlerinin kullanıldığını görüyoruz: **aḫşāmı**(29b/1), **pıñar(**81b/1), gögüñ(1b/3)

8- Tonsuz ünsüzlerle biten sözcüklere getirilen **-dI, -dUk, -dUr, +dA, +dAn** gibi ekler, genellikle tonlu biçimleriyle kullanıldıkları için metnimizde ünsüz uyumu yoktur diyebiliriz: **geçdi** (80a/12), **meşārıḳdan** (76b/15), **ḳullıḳda** (22b/2), **olunmışdur (**23b/12), **çoḳdur**(4a/13)

9- Eski Türkiye Türkçesinin temel fonetik özelliklerinden olan tonlulaşma metnimizde de görülmektedir. Özellikle ön seste bulunan Eski Türkçedeki **k-** ve **t-** seslerinin **g-** ve **d-** 'ye dönüştükleri görülmektedir:

t->d- : degür- (81b/9), **di-** (8a/5), **degin** (12a/11), **demür (**66b/4), **deñiz** (91a/14), **dikil-** (58a/12), **dil** (1b/10), **dile-** (6a/1), **diñle** (103b/3), **diri** (23b/13), **diş** (76b/14), **doġ-** (12b/1), **dolaş-** (49b/7), **doldur-** (86a/6), **doy-** (85b/13), **dök-** (84a/1), **dög-** (66a/3), **dön-** (13a/2), **döndür-** (3b/11), **dört (**2b/1), **döşen-** (83b/12), **dur-** (31a/6), **durış-** (48b/13)**duy-** (46b/10), **dün** (12a/15), **dür-** (44a/1), **düş-** (20a/9)

Günümüzde tonsuz **t-** ünsüzüyle kullanılan aşağıdaki sözcükler de metnimizde tonlu (d-) biçimleriyle yazılmışlardır: **dut-** (46a/4), **ditre-** (79a/13), **derle-** "terlemek" (84a/1), **depe** (63b/7), **depret-** (43a/12), **diksin-** (90a/8), **dürlü** (6b/8)

Günümüzde tonlu **d-** ünsüzüyle kullanılan bazı sözcükler metnimizde " **tı / ˝** " ile yazılmışlardır: **ṭaġ** (22b/147, **ṭaġıt**- (97b/15), **ṭam** "dam, ev" (90a/6), **ṭamar** (85b/6), **ṭamla-** (69a/15), **ṭarlıḳ** (30b/3), **ṭart-** (36b/8), **ṭavar** (16b/5), **ṭoġ-** (67a/4), **ṭoḳın-** (97b/7), **ṭoḳuz** (42a/2), **ṭol-** (10b/14), **ṭolu** "dolu"(97b/11), **ṭon** "don, elbise" (90b/2), **ṭoy-** (85a/15), **ṭudaḳ** (43a/11), **ṭur-** (16b/14)

k- > g- : Arap alfabesinde **k** ile **g** sesi aynı işaretle karşılandığı için, sözcük başındaki bu değişim hakkındaki değerlendirmelerimiz daha çok Kâşgarlı'nın verdiği bilgilere, dilimizin bugünkü fonetiğine ve ağızlara bakılarak yapılmaktadır. Metnimizde daha çok ince ünlülü sözcüklerde **k->g-** değişmesi görülüyor: **geç-** (37a/6), **gel-**(74b/4), **ger-**(80a/14), **gerek**(5a/13), **getür-**(51a/15), **gėy-**(103a/6), **gez-** (26b/12), **gibi**(1b/5), **git-**(33a/15), **gir-**(44a/11), **gök**(8b/15), **gizle**(25a/12), **gölge**(14b/12), **gömlek**(6a/9), **gönder-**(87a/3), **göñül**(18a/11), **gör-**(63b/11), **göster-** (2a/13), **göz(**1b/9), **gözle-**(26b/11), **güç**(41a/7), **gün**(4b/2), **gündüz(**6a/10), **güneş**(41a/2)

ç > c : Daha çok yazım sorunu olmakla birlikte, bir çok sözcükte ç yerine c kullanıldığı görülmektedir: **şac** (63a/13), **alduḳca**(4a/4), **itmişce**(4b/2), **baḳceleri** (27a/11)

p > b : Bu da daha çok bir yazım meselesidir. **virüp(**1b/8), **ḳablar**(55b/2), **çaġrışup** (26b/3)

Günümüzde tonsuz biçimiyle kullanılan aşağıdaki sözcükler ise metnimizde tonlu aslî biçimleriyle kullanılmışlardır: **barmaḳ** (76a/6), **biş-**(55a/12), **bişür-**(104a/9)

10- Gelecek zaman eki **-AcAk** henüz tam anlamıyla gelecek zaman görevinde değildir. Sıfat-fiil olarak kullanılmaktadır: **ölecek kişinüñ** (76a/10), **ölecek ol-**(57a/10), **meded idecek ḳadar**(62b/9)

11- Metnimizde kullanılan belirtme hâli eki **+I** ʿdır. **menzilimizi**(45a/9), **diliñüzi**(50b/4), **suçunı**(88a/5) Ancak, belirtme hâlinin **+I** ekinden daha yoğun olmak üzere ø ile karşılandığını görüyoruz. **Tañrılıḳ daʿvāsın eyledi**(31b/5), **ḳolların aç-**(81a/2), **ṣevābın vir-**(31b/9), **başın ḳaldur-**(11b/4)

12- Çıkma hâli eki **+dAn** olmakla birlikte, bir örnekte kalıplaşmış olarak **+dIn** eki de korunmuştur. **öndin** (5b/3)

13- Bulunma hâli eki **+dA** nın çıkma hâli işleviyle kullanıldığını görüyoruz. Bu, metnimizi Eski Türkçeye ve Türkiye Türkçesi ağızlarına bağlayan bir özelliktir[24]. **ḥadīṯ-i ḳutsīde gelür**(50a/13), **ḥadīṯ-i meşārıḳda gelür** (76b/15)

+dA eki üçüncü şahıs zamirine getirilince yönelme hâli görevinde de kullanılmaktadır: " **hiç ola mı ki ben anda yayan varam**" (20b/8)

14-Yönelme hâli eki olan **+A,** vasıta hâli işleviyle de kullanılmaktadır. **günāha meşġūl ol-**(26b/11-12), **ʿibādete meşġūl ol-**(27a62-3), **meger ki beni arḳana götüresin(**20b/9), **herze sözlere meşġūl ise**(22b/12)

15-Fiil çekiminde özellikle istek kipi birinci çokluk şahısta **-vUz** eki kullanılmıştır. **sevinevüz(**11b/2), **idevüz**(11b/3), **olavuz**(2a/1), **dutavuz**(2a/1), **çıḳmayavuz(**2a62)

16- Fiil çekiminde birinci teklik şahıs için zaman zaman **-In** ekinin kullanıldığı görülüyor. **iderin(**6b/8), **ḳılmazın**(9a/3)

17- Emir ikinci çokluk şahıs eki ünlü ile biten fiil tabanlarına **-ñ** biçiminde gelmektedir. **öldürmeñ**(64a/9), **itmeñ**(64a/9), **olmañ**(64a/9), **silkmeñ**(85b/5), **yürüñ**(85b/5), **baġışlañ**(89a/1)

18- Emir birinci teklik şahıs için **-AyIm** şeklinin yanında zaman zaman da -**AyIn** ekinin kullanıldığı görülüyor: **ḳılayın**(26b/9), **göreyin**(26b/10)

19- Emir ikinci teklik şahıs için **Ø** ve **-gIl** ekleri kullanılmıştır.**görgil**(7b/11), **virgil**(7b/12)

20- Eski Türkiye Türkçesinin karakteristik zarf-fiil eklerinden olan **-UbAn** metnimizde kullanılmamıştır. Ancak **-IcAk** zarf-fiili sıkça görülmektedir. **olıcaḳ(**8b/7), **göricek**(47a/14), **ölicek**(51b/9), **ḳılıcaḳ**(41b/13)

21- Mukayese ve sıfatlarda derece bildiren **+rAk** eki, metnimizde az da olsa kullanılmıştır. **gecrek**(33a/14)

22- Vurmak fiili metnimizde henüz v ön sesini almamıştır ve sürekli ur- biçiminde dir. **ur-** (42a/6)

23- Söz varlığı bakımından bugün için yaygın olarak kullanılmayan veya

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[24] A. Von Gabain, *Eski Türkçenin Grameri* (Çev. Mehmet Akalın) TDK Yay. Ankara 1988, s.64; Ahmet Buran, *Anadolu Ağızlarında İsim Çekim (Hâl) Ekleri*, TDK Yay. Ankara 1996, s.200-201.

eskimiş olan **ur-, yarlıġa-, diñ diñle-, ḳov ḳovla-, iv-, yu-, ḳaşan-, ḳop-, göndür-, iyt-/it-**”demek”, **yırla-, söyün-, sı-, yid-** gibi fiillerin; **uru, bayıḳ, ṭamu, uçmaḳ, yab, dükeli, ḳamu, ḳanda, çatlamak** ”yıldırım, şimşek” **ḳılıç ḳıran, elegim ṣaġma, ḳanḳı, başmaḳ, uġurlıḳ, bürüncük, sınıḳ, buḳagu, dün** ”gece”, **tütün** ”duman”, **ḳarañu, ḳonşu, hirgiz, gevde, bile** ”birlikte”, **birle, od, is(issi), uşda, imdi, şol, kimsene, biti, etmek, yaşıl, can alıcı** “Azrail”, **çeri, sencileyin, ḳarındaş, ḳulaġuz, gün** ”güneş”, **al** “hile”, **süci, gidi, ḳov, ḳaçan, ata** ”baba” , **ṭon** “don, elbise”... gibi isim ve edatların kullanılmış olması ilgi çekicidir.

24- Yine söz varlığı itibariyle baktığımızda dizinde madde başı olan **2102** sözcük kullanılmıştır. Madde başlarının altında sıraladığımız sözcükler bu sayıya dahil değildir. Özel adlar hariç, madde başı olan sözcüklerin dillere göre dağılımı şöyledir: Türkçe **951**, Arapça **856**, Farsça **174**, Yunanca **2,** İtalyanca **1**, Fransızca **1.** Bunların dışında **35** Arapça-Türkçe, **18** Farsça-Türkçe, **3** Arapça-Farsça, **2** Farsça-Arapça, Türkçe-Farsça **1** ve de **1** Yunanca-Türkçe sözcük vardır. Özel adların toplamı **57**’dir.

Bu sözcüklerin yüzdeleri ise şöyledir: Türkçe **% 48**, Arapça **%43**, Farsça **%9**, diğerleri **% 0,2** .

Bir eserin söz varlığının niteliği işlediği konuya bağlı olarak şekillenir. Sāʿatnāme dinî bir eserdir. Dolayısıyla Arapça sözcük ve terimlere fazlaca yer verilmiştir. Buna rağmen Türkçenin kullanım oranı **% 48** ‘dir. Türkçe eklerle Türkçeleştirilmiş sözcükleri de sayarasak bu oran Türkçenin lehine daha da artacaktır. Eserde Türkçenin durumunu sadece sözcüklerin sayısını dikkate alarak ölçmek doğru olmaz. Sözcüklerin kullanım sıklığını da dikkate almak gerekir. Zira, Türkçe sözcükler diğer dillere göre önemli ölçüde bir kullanım sıklığına sahiptir.

