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*Türkiye'de yayın yapan sosyal bilimler içerikli dergiler içerisinde, uluslararası standartlara erişim noktasında istenen yayınların yüzde otuzunun yabancı ülkelerden gelmesi şartını sağlayan, Avrasya Uluslararası Araştırmalar Dergisi "Moğolistan Özel Sayısı" ile huzurunuzda çıkmıştır.*

*Bu sayıda birbirinden özel çalışmalarla sizlerle beraberiz ancak bu sayının çıkması için büyük çaba sarfeden Enkhbat АVІRМЭD'e özel bir teşekkürü borç biliriz.*

*Uluslararası anlamda yayın yapmaya devam etme gayretimiz çerçevesinde gerek dergi aracılığıyla gerekse bizzat arayarak destek veren tüm akademisyenlerin bu anlamdaki övgü dolu söylemleri bizlerin daha güzele gitme yolundaki gayretini arttırmaktadır.*

*Bir sonraki sayıda, Azerbaycan dosyamızda buluşmak üzere...*

*Dergi Yönetimi*



## DOĞU MOĞOLİSTAN'IN DELGERHAN DAĞI BÖLGESİNDEKİ TUNÇ DEVRİ MEZARLARI

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Dorjpurev KHATANBAATAR\*

### ÖZ

Arkeolojik saha çalışmaları esnasında (2008-2009) arkeoloji ekibi Delgerhan Dağı bölgesinde, Tuvşinşire köyünde ve Sukbaatar ilinde daha önce bilinmeyen, 469 mezarlı eskiden kalma üç kabristan keşfetti. Ulaanzuuk Vadisinde 33 mezar, Adgiin, Gol ve Bulgiin Ek Vadilerinin her birinde (2008-2013) iki mezar kazdık. 3-8 mezarlı, 30-50 cm uzakta, her kabristanda ortak taş parmaklıkla gruplandırılmış şekilde, mezarların dış yapısı tamamen aynıydı. Her mezarın dışında üç ya da dört katmandan meydana gelen taş levhalardan oluşan biçimli kareler vardır. Merhumlar yüzüstü ve doğuya dönük bir şekilde gömülmüştür. İnsan kalıntıları üzerindeki radyo karbon 14 metodu, kabristanların Tunç Devrine (M.Ö. 1400-1300) dayandığını göstermektedir. Bu mezarlar bazı yönleriyle Doğu ve Güneydoğu Moğolistan'da Tunç Devrinin iyi bilinen levha mezarları ve resmedilmiş mezar anıtlarından yapısı, defnetme gelenekleri ve insan yapımı olması yönünden ayrılır ve Doğu Moğolistan'daki Tunç Devri mezarlarının yerel varyantları hakkında bilgi sağlar.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Moğolistan, Tunç Devri, mezar, kabristan.

### BRONZE AGE GRAVES IN THE DELGERKHAAN MOUNTAIN AREA OF EASTERN MONGOLIA

#### ABSTRACT

During the archaeological fieldwork (2008-2009) the archaeological team discovered unknown before ancient three cemeteries with 469 graves in Delgerkhaan mountain area, Tuvshinshiree soum, Sukhbaatar aimag. We excavated 33 graves in the Ulaanzuukh Valley and two graves each in the Adgiin Gol and Bulgiin Ekh valleys (2008-2013). The external construction of the graves were all similar, with 3-8 graves, spaced 30-50 cm apart, grouped within a common stone enclosure in each cemetery. Each grave has an external square shaped construction composed of stone slabs in three or four layers. The deceased were buried face down with orientation to the east. Radiocarbon dates on human remains indicate the cemeteries go back to the Bronze Age (1400-1300 BC). These graves in some respect differ from the well-known slab graves and figured grave monuments of the Bronze Age in eastern and southeastern Mongolia in their construction, burial tradition, and artifacts, and provide us with information about local variants of the Bronze Age graves in eastern Mongolia.

**Keywords:** Mongolia, Bronze Age, grave, cemetery.

The wide distribution of different historical monuments in the Delgerkhaan Mountain region shows its importance in Mongolian archaeological heritage. Archaeological studies show notable cultural diversity and complexity during the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age of Mongolia and surrounding territories (Erdenebaatar 2002; Erdenebaatar et al. 2007; Turbat et al. 2006; Navaan 1975; Tumen et al. 2009, 2010, 2012; Esther and Tseveendorj 2004; Novgorodova 1970, 1987, 1989; Volkov

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1967, 1981; Tsebyk-tarov 2006; Tseveendorj 1999). During these periods and into the historical period, western Mongolia was inhabited by populations associated with various cultures, including: the Afanasev Culture (2800-2500 BC), the Chemyrchek (2500-1800 BC), the Munkhkhairkhan (1800-1500 BC), the Khergisuur or Stone Mound or Kurgan Culture (1600-300 BC), the Pazyryk Culture (500-300 BC), and the Chandman (6th-3rd c. BC), along with Deer Stones and rock art. These cultural variants were widely distributed in the Russian Altai, Tuva, southern Siberia, and northwestern China, as well. During these same periods, the territory of eastern and central Mongolia was occupied by populations with at least three different archaeological cultural variants: the so-called Slab Grave Culture (1600-300 BC), the Figured Grave (1300-1100 BC) and the Ulaanzuukh Grave (1500-1300 BC).

Beginning in 2008, an archaeological team from the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, National University of Mongolia carried out archaeological survey in the Delgerkhaan Mountain area located at the border region of Tuvshinshiree, Munkkhaan and Uulbayan Soums, Sukhbaatar Aimag, southeastern Mongolia, as part of the East Mongolia Archaeological and Anthropological Approaches research project. Fieldwork for the project in the southern and southeastern valleys of the mountain discovered many archaeological monuments (cemeteries) belonging to different historical periods, including: Bronze Age (2nd-1st millennium BC) cemeteries in the Ulaanzuukh, Adgiin Gol, and Bulgin Ekh valleys, a Xiongnu Period (3rd c. BC-AD 2nd c.) cemetery in the Engeriin Buuts valley, seven unique constructions from the Qidan or Mongolian Period, and graves from the Mongolian Period (AD 13th-14th c.) in the Togootin Gol and Bulgin Ekh valleys. In addition, abundant Neolithic microlithic tools were collected in all of the above-mentioned valleys, but they were most concentrated within the Ulaanzuukh and Togootin Gol valleys. All of the archaeological sites were situated in close proximity to others, with around 5-6 km between them. During the 2008-2013 fieldwork seasons, the archaeological team excavated 33 graves at the Ulaanzuukh site, two graves at Adgiin Gol sites, and two graves at the Bulgiin Ekh site all dating to the Bronze Age, and three graves from the Xiongnu Period at the Engeriin Buuts cemetery. Also, the Neolithic team of the archaeological expedition dug several trenches in the locality of the richest distribution of stone tools, in the Togootin Gol valley in the Delgerkhaan Mountain area.

Below, we introduce the preliminary results of the excavations of the graves in the Bronze Age cemeteries in the Ulaanzuukh, Adgiin Gol, and Bulgiin Ekh valleys. External and Internal Constructions of the Graves and their Burial Traditions A total of 470 graves were registered and documented from the Bronze Age Ulaanzuukh, Adgiin Gol, and Engeriin Buuts cemeteries (110 at Ulaanzuukh, 129 at Adgiin Gol, and 241 at Bulgiin Ekh). The external construction of all of the graves in the three cemeteries was similar. Most of graves in each cemetery were arranged into several rows and appeared to be in groups. Graves in a row were positioned so closely to each other that it was difficult to distinguish the boundaries between some graves in the row, and so adjacent graves could appear to be a single large grave with a rectangular shape.

The graves are constructed with large flat stones positioned upright on one edge to form a frame or sometimes a double frame, and sometimes there are associated additional constructions outside of the grave. Some of the graves have

stone props on the four corners, while others have such props only on the left side of the. All excavated graves were disturbed at some time in the past, so only a few artifacts were found, which included mostly pieces of dark reddish pottery with simple ornamentation, small white beads, and one stone artifact of unknown purpose. In Grave 32, two legs of a tripod pottery vessel were unearthed. Each of the excavated graves in all three cemeteries contained a human skeleton in a face downward position with an orientation slightly northeast. This shows us that the Bronze Age people inhabiting the Delgerkhaan Mountain region practiced a special burial tradition that featured laying the deceased in a prone position. Radiocarbon determinations on seven human bone samples show that the excavated Bronze Age graves from the Ulaanzuukh cemetery date from 1443-1385 BC (see Table 1). Calibrated <sup>14</sup>C dates given in Table 1 show, using the 2-sigma range, that Graves A, B, C, D from Row 1 dug in 2009 date roughly between 1420-1190 BC. Grave D might be the latest of the four graves, but the 2-sigma date ranges of the other three graves overlap significantly, perhaps indicating that these burials were completed relatively closely in time. 8 graves in Row 2 were excavated in 2010-2011: dates for three of these (Grave 2, 3, and 6) are given in Table 1. The two-sigma ranges for these three graves range approximately 1450-1200 BC, but also with, significant overlap, so perhaps each date within a century of others (Table 1). The radiocarbon dates also undoubtedly demonstrate that the cemeteries at Adgiin Gol, and Bulgiin Ekh, Tuvshinshiree Soum, Sukhbaatar Aimag, belong to the early Bronze Age period of Mongolia.

All of the cemeteries likely belonged to the same people from this period in the region. A comparison of the external and internal constructions and artifacts from the grave monuments in the Ulaanzuukh, Bulgiin Ekh, and Adgiin Gol cemeteries with other well-known cultural monuments from the Bronze Age of south, east, and northeast Mongolia (such as slab graves and figured grave monuments) shows that these archaeological monuments totally differ from each in their external and internal constructions, materials used, and shape of the beads recovered in them. However, some archaeological artifacts are almost identical to artifacts from the slab graves of the Bronze Age excavated in central and east Mongolia, and in Transbaikalia, such as the color and some ornamentation on the pottery from the graves (Tsybektarov 1998; Kiselev 1947; Grishin 1980; Amartuvshin 2003; Amartuvshin and Jargalan 2008).

Nevertheless, the burial tradition of the studied graves from the cemeteries is similar to figured graves (Dikov 1958; Okladnikov and Krillov 1980; Erdenebaatar and Kovalev 2006; Volkov 1967).

The graves with similar burial tradition (deceased were buried face down position with orientation to the east) were discovered and excavated in Nomgon and Gurvantes soums, Umnugobi aimag (Tumen 2008, 2010), Chandmai Khar Uul site, Delgerekh soum, Dornogobi aimag (Amartuvshin et al. 2010), Delgertsogt soum, Dundgobi aimag (Amartuvshin and Jargalan, 2008 Amartuvshin and Honeychurch, 2010b) Khankhongor, Tsogttsetsii, and Khanbogd soums (Tseveendorj et.al., 2005a) Bogdsoum, Uberkhangai aimag (Erdenebaatar, 2009; Gunchinsuren, 2010 et.al., 2010; 133-134), Dariganga soum, Sukhbaatar aimag (Erdenebaatar, 2011, 43-45). Most of



the excavated graves from above mentioned sites had totally different external construction ( round shaped stone mound, rectangular shape and stirrup shape)than graves from Ulaanzuukh and most the graves belong to figured grave monuments from the Bronze age.

Based on the fact we can conclude that in the Gobi region inhabited tribes with local cultural variants such as figured grave and Ulaanzuukh and in spite of that circumstance the tribes had common burial ritual or tradition until middle of the Bronze age.

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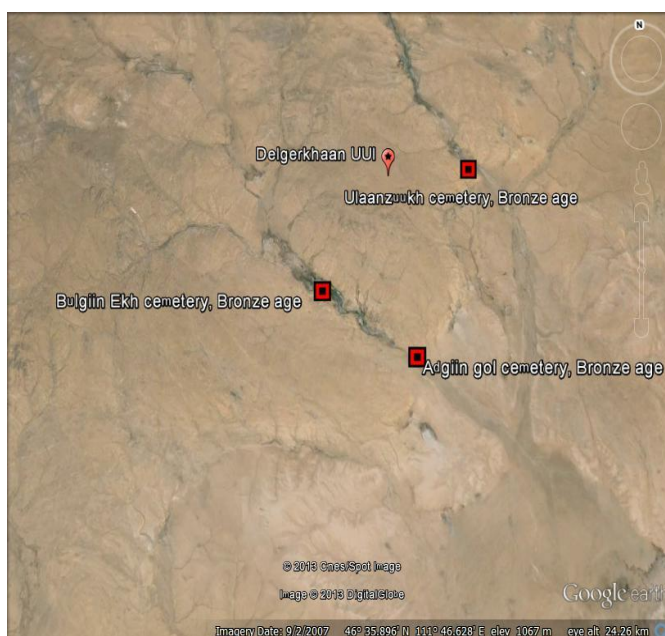
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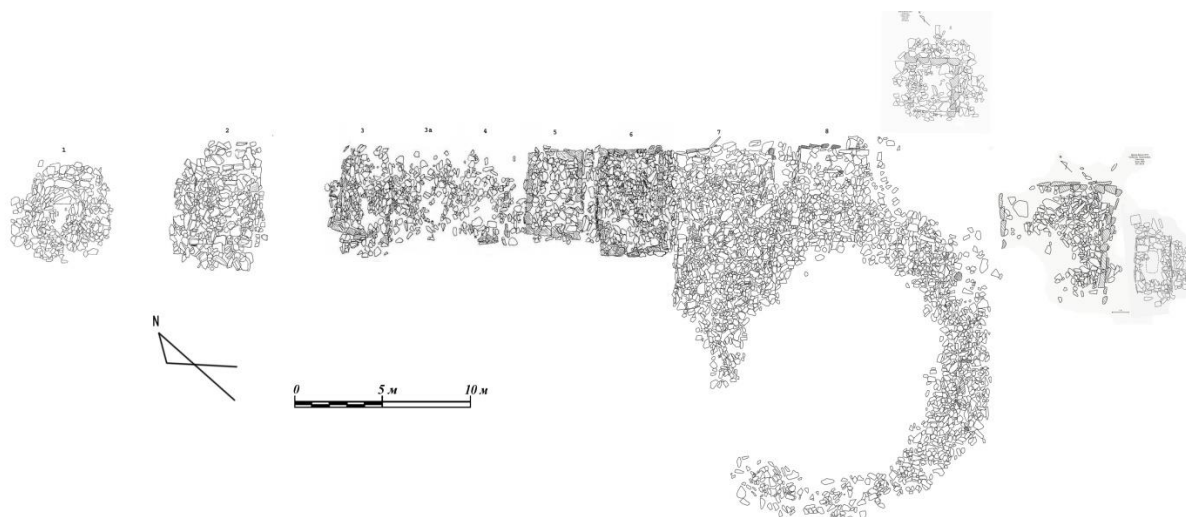
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*Geographic location of Bronze Age cemeteries at Delgerkhaan mountain located in border area of Tuvshinshiree, Munkkhaan and Uulbayan soums, Sukhbaatar aimag, (Southeast Mongolia)*

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Ulaanzuukh 1-16. Row excavation. 2008-2013.

**Table 1. Results of  $^{14}\text{C}$  dating and subsequent calibration of human remains from Ulaanzuukh site<sup>1</sup>**

ab.Inven. No	$^{14}\text{C}$ date (BP)	Calibrated date (cal BC $\pm$ 2 $\sigma$ ) <sup>2</sup>				ab. code
T-788	3,082 $\pm$ 31		cal BC 1,408 - cal BC 1,370 cal BC 1,356 - cal BC 1,316	cal BP 3,357 - 3,319 cal BP 3,305 - 3,265	0,495 0,505	AAA-103368
		$\sigma$	cal BC 1,423 - cal BC 1,288 cal BC 1,283 - cal BC 1,269	cal BP 3,372 - 3,237 cal BP 3,232 - 3,218	0,970 0,030	
T-789	3,101 $\pm$ 30		cal BC 1,419 - cal BC 1,374 cal BC 1,340 - cal BC 1,319	cal BP 3,368 - 3,323 cal BP 3,289 - 3,268	0,710 0,290	AAA-103369
		$\sigma$	cal BC 1,435 - cal BC 1,299	cal BP 3,384 - 3,248	1,000	
T-790	3,054 $\pm$ 29		cal BC 1,386 - cal BC 1,298	cal BP 3,335 - 3,247	1,000	AAA-103370
		$\sigma$	cal BC 1,409 - cal BC 1,260 cal BC 1,227 - cal BC 1,222	cal BP 3,358 - 3,209 cal BP 3,317 - 3,171	0,992 0,008	
T-791	3015 $\pm$ 28		cal BC 1,370 - cal BC 1,356	cal BP 3,319 - 3,205	0,097	AAA-103371
			cal BC 1,316 - cal BC 1,255	cal BP 3,265 - 3,204	0,692	
			cal BC 1,238 - cal BC 1,214	cal BP 3,167 - 3,163	0,211	

<sup>1</sup>  $^{14}\text{C}$  analysis was carried out by Dr. Hashimoto Makio and Dr. Kanai Shinji from laboratory "Palyno Survey" co.LTD, Japan

		$\sigma$	cal BC 1,385 - cal BC 1,441 cal BC 1,325 - cal BC 1,192 cal BC 1,176 - cal BC 1,162 cal BC 1,143 - cal BC 1,132	cal BP 3,334 - 3,390 cal BP 3,274 - 3,141 cal BP 3,125 - 3,111 cal BP 3,092 - 3,081	0,195 0,767 0,019 0,020	
T-821	3127±29	$\sigma$	cal BC 1,437 - cal BC 1,386 cal BC 1,491 - cal BC 1,479 cal BC 1,456 - cal BC 1,369 cal BC 1,358 - cal BC 1,315	cal BP 3,386 - 3,335 cal BP 3,440 - 3,428 cal BP 3,405 - 3,318 cal BP 3,307 - 3,264	1,000 0,020 0,840 0,140	AAA-103372
T-822	3006±30	$\sigma$	cal BC 1,367 - cal BC 1,361 cal BC 1,314 - cal BC 1,210 cal BC 1,137 - cal BC 1,136 cal BC 1,379 - cal BC 1,336 cal BC 1,322 - cal BC 1,187 cal BC 1,183 - cal BC 1,154 cal BC 1,146 - cal BC 1,130	cal BP 3,316 - 3,310 cal BP 3,263 - 3,159 cal BP 3,086 - 3,085 cal BP 3,328 - 3,285 cal BP 3,271 - 3,136 cal BP 3,132 - 3,103 cal BP 3,095 - 3,079	0,038 0,956 0,005 0,128 0,770 0,059 0,043	AAA-103373
T-823	3115±28	$\sigma$	cal BC 1,429 - cal BC 1,383 cal BC 1,333 - cal BC 1,324 cal BC 1,443 - cal BC 1,313	cal BP 3,378 - 3,332 cal BP 3,282 - 3,273 cal BP 3,392 - 3,262	0,887 0,113 1,000	AAA-103374

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## ORTA DÖNEM MOĞOLCASINDAKİ BAZI İSLAMİ TERİMLER ÜZERİNE

Dr. Ariyajav BATCHULUN\*

### ÖZ

Orta Çağ döneminde Moğol dilinin temel özellikleri, Çin dilinde yazılmış anıtlara, kare yazılara ve Arapçaya yansıtılmıştır. Çince ve kare yazılarda yazılmış Moğol dilinde bulunmayan ilginç terimler, deyimler, gramer yapıları ve fonetik evriminin örnekleri, Arapçada yazılmış Moğol yazıtlarında bulunmuştur. Bunların arasında, Moğol diline o dönemde girmiş, İslam dinine ait Arapça terimler de bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, 12. yüzyılda Harezmlerin ünlü filozofu Abul-Kasım Mahmud bin Omar al-Zamahşari tarafından yazılmış “Mukaddimat al-Adab” sözlüğünde yer alan, İslam diniyle ilgili Arapça terimler incelenecektir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** İslami terimler, Orta Çağ Moğolcası, “Mukaddimetü'l-Edeb”, dil.

### ABSTRACT

The main characteristics of Middle Mongolian are reflected on written monuments in Chinese, square script, and Arabic. Interesting terms, phrases, grammar forms, and examples of phonetic evolution, which do not exist in the Mongolian language monuments written in Chinese and square script, are found in Mongolian Language monuments written in Arabic. Among them, there are Arabic terms of Islamic religion which entered into the Mongolian language of the time. In this speech, we are going to study particular Arabic terms related to Islamic religion which are presented in ‘Mukaddimat al-Adab’ dictionary by Abul-Kasim Mahmud bin Omar al-Zamahshari, a famous scholar of Horesm in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

**Keywords:** Islamic terms, Middle Mongolian, “Mukaddimat al-Adab”, language

Mongolian Language of Middle Period has three main dialects. As speakers of the western dialect became Islamic believers because of the social and political circumstances, Arabic words including religious terms were brought into Mongolian language extensively. The following table shows such Islamic terms in Mongolian Language.

Explanation of some words

*Khaj* worshipping: The main foundation of the Islamic religion is Khaj worshipping. In this ritual, believers visit Kâbe and other sacred sites in Mekka at the certain time of the year.

*Khaj*: The person who does Khaj worshipping is called Khaj.

*Ruku*: The person who is ready to proceed Namaaz worshipping by preparing and meeting conditions of Namaaz worshipping.

*Ihram*: White cover without stitch which participants of Khaj worshipping wear.

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*Khijra*: Movement by Prophet Muhammed from Mekka to Medina is the beginning of time, according to the Islamic chronicle.

It could be concluded that Arabic terms of Islamic religion entered into the western dialect of Mongolian language in Middle Period has the following characteristics.

Phonetics: It is difficult to clarify how Mongolian phonetic peculiarities were reflected in the new terms in Mongolian language as they were written in the similar form to Chagatay language.

Morphology: Like other Arabic words brought into the language, the Islamic terms are formulated be suffix.

Lexicology: Almost all Arabic terms are nominative words.

Semantics: Abstract words, objective words, and nomination words of people and words related to religious rituals.

The various abstract words which originally existed in Mongolian Language were replaced with similar Arabic words.

XIII. yy'da oldukça güçlü bir ulus hâlini alan Moğollar, anavatanları olan Orta Asya'dan Batıya doğru göç etmeye başlamışlardır. Moğol İstilasası olarak adlandırılan tarihî ve siyasi olaylar neticesinde diğer pek çok kavim ve boylar da etkilenmiştir.

Moğolların Batıya doğru göçleri, Türkistan, Anadolu, Mısır, Irak, Suriye gibi geniş coğrafyalarda Moğol kültürünün yayılmasını hızlandırırken bir yandan da bu alanlardaki toplulukların da kültürlerinin etkilenmesine sebep olmuştur.

Bu dönemde tarihî önemi oldukça fazla olan eserler, sözlükler hazırlanmış; bu eserlerde tarih, dil, etnografi alanlarında önemli bilgilere yer verilmiştir. Özellikle Türkçe, Arapça, Farsça ve Moğolca açısından oldukça önemli eserler oluşturulmuştur. Bu dönem çalışmalarına bakıldığında, Moğolların söz konusu bölgelere göç etmesine bağlı olarak Moğol dili üzerine araştırmalar yapıldığını da görebiliriz. Mukaddimetü'l-Edeb, Hilyetü'l-İnsan ve Heybetü'l Lisan, Kitab-ı Tercüman-ı Türki ve Acemi ve Mugali, The King's Dictionary The Rasûlid Hexaglot gibi sözlüklerde Moğolca ile ilgili bölümler de yer almaktadır.

Çağdaş Moğolca ve Moğol ağızlarının gelişim dönemlerini araştırmalarına konu edinen çok sayıda araştırmacı vardır. Bu araştırmalarda Moğol dilinin tarihî dönemleri şu şekilde sınıflandırılmıştır:

1. **Ana Moğolca** /Ana Altayca'dan Moğolcanın ayrılışı/
2. **Eski Moğolca** /XI-XIII. yüzyıllar/
3. **Orta Dönem Moğolcası** /İlaşağı yukarı XI-XII yüzyıllardan XV-XVI yüzyıllarına kadar/
4. **Çağdaş Moğolca ve Moğol ağızları** / XV-XVI ve sonrası dönem/

*Çin, Pakspa, Arap* alfabetiyle yazılan eserler, Orta Moğolcanın temel özelliklerini taşımaktadır. Orta Moğolcada Arap alfabetiyle yazılan bu eserler üzerinde araştırma yapanların sayısı azımsanmayacak ölçüdedir.

D. Tömörtogoo, Çin ve Pakspa alfabetiyle yazılan Moğol eserlerinde daha önce hiç rastlanmayan çok sayıda ilgi çekici sözcüğe, yapım ve çekim eklerine, ses değişimi örneklerine Arap alfabetiyle yazılan Moğol eserlerinde de rastlanmakta olduğunu bildirmiştir (Tömörtogoo 2002: 1). Bahse konu olan ilgi çekici sözcükler arasında Orta Moğolcadaki İslami terimler de yer almaktadır.

Moğolcaya giren Arapça sözcüklerle ilgili olarak B. Vladimirtsov 1930 yılında makale yayımlamıştır; bu makalesinde Eski Moğol yazısıyla yazılan kaynaklardaki ve Çağdaş Moğolca ve ağızlardaki Arapça kökenli kelimelere yer vermiş, buna karşın Orta Moğolcaya yer vermemiştir. Orta Moğolcayı takip eden döneme ait üç İslami terimi açıklamıştır (Vladimirtsov 1930: 73-82).

Bu çalışmamız, XII. yüzyılın Harezmi ünlü bilim adamı Ebu'l Kasım Mahmud bin Ömer el-Zemahşeri (1075-1144)'nin yazdığı "Mukaddimet'ül Edeb" adlı eserde yer alan bazı İslami terimlerin Türkçe, Moğolca ve Arapçadaki görünüşleri üzerine hazırlanmıştır.

Zemahşeri'nin Harezmi şahına ait kütüphane için özel olarak yazdığı ilk sözlük olan Arapça-Farsça sözlüğün sonraki dönemlerde Türkçe, Farsça, Harezmi, Çağatayca, Moğolca, Osmanlıca dilleri eklenerek yeni nüshaları oluşturulmuştur. Günümüzde yaklaşık yirmi adet olan nüshalar arasında en eskisi Farsça, Harezmi Türkçesi ile yazılmış olandır. [Yüce 1993: 8-9]

Derviş Muhammed'in 1492 yılında Arapça, Farsça, Türkçe, Moğolca olmak üzere dört dille yazdığı nüshanın Moğolca kısmında toplam 3500 madde başı sözcük olmasının yanında bunlar arasında tamlamalar, deyimler, kısa cümlelerden oluşan ilgi çekici örnekler yer verilmiştir (Tsetsegdari 2008: 95). Bu eser, Arap alfabetiyle yazılan Moğolca eserlerin en büyüğü olarak kabul edilmektedir.

N. Poppe, söz konusu eser üzerinde en kapsamlı araştırmayı yapan araştırmacıdır. (Poppe 1938: 451). 2008 yılında Japon bilim adamı Yo Saito, Özbekistan Ali Şir Nevayi Devlet Müzesinde muhafaza edilen sözlüğün elyazması nüshasının fotoğrafını yayımlamıştır (The Muqaddimat 2008). Aynı yıl, eserdeki metinlerin harf çevirimini ve dizimini, bazı sözcüklerin İngilizceye çevirisini yayınlamıştır (Yoshio 2008).

Bu hususta Tömörtogoo "Араб үсгийн монгол дурасхалын судалгаа" adlı kitabını yayımlamıştır (Tömörtogoo 2002); ayrıca G. Tsetsegdari "Араб үсгийн монгол дурсгалуудын хэлний түүхэн судалгаа" adlı doktora tezini hazırlamıştır (Tsetsegdari 2001).

İlhanlı Devleti zamanında Moğolların sosyal sebeplerle İslam dinini kabul etmesiyle o dönem Moğolcasına Arapçadan geçen kelimeler arasında İslami terimler de yer



almaktadır. Tarihî önemi olan bu durum hakkında B. Rinçen "...1248 yılında Nugudar cancin başta olmak üzere Fars topraklarına giden çok sayıda Moğol askerin ait olduğu boylar... Türk, Afgan, Farlarla çevrili bir alanda diğer Moğollardan yüzyıllar süren bir zaman dilimi içerisinde ayrı kaldığı için dilleri de ayrı kaldıkları diğer Moğol topluluklardan daha farklı bir şekilde gelişmiştir. Aynı boyların İslam dinini kabul etmesi, çevresindeki diğer kültürlerden de etkilenmesi sebebiyle Orta Moğolcanın dil özelliklerini daha uzun süre taşımalarına yol açmıştır." şeklindeki görüşlerini bildirmiştir (Rinçyen 1966: 196).

Dolayısıyla günümüze kadar Orta Moğolcanın dil özelliklerini taşımış olan ve Afganistan bölgesinde yaşayan Moğolların dillerinin araştırılması, gün yüzüne çıkarılmamış farklı terimlerin de ortaya çıkarılmasını sağlayacaktır. Bu sebeple söz konusu diller üzerinde araştırma yapmak gereklidir.

Mukaddimetü'i Eder adlı eserdeki İslami terimler arasından seçilen bazı sözcüklerin eserdeki yazılışları, harf çevirimi, Türkçe ve Moğolcaya geçen şekilleri aşağıdaki tabloda yer almaktadır:

Монгол Moğolca		Түрэг Türkçe		Араб Агарса		Жишээ Муқаддимат ал-адаб/Н.П	Үгийн тайлбар
Галие	Сийрүүлэг	Галие	Сийрүүлэг	Галие	Сийрүүлэг MA, ĖC		
Masjid	مسجد	mesjidi	مسجدي	Masjid	مسجد [40a]	adinayin mesjid ادینه ین مسجد ایرکاونو مسجد* جهودون مسجد** [210a], mesjiddü debitkü (debiskü) ebesün [96a], erke ünü mesjid* مسجد تو دینگو ایاسون [236a], sūba mesjiddü مسجدتو [328b], uşaq güri debisbe mesjiddü اوشاق گوری دینسبه مسجد تو [370a]	Сүм (mescid)
Qurban	قوربان	qurban	قوربان	Qurban	قُرْبَان	alaba qurbanu tem[e]n الابه قوربانو بیلگه belge kibe qurbani temen [97a], بیلگه belge qurbani [116], kibe qurbani temen [116], yajara kürbe qurban temen عاجاره گوربه قوربان تیمن [173], qurban kibe	Тахилга (kurban)

\* Араб эхэд كَقَابِسُ [kaḳāḳisu]: сүм, христиан сүм, еврейн сүм, кнессет

\*\* Араб эхэд بَيْعُ [baī'ūn]: еврейн сүм

								قۇربان كېيە [311], qurban kibe qonini قۇربان كېيە قۇربان كېيە قونىنى [311], qurban kibe tengriyîn tulada قۇربان كېيە تىنگرى بن تولادە [311], qurban ʔd قۇربان عىد [311], qurbāntu قۇربان تو [311], qurbānu*** tem[ɛ]n قۇربانو تەمن [311]
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\*\*\* Араб эхэд [badanah]: тахилга, тайлга

qurāni	قرانی	qurānī		قرانی	<p>القرآن</p> <p>[189a], [198a], [291a], [342a], [371a], [428a], [434b], [450a], [490a], [512a], [513b]</p>	<p>الغور اونكشييه qurāni [189a], جولان jöölen ungšiba qurāni [198a], اونكشييه قرانی [209b], durandān bariba qurāni [145b], onār ungšiba qurāni [266a], قايلاجي اونكشييه قرانی qaiłajj ungšiba qurāni [288a], ساین سوربه قرانی sain surba qurāni [316b], سورغايه توندو suryaba tündü qurān [328a], قرآن surquyi eribe tünese qurāni [328b] tefsir kibe qurāni [344b], ونكشييه قران ungšiba qurāni [364b], اونكشيجه داوسيه قرانی da ūsba qurāni [364b],</p>	<p>Kypah (Kuʿan-ı Kerim)</p>
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dú ā	دعا	dú ā	دعا [70a ]	dú āyīn qurūn [147b]	залбирал, мөргөл (dua)
imān	ایمان	al-iman aamana	الإيمان ن [437b], آمن [390a]	اندھمکیہ تونی ایمان [102b], iman açaraba tengridü ایمان [196b] اجرابہ تینکریدو	1. шүтлэг, сүсэг бишрэл (iman, inanç) 2. Исламын шашинд итгэх итгэл
amin	امین	Ammana	آمن [436b]	امین amin kelebe tūni hiréküdü ایمان کلبہ تونی هیراکودو [100b]	АМИНЬ, (ИТЭХ) (duanın kabul edilmesi için kullanılan ve duanın sonunda söylenen sözcük)
küfr	کفر	al-kufur	الکفر [437b]	دشمن کیبه duşman kibe tūni küfr تونی کفر [146b]	хараал, зүхэл (küfür, dini vecibelere aykırı sözler söylemek)
halife	خليفة	al-halifu	الخليفة ف [252a]	ينه خليفة ene halife [160b]	Халиф (halife)
hijret	هجر	Tahaajaru	تهجر	هجرت کيچار hijret kibeler [184b]	Хижр

	ت		ك	u	وا [508a]	(Muhammed ve diğer Müslümanların baskılardan kurtulmak için 622'de Mekke'den Medine'ye göç etmeleri)	
helāl	هلل حلل	sünnet, helāl	سنت حلل	hatana, hilal	حَلَّ [200b], оггдох, тайрах [393b], حلل [393b],	هلل کیه کۆکنی حلل کیه harami [184b], helāl kibe harami [193b]	Сүннэт (sünnet, helal)
xutbayi	خطبه بن	xutbanī	خطبه نی	al-hutbata, hatbatun, hataba	الخطبة [469b], خطبة [303a], خطب [234a]	ایسه ese setkiji ungsiba xutbayi [166a], oqталuqsan xutba [268b], xutba ungšiba xatfb irgendü خطبه اونگشیه خطیب ایرکاندو [385b]	Хурба (hutbe)
faqih	فقيه	faqih	فقيه	Fuqihan	فقیها [324a],	فقیه میداکی ایره faqih medekci ere [168a]	1. Мусульманы хуулийг сайн мэдэгч

