

RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES OF CHACH OASIS NOMADS DURING THE PERIOD TURKIC KHAGANATE

TÜRK KAĞANLIĞI DÖNEMİNDE ÇAÇ VAHASI KONARGÖÇERLERİNİN DİNİ TUTUMU

TUBA TOMBULOĞLU*

Sorumlu Yazar

RAHMANALİ MURADALİYEV**

Öz

Eski dönem kaynaklarına dayanan Türkologlar, eski konargöçer Türklerin dininin şamanik doğasına dikkat çekmişlerdir. Sonraki dönemlerde araştırmacılar, sadece şamanizmin unsurlarını benimsemiş konargöçer Türklerin dini inançlarında animizm ve totemizm gibi unsurlar tespit etmişlerdir. Orta Asya’da ise durum, erken Orta Çağ’daki Avrasya bozkır bölgesiyle karşılaştırıldığında daha farklı bir durum sergilemektedir. O dönemin ana dini olan Zerdüştlük, burada önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Ayrıca, erken Orta Çağ’da çeşitli yerel kültürler de yaygındı; özellikle atalar ruhu kültü ön plana çıkmaktadır. Bununla ilişkili olarak doğanın ölümü ve dirilişi, Budizm, Maniheizm ve Hristiyanlık gibi inançlar da etkili olmuştur. Batı Türkistan’da bulunan Çaç (Taşkent) vahasında ise eski çağlardan beri dini görüşlerde farklılıklar gözlemlenmiştir. Erken Orta Çağ’a geldiğinde ise bu çeşitlilik daha da artmıştır. Bu dönemde Zerdüştlük yaygınlaşmaya başlamış ve sembolleri cenaze törenlerinde açıkça görülmeye başlanmıştır. Çaç (Taşkent) vahasının hemen hemen her yerinde cenaze törenlerinin bu dinin ideolojik geleneklerine göre yapıldığı gözlemlenebilir. Ancak, yerel geleneklerin konargöçer Türklerin dünyasından gelen yeni etkilerle zenginleştirildiği de bilinen bir gerçektir. Bunun yanında Özbekistan’da ölülerle atla gömme geleneği 6.-8. yüzyıllarda, yani Türk Kağanlığı döneminden beri mevcuttu. Eski Türkler atı konuşabilen ve uçabilen bir yaratık olarak anlıyorlardı. Günlük yaşamda önemli bir yer tutan at, daha sonra kutsal bir nesne haline geldi. At toteminin anıtları Özbek geleneklerinde de korunmuştur. Yakın geçmişte, zengin bir kişi öldüğünde, yakın aile üyeleri ve akrabalar ölen kişinin giysilerini bir ata atar, hayvanın etrafında yürütür ve ölen kişinin iyi niteliklerini ve iyi işlerini hatırlardı. Fergana Vadisi Kıpçakları at totemiyle ilişkilendirilen bir çok aileye sahipti. Bölgede yaşayan Kıpçak aileler at’ın efsanevi bir cins olarak görüyor ve çok saygı duyuyorlardı. Ancak zamanla at’ın işlevi değişmiş ve cenaze törenlerinde ölen kişiyle ilişkilendirilerek kurban edilmeye başlamıştır. Bu çalışma, Çaç (Taşkent) bölgesinin Türk Kağanlığı dönemindeki bazı unutulmuş geleneklere dair yeni bilgiler eklemek için hazırlanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çaç (Taşkent Vahası), Konargöçer, Şamanizm, Din, Dağ Kültü, At Kültü.

Araştırma Makalesi / Künye: TOMBULOĞLU, Tuba, MURADALİYEV, Rahmanali. “Religious Attitudes of Chach Oasis Nomads During the Period Turkic Khaganate”. Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Veli Araştırma Dergisi, 114 (Haziran 2025), s. 497-504. <https://doi.org/10.60163/tkhcbva.1582773>

* Doç. Dr., Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi, İTBF, Tarih Bölümü, E-mail: tubatombuloglu@hotmail.com, ORCID: 0000-0001-8061-4480

** Dr., Özbekistan Bilimler Akademisi Milli Arkeoloji Merkezi, E-mail: rakhmonmurod@gmail.com, ORCID: 0000-0002-7441-704X