25- Eserin edebi olmak bakımından bir iddiası yoktur. Ancak, Orhun Yazıtlarından tanıdığımız ve Dede Korkut ile devam eden şiirsel anlatımın, yine halka hitab eden bir eser olarak Sāʿatnāme’de ,“ **zinhār ve zinhār saḳınıñ kim uyḳu sizi öldürmesün. Şeyṭānı size güldürmesün. Allah‘ı ve peyġamberi sizden bizdürmesün. Siz uyḳuyu öldürüñ uyḳu sizi öldürmesün...**” şeklinde yer yer kullanıldığını görüyoruz.

V. KAYNAKLAR

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THE CENTRAL STYLE OF AZERI FOLKSONGS

János SIPOS *

Preface

To what use does comparative ethnomusicological research over a vast area be put? It suffices for a nation to realize that it is imperative to know the music of its neighbors and language relatives in order to explore the particular and general features of its own folk music. It holds true in general, too, that a comparative examination is more informative and revelatory than the separate study of the music of the peoples concerned.

Comparative musicology also leads to more universal findings, illuminating fundamental human characteristics. „Indeed, all the world's tribes, peoples, and races have lived in continuous intercourse since the very beginning of history; they have met in marriage, trade, and war. In this process of exchange and merger, they discard their weapons, tools, and implements for better ones. But they preserve their ancient songs; for singing, an expression of man's soul and motor impulse, has little to do with the mutable surface of life, and nothing with the struggle for existence. This is why music is one of the steadiest elements in the evolution of mankind." (Sachs 1943: 21)

To spin on this thought: it is intriguing to determine the basic musical types of a large geographical-cultural expanse. It is also important to know what specific manifestations of these basic forms predominate in the music of various people or geographical areas.

Hungarian belongs to the Finno-Ugric language group, but Hungarian folk music does not show indisputable genetic connections to the folk music of any other Finno-Ugrian people. [1] This is nothing to marvel at, for linguists and

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[1] Cheremiss pentatonic "fifth-transposition" might be an exception, but here, too, it can be strongly presumed that Turkic (Chuvash) influence is at work. Let me cite Bereczki (1994: 89), who collected extensively in the area: in Cheremiss areas 'certain Chuvash phonological phenomena spread as far as the fifth-shifting tunes typical of the Turks do'. Similarly, there is no consensus among researchers about the Ugrian origin of the Hungarian laments.

historians have found that the Hungarians are relatives of the Finno-Ugrians mainly by language, not ethnically.

The majority of Hungarian musicologists have emphasized the Turkic-Mongolian implications of Hungarian folk music. Béla Bartók and László Vikár began their oriental research among Finno-Ugrians, before turning to the Turks, where they found tune styles similar to some layers of Hungarian music. In my field in Asia, I have found styles corresponding to Hungarian folk music styles in Anatolia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, in the Caucasus, in Inner Mongolia, etc. Consequently, the Hungarians might be *musically* connected to various Turkic and Mongolian peoples.

However, taking a closer look, for instance, at laments, the "psalmodic style", the children's game songs of E-D-C core, or the pentatonic descending fifth-shifting tunes, one must realize that they cannot be tied to a single people, ethnic group or geographical area. Between language and "ethos" or ethnicity there is often a highly complex or even contradictory relationship, since the ethnogenesis of most peoples is highly intricate. In the case of the French for example the leadership of Roman origin settled on a Celtic and partly Germanic population. The majority adopted the language of the minority but their ethnic identity remained unchanged. The reverse process though was more wide spread: as when a conquering minority assimilated to the conquered majority. This took place in Bulgaria with the Slavicized Turks of the Bulgar Empire, and at several other places of our globe.

Today's Turks are not the descendants of a single race tied by blood: in addition to a variety of Turkic components, they comprise various other Turkicized ethnic units. Besides, the "ancient" Turkic tribes also had their ethnogenesis. Let it suffice to refer to the Iranian peoples who dominated the steppe before the Turks and some of whom gradually adapted to the Turks' growing predominance. In the same way the extremely heterogeneous Byzantine population assimilated to the also variegated conquering Turks. Mention can also be made of the Caucasus – "home of nations"– where some peoples of the one-time Hunnish Empire: Kipchaks, Kazaks, Bulgars, Alans and other Caucasian peoples also took part in the ethnogenesis of Karachays and Balkars of Turkic tongue. The same complexity is apparent in the ethnogenesis of the Azeri people. [2] Unfortunately little is known

[2] In accord with the rather tempestuous Azeri history, Azeri ethnogenesis is also intricate. In earlier times, Palaeo-Caucasian peoples lived in the north. Iranization began in the south under the dominion of Iranian states. Of the Iranian languages, Tat and Talysh are still extant, but are more and more assimilating to Azeri. The first Turkic influence dates from the Hunnish and subsequent times, but it is still unsettled if the Turkic nomads of that time settled here or not. When, in the 11th century, the Oghuzes pushed into the area, this entailed massive Turkic settlement. The general Turkicization of the area took place in the Ilhanid period, or the late Seljuk times at the latest. Some scholars hypothesize that Turkicization went on in three phases: Seljuk, Mongol and Post-Mongol phases (Qara Qoyunlu, Aq Qoyunlu and Safavid). In the first two periods the Oghuz tribes penetrated

of the proportion of contributory ethnicities involved in their ethnogenesis.

My ethnomusicological research has grown to include the comparative examination of the folk music of a vast area stretching from the Volga-Kama region to Anatolia and further east. One objective in this research was the exploration of Azeri folk music. The Azeris living between the two major regions mentioned above are close language relatives of the Anatolian Turks, but the ethnogenesis of the two peoples developed differently. It was illuminating to study how Azeri folk music related to the musics of other peoples in the area, and to Anatolian folk music, and to discern more remote connections between Azeri musical layers and strata of other Turkic folk musics and the folk music of Hungarians.

In Azerbaijan, an elementary tune style presumably rooted in the prehistory of music lives on in full bloom. The wonderful unfolding of musical rudiments, their survival in an extensive style can be witnessed in the simple yet complete world of Azeri folk music.

Account of the Azeri expedition

Preparations for the Azeri trip go back to 1996 when, at the 5th International Turkish Folklore Congress in Ankara, I made the acquaintance of Fettah Xalıqzade, a teacher of the Music Academy in Baku. We began planning an Azeri expedition and remained in touch. A great momentum was given to realizing our plan by the friendship I made with Professor Külnaz Abdullazade, deputy rector of the Baku Musical Academy, at the First International Izmir Music Congress in the autumn of 1998. She assured me that, if I raised the necessary funds for research, she would invite me and support my research trip. To my great delight, the British Academy Stein-Arnold Exploration Fund approved my project in the same year. In 1999 I received the letter of invitation from F. Sh. Badalbeyli, the rector of the Baku Musical Academy. All external conditions were met for the Azeri expedition.

The Azeri expedition included the partial expeditions to the following regions:

1) Baku and its vicinity,
2) Shamakhy and its surroundings,
3) Quba and its environs,
4) Zagatala and its environment (mostly collecting from minorities there) and
5) Karabakh refugees who had fled to Azerbaijan.

In the course of my Azeri trips I collected 650 tunes from 140 singers and

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Anatolia and North Azerbaijan. In the last period the Turkic elements in Iran (derived mainly from Oghuz, with lesser admixtures of Uyghur, Kipchak, Karluk and other Turks brought to Iran during the Djingissid Era, as well as Turkicised Mongols) were joined now by Anatolian Turks migrating back to Iran. Today's Azeris were settled without tribal identity. Anthropologically they are practically identical with their neighbors.

musicians of 6 ethnic groups[3] in 46 settlements. I collected the majority of the songs in small villages from authentic singers and performers.

The question may be asked how representative this collection is, or, in other words, to what extent the conclusions to be drawn apply to the studied material only, or to Azeri folk music in general as well. There are two aspects that suggest that these materials may reveal the main types of Azeri folk music. One is the fact that after the first weeks of collecting, mainly the already recorded tunes were found all over the different areas, which makes it probable that we had registered the majority of the tune types. On the other hand, all the existing Azeri folksong collections I studied mainly contain the same tune categories as typical to different Azeri areas.

The central style of Azeri folksongs

The construction, scale and rhythm of the majority of Azeri folksongs are all simple. Their most prevalent features are the following:[4]

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[3] Apart from Azeris, I researched among Tat, Avar, Russian, Tsahur, Mountain Jewish people. I collected from Turks who moved here from Georgia too.

[4] *Notions, abbreviations:*

Approximate *phonemic values* of Azeri letters different from English: a=*a* in father (En.), é=*é* in égalité (Fr.), ı=*ЫI* in mЫI (Ru.), ö=*u* in un (Fr.), ü=*ü* in une (Fr.), c=*dj* in hadji (En.), ç=*ch* in chain (En.), ş=*sh* in show (En.), x =*ch* in Bach (Ger.)

The tones of the scale are marked by the following symbols: A' G' F E D C B A G. The below figure shows the major scales of Azeri folk music.

The scales and scale segments are given in descending order.

A note of the scale is put in brackets when it does not play an important role in the tune. For instance, in a melody with the (G')-E-D-C scale, the main role is played by the notes of the trichord E-D-C, with occasional G' added, but not in an accentuated role.

A *cadential note* is the last note of a line. For tunes with more than two lines, I sometimes present a cadential formula. The line-ending notes are enumerated in them, with the note of the most important line being in parentheses. The last note of the last line is not shown. Example: for an Aeolian tune E (C) C signifies a tune whose cadential notes are E, C, C, A.

The word *chord* designates penta-, tetra- and trichords alike. Instead of the cumbersome "(G'-F)-E-D-C penta-, tetra- and trichord" I use "(G'-F)-E-D-C chord".

Conjunct movement means that the tonal ranges of the lines overlap, and on the other hand, the tone steps are primes, seconds and rarely thirds.

Single-core tunes consist of the usually varied repetition of a single musical idea, while *two-core melodies* are built from the varied repetition of two different musical ideas (A and B). In Azeri folk music, the two ideas are usually arranged so that a few varied repetition of A is followed by a few variants of B. This being so, I only took into account the characters of the musical ideas A and B when systematizing the songs, ignoring the concrete forms they assumed.

A_v indicates a variation of the musical section A.

A_c and A^c indicate a variation of the musical section A where the deviation between the two lines is in the last part of the lines. In A_c the modified section is lower than the original, in A^c it is higher.

A_{ex} indicates an extended musical line in comparison to line A.

I mark $\underline{A}$ the line that runs parallel, at times identically, with line A, and ends on the same note as line A. In the course of systematization, I did not differentiate the lines $\underline{A}$, A_v and A_{ex} from the A lines to which they can be retraced. At the same time I handled the A_c and A^c lines as separate.

When the tempo indication is in parentheses, the melody was performed in *parlando-rubato*

a) single or two-core construction

b) tri- or tetrachordal, less frequently pentachordal and exceptionally hexachordal scales

c) 7-8-syllabic, rarely 11-syllabic or extended lines

d) descending or dome-shaped lines, the closing note being a lower (usually the lowest) note of the scale

e) 6/8 rhythm or a rhythmic scheme traceable to it, rarely 2/4 or parlando-rubato performance

f) tunes and lines are conjunct in character.

The following two tunes illustrate these features. Both tunes consist of descending and domed brief musical lines using the tones of the Ionian pentachord (ex. 1).

Ex. 1. Two-core Azeri tunes.
a) two-core Azeri tune, b) beginning of a two-core lament from Karabakh

The cited tunes also suffice as an introduction to the typical method of formal construction in Azeri folk music. The tunes in ex. 1 consist of two musical ideas, i.e. they are or 'two-core' melodies. The two musical ideas, however, do not appear in AB, AB... regularity, but take the shape of ABBB | ABB, AAAB, AB_vABBB, $AAAB_vB$, BAABAB and innumerable other variations.[5] When systematizing the material, I reduced these tunes of diverse form built of identical musical materials to two-line forms, and worked with the two-line schemes afterwards.[6]

Now let us settle down to the analysis of the tunes, taking the main types one by one. The title 'The central style of Azeri folksong' was not chosen accidentally, as the following Ionian (and Locrian, Aeolian) tune groups comprise the overwhelming majority of Azeri tunes. To put it another way, these tunes are held together by a tight stylistic bond.