							2. куран уншигч (1. Dikkatli ve ince anlayışlı, ayrıntılı bir şekilde bilen âlim 2. Kur'an okuyan kimse)
farz	فرض	farize	فريضه	faradza, , aftaradza, farradza	فرض [184a], اَقْرَضَ [466b], فَرْضَ [430a],	فرض کيہ farz kibe tengri namāzi تینگری نمازی [168a], farize kibe tengri namāzi فريضه کيہ [168a], farize kibe tengri sureyi تینگری سوره یی [168a],	Фарз (farz)
bismillāh	بسم الله	bismillāh	بسم الله	Basmala	بِسْمِ [525a]	gebe bismillāh كيبه بسم الله [169a]	Аллахын нэрээр (Allah'in adıyla (başlamak)
haj	حج	haj	حج	Hajja	حَجَّ [263a], مَحْرَجًا [11a],	حج کيہ haj kibe kabayin geri بين کيہ [192b], hajin mör حاجين مور [193a], hajin orta üt حاجين اورتاوت [193a], hajidun bazār حاجي دون بازار [193a], oqtalba hajit üsünēn اوقتالبه حاجيت [193a]	Хаж (Hacc)



kába	كعبه	kába		كعبة	al-ka'ab	الكعبة [261a], [404a]	قَابِلَةٌ [23a], مَوْسِمٌ [39b], الْحَاجُّ [377b], حَجَّةٌ [392a],	قَابِلَةٌ [23a], مَوْسِمٌ [39b], الْحَاجُّ [377b], حَجَّةٌ [392a],	قبول كعبه تېنكرى تونى حجى نى [285b], itqaba duşman ħajilari [198b], ايتقابه دشمن حاجى لارى	qabul kibe tengri tūni ħajjini	[267b], اوسونان		Kaab (Kábe)
ihram	احرام	ihram		احرام	ahrama al- muhrimu	أَحْرَامٌ الْمُحْرِمُ [389a]	أَحْرَامٌ الْمُحْرِمُ [389a]	احرام هويابه [195a]	كعبه حج كعبه ħaj kibe kábayın geri [192b], ilebe ka 'badu qurbanliq [196a] ايلابه كعبه دو قربان ليق	ihram huyaba		ихрам өмсөх (ehram)	
imamliq	امام ليق	imamet		امامت	Amma	أَمٌّ [261a]	أَمٌّ [261a]	امام ليق كعبه [196b] ايركاندو	امام ليق كعبه [196b] ايركاندو	imamliq kibe irgendü [196b]		исламын шашны лам (Islam dininde din adamı)	
jübbe	جبهه	jübbe		جبهه	Tajbbaba	تَجَبُّبٌ [498a]	تَجَبُّبٌ [498a]	جبهه اوموسبه [211b]	جبهه اوموسبه [211b]	jübbe ömüsbe [211b]		Нөмрөг (din adamı gıysisi, cübbe)	
kāfir	كافر	kāfir		كافر	Al- kuffaaru, al-kaafar, al- kaffaarata, al-kifarata,	الْكُفَّارُ [287a], الْكَافِرُ [339b], [389a], [347a]	الْكُفَّارُ [287a], الْكَافِرُ [339b], [389a], [347a]	كافر كلبه تونى [212a], musulmān bolba kāfir [242a], olja ögbe tengri [265b], qatquldān مسلمان دو كافرین مالی [297], qatqulduba کافیرلان کافر لا [297a], qola قاتقول دویه کافر لارتو	كافر كلبه تونى [212a], musulmān bolba kāfir [242a], olja ögbe tengri [265b], qatquldān مسلمان دو كافرین مالی [297], qatqulduba کافیرلان کافر لا [297a], qola قاتقول دویه کافر لارتو	kāfir kelebe tūni	үл итгэгч, шашингүй хүн (küfür eden, İslam dinini kabal etmeyen ve dine ters		

kefāret	كفارت	kefāret	كفارت	al-kaafara	الكفارة [428b], الكفارتا [397b]	kibe tengri kāfiri rahmatāsa قوله كيبه تينكري كافرى رحمت آسه تامغالابه تينكري كافرين سينكيلي kāfirin setkili [339b]	hareket eden)
					الكافر [352b],	ḥadd-aca önggere-gul-ba ka:fir جداسه اونكار وولبه كافر [295]	ҮЛ ИТГЭЧ (inanmayan)
kefāret	كفارت	kefāret	كفارت	Kaffara	كُفَّرَ [428b],	kefāret ögbe كفارت اوگبه [213a]	(dini kuralları yerine getiremeyen kişilerin daha sonra yapması ya da onun yerine yaptığı başka şeyler
kefen	كفن	kefen	كفن	Kaffanahu	كَفَّنَهُ [352b],	kefen kibe tündü كفن كيبه توندو [213a]	Кафран (kefen, ölen kişilerin gömülmeden önce sarıldığı beyaz renkli kumaş)
rahmat	رحمت	rahmat	رحمت		قَبِحَ [339b]	<i>kelekse[n] bolum rahmat čimadu</i> كېلاكسه بولوم رحمت چيمانو tengri kāfiri rahmatāsa قوله كيبه تينكري كافرى رحمت آسه سائين [300b], sain üiletü rahmatu اويلاتو رحمت تو kiksen bī [317], tere rahmatāsa qola تيره رحمت آسه قولا كيكسان بى [349],	өршөөл энэрэл ивээл (rahmet, Allahın insanlara iyilik yapması ve

lánet	لَعْنَت	lánet	لَعْنَت					tengri rahmat kibe böllardän رحمت تينگري كيبه بول لاردان [347]	lütufta bulunması)
lánet	لَعْنَت	lánet	لَعْنَت					لَعْنَت كيبه بوكده бүгүдөдү [232b], lánet kibe tündü [232b] لَعْنَت كيبه توندو [232b]	хараал, (lanet)
								لَعْنَت كيبه [469a], لَعْنَت كيبه [350b], لَعْنَت كيبه [469a]	
								لَعْنَت كيبه [469a]	
musulmān	مسلما ن	musulman	مسلما ن					musulmān bolba kāfir بولبه مسلمان [242a], musulmāniqtin mör üje üülbe tüündü [242a] مسلمان بولبه مور اوچولوبه توندو مسلمان ليقين مور اوچولوبه توندو [242], nébe tengri setkil inu musulmāniqtu [242] نيه تينگري سيتكيل اينو مسلمان ليقنو [249], olja ögbe tengri musulmāndu kāfirin mali [265b], olja ögbe tengri musulmāniqtin mōri talbiba tengri böllar musulmāniqtin mōri [339] نيه تينگري سيتكيل اينو مسلمان ليقنو [249], اولجه اوگبه تينگري مسلمان دو كافر ين مالي [265b], اولجه اوگبه تينگري مسلمان ليقين مورى [339]	Мусульман (Müsüman)
Qibla	قبله	qībla	قبله					ni' ūrān qibla жүк кибه [258b], ööriyēn qibla жүк кибе [282b] نيوران قبله [258b], اورريان قبله جوک کيبه [282b]	Өмнө зүг, Каабын зүг (kible)
sadaqa	صدقه	sadaqa	صدقه					oqталуqсан sadaqa [268b], sadaqa ögbe tündü [268b] اوقتالوقسان صدقه [268b], sadaqa ögbe tündü [268b]	Өгнөг (sadaka)

					tassadaqa	تَصَدَّقَ [494b]	تولدو [314b]	
qī āmat	قيامت	qiyāmat	قيامت	al-qiyamat, išraat assa'ati,	القيامة [10b], اشرط السعة [10b], الطاعة, [270b]	قيامت اودورون qi āmat ödürün belges inu [297b], قيامت اودورون بيلگس اينو [297b], qi āmatın ödür اودور [297b]	ертөнцийн төгсгөл (kiyamet)	
rükú	ركوع	rükú	ركوع	raka'a	رَكَعَ [345b]	ركوع كييه rükü' kibe tengridü [314a] تیکریو	мөрөх (rüku)	
Xatīb	خطيب	xatib	خطيب	al-hatibu, al-hitaabatu	الخطيب [234a], الخطابة [234a], [234a]	xutba ungšiba xatīb irgendü خطبه اونگشييه خطيب ايركاندو [385b], xatīb bolba خطيب بولبه [384a]	Номлогч (hatip)	

Yukarıda yer verilen tablo incelendiğinde Orta Dönem Moğolcasına ve ağızlarına giren İslami terimlerle ilgili dikkati çeken özellikler aşağıdaki gibidir:

### **Ses Bilgisi:**

Arapçadan geçen kelimeler Çağatayca'da aynı şekilde yazıldığı için Moğolcanın ses bilgisinin tam özelliklerini anlamak zor olmaktadır.

### **Şekil Bilgisi:**

İslami terimlerin yanında Arapçadan geçen diğer kelimelerle aynı şekilde yapım ve çekim ekleri de geçmiştir. Bunlar yazılırken kelimelerden ayrı olarak yazılmıştır.

Örneğin; olja ögbe tengri musulmāndu kāfirīn malī اولجه اوکبه تينکری مسلمان دو کافرین مالی [265b], nēbe tengri setkil inu musulmānliqtu نيبه تينکری سيتکيل اينو مسلمان ليقتو [249], ḥajidun bazār حاجی دون بازار [193a] ... r.m.

Bu iki örneğe baktığımızda Arapçadan geçen İslami terimlerin Moğolcaya geçmesiyle yapım ve çekim eklerinin ayrı yazılması durumu, bunların daha önceki dönemlerde de kullanıldığının göstergesidir.

### **Sözcük Bilgisi:**

Arapçadan geçen kelimelerin aşağı yukarı hepsi isim türündedir. Örneğin; iḥram huyaba احرام هويابه [195a], itqaba dušman ḥajilari حاجی لاری ايتقابه دشمن [198b], faqih medekçi ere فقيه ميداکچی ايره [168a]...

Bu sözcüklerin asılları nüshada fiil olarak yer alırken Türkçe ve Moğolcaya geçerken isim halinde geçmiştir.

helāl kibe kūkeni هلال کيبه کوکانی [Н.П. 184b] helāl-огтлох, таслах [Ė.C. 200b], iman açaraba tengridü ایمان اجرابه تينکريدو [Н.П. 196b] итгэх-имән [Ė.C. 390a] ...v.b.

### **Anlam Bilgisi:**

Bu çalışmada seçmiş olduğumuz kelimeleri aşağıdaki gibi sınıflandırabiliriz:

Soyut kelimeler: inanç, din, dua, lanet, rahmet, hutbe, iman,... vd.

Somut kelimeler: Kur'an, Mushaf, Kabe, cübbe, ehram... vd.

İnsanla ilgili kelimeler: Halife, hatip, fakih, Müslüman ... vd.

Hareket bildiren kelimeler: sünnet, farz, kurban, hac, sadaka vd.

Nüshalarda yer alan sözcüklerin yazılışlarını incelediğimizde, eserdeki Moğolca sözcüklerin Arapça orijinallerinden farklı olduğu ve daha çok Türkçe yazılanlara benzediği görülmüştür. Kanaatimizce eserdeki sözcükler doğrudan Arapçadan değil Farsça üzerinden Türkçe'ye, Türkçe üzerinden de Moğolca'ya geçmiştir diyebiliriz. Zira sözcüklerin yazılışlarındaki Türkçe-Farsça ve Moğolca arasındaki benzerlikler bunu işaret etmektedir.

Dikkat çeken bir başka husus da bazı sözcüklerin Arapçadan çevrilirken doğrudan alınmamış, Moğolcaya tercüme edilerek yazılmış olmasıdır.

## KISALTMALAR

ap. – араб

mo. – монгол

ЗКВ – Записки Коллегии Востоковедов

ÖMSKKQ – Öbür Mongyol-un Suryan Kümüjil-ün Keblel-ün Qoriy-a

TDKY – Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları

MA – Мукаддимат ал-Адаб

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## BİSHRELT-AM BÖLGESİNDEKİ XIONGNU MEZARI

Chuluunkhuugyn VANCHIGDASH\*

### ÖZ

Ulaanbataar'ın Nalaikh bölgesinde Xiongnulara ait Bishreltyn-Am Mezarlığı 2013'te keşfedilmiştir. Moğolistan Bilim ve Teknoloji Üniversitesi ve Moğolistan Askeri Müzesinin ortak keşif heyeti Bishreltyn-Am bölgesinin en büyük mezarlığını kazıyla çıkarmıştır. Bu mezarda 40-45 yaşlarındaki bir adam silahlarıyla birlikte iki kat tahtadan yapılmış bir tabutta gömülü ve tabutun üzerinde ise kurban edilmiş farklı hayvan kafaları bulunmakta idi. Fakat ilk çağlardaki diğer Xiongnu mezarları gibi mezar soyulmuş ve bozulmuş halde idi.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Mezarlık, Xiongnu, Bishrelt-Am bölgesi

### XIONGNU GRAVE IN BISHRELT-AM SITE

#### ABSTRACT

There was discovered Xiongnu's Bishreltyn-Am burial site in Nalaikh district of Ulaanbaatar in 2013. And joint expedition of Mongolian University of Science and Technology and Mongolian Military Museum excavated the biggest grave of Bishreltyn-Am site. In this grave was buried 40-45 years old man with his weapons in double wooden coffin and sacrificed with different kinds of animal heads in top of coffin. But the grave was robbed and broken as other Xiongnu graves in early time.

**Keywords:** Burial site, Xiongnu, Bishrelt-Am site

The Mongolian University of Science Technology in cooperation with Mongolian Military Museum implemented joint archaeological research project entitled "Archaeological monuments in Tuul river basin". The Archaeological and Ethnological joint expedition within the research project carried out archaeological excavation common people graves at Bishreltyn-Am site (2014). The Bishreltyn-Am site is located in the northeast valley of the Bishrelt davaa (Bishrelt passage) situated between Nalaikh district, Ulaanbaatar city and Erdene soum, Tuv aimag.

During the field research the expedition team conducted archaeological survey along the Tuul river between Bishreltyn Davaa and Ar Janchivlan and discovered 29 graves ( 26 xiongnu graves). We made mapping of the site and excavated just one Xiongnu grave. The Bishreltyn am site was discovered and documented in 2013 by archaeological team from MUST (Ch.Vanchigdash, 2013) and subsequently (2014) during archaeological conservation fieldwork the archaeological team from MAS visited and re-examined the site and mentioned the site as "Xiongnu cemetery" in the report (A.Enkhtur, 2014)<sup>2</sup>

Grave 1. The excavated grave is biggest one among graves and located in the center of cemetery. The ovoid shaped grave with dorm was fully covered by stone (size 10m-12m). In the center of the stone cover there was slightly visible rectangular construction with size 5m-3.1m (Fig.1). We cleaned surface soil with size 12x18 m, and

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there was found fragment of right rib of horde or cattle and a potter's piece at the H8 section and two pieces of potters at H10 section (Fig.2, 12).

After cleaning surface soil and cover stones was continued digging right side of the grave and was unearthed horse's ankle bone in the depth of 60 cm, potter's bottom in the depth of 1.1 m and seen slight visible burial spot in the depth of 1.17 m at the H10 section. After horizontal profile mapping of the grave construction we cleaned left side of the grave and continued digging with size 5.1x5.1 m in center of the grave and found burial spot in the depth of 1.3 m.

During the excavation of the grave were found ankle bone of horse in the depth of 1.2 m, teeth of horde in the depth of 1.3 m, horse femur in the depth of 1.3 cm, piece of bone artifact in the depth of 1.3 m, and fragment of horse femur in the depth of 1.49 m at H11 section.

In the level the burial's size and form was changed (3.3 m in length and 1.8 m wide). In the depth of 1.3 m there was found stones layer which was documented as layer-1 and in the depth of 2.1 m was 2<sup>nd</sup> stones layer with small stones and photo and drawing documentation of both layers were made.

In the depth of 2.4 m there was displayed fragment of wooden coffin in the left and right of head side of the burial spot and wooden coffin's part with very poor preservation and sheep skull, human skull in the left side of burial spot, pieces of iron artifacts (Fig.13.). Also coffin's cover in the depth of 3.03 m was discovered. When the excavation depth reached 3.22 m it was very clear that the grave had double coffins. Outside coffin was very poor preservation and made board with 7 cm wide, 95cm long and 6 cm thick. The inside coffin's each side frame were made a board with 5 cm wide, 0.5 cm thick and floor and cover made two boards. The coffin's size was 190 cm long, 5 cm tall and 51 cm wide in head side and 42 cm in leg side. In the level were found arrow piece, small bell and pieces of the iron artifacts.

The human skull, upper part and arm's bone lied in chaos on the cover of coffin and horse and sheep skulls and other bones were unearthed in between topside of the coffin and burial spot. This condition of all remains show that the grave was looted by robbers before unknown time. In the grave were uncovered 6 sheep skulls with horn, a horse skull, 2 circle shaped iron artifacts from both outside of coffin's wall, 4 arrow head, iron artifacts pieces. Also were found human pelvis and lower limb bones which was in anatomical position, and two flat iron artifacts.

### The artifacts

**Potter fragment**, H8 section. 15 cm deep. 2 fragment of Brown colored potter. 1<sup>st</sup> fragment size 3.7x1.2x0.7 cm, 2<sup>nd</sup> piece 3.6x2.1x0.9 cm. Due to these potter was made of rough clay. External and internal surface of potter had brown color (*fig. 11*).

**Potter fragment**, H10 section. Dark brown colored 2 pieces. 1<sup>st</sup> piece triangular shaped, 5.2 cm long, 3.2 cm high, 0.8 cm thick. On the surface there was seen some footprints of soot and smoke. 2<sup>nd</sup> piece's had brownish color and with 3x3.3x0.8 cm size (*fig. 12*).

**Bone artifacts**, 330 cm. It was found in the depth of 330 cm. 2 needle shaped artifact with hole at the one of ends (*fig. 13*).



**Coffin's Lower part:** 278 cm. 3 pieces of iron artifacts. 1<sup>st</sup> artifact triangular shape and sharp point and 3 cm long. 2<sup>nd</sup> findings-triangular shape and 5.7 cm long. 3<sup>rd</sup> artifact - trapezoid shape and 4 cm long, size: 3.8x3.5x1 cm (*fig. 14*).

**Iron artifact. 330cm.** The Circle shaped iron artifact was made of 0.4 cm thick iron wire. The artifact was 6.4 cm long iron wire double twisted (*fig. 15*).

**Bronze bell.** It was found in depth of 330 cm and left side of human remains. The bell has 3 cm height, the edge of the bell has ovoid shape and it's size 2.8x2.5 cm. On the top of the bell there is hole with 0.3 cm diameter (*fig. 16*).

**Glued bone of Bow tips:** depth 330sm, four glued bone pieces of a bow tips and eight broken pieces of the bow were found in the west corner of casket' foot side. There is nothing special patterns on the glued bones. But in inside, we can see lattice design. The first glued bone: length=11.4sm, width=1.8-1.1sm, thick=0.5-0.2sm. There is a mark which made by bowstring in the next to the bow groove and outside of the glued bone. The bow groove depth is 0.4sm. The second glued bone: length=11.4sm, width=1.8-1.2sm, thick=0.5-0.2sm. Also, there is another mark which made by bowstring in the next to the bow groove and outside of the glued bone. The bow groove depth is 0.4sm. The third glued bone: length=8.7sm, width=1.7-1.2sm, thick=0.4-0.2sm, a sharp of the bow groove was broken. The bow groove depth is 0.5sm. The fourth glued bone: length=11.2sm, width=1.7-1sm, thick=0.4-0.2sm and the bow groove depth is 0.5sm (*fig. 17*).

**Potters fragments:** Two pieces of brown colored potter finding were found in depth of 1.1 m. The potter fragments had ash and smoke footprints. One's size: 10.4 x 7.4 cm x 1.1- 0.9 cm and another one 9.5x5x1- 0.8 cm (*fig. 18*).

**Rectangular shaped iron artifact:** It was found near low part of the coffin in depth of 2.78 m. It's size: 2.9-2.2 cm. and purpose unclear (*fig. 19*).

**Three wings iron arrow head:** Five arrow head were found in right side near human remain in depth of 3.3 m. Size of one of the arrow heads is 9 cm 0.4 cm thick wings.

The Xiongnu cemetery at Bishreltyn Am is located south slop of small hill situated north of high mountain and the geographic location of the site show similarity to location of the other Xiongnu cemetery sites with dew graves in Mongolia. Due to previous studied of Xiongnu graves that the sote with round shaped graves are located on south slop of the mountain. However, the Xiongnu cemetery with more than 100 graves ( Khudgyn Tolgoi, Tamiryn Ulaan Khushuu, Nukhmyn am, Solbi Uul, Burkhan Tolgoi sites) is situated on terrace or valley of the mountain. The Xiongnu cemetery with few graves at Bishreltyn Am, Elst-Ar are located southeast or south slop and foothill.

The Xiongnu grave-1 from Bishrelt site had coffin made double board. This kind of coffin was found from many Xiongnu graves. In the regard we can conclude that the double board coffin was more popular among the Xiongnu population. Archaeologist Ts.Dorjsuren classified Xiongnu grave as nobleman grave and common people graves. Subsequently, scholar Ts.Turbat excavated 153 Xiongnu graves and classified into 3 groups: such as 3-5 m, 5-8 m and more than 8 m (Törbat Ts., 2004, p. 37) by size of round shaped external stone construction of Xiongnu graves. Nevertheless G.Regzin noticed that it is not possible to classify just using the external stone construction size of grave ... and many graves with diameter of 10-15 m, even most of graves with 20-25

diameter found at Khudgyn Tolgoi and Solbi uul sites are located in Khoit Tamir river valley (Eregzen G., 2007)

**Sacrifice:** Mostly horse, kettle, sheep and goat skeleton are found from Xiongnu graves. It is related to sacrificial beliefs of ancient habitants. Sacrifice is beliefs to after life of the dead person. In the Xiongnu grave-1 from Bishreltyn-Am site were found 6 heads of sheep, a horse head, neck vertebrae, tibia, heels bone. It means that people who participate in funeral ceremony put 6 sheep, a horse in the dead person's grave and all sheep head with horn. Based on the sacrificial finds we can notice following:

1. Sex of sacrificed sheep with horn are determined male. It may be symbolized the sex and social status of dead person.
2. Xiongnu people sacrifice animal with horn may be related to symbol of power (Sükhbaatar G., 1980)

**Weapon:** According to historic sources Xiongnu people used different kind of weapons. The excavation of Xiongnu graves in Mongolia and surrounding territory were found iron sword (Tseveendorj D., 1990) (Batsaikhan Z., 2002) (Ölziibayar S., 2006), knives (Batsaikhan Z., 2002) (Ölziibayar S., 2006), iron head of spear (Alekseyev I.V., Khudyakov Yu.S, Tseveendorj D., 1985, p. 133), bone part of bow (Amartüvshin Ch., 2011), different kind of arrow heads (Törbat Ts., Amartüvshin Ch., Erdenebat U., 2003) and so on. We found bone part (blinds) of bow, three iron arrow wings head. The findings are more common with Xiongnu artifacts found in Mongolia and surrounding territories. Due to statistics that 77% of all bow blinds found from men grave of male, 17% - from women graves, 87% of arrow head from men graves and 10% from women graves and 3% from graves of children (Törbat Ts., 2004). That fact show that bow and arrow played very important role in life of Xiongnu population (Ochir-Eddene N., 2013).

**Animal equipment:** In the grave were found bronze bell and iron artifact with rectangular shape. Similar bronze bell was found from Xiongnu graves excavated in Mongolia (Noyan Uul, Egiin Gol and Tamiryn Ulaankhoshuu sites), Altai, Transbaikalia North China. Some scientist concluded that the bell was hanged on horse's neck. Archaeologist Z.Batsaikhan suggested that the bell used not only for horse but it may had another propose and classified into two typed: bell without ornament and with ornament on both sides (Batsaikhan Z., 2002, pp. 91-92).

#### **Household items:**

One of most popular findings from Xiongnu common people graves is whole ceramics and pieces of ceramic. The ceramic remains give us a lot of information on its shape, propose and technology. We found 6 ceramics fragments and some bone items in grave-1 at Bishreltyn-Am site. It was not possible to construct original shape of the ceramics.

**Findings with unknown purpose:** It was not possible to reconstruct original shape and usage purpose of some bone and iron findings from grave -1 at Bishreltyn-Am site. In comparison with Xiongnu graves in Mongolia and surrounding territory the Bishreltyn-Am grave-1 is average monument by its size and depth. Also the grave's

internal construction (souble coffin), findingd was similar with most of graves excavated in Mongolia and includes to the type of graves with wooden board frame and board coffin. Anthropological study of human remains show that in the grave was buried 40-45 years old man.

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Улаанбаатар, Налайх,  
Бишрэлтийн ам



Figure 1. Xiongnu burial site on Bishreltyn-Am

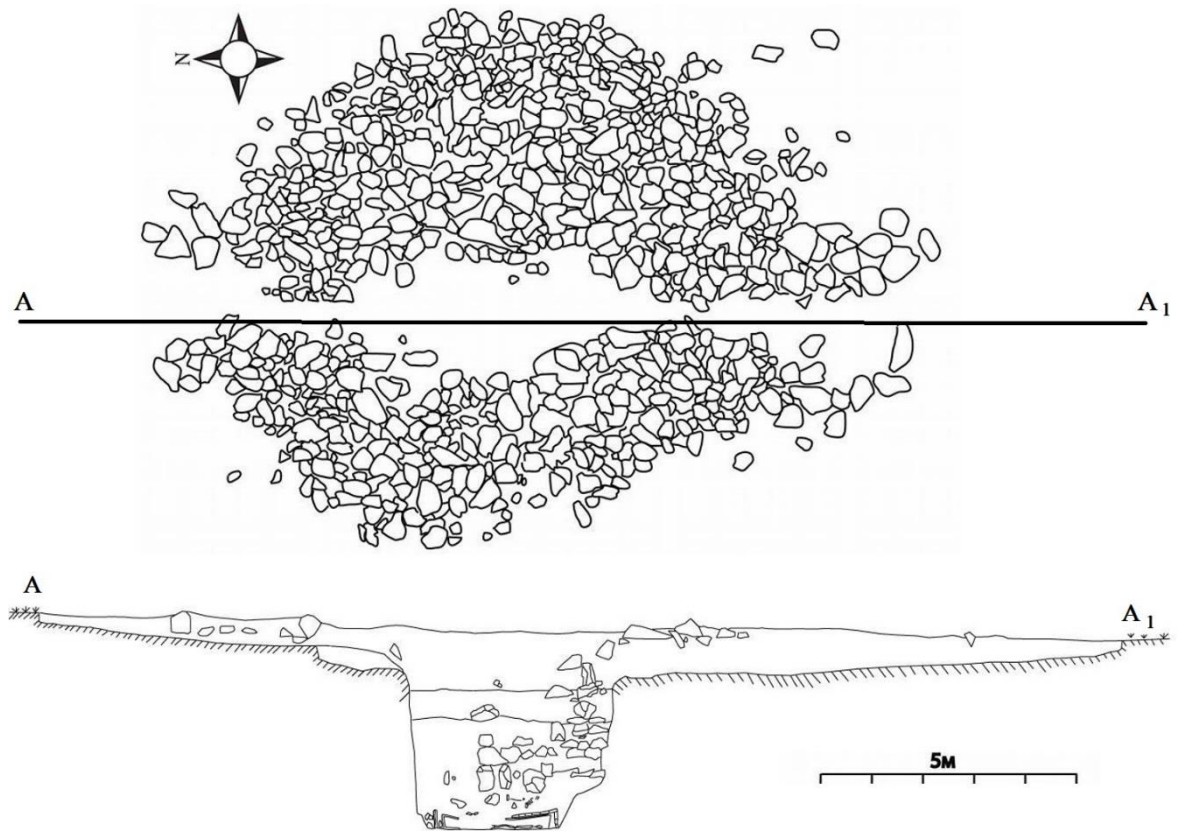


Figure 2. Grave -1

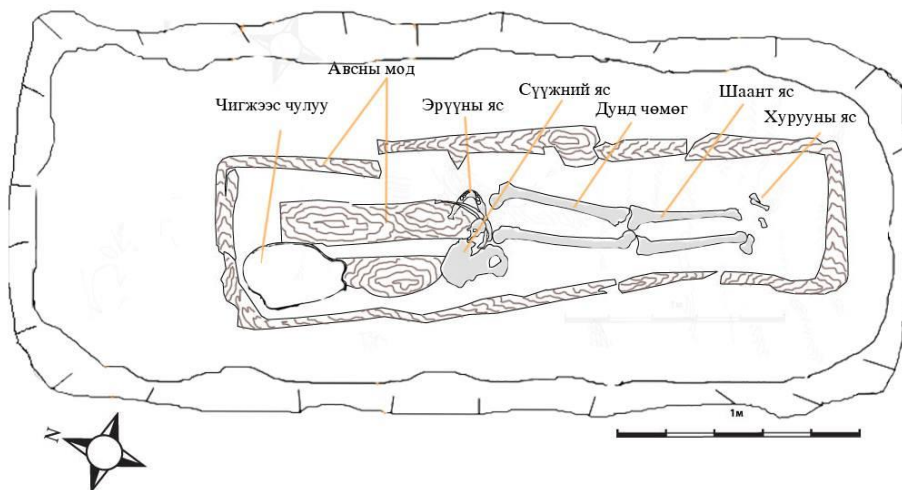


Figure 3. Wooden box and skeleton of grave -1



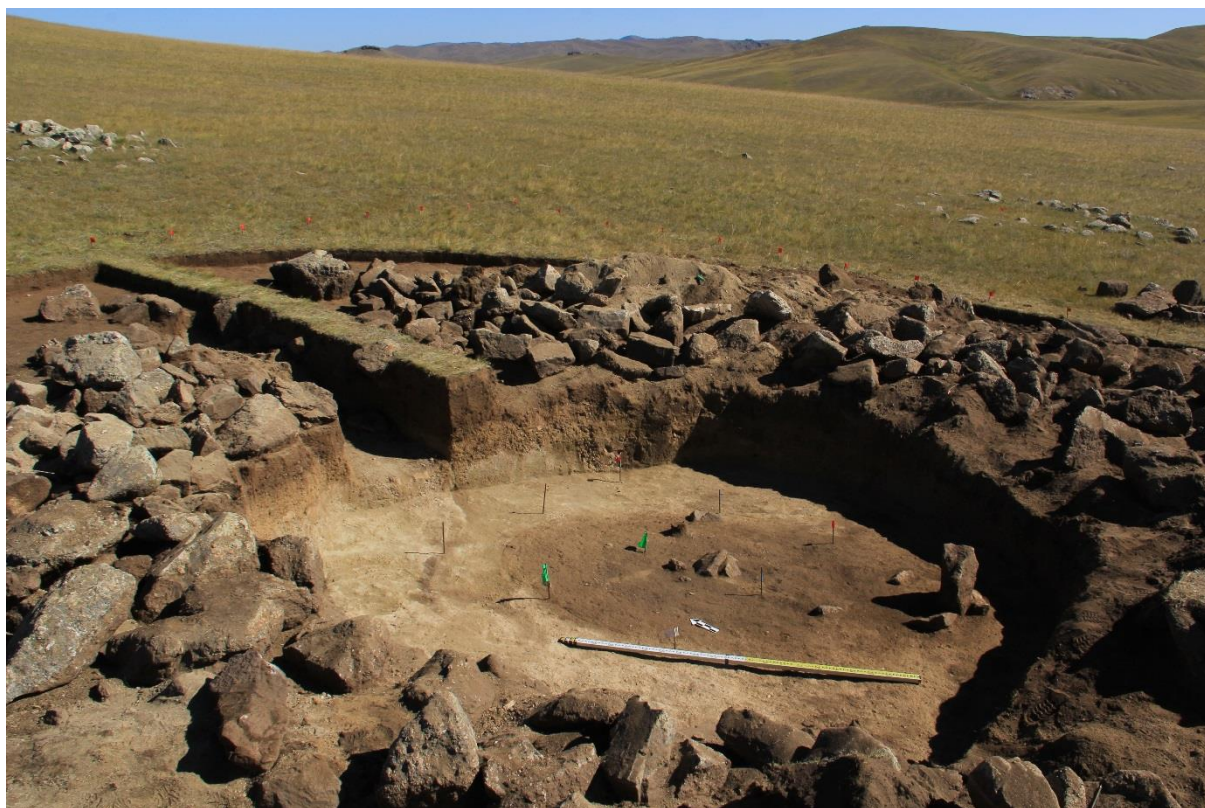
*Figure 4. Grave -1 on Bishreltyn-Am site*



*Figure 5. External stone construction of grave -1*



*Figure 6. Grave -1. Excavating*



*Fig 7. Burial spot of grave -1*



*Figure 8. burial*





*Figure 9. Wooden box and remain of human*



*Figure 10. Rebury*



Figure 11. Potter fragments



Зурал 12. Potter fragments



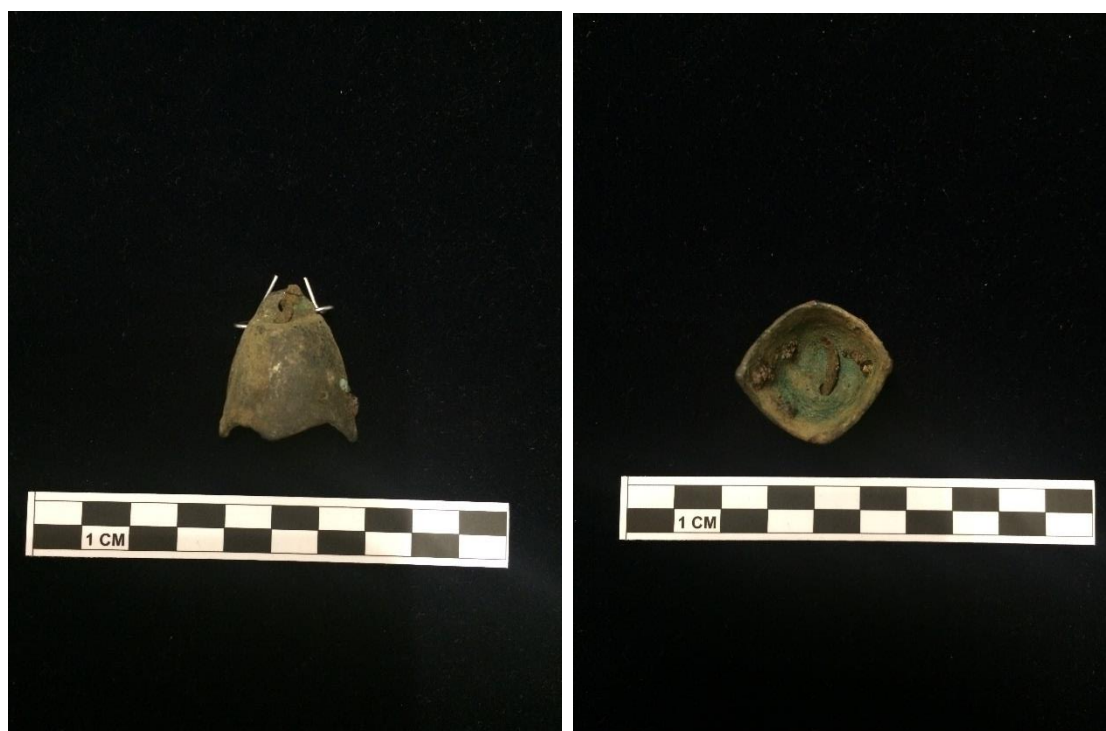
Figure 13. Bone artifacts



Figure 14. Iron artifacts



*Figure 15. Iron artifact*



*Figure 16. Bronze bell*



*Figure 17. Bow stickers*



*Figure 18. Ваарны ёроол*



*Figure 19. Iron artifact*



*Figure 20. Three wings iron arrow head*



## KUZEYDOĞU ASYA'DA ENERJİ İŞBİRLİĞİ VE MOĞOLİSTAN

Prof. Dr. Myagmarsuren DASHZVEG\*

### ÖZ

Moğolistan, daha yüksek oranlarda enerji talebi artışı ile karşılaşan potansiyel enerji kaynaklarına sahip Kuzeydoğu ülkelerinden biridir. Bu bölgede enerji işbirliği son dönemlerde gelişmeye başladığından, Moğolistan bu süreçte bir yer edinme girişiminde bulunmaktadır. Kuzeydoğu Asya'da oluşacak Hükümetlerarası Enerji İşbirliği Danışmanlığı mekanizması, bölgedeki enerji güvenliği ve enerji temininin sürekliliği için önemlidir. Moğolistan'ın çıkarları, bu entegrasyonun ve işbirliğinin gelişimine doğrudan bağlı bir hale gelmiştir. Dolayısıyla, Moğolistan bu doğrultuda inisiyatifler almış ve sürekli olarak da katılımında bulunmuştur.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Moğolistan, enerji işbirliği, Kuzeydoğu Asya

### ENERGY COOPERATION IN NORTHEAST ASIA AND MONGOLIA

#### ABSTRACT

Mongolia is one of the Northeast Asian countries with potential energy resources that have experienced higher rates of growth in demand for energy. As the energy cooperation in this region has just recently started developing, Mongolia has been attempting to take up a position in this process. The mechanism for Inter-Governmental Consultation on Energy Cooperation in Northeast Asia is crucial to the energy security and stable energy supply in the region. Interests of Mongolia have been directly dependent on the development of this cooperation and integration, thus Mongolia has constantly participated and taken initiatives on the way.