Abstract

Turkologists based on ancient sources have drawn attention to the shamanic nature of the religion of the ancient nomadic Turks. In later periods, researchers have identified elements of animism and totemism in the religious beliefs of the nomadic Turks who had adopted only the elements of shamanism. In Central Asia, the situation was different compared to the Eurasian steppe region in the early Middle Ages. Zoroastrianism, the main religion of that period, played an important role in this region. Additionally, various local cults were widespread in the early Middle Ages, with the cult of ancestor spirits being particularly prominent. Related beliefs, such as the death and resurrection of nature, Bouddhism, Manichaeism, and Christianity were also influential. In the Chach (Tashkent) oasis in West Turkestan, there have been differences in religious views since ancient times. In the early Middle Ages, this diversity increased even more. During this period, Zoroastrianism became widespread and its symbols were clearly visible in funeral ceremonies. It can be observed that almost everywhere in the Chach (Tashkent) oasis funeral rites were performed according to the ideological traditions of this religion. However, it is a well-known fact that local traditions have been enriched with new influences from the world of nomadic Turks. Moreover, the tradition of burying the dead with horses has existed in Uzbekistan since the 6th to 8th centuries, that is, since the period of the Turkic Khaganate. The ancient Turks considered the horse as a creature that could talk and fly. The horse, which occupied an important place in everywhere life, later became a sacred object. The monuments of the horse totem have also been preserved in Uzbek traditions. In the recent times, when a rich person died, close family members and relatives would throw the deceased's clothes onto a horse, walk around the animal, and recall the deceased's good qualities and deeds. Many families in the Fergana Valley, associated with the Kipchaks, were linked to the horse totem. The Kipchak families living in the region considered the horse as a mythical breed and revered it very much. However, over time, the function of horse changed and it began to associated with the deceased and sacrificed in funeral ceremonies. This study is intended to addnew information about some forgotten traditions of the Chach (Tashkent) region during the period of the Turkic Khaganate.

Key Words: Chach, Nomadic, Shamanism, Religion, Cult Of The Mountain, Cult Of The Horse.

Introduction

Studying the essence of the religion in ancient Turks began at the end of the 19th century. The foundations of this direction were laid by V. V. Radlov and P. M. Melioransky during the first reading of runic inscriptions. Turkologists, relying on several sources, noted the shamanic nature of the religion of the ancient Turks (Melioransky, 1898, 268-269). In recent years, researchers have published many scientific works on the spread of such religions as Buddhism, Tangrism, monism, Christianity (Nestorianism) in the religious beliefs of the nomadic Turks, not only in the form of animism, totemism and fetishism, which include elements of shamanism.

The Bugut inscription, found in Mongolia, testifies to the first appearance of Buddhism as a state religion among the ancient Turkic elite. At the request of Taspar Khagan, a statue of Buddha was installed in his residence. This statuette and the erased side of the Bugut inscription with the Sanskrit inscription are dedicated to Jinagupta. He was a Buddhist teacher who came from India and lived for ten ears in the residence of the Khagan. The first Turkic Khagans understood that Buddhism would become a powerful ideological factor for the management and maintenance of a large empire from the moment they came to power. The socio-political tension in the Khaganate that arose in 581 damaged the position of Buddhism. This religion lost its importance during the the late periods of the Turkish Khaganate (Rahmon, 1993, 83).

The religion of the ancient Turks is recorded in the most ancient Chinese chronicles “Wei-shu” and “Sui-shu”, and in “Wei-shu” which state the following: “they (the ancient Turks - R.M.) are those who find spirits, those who believe in healers. ... They entered the residence of the kagan from the east, which means respect for the sunrise, and at the same time it means worship of the sun; every ear the kagan went to the cave with his officials and made sacrifices to the spirits of his ancestors; In the middle of the ten days of every fifth month, the kagan gathered his relatives, went to the river bank and made a sacrifice to the spirit of heaven. ... They considered the mountain called “Boding-inli” (in Chinese) sacred” (Bichurin, 1950, 230-231).

A similar cult of the mountain exists among various peoples of the world, such as the Greeks have Olympus, the Palestinians have Sinai, and the Indians worship the Himalayas and the religious worldview of the gods living on its summit, which was observed in practice. This cult has been preserved among the peoples of Mongolia, Tibet and Altai. It was customary for the Altai people to make piles of stones at the crossings of passes and gorges in honor of the mountain cult, that is, everyone passing by threw a stone into the pile. In such places, it was forbidden to talk loudly, shout or even sing, so as not to disturb the mountain cult (Konunov, 2010, 335-336).