For the discussion of the types, there were several optional orders to be chosen. The aim was to put the similar tune types close to one another, which

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rhythm. However, it must be kept in mind that, in reality, there is a wide variety of rhythmically free performance.

The arrows above some notes signify a pitch modification upward (↑) or downward (↓) by less than a semitone.

[5] It is often hard to decide when a musical line is the variant of another line and when it represents a new quality, but in the knowledge of the entire tune repertory this decision can mostly be taken with certainty.

[6] Similarly to Hungarian research, in which lament tunes of differently varied lines of identical musical material are not differentiated, or a song of ABCD form is taken to be equivalent with an ABCDCD form.

would need at least a two-dimensional representation, but it is hard to achieve in book form. I discarded this possibility for its puzzling complexity.[7]

One option of linear presentation[8] would have been to arrange the tunes by compass, disregarding the melody shape and syllable number, etc. This would have resulted in the mixture of different syllabic numbers and structures within a group, which would have made it difficult to recognize the similarities and connections between the types.

Aware of that, I decided on the following sequence. I first divided the central Azeri style into tunes moving on Ionian, Locrian and Aeolian chords, producing three large blocks of tunes.[9] Within each block, the order is determined by the number of melody lines, then length of melody lines,[10] and their inner subdivision.[11] Within a tune group, the tunes are listed on the basis of the height of the starting line: the tunes of lower lines preceding those of higher lines.[12] It is important to know that in the course of a longer melody process, a line may shift into a slightly different pitch zone than the predominant. However, in most cases the typical tune height can be established with certainty. Naturally, in the world of such narrow-range varied music not all the types are sharply differentiated.

In some instances, individual criteria were also considered to determine a type, which are all noted in due place. Such is, for example, the subgroups of different main cadences within a type. This must be attributed to the fact that in Azeri music a tune is often better characterized by the motion of the melody than by the last note of a line. I mark the possible cadences with tilde (~) in the scheme of the tune, e.g. D~E indicates that in the given type tunes with both cadential E and D can be found. In the discussion below, each type is illustrated by an example.

For lack of space now I introduce only the Ionian melodies. The analysis of the Aeolian and Dorian melodies happened similarly.

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[7] A multidimensional figure showing more of the complex connections would be the following: the dipodal tune types would succeed each other along a straight line in the order of growing compass, with tripodal and larger tunes of similar backbones shown along the side and tunes moving on different chords in similar heights above them.

[8] I.e. discussing the tunes successively.

[9] In addition to the three major blocks, there is a small Dorian tune group ending on D, and there are some 'special' tunes too. They are discussed later.

[10] I differentiated three line lengths: a) *small size* (7- and/or 8-syllabic lines), b) *tripodal* (tripartite lines mainly of 11, but certainly more than 9 syllables), c) *large size dipodal* tunes (bipartite lines mostly of 11, but certainly more than 9 syllables).

[11] E.g. I divided the tunes moving on Aeolian chords into the following groups: a) single-core small-size dipodal, b) two-core small-size dipodal, c) four-line small-size dipodal, d) single-core tripodal, e) two-core tripodal, f) single-core large-size dipodal, g) two-core large-size dipodal, h) four-lined large-size tunes.

[12] According to the height of the first lines, the group moving on Aeolian chords is subdivided as follows: a) first lines moving on B-A backbone, b) first line descending on C-B, c) first line moving on the C ridge, d) first lines moving on D-C and E backbone. The types are to be described in more detail later.

Tunes moving on Ionian chords

In Azeri folk music, the tunes moving on Ionian chords are found as equivalent pieces to tunes moving on other chords in every genre, while in Anatolian folk music they are chiefly concentrated among children's songs and laments.

Apart from one-line forms and forms derived from one-line forms (A_cA, A_vA, A|A), genuine two-core tunes (AB) can also be found. In an actual performance, two-core forms may take a wide variety of line structures. The musical forms are intoned in different ranges: in addition to the D-C bichord and E-D-C trichord, they use F-E-D-C tetrachord and G'-F-E-D-C pentachord as well. Dipodal tunes usually have tripodic variants too.

I present an example for each type in exs 2-7, only giving the single or two-core forms reduced to two lines. The full wealth of the musical stock with text is given in the supplementary anthology of my Azeri book.[13] The type descriptions include the skeleton of a typical tune, giving the backbone of the first line, followed by the serial numbers of relevant tunes in the anthology.

● Ionian-1. Types of the single-core small-size tunes.[14] This group contains five melody types moving in gradually expanding compasses. The lines of these melodies contain 7 or 8 syllables.

1a) D-C-(B) backbone[15]: C D C C │ C C D C. The tunes of 1a type basically move on the D-C bichord, with some involving B. The bulk of these tunes belong to the zikr ritual..

1b) C-D-E-D-C hill: C D E D │ C D D C. The main lineament of the type is the convex first line. In these tunes the three notes already allow for an inchoate two-lined structure, i.e. an AA scheme. Some wider compass variants of the former zikr tunes, as well as a wedding song belong here.

1c) E-D backbone and E-D-C descent: E D E E │E D C. The tunes move on E-D notes, some including B as well, especially around the line ends. It is hard to accurately separate the tunes moving on the E-D ridge and then declining to C from those realizing the E-D-C descent; therefore I gathered both melody motions in one type.

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[13] Sipos J., *Azeri Folksongs – At the Fountain-Head of Music*, Academian Publishing Huse, Budapest, 2004

[14] Let me stress again that I also subsume the tunes consisting of a higher and a lower line in parallel motion and closing on the same note under the category of single-core tunes (e.g. E E E E │ E D C ‖ E D D D │ D C C). When, however, the cadences (line ends) differ distinctly, the given tune is ranged with two-core melodies.

[15] A (first) have D-C backbone if it moves on the D-C bichord without a distinct direction. The D-C-(B) backbone also refers to the former undulation, with the occasional appearance of B at unstressed places.

1d) F-E-D descent: E-F-E-E | E D C. The note F crops up in the 1d type, further stretching the compass. The parallel AA structure is typical here.

1e) G'-F-E-D-C ridge: E F G' F | E D C. In the context of predominantly narrow-range Azeri music, this type contains a tune in which G' not only crops up but also gets firmly incorporated.

Ex. 2. Types of single-core small-size tunes
1a) D-C-(B) backbone, 1b) C-D-E-D-C hill, 1c) E-D backbone and E-D-C descent, 1d) F-E-D descent, 1e) G'-F-E-D-C ridge

● Ionian-2. Types of the two-core small-size tunes. The group contains 7 and 8-syllable small-size tunes built of two musical motifs. Not only parallel motions ending on common closing notes can be found, but the different closing notes ascribe markedly different characters to the lines of the tune.

2a) E-D-C backbone: C E D E | D E D~E ‖ E E E D | D C C. The higher lines of the type recite on E-D-C (with E or D as the final note), while the lower lines descend to C after wobbling on E-D, or again, they gradually descend on the final C. The majority of these tunes belonging to this type can be reduced to $A^{c}A$ or AB form.

2b) E backbone: E E E E | E E D ‖ E E E D | D C C. The higher lines of the type recite E in the first bar or even longer; the closing note is D or E. The lower lines descend from E to C.

2c) F-E-D descent: F E F E | E D D~E ‖ E F E D | D C C. This fairly voluminous type includes a more distinct F in the higher lines which close on E or D. Less frequently, F may appear in the lower lines as well. The type also includes a tune which ends on B instead of C, aptly illustrating the common root of C- and B-ending tunes.

2d) G'-F-E-D descent: G' G' F E | E D D~E ‖ F F E D | D C C. As the large number of tunes shows, the type is highly popular. The higher lines most often decline from G to E or D, the lower lines progress parallel with the higher lines from G'-F to C. What differentiates this type from the preceding one is the appearance of G'.

2e) G' backbone with G' cadence: G' G' G' G' | G' G' G' ‖ F G' G' F | E D C. While 2a-d types containing lines reciting or descending on a few notes have D or rarely E as their main cadence, the first lines of this type recite on G' and also end there. This marks this type with high incipit rather sharply off from the rest of the group, but typologically it must be put here on account of its two-core structure and low number of syllables.

Ex. 3. Two-core small-size Ionian tune types
2a) E-D backbone, 2b) E backbone, 2c) F-E-D descent, 2d) G'-F-E-D descent, 2e) G' backbone with G' cadence

● Ionian-3. Types of the single-core tripodic tunes. The third Ionian group contains the tripodic counterparts of the Ionian-1 small-sized tunes. As will be seen, it holds true in general that many tripodic types are musically similar to small-size and dipodal large-sized tunes.

3a) rotation on D-C-B: D D D C │ D C D C │ D B C.

3b) rotation on E-D: E E E E │E D E D │D C C. The higher lines of the type descend to C after reciting on the E-D bichord. Although taken in a strict sense, there are convex and descending tunes in this group, the narrow range and the tripodic structure hold them together.

Ex. 4. Types of the single-core Ionian tripodic tune group
3a) rotation on D-C-B, 3b) rotations on E-D

● Ionian-4. Types of the two-core tripodic tunes. The songs in this group can be divided into two types.

4a) C-D backbone: D D D C │ C D D C │ D D D ‖ D D D C │ C D D C │ D C C. The higher lines of the single tune in the type move on the C-D ridge, the lower line wavering between D and C before ending on C.

4b) E-D-C rotation: E D E E │ D D D C │ C D D ‖ E E E D │ D E E D │ D C C. The higher lines of 4b rotate on E-D-C, and take a rest on D. The second line also has a similar motion but ends on C.

Ex. 5. Types of the two-core Ionian tripodic tune group
4a) C-D backbone, 4b) E-D-C rotation

● Ionian-5. Types of the single-core large-size dipodal tunes. They are built of a single long musical idea with a caesura somewhere in the middle. In addition to tunes belonging to the song stock of the ashiks, there are plaintive songs and laments.

5a) D-C backbone: C C D C C C │ D C C D C. The lines of the only song in this type recite on the D-C bichord.

5b) E-D-C backbone: E D E D D D │ E E E D D C. The higher lines of the type move on the E-D-C ridge. F also appears in the second line of a single tune.

Ex. 6. Types of the single-core large-size dipodal tune group
5a) D-C backbone, 5b) E-D-C backbone

● Ionian-6. Types of the two-core large-size dipodal tunes. The group contains dipodal tunes with long lines. The lines of the melodies end on D or C. These and some other melodic features liken the higher types to the basic forms of Hungarian and Anatolian laments, for example. The difference between the Azeri types derives from the pitch level of the first lines.

6a) E-D-C-(B) backbone: E D C D E C~B │ E D E D D ‖ E E D C C D │ E E E D C C. There is an animated E-D-C-(B) motion in the first type, the first line ending on D, the second on C.

6b) E-D backbone: E E E D E D │ E E E D D ‖ E E E D D C │ E D D C C. The first line recites on E-D; the second descends from E to C.

6c) (G')-F-E-D backbone: G' F F E E D │ F F F E D ‖ G' F F E D D │D E E D C. The higher lines of the religious tunes in the type descend on (G')-F-E-D, the lower lines move downwards on (F)-E-D-C. I also subsumed tunes of similar lines but ending on D in this category.