**Keywords:** Mongolia, energy, Asia and Mongolia

Due to the Northeast Asian economies' rapid growth, the energy market in the region has been growing dramatically for last 30 years. The energy supply and energy security have become an important political and strategic issue during recent years as a result of economies' growth, industrial sector development and demographic increase. This has led to expansion of energy production and cooperation with non regional energy suppliers. It has become possible to initiate multilateral cooperation since the Cold War was ended and essential political changes were made in the region.

At the present, Northeast Asia accounts for over two-thirds of the primary energy consumption of the Asia-Pacific region or the third biggest energy consumer in the world. It is assumed that, the primary energy consumption of this region will reach 1.520 million Mtoe which will be 25% of overall consumption by 2030, thus it will leave behind North America and Europe [1]. North East Asia is not only an influential energy consumer but also significant energy producer. The region has biggest energy consumers of China, Japan, South Korea and energy rich Russia and Mongolia. The fast growth of world's

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energy need, particularly industrial needs in China, Korea and Japan in 21<sup>st</sup> century is triggered growing attention to Mongolia's energy resources. Therefore, the investment and cooperation in Mongolian coal, nuclear and renewable energy sector is witnessing significant increase. With increase in demand for energy around the world, especially in Northeast Asian industrialized countries such as China, Japan and South Korea, the interest in making investment in energy sources, for instance, coal, nuclear and renewable energy of Mongolia has increased [2]. Gradually, it has become available for Mongolia to play a bigger role in the energy sector in Northeast Asia. Mongolia neighbors the countries that are among the world's top 5 primary energy consumers and this condition creates an opportunity to get political and economic benefits using its energy resources.

Until recently Mongolia played little role in regional energy cooperation except small trading with two neighbours. However, fast growing energy demand of industrial giants of China, Japan and Korea has put more attention to the Mongolian energy resources. More and more countries and global corporations are expressing their interest to cooperate and invest into Mongolian coal, nuclear and renewable energy sector.

Mongolia is placed in 10<sup>th</sup> place in world by coal reserve /173.3 billion ton/ and 14<sup>th</sup> place by uranium reserve /1,5 million ton/. Moreover, it has huge potential of renewable energy and lately confirmed to have significant reserve of shale oil /800 billion ton/. These energy resources draw growing attention to Mongolia from big countries.

Another aspect of energy sector in Mongolia is it's growing domestic energy need triggered by the country's economic development. Therefore, Mongolian government has set goal of self-sustain it's energy need and to export energy to regional countries. This goal was announced on 'National Development Policy' based on Millennium Development goals in 2008. In order to reach this goal, the government plans to build number of hydropower stations, nuclear power plant, coal-to-liquids industry and coal based power plants.

Mongolia has tremendous opportunity to actively engage and improve position in North East Asian integration and other regional multilateral relations. The energy analysts and researchers have strong evidence to conclude Mongolia as potential country to compete with energy exporters in the region. For instance, in 2010, Mongolia exported 20 million ton coal and became 7<sup>th</sup> biggest coal exporter in world. Although Mongolian coal export has fallen last two years due to economic crisis and bas government policy, analysts agree that it will become important player in world energy sector in the long-term.

Mongolia has got experience in participating in and being as a partner to the cooperation institutions such as "World Energy Council", "Energy Charter Treaty", "International Renewable Energy Agency" and "International Atomic Energy Agency" and so on. Much importance has been given to the bilateral as well as the multilateral energy cooperation with the countries in Central, Northeast, and South-East Asian regions.



It is strategically quite important to have an interest and an objective on supplement of energy to the international market through regional multilateral cooperation and relations by breaking the dependency on single market. For this reason, Mongolia is willing to make significant efforts and participate in the operations of Northeast Asian countries' energy cooperation underlining the importance of it. For instance, a noticeable event was initiated by Mongolia in the energy cooperation which is the creation of "Inter-Governmental Collaborative Mechanism on Energy Cooperation in Northeast Asia. In November 2005, the Inter-Governmental Collaborative Mechanism on Energy Cooperation in Northeast Asia (ICM-ECNEA) was initiated and established by Mongolia, the Republic of Korea, the Russian Federation and the People's Democratic Republic of Korea in order to maintain energy cooperation in Northeast Asia, meet the challenges in energy cooperation considering a need of mutually profitable cooperation with the vision "By 2020, improved energy security in Northeast Asia through energy cooperation in a sustainable manner"[3].

To achieve this vision the following objectives were identified for ECNEA:

- To increase the supply of energy in the Northeast Asian subregion, lessening its dependence on energy imports from outside the subregion;
- To optimize the economy and efficiency of the supply and use of energy;
- To minimize the environmental impact of energy production and consumption through an improved energy mix and greater energy efficiency [4]

The Russian Federation, the Republic of Korea and Mongolia are the member states, where the People's Republic of China and Japan are observer states and the UN Asia Pacific Economic Social Commission is the Secretariat of this collaborative mechanism. The Sixth and the Eighth Sessions of the Inter-Governmental Collaborative Mechanism on Energy Cooperation in Northeast Asia *were held in Ulaanbaatar in 2010 and 2013 respectively. So far, this mechanism is the major multilateral energy cooperation institution in the region.*

There is another dynamic institution in the region which is the "Shanghai Cooperation Organization" (SCO) and its role has been increasing more and more. The SCO has 6 member and 5 observer states including Russia, China and some Central Asian states and it is expanding its scope to the spheres of politics, economics, science and technology, military and geopolitics. The "Energy Club" was established in 2006 to promote energy cooperation in the scope of the SCO objectives and operations. As Mongolia is one of the SCO observer states, there have been interests from Mongolian side to cooperate in the mining, energy sectors and infrastructure as well with the SCO member and observer states within the Energy Club initiatives [5]. However, it is observed that the Mongolian interests in the energy cooperation cannot be backed on a broad scale, probably for the reason that Mongolia participates in the SCO activities with due diligence.

The energy cooperation is one of priorities of already strengthened regional institutions such as the Association of Northeast Asia Regional Governments, ASEAN

Regional Forum (ARF), the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC) and the Asia Cooperation Dialogue (ACD). Mongolia has actively taken part in routine energy discussions within the above greater institutions' objectives and activities [6].

Since 2005, Mongolia has participated in the Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation (CAREC) Members Electricity Regulators Forum, furthermore, the sessions of the Forum in 2007, 2010 and 2012 were held in Ulaanbaatar. There have been ongoing cooperation and peer review in infrastructure management, energy price, power distribution losses and effectiveness, regional energy market integration among the CAREC member states. The following issues that were raised within the strategic objectives on regional energy cooperation of the CAREC member states were discussed and financial quotation for their achievement was determined:

- To conduct a feasibility study on the implementation of a Transit Mongolia Program,
- To examine the possibility of Mongolia to import natural gas from Kazakhstan and other Central Asian states,
- To examine the possibility of Mongolia to import oil products from Kazakhstan,
- To explore cooperation on building oil, gas and coal refinery plants in Mongolia [7].

Besides the institutions that are focused on political and economic aspects of energy sector, there are some institutional arrangements focused more on energy industry and management such as “Energy Regulators Regional Association” (ERRA) and Mongolia has been actively involved in the ERRA or other regional institutions' forums and events either as a participator or an organizer. Particularly, the Government of Mongolia took an initiative in the organization of the convention on “Northeast Asian Renewable Energy Cooperation” in Ulaanbaatar in 2013. The agenda of the convention was about seeking a possibility of establishment of the “Asian Super Grid” that is supposed to supply transnational renewable energy taking sources from Mongolian and China Gobi to the Northeast Asia which was originated by the Japanese Renewable Energy Foundation.

Moreover, Mongolia joined the “Forum of Nuclear Cooperation in Asia” (FNCA) in 2010. The member states of the Forum cooperate in use of research reactors, application of isotope and radioactive generators to agricultural, health and industrial sectors, spread of reliable information on atomic energy to the public, security and emission management of radioactive materials and human resource promotion.

Until recently, the role of Mongolia is minor in regional energy cooperation, except for trade with its two giant neighbors. The situation has been failed to improve because of infirm mechanisms and institutions created for the energy cooperation promotion between regional countries, energy interests clashes, failure in conclusion of agreements upon

longstanding political confrontations rather than the efforts that Mongolia has made to develop multilateral energy cooperation.

It is noticeable that Mongolia has been more successful in bilateral relations rather than in multilateral ones. Particularly, it has been intensively cooperating with China, Russia, Japan and South Korea in energy.

### Conclusion

Northeast Asian energy cooperation and integration slow down being affected by the regional political and geopolitical conditions. Therefore, the efforts that are made by Mongolia to broaden cooperation and its involvement in the process play a significant role in the maintenance of stable energy supply and improvement of energy security in the region. Besides that cooperation is beneficial for Mongolia, for its national interests so that it could overcome its geographical landlocked location and increase its role in the regional integration and collaboration mechanism. The impacts are expected on national interests, political and economic conditions and foreign policy of Mongolia as a result of energy sector development strategy, the plan and implementation of activities on using energy as cooperation tool.

As Mongolia has a big coal, oil shale, uranium and renewable energy resource potential, strategic importance of which is increasing in the regional countries, Mongolia will have a chance to reinforce its standing and become a key player in the region by developing energy cooperation.

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## OTLAKTAKİ GELENEK VE REFORMLA İLGİLİ KONULAR

Dr. Naranbaatar BAASANSUREN\*

### ÖZ

Çölleşme ve otlak bozulmasından dolayı, çobanlar kentsel alana yerleşmekte ve sahihsiz otlaklar artmaktadır. Sahipsiz otlak ve otlakların kullanımındaki azalma, otlakın fazlaca bozulmasına yol açarken, bir yandan da otlak aşırı stoklanmış hale gelmektedir. İyi bir altyapının, suyun ve bitkinin mevcut olduğu otlak alanında ve kentsel alanlardaki çok sayıda çiftlik hayvanı toplasımından dolayı da otlak kaynağı kullanımını ile ilgili tartışmalar artmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Otlak, müşterek kaynaklar, otlakçı yeteri kadar kullanma prensipleri.

### ISSUES REGARDING TRADITION AND REFORM IN THE PASTURE LAND

#### ABSTRACT

Due to desertification and pasture degradation, herdsmen are settling around the urban areas and ownerless pasture is being increased. Ownerless pasture and reduction of its utilization has been causing much degradation of the pasture. On the other hand, pasture is overstocked and dispute in connection to use pasture resource is being increased due to concentration of a lot of livestock in the urban areas and the pasture land where it has good infrastructure, water and plant.

**Keywords:** pasture, common resource, policy to use the pasture adequately.

#### I. INTRODUCTION

Last years, the pasture is unguarded and herdsmen are settling much around the urban areas, road and infrastructure for their farming business. It has been violating human rights such as overstock of the pasture, dispute in connection to common resource, social ignorance of the people who are moving to urban areas, and collection of informal tax. I aimed to connect present situation and tradition of using the pasture, common resource by Mongolians since the earliest time. In the XIII century, Ugudei King paid much concern on the utilization of well for the pasture.

Obstacles to use common pasture, violation between the entities were formulated in the theoretical research as "Optimum theory" by Pareto.F, Theory of game, "Tragedy of common ownership" by Garret Harden, "Institute for the use of common resource" by Eleanor Ostrom.

#### II. PASTURE LAND AS A COMMON RESOURCE

Public ownership is based on the common resource. The main speciality of nomadic society is its basis on the labor of collaboration and support of each farmer. It requires an intellect of collective due to it always faces the inadequacy of the people.

The first article on the Common resource related pasture land was published in 2001 by Eleanor Ostrom. Common resource causes the Tragedy of public ownership. (E.Ostrom, 2005) Common resource can be a basis of inequity of income increasing the rent (G.Titova,2001). Various concessions were granted in accordance with policy to

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guard the border of the areas when provide the serf with utilization right of pasture land. It became a basis of using the pasture land equally, of guarding the land, as well as of using it by all people adequately.

During tribal structure, nomadic people get utilization right of new land through making the nymph and idol of the area as own and changing it as own worshipping thing.

M.Sodnompilova Russian ethnographer considered as many Mongolian tribes made many nymph and idols of Buriad as their own when they conquered the foreign country. Relation of serf was developed by aristocrat within ownership land after establishment of integrated state in the XIII century and gradually, they were independent in multiple ways.

Tax was received by aristocrat not through the rent of the livestock but through other coercive method. But pasture of the livestock is not an exact rent place however herdsman served for their owners in person, and had been an economic guarantee to give tax by products. Thereby, by this characteristic, pasture played an appropriate economic role which can be compared with rent place. Serf people serve their owners by various personal and property duties.

Land has not been a private ownership and "social system" was a serf community of pasture ownership. Total area of the country was owned by King or state and land was owned and inherited by the aristocrats in accordance with code of law.

Pasture was belonging to the public ownership. Land is an area of public ownership which is provided by the aristocrat to the self and is able to be moved changing the pasture. It was obliged to sell the livestock with permission by the aristocrat and to prepare the riding of the station by Preparative Service for the food of the aristocrat. Resulting from it, "Law of refugee" was released and punishment for it became harder due to aversion of the people was changed as a protest including to move away from the aristocrats, to cancel their duty and riding, as well as to make the messenger walk without riding etc...

In the "Khalkh juram" Law (1790) regarding public use of the pasture, use of the ownerless pasture, and the guard of the pasture, it had been regulated the relation in connection to utilization of pasture resource as "In the event of digging well spending labor, or of restoring well, that person shall have privilege to use the well but in the event of polluting well, that person shall be imposed a fine on horse or cow".

### **III. EW TRENDS ON PASTURE LAND USE**

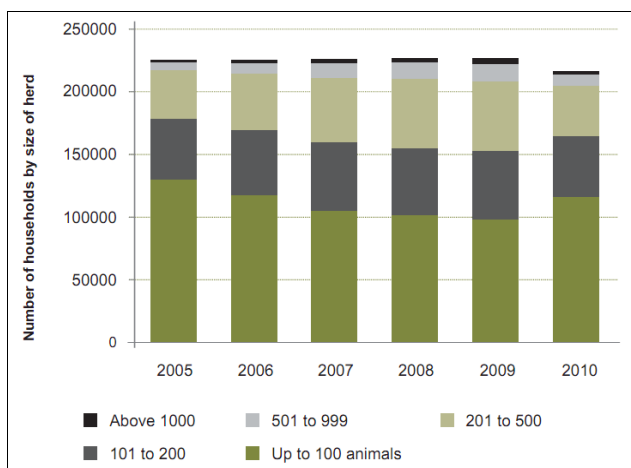
Various farming business to use the land resource was started by To Van<sup>1</sup> in order to provide the needs based on the domestic resource in XIX century. He considered as it needs to fully use the pasture, and along with animal husbandry, various kinds of business activity, agriculture and

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<sup>1</sup> Togtohdorj (1797-1868). Lord-aristocrat who had done some important reform on pasture land use.

construction of the city should be performed due to only animal husbandry is not able to provide the needs of Mongolian people during that time. Agriculture business by every Mongolian family was legislated in 1918. But this law couldn't work among Mongolian livestock herders.

TABLE1. HOUSEHOLDS WITH LIVESTOCK BY SIZE OF HERD, MONGOLIA, 2005-2011<sup>2</sup>



About 45-50% within herdsmen family up to 100 livestock from total herdsmen, during 2005-2011 shows an increase of inequity of the income and high number of the herdsmen who barely provide their life.

Total herdsmen families are registered as 220000 but 170000 of whom are the permanent herdsmen and remained part are living in the urban areas through providing their livestock on rent or hiring contract workers.

Dispute is arisen much to the extent of high number of the people who use the common resource, and of lack of possibility to provide them. Garret Hardin in his publication "Tragedy of commons" considered as pasture is overstocked and every person might get incurred in the risk due to every herdsmen has willing to permanently increase the number of their livestock in connection to expense from growth of one livestock in the pasture is lower than profit from it. Thereby, private ownership right is the way which is able to tackle the above mentioned issue. Hence, as for some families, animal husbandry has been losing its main nature of farming; instead, families who provide the connection between preparation of raw materials and manufacture are newly appeared.

### Conclusion

Some issues which are resulting from over concentration of the herdsmen along to infrastructure and around the urban areas.

Due to disintegration of negdel /community/ in 1990, lost of infrastructure to fully

<sup>2</sup> National Statistical Office, Mongolian Statistical Yearbook 2011.

use the pasture land has caused the increase of inequity of receiving common resource among the farmers.

Therefore, it is nearly coming to the Tragedy of public ownership due to concentration of the herdsmen in Mongolia.

Failure of social infrastructure to fully use the land in Mongolia causes the increase of inequity of to use common resource among farmers. In fact, land degradation, water insufficiency, and reduction of the yield of the pasture etc...

**In order to avoid from Tragedy of common ownership:**

- To regulate the number of head of livestock within pasture load where allocation of the common resource of the pasture are various;
- To provide with a possibility to run appropriate business, culture of native residents due to pasture degradation is being processed in the most of the areas.
- To develop the inter local branches which collaborate with and supports each other
- To develop multiple business activities to use pasture resource;
- It needs to have a government regulation to establish multiple ways to use the land, to support the business activity on nature conservation for the pasture of wild animals except for animal husbandry.

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## COMPARISON OF CULTURAL STUDIES CURRICULUM IN MONGOLIAN UNIVERSITIES

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### ABSTRACT

This article contains the results of analysis on cultural studies in academic program of Mongolian Universities. We are introduced to innovate and improve outcomes about curriculum of Introduction to Cultural Studies. Other Mongolian Universities need to change the scientific study of Introduction to Cultural studies program in the current conditions of globalization is just one of problems. We assume articles introduced gateway postmodernist, de constructionist theories and approaches to innovate a curriculum to publish textbook conform to the needs and handbook. And we viewed with the same update gateway that inside the many countries in US, in Europe, Asia and Africa, as a definition of Cultural studies.

**Keywords:** cultural studies, postmodernist, new theories, Mongolian Universities, analyze

### MOĞOL ÜNİVERSİTELERİNDE KÜLTÜR ÇALIŞMALARI PROGRAMININ KARŞILAŞTIRILMASI

#### OZ

Bu makale, Moğol Üniversitelerindeki akademik programlara ait kültürel çalışmalar hakkındaki incelemenin sonuçlarını içermektedir. Kültürel Çalışmalara Giriş Programına ait sonuçları yenilemek ve iyileştirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Diğer Moğol üniversitelerinin küreselleşmenin şu andaki koşullarında, Kültürel Çalışmalara Giriş Programını değiştirmesi gerektiği problemlerden sadece birisidir. Ders kitabı ve el kitabına uygun yayımlanmak üzere bir müfredat geliştirmek için postmodern kuram ve yaklaşımları ele alınmıştır. Ayrıca ABD, Avrupa, Asya ve Afrika'da birçok ülkede Kültürel çalışmaların bir tanımı olarak aynı güncelleme incelenmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kültürel çalışmalar, postmodernist, yeni teoriler, Moğol üniversiteleri, analiz

#### Introduction

The notion of culture, with a wide range of academic study, because surely it should be studied and appropriate position and field of the social sciences. Our researchers understand the culture represented by the culture. "Britannica" dictionary: Culture is defined as is wisdom in considering the role of social institutions. This intelligent concept is similar to literary criticism, philosophy, sociology, anthropology, history records, and value. Culturology is the Eastern European, cultural studies can be a term used in Western Europe. It shows that these countries every culture qualification prepares professionals understand that the study narrowed. Development and research of cultural studies in the Mongolian and developing experienced more than less time. But what are

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the major objects of cultural researchers? Where the theoretical and methodological sources? What is a study of the angle of view, our research feature? As such issues can still be sufficiently well defined. We found each other that three different "cultural studies" in the development of the program. These are the **first** of the Russian and then culturology in our culture emerging in modern-Soviet Russian science of translating that study. Researchers often have to translate that science of culturology. (see the Radugin 1999, Tumurbaatar and Tumurkhuyag 2001, Gurevich 2004 and Dorjdagva 2010). **Second**, the US anthropologist Leslie White a trend of anthropological research preached about studying any culture called culturology. According to read the works he published in 1949, Culture, Science: human culture and civilization studies, (See the Science of Culture: A Study of Man and Civilization) he mentioned that some studies are made on the basis of a science. His culturology as the name has been studied as a methodology and theoretical approach of the culture (See the White, 1949). **Third** Cultural studies in America and Europe. Origin of the Sciences in 1964, counting from the established Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies University of Birmingham. Some authors have recently become a popular addition to the use of the the term rather culturology translated into English in their professional and research areas (see the Monk-Erdene, 2014). These conception is clearly many for something different, such as the origin of history, theory, methodology, and angle to see the objects and issues. Great high school curriculum and Russian researchers is the same with relative culturology but is used in any other science the term of Cultural studies. And the origin appears not believe that in uncoordinated US anthropologist Leslie White basis set research trends and the scientific basis for any such item is the origin of the Russian-culturology study of Culture. Which of the three studies on culture what we have taught university students? Any consideration of what are we doing? Which direction would be closer to the world standards and hold what? Will that should answer the first question.

### **Cultural Studies in Must**

"Cultural Studies" major opens the 1998-1999 of the school year and are taught the basic education and specialized courses. Over 16 years, "Cultural Studies" 10 times prepared in bachelor's degree 146 specialists, master's degree 40, doctor's degree 12 career specialists graduated. Employment of graduates are working 100%, is a graduate of 44.4% in the profession of which, 55.6% in other sectors. Now bachelor 25 students and 1 M.Sc and 2 Ph.D study.

Cultural studies academic programs specialized units on MUST Engineering undergraduate studies and was selected since 1998. Cultural Studies academic programs conducted 16 years experience in engineering schools. Every semester about 500 bachelor students selected this courses. But the Cultural Studies academic program was defined just general overview on culturology in recent years, cultural history seems program is taught for a long time. Therefore, the upgrade program has encountered a problem we need. To develop from government common requirements adopted policy, the

Ministry of Education towards the higher education program, MUST's mission and policies, international engineering education CDIO system, liberal arts education as the quality of education and programs in accordance with the international standard, such for Cultural Studies academic program is to develop curricula. Social and cultural rights to develop the current program, a common form MUST and Mongolian all Universities not only in freedom, we need publish sample textbook, it's Cultural Studies new theory of postmodernist, de construction and approach. The key to initiate the introduction of research and training because we cultural Studies program is to develop a critical need, validity and importance to society.

### I. Analyze of Cultural Studies Academic Programs

The United States, such as the Stanford academic program called Cultural Studies in Stanford University, Victoria University, Georgia State University and the Association of Cultural Studies, Canada, England explained quite a few university cultural studies comparative research focus of academic programs as well as research organizations and professional associations. We are selected Mongolian some universities:

1. National University of Mongolia
2. Mongolian University of Science and Technology
3. University of Humanities
4. University of Law enforcement
5. University of Culture and Art
6. Institute of Chingis Khan.

Cultural Studies Introduction course credit hours and tutorials taught in schools is shown by Table 1 below. Many schools have time for 2 considered more credit 16/32 lectures.

**Table 1: Academic credit for each school**

	<b>Universities</b>	<b>Credit</b>	<b>Lecture / Seminar/Hour</b>
	National University of Mongolia	2	Lecture 16 hour, Seminar 32 цаг
	University of Humanities	2	Lecture 30 hour
	MUST	2	Lecture 16 hour, Seminar 32 hour
	University of Law enforcement	2	Lecture 32 hour, Seminar 32 hour Practice and Laboratory 32 hour

Institute of Chingis Khan	3	Lecture 32 hour, Seminar 32 hour
University of Culture and Art	2	Lecture 32 hour

However, Table 2 by following, shown by comparing the difference and the same aspects of high education goals. It was in some schools aim to compare developed more because of the state party slogans like, abstract propaganda as a given school and a mind completely understood the program, rather than academic high school goals.

**Table 2: Differences and Similarities in academic purposes**

Universities	Differences	Similarities
NUM	Cultural history, the famous concept of cultural agents are written and communication skills	Basic understanding of the culture and the provision of culture and nature, structure, material, and intellectual cultural commonalities and unique situation, development patterns
University of Humanities	Explore the importance of the concept of culture in the social and cultural development	
MUST	Provide comprehensive knowledge of the culture	
University of Law enforcement	Nomadic culture, civilization and Mongolian image and hold national trends	
Institute of Chingis Khan	Independent study of scientifically concept of culture	
University of Culture and Art	Humanities education to cultivate the human personality	

Table 3 by the content is shown when comparing the academic content of different or the same side with some of the top universities Mongolian culture rather than science content of academic studies or ethnic studies like this are beyond the content of the lessons that we tell the world and a too-grade localized and isolated.

	Universities	Differences	Similarities
	NUM	People and social, environmental, scientific, ethnic and language related factors of culture	1. The importance of cultural research 2. Problems of human and social cultural relations 3. The national culture and development 4. Universal culture and anthropology 5. Function of culture 6. Mongolian tangible and intangible cultural heritage
	University of Humanities	Fenomen and cultural definition, relations between speech and Culture	
	MUST	People and social, environmental, scientific, ethnic and language related factors of culture	
	University of Law enforcement	Mongolian tradition, the ethnic characteristics, people prefer the wicked and the concept of decoration, climate and traditional knowledge	
	Institute of Chingis Khan	Civilization and cultural antropology	
	University of Culture and Art	Modern culture, influencing factors and cultural heritage of tradition and innovation	

**Table 3: Differences and similarities in subject matter**

	Universities	Differences	Similarities
	NUM	General theory of knowledge and cultural history	1. Possession cultural functions of Public Relations 2. To express own freely position 3. Human development consists of Culture and How to join and build
	University of Humanities	Aesthetics, ethics and the legal sense, orientation	
	MUST	Human nature, society, technology, religion, and identity practices have a communicator	
	University of Law enforcement	Access to a national concept of racial justice any issue and submit order	
	Institute of Chingis Khan	To study the presentations and in litigation with knowledge of the	

		culture	
	University of Culture and Art	The cultural concept of ethnic nationalities	

Table 4 shows that compared different and similar aspects of student awareness shown is the national culture, cultural theory and social relations and cultural awareness in addition to aesthetics, ethics, religion eclectic mix science and ethnography science. Because professional and non-professional lecturers teaching their point of view.

**Table 4: Similarities of knowledge for students**

Similarities to provide academic skills

- working with people
- Human Relations
- society to behave properly

Differences of academic skills

- University of Culture and Art - to understand and learn the basic steps of the world for the many country's cultural development
- University of Law Enforcement - Mongolian culture and recognize the historical conditions developed and be proud of him

But we table by 5 Introduction to Cultural Studies academic programs indicate Mongolian universities that summarizes the US University of Georgia State University's academic program of Introduction to Cultural Studies. Such comparison, the difference came in many other things, how to solve this difference? To see that respondents in the opinion questions the article.

**Table 5: Comparison of curriculum "Introduction Cultural Studies"**

Mongolian Universities	Georgia State University
<b>Lecture I:</b> The concept of cultural understanding, development and significance	<b>Lecture I:</b> Introduction
<b>Lecture II:</b> Cultural consideration attitudes and cultural model, cultural	<b>Lecture II:</b> The Politics of Culture (Barbie Nation Film)

functions and universal culture and cultural anthropology	<b>Lecture III:</b> Culture and Power Graeme Tuner, British Cultural Studies: An Introduction: Chapter 1 Karl Marx
<b>Lecture III:</b> Primitive culture and ancient religion forms	<b>Lecture IV:</b> Hegemony and Resistance Antonio Gramsci, "Hegemony, Intellectuals and the State", and Stuart Hall, "Encoding/Decoding"
	<b>Lecture V:</b> Cynicism and Utopia Fredric Jameson, "Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture" and Thomas Frank, "New Consensus for Old"
<b>Lecture IV:</b> Medieval culture Meso America	<b>Lecture VI:</b> Audience and Gender Janice Radway, Reading the Romance
	<b>Lecture VII:</b> Postfeminisms Susan Douglas, The Rise of Enlightened Sexism
<b>Lecture V:</b> XVIII century Western European socio-political and religious life, new ideas	<b>Lecture VIII:</b> Communicative Capitalism Jodi Dean, Democracy and Other Neoliberal Fantasies
	<b>Lecture IX:</b> Fantasy Stephen Duncombe, Dream: Re-imagining Progressive Politics in an Age of Fantasy
	<b>Lecture X:</b> Play Jane Mc Gonigal, Reality Is Broken: Why Games Make Us Better and How They Can Change the World
<b>Lecture VI:</b> Byzantine culture	<b>Lecture XI:</b> Science Bruno Latour, On the Modern Cult of the Factish Gods
<b>Lecture VII:</b> The XXth century theoretical disputes arising among the	<b>Lecture XII:</b> Myth Janice Hocker Rushing & Thomas

Western European culture and cultural crisis	S. Frenztz, Projecting the Shadow: The Cyborg Hero in American Film
	<p><b>Lecture XIII: Mysticism</b></p> <p>Jeffrey Kripal, Mutants and Mystics: Science Fiction, Superhero Comics and the Paranormal</p>
<b>Lecture VIII: XX century Mongolian culture</b>	<b>Lecture XIV: Research report</b>
<b>Lecture IX: Human and social problems of cultural relations</b>	<b>Lecture XV: Research report</b>

Although Mongolian universities lecturers teach each with their own different curriculum, they are talking about how to submit a standard curriculum taught science courses, aligned to different content is to change the academic program teams. Some lecturers teach specify the form of classes, such as historical and cultural philosophy and ethnography. 9 topics shown in the table above can represent all the universities in Mongolia. Table only apply to universities in the 15 topics of the University of Georgia on the other side would like to emphasize that Canada, end duplication of some US and British universities. But the difference between “Introduction of cultural studies” course topics. University as the main patron students must be taught by a good teacher quality class should be no difference exercise topics and books. The university that offers a course to students and other teachers, different and interesting programs either because they are taught, and same topics, and lecturers are compete each other. But this does not mean to teach anything to anyone to teach within the already published and researched the topic.

Main problem is inconsistent with grade teaching academic content of the Mongolian state university by Western universities. Why should comply with it? Almost as popular science concept should serve the mind of the world's universities, research institutions and science. One of the science should be our main concepts specified class universities of the world agree. If the core content, our concepts is dangerous little to establish the extent of the inconsistency, social and humanities as opposed to matter each other. Specific social and humanitarian sciences that are able to discover the common law has served frequently as science for centuries, probably like. So this feature to be carefully pondered, the world will not delay feet walking together fun social theory, will be misleading. In particular, researchers studying a mission, like the collapse of Mongolian socialist system following social and humanitarian sciences theoretical yield, new gates, current conditions and culture in search of development consistent with the world-class science of mind, and they will need to focus on that face us.

This perspective took considers students enrolled in the Western Cultural Studies founders as Richard Hoggart, creation of Raymond Williams, Stuart Hall has graduated from school, not a treatise. Some may be that our teachers are half-baked knowledge based on studies of their cultural studies. A simple example, when someone Mongolian culture are both studying in a university research career a student was moved to the school career as a foreign recognized a few of the lessons of a student, considered a credit. And what exactly does the opposite when we were walking a student at the University of Europe, to learn this profession? So if we Curriculum of cultural studies to introduce the combination of more efficient with every new legal adoption of emerging research topics in the industry, in addition to side change compared with Western cultural studies and their stars scientific and methodological and theoretical approach.

### Conclusion

Mongolian national universities with the same theory by already logged culturology of concern, which is revised curriculum of cultural studies? Because we already have mentioned, L.White`s culturology studies of XIX century social evolutionary tendency of the theory itself from its strong critical, since published many research articles about the lack of any errors of modern social and humanitarian studies so that is already insignificant. Soviet countries has also improved the discretion side replaced by Soviet-style culturology-Western cultural studies and compensate for your shortcomings. We have reason that these standards do improve their research approaches and theoretical methods to follow.

Once we have developed, "Introduction to Cultural Studies" program for Mongolian universities of liberal arts education system log. In addition, books translated textbooks and compromise Mongolian soil and knowledge that students give our students even go landing elsewhere. Refer to Table 6 of the revision, the proposed program.

**Table 6: Proposals to change the academic program of Introduction to cultural studies**

Week	Topic	Lecture hour	Seminar hour
	The objective of the cultural studies, research object, research methods and approaches.	2	2
	The concept of culture, cultural characteristics and importance.	2	2
	Theories about the origin of culture and cultural roles and functions. Cultural anthropology.	2	2
	Ancient Western and Oriental cultures: (Egypt, Messopotami, China, India, Meso America, Grece and Roman culture).	2	2
	Medieval culture: (Byzantine, Slav)	2	2



	Christian influence in European culture.		
	Renaissance culture Western global cultural new stage (a new flow of ideas)	2	2
	Cultural crisis and trends in contemporary cultural theory	2	2
	The Mongolian cultural policy: (1921- 1940), (1940-1990) (Cultural Rights in the Constitution)	2	2
	The tangible and intangible cultural heritage	2	2
0	Communication skills and culture (Independent culture of human relations), (individuals social cultural roles)	2	2
1	Popular culture and sub-culture, youth culture Multiculturalism	2	2
2	Urban Culture (urbanization and culture shock)	2	2
3	Daily life culture Leisure time	2	2
4	Media, representation and the cyber culture	2	2
5	Specific professional culture	2	2
6	Cultural freedom and globalization	2	2

And professional lecturers is the need for efforts to teach Introduction to Culture Studies are taught the academic quality and the latest knowledge and information theory to law-free entry to foreign countries Mongolian and Mongolian researchers have inhibited the specific conditions of outer space. Consequently, the situation is already to create the conditions foundations of Cultural Studies science discipline or order, established research sector has scientific fields likely, but not certain order and chaos, who teaches an amateur field. Any sane stone three pillars necessary for an independent science sector priorities of the scientific theory of history, objects, professional experts to find among its sciences building.