Worshipping the spirits of ancestors is also widespread among the Turks. As already mentioned above, the kagan and officials made sacrifices in caves. One of the reasons for making sacrifices in caves is a legend associated with the origin of Ashina and her clan, the founder of the kagan clan of the Turks. Also, making sacrifices to the spirits of ancestors in a cave was connected with the cult of the mountain, and such a practice existed among other clans, for example, among the clan of the Khagan (Ashina). This plot essentially revolves around a mother wolf who saves a young cub and finds a mountain cave to hide it. It can be said that the more important the totemic meaning of the Blue Wolf was among the Turkic peoples, the more sacred was the mountain of the clan or the cult of the mountain.

Of course, the cave was also in use during the Hun period. Therefore, it does not seem appropriate to attribute the sacrifice in the cave only to the narrative about Ashina. According to the Uzbek Turkologist N. Rakhman, shamanism in the Turkic Khaganate existed spontaneously but not stably. In addition, when each tribe had its own religion and cult, the common religion was of great importance for unity and cooperation, and thus shamanism was firmly established. Ordinary people worshiped the spirit of the sky, the spirit of the earth and water, the sun and animals. Since the unification of the Turkic tribes and the composition of the union were different, the ideas about were also different. Among the tribes in the Khaganate, even if they were not Turkic, the clan had its own religion, and everyone professed it on the territory of the Khaganate. But supreme deity was the only one for all tribes (Rahmon, 1993, 83).

Since this situation definitely needed to be reformed, during the the late periods of the Turkish Khaganate, special attention was paid to this issue, and Tengri was strengthened as the supreme deity and put forward as the main patron of the Ashina clan. This serves as the foundation of the scientific conceptual basis of the religion of “Tengrism”. The concept of “Tengrism” was first introduced into scientific circulation by the French Turkologist Jean-Paul Roux (Roux, 1956, 206-207), and the scientist comes to this conclusion based on the writings of Orkhon-Yenisei and works devoted to its analysis. “Tengrism” is a unique religion of nomads, which embodies elements of animism, totemism, shamanism and paganism.

At the beginning of the Kultigin inscriptions, the Supreme Deity is praised as follows: “*When the blue sky above and the dark earth below were made, then were made between them both the son of men*”. In this place, is not the material sky that we see now, but the spirit of the heavens. Regardless of the tribe, both officials and ordinary people made sacrifices to the Supreme Deity. In addition to animal meat, the sacrifice also included drinks such as kumiss and milk (Rahmon, 1993, 84).

Although, the discourse of sacrificing to the sun is not in accordance with ancient Turkish beliefs, according to Bichurin, the nomads who worshipped God made sacrifices to the sun twice a year. The sacrifices were made in the autumn – during the polar night, in January – when the sun’s rays began to appear. According to their idea, the founder of the universe is God, the heavenly spirit, and his servant is the sun, he is the leader of the universe. The sun’s rays are yarn. Through these threads of light, the soul of plants communicates with the sun (Bichurin, 1950, 230-231).

It should also be noted that animism was the first set of common religious beliefs for most Turkic tribes. The essence of animism is that in primitive times people believed that everything had a soul. Accordingly, natural phenomena and various disasters were considered alive. Folk tales say that the wind or mountains act like people, help or oppose humanity. These phenomena were also a form of animism. Also, Turkic tribes and clans worshiped the creature and considered it their patron. It can be said that such a totemic view was characteristic to all Turkic-Mongol tribes, similar to those mentioned above.

During the period of the Turkic Khaganate, the situation in Central Asia in the religious worldview differed from the steppe region of Eurasia. Zoroastrianism, which was the main religion of that time, occupied a large place here. In addition, various local cults were widespread, in particular, the cult of the spirit of ancestors and the death and resurrection of nature associated with it, such as Buddhism, Manichaeism and Christianity (Karmy’sheva, 1986, 139).

In The Early Middle Ages The Religious Situation In The Chach Oasis

In the Chach oasis, there have been differences in religious views since ancient times. By the early Middle Ages, this diversity increased even more. At this time, Zoroastrianism began to spread widely, and its symbols can be clearly seen in burial rituals. Although Zoroastrianism was not a world religion, its ideas had a great influence on other religions, especially Manichaeism (Sunderman, 2008, 155-166). In almost all parts of the Chach oasis, one can observe that burial practices were carried out on the basis of the ideological traditions of this religion.