Ex. 7. Types of the two-core large-size dipodal Ionian tune group
6a) E-D-C-(B) backbone, 6b) E-D backbone, 6c) (G')-F-E-D backbone

Connections between Azeri folk music and the music of other Turkic peoples and Hungarians

Let us finally devote a few words to the relations between Azeri folk music and the music of some Turkic peoples close to them as well as the music of Hungarians.[16] The difference that immediately strikes the eye is between the few simple styles constituting the Azeri folk stock as against many essentially different tune layers in most Turkic and Hungarian music.

The majority of Azeri tunes have Anatolian parallels. The most convincing analogies derive from northeastern Anatolia which has a considerable rate of Iranian Kurdish and Azeri populations. The analogies from the coastal region of Anatolia and from the Turkish heartland are less convincing, though there is a multitude of elementary tune forms of a few tunes from all over Turkey.

As compared to Hungarian and Anatolian folk music, Azeri folk music is characterized by the predominance of narrow compass and the extremely rare occurrence of fixed four-part structures. There is practically no plagal melody construction in Azeri folk music.

The Hungarian narrow-compass material is identified by Hungarian research

[16] On research into narrow-range Hungarian tunes see Dobszay-Szendrei (1988: 327-536), on Turkish small-compass tunes see Sipos (1995).

as a development upon ancient European and medieval music culture, as well as upon the impact of 15th-17th century tunes, but it is clearly qualified as folk tradition. The mentioned cultures have little to do with the cultures that were in touch with Azeri culture, and indeed, there are hardly any common traits between Hungarian and Azeri narrow-range tunes.

The few-tone motifs rotating around the middle note, which are so typical of the simpler layers of Hungarian and Anatolian materials, mostly occur among instrumental tunes in Azeri music, and only infrequently.

By contrast, there is an abundance of Azeri tunes that somewhat resemble the small-form of Hungarian and Anatolian laments. That is perhaps the only musical form that displays considerable similarities.

The lack of pentatony and of larger melody structures precludes a closer connection between Azeri folk music layers on the one hand and the basically pentatonic folk music styles of Mongolian, Northern Kazakh and Volga-region Turkic groups as well as Hungarians, on the other. Not only is pentatony missing, but also steps larger than a second are extremely rare, and the cadences are also rarely wider apart than a second. Non-pentatonic psalmodic tunes may be found in Azeri music but they are exceptional.

As for the Turkic music of the Volga region such as the musics of Tatar, Bashkir and Chuvash people, wholly diatonic Azeri music of narrow compasses shows no connections whatsoever with them. It is only among the eastern Chuvash minorities and the Christian Tatars of the Volga-region Turks that small-range motifs can be found in their music, but these tunes are always tri- or tetratonic including larger leaps.[17] The Mordvins and Votyaks of the region have single-core convex Ionian motifs of 3-4 notes but their character is different from the Ionian Azeris' tunes.[18]

Let us take a fleeting glance at the music of two closer Turkic peoples, the Kazakhs on the other side of the Caspian Sea and the Karachay-Balkars over the Caucasus. As the forbidding mountains of the Caucasus separate the peoples living on the two sides of the range, it is not surprising that one discovers hardly any similar layers between the varied musics of the Karachays and Balkars of Kipchak Turkic tongues, and the Azeris.[19]

Slightly different is the case of the Kazakhs of Mangishlak on the other side of the Caspian Sea, who also lack direct communication with the Azeris on account of the sea. The central lament form of the Aday Kazakhs also moves on Locrian

[17] In Vikár–Bereczki's (1999) Christian Tatar tunes one senses the 'tonic' background even in tunes moving on chords, e.g. in tetrachordal №15 built of D C A C | A A A... D C A A | A B A motifs the D-C-A tritone, in №153 of C A A A C D E | C A B A A base the E-D-C-B-A tetratone.

[18] In Azerbaijan, there is a single Ionian type of this kind, the rest being descending and wider ranged.

[19] On the Hungarian relevance of Karachay folk music see Sipos (2001b).

chords as one of the most typical tune groups of the Azeris does, though the musical logic is somewhat different.[20] Among them, psalmodic tunes are represented with greater weight than in Azeri folk music, but with less weight than in Anatolian and Hungarian music.[21] Generally speaking, the Kazakhs of Mangishlak have far more, and more diverse musical styles than the Azeris, yet their musical styles considerably differ from the pentatonic styles of the Mongolian Kazakhs living east of them.[22]

To conclude: Azeri folk music represents a unique hue in the musics of Turkic peoples, significantly deviating from the folk music of both neighboring and more distant Turkic ethnicities. It is well known that Asian pentatonic descending folk music exclusively predominates the Mongolian areas, spreading westward through the northern Kazakh areas up to the Volga-Kama region, to the one-time centre of the Golden Horde. The Azeri research also confirms that this musical solution is far more infrequent in the south where elementary musical forms of minimal compass and one- or two-core structures are preponderant.

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[20] For its detailed description and its comparison with the small form of Kazakh and Hungarian laments, see Sipos (2001a: 43-48).

[21] See Sipos (2001a: 48-54).

[22] I made an attempt to compare the music of the southern and western Kazakhs in Sipos (2001a).

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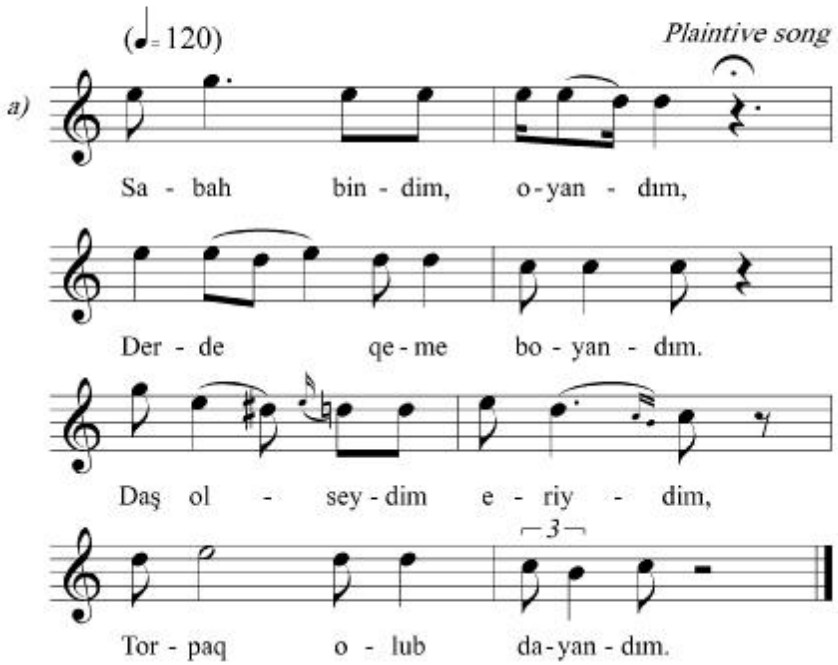
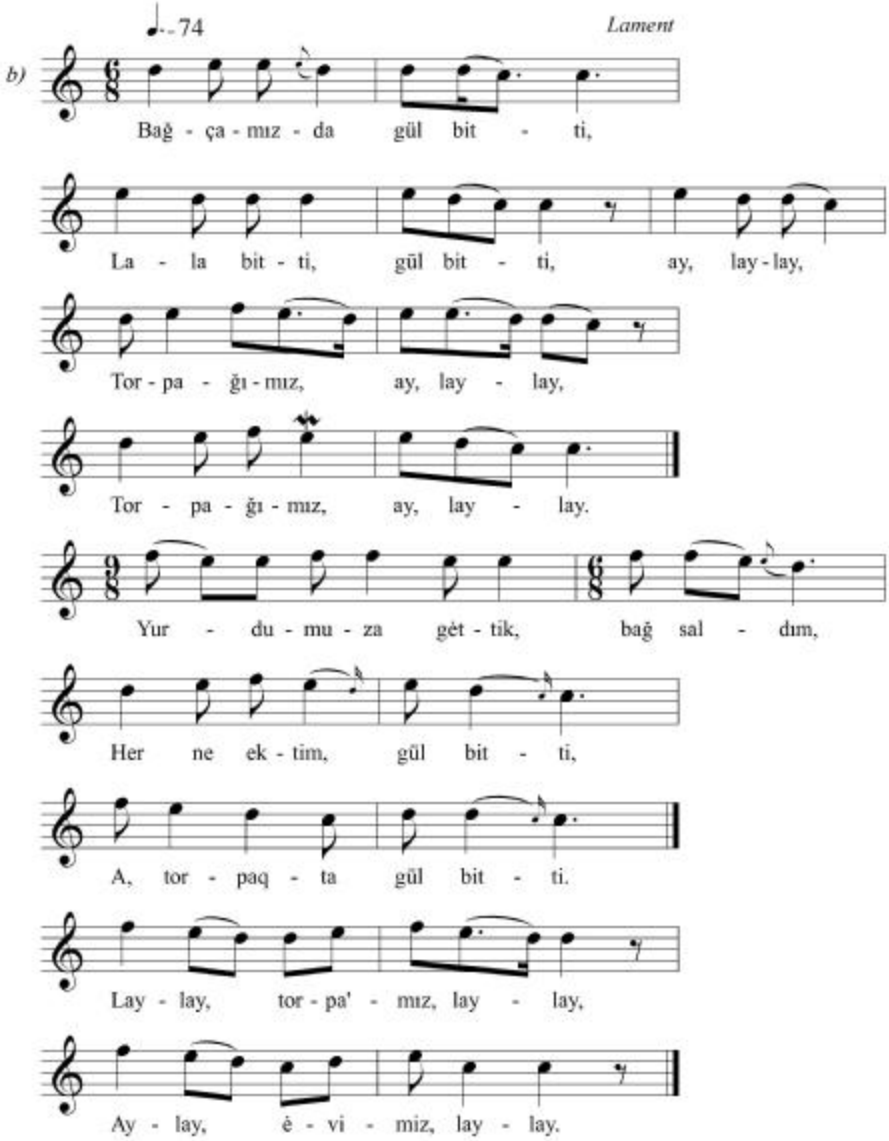
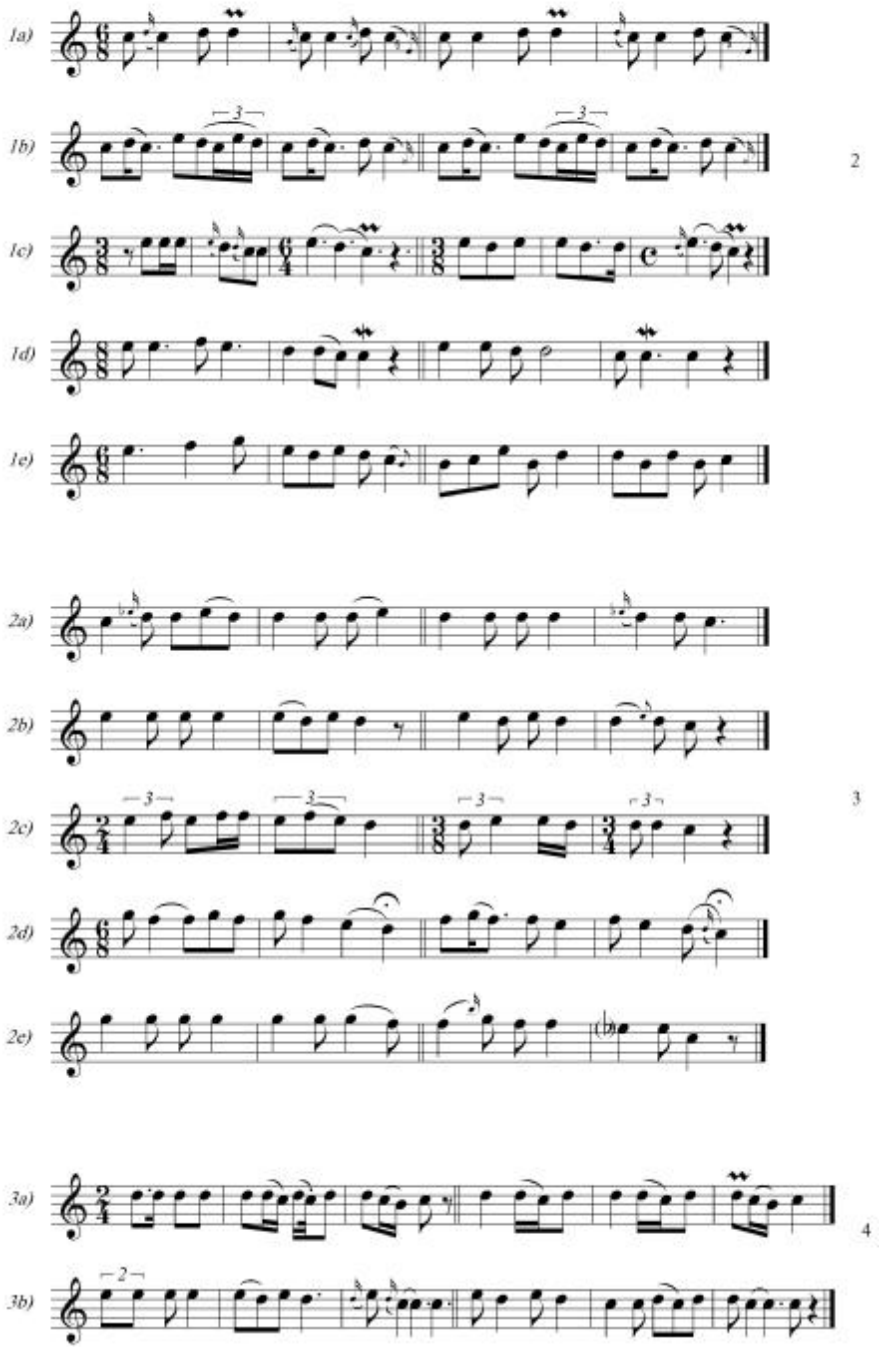
ex. 1a