Culture is developing as society to move forward. Mongolian today focuses on the rich socio-cultural traditions and to train at the world with future learning, community development and national culture.

In 1990, included in the Mongolian democracy and social market economy in developing cultural studies arising from University of Sciences in addition to its bachelor's, master's and doctoral level training people, triggering many years work to the stage of public cultural awareness and education areas of year to find less success is.

Many college students in Mongolia has introduced a unique advanced culture and national cultures through cultural studies and attending to my career.

Today Mongolian operate in the field of education is mandatory student studying teaching students two basic forms and selected cultural studies - both public and private universities.

The students in order to improve student opinions valuable academic program to study culture. Thus, the survey nerlülsen topic of students who want to learn the most commonly studied include the following questions.

What do you want to see more topics in Cultural Studies class?

1. Body of Culture	46
2. Culture and the Arts	38
3. Culture and technology, technical and cultural issues	36
4. City Culture	32
5. Communicate	26
6. Cultural History	24
7. Informational Culture	22
8. Cultural theory	16
9. Cultural and social relations	0
10. Culture and language	0
11. Globalization and cultural issues	0
12. Cultural basic form, type	10
13. Culture and civilization theory	6
14. The human and cultural interaction	4

The students take each individual is posted priority is insignificant. Thus, a subject of individual culture had wanted more than to be incorporated into school curricula. And technical and cultural issues are important. He especially is assessed as very important for

vocational school students in this field. Culture and arts, communication skills and study programs were set to include topics about the city's culture.

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## CENGİZ HAN İLE İLGİLİ BOZUK PARALARIN ULUSLARARASI ALANDAKİ YERİ ÜZERİNE

Dr. Punsag AMARMEND\*

### ÖZ

XIII. yüzyılda ilk bozuk para Cengiz Han tarafından oluşturulmuştur. Bozuk para sadece ekonomide parasal anlamda ve eşyaların değerini belirleyici bir nesne olarak değil, aynı zamanda devletin bağımsızlığı ve egemenliğinin bir sembolü olarak kullanılmaktadır. Cengiz Han ya da onun imgesinin bulunduğu ilk bozuk paralar Moğol İmparatorluğu'nun kurulduğu XIII. Yüzyılda basılmıştır ve günümüze değin beri parasal bir nesne ya da hediyelik eşya olarak Moğolistan'a miras kalmıştır. Bu süreç, tarih dizini ile birlikte bu makalede kısaca ele alınmıştır ve ilgili bazı konulara açıklamalar getirilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Cengiz Han, bozuk para, Moğolistan

### ON THE COIN CONNECTED WITH CHINGGIS KHAAN WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL SCOPE

#### ABSTRACT

First coin of the XIII century was formed by Chinggis khan. A coin not only can be used as the object of monetary treatment within the economy and determiner of the goods` price, but also be the symbol of the state independence and sovereignty. The coins connected with Chinggis or with his image have minted from the XIII century when the Mongolian empire was established and until nowadays Mongolia inherited all from the empire as the monetary object or souvenirs. This process along the date sequences was considered in this paper briefly and some connected issues were clarified.

**Keywords:** Chinggis Khaan, coin, Mongolia

Chinggis khan is considered worldwide not only as the Mongolian empire establisher, but also the establisher of the nowadays world and ancestor of the globalization. Mongolian people who do not forget any helps by somebody wrote the great "The secret history of the Mongols" to immortalize Chinggis khan`s merit, established burial ground and have respected it for over 800 years. Moreover, golden, silver and bronze coins with the image of Chingges khan or his name immortalizing his merit worldwide. The first coins with names of Chinggis khan were minted in Middle East. For example, the first golden coin was minted in Gazna or nowadays Afghanistan in 1221. In the obverse there is legend "The Great khan, the greatest khan Chinggis khan" and there is motto in reverse "No any other gods instead of Allah, the Muhammed is the representative of Allah". Its size is 23 mm and its weight is 3.23 gram. (Nyamaa 2006, 1).

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Picture 1

The silver coins were minted in Gazna, Bagdad and other places. For example, in the obverse of the silver coin there is legend “The Great Chinggis khan” and there is name of caliph Nasir of Bagdad (Al Nasir Li Din Allah) in reverse. Its size is 18 mm and its weight is 3.12 gramm (Nyamaa 2006, 3; Buyan 2011, 17).



Picture 2.

The bronze coin covered with silver. The coin is minted in 1227 in Samarkand. There is image of sun on the table in the coin obverse (the researchers Nyamaa, Buyan and others confused that it is the iron brand “ongi”). Under this image there are bow and legend “Coin for currency in Samarkand”. Moreover, there is date of its making in the rim.

Several researchers noted there is legend in Arabian as “The money of Chinggis khan, Chinggis khan” (Nyamaa 2005, 30; Buyan 2011, 19).



Picture 3.

**Second. The coin with the Chinggis khan`s year name that was minted in Inner Mongolia.** In 1938 earl Demchignorov introduced this coin into the monetary transaction. The earl Demchignorov, the 34<sup>th</sup> generation of Chinggis khan`s genesis was born in 1902 in Western Sonod khoshun, Shiliin gol. In 1908 he was declared as he had the state title Jun earl and then he became the assistance of head, Shiliin gol forum and he fought for the Inner Mongolia independence and integration of External and Inner Mongolia to establish Great Mongolia. According to Demchignorov`s initiative on October 23, 1937 the Great khural was organized among common people in Sui yuan region (nowadays Kokeqoto), made decision to establish Mongolian soviet power house, declared the establishment of Government house on October 27, began to govern five aimags and two towns, made the year title of China invalid and restored Chinggis khan`s year title to use. The year was the 732<sup>nd</sup> year of Chinggis khan. Moreover, the “Mongolian place bank” was established in Chuulalt khaalgan on December 1, 1937 and bank notes and coins were introduced into the monetary treatment. On the coin that representatives five units there was engraved the year title of Chinggis khan. For example, in the upper part of the obverse it was written as “733<sup>rd</sup> year of Chinggis khan” which means 1938. There are two grass like dragons looking each other along the coin rim. There is another dragon that looks anfas and there is legend “Mongolian place bank” in the field in Chinese letters. There is lotus that presents development and flourishment in the reverse.



Picture 4.

**Third. The coins with Chinggis khan`s image that minted in Mongolia.** Despite Chinggis khan was a great man respected and immortalized in history worldwide we had not glorified his merits but had scolded under the influence of the Soviet Union and socialism not long ago. However, as it was said in the Mongolian philosophy “The jowl that ate grass turns white in the air but eaten grass on the hill grows again”, Mongolians had right to respect their Chinggis khan again in 1990s thanks to the democratic revolution and as its result many commemorative coins with image of Chinggis khan as device were minted. The first such coins as the Golden coin, Silver coin and nickel commemorative medal with image of Chinggis khan as device during the celebration of the 750<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the “Secret History of the Mongols”.



Picture 5. Golden coin



Picture 6. Silver coin



Picture 7. Memory medal





Picture 8. Golden coin with image of Chinggis khan as device that weighs one kg.

**Forth. The commemorative coins with image of Chinggis khan in the international scope.** Nowadays Chinggis khan is respected worldwide. In this view many commemorative coins and medallions with image of Chinggis khan as the evaluation of this great man. Furthermore, several countries have minted commemorative coins with Chinggis khan considering him as their emperor celebrating his anniversaries with great sensation.

1. *Commemorative coin with image of Chinggis khan as device minted in the People`s Republic of China.* The People`s Republic of China minted serial coins named Great Historical Chinese People in 1989 and among them was a Golden coin with image of Chinggis khan as device. The cost of the coin is 100 yuan and it was produced in 4000 exemplars. The device of the obverse is Chinggis khan in armor and sword and he is leading his horse in its bridle. There is emblem of the People`s Republic of China on the reverse.





Picture 9.

2. Commemorative coin with image of Chinggis khan as device minted in Kazakhstan. The silver commemorative coin with the legend “Great Leader Chinggis khan`s” Its cost is 100 tenge and it was produced in 13000 exemplars. Recently in Kazakhstan Chinggis khan is considered as their khan.



Picture 10.

3. Silver coin with image of Chinggis khan as device minted in the continent of Africa. In 1997 in Liberia, Africa the silver coin with legend “The World conqueror” for the commemorative of Chinggis khan. Its cost is 20 dollars.



Picture 11.

4. Silver coin with image of Chinggis Khan as device minted in the USA. In 1997 the commemorative silver coin with legend "12<sup>th</sup> century" and "Genghis Khan begins Asian conquest" was minted in the USA. Moreover, silver and brass medallion devoted to the 800<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Great Mongolia was issued by the embassy of the USA in Mongolia in 2006.



Picture 12

The following conclusions are made as the result of consideration of the above mentioned commemorative and monetary treatment coins:

- Chinggis khan`s merits and genius are valued greatly all over the world. Indeed, Chinggis khan was the uncommon, genuine and great man as it was underlined in the historical sources and we are lack in his genuine ability right now.

- Chinggis khan was the world man. Considering by Chinese and Kazakh people as their khan does not mean that he was Chinese or Kazakh by nationality, but it confirms Bogd Chinggis khan`s great merit. In other words, it confirms again that world history begins from Mongolia. We do not have to be scrimped for Chinggis khan. Our Bogd Chinggis will stay as Mongolian man and our admiration forever in history.

- The different golden, silver and bronze commemorative coins with device of Chinggis khans image issued by Mongols are not only admiration of all Mongols, but also plays an important role to advertise Mongolia in the world. Any collection is one of the many-sided activities in the civilized society. Today collection connected with Chinggis khan is spread all over the world actively. Coins with device of Chinggis khan`s image becoming the main objects of their collection attracting their interests. The name and his holly image will be immortalized on the coins for centuries.

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## TWO INNER ASIAN RIVER NAMES IN TERKH INSCRIPTION

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### ABSTRACT

In the part referring to Uyghur khan of Terh inscriptions, constructed in 750's, there are place names in poem. Most of these place names are of two big rivers still named in the same way. Per this, it is obvious that Sebin and Teledü in Uyghur khan's inscription are river names.

In the part about Baya'ut tribe in "Câmi'ü't-Tevârih", the place where the tribe settled is mentioned. The place names are written in alliteration and recorded in this way. Also, in the part about Baya'ut tribe, two of the three rivers, flowing from the mountain named *Börä Ündürin* to Selenge river, are named *Kibän* and *Taladu*.

Names of these rivers are recorded identical with that in Terh inscription and Câmi'ü't-Tevârih. The fact that these names appear in these historical artifacts shows not only that these two rivers are very close, but also that they are named through at least 540 years.

**Keywords:** Terkh inscription, hydronomy, Sebin, Teledü, alliteration

### TERH YAZITLARINDA GİZLİ İKİ ASYA NEHRİNİN ADI

#### ÖZ

750'li yıllarında dikilmiş olan Terh yazıtında, Uygur kağanına ait yer adlarını bahseden kısmında şiir şeklinde yazılan yer adları bulunmaktadır. Bu yer adlarının çoğu bugüne kadar hala adlandırılan büyük nehirlerin isimleridir. Buna göre Uygur kağanın yazıtındaki *Sebin* ve *Teledü* sözleri nehir adı olduğu şüphesizdir.

"Câmi'ü't-Tevârih"daki Baya'ut kabilesi hakkında yazılan kısmında onların yerleştiği (oturduğu) bölgesi üzerine bahsedilmiştir. Yer adlarını yazarken aliterasyon sırayla şiir şeklinde geçtiğini tamamen o şekilde kaydedilmiş. Bunun yanı sıra Baya'ut kabilesine ait kısmında *Börä Ündür* denilen dağın herhangi bir tarafından başlayıp (kaynayıp) Selenge nehrine akan üç ırmağın ikisinin adlarını *Kibän* ve *Taladu* olarak geçmektedir.

Bu iki nehrin adı Terh yazıtında ve "Câmi'ü't-Tevârih"da rastlandığı gibi ikisi birlikte kaydedilmiş ve tarihi eserlerinde hep beraber geçmesi ise iki ırmağın hem mesafe olarak çok yakın olduğunu hem de en azında 540 yıl boyunca birlikte anıldığını (adlandırdığını) göstermektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Terh Yazıtları, hidronomi, Sebin, Teledü, aliterasyon.

In line 4 on the west side of the Terkh stele, which was erected about in 750 AD., there is a part that states on dwellings of the Khagan of the Uighur Empire (745-840). In this line some places have been declared as all of them belong to the Uighur Khagan. Those place names are as follows: Sekiz Selençe : Orqun Toyula : Sebin : Teledü : Qaraya: Boruyu.

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It is obvious that except Sekiz, Sebin and Teledü, all of them are large rivers in Mongolia of which names have been survived to the present day. These river names clearly point out that Sebin and Teledü are certain river names.

After the first publication of the text of the Terkh inscription in 1975 [Şinekhüü 1975], these two names were correctly read and identified as river names by the famous Turkologist T.Tekin only in 1983 [Tekin 1983a: 818]. (Table 1) However, the locality of these two rivers is still not identified.

In October 2015 I first introduced my suggestion to an international conference that the two hydronyms also occur in the “Jami’u’t-tawarikh”, the well-known early-14<sup>th</sup>-century chronicle in Persian. [Mönkhtulga 2015] In this paper, I attempt to reconsider the two river names and introduce an Inner Asian tradition of calling the place names in alliterative verse.

### Sebin and Teledü

After the Tekin’s publication, most of the researches who read the Terkh inscription have generally accepted that these two words are river names, although there are some sign differences of vowels in their readings. The readings of the two words by the researchers as follows:

	Researchers	Transcriptions	Translations
	Şinekhüü 1975	/ögüz/ täldü. [69]	golıg gatalj, [69]; Ya pérékhodiv réki ... [69]
	Klyaštorniy 1980	sebentürdü [90]	raduyut ménya. [92]
	Klyaštorniy 1982	s <sup>a</sup> b <sup>a</sup> nt <sup>ü</sup> rdü [341]	made me happy. [344]
	Bazylkhan 1982	/sub/.. tülädü. [170]	/ıın usan sav/ tüvşin tögs bolov. [170]
	Tekin 1983a	s(e)b(i)n t(e)l(e)dü [806]	Sebin (Seben?), Teledü (Teldü?), [810]
	Tekin 1983b	s(ä)b(i)n t(ä)l(?ä)dü: [47]	Sebin, Teledü, [51]
	Katayama 1999	säbin # tälädü: [170]	Säbin, Tälädü, [171]
	Bazılkhan 2005	Seben: Teldü: [141]	Sébén: Tédü: [141]
	Mert 2009	s(e)b#(i)[n] : t(e)l(e)dü : [180]	Sebin, Teledü, [182]
	User 2009	s(ä)b(i)[n] t(ä)l(ä)dü : [480]	säbin tälädü
	Ölmez 2013	sevi[n] teledü : [277]	Sevin, Teledü, [282]

Table 1

Unfortunately, I could not find Turkologist A.Berta’s book on Old Turkic Runic inscriptions in which the two words are transcribed and translated not as hydronyms but perhaps as verbs. [Berta 2006]

### Kibin and Teledu

There are many Inner Asian toponyms and hydronyms in the “Jami’u’t-tawarikh” or “Compendium of Chronicles” which was written by Rashiduddin (1247-1318), a vizier of Ghazan Khan (1271-1304) of Ilkhanate.

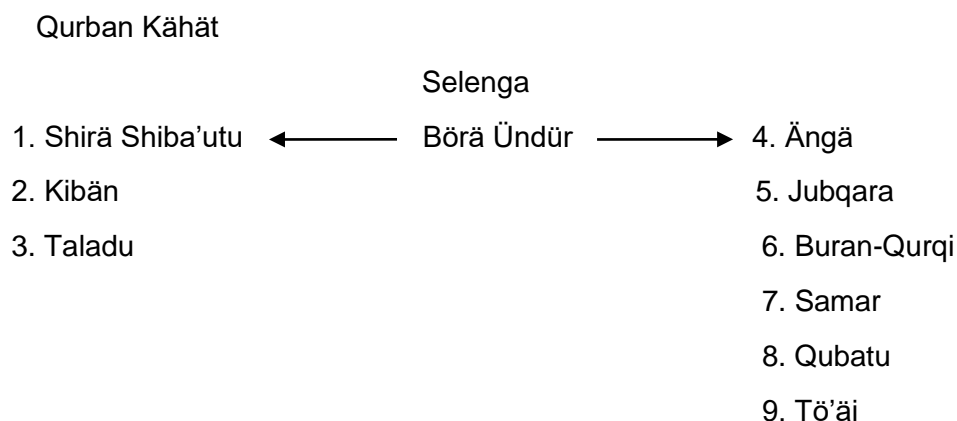
The Inner Asian place names in the above source most probably informed by some ethnic Mongols of that time including Bolad Chingsang who came from the State of Great Khan, or Yuan Dynasty in Chinese historical view, to Ilkhanate in the Ghazan Khan’s reign period. Original form of most names of the places that dwelt and named by the Mongols of the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> cc. is still unknown because through the centuries, this famous medieval work has been hand-copied by people who did not know Mongolian.

In a part about the *oboq* of Baya’ut which was a well known people at the pre- and modern times of Chingis Khan, Rashiduddin wrote on important places where they dwelt, on the basis of narratives of informants who probably came from Mongolia proper. [Rashid-ad-din 1952: 175-176; Rashiduddin 1998: 96]

A passage contains these two names has been translated into English by W.Thackston as follows: “The rivers that flow down from Börä Ündür are as follows. From in front of the mountain are Shirä Shiba’utu, Kibän, and Taladu. From behind the mountain are Ängä, Jubqara, Buran Qurqi, Samar, Qubatu, and Tö’äi. These nine rivers spill into the Selenga.” [Rashiduddin 1998: 96]

It should also be noted that translators differently restored some place names in the “Jami’u’t-tawarikh” when they translated this source from its original Middle Persian into modern languages because of their own view.

At first, we need to analyze the passage contains the names to make clear its meaning. It is clear that these were hydronyms, particularly names of rivers. These hydronyms are 2 of the 9 rivers that flow down from two sides of a mountain named Börä Ündür and spill into Selenge. It can be shown as in the following sketch:



Mongolian scholar Kh.Perlee identified the Börä Ündür with present mountains of Büren Khaan which are located between the Selenge and Orkhon rivers. [Perlee (1969) 2012: 390] He suggested that the river Kibin can be identified with today’s Iven river which flows from the Büren Khaan mountains into the Orkhon river. [Perlee (1964) 2012: 322; Perlee (1969) 2012: 390]

As written together in the Terkh stele, the two names appear again together in “Jami‘u’t-tawarikh”. It means that the rivers were close to each other and their names had been called together at least during 540 years.

It is interesting that these Inner Asian hydronyms that have been preserved through the times also bear a long tradition of calling the place names in alliterative verse.

#### **Place names in alliteration**

Due to lack of evidence, we do not know when the Altaic-speaking peoples began to compose their poetries in alliterative verses. The tradition of alliteration undoubtedly has a long history. Many modern Altaic peoples still preserved the tradition of alliteration. However, a part of this tradition, calling the place names in alliterative verse is still kept up only among the Mongols. [Damdinsüren 1987: 6] To pray famous places in alliterative verse is common in Mongolian folklore [Damdinsüren 1987: 6-13] and manuscripts with prayer texts of sacred places [Sükhbaatar 2001]. Although there are many evidences on this subject, only two examples are presented here.

Kharaa Boroo (Qaraya: Boruyu or Qaraghas Burughus in “Jami‘u’t-tawarikh”)

Khanan Bayan

Khasiin Khöndiy

Tend End

Tereg Şaazgay

Temeen Çuluut

Guna Gund

Gunj Möördög

Khoni Maildag

Khoyor Zagisdag

Döröö Khanginadag [Damdinsüren 1987: 12-13]

... Kharaa Yöröö

Khasiin Khöndiy

Khanuy Khünüy (Qanuy : Künüy in the Terkh inscription)

Khangal Çingel

Khariin Nuur

Khalzan Bözönkhiy

Khayrkhan Bayan Ulaan

Khanan Salkhit

Temeen Çuluut



Tereg Şaazgayt [Damdinsüren 1987: 8]

In the above two examples, it is visible that the names of every two rivers that are close to each other are in an alliterative line. As composed in the alliterative verses, the river names in the Terkh inscription should be restored in alliterative lines as follows:

Sekiz Seleŋe : Orqun Toyula :

Sebin : Teledü : Qaraya : Boruyu.

The doublets may also be written in the following version:

Sekiz Seleŋe :

Orqun Toyula :

Sebin : Teledü :

Qaraya : Boruyu.

All the river names in alliterative lines seem to be structured as set on a map counterclockwise. As a central point of a map, Sebin and Teledü rivers can be imagined by the following sketch of location of the rivers.

Northwest: Selenge	North: Sekiz	Northeast
West: Selenge	Center: Sebin Teledü	East
Southwest: Orkhon	South: Tuul, Kharaa, Boroo	Southeast

Table 2

As shown in the Table 2, Sebin and Teledü may be located to the south from the Sekiz and Selenge rivers, to the northeast from Orkhon and to the north from Tuul, Kharaa and Boroo. If we restrict the location, losing the rivers that coincided in direction, there must be the following sketch.

Northwest: Selenge	North: Sekiz
West: Selenge	Center: Sebin and Teledü
	South: Kharaa

Table 3

In the “Jami’u’t-tawarikh”, it is clear that the place names mentioned by some informants but in certain sequence, like the structure of traditional Mongolian poem which is always composed in alliterative verse and particularly like the poem structure in the Terkh inscription.

“Jami’u’t-tawarikh” states that another affluent of the Selenge river which flows down from Börä Ündür is Shirä Shiba’utu. As the 13<sup>th</sup> century tradition of calling the famous place names in alliterative verse, in “Jami’u’t-tawarikh”, there are many examples of such word pairs, names of two places which are close to each other. For example, “... the Onon, the Kelüren, Talan Balji’us, Burqan Qaldun, Kökä Na’ur, Bu’ir

Na'ur, Qarqab, Küyin, the Ergüne, Qala'ir, the Selenga, Barqujin Tögüm, Qalajin Älä, and Öngü, ...". [Rashid-ad-din 1952: 74; Rashiduddin 1998: 23-24]

Therefore, the most possible restoration of the pair of names in the "Jami'u't-tawarikh" is \*sibin/\*šibin because according to both the middle and modern Mongolian poem traditions, the word pair must be written in alliterative lines as follows:

Šira Šiba'utu

Šibin Teledü.

### Conclusion

If we accept that Sebin in the Terkhin inscription and Kibin in the "Jami'u't-tawarikh" are the same names, the two rivers, Sebin and Teledü seem to have been flow down from a big mountain named Bōrā Ündür between the last 13<sup>th</sup> c. and early 14<sup>th</sup> c. where perhaps one of the *Quruq-i Buzurg*, a great sanctuary where members of Chingis Khan's family and their descendants were buried. The names of these two rivers that would be close to each other are now forgotten. The only Inner Asian source about these rivers, the Terkh inscription indicates that most believable forms of the names of these rivers are Sebin and Teledü.

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## WOMEN'S NGO'S IN MONGOLIA

Tseden TSETSEGJARGAL\*

Sakhiya BOLORMAA\*

### ABSTRACT

It is possible to see women's movements in various forms throughout the history. They focus on women's equal opportunities in education, social affairs and in other fields. There are feminist-inspired nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) all over Asia that focus on a myriad of issues. Women's movements in Mongolia, like in Asian other countries, started as a result of the interaction with the West. This paper reviews the development of women's movements in Mongolia and discusses the activities of women's NGOs.

**Keywords:** Women, NGO, Mongolia, Asia.

### MOĞOLİSTAN'DA KADIN SİVİL TOPLUM KURULUŞLARI

Kadın hareketlerini tarih boyunca farklı şekillerde görmek mümkündür. Bu hareketler, kadınların eğitimde, sosyal ilişkilerde ve diğer alanlarda kadınların eşit fırsatlara sahip olmasını amaçlar. Asya'da pek çok sorunu hedef alan feminist sivil toplum kuruluşları vardır. Moğolistan'da kadın hareketi diğer Asya ülkelerinde olduğu gibi Batı ile etkileşim sonucu başlamıştır. Bu çalışmada Moğolistan'daki kadın hareketleri ele alınacak, kadın sivil toplum kuruluşlarının faaliyetlerine değinilecektir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kadın, STK, Moğolistan, Asya.

### Introduction

Women's movements in various forms have existed throughout history, and they have progressed in various diverse manners, supported in terms of both time and location. A Women's movement have mainly focused on women's equal opportunities in every preference in education, in various important social affairs, and as demanded in other reformist movements, but primarily insist that equal opportunities can be protected by abolishing gender inequality.

From the early twentieth century until the present, Asian feminists were experts at reading the situation 'on the ground' and were not only selective about what aspects of feminist thinking globally they could adopt their directions from, but were also passionate about demonstrating their critiques to international platforms. The process of indigenizing feminisms and modifying international feminisms often occurred in a transnational 'mental space' with organizing and lobbying for legislative change often invoked the help of allies overseas or appeals to international bodies. Although activists in Asia were global actors, and although they were clearly influenced by Western feminisms, some women's movements in Asia are more a product of the national than global influences.

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After a century of women's activism in Asia it is timely for both scholars and activists to look back and reflect on the history of women's movements in the region. Each Asian country's women's movement experienced its own struggles with the issue of class. Also, not all Asian countries could boast the ownership of a clearly organized movement for female enfranchisement. But this did not mean that there were no women's movements there in the 1920s and 1930s. Like their sisters in the Western societies, the fight for the vote was also closely tied to the very notion of the 'modern woman' or the 'new woman'. Suffragists in Asia were the elite, educated, intellectual women and it was education that transformed them from 'old' to 'new' (Edwards and Roces 2004: 15).

There are feminist-inspired nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) all over Asia that choose to focus on a myriad of issues. The strength of the women's movements varies from country to country and there is still the question of whether a public presence or numbers translate to actual women's power. The price to pay for having many voices is the propensity for disunity and dissent, another continuing challenge activists must overcome. The advantages of a united front can be seen in the success of the Violence against women campaigns all over Asia.

Women's movements in Mongolia, like women's movements in other Asian countries, started as a result of interaction with the West, and organizations concerned with women's issues arose. Although the number of Women's NGOs in existence in Mongolia have grown tremendously over the past two decades, from only a few dozen in 1990s, to several today. Several problems continue to plague the Women's NGOs, severely hampering its influence in both political circles and among the public at large. This paper reviews the development of the Women's movements in Mongolia, and discusses the activities of the Women's NGOs.

### **Transition period**

A dramatic economic and political transformation began in Mongolia with the collapse of Soviet Union, Mongolia started a transition from a being a communist state into a democratic republic in 1990. The collapse of the Soviet system created a moment for rapid economic restructuring along the lines of a proactive neo-liberal policy agenda, with a minimal role for the state. It also opened the space for a swift political restructuring, which saw the dissolution of the one-party system and the creation of a multiparty parliamentary democracy system, national parliament named the Ikh Khural. Beginning of the 1990's income, and employment fell dramatically, with devastating effects on the living standards of Mongolia's population like other post-socialist countries.

After the fall of communism in Mongolia, the country adopted a new democratic constitution, which guaranteed equal rights for men and women in 1992. That year also marked the emergence of citizen-initiated NGOs (nongovernmental organizations), which were coexisting with the "mass" organizations that were beginning to reformulate themselves in the new political environment. NGOs for women were among the first public support organizations established, and Women's NGOs stood at the frontline of most

democratic developments in Mongolia. In 1992, it was women who first began forming NGOs, initially to address the drastic reduction of social protection provided under the new market-led economy. Throughout the country's transition, the activities of Women's NGOs evolved and women leaders continue to develop new strategies for achieving organizational goals.

Mongolian Women's Federation (MWF) founded in 1990 was based upon the former women's mass organization (Mongolian Women's Committee) during the Socialist period. MWF have become one of the biggest Women's NGOs due to the existing structure of the old organizations with their existing headquarters in the capital city and branches at the provincial and county levels.

One of the earliest Women's NGOs, the Liberal Women's Brain Pool (LEOS), established on October 20, 1992 and, started its focus on promoting basic women's rights and promoting women in politics. This organization worked in close collaboration with the Mongolian and International NGOs, the Mongolian Government, and a wide range of other individuals and organizations to achieve the organization's goals. LEOS was successful in organizing the Third East Asian Women's Forum held in Ulaanbaatar in 1998. A number of other NGOs in Mongolia began out of the initiative LEOS members, including the National Center Against Violence, which aims to combat violence against women in all forms and CEDAW Watch Network, which coordinates and monitors over implementation of CEDAW Convention. Mongolia's largest Savings and credit cooperative, "Moncord" also began through the initiative of LEOS members.

Women's NGOs' focus ranged from the delivery of services to public affairs, with several of the more prominent women's organizations concerned with public affairs and women's participation in the political process. The Women for Social Progress Movement (WSPM) founded in 1992, strives to educate people on democratic governance and provide support to help provide improvements in the economic situation of women. In 1997, the WSPM established the Voter Education Centre. Its activities included radio and television programs to educate people on democratic governance and the training of rural activists. Centre publishes newsletters that compare the voting records of members of parliament with their campaign platforms and a Citizen's Guide on the Government, which includes the information of members of parliament.

Civil society in Mongolia has also helped to contribute to legal reform by encouraging the view that public participation in lawmaking is critical to the established democratic process. With their advocacy efforts well underway, Women's organizations were exploring legal strategies to advance women's interests within Mongolia's legal framework. The Mongolian Women Lawyers' Association (WLA) was founded in 1992 to protect the rights of women, particularly the rights of women lawyers, and providing all Mongolian women with legal aid. With Asian Foundation support, the Association developed a judicial advocacy program to advance women's rights through the preparation and filed of test cases in key areas of discriminatory practices.

Domestic violence has become a serious problem in Mongolia since the transition period started and has become more publicly visible, possibly due to both the stresses resulting from the transition to a market economy and improved reporting of incidents. One in three Mongolian women were subject to some kind of domestic violence or pressure and an estimated one in ten women, and 60.2 percent of children reportedly experienced physical violence, which is regarded by society as a “normal” event rather than as a crime (UNIFEM, 2001: 52).

In 1994, the Asian Foundation organized first its meeting and women were introduced about topic of domestic violence, all the NGOs joined this movement in a flash and spread this concept. By the mid 90's every Women's NGOs were addressing violence against women, some NGOs had a specific focus on domestic violence. Center Against Violence (CAV) was initially founded in 1995, by three Mongolian women's organizations: the Liberal Women's Brain Pool, Women for Social Progress, and the Women Lawyers' Association. The founding of the Center was an important step to bring domestic violence out of the shadows so that both its symptoms and causes could be legally and socially addressed. After, CAV became an autonomous organization, it reregistered with the Ministry of Justice and Home Affairs as the National Center Against Violence (NCAV) in January 1998. This was a specialized women's organization that is leading all the efforts to provide information services and educate people about violence against women, also performing research on the status and dynamics of domestic violence in Mongolia. Then NCAV started to provide legal and psychological counseling and shelter to victims, and to educate the government and the public on domestic violence.

There was little or no gender analysis in the design, collection and analysis stage of most policy-based research in Mongolia. As well gender-sensitive research, by both government and NGOs, suffers from incomplete disaggregation by sex and other pertinent variables, such as age, residence and income. Therefore Women's Information and Research Centre (WIRC) was established in 1995 to address the topic and make sure the proper information is collected. The Centre started to promote the process of mainstreaming gender issues into government policy, planning and programming services in Mongolia and also collaborated with other Women's NGOs and advocacy groups towards achieving women's political and economic empowerment.

Since 1996, a new consciousness started taking hold among women, stimulated by their participation in and the influence of the Women's Conference in Beijing. This Conference exposed Mongolians to many new ideas and linked women to their colleagues around the globe. New Initiatives for Citizen Participation provided the needed attention to the broader processes of citizen participation, like the use of using new approaches to influence decision making and to promote positive change outside of the election process. These new initiatives fall into two broad categories. The first is the expansion of advocacy efforts, growing from influencing decisions on certain issues to include monitoring or watchdog activities. The second is an expanded role in the legislative drafting process.

Women's NGOs have undertaken several important initiatives in these two areas and began to engage in advocacy.

By mid of 90's, the Women's NGOs had expanded their focus to include watchdog groups whose main role is to promote government accountability. The CEDAW Watch Network Center was established in 1996 as the CEDAW Watch club under the Liberal Women's Brain Pool. In 1997, a seven-member Coalition of Women's Organizations was formed to monitor government implementation of the United Nations Convention for Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which Mongolia signed in 1981. Citizen monitoring of government performance was new to Mongolia, and the women's organizations which comprised the National CEDAW Watch Network had to learn new analytic skills in order to determine whether laws and regulations were in place; whether enforcement was weak; and whether there were other barriers to implementation. Realizing the immensity of the task, the group narrowed its focus to women's economic status and employment issues. Then, the monitoring extended to the countryside. As a result of five regional workshops, each of Mongolia's 21 provinces had trained women who know about CEDAW and are able to monitor government performance at the local level (Katherine S. Hunter 1999: 6). Their second example illustrates the expanded role of Women's NGOs in the area of legislative drafting, which helps to insure more effective representation of women's interests in Mongolia's evolving legal framework. Women have experience in commenting on existing laws, for instance, the revised labor law. In their expanded role, they were extending the precedent for citizen and NGO participation in the legislative process, first seen when NGOs played an active role in drafting of Mongolia's NGO law (adopted in 1997).

There were two important initiatives by the Women's NGOs in the legislative process. The first is the Women for Social Progress which worked with the parliament secretariat on implementing a new election management law. This effort represented the first ever-formal government-NGO task force and is a tribute to the growing legitimacy of NGOs in Mongolia. It is also significant because work on the election management law represents an effort that transcends strict gender interests. The second initiative is the work on the law Against Domestic Violence. Since 1996, the Asian Foundation has supported the efforts of the National Center Against Violence (NCAV) and the Women's Lawyers' Association (WLA) to include domestic violence on the public agenda. Above mentioned two organizations leading another NGO campaign on legal advocacy for new legislation on domestic violence and introduced first draft of Mongolia's domestic violence bill in 1997 (Katherine S. Hunter 1999: 8). The Women's NGOs were campaigning for a new domestic violence law. Following a successful hearing on the domestic violence bill in May 2004, the parliament unanimously passed the law Against Domestic Violence. The adoption of the law was a remarkable success for the NCAV and its partners. In less than a decade, Mongolian society had not only accepted domestic violence as a widespread social ill, but also adopted progressive legislation that established domestic violence as a criminal offense.