The cult of fire, characteristic of many past religions and the existing since ancient times, became an integral part of Zoroastrianism in the early Middle Ages. Because religious prayers were performed around a fire. As a result, the term “fire worshiper” began to be used for representatives of the Zoroastrian religion. And some Muslims knew them as “pagans” (Sunderman, 2008, 155-166). However, the cult of fire existed before Zoroastrianism in the Syr Darya region and was embodied as a symbol of the sun. At the beginning of our era, in the territory from the Lower Syr Darya to the Fergana Valley, there were many temples with a permanent fire. The archaeological site of Kyzylartepa in the city of Margilan, in the southern part of the Fergana Valley studied by A. Anarbaev and F. Maksudov and the archaeological site of Uchtepa studied by academician A. Askarov are considered “temples of fire” belonging to the beginning of the 1st millennium AD (Anarbaev, Maksudov, 2007; Askarov, 2019).

In the Early Middle Ages, the religious situation in the Chach Oasis was shaped by the beliefs and cultural interactions of both the settled peoples of the region and the nomadic Turkic tribes. The Turks also have a cult of fire, which included the practice of burning the corpse of a deceased person (cremation) (Bernshtam, 1952, 226). In Central Asia, this practice has been known since the Bronze Age. Such practices related to the Turkic period were found in grave No. 70 of the Sufan burial ground in the Fergana Valley (Ivanov, 1985, 109) and in the Munchaktepa necropolis (Matboboev, Ivanov, 1997, 72-75). Researcher B. Matbabaev claims that the practice of cremation is foreign and non-local to the Fergana Valley (Matbabaev, 2009, 39).

The study of burial grounds helps to reconstruct, to a certain extent, some archaic stages in the development of worldviews and beliefs of the people of that time. According to archaeological sources and historical data, in Central Asia before the Arab conquest, i.e. during the reign of the Turkic Khaganate in the early Middle Ages, burial rites were carried out on the basis of different religions and religious beliefs. In this case, burial structures were built on the basis of ancient religions and religious relics. In this matter, the social status of people can have a special place.

Horse Cult In The Chach Oasis

The horse occupies an important place in the spiritual culture of nomadic peoples, national customs and beliefs, folklore and fine arts (Potapov, 1977, 164). In Uzbekistan, the practice of burying the dead with a horse existed in the 6th-8th centuries, that is, the period of the Turkic Khaganate. The first such method of burial was discovered near the Ulugbek observatory in Samarkand (Sprishevsky, 1951, 37). Later, during the excavations of the Dalvarzintepa monument in the Andijan region, which was discovered by Yu.A. Zadneprovsky in 1972 (Zadneprovsky, 1967, 270-276). The practice of burying the dead with a horse was also noted in the archaeological research of the Fergana expedition at the Arsif burial ground (Gorbunova, Ivanov, 1973, 458). A burial with horse accessories was discovered at the Sungak burial ground in the Tashkent region, and such a situation was an expression of the cult of the horse (Maksud, Muradaliyev, 2020, 287-302).

According to written sources, nomadic peoples had a custom since ancient times of burying a warrior who had many wives, household goods and food. These rituals are associated with animism, reflecting the idea that a person's soul lives in the afterlife. It is customary to bury a person together with his horse. This has been confirmed in mass archaeological research since the time of the Scythians in the 8th - 7th centuries BC. It should also be noted that the burial of a horse, which is the main intermediary in the journey to the "afterlife", with its accessories not only enriches religious ideas, but also provides interesting information about the aesthetic world, crafts and professions of people of that time.

It is known that the horse totem is widespread among different peoples of the world. Many rituals and traditions of the past were associated with this totemic belief. This totem played an important role in the history of the Turkic peoples, especially the Uzbeks, and its traces can be found in many rituals today.

Among the Eurasian peoples, the comparison of a horse with the sun has two aspects: on the one hand, the morning horse, i.e. the rising sun, personifies life on earth; and the opposite horse was a symbol of the setting sun – the underworld. This is reflected in the epic traditions, burial monuments and rituals of the Indo-European and Turkic peoples of the region through ideas about eternal contrasts – day and night,

death and life (Adzhigaliev, 1994, 128). S.P. Tolstov claims that the horse, one of the main totems of the Massagetae, was their state symbol for thousands of years as a “god in the form of a horseman” (Tolstov, 1948, 202).

The ancient Turks understood the horse as a creature capable of speaking and flying. The horse, occupying an important place in everyday life, subsequently became a sacred object. Since ancient times, the Turkic peoples could not imagine themselves without horses. According to their custom, a warrior should be buried accompanied by his favorite horse. If relatives do not have such an opportunity, horse equipment is placed on the grave. In addition, horses were also intended for sacrifice among the ancient Turks. The essence of this sacrifice was to show love for God and ask for mercy. The ancient Massagets also made sacrifices to the largest and fastest god - the Sun, “the fastest animal - the horse” (Herodotus, 1972, 79).