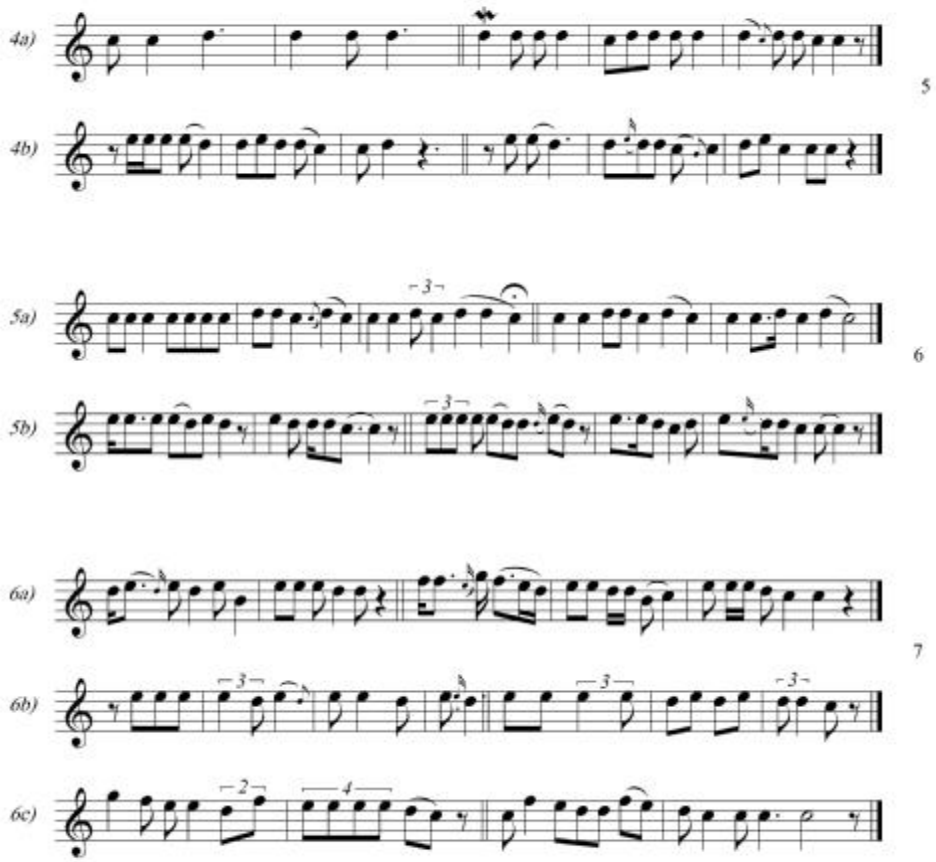

(♩= 120)
Plaintive song
a)
Sa - bah bin - dim, o - yan - dım,
Der - de qe - me bo - yan - dım.
Daş ol - sey - dim e - riy - dim,
3
Tor - paq o - lub da - yan - dım.

ex. 1b

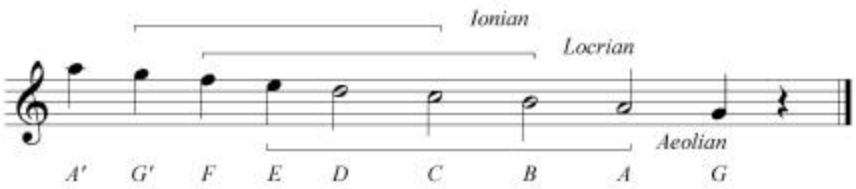

♩.=74
Lament
b)
Bağ - ça - mız - da gül bit - ti,
La - la bit - ti, gül bit - ti, ay, lay - lay,
Tor - pa - ğı - mız, ay, lay - lay,
Tor - pa - ğı - mız, ay, lay - lay.
Yur - du - mu - za gėt - tik, bağ sal - dım,
Her ne ek - tim, gül bit - ti,
A, tor - paq - ta gül bit - ti.
Lay - lay, tor - pa' - mız, lay - lay,
Ay - lay, ė - vi - miz, lay - lay.

exS.2-7




4a)
4b)
5
5a)
5b)
6
6a)
6b)
6c)
7

Scales



THE DECIPHERMENT OF THE TURKISH RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS AND ITS EFFECTS ON TURKOLOGY IN EAST AND WEST

Wolfgang-E. SCHARLIPP *

Introduction

The term "Runes" for the letters of the Old Turkish alphabet, used mainly for inscriptions but also a few manuscripts, has lately been criticized by some Turkish scientists for its misleading meaning. As "Runes" is originally the term of the old Germanic alphabet, this term could suggest a Germanic origin of the Turkish alphabet. Indeed the term indicates nothing more than a similarity of shape that these alphabets have in common, which has also created the term "runiform" letters. As such nationalist hair-splitting does not contribute to scientific discussion, we will in the following use the term "Turkish runes" with a good conscience.

This contribution aims at showing similarities and differences between the ways that research into this alphabet and the texts written in it, went among Turkish scientists on the one side and Non-Turkish scientists on the other side. We will also see how these differences came into existence. In order to have a sound basis for our investigation we will first deal with the question how the Turkish runes were deciphered. We will then see how the research into the inscriptions continued among Western scholars, before we finally come to the effects that this research had on scientists in Turkey, or to be more precise, in the Ottoman Empire and then in the Republic of Turkey.

In the 19th century

Several expeditions were sent out in order to collect material concerning the stone inscriptions in Central Asia. Two Finnish expeditions under J.R. Aspelin in 1888 and O. Heikel in 1889, as well as a Russian expedition under N.M. Yadrintsef of the Geographical society of Irkoutsk not only discovered many more inscriptions but brought also graphical reproductions with them, which laid the

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base for research and finally their decipherment. We shall return to the inscriptions, but first we will hear a few words about the Danish linguist Vilhelm Thomsen and some of the merits he gained in linguistics in general.

Vilhelm Thomsen

He was born in the capital of Denmark, Copenhagen 25th of January 1842. Already in school he had shown great interest in languages and after a short study of Christian theology he studied linguistics which was at that time comparative, as theoretical linguistics had not developed yet. In 1869 he was given his doctor degree for the thesis about "The influence of the Gothic (i.e. Germanic) language class on Finnish".

After travelling to several European countries, among them Finland, he worked, upon his return to Denmark as a school teacher in Copenhagen, but was soon given the post as a university teacher. The post what would today call "full professor" was given to him only in 1887 and had it until 1913. He died on the 13th of May 1927.

Already with the aforementioned doctor dissertation he gained an international reputation. In 1871 it was translated into German. In this work he proved that Finnish and Lappic (Samic) had not only recently, but already many years in the past taken over many words from Germanic languages. Apart from its significance for cultural history, his research also gave important information about the phonetic and morphological shape of those old words, as the receiver languages had preserved their quality.

For about four decades Thomsen had been interested in the Lycian language of old Asia Minor, of which only some inscriptions remain. Finally in 1899 he published several inscriptions in transcription and translation, discussing thoroughly the results and pointing at the Indo-European traces and the characteristics of Caucasian languages in it.

Of perhaps even bigger importance are his "Remarques sur la parante de la langue etrusque" (Remarks on the relationships of the Etruscan language), which appeared in the same year. In this work he points out some similarities with Caucasian languages, an observation that has kept its relevance until today.

Thus he became well acquainted with the work on inscriptions. We will now concentrate on his most important contribution to the study of Turkic languages, which mainly means his research into the Runic inscriptions.

The inscriptions

The inscriptions - so far known to us – are grouped according to the geographical site where they were found, although they might be quite far away from each other. The longest inscriptions are the aforementioned Orkhon

inscriptions from nowadays Mongolia. The inscriptions along the Upper Yenisey are bigger in number, but their inscriptions are much shorter and often not easy to understand. Another group with shorter inscriptions is found in the Talas mountains.

The longest text is the one on the monument which was erected for Köl Tegin. From the Chinese inscription, which is ingraved on the west-side, we learn that the stele was erected in August 732. The long and rather well preserved Turkish text was the one that helped Thomsen most in deciphering the alphabet. A bit later we will hear how this became possible.

The inscription of the emperor Bilge Kagan was erected in 735. It also has a Chinese text, but this one as well as the Turkish inscription are not as well preserved as these on the Köl Tegin stone.

The third important monument is about 300 kilometers East of these two Orkhon inscriptions at the upper Tola river, near a place called Bain Tsokto, after which it had been named by some scientists. Because of its similarity with the other two stones it is now usually regarded to be one of the Orkhon inscriptions. It consists of one larger and one smaller stone and was erected probably 720 for a man called Tonyukuk who - as was mentioned before – had been a counsellor to several emperors.

These three inscriptions are the longest of all Old Turkish Runic inscriptions, being also the best preserved they are also the most thoroughly studied ones. There are two shorter ones, the Küli Chor and the Ongin inscriptions, which are counted to the same group.

Very similar to these inscriptions are those from the era of the Uyghurs. The two longest Uyghur inscriptions refer to the first emperor of the Uyghur – steppe empire, Eletmis Bilge Kagan, reigning from 747-759. Another inscription is dedicated to Bögü Kagan, who was enthroned in 759 and gained special importance when he was called for help by the Chinese T'ang Dynasty against the rebellion of An-lu-shan. During his stay, after having successfully fought the rebellion, Bogu was converted to manichaism played a decisive role in Turkish history.

The inscriptions of the Yenissey are of a very different character. They also contain some biographical data of a deceased person but in no comparable length to those in the other texts. It is usually a small part of the inscriptions while the rest exists of lamentations and calls for those who had to be left behind in this world.