Since 1990, the national mechanism for women's issues and policy on women has undergone major changes. Women's NGOs and women activists have made considerable progress in getting the government to adopt the National Program for the Advancement of Women and establishing National mechanism for women's issues. The decade of the transition has coincided with the UN Conferences of the 1990s, and has witnessed the engagement of both Women's NGOs and advocates within government, with the support of UN agencies and bilateral organizations presented in Mongolia. As a result of their concerted efforts, the Government of Mongolia formally adopted the National Program for the Advancement of Women (NPAW) in March 1996 by Government Resolution No.145 (UNIFEM 2001: 66). The Program identified eleven critical areas of concern and provided strategic objectives and actions for 1996-2020 for each. The critical areas were:

- A. Women and Economic Development
- B. Women and Poverty
- C. The Status of Rural Women
- D. Women and Education
- E. Women and Reproductive Health
- F. Women and the Family
- G. Women in Power and Decision-Making
- H. Violence Against Women and Human Rights
- I. National Machinery for Advancement of Women
- J. Women and the Mass Media
- K. Women and Environment

In 1996, the National Council on Women's Issues was established as the primary agency responsible for monitoring the implementation of the NPAW. The government Minister for Health and Social Welfare is the head of the National Council on Women's Issues. Experts of the Human Development Division of the Ministry's Strategic Management and Planning Department are in charge of women's affairs and there are focal points for women's issues in the 21 aimags and city district governors' offices at the local level. Women's issues have been reflected in the portfolio of the Standing Committee of the Great Hural (UNIFEM 2001: 67).

Policy frameworks existed, supported by the National Program for the Advancement of Women, but the institutional machinery is still not functional during this period. The successful implementation of the National Program required strong commitment and political will on the part of the government and all of its agencies as well as active participation of community-based organizations, specifically Women's NGOs, economic entities and individuals. But the capacity for gender analysis and gender mainstreaming by women activists and advocates and within state mechanisms has yet to

be generated and mobilized. Women and the national women's machinery have not been able to mobilize effectively to date to promote and uphold rights and to influence the processes and outcomes of the transition. In fact, agency and responsibility for women's issues seems to have been transferred out of formal political and decision-making structures and into less formal institutions of civil society, specifically Women's NGOs. The interplay and tension between these two spheres is manifested both in the drawing up of the National Program for the Advancement of Women, and in the difficulties of its implementation.

Political empowerment has had many evolutions during the transition period. Mongolian women's share of parliamentary seats fell sharply after the transition, from 23 per cent to 3.9 per cent in the 1992 election due to cancelation of the quota system for women's representation (Tsetsegjargal 2009: 83). The small share of women candidates and women elected in 1992 has focused Women's NGOs' attention on the reasons for this phenomenon as well as what to do to change it. Strategies centered on assessing the role of the multi-party system and introducing quotas for parliamentary representation. Notable and successful examples include Women's NGOs joining efforts to increase the number of women in the 1996 parliamentary elections and the collective request of 23 organizations at the first Women's NGO conference for the government to form a National Women's Council. A roundtable meeting of Women's NGOs entitled "The Election System and Women's Participation" was held in November 1995, at which it was suggested that election social psychology was driven primarily by economic and political elites rather than by the general public or ordinary electors (Katherine S.Hunter 1999: 9).

With regard to the quota, the first coalition of Women's NGOs before the 1996 election proposed reintroducing the quota as the best way to increase women's representation in political decision-making. The second Mongolian Women's NGO Coalition was formed on December 10, 1999. The 27-member Women's NGO Coalition mobilized to increase the number of women in decision making positions for the 2000 national and local government elections. As the result of coalition of Women's NGOs, women's share of parliamentary seats rose to 10.5 per cent in the election of 1996, maintaining the same share in 2000 (Tsetsegjargal 2009: 115-116).

Mongolian NGOs implement different projects during the transition period to solve social problems especially focusing on unemployment and poverty, to conduct training on income-generating activities and job skills, provide information and improve knowledge about reproductive health and human rights. All of these to date have relied on foreign sponsors, and have weak organizational and technical facilities. Specifically the Women's NGOs became very well known in its broad frame activities.

Women's NGOs in Mongolia were not limited to only women's issues. Women's NGOs aim to help people adjust to the new order and to take advantage of it. Being weak in almost every regard does not prevent these organizations from educating people about their civil society, introduce the basics of the market economy, explain the rule of law, and

define the citizen's rights and responsibilities. In this effort, women's organizations were ahead of the government and much more efficient. Women's NGOs continually increased their influence on policymaking through the use of public seminars, meetings with national and local decision makers, information campaigns, and comments on proposed legislation. With support of international organizations several of Women's NGOs have become strong advocates of women's rights and gender equality. However, most of the active NGOs predominately work in the capital in Ulaanbaatar and the many NGO's in the rural organizations and not as successful because of the very limited access to information, support funds, and expertise.

### **Contemporary Mongolia**

The beginning of the 21st century 44 Women's NGOs was providing services and training, respond to basic security problems, and promote gender equity in law, the workplace, and social relations (Open Society Forum 2005: 16). However Women's NGOs operate on a very limited funding framework and mainly supported by the foreign aid agencies and bilateral organizations, they engaged in an increasingly diverse set of areas. Women's NGOs started to focus on broader issues related to governance, accountability, and openness. In their role as activist citizens, women are defining the norms for citizen participation and civil society in Mongolia's young democracy. Obviously, this is very important for the country's development. And although men are involved in NGOs too, it is fair to say that the Women's NGOs are the leaders when it comes to engaging in the broader public interest.

Women's NGOs now link both individual with coalition efforts, and can link urban and rural NGOs to cooperate on national initiatives. These NGOs have established the benchmarks for the role of citizen-initiated groups in the country's new democracy and expanded the spectrum of approaches available for citizens to influence public policy. National Network of Mongolian Women's NGOs (MONFEMNET) was founded in 2000 as a network of women's organizations working towards human development and women's rights in Mongolia. Since 2005, the network has undergone intensive reforms, and is now open to any civil society organization that is committed to gender justice, human rights and freedoms, and democracy. Each year, MONFEMNET organize "Through Women's Eyes" Annual Forum which is the biggest event for Women's NGOs. MONFEMNET and the members and partners, in cooperation with the Mongolian Women's Fund (MONES), select a policy issue of strategic importance as the main theme and draw together women's rights and human rights' activists and partners to share analyses and views on the issue and devise strategies for collective action.

Most Women's NGOs were mainly supported by contributions from the foreign donors. Since 2000, several national donor organizations for women activists have been founded. Mongolian Women's Fund (MONES) is the biggest, and was established on July 2000, to raise funds in order to financially support initiatives for advancement of Mongolian women and protection of their human rights. Since its establishment MONES has been working with national and international NGOs, private sector and grassroots.

Recently, Women's NGOs started to focus on human trafficking, especially in women and children. Much needed services for the victims such as legal aid, shelter, and psychosocial support have been provided exclusively by a small number of NGOs such as the Mongolian Gender Equality Center and the National Center against Violence. These services have been limited due to their limited capacity while demand is increasingly growing. Legal and policy framework on trafficking have improved by active advocacy of Women's NGOs. Thus, in 2008, the Criminal Code's Article 113 was amended so as to include the full definition of trafficking according to international standards and the parliament has ratified the Palermo protocol. In 2006, the National Program on Preventing and Combating Human Trafficking, Especially in Women and Children, was adopted but shelved until recently.

Mongolian Women's NGOs have been actively participating in international activities on women's issues and have recently increased support to host international conferences and events. The Women's Democracy Network (WDN) was established in March 2006, in response to a growing interest for networking and training among women in countries that had recently transitioned to democracy. The Network's inaugural conference, which coincided with International Women's Day, brought more than 30 women leaders from countries in Asia, Africa, Europe, Eurasia, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and North America together to engage in dialogue about challenges they face in their countries and to lay the groundwork for the establishment of future democracy networks in their regions.

Since the transition, the Women's NGOs has been grappling with the issue of women's representation in politics and a woman's share in the decision making. As the result of several coalition of Women's NGOs, the increase in proportion of women candidates at all elections and The Law on the Election of the Parliament which stated that a "minimum 30 percent of candidates for parliamentary elections from each political party should be women" was passed by the Parliament of Mongolia. The women's quota in elections was one of the significant ways to guarantee women's participation in state policy formulation and decision making process at all levels and to promote and protect the fundamental rights and freedoms of vulnerable groups such as women and children. However Women's NGOs urged the Mongolia's Parliament to respect its duty before the international community by ensuring that women have equal opportunity in legislative decision making processes, Mongolia's Parliament removed Article 28.2 which indicated a 30 percent quota for Women Candidates in the Parliamentarian Election on 26 December, 2007. The dispiriting evolution in the indicator for political status does not however capture some of the gains and the consolidation of civil and political rights since the transition. Nor does it show women's initiatives in key issues and their dynamism in Women's NGOs. Women's NGOs still supporting women's leadership both in government and nongovernment positions and want to get more women elected at all levels.

With active involvement of Women's NGOs National Policy on Gender Empowerment was adopted in 2002 and implementation of which is being overseeing by

National Committee for Gender Equality, headed by Prime Minister. The policy efforts are aimed at incorporating gender specific activities into projects and policies to correct above mentioned disparities and reinforce women's participation in socio economic activities and increasing benefits for women in terms of employment, access to services, empowerment and capacity building. Women's NGOs are also assigned to chair donor coordination group on gender and gender specialist is working to ensure proper attention to gender concerns. The Women's NGOs as well as gender advocates within the state machineries have been proactive in organizing around agendas for women's advancement. A driving force has been the success of Mongolian women in connecting with the global agendas that have been forged by women's movements worldwide under the aegis of the UN System.

After two decades of fighting to pass a law on gender equality, Law on Promotion of Gender Equality was adopted by Parliament February 14, 2011 in Mongolia. The aim of the new law is to ensure the equal participation of women and men in all political, legal, economic, cultural, and social spheres and the law prohibits any forms of discrimination in these spheres and in family relations. Women's NGOs, like Mongolian Women's Fund and leaders in a coalition of 17 women's groups played significant role for adopted the law.

Analysts contributing to a recent directory of civil society in Mongolia estimated that in 2005, approximately 70 active nongovernmental women's organizations existed in Mongolia (Open Society Forum, 2005: 16). A noticeable "boom" in the creation of new women's organizations took place in the mid-1990s; now the rate at which new ones are forming appears to be slowing down. Women's NGOs have a weight in the civil society well beyond their formal percentage among other NGOs and have been at the forefront of democratic changes in Mongolia by pushing the government to increase its openness, transparency.

Among the Women's NGOs in Mongolia, we can see encouraging signs that bode well for the gradual development of a more democratic society in Mongolia. First, over the past two decades there has been a dramatic increase in the number of self-initiated nongovernmental women's organizations in Mongolia. At the time of the Soviet Union's collapse, only a handful of independent women's group existed, operating in a semiunderground manner. With the increase of number of women's organizations there is a sure sign that Mongolia's female citizens are becoming more active in voluntary public life and now see themselves as having important roles to play as political actors, philanthropists, social problem solvers, and simply as autonomous citizens with diverse interests. Women's NGOs in work on a vast range of issues and problems, from charity, hobbies, and professional interests to domestic violence, identifying the problem of trafficking of women across borders, and presentation of gender stereotypes in the mass media.

The activities of all Women's NGOs are connected with the following:

- human rights, women's social security, reproductive rights, committees of soldiers' mothers, etc.;
- educational and training organizations for women and related programmes;
- information work (production, storage, and dissemination of information; women's archives and libraries; information centres and programmes) ;
- work with the public and services for women (emergency centres for women, legal and psychological consulting, public reception offices, etc.);
- family assistance (organizations of single mothers and mothers with many children, mothers of disabled children, work with minors, charity work for poor and other children);
- women's entrepreneurship (associations, clubs, and programmes);
- research, resource, and training centres;
- political activities (parties, women voters' clubs, organization and active participation at rallies, actions, and picketing); and
- women's creative organizations and associations.

Women's groups operated in virtual isolation from one another in the late 1990s and early 2000s. In contrast, today, particularly in capital city, women's organizations are much more networked with one another and have managed to organize national campaigns uniting dozens of NGOs on issues such as violence against women and the goal of increasing women's presence in politics. Yet given the growing number of Women's NGOs in the country and gradually increasing amounts of information sharing, awareness of one another, and even collaboration on projects, we can now say that a women's movement-albeit a small one-exists and is gaining in strength.

Some testimony to this growing strength is that, in a few recent cases, the mass media have provided positive portrayals of women activists' work. Documentaries on the problems of domestic violence and sex trafficking have recently aired on major Mongolian televisions, and the occasional positive article has appeared in newspapers and magazines. But, most media references to women's organizations continue to be made in an ironic and misunderstanding manner. Another gradually improving area for women's groups is their relationships with politicians and bureaucrats. The NGOs are now beginning to find more allies in the corridors of political power, and have begun to now show they are having an impact on public policy.

The adoption of the law Against Domestic Violence was also a remarkable success for the women's movement in Mongolia. In less than a decade, Mongolian society had not only accepted domestic violence as a widespread social ill, but also adopted progressive legislation that established domestic violence as a criminal offense and opened Sheltering service for victims of domestic violence.

On the whole, I can say that Women's NGOs have played a major role in motivating the government to address gender inequities in many aspects of Mongolian social, economic, and political life during democratization period. Attention in the following areas helping ensure that women benefit equitably from development:

- Transformation of public discourse and public awareness: The main achievement of Women's NGOs is that basic ideas and notions of feminist and gender theories have become part and parcel of the life of modern Mongolian society. And, many Mongolians and decision makers started to understand that these are not personal problems of separate women but are social and political problems of the society.
- Gender-responsive approaches to poverty reduction: Women's NGOs actively participating to planning and implementing gender-responsive programs and involve practical programs that narrow gender gaps in all areas can demonstrate appropriate government response to women's needs.
- Focus on empower women: Women's NGOs continuing to pressure government to take its commitment to protecting women's rights. Women's NGOs have long experience in using international treaties and agreements (e.g. CEDAW and the Beijing Platform for Action) and the constitution in a wide range of development issues.
- Political participation of women: As the result of several coalitions of Women's NGOs, the increase in proportion of women candidates at all elections. Women's NGOs also helping educate women voters to claim their constitutional rights of political participation, lobbying for issues of specific concern.
- Capacity building among NGOs: Women's NGOs providing gender sensitivity and gender analysis training for other civil society organizations to increase understanding of how mainstreaming gender and addressing gender gaps can maximize poverty reduction efforts.
- Non-formal education: Informing and educating citizens is one of the key areas of Women's NGOs. Women's NGOs contributing to the development of democracy education through extracurricular programs. Women's NGOs making wide use of seminars and training programs on democracy, human rights, gender equality, reproductive health, gender-based violence, civic and voter education, children's rights, citizen oversight of government, citizen participation in budget processes, legal reform, international treaties and many other subjects.
- Internationalized: Women's NGOs became very well known in its broad frame activities in international level and contributing to improve women's status in the world.

The developments discussed above provide room for optimism concerning the prospects for Women's NGOs as an element of a democracy-promoting civil society. However, a number of characteristics of the Women's NGOs in Mongolia impede its ability to influence society and in some cases even work against its potential role in

democratization. Chief among these weaknesses are a lack of connections with its grassroots citizens, so called negative public opinion of the Women's NGOs and women activists, poor links among competing NGOs, and extreme political weakness.

### **Conclusion**

The 20<sup>th</sup> century was marked by a profound emancipation of Mongolian women, the elevation of their educational and professional status and their ultimate and fortunate inclusion into the social, economic, political and cultural life into the nation. Mongolian women's organization focused on the improvement of women's social status up to the 1980s but specifically aimed to approach the gender equality in education, employment and politics.

Prior to democratization, as the women's organizations in Mongolia began to change with a different aspect in the early 1990s. In Mongolia the women's movement began to form as NGOs, and the NGOs initial focus was on provision of the social protection and social security for women that were no longer provided by the state, and started to evolve to new strategies for achieving increased impact of transition on women.

Establishing gender equality in diverse social institutions has been one of the most important objectives of women's organizations worldwide. Paralleling this worldwide phenomenon, the number of women's organizations in Mongolia increased dramatically with the government establishing the national mechanism for women's issues.

Women's NGOs in Mongolia have achieved remarkable progress in advancing women's rights and status within society and become more institutionalized than ever. Creative forms of new networks and diverse feminist subjectivities have come to existence since the mid 1990s in Mongolia. This new generation of Women's NGOs started to extended advocacy efforts, growing from influencing decisions on certain issues to include monitoring or watchdog activities and role in the legislative process. Also Women's NGOs were not limited to only women's issues. They aimed to help people adjust to the new order and to take advantage of it during the last two decades.

Women's NGOs have a controlling weight in the civil society well beyond their formal percentage among other NGOs in Mongolia and have been at the forefront of democratic changes in Mongolia by pushing the government to increase its openness, transparency and accountability through their public education, policy advocacy and monitoring activities on a broad range of issues from women's economic and political rights to violence against women including the domestic violence.

The Women's NGOs in Mongolia played a crucial role in moving societies toward democratization and bring social progress. This paper has acknowledged the main role of Women's NGOs in democratization in Mongolia are following:

- Women's NGOs were in effect supporting the democracy movement in the country and helped broaden the agenda of democratization from narrow political to broader social issues.



- Women's organizations influenced government policies not only through well-qualified and trained activists but also undertake efforts to mobilize the general public for gender and development causes, specially supported that more female citizens are becoming interested in active participation in public life
- Women's NGOs have made considerable progress in getting the government to adopt the national programs for women and establishing national mechanism for gender issues.

The important role of the women's movement in democratization is service provider which filling the gap by providing the necessary social services for the women and other groups in the society. Women's NGOs do face operational and programmatic challenges, but their progress to date indicates that the Women's NGO definitely will continue to play a key role in advancing Mongolia's democratic development.

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**ALTAY URANHAYLARI: MADDİ KÜLTÜR VE AİLE YAPISI**

**(Tarihi ve Etnografik Araştırma. XIX. Yy Sonları ve XX. Yy Başları)**

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**ÖZ**

Altay Uranhayları Moğolistan'ın batısında yaşayan etnik gruplardan biridir. Hovd Nehri'nin yukarisından Bulgan Nehri'nin aşağısına kadar Moğol Altayları boyunca dağılmışlardır ve Hovd ilinin Duut ve Munkh- Khairkhan köylerinin; Buyant, Bulhan, Sagsai ve Altantsogts köylerinin ve kısmen de Bayan-Ulgii ilinin Delunn ve Tolbo köylerinin topraklarına yerleşmişlerdir. Ayrıca Zahçinler, Torgutlar, Myangatlar ve Uuldlar gibi Moğolca konuşan etnik gruplar da bu bölgelerin güneyinde, Durbetler, Bayidler ve Halkalar kuzeydoğusunda, Kazaklar, Altaylılar ve Tuyanlar gibi Türkçe konuşan etnik gruplar da kuzeybatısında yaşarlar.

**Anahtar sözcükler:** Altay, Oyratlar, geleneksel kültür, etnik gruplar, aile

**THE ALTAI URIANKHAINS : MATERIAL CULTURE AND FORM OF THE FAMILY.**

**(The Historical and Ethnographical Investigation. Late XIX - Early XX centuries)**

**ABSTRACT**

Altai Uriankhians are one of the ethnic groups which inhabit the western part of Mongolia. They are distributed over Mongolian Altai from the upper-streams of Khovd River to the upper-streams of Bulgan River and occupy territories of Duut and Munkh-Khairkhan Soms of Khovd Aimag, and Buyant, Bulgan, Sagsai, and Altantsogts soums, and partly Deluun and Tolbo Soms of Bayan-Ulgii Aimag. In addition, the other Mongolian-speaking ethnicities such as Zakhchins, Torghuts, Myangats, and Uulds reside to the south off them, Durbets, Bayids, and Khalkas - to the northeast off them, and the Turkish speaking ethnicities such as Kazakhs, Altains and Tuvans- to the west and northwest off them.

**Keywords:** Altai, oirat, traditional culture, ethnic groups, family,

**1. Introduction**

By data of 2000 census, Altai Uriankhians counted to be consist of 25.5 thousand people, the figure was likely has included Khuvsgul Uriankhians who till now have not been ethnographically studied, but it was known that the figure did in fact include part of Tuvans and Tadjins. Mostly, the latter ethnic groups are erroneously called as Uriankhians, although they would never call themselves as being as such (Ralidin 1968:31).

Altai Uriankhians, as the other ethnicities of Western Mongolia, speak oirat dialect of Mongolian language. As noted by investigators, the foundations of oirat dialect are based on Durbet dialect and these are significantly different from modern khalkha dialect. The khalkha dialect is the foundation of modern literary Mongolian, and it is spoken by the vast majority (more 90%) of population in Mongolia. The difference between oirat and khalkha dialects basically deals with their phonetical systems and also, into some extent, with their morphological as well as lexical specifics.

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Process of formation of modern ethnic composition in Mongolia was prolonged process and has passed a number of historical stages. The Oirats became more independent at the beginning of XY century. Probably, starting from that period Mongols were divided into two branches: eastern and western. The western branch characterized a certain unity in culture and livelihood although each group had somewhat definitive ethnographic originality.

This work presents an investigation of the traditional culture of the Altai Uriankhians. Since the XVI century, their encampments are located in the western and the north-western parts of Mongolia. However, it might be assumed that the formation of their traditional culture was a complex and has proceeded not only in their present areas of settlements, but it has been taking place in the broader historical as well as the geographical space. Appearance of the traditional culture of the Altai Uriankhians in a number of traits and characteristics reflect the way through which this nation has been evolved in the different periods of its historical development.

The author of the study aims to recreate the possibly more or less accurate pictures of the traditional culture of the Altai Uriankhians, highlighting the problems of their material culture (residence), family and social life. The chronological framework of the work covers mainly the end of XIX – the early XX centuries, but it also sometimes does excursion into more of earlier periods.

## **2. Historical information on the Uriankhains**

The genus of the Uriankhain was one of the most ancient and powerful one that has directly involved in many of the most important historical events in the life of Mongols since the long period of times. For the first time they are mentioned in the legend of "Ergene-Kunes, cited by Rashid ad-Din in his famous "Compendium of Chronicles. According to it, among the tribes who had generalized name of "darligin," there was indicated a tribe called as "uriankhad. Tribal alliance "darligin" famously managed out of difficult terrain which lacked of living space (Rashid ad-Din 1952: 153-160).

Prominent historian D. Sukhbaatar alleges that those events that reflected in the legend of "Ergene-Kuns' can be attributed to the period of domination of the Huns in əxy Central Asia (Sukh - batar1980:184-186). Many historians, based on reports from Chinese sources say that the area "Ergene-kun" are to be about rivers in the region of Ergun-kun and Khingan Mountains in the east (Gantulga 2000:17-18). N.V. Kuner thought that word 'urianhat" was already known from the second millennium BC, when it was worn by tribes lived in Amur River basin, and then it began to spread westward (Kuner 1958: 215). L. L. Viktorova, who studied the issues of ethnogenesis of the Mongols, had an opinion that the I-III century BC on the vast territory from Lake Baikal in the west to Khingan Mountains including parts of Onon River in the east, lived syanbians who were originally called "Uriankhain (Viktorova 1980: 93). In her opinion, Uriankhains had kinship ties not only with the Huns, but with syanbians and uhantsains L. Gumilev also noted that in the V century BC in the northeast, near Onon River lived a tribe called urianhay "(Gumilev 1989:79-80).



Photo 1. Oirad Mongols ancient book spelling **tod useg**

The opinion is supported by the Mongolian scientist-ethnographer S. Badamhatan. He wrote that the word “urianhay” was distributed not only among the tribes that lived in the area of Onon River and Mount Burhan Haldun including Hingan Mountains in the east, but also among the tribes who lived in the mountains of Sayan Tannu-Ula (Ethnography of Mongolia 1996:276). Next, Uriankhain tribes would disappear, and then would reappear. In the Mongolian historical and literary sources of “Secret History of Mongols” you find information about the genus of Uriankhains. It says that Horilartay-Mergen from a tribe Hori-Tumet had migrated from the homeland Arik-Usun for mutual legal wrangling and arguments about the use of hunting grounds, under the patronage of Shinch-bayan-uriania, who was the master of Mount Burhan Haldun-Ula, where there were many wild animals (“Secret History of Mongols” of 1941, §9) Arising as according to historians in X century BC famous Mongolian genus borzhigin, to which belonged Khan himself, the founder of the centralized state of the Mongols in the XIII century, had a kinship with Uriankhain race. (“Secret History of Mongols” says about it: “... Going head-on, grabbed Bodochir a half-term pregnant woman: “... Who are you?” - He asked. “... –I am, she says, from the tribe Chzharchiut, on behalf of Adanhan-Urianhaizhin. ... after coming in to Bodonchiru, that half-term pregnant woman had a son. ... This was the origin of the genus Chzhadran. This woman gave birth to another son, is already on Bodonchir. ... Bodonchir became the founder generation Borzhigin (“Secret History of Mongols,” 1941, § 38-42).

The Court of Genghis Khan had a number of famous military leaders - people from the genus of Uriankhai, including such brilliant generals of Genghis Khan as of Chzhelme, Subeetay, and Udach. After the formation of the centralized Mongolian state in 1206, all these generals were appointed by Genghis Khan as the chief-in-nyoyon of Tumen, which had become the bases of the newly established Mongolian state. Uriankhain Tumen, the leader of which was Udach, by right of inheritance was carrying security guards in the area "Ikh Horig" where there was a collective burial of ancestors of Genghis Khan, Altan Urag. They were called s darhads (protected). By

order of Genghis Khan, they were released from the other Khans services, including military service.

All Uriankhain Tumen first were under Tulu, the youngest son of Genghis Khan, and then Elzhigidey Noyon, who was the son Hachiun-brother of Genghis Khan. One part of the genus of Uriankhain then moved into submission Arik Buh, who was the fifth son of Tula. Then Uriankhain tribes were under the influence of various historical events and were divided into several pieces as being scattered in the west, east and central parts of Mongolia.

After the death of Genghis Khan, the struggle began for the throne of the great khan of all Mongolia. In the competition between Arik Buh and Kublai, Arik Buh relied on the Oirat, among whom there was also the genus of Uriankhain (Gantulga 2000: 42).

During the period of the Yuan dynasty (1260-1368), Mongolia has ceased to be the political center of the empire. Founder of the dynasty, Kublai Khan (1223-1293) gave Mongolia into submission to its fourth son Nomhon, and in 1294, when he died, he was succeeded by his grandson Kublai Gamalag, who was the son of his second son Chingim.

During the Kublai Khan, part of Uriankhains /according to some estimates there were about 30 000/, was settled along the Great Wall of China. According to some Mongolian historians, Kublai himself relocated Uriankhains there from the area "Ikh Horig" where they were stationed as security guards at the graves of the great khans of Mongolia. When the Yuan Empire fell, these Uriankhians began to play an important role in the fight of Mongols for the restoration of its rule in China. The rulers of Ming dynasty (1368-1644), who replaced the Yuan, organized a major military campaign against them in 1387, as a result, they were subjugated. These Uriankhians known from historical sources as "Uriankhians of the three guards – Gurvan haruulyn urianhians.

Mongolian sources from the period of Ming Dynasty wrote about the other Uriankhains as follow: "... Uriankhians are very brave. They live on the northern side of Gobi semi-deserts. Mongolians call them by the nickname yellow Mongols - (yellow Huwa). One prisoner's beard and whiskers were light in color. His hair was stiff, his eyes were yellow, the body healthy and incredibly moving. Another tribe named as the urianhians is located in the northwest. By nature they are alike each other. They had attached a red-colored tape to the headgear. The number of troops was less than one Tumen (ten thousand). They breed mainly horses and camels" (Historical note on the Oirats 1985:6).

By the end of XIV century, Uriankhians had briefly left the stage of history, but since the XVI century, a number of sources did start mentioning about them with the connection of turbulent political events taking place during that period. Batmunh Dayan Khan (1466-1517) had temporarily suspended the separatist trend in Mongolia that began after the fall of the Yuan dynasty in 1368. Batmunh Dayan Khan had trusted and often relied on Uriankhain Tumen in his numerous military campaigns with the aim of suppressing those separatists. Under him, Mongolia was divided into ten Tumens, four of them were oirats and the remaining six Tumens were Eastern Mongolians. The latter

were the mainstay of Dayan Khan. They were in turn divided into three left and three right Tumens. According to sources, among the three left tumens there was Uriankhain Tumen.

Batmunkh Dayan Khan especially emphasized the merits of the Uriankhains before the great ancestors. He was fond of saying that: "... they /Uriankhains - I.Lkhagvasuren/ have the great destiny to guard the tomb of our great ancestors" (Sagan Setsen 1960:209). Batmunkh Dayan Khan himself had been associated with the Uriankhains via family ties. But by the end of his reign, he ordered, Uriankhains were denied the right to have their own Tumen and they were divided into smaller parts. The sources reported the following: "... Uriankhain Tumen raised a rebellion against the authority of Dayan Khan. Dayan Khan sent Tsakar and Khalkha Tumens against them. He also informed about it to his son Barsbold Zhonon who raised against them three Western Tumens. Clash of the combined forces with Uriankhains occurred in the area Zorgol. Uriankhain Tumen was defeated there. After that they were denied the right to have their own Tumen and incorporated into 5 different Tumens, dividing them into smaller pieces" (Sagan Setsen 1960:215). Sources did not report on the reasons of why Uriankhains rebelled against the Great Khan.

After these events Uriankhains finally lost their former power. According to Mongolian sources, after Batmunkh Dayan Khan, one part Uriankhains was subordinate to his younger son Gersenze /1513-1549/. He owned a vast territory from Khingan Range in the east to the Altai Mountains in the west, down to Gobi Desert in the south. In his possession, he instilled a new administrative system, the smallest unit of which was "khoshun, but the borders of the newly created khoshuns remained unexecuted until the end of his power. Then there were created seven khoshuns, the sources referred to them as the "seven northern khoshuns " or "seven Khalkh khoshuns. The Uriankhain tribes were included in the two khoshuns. Sources are sometimes called then as "two Uriankhians" or "Khalkha Uriankhians. When Gersenze died, his widow has divided his possessions among the sons. Regarding this, a source says: "... after the death of Gersenze, his widow Ikh Taih was giving her seven sons gifts. ... the seventh son Sam Buyman was given a Uriankhain land. Buyman himself was born in the year of the wooden dragon" (Galdan tuslagch 1961:67-68). According to Mongolian historian Ts. Gantulga, this in fact were Uriankhians known in history as the "two Uriankhians" or "Khalkha Uriankhians (Gantulga2000: 63). Buyman himself was born from the younger wife of Gersenze, Menhuy, who was from the genus of Uriankhain and Buyman was the youngest son, so he got the Uriankhain land. Sons of Gersenze lived with their possessions on the left and right sides of the Khangai mountains. Later, several hundred Uriankhains were led by Dorzhavdan Ilden, the second son of Sam Buyman, moved into the area of the lake Huh-Nuur Lake. They created a new khoshun there, which came to be known as "Khalkh Khoshun of Huh-Nuur Lake."

Since the end of the XVII century, large part of Uriankhains become active participants of the so-called "Alliance of Four Oirat" which then became the basis of Junggar Khanate (1635-1758). This was reported in the source as follows: "... These Uriankhians with such tribes as tsoros, derbet, torguud, hoshiud, hoyd and consisted of four large Oirats, and was one of the Oirats (History of the Alliance of four Oirats 1992:274). N.Y. Bichurin noted that "... Uriankhians .... lived under the leadership of the

tribal chief Tsoros (Bichurin 1834: 31). Of the same opinion had Mongolian ethnographer H. Nyambuu (Nyambuu 1992:123). Mongolian historian Ts. Gantulga based on historical sources with respect to Oirats concludes that ancestral leaders – noyons of genus tsoros, who was one of the major genus of “Union of Four Oirats”, were descendants of Uriankhain warlord Chzhelme the Hero of the seventh generation, but were not descendants of Hutug-Bekh as believed by some historians (Gantulga 2000:165).

Mongolian sources of this period reported that "... there are several different kinds of Uriankhains. They live by hunting. One part is subject to Oirats, and another part – to Khalkh (Historical Notes 1961: 9). Gradually they were involved in a lengthy struggle for hegemony between Khalkh and Oirat Union.

In 1587 (The Lunar Year of Pig) has occurred a major clash between military forces between Khalkh and Oirat Union, which ended in a complete defeat of military forces of Khalkh (Zlatkin 1964:112-114). Khalkh army led by Sholoi-Ubashi-Khuntaiji (1567-1627), who was the great-grandson of Gersenze and went down in history as the first Altan Khan, a warlord allied with Uriankhain Sain Madzhig. O

f great interest presents the identity of Sayn Madzhig. He had been repeatedly mentioned in Mongolian sources, such as "The History by man named Asragch (Asragch Nertiyn Tuukh)," The Millennium Chronicle "(Altan Khurden Myangan Khegeest Bichig)," A Brief History of the Mongols "(Iltgel Shashtir). They say that "... his name is Zorigt Chandgan Sain Mazhig or Tsol Tsetsen Noyon. He was born in 1560, and was the fourth son of Sam Buyman (grandson of Gersenza - IL.). He ruled the land Uriankhain (Otog) and glorified by the nickname "Black Tiger Mountain and Uriankhain Sain Mazhig." According to Ts. Gantulga, he received Uriankhain land inherited from his father Sam Buyman, which, as mentioned above, got as a gift from his mother after the death of his father Gersenze.

The Uriankhians took an active part in the high-profile military and political developments in Dzhungarian Khanate during the Galdan Boshigt Khan (1644-1697). Historian S. Buyanchuluun wrote that "... Galdan Boshigt Khan gradually gained momentum. A total of 11 Tumens consisting of Uuld, Khalkh, and Uriankhian tribes were under his command" (Buyanchuluun 1937: 92).

### 3. Material Culture.

The basic economic structure - nomadic herding - left a deep imprint on the entire material culture of Altai Uriankhians. Type of their dwellings, utensils, vehicles, clothes and food were determined by the necessity of frequent migrations over long distance. Like the rest of the population of Mongolia, they have adapted to specific natural geography and climate of the region and created their own unique and inimitable material culture.

**Residence: Space Within and Around.** The most important function of any shelter is to provide a person a protection from the harmful effects on the part of environment. Folk housing of any geographical area, whether in the Arctic Circle or in the tropics, the mountains or the steppes, adapted to the conditions of nature and



climate (Voronina 1982:48). Real Estate and its closely related economic and household buildings are one of the main elements of material culture. They are created by people in the process of collective labor, the transformation of the natural and geographical environment and actively adapt to it (Types of Traditional Rural Dwellings 1979:5).