Monuments of the horse totem have also been preserved in Uzbek traditions. In the recent past, when a rich person died, close family members and relatives threw the deceased's clothes on a horse, walked around the animal and remembered the good qualities and good deeds of the deceased. This is how relatives mourned the deceased. This ritual was called “circling the horse.” At the end of the ceremony, the tail was cut off and the horse was released; no one rode this horse anymore. The cut off tail meant that the horse's owner had died. V.V. Radlov wrote that the Kazakhs also have such a custom (Radlov, 1989, 282). Ethnologist A. Ashirov stated that rotation around a horse can be seen as a transformation of the ancient custom of burying a horse and its equipment together with the deceased (Religii Central'noj Azii i Azerbajdzhana, 2016, 219).

The Kipchaks of the Fergana Valley had clans associated with the horse totem - four stallions, saman, jeti-kashka, tori-sari, kulon, karabaital. In ancient times, some Kipchak families revered the horse as a legendary breed (Shaniyazov, 1974, 144). Later, the horse totem changed functionally and began to be associated with sacrifice in funeral rites (Kuzmina, 1997, 111). In the Uzbek folk epic “Alpomish”, a war horse understands human speech, warns the hero of danger, gives advice, carries him from the battlefield when a warrior is wounded. In a short period of time, he can cross a waterless desert, go through high mountains and dense forests and deliver his rider to the right place (Mirzaev, 1968, 103).

In the epic and mythological traditions of the Turkic peoples, the epic horse, a close relative and friend of the hero, is depicted as a white or blue horse. In general, the color of a horse had a symbolic meaning in ancient times. Successful rulers, conquerors and military leaders rode into conquered cities on a white horse. The Turks considered white a symbol of success, victory and good fortune. In folklore there is an expression “the rider's wing” or “the horse is the wing of the Turk” in fairy tales horses are described as assistants of the main character (Afzalov, 1964; Besim Atalay, 1992, 48).

Among the Uzbeks, hitting a horse on the head is considered a sin. It is believed that the breath of a horse brings prosperity to the house, and also cures some diseases. Used horseshoes were also nailed to the doors to protect the house from the evil eye. Sometimes grandmothers or just old women put the baby's first vest on a pole. It was believed that the strength and endurance of the animal would magically be transferred to the child, and he would become as strong as a horse (Religii Central'noj Azii i Azerbajdzhana, 2016, 219).

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be said that nomadic peoples had unique aspects in their religious worldview, and such signs are also observed among the inhabitants of the Chach region. The cultural and religious innovations that took place in the oasis could not but affect the cattle breeding population. In turn, the burial customs of the settlers who came from the east served as an impetus for the introduction of new practices in the mountainous regions of Chach. As a result, religious beliefs became structural elements of religions in the religious views of the population and have survived to this day.

It can be said that the burial of the horse, along with its equipment, which serves as the main means of transportation to the “other world,” not only enriches religious concepts but also offers interesting insights into the aesthetic world, handicrafts, and professions of the people of that period.

Nomadic peoples have their own unique aspects in their religious worldview. Similar signs have also been observed among the inhabitants of the Chach region, and it was inevitable that the cultural and religious innovations brought to the oasis would influence the nomadic people. On the other hand, funeral ceremonies brought by nomadic peoples led to the development of new practices in the mountainous regions of Chach. Religious beliefs related to horses also played an important role in this. For centuries, traditions and folklore related to horses have been a part of the daily life and religious worldview of the people of Uzbekistan.

Therefore, the funeral tradition related to horses and horse equipment, as identified through archaeological studies, has existed in the Chach region since the time the Turks arrived in the area. In the Early Middle Ages, the migration of Turkish people to the region continued, and thus religious traditions related to horses have changed and survived to the present day.