There are many more short inscriptions and also manuscripts, which are usually regarded as being remains of the manichaist culture. The longest text on paper is the Irk Bitig, a manual for predicting the future.

The decipherment

The importance of these texts for Turkish cultural history was revealed as soon as Vilhelm Thomsen had deciphered the alphabet and was able to make some first remarks on the contents of the text. Thus it is of great interest to know how Thomsen proceeded in this difficult task.

According to his own, rather short description, the decipherment was done by the following steps. The most important information concerning the language which he had to expect being written by this writing system was given by another, comprehensible inscription: of the four sides of the Köl Tegin stone one side had an inscription in Chinese. We now know that the Chinese emperor used to send diplomatic missions to the burial ceremony of an important aristocrat of the Turkish Empire and that this mission brought with it - besides other presents – inscriptions written by the Chinese emperor himself. These inscriptions mentioned names and titles of the deceased person saying as well that he was a member of the Turkish aristocracy.

Thus the longest and best preserved inscription mentioned the name – in reconstructed Middle Chinese pronunciation K'ieuh-ti(k) – K'in, which was first interpreted as being the Chinese equivalent of the Turkish Kök Tegin, i.e. the blue or heavenly prince. But as the Chinese inscription is not a parallel version to the Turkish one, of course Thomsen could not identify one form with the other without having some clues as to where in the runic inscription this name would be found.

Two more facts helped Thomsen from the very start: first the punctuation of the Runic texts, by separating every word from the text (although we know that this is not always the case); secondly, by knowing modern Turkish as well as classical Uyghur, it was known at that time that morphology, phonology and morphonology of these both were rather similar and thus one could expect that a Turkish idiom, being not much older, would also have more or less the same structural characteristics as classical Uyghur.

As the number of signs was rather restricted in number – 39 (not taking into regard the many different shapes) – it was almost clear to Thomsen that he had to do with an alphabet script, neither with pictograms like Chinese, nor with writing systems using signs for syllables. In order to find out, whether there were special signs for vowels, he paid attention to the combination of each of the signs with others. He was helped by statistics in so far as the most common vowel in the end of a Turkish word is either i or 1. From this and from its position in the context he came to suppose that the word "tengri", god and heaven, meaning the same concept as in Chinese ideology, behind a certain group of signs.

The second word was the aforementioned name (or rather title) Köl Tegin, which included the sign for the sound i. Although not every sign in these two words was clear, especially not one for 1, which he, according to the Chinese

pronunciation read k. Thomsen had a small number of signs, about which he was sure, and which were the basis for comparing their combination with other signs. On this basis and on the reconstruction of the Chinese signs, he came next to the word bilge, wise, and turc.

Being sure that he had to do with an alphabet script, Thomsen first had no explanation for the high number of different letters. By carefully paying attention to the combination of all existing signs, he noticed that certain letters were never found in the neighbourhood of certain letters, at least hardly ever within two dots functioning as a kind of punctuation. Taking the vowel harmony into regard, which was typical for Old Uyghur, he found the solution in the correct explanation that certain signs were used for the velar or back sound and others only for palatal or the front variant of the respective consonant. This insight allowed him to identify some more words.

The next problem that arose nevertheless caused deep doubts in Thomsen and brought him to the bring of giving up, as he came to the conclusion that the language in question could simply not be a Turkic language. This problem was the following: Turkic languages have - as all languages do – certain restrictions concerning the position of certain sounds in a word. In Turkic only a small number of sounds are allowed in anlaut position, i.e. being the first sound in a word, while all sounds appear in inlaut position, i.e. within a word. Seeing that all signs, also those which Thomsen read now as certain consonants, appeared clearly in the first position in a word, there was no explanation for that. For example the sound r or 1, which are only found in anlaut position in loanwords, were found in too many words as Thomsen could accept for a Turkic language.

It took him about one month until he found the key, starting from the few words he was rather sure about, like tangri for heaven and kagan for emperor. As in these words the sounds a and a are not indicated by any letter, the only possibility was that these two wovels are included in one of the consonant signs. Putting either a or a in front of those signs which should not be expected in the first position of a word, he had the sound for which this sign stood in second position and had thus found a word making perfect sense.

The first short publication of Thomsen about his success appeared in 1993 entitled “Déchiffrement des inscriptions de l’Orkhon et de l’Jénissei. Notice preliminaire” caused immediately great interest and started research of the Old Turkish inscriptions among linguists and especially turcologists on an international level. It is a remarkable fact, that most of Thomsens’ readings could be accepted by later researchers and even his transcription and differentiation between velaric and palatal consonants has been used until today.

Further works about the "runes"

It should not remain unmentioned that at the same time as Thomsen worked on the inscriptions, Wilhelm Radloff in Saint Petersburg also tried to decipher them. Thomsen was a bit faster, but later accusations from the Danish side, that Radloff only copied from Thomsen, are not correct. As it is used in science, Radloff had to accept corrections of his version, made by Thomsen, but also Radloff was right in some points where Thomsen's had been erroneous. Further more, Radloff did not conceal that he relied in some points on Thomsen's work, as he says it explicitly in the preface of his exellent book "Die alttürkischen Inschriften in der Mongolei" (St. Petersburg 1897): "I was lucky enough to be able to make also use of detailed studies on the inscription of the professors Vilhelm Thomsen and Bang."

During the following years Thomsen devoted much of his work to the Runic inscriptions. In 1894 he published a booklet "L'alphabet runiforme turc" (The Turkish Runiform Alphabet), which had been planned as the first part of his transcription and translation of the two longest inscriptions, which appeared two years later in Helsinki.

In the booklet which can be regarded as a preface to the transcriptions, Thomsen gives a list of the letters, including variant forms as they are found in different inscriptions. He then explains their phonetic values and the orthographical rules according to which they are used. We can state that there are only few instances which had to be corrected later and that most of those problems which Thomsen could not solve have not been solved by now.

In 1916 Thomsen published a study concerning the interpretation of some difficult readings and problems of the contents. Besides these publications about the inscriptions, he also treated several manuscripts written in the runic alphabet. These were part of the many Old Turkish manuscripts that had been brought to Europe by various expeditions. It is on the basis of the manuscripts and blockprints, mainly brought from Kansu by the English explorer Sir Aurel Stein and by the four German expeditions to Eastern Turkestan between 1902 and 1912, that Thomsen even turns his interest to Turkish history. In a long article entitled "Fra Ost Turkestans Fortid" (About the past of Eastern Turkestan), published in 1914/15 he gives a very scholared overview of historical and cultural aspects of the Turkish and Iranian population of Eastern Turkestan in Pre-Islamic times.

His last great publication about the early Turks is his Danish translation of the Köl Tegin, Bilgä Kagan and Tonyukuk inscriptions, which appeared in his Collected Works in 1922.

The effect is that Vilhelm Thomsen's successful work in the end of the 19th century has lasted until today without losing anything of its high significance.

More "runologists"

The runiform inscription along the Yenissey and in Mongolia had aroused the interest of scientists long time before the decipherment by V. Thomsen. Two books each in Helsinki and two in St. Petersburg had been published about them, illustrating their forms and trying some explanations.

Following their decipherment almost a boom in publication set in. It was mainly Thomsen himself who delivered several editions of the inscriptions, including also discussions of unclear passages of the texts. But also his competitor Wilhelm Radloff from St. Petersburg published his own first two editions already in 1894 and 1895.

It would take too much space to mention all the works and authors who in the following years came with new proposals for a better understanding of some difficult passages and with new suggestions as to how to interpret the contents in the framework of Turkish history and social life. These works included research into singular letters and their phonetic and phonological value, like the one of Nemeth about the closed /e/ in Turkish, but also whose grammars including at least one of the inscriptions, like "Die alttürkische Grammatik" of Annemarie von Gabain, which was much later translated into Turkish by the "Türk Dil Kurumu".

Among Russian scholars P.M. Melioranskiy edited the text of the Köl Tegin inscription as early as 1897. But most of the publications in Russian appeared in the 50ies and 60ies of the 20th century, most closely connected with the names S.E. Malov, who also did research in and published on other Old Turkish texts, like Classical Uyghur and Old Ottoman, as well as S.V. Kiselev who turned especially towards the Yenissey inscriptions.

In 1960 and 1961 the French turcologist R. Giraud published editions of the two big texts of Mongolia and of the Tonyukuk inscriptions. Although neglecting the useful proposals that P. Aalto had made in the meanwhile, Giraud's works gain special value because of his thorough discussions of linguistic problems and the insight into old Turkish culture that the inscriptions allow us. This concerns also the Old Turkish religion and especially the cult of "Tängri".

The cult of "tängri" was also discussed by Scharlipp 1992, based on the results that can be drawn from the inscriptions themselves. The same authors devoted also two short articles to the Yenissey inscriptions, arguing that they express rather the background of a shamanistic culture, while the Orkhon inscriptions use influences by Chinese and Iranian memorial texts. Among the most recent works about the Old Turkish inscriptions we find for example the articles and especially a new edition of the Tonyukuk inscription by the German-Finnish altaicist V. Rybatzki. While M. Erdal devotes most of his work to research into the lexicon of Old Turkish, but has also edited the "Irk Bitig" and several inscriptions.

As was said before, there is not enough place in such a survey to mention even

the most important names. In this context we would like to draw the readers' interest to an older survey article by the Polish Turcologist E. Tryjarski, which is despite its age still a useful information. Tryjarski himself has also contributed to this field of study by the edition of several inscriptions.

We hope, we could demonstrate with this chapter the internationality and almost world-wide interest into the Old Turkish runic inscription and the wide scope of problems which work has been devoted to.

Research in Turkey

The investigation into the Central Asian Runic inscriptions by European Scholars did not remain unnoticed among intellectuals in the Ottoman Empire, but instigated their own activities. Not long after the decipherment an article was published in the Ottoman newspaper Ikdam in 1895. Its author is unknown, but it is most probable that it is Necip Asım, who shortly after published the first Turkish monograph about the Turkish Runic inscriptions.

It appeared in 1899 under the title "En eski Türk yazısı". The book appearing four years later under the title "Pek eski Türk yazısı" might be a reprint, its title perhaps a misprint for "En eski…". Necip Asım was the son of a rich influential family in the Syrian part of the Ottoman Empire. He had achieved the military rank of a "mir-i ālāy" after completing the education at the Military Academy in Istanbul. Being one of the main authors of the journal "Ikdam" he contributed considerably to the development of nationalist ideas in the Ottoman Empire.

In order to work against the uprising nationalist movements among the non-Turkish ethnic groups which threatened the existence of the Empire, the ideal of "Osmancılık" (Ottomanism) had been introduced as a remedy against those destructive forces. Being little effective, the idea of Türkçülük, developing quickly to Turkish nationalism gained ground – a political concept new in the long imperial history of the Turks.

Building a state on a mainly ethnic fundament, instead of a multiethnic, imperial and religious one, asked for a new value and reputation of the word "Türk" which had up to then referred to people being ethnic and linguistic Turks, but of low social status and esteem.

The title of Şemseddin Samis (1850 – 1904) famous dictionary "Kamus-i Türkî" can thus be seen as a programmatic expression for what was to come. Şemseddin Sami is said to have written an article about the Runic inscription which remained unpublished. But published was the book of his companion Necip Asım.

The publication of his article in Ikdam one year before the publication of Thomsens book is obviously due to the fact that Thomsen had read a paper about his decipherment on the Tenth Congress of Orientalists in Geneva in September 1894. This paper was also distributed and sent by Thomsen to various colleagues

and thus became quickly known among scientists.

For the intellectual pioneers of Turkish nationalism, the decipherment of the Old Turkish inscriptions from the Orhon and Yenissey was a precious support. While before it had been rather difficult to present Turkish literary language with an old tradition, with which Turks could really identify themselves, one could now draw attention to a written language that was much older than Ottoman and widely uninfluenced by other languages.