The main housing of the Altai Uriankhians served Mongolian felt yurt-ger. The same yurt with only minor differences in its external form and internal furniture have served as the main dwelling for all Turkic-Mongol peoples of southern Siberia, Buryat, Tuva, Altai, and Kalmyk who settled in Russia.

The felted yurt was simple to manufacture, portable, and ready-made, adapted to the conditions of nomadic life. The yurt was convenient as a round shape made it possible to use all the space. This house and its quality factor felt covering well-kept sharp changes of climatic conditions in the hot summer months it was cool, but in winter it protected people from the cold winds, frost and rainfall.

By the end of the XIX century – the beginning of XX century there were three main varieties of Mongolian yurt - Khalkh, Oirat and Southern Mongolian that slightly differed in shape and the materials from which they were made. The main differences were only in the size and names of parts of the yurt. Altaic Uriankhians mostly lived in a yurt of Oirat type, which in its size far exceeded Khalkh and Southern Mongolian yurts. In addition, their gers had significant differences as compared to gers of Turkish speaking neighbors, Kyrgyz and Kazakhs. Regarding this subject, M.V. Singers wrote: "... dwelling of Mongols consists of a felt tent (ger), which differs from Kyrgyz ones mainly by the form of its upper half. In Kyrgyz yurt, it is spherical, and the Mongolian - conical, which obviously depends on the shape of a wooden core, tight with felt cover. Frames that supports the dome of Kyrgyz yurt, are convex, while that for Mongolian gers, are straight. ... The Mongolian yurt has a wooden hinged door, which is drawn to face to the south. ... Outdoor decorations, like Kyrgyz yurts, felt in the middle part is often covered with colorful pattern, but for Mongolian dwelling does not have such a decoration"(Pevtsov 1951:110).

The yurt of Altaic Uriankhians consisted of a sliding wall lattice-terem, made of willow sticks placed crosswise on top of each other and fixed at the intersection of rawhide thongs made of camel hair. This design allows easy push and put the links of the lattice. When assembling the yurt wall lattice joined among themselves, spurred on height and shape, connected by hair ropes - teremny boolt. A place where docked such lattices, called "wolf's mouth" - chonyn am. But gratings were another place which was called "a dog's mouth" - nohoinii am. They cannot be docked at this point. A wall lattice had 10 to 15 heads. Sizes and capacity were determined by the number of walls of the yurt arrays installed in a circle and forth between them. According to the Altai Uriankhians on one wall lattice is good for one person with bed and property. The most common of these sizes were 4-walled yurt.



Photo 2. Buddhist bronze statue **burkhan**

Unlike the Khalkh and Southern Mongolian yurts, the 4-wall yurt had no internal supports, i.e., bagana, and all of its construction were held with belt, which are tied up around the walls of the lattice and fixed to the sides of door. Relaxation or rupture of these belts has meant that the walls of the lattice remained without support and design of the yurt was falling apart. However, these belts to retain the load are only 4-5 walled grids, but no more. Therefore, for a yurt, with more than 5 wall lattices, it would be sure to do support backups, carrying the weight of the top cover and attach to the sustainability of a yurt.

The entrance to the tent was carried out through the front door. Earlier, door frame was made of wood and curtain of their first skins of wild beasts, and later, curtain was made of felt. In this case, details of doors, lintel, cloth and a threshold made of wood rounded on the basis of the rounded shape of the yurt. There was the traditional method of making the felt doors - they are sure to embroider with traditional ornament. Then the wooden doors came into being. The height of the wooden doors was equal to that of wall lattices. The door has always oriented to the south.

The yurt of Altaic Uriankhians, have the willow staves - uni, linked lattice walls with the top wooden circle – hole - garats. One end of the stave was sharpened, the other was equipped with a loop, through which they would hang on the ends of the wall lattice. The wooden framework of ger is covered with felt blankets - deever. The superior felt cover of the tent consisted of two parts: the front and back. The upper part of the cover is also clothed on outer circle of the upper wooden circle of yurt, the lower part clothed the repeated form of wall lattices, blocking their heads. During winter, usually 3-4 layers of felt are used, and during summer number of felt layers reduced to

a single one. Lateral wall felt consisted of several pieces. Normal size of ger had from 6 to 9 pieces of lateral wall felts. They repeated the form of wall trellises and fastened to each other by knots. Felt covering which clothes the top wooden circle-hole of the yurt (urh) designed to protect against weather and regulation of light and temperature inside the yurt. In addition, a yurt Altaic Uriankhians used for its stability and a lot of hair ropes of knots - oosor, goshlon etc. Yurt was also with the pressure belts attached to stakes driven into the ground. Such clamping belts were especially comfortable in summer-autumn period, when the Mongolian Altai has had frequent strong storms and winds. Insolation, aeration and lighting within the tent are carried out through the upper smoke hole.



Photo3. Copper kettles **guts** for the holy water.

Assembling of the yurt is done in the following sequence: set the frame, covering the wooden construction with felt, placement of furniture and utensils. First, proceed to the installation and stretching of wall lattices. Moreover, the lattice wall is installed in a specific order from the door to the left, i.e., to the west, as the door facing south; first it starts at the door on the right set lattice, and then the north-west link, and finally they would link to the eastern part of the door. Installing wooden frame doors, walls covered with lattice inside the upper and lower belts, the ends of which are attached to the rings, specially fastened to the lintel of the door. Then willow poles are installed, connecting the lattice wall to the upper timber circle - a hole. To do this first into a hole in the top wood circle the upper end of the willow staves are inserted with the support of a man from the bottom, and the other end of willow staves is attached to the head of wall lattices. Initially, it should insert four willow stave poles with four sides,

and then using the tightening of internal wall climbing and rope-chagtag attached to the upper smoke hole, achieved the correct form of the yurt, and then inserted the remaining poles. This completes the assembly of the wooden skeleton of the yurt.

The wooden skeleton of the yurt was covered as follows. On top of the wooden part of the roof stretched white cloth -dotuur burees, lower and upper ends of the ribbons which were attached to the wall to the upper grille and the wooden circle, then placing the upper feltspread. Side walls of the lattice are also closed with felt veils -tuurga and covered the outer upper and outer lower belts of hairy ropes-gaduur goshlon. In addition, each tent had felt tire-urh for the upper range of the smoke tube. It was a piece of felt hexagonal shape, to each his corner sewn long rope from horsehair, five of which are stretched to the wall and ceiling coverings and felt tied to the outer side belts. Rope is sewn into the front corner, which is used for closure or opening of the top cover holes. Disassemble of the yurt is done as in the reverse order.



Photo4. Wooden kettle **dombo** for milk tea

The internal layout of the yurt for Altaic Uriankhians is divided into the following functional parts: if staying in a yurt, facing to south, i.e., to the entrance, the division looks like this: male (right side of the entrance), female (left side of the entrance), honorable (front or opposite to the entrance), non-honorables (front part), etc. The division of the yurt on such sectors was due to traditional notions about the organization of housing space and etiquette norms prescribed for family members. As rule, they tend be strictly adhered to.

The left side of the entrance, which was considered part of the female, there were household utensils and dining room furniture, possessions for women mistress. There was a small stool with a box – ukheg just in few steps the entrance in which the owner kept her sewing accessories. Behind it was put wooden bed for the owners of the yurt. The most northern front side khoimor a place over the fireplace was considered the most sacred and honorable place in the yurt. Here was located the altar with a small box-burhan shiree on which the gold, silver and copper statues of Buddhist sculptures of gods and Bodhisatwas, or their images in the drawings, applications, must necessarily present the sacrificial cups - takhilyn tsugts, lamps, zul - candles and other attributes of the traditional Lamaist religion and a variety of family – genesis conservatives called as sakhuis.

Altar was the indispensable attribute of the yurt among Altaic Uriankhians. According to the description G.E.Grumm-Grzhimailo, who has studied the life of the Tuvians, Tuvian altar in the tent, had a strong resemblance to the altar of the Altai Uriankhians (Grumm-Grzhimailo 1926:39). The researchers correctly note that the appearance of the altar in the tent of the Turkic-Mongol peoples of Southern Siberia is associated with the spread of Buddhism in those regions.

Near to the altar there were two or three handmade chest - avdar that store particularly valuable items (Darbakova 1968: 37) At the same area stood a low table-shiree and small-sized chest-shurguulga. Furnishing the front and other parts of the yurt was a serious concern of its owners, because with this place, as with the rest of the Altai Uriankhians has been associated with a number of important family, household, and religious prescriptions, prohibitions, regulations, etc.



Photo 5 Wooden spoon **khutguur** for koumiss (fermented mare's milk)

In the center of the yurt was located a traditional stove without chimney-tulga. It consisted of three stones. The whole family life flowed around this hearth-golomt, which was considered the sacred and semantic center of the home, and determines all of his organization. The hearth was considered one of the most sacred places in the tent: it was considered that the "boss" of fire (galyn burhan) lived in the fire, which was the keeper of the prosperity and happiness of the family. The Altai Uriankhians have many taboos associated with the domestic hearth: it is impossible to pour water on the fire, throw garbage onto the fire and other household vermin, step over it or sit near it with outstretched legs, and etc. It was considered a terrible sin to spit into the fireplace. It was believed that it could cause the extinction of race. The preservation and continuation of the genus of the Altai Uriankhians was the most sacred thing in their lives.

Above the fireplace was the upper range of the smoke tent. In addition to that, it served as a natural source of the fan and fluorescent lighting, and it also served as a determinant of time: on that as a ray of sunshine, hitting through it, moved on the walls of grating, one could accurately determine the time of day. These were the sort of sunny hours of the nomads. D. Maidar specifically studied the Mongolian yurt, wrote that the functional areas of its internal planning coincided with a specific animal from a 12-year cycle lunisolar calendar nomads (Maidar, Darisuren 1976:17-18). For example, lama, from whom the Altai Uriankhians seek advice before the wedding, indicated by year of birth of groom at what time should start a wedding convoy to the place where a new set of yurt to newlyweds. It could be, for example, the hour of white sheep or the hour of white horse, and etc. According to the ingress of solar beam at the appropriate place in the yurt could easily determine the time to begin a successful journey.

The upper range of the smoke was considered as the hearth and the altar, one of the sacred parts of the yurt. Altaic Uriankhians believed that through him to them in the house comes happiness through him by members of the family relationship with the gods, inhabitants of heaven, who look on them from above, and thereby affect the welfare of the family as a whole. On the right side of the yurt, a little further away from the entrance on the wall hung a leather wineskin lattices (huhuur) for fermented milk, or koumis, here arranged supplies for riding.

The western part belonged to the guests, and the north-western part - the owner and children. Hunting equipment stored on the male side, near to the site of the owner.

Floor in yurts is blanketed with the two types of coatings: felt sheeting (shirdeg) and skins of domestic animals, particularly, those of cattle and horses (adsaga). In the front part, the most honorable part, always has felt lay litter, which is produced by the traditional method of wool with the mandatory patterned embroideries. The remaining part of the floor is covered with several skins, more often being not dressed. These felt sheetings were used by many nomadic peoples of southern Siberia, which once again confirms the presence of ethnogonical, historical, and cultural ties between the Altai Uriankhians with those peoples.

In addition to yurts, Altai Uriankhians also enjoyed with similar to tent housing constructions - hatguur, degle. It was of two kinds. The first represents only part of the

dome tent without lattice-walls. During the fieldwork, I have heard many times from older informants that in the days of their youth it was taken to put such housing for married couples. In their view, this was done in order to emphasize the modesty of a young family, not courting to it of evil spirits (Lkhagvasuren 1987:58). The second type of dwellings differed in that there was no smoke hole, and the ceiling poles just links in a bundle. W. Erdniev wrote that in the tent of Kalmykia, in the ethnic composition of which included a lot of Uriankhian genera, "the number of people living in a tent with an area of 18-22 square meters on average, could be up to 8 - 12 people (Erdniev, Maksimov, 2007:273 )

While any yurt stands on a seasonal parking lot, it is formed a definite economic space around it, which contained the following items: tethering post (morin uyaa), winter paddocks for sheep and goats (saravch), summer and autumn fence for calves (tugalyn zel), a place to dry manure (argalyn hashaa), and a place for waste, etc. Location and distance of objects from the yurt depended on their place and importance in the economy.

In addition to being as permanent residents in the yurt, it also has served for all sorts of religious ceremonies, for hosting receptions of guests, in the early spring time, it is rescued newborn calves, lambs and kids from the cold.

Except yurt, our informants did not remember regarding the other kinds of dwellings which were used by the Altai Uriankhians in the late XIX and the early XX century. This is confirmed by G.N. Potanin: conical huts, and hexagonal huts, which are found in the Altai region among our telengits, altaic and chernev tatars, are not found in the north-western Mongolia, south of Tann-Oi (Potanin 1881:108).

#### **4. Social organization and family relations.**

The social system of the Mongols late XIX - early XX centuries. remained feudal, but different from the feudalism of the inherent agricultural peoples. However, it was very close to the feudal system of other nations, the basis of economy of those was nomadic herding, but its specificity, expressed in various areas of industrial relations, especially in the field of land relations and forms of exploitation, as well as the intertwining of feudal relations with respects of patriarchy, clan, and community relations.

Representatives of the nomadic herders and hunters did not have ownership on the land, and on any nomadic area or pasture. They only use those lands on which lived, roamed, grazed their cattle, sowed grain, or hunted, and enjoyed, as a rule, not alone but together with other nomads as long as it wished by khoshun ruler.

##### **4.1.Nomadic Group - Khoton (Khot Ail ) and Seasonal migrations.**

In the late XIX - early XX century, the vast majority of the Altai Uriankhians wandered not alone, not by individual households and small groups of a few yurts. They, like all other Mongolians, have had a kind of nomadic groups - small

communities, which was called "Khoton", or "Khot Ail." It played an extremely important role in their lives.

The word "Khoton" Uriankhians designated cluster of yurts, farms, whose number has reached 6 - 8 or more. Small groups of 1-3 yurts called "Ail". "Ail" is practically a farm. Over time, the word "Khoton" has changed and it became somewhat vague, sometimes coinciding with the meaning of the word "Ail". In all cases, the word "Khoton" signified not just a yurt, or a group of gers, namely agriculture, or group of farms. The word "Khoton" was still set to "corral", so this term does not apply to village, town and monastery, yurts, which were commonly used for other words - "ger" or "Ail".

Nomadic group Khoton was a very ancient form of Mongolian society. B.J. Vladimirtsov wrote that there were "... two types of nomadic Mongols from XI-XII century. On the one hand, lived and roamed more or less large groups, on the other hand, the opposite phenomenon is observed: some families migrate alone, isolated or small units that occur in modern Mongols of Khalkh and Khovd Aimag, for example, where you rarely see a cluster in one place for more than 2 - 3 yurts - Ails (Vladimirtsov 1934:36-37). In his view, the larger groups have been beneficial in respect of defense against attacks, but inconvenient for cattle grazing. Therefore, the Mongols sought a way to combine the two migrations, or in case of external security, all go to the first method.

The very existence of such nomadic groups or small communities, as Khoton of the Mongols, including in the Altai Uriankhians not an exception. The presence of various forms of community in the nomadic pastoralists established for a number of nationalities, the social system which was a feudal (Tuva, Altai, the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, etc.). The researchers note that such a small community is the bearer of patriarchal relations in their lives. Indeed, that was the main breeding ground, which supported the existence of the various patriarchal remnants used in exploiting for their feudal rulers (Potapov, 1969:115).

According to surveys of informants, the Altai Uriankhians in late XIX - early XX century, there were various khotons by its composition:

a) Khoton, fully or almost fully connected relationship. This is the most common type of khotons. For example, together roamed his father and married sons, brothers or sisters, father and their families, brothers, sisters, mothers and some of their connexion with the families, etc.;

b) Khoton, unrelated half. This is also one of the most common types in which there were two or three separate family groups, with little or no interconnected relationship. In these farms, there were 3 to 5 yurts;

c) Khoton, unrelated. This is the most rare type of Khoton, which is the union households, totally unrelated kin. In this case, adherence to to this type of khotons creates the desire to get experienced in one respect or another from person with production skills of livestock breeding, hunting, crafts, etc. There were examples of adherence to Khoton, is a member of a good hunter, to hunt through the joint groups, to learn the subtleties of this type of subsistence. On-site hunter could be a good stockman, carpenter, etc. For wealthy households the most important incentive



associations in khotons of this type is the need for working hands, and for poor households - the complexity of self-existence, etc. Number of holdings, economically more or less independent, not-associated with relatives lineage, was small.

d) Khotons - loners. According to our informants, Khoton singles were a rare exception. Sometimes alone roamed only the rich farming, for which clustering in one place for a large number of cattle created a shortage of pasture.

Thus, the composition of khotons is largely determined by the relationship of its members. It is clearly dominated by those of unrelated khotons. For fully or partly related khotons, joining to them, as a rule, were free to all comers, and for unrelated Khotons, joining them were required a preliminary agreements.

Someone else's household, has acceded to one or another Khoton, in the event of failure to migrate to another location, sometimes that household subjected to a boycott against the joint work (grazing of animals), but nevertheless denying one or another farm to join the chosen khoton was impossible. Quite interesting issue is the question of constancy of khotons. Generally speaking, a separate Khoton is not a permanent union. Having been around today, it could disappear tomorrow if any of the components of its economy, for any reason will disperse. Number of khotons would be constantly changing, albeit in a well-known, but fairly narrow limits. Period of existence of a separate khotons has been measured from the time of their parking lot (week, fortnight, month, 4-6 months) to several, and sometimes, many years. The conclusion is that the constancy of khotons to a large extent depended on family connections within it. Khoton had no settled place of settlements and put their yurts in different seasons in different places depending on where they have been herding their cattle. Movements of khotons were relatively constant, although the order from Soum and more from the khoshun's Governor those khoton rules for nomadic movements could change at any time.

Most older and experienced man is considered as head-ahlagch of this khoton. On his behalf the given khoton was called, and he played a leading role in the life of farming, which represented the community. Its degree of respect depended mainly on the property he owned, relatives relationships, production skills and personal qualities. His power and influence were not absolute, and ranks varied greatly in different khotons. Basically, he served as as counselor in the affairs of the collective and individual economy, the relationship between members of khotons and family affairs. After consulting with his khotons, he appointed time migrations to seasonal pastures, date of sowing, date of harvesting for hay for feeding livestock in winter, etc. As the senior in Khoton, his advice was followed not only on economic but also on various family and household affairs. Together with him it was addressed the advice of Khoton prayers. Often, despite the presence of older, economic affairs led by the younger and more active members of the association who is the most prosperous in this sector. Khoton is not an administrative unit. Participation of khotons chapter in the relations of members of this association with the authorities sometimes expressed in the advice and guidance to these members for their position before the authorities, in giving a kind of installations on one or another issues, each owner would contact with

representatives khoshuns administration directly, without the direct involvement of senior khotons.

According to surveys of informants, social and economic structure of khotons was not uniform. Often within it lived and roamed the family together with different material prosperity. Among them were both rich and poor.

Some khotons in fact were no longer Khoton community, but a mere nomad settlement of the wealthy, which included, besides his family, dependent relatives and the poor in-law, who worked on it for free, and operated them under the guise of kinship care. According to the story of our informants, among such Khotons stood out richer Khotons: it was bigger and seemingly stronger than the others. Huddled near itself three or four, rarely more yurts of poor people who use horse and cattle of rich owner, and who are as service-maids-zarts for pastoralists and they would need as appropriate. Such a system reflects the basic trend of economic structure of khotons for that time, but that is not exhaustive. Along with the described khotons were quite a few where people are economically not very different from each other. Such as Khoton certainly was, depending on whether a rich man or a ruler (carrying various feudal taxes in kind, and was subjected to cruel exploitation), but inside it flowed own life, in which significant quantities of community-based orders.

The main cause of establishment of khotons was, according to the unanimous approval of our informants, common grazing in any season. Particular attention was paid to the composition of pasture grass, which was known to be uneven. Each type of cattle demanded a certain type of pasture. Therefore it was necessary to choose a pasture grass which structure best suits to a particular type of livestock. This method of selection of pastures has long been known to the Mongols. He confirmed the well-known episodes of " Secret History" (Secret History of Mongols 1941, § 118). Also in connection with the traditional division of the season on a favorable summer-autumn and adverse winter-spring periods, respectively, divided and seasonal pastures: winter - uvulzuu, spring-khavarjaa, summer - zuslan and autumn - namarjaa. Also differ in the nearby - oiryn, and far - kholyn pastures.

Distant pastures are usually used in the clear, fine days, and nearby ones - during the rainy, windy and snowy days. In clear and windless days, the herding cattle usually would take place in open places, and on windy days - the pastures with natural shelter from strong winds. We can not say that the migrations among the Altai Uriankhians migrations take place not in an organized and spontaneous way although migrations were caused by the very nature of agriculture and all depended on climatic conditions. The reasons for the seasonal migrations of the Altai Uriankhians include the following: 1. inadequate capacity, inappropriate vegetation structure and lack of drinking water for livestock, 2. need to be cool in the heat in summer and a warm place for grazing cattle in winter; 3. need for joint farming with other farms. These mostly natural factors encourage them to frequent nomadic in seasons. Behind them was the main reason such as economic interest in the multiplication of cattle.

Each nomadic group Khoton, given its capabilities (labor and draft power) wandered the certain area according to the strict route, knowing where and how many days can graze cattle. The larger the economy, the greater care needed for cattle

consequently, the shorter period of next migrations would be required. In the year-round pasture feeding of livestock to clearly distinguish between two periods: summer-autumn (May-October) and winter-spring (November-February). The task of the summer-autumn grazing period was reduced to ensure that as soon as possible after the winter lead to better nutritional status of cattle. Our informants have argued that a good fattening cattle in this period was achieved at the expense of frequent change of pasture, and providing the livestock of good drinking water, and choice of pasture with specific composition of plants, visit with cattle the salt flats for at least 3-4 times per month, besides organization of protection livestock from predators.

More responsible and difficult is the winter-spring period. During this period, cattle systematically undernourished, because forage was of poor quality and insufficient quantity on the winter pasture. Nevertheless, winter subsistence for the cattle plays a decisive role, since it depended on the welfare of animals in general.

Feature of the nomadic Altaic Uriankhians was that winter and autumn parkings were in the river valleys, and summer and spring parkings were high in the mountains. This type of nomadic migrations A.D. Simukov called as "alpine" (Simukov 2007:445). These specific migrations were due primarily to climatic and landscape conditions Mongol Altai.

Deep snow and high winds forced the shepherds in the mountains in winter to descend from the mountains and wander into the valley of the rivers and lakes. Relatively high summer temperatures forced them to look for parking in the mountains. Between them there are spring and fall sites. Pasture areas are located alongside with the path of migrations, do not meet the needs of the herd, and used them as transient and passing. They have served as a preparatory stage for the summer and winter. Altaic Uriankhians, usually with the onset of summer, i.e., from mid-May, began to roam for summer sites. They would change the place 1-2 times, and sometimes, depending on the weather and grass, would do from 3 to 4 migrations. Migrations for the autumn park began around mid-August. It, as usual, was close to winter parking site, during his stay in the autumn park, they would correct fences for sheep and goats, or build new farm buildings at winter as to preparation for the winter. Migrations to winter parking begin in late October and sometimes November. They would stay at winter site until mid-February. Starting mid-February, and sometimes early March they would begin migrations toward spring parking. They spend there the period of offspring of all species of livestock. The distance between summer and winter parking khotons ranged from 20 - 30 to 60 - 80 miles in one direction, while large farms, with prevalence in the herds of yaks and cattle were doing migrations to a distance ranging from 120 to 140 km. (Lkhagvasuren 1988:250). Predominance in the herd of yaks and cattle made it possible to travel the long distance, although migrations involved small cattle.

The number of intermediate stops at the far migrations ranged from 5 to 8. Those families, who have had a large number of cattle, would leave the spring parking lot before the others they left with their herds, and did more than any other sites.

Large herd moves very slowly, stopping at each parking for 2-4 days to rest in order to gain strength for emaciated cattle during the winter, and they could proceed farther. Therefore, households with such animals moved slowly for a period of 7 - 13

days. Gaps between the parking lots ranged from 10 to 15 km, depending on the state of vegetation and terrain. For example, parking in the open did not last long, cool spring breeze acted negatively on the cattle, and in places protected from the wind (at the foot of the mountains or valley), animals stood a little longer. In this context, of particular interest is the constancy of sites and routes of migrations of khotons. The significant changes would occur in the usual route of migrations of khotons during the years of the adverse climatic conditions with the abundant snowfall - dzud or drought-gan, which were repeated often enough. As a rule, number of migrations and the length of nomadic ways would sharply increase. According to our informants, despite of the long journey of migrations, and the large number of cattle and farms, nomads never had any cases of arguments and fight over the parking sites and pastures between different farms. Khoton in the field of their summer-autumn pastures would often jointly build the common wooden fence (khashaa) for sheep and goats. Animals were kept together in this open-fence. They also have built the corrals (khashaa) and for lambs and kids. For feeding livestock, especially females and young, they would jointly prepare the hay. The combining of multiple farms in one khoton at the winter parking lot was of great significance for the cattle. The skillful arrangement of yurts and building of individual fences have them given the greater protection from wind and cold, and besides protecting animals of the attacks of wolves. The hay harvested together those living in one khoton only for feeding calves. From mid-August the grass was cut with a knife or just pulled his hands. Then they let a little dry to it, twist in long braids, hung on trees or on the platform, where it was stored until required. Some khotons work together and spread on the processing of arable land. In such cases, each family plot plowed together.

They have also helped each other during the harvest. Collective work of the residents of one khotons also referred to hunting, sheep shearing and manufacture of felt, on mutual assistance in the firewood, etc. etc. All the joint work being done to a neighbor (often at the same time, relatives) of mutual aid.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that the economic basis of nomadic groups or communities in the Altai Khoton Uriankhians were a nomadic pastoral economy with private ownership of livestock, shelter (tent), and tools. Land, mainly pastures and grazing grounds, on which they ran the household, was owned by a feudal ruler of the khoshun. The land was allotted to Khoton community in general use. Given to them for the use of nomadic pastures all members of the khotons enjoyed together, without any conversion, and only the lands cultivated by tillage, as we saw above, were individually owned, while these lands were handled by one or the other member of the community. Low level of development of nomadic pastoralism and its natural character went a long way striving to Uriankhians Altai nomadic communities, because with this method increased the viability of pastoralist-commune in the struggle with nature, to facilitate the management of extensive cattle breeding in the particular natural environment, with a long and cold winter, and to provide personal safety and a minimum standard of living.

#### 4.2. Form of the Family and its Structure.

The subject of family and its structure among Mongolian nomads in the late XIX - early XX centuries has been as cause of much debate among researchers. Some thought that whole history of nomadic Mongols was characterized until the early XX century by a large patriarchal family, the second thought is that it was characterized by a small family in early stages, that then is replaced by an extended one. Third group of researchers believed that it was characterized by a large patriarchal family in early stage, and gradually with development of nomadic farming it has been replaced by a small one. Question of whether or not a large patriarchal family has existed in past among nomads remains open. However, our field material shows that in the late XIX - early XX century, a dominant form of family among the Altai Uriankhians was a small individual monogamous family. D.D. Shalkhakov specifically studied the problems of family relations among Kalmyk wrote that "a survey of numerous informants did not confirm the existence of large families in Kalmykia" (Shalkhakov 1982:36). G.G. Banchikov who has also dealt with issues of family relations among the Mongols, wrote that "a primary social unit of Mongolians has long been a small family consisting of husband, wife and their children" (Banchikov 1964:3).

We did not find evidence of the existence of polygamy among Altaic Uriankhians, a practice sometimes has seen with Khalkha and some Turkic-speaking neighbors. According to our field materials, the small family included other relatives - elderly parents of the husband and wife and their unmarried brothers, unmarried sisters and other relatives. K.D. Basayev, who studied the same problem among Buryat material, wrote that they "the shape and size of the family were closely linked to its structural features, i.e., relative's composition. Buryat family consisted of several generations of blood relatives in its ascending and descending lines: two generations (parents and children) in a small family, and three or more generations (old people, parents, their married sons and grandchildren and sometimes great-grandchildren) in a large undivided family (Basayeva 1980:42). D.D. Shalhakov wrote that "Kalmykia - pastoralists in the XIX-early XX centuries, were characterized by a small monogamous family, which was included in family-related group (Shalhakov 1982: 38.)

Among Altai Uriankhians, genus – ovog was patriarchal. Kinship was considered by a lineage of father, though relatives on lineage of mother used to be at premium of honor. Nomadic Mongolians had characterized by the classification system of kinship: all individuals older-uvug etseg (grandfather), emeg ekh (my grandmother), all elderly, are older - uvuu (uncle), emee (aunt), every senior in age - akh ( brother), junior - duu (younger brother), every senior in age - egch (sister), the youngest-ohin duu (younger sister).

In the field of kinship, a significant closer relationship was to the mother. Relatives on the mother side belonged to group "nagats." Subject himself to them is called to be as nephew - zee. When performing life-cycle rituals, especially the wedding ceremony and maternity, a significant role was reserved for the relatives' nagats", with a special function during the rites performed nephew, termed "zee".

Relatives on the father's side belonged to the group "avga." Subject to them will be as nephew - ach. Thus, and grandchildren from his daughter would be termed as

"zee", and her son - "ach." Differentiation of kinship implied relationship by blood and marriage: Relatives of his wife - khud, matchmakers, relatives of the wife of the son-khadam. Blood-peculiar relationship evolved by husbands of sisters: husbands of two sisters - baz khurgun, wives of two brothers - bazuud, children of sisters - buluud, children of brothers – ueluud, grandchildren of sisters - bulentseruud, grandchildren of brothers - hayalanuud etc.

After the conclusion of marriage suitor for his wife became as khurgen. All of daughters, who arrived in whatever clan, would become as -beruud. All married women (beruud) - representatives of different clans that make up after the conclusion of the second half of the marital union of one clan, perform basic functions of the commission of a wedding ritual complex. Their role becomes especially important if they were having many children, since the main purpose of marriage was considered continuation of reproduction.

Patriarchal tradition defines the rights and position of each member in a small family. The father is the head of the family - urkhiyn terguulegch. He was, one might say, the absolute master of all movable and immovable property and this determines his position in the family. He directed all the chores associated primarily with the nomadic pastoralists, distributing responsibilities among its members. Willingness of the father is a law for all. He could keep in obedience for his sons for 35 - 40 years, although an adult age for men has already occurred in 16-18 years for the society of Altai Uriankhians. The father had the right to decide the question of marriage of their daughters, often against their will. Argument with him was considered as unacceptable. Even overgrown sons did not dare to object to it. Nevertheless, stories of our informants, families of the Altaic Uriankhians, as they do in families of Mongolian peoples, there were no cases of gross tyranny or arbitrariness on the part of the household head. When dealing with important economic and the other family issues the father would usually consult primarily with older sons. In important economic matters elderly or disabled who lost his father usually replaced by the sons of seniority.

After the father's death the head of household was considered to become the married eldest son, but sometimes, in very rare cases, the rule passed to anyone of the following sons, who was considered the most energetic and able to be the best way to organize and run the economy of the household.

In any family, the great respect and honor enjoyed the woman, mistress - geriyn ezegtey. Husband – nukhur treated very well with his wife in a family. Poll of informants showed that the beating, humiliation and brutal despotism by a husband to his wife were an exceptional phenomenon in the life of Altai Uriankhians. If such a phenomenon has occurred, it is deeply condemned in the society. When dealing with important family matters husband usually consulted with his wife, without neglecting its views and proposals. But the gentle treatment of his wife, particularly when outsiders were, was quite rare. It was considered totally unacceptable disobedience, disrespectful or rude attitude on the part of children (huuhduud) toward the mother - eej. Apart from the fact that mother had all the cares of child-rearing, subsistence of nomadic herders among Altai Uriankhians has laid on woman a multiple of roles: she had to cook food, milk cattle, process dairy products, to observe cleanliness in the yurt, sew clothes and

bedding for all family members, etc. Especially a lot of time, energy and labor she spent for processing sheepskins, leather, ropes of bestial hair, wallow felt for the needs of their families.

According to the stories of older people, there was some kind of seasonality in the performing of chores: during the spring and summer, women were busy milking cows, mares and manufacturing stocks of dairy products for the winter. Tanning hides, leather, and felt making were usually carried out in the fall. Women were mainly engaged with embroidered clothing, headgear, footwear, and felt manufacturing for bedding during the period of autumn and winter. A woman acted completely independently in the household of Altaic Uriankhians. W. Erdniev as an example for Kalmyk women wrote that "despite the fact that Kalmyk woman was in complete subjection to men and under his control, but she enjoyed a certain of freedom and autonomy in the household and daily life" (Erdniev, Maksimov, 2007:300).

It is well known that women of Mongolian-speaking peoples, including the Altai Uriankhians, were unaware of seclusion, which existed among neighboring Kazakhs who profess Islam. According to our field material, she enjoyed full freedom of interaction with men: she participated on an equal footing with men in all family and public holidays and all mass entertainment, she could sit with guests from all walks at the same table, etc. However, according to our field materials for women of Altai Uriankhians as for women of all Mongolian nomads, characterized by respect for fidelity for married women, and chastity for unmarried girls.

Generally used in Mongolian society illicit relations between the sexes are deeply condemned by public opinion and the Mongolian law provides for very severe penalties for committing adultery. In the Mongolian-Oirat statute books in 1640 said about the following: "... if a woman, bound to a stranger, and the mutual desire, maintains self-fornication, then with the women for four (cattle), and men take five (cattle). ... If a girl goes to bed (with men) against wishes, then take (with men), two dozen, and if it was out and her wish, then take the nines (Golstunsky 1880: 49)

Each nuclear family had its pastoral economy apart from the others. Typically, a family of parents lived in a separate tent. Family married sons roamed nearby, also having his own farm, creating a nomadic group, which was called "Khoton", as mentioned earlier.

#### **4.3. Forms of Marriage**

Now let's discuss a few of words on the forms of marriage. Marriage in Altai Uriankhians considered obligatory for every person. Old maids and bachelors are not respected. In the marriage rules, there are not preserved such an ancient way of buying his wife such as the exchanging of two family groups of brides. Our informants could not remember any such cases in their khoshuns. During the fieldwork, we found no data on crosscousin marriage between children of sisters and brothers and levirate, i.e., marrying the widow of the younger brother of the deceased spouse, even though researchers say on the existence of such marriages among the other Mongolian nomads (Galdanova1986: 132, Erdniev, Maksimov, 2007:305).