References

- Adzhigaliev, S.I., Genesis of tradicionalnoj pogrebal'no-kul'tovoj architecture of Zapadnogo Kazakhstan (Na osnove issledovaniya mangy'shlakskikh form), Almaty, 1994, 128.
- Afzalov, M.I., *About Uzbek fairy tales*, Tashkent, 1964.
- Anarbaev, A., Maksudov F., *Drevnij Margilan*, Tashkent, 2007.
- Askarov, A., et al. Archaeological research carried out in the Uchtepa monument in 2019, Archaeological research in Uzbekistan, Samarkand, 2021.
- Atalay, B., *Divanü Lügati't- Türk Tercümesi*, I. cilt, Ankara, 1992.
- Bernshtam, A., *Istoriko-archeologicheskie ocherki Central'nogo Tyan'-Shanya i Pamiro-Alaya*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1952, 226.
- Bichurin, I. Ya, *Sobranie svedeni o narodax, obitavshix v Srednej Asii v drevnie vremena*. T. 1, Moscow-Leningrad, 1950, 230-231.
- Gorbunova, N.G., Ivanov G.P., *Ferganskaya expedition // Archeological discovery - 1972*. – Moscow, 1973, 458.
- Herodotus, *Istoriya v devyati knigakh // Perevod, primechaniya G.A. Stratanovsky*, Leningrad, 1972.
- Ivanov, G.P., *Otchet ob archeologicheskikh rabotakh Ferganskogo oblastnogo muzeya v 1985 g.* / Archive of the Samarkand archaeological institute pri agentsve Kul'turnoj nasledii. F-8. O-1. D-109. 1985.
- Karmy'sheva, B. Kh., *Arkhaicheskaya symbolika v pogrebal'no-pominal'noj obryadnosti uzbekov Fergany' // Drevnie obryady' verovaniya i kul'ty' narodov Srednej Azii / Otv. ed.*

- V.N. Basilov. - Moscow: Nauka, 1986, 139.
- Klimovich, L.I., Islam, Moscow, 1962, 272.
- Konunov, A. A., Otrazhenie kul'ta gor v geroicheskikh skazaniyax // Mirovozzrenie naseleniya Yuzhnoj Sibiri i Central'noj Azii v istoricheskoy retrospective. Vy'p. IV. – Barnaul, 2010, 335-336.
- Kuzmina, I. E., Loshadi Severnoj Eurazii ot pliocena do sovremennosti, St. Petersburg, 1997, 111.
- Magnusson, A.D. Zoroastrians in early Islamic history (Accommodation and memory). – Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022, 3.
- Maksud, F., Muradaliyev, R., “On the spread of the Göktürks and the stirrup”, Journal of Genel Turkish Historical Research. Vol. 2, Issue 4, July 2020, 287-302.
- Markaev K., Ethnonyms related to totemistic imagination, Uzbek language and literature. No. 1. 2005, 94-95.
- Matbabaev, B. Kh., Rannesrednevekovaya kul'tura Fergany' (po osnove istoricheskogo analiza archeologicheskikh istochnikov V-VIII vv.) / Avtoreferat disc. ... Dr. ist. science - Samarkand, 2009, 39.
- Matboboev, B. H., Ivanov, G. P., Nakhodki pogrebenij s truposozhzheniem i konem v Fergane, ONU, No. 5, 1997, 72-75.
- Melioransky, P.M., Ob orkhonskikh i enisejskikh nadgrobnj'x pamyatnikakh, Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshheniya. T. 6. 1898, 268-269.
- Mirzaev, T., Uzbek versions of Alpomish epic. – Tashkent, 1968, 103.
- Potapov, L.P., Kon'v verovaniakh i e'pose narodov Sayano-Altai, Folklore and ethnography. Svyazi folklore s drevnimi predaniami i obryadami, Leningrad, 1977, 164-178.
- Radlov, V.V., *Iz Siberia*, Moscow, 1989.
- Rahmon, N., Turkish Khanate. - Tashkent: Publishing House of People's Heritage named after Abdulla Kadirij, 1993, 83.
- Religii Central'noj Azii i Azerbajdzhana: Tradicionny'e verovaniya i shamanizm (Uzbekistan) Volume I. - Samarkand: MICzAI. 2016, 219.
- Roux, Jean-Paul, Tängri (Essai sur le ciel-dieu des peuples altaïques) (part 3), Revue de l'histoire des religions. Vol. 150/2. 1956, 206–207.
- Shaniyazov, K., *Cultural History of the Uzbek Nation*, Tashkent, 1974.
- Sprishevsky, V. I., Pogrebenie s konem serediny' I ty'syacheletiya n. e'. obnaruzhennoe okolo observatorii Ulugbeka / Trudy' muzeya istorii UzSSR, 1. – Tashkent, 1951, 37.
- Sunderman, W., Zoroastrian motifs in non-Zoroastrian traditions, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. 3rd series. Vol. 18, part 2. – London, 2008, 155-166.
- Tolstov S.P., *Ancient Khorezm*, Moscow, 1948.
- Zadneprovsky, Yu. A., Turkskie pamyatniki v Fergane // SA, No. 1. 1967, 270-276.