How important language was as a factor during the process of constructing a national identity is clearly demonstrated by the chapters of Ziya Gökalp's important programmatic book "Türkçülüğün esasları". The chapter on "Lisanî Türk çülük" is the first chapter of the book, followed by "Bedi Türkçülük" and "Ahlakî Türkçülük". Gökalp suggest to give up the "Ottoman Esperanto", as he calls it, existing of Arabic, Persian and Turkish and to introduce colloquial Turkish as literary language. What the Ottoman language, being several hundreds of years old, could not be used for, to serve as a factor constructing a new identity, the language of the Runic inscriptions offered the best preconditions.

Thus Necip Asım introduces the preface to his book by saying, that with the Orhon inscriptions we have the proof of the old age of Turkish literature and of the fact that the Turks already had a literary culture when Europe remained still in the darkness of ignorance. At a time when European scholars began discussing the origin of the Turkish Runic alphabet, it was clear for Necip Asım that this alphabet was a purely Turkish creation, not influenced by any other system of writing. In the light of the search for a national identity one should not understand such ideas as an exaggerated chauvinism. The underlining of outstanding cultural achievements belonging to a common history is one aspect of universal method of creating socio-political identity.

But despite all these nationalistic overtones Necip Asım does not forget to appreciate the effects of Vilhelm Thomsen, his scholardness and his merits for the Turkish community in an elegant, decorated Ottoman language (Medeniyet-i kadimiye-yi milliyetimizing bir şahid-fennen-i napaziri olan şu abide hututını keşf ü hall eden meşahir-i müellimin ve müsteşkından monsieur V. Thomsen cenablarına terakkiyat-i ilmiye ve hususiyle mensubiyet-i ile mübahi oldığımız milliyet-i Türkiye namına olarak arz-i ihtiram eyler ve işte ilk defa olarak o yazı ile maaliftihar "Necib" ımzasını şu mukkadımaya vazi eder…) . Necip Asım's book is rather witness of his own fascination he felt for his object than by a fanatic nationalism. A sign of this is also the almost child-like joy of writing his name in Runic letters on the first page of the book – never mind that it is contradicting the orthographical rules of this alphabet.

A personal fascination of his object of research can also be noticed in the works of Hüseyin Namık Orkun. In his work, which appeared in four volumes

between 1936 and 1941 he tries to collect and edit all Turkish – or supposedly Turkish – inscriptions and manuscripts in runiform letters known up to his time, adding a mixture of transcription and transliteration, translation, commentary and glossary. It is an admirably scientific achievement, useful until today. The scientific commentary in the four volumes concentrates strictly on the topic without getting emotional or speculative.

The appearance of Orkun's books falls into the last years of consolidation of kemalist politics. The Arabic alphabet was given up in the meanwhile and replaced by the Latin alphabet which was from the start, for propaganda reasons, called the "Turkish alphabet" (later also "Gazi alfabesi" etc.). The language reform, systematically introduced in 1932, had turned into a "language purification", being partly based on the results of research into Old Turkish.

After a long break in the research into the Turkish Runic inscriptions the Turkish scholar Talat Tekin published his thesis "A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic" in Bloomington, USA. This book caused great attention among Turcologists and become a standard work at Turcological institutes worldwide. Some weaknesses of this book have been corrected in later editions and articles by the author. What makes the book useful on an international level is not only the fact that it was written in English, but also its scientific objectivity.

An edition of some Runic inscription of a very different kind was published two years later by Muharrem Ergin. In a sharp contrast to Tekins book, Ergin uses the Orhon inscriptions as a clear political, i.e. nationalist message. To make this point clear, it is enough to quote the first passages of his preface: "The first Türkish text, in which the name Türk, the name of the Türkish state is mentioned…the first work of Turkish historiography, historiography written in stone…the most important document of Turkish order, Turkish tradition, Turkish civilisation, of the high Turkish culture…the basics of Turkish military genies (askerî deha), of the Turkish art of war…" and thus the text continues. Words used and the style do not necessarily reflect a personal interest in the scientific object, but clearly reflect ideological tendencies of political chauvinism.

We find these tendencies also in other publications of him, for example in the "Türk Dünyası El Kitabı" where we find the information that the Turkish Runes were already in use several centuries before our time. Everybody who seriously works about Turkish runes knows that such a statement lacks any scientific sincerity.

Several Turkish scientists have devoted articles to special problems of the inscription. One of the names that should be mentioned here is Osman Sertkaya who partly proposed new readings of some difficult passages and gave new interpretations to some older translations.

Coming to the end of our survey we can state the following: While non-

Turkish scientists devoted their efforts to the decipherment and correct reading of the old Turkish Runic inscription, resulting into a better knowledge of historical facts, as they were partly known by Chinese sources, Turkish scientists working with these inscriptions were partly guided by emotional tendencies. The differences in the historical background of the researchers give reasonable explanations. Thus has the use of the early inscriptions in nation building a legitimate function, whereas a chauvinistic misuse can only be interpreted as a discrimination of other ethnic groups.

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بر باقشده اوخون حروفاتی کوسترمك اوزره اشکال ومقابللری اشاغیده کوسترلشدر:

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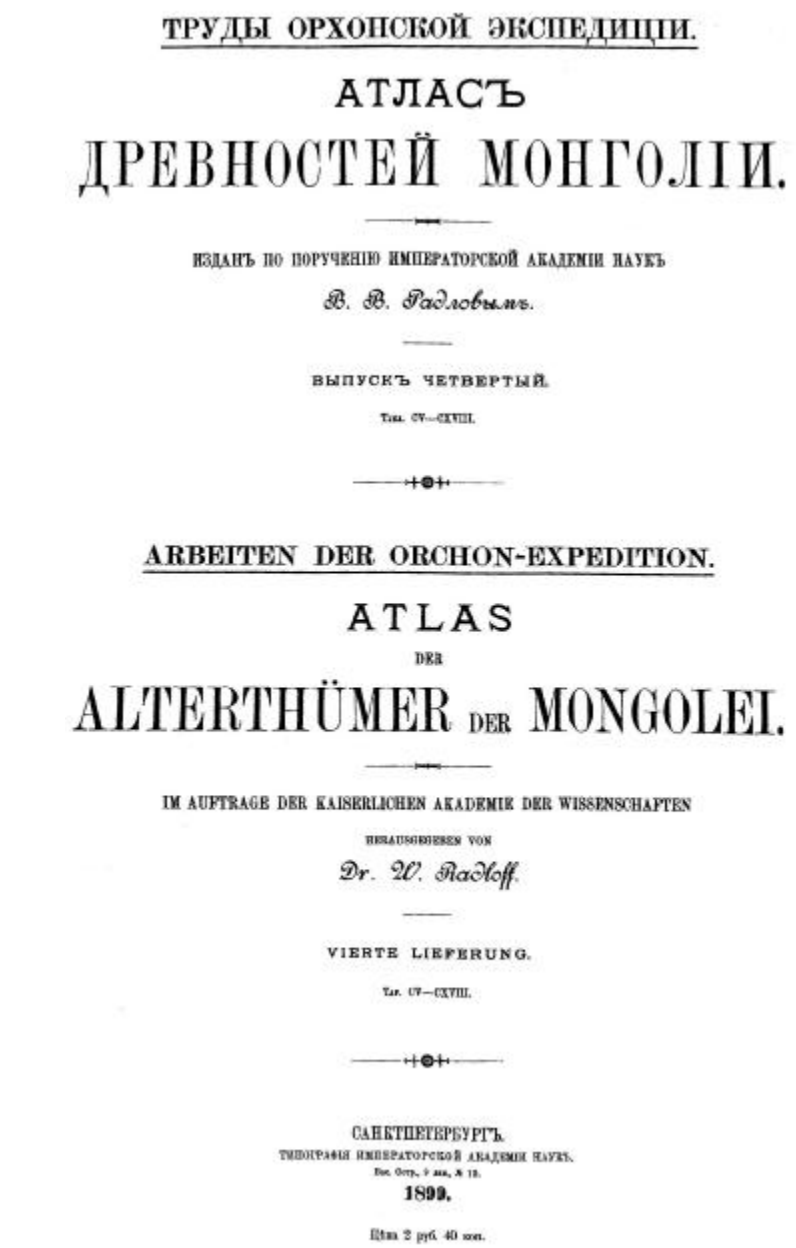

ТРУДЫ ОРХОНСКОЙ ЭКСПЕДИЦІИ.

АТЛАСЪ

ДРЕВНОСТЕЙ МОНГОЛІИ.

ИЗДАНЪ ПО ПОРУЧЕНІЮ ИМПЕРАТОРСКОЙ АКАДЕМІИ НАУКЪ

В. В. Радловымъ.

ВЫПУСКЪ ЧЕТВЕРТЫЙ.

Тавл. CV—CXVIII.

ARBEITEN DER ORCHON-EXPEDITION.

ATLAS

DER

ALTERTHÜMER DER MONGOLEI.

IM AUFTRAGE DER KAISERLICHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON

Dr. W. Radloff.

VIERTE LIEFERUNG.

Tаf. CV—CXVIII.

САНКТПЕТЕРБУРГЪ.

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An illustration of the book that was published in 1889 in Helsinki.

BREF HISTORIQUE DE LA CHAIRE DE LANGUE TURQUE DE L'INSTITUT DES LANGUES ORIENTALES DE PARIS

Rémy DOR *

Notre Institut des Langues Orientales de Paris remonte à une école fondée au temps de Louis XIV par son ministre Colbert au XVIIè siècle. Dès 1669, le Conseil du Commerce décide d'envoyer à Stamboul et Smyrne (aujourd'hui Istanbul et Izmir) des enfants âgés de neuf et dix ans, chargés d'étudier le turc. On les appelait les "Jeunes de Langue", en turc *Dil o∞lanı*. Ils étudiaient pendant plusieurs années pour devenir les traducteurs officiels ou "drogman" entre le royaume de France et l'Empire Ottoman.

La Chambre de Commerce de Marseille payait une somme de 300 livres pour leur entretien. Mais souvent d'autres nations, et particulièrement l'Angleterre, récupéraient ces enfants une fois formés et les utilisaient comme interprètes. Aussi, Louis XIV décida de faire venir en France, chaque année, douze enfants chétiens de Turquie, appartenant aux communautés grecque, syrienne et arménienne. Ce sont les premiers élèves de l'Ecole des jeunes de Langue en 1700.

Cette école recréait un ancien Collège de Constantinople, fondé à Paris par l'Empereur Baudouin II en 1204 et qui faisait suite à la prise de Constantinople par les Croisés. Ce collège de l'Université de Paris disparut au XIVè siècle et fut remplacé par notre Ecole.

Au début les élèves étudiaient le latin (seule langue permise dans les conversations entre élèves), le grec classique, le turc et l'arabe. L'Ecole était dirigée par le père Holdermann dont la *Grammaire turque* fut publiée à Constantinople en 1730. Tout au long du XVIIIè siècle des orientalistes célèbres comme Pétis de la Croix dirigèrent l'Ecole.

Pendant la Révolution, c'est-à-dire, après 1789, les institutions royales sont fermées. L'Ecole reprend difficilement sous Napoléon. Ce dernier, alors qu'il n'est encore que le général Bonaparte, emmène avec lui en 1798, lors de la campagne

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d'Egypte , un turcologue célèbre: Venture de Paradis. Ce dernier attrape la dysenterie devant Saint Jean d'Acre et meurt peu après au cours de la retraite de l'armée vers l'Egypte. Mais il avait emmené avec lui son élève, Amédée Jaubert, qui est nommé à la fin de 1799 professeur de turc à l'Ecole des Langues Orientales.