However, marriages with relatives on the maternal line, i.e. with his cousin, second cousin and fourth-relative sisters from the mother, apparently, were very rare. Our informants do not remember such marriages, although sources indicate about their existence among Mongols in ancient times. For example, in "Secret History of Mongols," says: "Esugaja-Batur was going to make a match for his bride from his uncle on his mother's Oelun, her relatives from Olhonut clan, where, and went along with his son Temuchjin" (Secret History of Mongols 1941 § 61). But according to our field materials, marriages of two brothers to the girls who are sisters, were quite common. We found a variety of materials evidencing of such marriage (Lkhagvasuren 1987:20). In addition, Altai Uriankhians had no prohibition on marriage to infidels, such as Muslims, although our informants did not remember a single of such case. Altaic Uriankhians themselves could not explain this fact, but marriages with other Mongolian nationalities were unhindered.

In our time, among Altaic Uriankhians has existed an institute for preparation of son-in-laws -hurgen oroh. When the family had no sons, he was taken into the household son-in-law - hurgen. In such marriages, and a daughter given to him became as heir to property of the father. It could have taken a son-in-law to the household in early childhood of the boy. In such cases, when growing up the boy, the heir to his father's farm, the daughter with the son-in-law would stand as an independent family with its own economy. Becoming as son-in-law, i.e., going to live in a yurt of wife, which is a stranger's home for a man, would be regarded as undesirable, and humiliating. It was mainly practiced for the poor people. The Mongols had a common proverb: to become a son-in-law means to become a farmhand - khurgen hoo huchtey, which basically mean as son-in-law is power. In addition to a purely moral side of the matters, it had a place for a legal consideration. Once becoming as son-in-law, a man has to be under wife, and she was as owner the property. Still parents of the wife alive, they would remain as masters. The arrived son-in-law had no right to dispose of this property and could not get an inheritance. By the end of the XIX century, the other type of marriages, which is called as secret marriages - nuutsaar gerleh had become as common forms of marriage. These marriages were arranged by the kidnapping of bride - ber khulgailakh. There were two types of conclusion of such a marriage:

1. Marriage escape – escape of bride - ber orguulah. 2. Abduction of bride - ber khulgailakh.

Both are considered a violation of established norms of marriage and met with any resistance. Abduction of bride without her consent was a rare occurrence. Our informants knew about it only by hearsay.

During the reporting period, marriages by "escape" were still common among Altai Uriankhians. To free themselves from the authority of their parents, the girl was forced to secretly marry the elect. Marriage by "escape" has existed not only among Altai Uriankhians, but also among the other nationalities, who have been in very close to Altaic Uriankhian historical and cultural contexts. Regarding marriage by abduction of Altaic Altai Mountains, a Russian missionary V.I. Verbitsky at the end of the XIX century wrote: "In the northern Altai, for the most part, bride is stolen. Groom,



persuaded the bride and obtaining her handkerchief in advance by mutual condition, comes for her at night, on a good upland horse, accompanied by unmarried young people. These young people are stealing a bride from their parents' home put her on his horse and prepared to rush to Ulus of the groom or immediate family "(Verbitsky 1893: 105). However, to get a wife to himself in this way might not all. Such an act could decide and choose only by the strong and clever guy who knows how to make a "kidnapping" of the bride with the help of his cronies and with the active assistance on the part of very girls.



Photo 6. Headdress with coral ornaments **shurtei toortsog** for unmarried girls

Early marriages are quite common among Mongolian nomads (Basaeva 1980: 122, Shalkhakov1982: 14). Betrothal of minors, of course, was dictated by different considerations, such as a desire to conclude a union between two families or to strengthen the existing links between them. In all cases, two families who choose to intermarry, after preliminary agreement of negotiations a marriage ceremony was fixed on the future of their children - undugun sui tavikh (Ethnography of Mongolia 1987: 261). Marriages between people of different social groups were also allowed. However, affluent people tried to have marriages in common with each other and joining of people in affinity with the poor was considered as not very desirable for them. By the end of the XIX century, in connection with the further differentiation of society, this tendency becomes dominant among the wealthy Uriankhians. Marriage is often seen as a profitable economic transaction.

An accepted norm of marriage was a marriage of matchmaking for bride-ber guikh. We return to this theme later. Now, briefly about the bride and the bride's dowry. The word "bride" is not in the Mongolian language, although the existence of dowry in the old institution of the nomadic Mongols written by many authors Rubruck (1957:101, Banchikov1964:6). As our informants argued, during the cahoots courtship of the bride,

there was not only haggling about the amount of dowry, but did not arise even talk about it. Many olds remember that put some demands, show the value and the value of bride price were not accepted.

However, the institution of dowry among the Altai Uriankhians at this time reached a fairly advanced form. As our informants argued, could only fiancée at their own discretion dispose of the dowry, the husband had no right to dispose of them. Therefore, she became the owner of a certain part of household goods, and this in turn provides to her a measure of independence in the family.

Bride could bring in their new yurt complex of different things as a dowry - *beriin khereglel*. According to the stories of our informants, the bride as a dowry brings with her first horse, necessarily, of a white suit, complete with horse-harness. This horse is a symbol of the horse on which she could return to his father's yurt, if her fiancée would be bad to her. Sometimes her father gave a dowry of a quiver with arrows, bow with case-horjogo, the symbolic meaning of which lay in the fact that they protect newlyweds from the evil spirits. She also brought a full set of bedding, winter and summer clothing, wood and leather ware, and articles of furniture, etc. Compulsory subjects dowry considered headrests - *der*. Besides the bride's parents must prepare a traditional jewelry set of a married woman and several heads of each livestock species - *inj*. In preparation of the dowry involved all family members, each of them contributes, bringing cloth, silk, skins, coral, and etc. and etc.

Relatives need gifts to the bride during a bachelorette party - *chigee uuh*. Another part of the dowry that is necessarily included curtains - *beriin khushig*, by which dissociated a corner of the yurt, where there was a bed for the newlyweds.



Photo 7 Headdress with silvery ornaments **chikhte toortsog** for unmarried girl.

According to the norms prevailing in the marital relationship, ensuring the bride by the full dowry was required in the issuance of the girls married. In normal families, the dowry preparation began with his childhood of the future bride. Therefore, the betrothal of young or early collusion practiced, we can say to get a longer time for preparation of a dowry.

#### **4.4. Wedding Cycle**

The wedding is not just a family celebration, but also it is an important event in the social life of the Altai Uriankhians. Many relatives of the bride and groom, and representatives of various sectors of society would take the most active participation in the processes of the wedding. The great importance was attached at the wedding to the magical and symbolic rituals, whose purpose was to ensure the newlyweds a happy, long, and prosperous life.

As we have noted previously, the most common rules of marriage was the marriage matchmaking for bride-ber guikh. The initial moment of signing the marriage, like any other, was a conspiracy - sui tavikh. The whole cycle of wedding ceremonies would begin from this moment.

It was divided into three stages: pre-wedding, wedding and post-wedding. Rehearsal included the following ceremonies: ber songokh - choice of bride, aman medee khurgekh - oral transmission of information on courtship, am khadag tavikh – presenting a khadag to the girl's parents; zus, khadag tavikh – presenting a khadag with glue, ger burekh - construction and installation of a new yurt for the future spouses, or oyokh - making bedding suite.

Ritual acts that were committed during wedding ceremonies included the following: chigee uuh - drinking fermented mare koumiss, hurgen khuvtsas lakh - ritual of dressing the groom, gezeg buulgakh - unwinding girl's braids, ber mordulakh – farewelling the bride, and shar narand morguulekh - ritual worship of the sun.

Post-wedding stage included such rituals: khoshig tailakh - the removal of the curtain, ber torkhomchlokh - bride and groom visit the yurt of the parents, ber berluulekh – performing prohibitions by wife, etc.

There is a very similar, to those of the Uriankhians, wedding ceremony among Altains of Mountains Altai, Russian missionary V.I. Verbitsky at the end of the XIX century wrote about it: "Wedding ceremony among the southern Altai people are wonderful and breathes with the local poetry" ( Verbitsky 1893:98 ). The same can be said about the wedding ceremony for the Altai Uriankhians. Starting with the courtship, ending with the arrival of the bride to the yurt of groom, the traditional wedding among the Altaic Uriankhians represents a series of colorful rituals and customs.

#### **Matchmaking for the Bride and Pre-Wedding ceremonies.**

Now I turn to a specific account of these ceremonies. The first of them is ber songokh - choice of bride. Parents for boys who turned 16-18 years old, discussed among themselves the question of marrying his son and about where to look for a bride. Boys of this age tend to assist the father in all economic matters and were

considered fully capable of independently run the economy. Girls from 17 to 18 years of age were considered as the normal age for marriage. However, surveys of our informants, we can conclude that boys marry at the age of 18 - 25 years old, and girls marry at 17 - 21. A decision about marriage and choice of bride was fully within the competence of parents of boys. According to the stories of our informants parents of the young could discuss the matter with their close relatives like maternal tsusan turul - blood relatives, and paternal yasan turul - relatives of the bone. Most youth was assigned a very modest role in these matters. The big role of parents in deciding marriage and the choice of a bride some researchers contribute to the features of nomadic life and the existence of a nomadic clan exogamy ( Shalhakov1982: 14 ). This is quite applicable to the Altai Uriankhian. Exogamous restrictions apply to relatives on the paternal line. Marriage within the paternal kind is not allowed. The genus can be divided only after seven - eight generations from a common ancestor - the ancestor, when the race grew, bringing a large number of members. Then a special ritual division of the genus is performed and it would result in two separate exogamous families, which already can share brides.

Rules of exogamy were forced parents of young men to seek a bride in a different way. For this father rode all the yurt, where in his opinion, were supposed to be a girl, suitable to his son. If anyone of them makes him sympathetic, he was consulted about it in the first place with his wife. When you select a future bride, parents first would find out the girl's family tree (udam): they are interested whether there were cases of childless among her ancestors and close relatives. This issue was of great importance, because procreation was the cherished dream of all parents and the general meaning of marriage. If they found some information that among her distant relatives were cases of childless, terminally ill and lunatics, these facts are made to think seriously about her candidacy. Further, parents of the young are interested in such issues as good manners, hard work of parents and relatives of the girl. The financial position of the family and the exterior of the girls did not play an important role in choosing a bride, but of great importance was attached to her personal qualities: charm, sociability, good manners, ability to communicate with people of different ages, primarily from senior and junior, appreciated her hard work, resourcefulness, the ability to sew, and run the household. Parents of young man trying to get the daughter, who continued to procreate and at the same time would be a good worker (Lkhagvasuren: 1988:97). After making the selection, the parents of boys usually turned to lama, who defined the possibility of marriage between boy and girl over the years of their birth, guided mainly by Tibetan astrological books. It was believed that the years of birth of bride and groom should be in the line with each other (iveel lived).

Appeal to the lama in deciding about the marriage was considered obligatory for parents of young. Only with the approval of lamas they decided courtship. Lama will also determine which day will be favorable for sending the first matchmaker for the girl's parents (Zhukovskaya 2000: 112)

The first stage in the process of courtship called aman yg hurgeh - transfer of verbal information regarding the courtship. Parents of young men as the first matchmaker would choose a solid reputed person from the close relatives. On the

appointed by lama day, the person would arrive in the yurt of parents of the girl for a leisurely conversation with them, it makes the message that the family of his kind would be willing to promise in marriage of their daughter to the son. After completing its mission the first matchmaker would return. After the departure of the first matchmaker, the parents of girl began to discuss the matter among themselves. The final word on this issue belonged to them, especially mother of the girl. They also could discuss the matter with relatives at both mother and father of the girl. Watching a wedding ceremony among the Altai Uriankhians at the end of the XIX century, G.E.Grumm-Grzhimailo noticed that parents are "... not consulted with her daughter regarding this very important issue for the daughter, but personally and irrevocably decide her fate" (Grumm-Grzhimailo 1926:175) According to our informants, parents, of course, asked the consent of his daughter. S. Badamhatan wrote that parents of the girl would reply to the first marchmaker from the boy's side with the following answer: "... we can give the answer three days later, we learn whether our daughter agrees or not" (Badamkhatan1960: 5). Daughter usually frightened and refused, because proposal for it often happened unexpectedly. She had to be persuaded to teach and think about the future of marriage. In practice, on this subject could speak with her only the mother. According to our surveys, we can assume that the first response to the marchmaker is given usually by the mother. On the primacy of the mother in this important issue wrote, D.D. Shalhakov, who has studied wedding rituals of Kalmyks. He thought it was a relic of matriarchy among the nomads (Shalhakov1982: 11). The girl's parents, when discussing marriage with daughter, attached the great importance to good manners, hard work, practical skills of cattleman, hunter, and the personal nature of the future groom. If they have the negative information about the young man that he is rude, not sociable, a bad worker and not a very good hunter, these facts led them to think seriously and often cause as the failure to the parents of the future groom. (Lkhagvasuren 1989: 213) If the groom turned to be as liking, they, too, for his part turned to the lama, to clarify the possibility of marriage. While the girl's parents are learned regarding the future groom and parents of the young man would prepare for the next visit, in order to commit a ritual of offerings of the first khadag (am khadag tavikh).

After a few days following the first visit of the matchmaker, two men of the advanced age would attend parents of the girl, who are also among those of the closest relatives of the young man. The person who performed the function of the first marriage broker not supposed to come again. The purpose of the visit this time was to test the mood of the girl's parents at wooing their daughter. Matchmakers pretend that they arrived to their yurt by accident, as it is often the case among the nomads. However, parents of girl usually guess who and why visit them. After a friendly chat over the tea, the eldest of the guests filed his snuffbox to the father of the girl, as usual did the nomads at the meeting. Generally, the nomads exchange snuffboxes expressed relative position of the parties. If the father of the girl did not give in exchange his snuffbox, as usual, which meant that parents reject the wooing of their daughter. In this case, the father of the girl would take guest's snuffbox, snuff, and silently would return to its owner. All ends at this. Parents of young men no longer send

the matchmakers to the yurt of the girl's parents. If the girl's father gave in exchange his snuffbox, which meant that the girl's parents look favorably upcoming matchmaking.

Only after this young man's parents would send another distinguished man, too, of senior age from the closest relatives of the young man to the girl's parents, handed him two khadags of blue color and other gifts, including dairy products including milk vodka arkhi. Thus, without probing the mood of the girl's parents, the parents of boys were hesitant on the third visit. A new visitor, the girl's parents took as a very distinguished guest, was seated in the north - western side of the yurt (baruun khoimor). The girl's parents knew that this man came to get their final approval. After exchanging greetings and snuff boxes, a guest turned to the girl's parents with the words: - "We have a good holder of lasso, and you have a skillful mistress. Let's admit them together! "- Uurga bariach ni manaid baina, uyalga oyoch ni tanaid baina!" Saying these words, friend knelt down and brought to the girl's father an expanded khadakh on outstretched hands. Adoption of the khadag by the father of the girl meant that the parents of the girl agree to the courtship of their daughter.

By giving so khadag, a guest got up from his seat and began to lay out the sacrificial gifts to the home altar in the yurt of the girl's father, and outside of the yurt he would commit sprinkling milk on all sides, dedicated to the spirits, and protectors of the surrounding terrain (khangai, delkhii). Accordingly, his mission ended. In very rare cases, the girl's father did not take khadag and pulling a thread from one end, brings it back to the presenter. He this way expresses his opposition to give his daughter to marry into this family.

#### **Rite of Presenting Khadag with Glue Zus.**

After completion of the above ritual, the sides began to prepare for a very important event in the long cycle of wedding ceremonies: to perform the rite of presentation to khadag with glue zus, which sounded like zus, khadag tavikh in Mongolian. This ceremony is performed in the yurt of the girl's parents. Before that, the parties chose their mediator - bergen.

Both sides are independent of each other, turned to Lama with the question, what a day for them would be most suitable for presentation to the rite of khadag with glue. Lama not only determines the day, but hour of departure of the delegation from the yurt of young man, and time of their arrivak of the yurt of the girl's parents. Lama has even pointed out the color of the robe for bergen of the young man, with which bergen should eneter to the yurt of girl's father. On that day and hour indicated by Lama, the delegation, which consisted of 5 - 6.5 men from among the close relatives of parents, including bergen, visit to the yurt of the girl's parents. The delegation was led by the father of young man and this time the youth himself is not included in the delegation. On this occasion they carried along with them a blue khadag with the special size and a piece of adhesive zus, dairy products (cheese, milk), and a whole carcass of a freshly prepared sheep specially slaughtered the day before. The parents of the girl also long prepared for getting ready to receive the guests with the special mission. The close relatives of the girl's parents consisting of 5 to 8 persons were supposed to attend the delegation at the time of arrival in the tent the girl's parents. The delegation was greeted as the most distinguished guests, and invited to the north -

western side of the yurt (baruun - hoymor) which is common among all groups of the Mongols. After exchanging greetings, the guests were treated to tea, milk, dairy products, etc.

After this, the father of the young man knelt down and brought the girl's father an expanded khadakh on his outstretched hands with a piece of adhesive zus holding with the right hand over the khadag. A piece of glue symbolized the strength of the future marriage of the youths. The girl's father takes the khadag with the words "Let your status will prosper!" - "Ta bugdiin amar amgalan delgerekh boltugai!" Following it, the father of the young man began to bestow gifts to the girl's parents - Sui beleg. The value of Sui beleg depended on the viability of the young man's parents. It would be necessarily present a tile of tea, and silk for national devel. Gifts were also presented to all presented in the yurt. This ceremony was accompanied by a small feast - Sui belgiin nair. Altaic Uriankhians traditionally observe the terms of this feast (naira) in their yurts. All guests were laid to sit only on the right side of the tent, but the owners - on the left. All participants were feasting on seniority: the oldest was seated as a sign of respect for them in the northern part of the yurt, and the young - is closer to the exit. Refreshments are also served by seniority: to the oldest are served the first and to the youngest the last. Refreshments carried only by specially designated girls. Archi and koumiss were served by a designated middle-aged man (Sonch). He was appointed by the master of the yurt, from among their relatives. He had to entertain the guests by his eloquence, so that they are not bored. All feasts must prepare a feast for all – tavga idee. They were placed on the table in front of the most honored guests, and they were treated everyone in attendance. Feast began with a tea party. Then all were treated to a little tavga idee then are offered with mare's milk, and meat dishes. All are treated with archi at last. It was served only to adults, young people were not supposed to be drinking hard liquor. This order is respected in all their feasts, which were held frequently, especially during the warmer seasons. If someone - that violated this order, his act was condemned, and if someone - or do not know when and what he must do at such feasts, then look in the eyes of those present are not very well-mannered. In addition, the banquet necessarily invited eroolch - individuals who are well read good wishes - erool. After drinking of archi, when spirits rose, all began to sing at feasts. They would sing lingering songs by the length of tunes which are a little bit different from broaching the songs of the other Mongolian nationalities. Our informants claimed that singing at banquets usually began with a song about the Altai. The feast was usually supervised by the master of the yurt. At his command eroolch would read erool, and the rest were singing and drinking. Guests from the side of young man treated those who present at the banquet with items brought with them. On the same day, the guests returned home, they are not supposed to be to stay the night in a yurt of the girl's parents. It was the first out of the cycle of the wedding feast among the Altaic Uriankhians.

After this, boy and girl are officially become as the bride and groom. During the banquet, the parties agree on the percentage of participation from each party to prepare a new tent for the newlyweds. By the custom, the bride prepared the interior, and the groom - the very tent. After the conclusion of the ceremony zus khadag tavikh parties started to prepare for the wedding. Traditionally, the wedding can be played

within one to three years after the betrothal. According to the stories of our informants, after the boy and girl were officially announced as bride and groom, groom's parents send him to the bride's yurt. He stayed there for some time. During this time the bride's parents had an opportunity to assess the future in-law, future spouses themselves - to get accustomed to each other. There are reports from various sources, including "Secret History of Mongols" (Secret History of Mongols 1941: §66) regarding the existence of such a custom among the Mongols in the distant past. Upon studying of wedding ceremony of Tuvians, L.P. Potapov wrote that after zuz, khudag / in Tuvian it is called as Tukhten - IL / bride might host the groom and to join with him in the sexual intercourse before the wedding feast. This is not condemned publicly. So often happened that the promise in marriage a girl becomes pregnant before marriage, and sometimes even manage to give birth, and it was not considered shameful (Potapov 1969: 237-238). Our informants completely denied such a possibility among the Altai Uriankhians. The reason for this, they explained this way: the girl's parents, even at this stage of the courtship reserves the right to refuse to the groom, if he proved himself not very good during the stay.

After the stay in the bride's yurt, it comes a time when supposed to install a new yurt for the future spouses. This ceremony is called ger bureh. It has described in detail by Mongolian ethnographer G. Tserenhand for different ethnic groups of Mongols (Tserenhand 2005:57-60) Parents of the young man prepared all component parts of the yurt: wooden frame, matted hair and ropes for various purposes. The wooden frame of the yurt can be purchased two ways: either by an exchange of cattle for those who are specifically involved in their preparation, or if the boy's father was a carpenter, he could make them himself. Felts for the yurt had to prepare themselves, because while they had not been done on the exchange. Preparation of felt required a lot of time and effort. It is made from sheep's wool in the traditional way. When all was ready, the groom's parents propose on the date of installation of a new yurt. The relatives would gather on this day at the yurt of the parents of the groom. They would bring various supplies needed to install the yurt: Felt, hair cords, etc. In addition, they brought with them dairy products, cottage of cheese byaslag, dried curds aaruul intended for the feast, which is arranged at the end of work. Before the start, all were treated to tea. In the construction of a yurt Altaic Uriankhians build its wooden parts in the strict order. The new yurt is traditionally set to the south - east of the yurt of groom's father. Failure to comply with the rules of construction of the yurt could have negative consequences, so work is overseen - either by the father or someone from relatives of the groom, who knew all the rules.

Pattern of felt mats, cross-linking of individual plates to cover the yurt led by the mother or anyone of the close relatives of the groom. All work, including sewing and cutting out pieces of felt, should be completed by sundown. During the construction of the yurt was coming mother of the bride, accompanied by bergen, and a few of girls - assistants to help in their work. They brought felt, large needle and thread made of camel wool. Mother of the groom prepared a cover for the smokehole (urkh) for new yurt out of felt brought here. When the cover was ready, it was performed the rite of consecration of smoke tube – urkh myalaakh, ritual stretching of felt mats for smoke tube, the rite of good wishes for the yurt - ger erookh. The rite of consecration of felt



cover for smoke tube is done as so: someone from the relatives of groom's father appealed to the groom's uncle on the maternal side - nagats akh with the words: "The river starts from a spring, a relationship begins with a maternal uncle. Please prize and consecrate the urkh! "-" Usni ekh - bulag, urgiin ekh - nagats bilee. Ta urkh myalaaaj ugnu uu! "At the same time, he hands to him a cup of koumiss- chigee. Having taken a cup of koumiss, uncle, first sip a little bit, then started to sprinkle koumiss the urkh first at the center, then at and around the four corners. Sprinkling of koumiss meant that the the urkh has been sanctified. After that spread out the felt cover for smoke tube on the ground, and let seated on it with a number of small children. It symbolizes of what that in the new yurt will be a lot of children. Children fed and by this the ritual is ended. When the installation ended, the ceremony of good wishes starts for a new yurt - ger erooh. The father of the groom is seated at the northern part of the yurt (hoymor). Upon taking his place, he turns the attention to eroolch with the words: "Please provide the good wishes for the new yurt" - "Shine gert eruul hairlana uu. At the same time, he hands to eroolch a full bowl of milk with the khadag, silver coins and a few of wheat grains (khukh taria).

The Eroolch wrapped in khadag coins and wheat grains and bind them to the middle of smoke hole (toono). Then he began to sprinkle the milk all the wooden parts of the yurt, starting with toono. Upon finished sprinkling milk, he began to read the good wishes of the new melodic yurt erool. At this time, the yurt was added milk tea and different food items and started a small feast. After this both sides began preparing a bedding for the newlyweds. Usually the wedding was arranged in the autumn. Autumn in the life of nomads are generally regarded as the most successful time for all parties. Over the summer, cattle would eat off the pastures, and each family had time to stock up plenty of dairy products. Usually the wedding played on so-called white days of the lunar calendar: the day of white horse, the day of the white sheep, and the day of the white rabbit day, etc. The groom's parents made inquiries at the Lama. The monk based on the year of birth both of bride and groom determine which day will be fine for the wedding feast. By the Uriankhian tradition at the time of the wedding, khotons of the fathers of bride and groom would move closer to each other. Khoton of groom's father at that moment would be at the final preparations for the wedding.

A few days before the official date of the wedding the bride would suit a small play -chigee uukh. The first to whom she came to visit was the brother of the mother. The bride and her companions have to stay overnight with the relatives. The next day, before their departure, the bride's relatives made a gift. Further, it would conduct a variety of entertainment ritual contest among the youth. There were many. We can give the names of some of them: shine ger daviruulah - an attack on a new yurt, khivs bulaaldakh - struggle for a rug, khurgen haltiruulakh - rolling the groom, chumug bulaaldakh - the struggle for tibia, ram's tolgoi shideh - throwing sheep's head, etc.

The participation at least in a few of these races involved was required. The first of these was a contest shine ger daviruulakh - an attack on a new tent. It began as follows: When the bride returned from a visit to relatives along with accompanying her girls, they were greeted on the road by a few clever, strong guys on good horses from the bride and was accompanied by almost to the tent of her father. Then these young riders rode in Khoton of groom's father, raced past the new yurt of the newlyweds.

Riders on the fly tried to break off the hair rope, skirted a yurt or disrupt the felt cover of the smoke hole of the new yurt. They even tried to wreck the lattice wall of the yurt. All those who at this point were near a new tent, by all means tried to repel the dashing horsemen. Riders repeated the raid a few times. If the attacker managed to break the rope or pull off the hair felt covering of the yurt, the groom's side was considered as defeated.

Ritual contest khivs bulaaldah-struggle for a felt mat began: smart, strong young man from the groom's side on a good horse went to the yurt the bride's father. On the saddle of his horse lay oblong felt mat, which ends tucked under Stir-ups rope made of leather. In the middle of the path he waited four boys from the bride, also in a good race horses, two by two, facing each other at a distance of two - three paces from each other. A young man with litter in the saddle should slip between them. If he succeeded, then won the groom, and if he had selected her, the victory is getting for the bride.

The symbolic meanings of these games were different. For example, as our informants argued, defeat of the groom in the competitions shine ger daviruulakh - an attack on a new yurt, and khivs bulaaldakh - struggle for a rug, could cause a postponement of the wedding date or even the bride's parents to refusing to give the girl to marry to her fiance. Parents of the bride want to check the seriousness of the intentions of the groom, and if she lost, then it for the bride's parents meant that the groom is not yet ready to take their daughter into their family, i.e., the groom is not trying very hard.

The night before the wedding in khoton of the bride's father came a group of guests from the groom's khoton. It was headed by the groom himself. He carried a hunting rifle on his shoulder. And in the distant past it was the battle bow with arrows. Before the arrival of the guests the bride's side did the following: at the threshold across the door from the inside of the yurt the bride's father placed bag (tulam) of goat skins filled in with water. First to a yurt enters the groom. He had left his gun at the entrance on the right side of the yurt. If the groom's reaction is fast, he could not step on the bag and go around his side. This way, the bride's relatives, "checked" dexterity, ingenuity and resourcefulness of the groom. The guests are treated with tea, dairy products, and cooked mutton. Before the groom is placed a treat on a separate plate, which necessarily had to include a sheep tibia (shaant chomog). After the guests ate and drank, the mother of the bride began to wear on the groom a shirt (tsamts), especially sewn by her for him. Then the bride's father put on a new groom Uriankhian male upper robe (devel). This is to how to perform the ceremony of dressing the groom - khurgen khuvtsaslakh.

### **The Wedding Ceremony**

Last night at the parents' yurt the bride would spend differently than usual. This night she sleeps on a parent's bed, which was located on the left side of the yurt. Next to her, went to bed one of the younger sisters or best friend. Beds are closed with the curtain of white. Before going to sleep the bride should perform ceremonies of gezeg buulgakh - unwinding girlish hairstyle and replacing it with the wedding one. Among the Altai Uriankhians unmarried girls wore twenty braids: on top – two, on the temples -

three, above the forehead - eight or at the back - four. Untwist girlish pigtails helped her wife of older brother and girls who accompanied her on a tour to her relatives. When unwinding of girlish braids, the bride would pretend to resist, and ones who are untwisting were pretended if they use the force. The girl's hair combed and braided now only seven dreadlocks, which is her wedding hairstyle.

#### **Farewelling the bride** (ber morduulakh).

The next morning, at sunrise, 7 to 8 of riders, including two bergen by the groom would come for the bride. At the time of their arrival, everyone who was in the yurt of the bride's father, went out to meet them. In the tent there were a bride, her two bergen and some girls of the same age as the bride. Bride would be sitting on parent's bed behind the curtain. Relatives and friends were sitting around. Outside the door of the yurt there was a young man with a stick in his hand. He was "guarding" the bride. The bride's parents and some close relatives who came to farewell her, stood at the entrance to the yurt to the right. And those people who came together with groom for the bride standing waiting for the groom takes his bride from her father's yurt. They stood on the left side of the entrance to the yurt. First, the groom and behind him one of two bergens would enter the yurt of bride's parents. When the groom and bergen approached the entrance, a young man who stood at the entrance of the yurt with a stick in his hand pretends to prevent them. They also pretended to persuade him.

Having come into the tent, groom and bergen would not sit down and talk among themselves. The groom would come to his bride and say: "let's go" - "yavya!" . He had to make a bride from a yurt on his hands. At this point, the girls who sat around the bride, pretended that they did not want to give her to him and "pushed" and "beat" him. Bride also pretended that she did not want to leave the parental yurt. The groom pretended that he had to force her to take away. When the groom comes out of the yurt carrying the bride over his arms, one of the riders who came along with the groom fiance, tucked it into his horse with a white suit. Thus the bride and the groom are on the same horse together.

Then all sat on their horses and cortege touches the road. At this point, the girl's father takes out the tent full bucket of milk, and her mother started sprinkling milk (tsatsal urgukh) after the bride and groom. By tradition, the bride's parents did not go along with them. When the cortege touched in a way, the bride should not look back toward the parent of the yurt. Altaic Uriankhians believed that if she look back, her happiness will stay in a yurt of the parents. Therefore, a man who was carrying her on his horse, closed her eyes when she unwittingly made an attempt to look back. Ahead the cortege drove the groom himself at a hunting rifle with a bipod pubescent. Behind him rode the bride. The horse on which rode the bride led one of the wives of his older brother of the groom and two bergens of the bride followed right on her horse. Before the bride rode two men, covering the bride's face, stretched out before her curtain that hung the night before in front of her bed. The curtain was attached to two sticks. It is interesting to note that other Mongolian ethnic groups, whom the Altaic Uriankhians lived in the neighborhood with, also closed the curtain of the bride's face, but it was done differently (Ethnography of Mongolia, 1996: 137). Russian missionary V. I. Verbitsky who observed the wedding ceremony among the mountainous Altai people at

the end of the XIX century, wrote on the existence of such a curtain among Altai people during the wedding. Here's what he writes: "When everything is ready, then designate a day on which the bride would move in with her fiancé. Two young men /pals/ on horsetop approach the bride's yurt, each of them in the hands of a small birch trees, and the curtain is attached to them. The bride is brought atop of a special, and saddled horse. These buddies will go to the bride's side, holding in front of her fortified by birches curtain, until a new yurt of her fiancé "(Verbitsky 1893: 102).

Our informants stated that Altai Uriankhians did it to protect the bride from the evil eye. According to sources in the distant past to carry the bride into the open, especially to show it to a stranger among the nomads was considered dangerous. An example is the famous episode of "Secret History of Mongols" when Esugaj-ba'atur, head of the tribe Tayichi'ut, stole from the Met in the steppe merkity Eke - CHiledu Oelun his bride, which he drove in a closed carriage, hiding from prying eyes, and you accidentally see Esugaj - ba'atur looking into this cart ("Secret History of Mongols" 1941: § 54 -56). Kidnapped bride became the wife of Esugaj-ba'atur mother and creator of the Mongol empire of Genghis Khan, which nevertheless does not justify the act of the thief.

On the way a wedding convoy made a traditional ritual contest chumug khuukh-chasing rider, having kept with him tibia of sheep (shaant chumug). It was held as follows: a few people from the groom's side on the route of cortege make a fire, and they would burn juniper. Immediately there was a race-horse ready, on which sat a clever young man. Under the belt he had picked a sheep tibia. When approaching a wedding convoy, he raced toward the yurt of groom's father. In pursuit of him rushed the rider from the team of the bride. His task was to select the tibia of the ram from that rider. When the riders have sped past the wedding convoy, the groom took off a gun from the shoulder while not getting off his horse made a shot in another direction. By gunshot, the horses raced even faster. Chasing the rider with the tibia continued at a distance of about - 5 km. If the second rider was catching up on the first, and tried to wrest with power from him a bone. With a little of luck, the bride's side wins, but otherwise - the groom's side. Often, these competitions organized from three to five times.

#### **The rite of worship to yellow sun (shar narand murgukh).**

When the groom left for the bride, one member of the family watches for their arrival, standing atop a high mountain. Noticing approximation of the wedding convoy, he shall inform it to the parents of the groom. Wedding procession at first did three laps clockwise around khotons of groom's father, and then stopped at the entrance to the groom's yurt.

All dismounted from their horses, groom and the bride put on their knees, a white felt, which stretched in three steps from their new yurt: the groom was standing on the right side, and the bride on the left facing the entrance of the yurt. A traditional ornament of the Altaic Uriankhians was laid with wheat grains at the center of the felt. Once they took their places, a tubular bone of sheep is presented to them, and the groom would hold in his left hand a thicker part of the bone, and the bride holds in her

right hand a thinner part of the bone. Behind them an eldest of the brides would stand and she spoke in a loud voice:

Bow to the yellow sun

Bow to the tibia of sheep

Bow to the four parents.

Uttering these words she bent slightly the heads of the bride and groom ahead, touching by her palm of her hand to their heads. The young men bowed in silence four times to the direction of sunrise. While all these happened, one of the men who drove the curtain in the face of a bride on the way of a wedding convoy, managed to hang a white curtain just below the bed on the left side of the in a yurt of the newlyweds. When the worship of the sun was over, the bride and groom got up from their seats while preparing to enter into their new yurt. The first entry is made by a bride and then - the groom. Behind them parents of the groom enter into the yurt. Entering the tent, the bride sat on the floor on the left side of the yurt before the hearth. Here, by a sign indicated by a daughter she did three bows in the direction of the hearth, and then went along with the bride behind a white curtain. There, she changed into clothes of the married woman. Her hair was loosened and made into two braids. Bergen helped her. From there, she came out in full attire of a married woman and began to brew tea. To brew the tea, she initially stoked heavy fire in the hearth. Then she put the iron pot on the hearth, and the wife of the elder brother uttered a wish: "May the family be always in abundance! "-" Khais ni khusamtai, kharaach ni utaatai baikh boltugai! "She has also helped to cook tea, preparation of which was somewhat different than the other Mongolian peoples west of the country. Tea is brewed among Altaic Uriankhians in the following way: first cooked regular tea without milk. Then the tea is completely emptied from the boiler in a large wooden bucket and an empty pot was poured milk in the right quantity. When the milk is boiled, content of the wooden bucket was poured to the boiled milk and heated the mix to a boil.