Amédée Jaubert accompagne ensuite, après 1802, le maréchal Brune, nommé ambassadeur auprès de la Sublime Porte. Envoyé en mission secrète auprès du chah de Perse Fath-Ali, il est arrêté et jeté en prison. Il s'échappe en 1807 et rejoint Napoléon sur les champs de bataille de la Prusse Orientale. Lors de l'épuration qui suit la chute de Napoléon, Jaubert préfère s'éloigner et partir pour le Tibet acheter des chèvres Angora. Après la mort de Napoléon, en 1821, Amédée Jaubert réapparaît comme négociateur français chargé d'expliquer au sultan la position de la France sur la question grecque.

En 1826, l'Ecole des Langues Orientales est dirigée par un nommé Jouannin, auteur d'une *Histoire de la Turquie* qui n'a pas laissé de traces. Elle dépend à cette époque du Ministère de l'Intérieur. Ce n'est qu'en 1832 qu'elle est à nouveau rattachée au Ministère de l'Instruction Publique. Elle est alors dirigée par le grand orientaliste et arabisant Silvestre de Sacy. A sa mort en 1838, son élève, le baron de Slane, interprète principal de l'armée d'Afrique, est nommé professeur de turc, mais la révolution de 1848 met un terme à sa carrière.

Il est remplacé par Louis Dubeux, auteur de 2 ouvrages sur la Tartarie et la Perse (1841 et 1848) parus chez Firmin Didot dans la collection l'Univers Pittoresque. Dubeux meurt en 1863 et il est remplacé par Claude Barbier de Maynard. Ce dernier était prédestiné à devenir professeur de turc: il était né en 1826 dans un bateau qui venait d'Istanbul!

Après ses études secondaires, il avait fait l'Ecole des Langues Orientales puis il était parti à 20 ans à Jérusalem et en Perse où il rencontra le Comte de Gobineau (considéré aujourd'hui comme le théoricien du racisme). Revenu en France, ses compétences remarquables en turc, en persan et en arabe, en font un jeune et brillant professeur. Titulaie de la chaire de turc à 37 ans, il est élu au Collège de France en 1876, puis à l'Académie des Inscriptions en 1878. Comme son prédécesseur Dubeux, Barbier de Maynard exerça ses fonctions de professeur de turc jusqu'à sa mort à 82 ans, soit pendant une durée de 45 ans. Il est surtout célèbre pour ses dictionnaires, *Dictionnaire de turc oriental*, et *Supplément aux dictionnaires turcs publiés jusqu'à ce jour* (1881-1886). Barbier de Maynard avait formé un élève de grande valeur, Jean Deny, qui lui succède en 1908.

Jean Deny était le fils d'un républicain, Louis Deny, qui, sous le Second Empire, avait émigré en Russie, où il avait épousé Hélène Grudzinska, une Russe d'origine polonaise. Louis Deny était professeur de français au lycée de Kiev. C'est dans cette ville que naquit Jean Deny, qui fit ses études au lycée Richelieu d'Odessa. Il vient en France en 1898 pour passer son baccalauréat, puis s'inscrit à

l'Ecole des Langues Orientales où il passe 5 diplômes en 1903 en même temps que sa licence de droit: diplômes de russe, arabe classique, arabe dialectal, persan et turc.

Les exceptionnelles capacités linguistiques de Jean Deny tenaient certes à ses capacités intellectuelles et à son travail, mais aussi à l'incroyable diversité des langues de son environnement familial pendant son enfance. Il parlait français et polonais avec ses parents, russe et ukrainien avec ses professeurs, mais aussi le tatar qu'il apprit à Odessa en même temps que le grec, le latin et l'allemand.

A la fin de ses études supérieures, il passe le concours du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, puis est envoyé au Consulat Général de France à Beyrouth en 1904. Il résidera ensuite à Tripoli en Syrie, puis à Marache en Turquie jusqu'en 1908. Dans ces divers postes, tous situés dans l'Empire Ottoman, Jean Deny approfondit ses connaissances du turc ottoman. Il s'intéressait au turc parlé populaire, utile dans son travail consulaire, C'est à ce moment-là qu'il a réalisé l'énorme différence entre la langue écrite ottomane et le turc parlé. Or c'est ce turc parlé qui, dans la Turquie kémaliste et républicaine, allait devenir la base de la nouvelle langue standard dite *öz türkçe*. Jean Deny amasse une documentation considérable sur le turc parlé, qui va nourrir ensuite son enseignement.

A partir de 1908 en effet, il remplace Barbier de Maynard à la chaire de turc. Il y restera jusqu'au 30 septembre 1949, non sans être devenu entre temps l'Administrateur de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales (c'est-à-dire son président). Admirons une fois de plus la longévité des enseignants de turc!

La Première Guerre Mondiale interrompt les enseignements de turc, mais Jean Deny est mobilisé comme interprète et affecté à l'Etat-Major du général d'Amade, au Corps Expéditionnaire d'Orient. Il débarque en 1915 à Sedd-ül-Bahr, dans les Dardanelles. Puis il participe à la campagne de Salonique. Le chef d'Etat-Major de l'armée d'Orient l'envoie l' envoie en 1917 à la légation de France à Athènes. En mai 1919 il est démobilisé et rentre en France où il reprend ses cours.

Il avait, en 1915, épousé à Alger, la fille d'un très célèbre orientaliste René Basset, dont il aura 5 enfants. Jean Deny est le savant qui a donné à la turcologie française ses lettres de noblesse. Ce fut le maître incontesté de la linguistique et de la philologie turques. il a profondément renouvelé et approfondi la description scientifique de la langue turque. Sa monumentale *Grammaire de la langue turque, dialecte osmanli*, publiée en 1921, est aujourd'hui encore un ouvrage tout à fait fondamental. Je voudrais citer deux lignes de l'introduction: " Ce livre ne prétend nullement (…) remplacer l'enseignement oral d'un maître, et le meilleur maître en l'occurrence c'est encore le passeur de la Corne d'Or ou l'accueillant boutiquier du bazar de Stamboul".

Or c'est très exactement ce que va faire Mustafa Kemal, c'est à dire débarrasser la langue des emprunts à l'arabe et au persan. Dans l'Empire Ottoman,

seuls 3% de la population savait lire et écrire. Il s'agissait bien sûr d'une élite urbaine. Atatürk va imposer un alphabet latin. Il y a une photo très célèbre qui le montre, un bâton de craie à la main, en train de donner une leçon d'écriture dans les nouveaux caractères. En abandonnant le primat de la langue littéraire ottomane au profit de la description de la langue de la rue, Jean Deny - dont la grammaire était très célèbre en Turquie - a contribué à la mise en place du turc contemporain. Il a éveillé l'intérêt du monde savant pour la turcologie générale et comparée, englobant l'ensemble de la turcophonie, puisque Jean Deny connaissait bien les langues türk orientales. Aimé et respecté par tout ceux qui l'ont approché, il est encore aujourd'hui considéré, à égalité avec Wilhelm Radlov, comme un des fondateurs de la turcologie contemporaine.

En 1949, mon Maître Louis Bazin, qui avait été le disciple de Jean Deny, lui succède Ancien élève de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure de la rue d'Ulm, agrégé de grammaire, Louis Bazin avait passé trois ans à Ankara comme chargé de mission. Il va, lui aussi, conserver la chaire de turc de notre Ecole pendant 40 ans. L'œuvre scientifique de Louis Bazin est très importante dans le domaine de la philologie et de la grammaire. Il a publié de nombreuses études thématiques sur le vocabulaire turc, décrit des langues comme le turkmène, traduit l'épopée kirghize de Er-Töshtük.. Mais c'est surtout le grand spécialiste européen du turc ancien. Son principal ouvrage porte sur les calendriers turcs anciens et médiévaux. est un ouvrage à la fois érudit et technique, faisant appel à l'astronomie autant qu'à la philologie. L. Bazin fut longtemps le président de l'Union Internationale des Orientalistes, ainsi que le président de la section des langues et civilisations orientales du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. Il a été le promoteur au début des années soixante de la création d'une équipe de recherches intitulée "Etudes turques et ottomanes". Après avoir pris en 1989 une retraite bien méritée, il continue de participer aux travaux de l'Académie des Inscriptions dont il est membre depuis une douzaine d'années.

Après avoir été son élève, je lui ai donc succédé en 1989. Mon parcours de formation académique est double puisque je possède un doctorat en ethnologie de l'Université Paris-IV et un doctorat d'Etat en linguistique de l'Université Paris-III. Je suis donc avant tout un ethnolinguiste. J'ai commencé en fait ma carrière comme professeur à l'Université de Kaboul en Afghanistan, où je suis resté de 1970 à 1973. Là, j'ai travaillé essentiellement sur les populations turkophones du Nord-Est afghan. Les Kirghiz du Pamir et les Ouzbeks du Badakhchan. Je me suis intéressé à leur langue et surtout à leurs traditions orales, à propos desquelles j'ai publié une douzaine d'ouvrages. Mon premier objectif en accédant à la chaire de turc de l'INALCO a été de faire reconnaître l'importance des langues turques d'Asie Centrale. J'avais créé dès 1982, comme chargé de cours un enseignement de kirghiz. Mais, en devenant professeur des universités, j'avais désormais la possi-

bilité de me battre pour créer des diplômes, seul moyen de pérenniser les enseignements. J'ai donc créé une licence et une maîtrise de turc qui incluent l'étude des langues centre-asiatiques, mais aussi un Diplôme Pratique de Qazaq ainsi qu'un Diplôme Supérieur d'Etudes Centre-Asiatiques Contemporaines. J'ai par ailleurs conçu et fait accepter par le ministère de l'Education Nationale une formation doctorale des études euro-asiatiques. Cette formation qui s'adresse à des étudiants ayant terminé les deux premiers cycles de l'Université, a déjà accueilli plusieurs étudiants centre-asiatiques.

Notre Institut des Langues Orientales a aujourd'hui la taille d'une petite université: nous accueillons douze mille étudiants, encadrés par 300 professeurs, maîtres de conférences et maîtres de langues, et une nombre à peu près égal de chargés de cours. Nous enseignons 93 langues, c'est-à-dire pratiquement toutes les langues du monde sauf l'anglais, l'allemand, l'italien et l'espagnol. Chez nous, le russe le finnois et le hongrois sont des langues orientales, comme l'inuktitut des Esquimaux et le nahuatl d'Amérique du sud.

Mais nous n'enseignons pas que les langues et les civilisations. Nous avons aussi des filières qui préparent aux relations internationales, au commerce international, à l'ingénierie multilingue (interprétariat, traduction, dictionnairique), à l'ingénierie multimédia. Nous avons aussi nos propres centres de recherches, nos revues, notre maison d'édition.

Etant le plus vieil institut des langues orientales en Europe et, probablement aussi, numériquement le plus important, nous nous efforçons tout en maintenant la tradition de jadis de nous ouvrir sur le monde moderne. Au sein de notre Institut la chaire de turc est la plus ancienne, ce qui traduit l'intérêt que la France manifeste depuis le Moyen-Âge pour le monde turc.

La création de l'Institut Français d'Etudes sur l'Asie Centrale en est une autre preuve. Installé depuis plus de dix ans à Tachkent, il joue un rôle de premier plan dans la coopération académique et culturelle entre la France et l'Asie Centrale. L'une de mes premières actions, après avoir accédé à la tête de l'IFEAC a été d'ouvrir une filiale à Bichkek. Par notre action de soutien auprès des chercheurs et des institutions de recherche centre-asiatiques, nous témoignons de toute la considération et du respect que nous éprouvons pour les travaux de nos collègues du Kirghizstan et des autres républiques d'Asie Centrale.