When the tea was ready, the young wife regaled them to all present in the tent. First she served tea to the father of her husband and then to the mother. This procedure for serving the tea she complied with all life. The tea is then poured to another on seniority. Everyone was offered tea, she again went behind the curtain. When she found herself behind a curtain, her husband's father just lifted the curtain in halfway and holding his hunting rifle from the bottom, and three times with a loud voice asked: "hard" - "Khund uu? "," Easy "-khungen yy? "Every time sitting in the tent people responded "seriously "-Hund". At the third attempt, he lifted the curtain completely. At the same time he uttered those words of praise: "Let them look wider!"-"Anisnaa khalia, atgasnaa tavi!." When he uttered these words, the young wife went out there and sat down beside her husband at the northern part of the yurt. At this time, her sister poured to her tea. While she drank tea, the father of her husband would get up from their seats and secured khadag on the top open. His example was followed by the guests. Thus began the wedding feast. I must say that this feast was not prolonged. It was not supposed to drink milk vodka arkhi. The father of the husband was poured, but he did not drink, but only symbolically just took a sip. Drank only tea and mare's milk. completion of the wedding ceremony declared one of bergens.

After the departure of guests bergens do the cleaning in a yurt. Then one of them went to close the top felt cover of the yurt. When she returned to the tent, they all begin the preparation for the marriage bed suite: unfolded three layers of bride's felt mattresses with a green border, on top of them lay three layers of groom's felt mattresses with a border of red. Large headrest (ikh der) was placed at the head, drawing the face to the hearth. Then it was covered with a blanket. Upon finishing the making of the marriage bed, newbeds sat on a bed and fed them with sheep's cervical vertebra, which had been pre-cooked and hung on the upper end of the right wall of the yurt (khaniin tolgoi). Each of the newlyweds to three times bit off chunks of meat with their teeth and ate, after which they were placed on the bed and covered with a blanket. This ceremony is called the joining of head pillows (der niilulekh). Bergens then removed from the yurt. The eldest of them for some time remained near the tent of the newlyweds. Making sure that everything is normal in the yurt, she soon went to sleep, too. Our informants claimed that in earlier times, the eldest of the daughters, leaving usually in the tent to help advice to the newlyweds, in which they are particularly needed in the first wedding night. The next morning the bride would rise early, and the first thing is open the upper top of the yurt, which is as usually happens in a family of Altaic Uriankhians. After the opening the top smoke-hole, she tied khadag to its hair rope. Then she opened the top smoke-hole of the yurt for husband's parents. After that she started cooking tea in the tent. Ready tea she poured out first to husband, who had already by this time got up and waited for the tea was ready. Served tea to her husband, she then poured the tea in traditional tea Uriankhian dombo and carried it into the yurt of husband's parents. Thus began the first morning of a young family.

On the same day by noon invited into the tent of all married couples, who served the newlyweds during the wedding. There was arranged a banquet (bergediyn naira) for daughters, wives, older brothers, wife and husband, all were treated koumiss and arkhi, meat and dairy foods.

#### **4.5. Post-Wedding Ceremonies**

Post-wedding ritual actions began with a ritual removal of curtain (khushig tailakh). After the wedding the parents of the wife announced their relatives on which day of the three post-wedding days they are going to celebrate this rite. A large group of guests headed by the father of a young wife would visit the yurt of newlyweds on the appointed day. Specifically for this rite he brought the carcass of a sheep slaughtered on the eve of, and boiled mutton ribs, (it was called khushignii uvchuu – breast of curtain), large amounts of dairy products, including arkhi and mare's milk, and various household utensils. Guests were welcomed by the couple and husband's parents at the tethering area. This is the first visit of the wife's parents in a yurt of newly married couple. They are seated in the northern honorable part of the yurt. Parents of the husband placed next to them. Daughter had cooked them milky tea and regaled all with tea, and then dairy products. On this occasion celebrated with a big feast. According to the stories of our informants, it is the biggest feast of the wedding in a long series of wedding cycle among the Altai Uriankhians. During the feast, father of the wife got up from his seat and came to the curtain, which still hung in front of the bed of the

newlyweds. Father rented a curtain, at which time his mother presented him milk in a wooden bowl. Father sprinkled milk curtain, neatly folded it and gave his daughter. The curtain remained with her as a dowry. The symbolic meaning was to remove the curtain that now in the tent began normal family life of the newlyweds.

Parents of the wife stayed the night with young couples. When the next day her parents were going to go home, mother put a small stone in white and a few grains of wheat which were brought specially from their yurt on the hem of daughter's robe (devel).

At the same time she uttered these words: "Be brighter than gold and be heavier than stone!"-"Altnaas ungutei, chuluunaas hund!" It was the wish of happiness for her daughter in her new life. While his mother is not left for home, and the bride did not get up from her seat. Beside her in the tent remained its bergen. She sat on her lap. After the departure of the mother, bergen took white stone, and grains with the hem of the new wife and hid them in a large headrest previously wrapped in khadag. Newlyweds treasured this gem and wheat grains until the end of their life together. The final initiation of new wife to the clan of her husband, and her transition into the category of full-fledged mother were associated with the birth of her child.

According to tradition, a return visit of Uriankhian married couple to the wife's parents, could only take place after the year, and sometimes even three years after the wedding. Until then, they have roamed away from yurt of his wife's parents. When it was time to visit the parent of the wife, the couple came with gift (beriykhishig). Then on this trip no one would accompany with. In addition, they did not visit her parents in the season when it was played out of their wedding, but in the other. On the occasion of their visit it was arranged a small feast. After this visit, her daughter could come to the parent's tent at any time. By this it ends the wedding cycle of the Altaic Uriankhians.

## 5. Conclusion

Altai Uriankhians are among those ethnics who have been poorly studied and sparsely reflected in historical and ethnographic literature. The first scholars who have written about them were the famous Russian investigators - travelers such as A.M. Pozdneev, G.N. Potanin, G.E. Grumm-Grzhimailo, and M.V. Pevtsov.

Since middle of the XIX century, they had periodically visited khoshuns of Altai Uriankhians that allowed them to personally observe the image of their life, traditions and customs, etc. Their travel notes had left to us the valuable information on place of residence, life, material and spiritual culture of Altai Uriankhians. Information, contained in their work, revealed that Altai Uriankhians wandered between Rivers of Chingil and Bulgun in the summers while approaching Altai in winter at times when these travelers visited their khoshuns.

Starting from 1960's of XX century, to the study of history and traditional culture of nomadic tribes of western Mongolia, including Altai Uriankhians, got involved scientific institutions of Mongolia: Institute of History of Mongolia, Institute of Linguistics and Literature both of Academy of Sciences of Mongolia, etc.

Employees of these scientific organizations have been engaged in the collection and study of materials relating to economy, life and traditional culture of Altai Uriankhians.

They have gathered materials on the lifestyle, materialistic and spiritual cultures, including religious beliefs, customs, habits, about burial rites and maternity, as well as literature, folk art, and handcrafts, etc. Despite of the extensive work done in those years with respect to the collection of information on the history and traditional culture of Altai Uriankhians, we should recognize that hitherto these materials are still not sufficiently exposed to in-depth analyses and scientific interpretation.

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## GLOSSARY

**Ail** - nomadic group, consisting of two or three related families.

**Aimak** - administrative and territorial unit in Mongolia.

**Airag** Айраг(кумыс) - drink of fermented mare's milk.

**Alon gua** - Mother of Bodonchir, founder of the borzhigin tribe.

**Ambani** Амбань— feudal prince, who had the title гуна (Prince of fifth degree).

**And** - friend, comrade, and sister.

and winter versions, the lining of the winter one consists of lambskin, summer one - of

**Argal** - dry dung of cattle, the main type of fuel in a yurt.

**Argal** - wild mountain sheep.

**Arkhi** - Milk Vodka.

**Bergen** - women who would perform the role of mediator between the bride and

**Bituun** - New Year's Eve on the lunar calendar.

**Bogd** - saint.

**Boodog** - kind of roast meat dish cooked in a special way.

**Boov** - cakes made of wheat flour used in the New Year and other ceremonies.

**Burkhan** – deity, celestial.

**Burkhanii shiree** - altar, on which are placed bronze statues of Buddhist deities and bodhisattvas, the sacred Buddhist books as well as the other important attributes in a yurt.

cotton.

**Dalai lama** - the title of head of the school Gelukpa, which was first introduced in Mongolia in 1578 by Altan Khan.

**Dees** – rope made of animal hair.

**Deli** - Mongolian National robe with the right side openings, and it has both summer

**Dobu mergen** - a distant ancestor of Genghis Khan.

**Eruul**—good wishes in the poetic form, a form of the oral poetry of the Mongols.

**Gobi** – Desert in Mongolia.

**Golomt** - hearth in the center of the home, around which is organized space in the groom, teaching them the execution of various traditional rituals during the wedding, hole of the yurt.

**Khadak** - silk scarf of blue, yellow or white colors, which is presented at the different occasions as a token of good wishes.

**Khalkha** - the most numerous ethnic group in Mongolia.

**Khantaaz** - Men's vest, part of the national dress of the Mongols.

**Khashaa** - corral.

**Khoimor**— prideful place at the northern part of the yurt.

**Khoshun** - administrative unit during the rule of the Qing Dynasty in Mongolia.

**Khoton** - community, which, move and work together to accomplish common business tasks.

**Khudon** - rural area, the periphery.

**Khuree** - ancient way of placing yurts in a circle, characteristic for many of the nomadic peoples

**Khurmusta** - supreme heavenly deity in the mythology of the Mongol peoples.

**Khutukhta** - the highest hierarchy of the Buddhist clergy in Mongolia.

**Magtaal** – praise, odic genre of Mongolian poetry.

**Maikhan** - Summer Tent.

**Morin khuur** - Mongolian national stringed instrument similar in sound to the cello.

**Naadam** (three games of the mean) - traditional national sports: wrestling, archery, and horse racing.

**Nair** – feast, festival, fun, celebration.

**Nom** – teaching, book

**Noyon** - Mr., Prince, and military leader.

**Nutug** - nomadic, native terrain, valleys and mountains, steppe and river, where is available a sufficient reserve of grazing and hunting grounds.

**Obo** - pile of stones on the mountain tops, mountain passes, on the banks of rivers, lakes, representing the altar of "owner" of the site or locality.

**Oirati** – Generic name of the nomadic tribes inhabiting in the western Mongolia: derbets, Torguts, zahchins, Altai Uriankhians, and etc.

**Rashaan** - healing spring water, mineral water, holy water..

**Sakhius** - spirit-keeper of the family and tribes of the Mongols.

**Sumon** - administrative unit in Mongolia, equivalent to region in Russia.

**Tavagtai idee** - dairy and other products, posted on a wooden plate, guests are hosted by them in a yurt.

**Toono** – The round hole in the central arches at the most top of the yurt, which serves as a chimney.

**Toortsog** - Headwear borderless with a brush made of filaments of varying lengths.

**Tsagaan idee** (white food, dairy) – milk and milk products.

**Tumen** - ten thousand, division unit of troops in medieval Mongolia.

**Urkhi** – Opening for smoke going-out of Ger, felt square, which closes out the smoke who also would act as intermediary between the parents of boys and girls.  
yurt.

**Zolgokh** - New Year's greeting.

**Zus** - common yellow glue which Altaic Uriankhians is done in the traditional way from the skins of animals and it is utilized for the domestic applications.



## KOREA AS PART OF THE MONGOLIAN WORLD:PATTERNS AND DIFFERENCES<sup>1</sup>

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### ABSTRACT

The Mongolian world order was never a single unified, focused entity in large part because of a strong tradition persisting to the end of communality. As time went on this included Koryo Korea, a "son-in-law state" with strong marriage and other links to the center, in its case Mongol China, and one which used its special position to parley economic and political power within an expanded East Asian realm. Its relationship with Mongol China included many resident Koreans in Daidu and elsewhere and powerful consorts such as Empress Ki who dominated the last reign in Mongol China and whose son inherited. The present paper looks at this special relationship between Korea and the Mongol world and also at some of the cultural interaction involved, in this case cultural influences from the Mongol world as seen in the many changes in Korean foodways that took place during the time, including the coming of the national drink, distilled soju. It emerged based upon Mongol technological innovations and the known interest of the Mongol occupiers in distilled alcohol, based in milk for the conquerors but more typically in rice for the Korean conquered.

**Keywords:** Mongol, Korea, history, culture, drink

### MOĞOL DÜNYASININ BİR PARÇASI OLARAK KORE: ÖRNEKLER VE FARKLILIKLAR

#### ÖZ

Moğolistan'ın dünya düzeni, çoğunlukla toplumsallığın sonuna kadar devam eden güçlü gelenek nedeniyle, tek ve birleşik, odaklanmış bir varlık değildi. Zaman geçtikçe Koryo Kore, güçlü evlilik ve diğer merkezî bağlantıları olan bir "damat" devleti, (Mongol) Çin'in ekonomik ve siyasi iktidarın pareleleştirilmesi için özel konumunu kullanan genişletilmiş bir Doğu Asya ülkesi haline gelmişti. Moğol Çin, Daidu'da ve başka yerlerde yaşayan pek çok Koreliyi ve Moğol Çin'de son hükümdarlığa hakim olan Empress Ki gibi güçlü kişileri içeriyordu. Bu yazıda, Kore ile Moğol dünyası arasındaki bu özel ilişkiye ve ayrıca bu süreçte katılan kültürel etkileşimlerden bazılarına değinilmektedir. Zaman içinde gerçekleşen ve Kore'ye ait yiyeceklerde görülen Moğol dünyasının kültürel etkileri, ulusal içecek, damıtılmış *soju* ele alınacaktır. Bu içecek, Moğol teknolojik yeniliklerine dayanarak ortaya çıkmıştır ve Moğol işgalcilerinin saf alkol hakkındaki mevcut ilgisi fatihler için süte dayanmaktadır; fakat daha tipik olarak Koreliler için pirinçtir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Moğol, Kore, tarih, kültür, içecek

#### Ideological Background

The Mongolian world order was never a single unified, focused entity in large part because of a strong tradition persisting to the end of communality. Even though there was often a strong central army and authority, later, even as united rule broke down, the tradition that the totality of the Mongolian world was a single *ulus*, a single

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to my colleague Park Hyunhee for her willingness to discuss the Mongol period in Korean history, the subject of her forthcoming book, with me but views presented here are strictly my own and reflect primarily my perspective as an historian of the Mongol world, Mongol China in particular. I am in no way an historian of Korea.

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“joint patrimony,” subject to joint control and enjoyment, persisted. This was even true when the unity of a supranational *ulus* tended to breakdown into competing *ulus*. This meant that the ruling class, no matter how powerful it was, was subject to restraint and had to consult with the masses, in the great *khuriltai*, “national assemblies,” that elected Möngke and Qubilai, and participating in all important decisions, for one example. This also meant that the Mongol Empire and its successor states had more than one way to expand. Direct conquest was obviously important, but so was intermarriage. In the *Secret History* (All citations of the *Secret History* are to Ligeti 1971) Cinggis-qan gives a retainer a wife and stresses that that act was a key part of the imperial governance system, the *yeke Tore*, the “great imperial system,” just as was conquest, taxation and booty generation:

Cinggis-qahan, when he granted Ibaqa-beki to Jürcedey, when he spoke to Ibaqa-beki he said: “You [have been conferred] not because you have no character or because you are poor in beauty, but [because] I indeed having entered the front and foot, and gone to place myself in the proper ordering, when I granted you to Jürchedey I was thinking of the great *töre*... (*Secret History*, 208).

In another place speaking to Jürchedey himself and then Ibaqa herself Cinggis again stresses *töre*:

Jürcedey has his virtues:

His virtue was being as a shield,

On the day of battle;

His virtue was that he was

My protection against the enemy people;

His virtue was that he unified

The scattered patrimony,

His virtue was that he made unharmed,

The dispersed patrimony

Thinking of *Töre* I conferred this on you. After this time our *uruq* [lineage] will be sitting on our throne. And they will be thinking of *Töre* that such a benefit has been conferred [by Jürchedey]. And if nothing is contrary to my words, from *uruq* to *uruq* Ibaqa’s throne must not be cut off (*Secret History* 208).

Ögödei (r, 1229-41) also makes the system clear by putting that same word *Töre* on an important coin (from his capital of Qaraqorum, the only one surviving of those issued), almost to the exclusion of other types of identification. *Töre* alone made clear what he wanted to express, namely that the coin in question represented the proper ordering and functioning of the Mongol universe, as granted by Heaven (Buell 2016: 43-64).

Thus *Töre* was not just social order in an abstract sense but involved the proper maintenance of a complex net of relationships. In this case, Jürcedey had served the *qan* well and deserved a reward. There was an obligation to reward him, and this

involved the granting of a high-status woman who through her alliance with Jürcedey was to cement a key alliance within the Mongolian empire. It was not just with an individual, Jürcedey, but with a large collection of subject people granted to Jürcedey, a sub-qanate that was still part of the whole.

This episode of course very much involved marriage politicking. On one level, the men of the ruling house could conquer and accumulate people for their own use, making the whole stronger; but the women were expected to hold it all together through marriage alliances, part of the *Töre* that Cinggis-qan mentions repeatedly.

And this *Töre* was in every way ordained cosmically as this concept of cosmic ordination is expressed in the Seal of Güyük-qan (r. 1246-48). It speaks of Tengri, "Heaven" as the governor and originator of it all:

*Möngke-Tengri-yin Küchün-tür Yeke Monggol Ulus-un Dalai-yin qan-u jarliy il bulqa irgen-tür kürbesü busiretügüi ayutuγai* "By the Power of Eternal Heaven, the *jarliy* [imperial order] of the Universal Qan of the Great Mongol Patrimony [*ulus*]. If this reaches a pacified or a rebellious people, it must respect [it] [and] it must fear" (Buell 2003: 293).

Acting contrary to *Töre* was thus acting contrary to the whole order of the universe. It was an inconceivable act.

#### **Korea and Elsewhere:**

As the Mongolian Empire expanded, and the space is too brief to trace the history of that expansion here, it took its system with it; very much so. The concepts of Eternal Heaven [Tengeri], an associated "power of the ancestors," also frequently mentioned, of the universality of the *ulus*, "patrimony," and of all the paraphernalia of imperial authority travelled along with the armies and migrating tribes. Korea, not the earliest Mongol conquest, its acquisition was in fact almost an accident (Henthorn 1963), soon became a vital one particularly at the end of Mongol rule in East Asia when Koryo Korea became Mongol China's most powerful surviving ally (Robinson 2009). And Korea was not just an important part of the Mongol world order politically but it too became a part of the *Töre*.

Korea was in fact a "son-in-law" state, where marital connections between the Mongol ruling house in China, the Yuan 元 Dynasty, and the Koryo ruling house, dominated and became the basis not only the ruling power of the Wang Clan of Koryo itself but of the position of the Mongols in Korea and over Korea. Since such relations were long-term, the two houses, that of Koryo and the Mongol Yuan became so inbred that one Korean King, Ch'ungson (1308-13), was a grandson of Qubilai-qan. While the last Mongol emperor of China, Ayurshiridara (r. 1371-78), was the son of Korean Empress Ki (died 1370?), to give just two examples.

The relationship was such that it has even found expression in Mongol oral history. As a young graduate student, for example, I heard the story of how Cinggis-qan went to Korea and was so enamored by the Koryo girls that he simply did not want to come back. The only way to get him to return home was to send an old horse-



headed-fiddle player to sing songs about Mongolia and make the great khan homesick. The story, which exists in many variants, in one, the Korean girl who tempted him was his real wife, Qulan, actually a Mongolian Merket with no Korean connections at all (See the discussion in Robinson 2009: 265), is false. Cinggis-qan never went to Korea, anywhere close in fact, but the Mongol who told me the story (a descendent of Temüge-otchigin, who had a special role in Korea as the Mongols first penetrated it),<sup>2</sup> (See the discussion of this man in passing in Henthorn 1963) while stressing this, also stressed that the story is indicative of the close relationships between Mongols and Koreans, of a sort that persists to the present day thanks to the close economic connections between South Korea and Mongolia.

And not just marriages were involved, but much more. There were major exchanges of elites, for example, and major exchanges of cultural and even technological goods, e.g., Mongol distillation technology used to make a new Korean beverage, *soju* (The topic will be the subject of a forthcoming paper by Park Hyunhee presented at the conference on Fermentation and Distillation in Salzburg Austria and to be published in 2017 in the online journal *Crossroads*. I also think Dr. Park for personally expanding upon information in her paper with me). International members of the Mongol and even world elite in China were present in Korea, including Uighurs (See Robinson 2009. For a family of Uighurs active in 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century Korea see also Michael C. Brose, "Uyghur Semuren in Koryŏ and Chosŏn Korean Society and Politics," in M. Rossabi, ed., *Eurasian Influences on Yuan China*, Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 178-199). Koreans were found in Daidu 大都 capital of Mongol China as a regular community (Robinson 2009), a large one and Koreas had colonized, with a great deal of help from the Mongols, the Liaoyang 遼陽 area (Robinson 2009). Koreans also actively participated in Yuan China's international trade (There is no full study of this important topic but of its connection with maps and map-making see the important study by Hyunhee 2012, See also Hyunhee 2013). Most important, Korean aristocrats even served in the Mongol royal bodyguard, a great honor.

The imperial bodyguard of Yuan China was a holdover in Mongol China from imperial times. Under Cinggis-qan at first it comprised a few hundred guards and special servants for the *qan's* inner *ordo* or palace tents. Later many more were added until the guard in various branches constituted a full *tumen*, a body of 10,000 warriors (For a full institutional history of the early Mongol Empire and Mongol East Asia see Buel 1977).

In addition to its military function, as a key part of the *ghol*, the imperial central pivot force when the army was mobilized, it acquired two other functions as well. The bodyguard or *kesig* became a center for government, in the words of the *Secret History*, it governed along with us (the *qan*) (See the discussion in Buell 1994). It also,

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<sup>2</sup> Henthorn among other things reproduces a tribute list from Temüge (page 202). It calls for 10,000 otter pelts, 3000 bolts of fine silk, 2000 bolts of fine ramie, 10,000 bushels of silk quilting, ink, writing brushes, and paper, textile dies, namely groomwell, safflower, indigo shoots, cinnabar red, and orpiment, also bright lacquer and tung oil.

and this was a most important role, became like George Washington's staff and what it did later for the young United States, a center for training and indoctrination.

One of the sub-categories of the *kesig* were the *turqaq*, literally, "hostages," and the *turqaq* were mostly young members of the Mongol elite, although they were certainly not just Mongolian, usually in any case from the very best families, sent to court to serve the *qan* and, at the same time, acquire a national perspective while being useful. In the *turqaq*, not only did the hostages, if they were not already so, become "Mongols," but learned not just Mongolian, the universal language, but the common parlance of court and empire and the ideological constructs associated with it.

Among those from outside serving as *turqaq* were young Koreans, Korean aristocrats but also princes including princes later ruling as monarchs (See Robinson, 78 and in particular 98ff). The importance of such service in terms of binding Mongol China and Mongol Korea cannot be underestimated. One result were Korean rulers in many respects more Mongolian than Korean although this does not mean that the Korean aristocracy as a whole was heavily Mongolized. The fact that the princes mostly had Mongol wives just added to their degree of assimilation. Mongol wives were still not universal even among the most powerful.

Also an important institution participated in jointly by both the Mongol side of the Yuan Empire and by the Koreans of Koryo were the "provinces," *sheng* 省 or *xingsheng* 行省 (Mongolian *il* although the Turkic form *el* was more common; both mean a pacified population), set up to administer the Liaoyang area on the one side, and much of Korea on the other in connection with the Mongol plan to conquer Japan. As I show elsewhere, these provinces, an innovation in East Asia for the Mongol period, were a key part of Mongol administration in terms of Mongol holdings as a part of the great communality, the *ulus*, including the functionings of the *jarquci*, an adjudicator for *ulus* authority, not exactly a "judge" as the term is often translated. Most were the most powerful officials in the entire Mongol system of governance; officials that could even overrule the ruler himself. Jarquci could even exist at a level completely above the imperial system of the *qan* (Buell 1977).

The most important feature of the "province" from the perspective of Koryo in particular was the fact that like the *ulus* themselves, the "provinces" were jointly ruled and administered. They were ruled by a collegium of officials, including imperial officers such as imperial *jarquci*, but also *jarquci* appointed by other centers of authority, such as imperial princes and princely domains. Essentially anyone with a strong interest, and not all were at the level of *jarquci*, had the right to participate in provincial government.

How the system worked in practice is most evident in a place such as the later *sheng* of what is now Yunnan 雲南 where documentation is particularly full (on how the province there came into being see Buell 1993: 466-479). Such a system existed in Korea as well as an early study by Karl-Heinz Reck has shown. Among the participants in the joint government of the *sheng* for Korea in fact was the Koryo king and his major

ministers. The *sheng* of Korea, for attacking Japan, was not just a Mongolian structure. Koreans owned it just like the Yuan elite (Karl-Heinz Reck 1968: 135-144).

Such common institutions, e.g., the bodyguard and the province system in this case, but also interactions between Koreans and others at Daidu, and within Korea itself, broad intermarriages, etc., helped promote the permeability of the two parts of the society affecting Korea in the Mongol era, namely that of Korea itself and the many societies of Mongol China. This tended to create a common elite that was often more loyal to the totality than to its components, one primary reason why Korea remained allied with the Mongols almost to the end, even when the Mongols as such had come to lack real power to intervene in Korea.

Common institutions and permeability also gave rise not only to solidarity but common experiences. Both Korea and North China, for example, experienced the massive Red Turban rebellions and invasions (Robinson 2009: 130), the later in fact greatly influencing the whole experience of late Koryo history. Also influencing the respectively Korea and the Yuan, and this is an entirely other issue, were parallel developments in the two societies. One, which must be addressed in detail in future research, was militarization although there has been no direct study of militarization in Mongol China and in Koryo Korea in comparative terms. Nonetheless, the process leading to the rise of Choson on the one side is very similar to the process leading to the fall of Yuan and the new Ming in China. Further research is certainly called for and would be fruitful (see John Duncan 2000 and John Duncan 1988-89: 9-79).

In conclusion, the joint experiences of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty, Qanate China, and of Koryo Korea were not accidental and go beyond elite communalities. Not only were their experiences linked by a kinship network but by key institutions as well as was the case for other parts of the Mongolian world. That is to say, as I have strongly suggested above, Korea's experiences in late Koryo times with the Mongols were not haphazard or unique. In fact, Korea, as a "son-in-law" state shared experiences with many other parts of the Mongol world system, not just China, including the Seljuq kingdom, a vassal of the Ilqans of Iran, Lesser Armenia, also dominated by the Ilqans, and probably the Uighurs of Turkistan, which came under the East Asian Mongols. Tibet was similar too but different as well in its special religious connections with Mongol China. The list might be extended. In any case, the Mongol World Order was vast, Korea was simply one component of it. Where it was different, and that is another story completely, was in source material. Korea makes a particularly good case study as a consequence. This includes the well-documented Korean cultural history of the era, from *pulgoggi* to *soju* (see Appendix 1).

Nonetheless, in writing a history of Korea for the Mongol era it is important not to let our enthusiasm for the excellent source material and the interest of the subject itself run away with us. Just as in writing a history of Korea in the Mongol period it is important not to fail to see the Korean trees for a Mongolian forest, so it is likewise important to remember that the Koreans of the era have their own values and assumptions. For example, whatever the ideological justification, they often did not like it when the Mongols helped themselves to (largely elite) Koryo women (see Jahun Kim Haboush 2009: 42-49) even though from the Mongol perspective the marriages and the

rest were an honor and the Mongols, in their view, were simply helping themselves to booty which it was Korea's obligation to provide. And the booty involved in any case would not only be shared from the Mongolian side, perhaps indirectly in other forms, but could come back to the Koreans in abundance. This was the way the system worked or was supposed to work at least.

And while the Koreans participated in Mongolian political strictures, such as bodyguard membership and the province system, and the Korean elite did become part of a larger Yuan *ulus* elite, be it through active choice or passive acceptance, it would also be remembered that much of what went on in Koryo Korea was predicated on Korean interests, on Korean survival in particular, for example. The Koryo monarchy and its supporters were first and primarily devoted to the survival of Koryo itself often in the face of heavy-handed Mongolian action, something strongly resented, not just the tribute of beautiful women. Thus when we study the history of Mongol Korea it is, to be sure, to allow the Mongol and other elite of Qanate China to speak, but to allow a Korean elite to speak as well although often its actions speak far louder than words; what was done when the chips were down or no one was looking. So thus in studying late Koryo Korea and the Mongols we need balance our enthusiasm for an interesting case study with a realism for the Korea that actually existed. Such an approach is only too natural given the importance of the Mongol period not just in Koryo history, but in Korean history as a whole.

## **Appendix 1**

### **The Mongols and Korean Food**

Although seemingly isolated from the zone of the direct contact, namely the overland silk roads, another East Asian Society greatly influenced by foods and food influences coming from the west and the far west during the Mongol period was Korea. In large part, but not exclusively, the new foods and food influences reflected the assimilation of the Korean elite to Eurasian cultural standards, *i.e.*, those of the Mongol world order of which Koryo and even Choson Korea was very much a part. Nonetheless, Korean foodways still managed to be both Korean and foreign at the same time.

Korean food before the Mongols was more or less Korean in its own unique ways. Some western influences were already found since Korean merchants not only participated, distantly, in Silk Road commerce, but also actively maintained a maritime presence within the China Sea and on south. This including the presence of Western merchants in Korea and many Korean, for that matter, in China and elsewhere.

Being a country with an enormously long coastline Korea has relied and still relies on fish and seaweed. Well-watered, it also raises rice and other water-loving crops. Being fertile, and not extremely continental in climate, it can produce a great range of foods. Being throughout much of its history a country of extreme poverty (except recently in the south), it was long a land of grain and not rice, and of the most easily-grown vegetables. Meat was a luxury even for relatively rich families. This included for long the beef dishes so popular today which most likely were first popularized under the Mongols.

One of the characteristics linking Korea with interior Eurasia has been a reliance on small grains. Rice, a large grain, was long uncommon and grew only in the more fertile, level, southerly valleys. Wheat did not grow particularly well anywhere but, by way of compensation, there was widespread reliance on barley, buckwheat, sorghum, popularized in Mongol times, and millets. These last included not only broomcorn and foxtail, but also barnyard millet and other obscure East Asian plants. Most interesting and unique was the use of acorns to make flour and a pale jelly-like product similar to sticky rice cake. The acorns have to be processed intensively to remove the tannins and other bitter, unhealthful chemicals. Chestnuts and pine nuts are less common, but far from rare.

Grains are sometimes just boiled, like regular rice, but very often made into noodles, which are perhaps even more abundant in Korea than in other East Asian countries. Congee, *juk*, also abounds, and there is a whole tradition of *bonjuk*, healthful congees, made with medicinal herbs, fruits, black sesame seeds, and beans. The imperial court used abalone. These are recommended for countless illnesses, and indeed are usually quite nutritious and soothing.

The other distinctive feature about Korean cuisine is the enormous dependence on pickles. A Korean meal, in fact, is incomplete without a whole selection of pickles, usually in small side dishes arranged around the main course. This has several causes: long, cold winters when fresh foods were unavailable; an extremely rich flora with many options for pickling; a number of tough vegetables that are made easier to eat by the process; and a lack of any other way to preserve many vegetable foods. Even meat and fish find their way into the pickles.

The famous one, now known worldwide, is kimchi, a very salty mix usually based on Chinese cabbage and garlic. Various kinds of cabbage can be used. Chile peppers are now an inevitable, and major, part of the mix although a recent new world import. Radishes (including their leaves), bean sprouts, pine nuts, sesame seeds, cooked beans, various species of chives and onions, and other vegetables find their way in. The great vats of kimchi put down for the winter may include a whole chicken or a number of small (usually dried) fish. Related types of pickle are made of radishes, chives, and the like without the cabbage. A different pickling strategy, involving more oil and less salt and water, is used to make a wide variety of single-item pickles: rape-cabbage tops, *Platycodon* shoots, bean sprouts, seaweeds, and so on. There seems no limit to the uses of this process. Yet other processes were used to pickle, dry, ferment, and otherwise preserve the all-important and ever-present bean curd. Perilla leaves, which are so common in Korea that they count as a vegetable rather than just a flavoring herb, also find their way into pickles.

Meat was also enormously popular, but all too rare. The Koreans, like the Central Asians, were masters at stretching it by chopping it fine and using it in stuffing for dumplings. These generally resemble north Chinese forms and most appear to be imports. The familiar Turkic name *mandu* is used for one type showing certainly a Mongol-era derivation. Although only one type is actually called *mantu* Korean food is now characterized by a variety of similar dumplings. Also part of the introductions of the period were a variety of noodle dishes, in some cases noodles in adapted Korean dishes such as the stews and rich soups for which Korea is famed, and the practice of seasoning with pepper.

Also at least a conceptual import of the Mongol era was *bulkogi* and related foods. To make them meat is cut fine, marinated, and then cooked at the table over a brazier; a way of cooking now familiar in the western world via Korean *bulkogi* and other specialties abundantly found in restaurants. Although it would have been more logical for the Mongols to introduce mutton dishes to Korea in fact sheep are not common in Korea even today.

Another area in which the Mongols had an impact in Korea was in alcoholic beverages. The Mongols did not invent but seem to have taken to distillation and were instrumental in spreading convenient and easily portable distillation technology. This included to Korea where Mongol bases became centers for the production of what became the national distillate, now called *soju* and made primarily from rice. Interestingly this new drink was first called *arkhi* (Park Hyunhee, personal communication to P. Buell), the word almost universally applied to distilled liquors throughout much of Eurasia during the Mongol period.

Soju has been much developed since. Today can be made from anything starchy, including sweet potatoes (a major crop in the south since the 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> century). Soju can be, and often is, variously flavored with fruit, herbs, or savory tastes. It ranges from fairly strong (less often distilled) to *samsu* (Chinese *san shao*, “three times distilled”) and even more.

Thus Korea’s Links to Central Asia include the finely-cut meat cooked on a brazier or in a pan; the many types of stuffed dumplings; the many types of noodles and noodle soups; the widespread use of millets, buckwheat and barley; the importance and nature of distilling; and also, a subordinate issue, the widespread use of drying to preserve meat and other items. Very different by the contrast are the wide variety of plant foods and the incredible focus on pickles.

Thus it seems reasonable to see Korean food as a coordinate branch with Central Asia of the family tree of East Asian foodways. It developed from a similar background: hunting and gathering in a game-rich environment, then domestication of millet and rice, then the addition of the standard domestic animals and vegetables, then the development of noodles, pickles, and other technologies, and finally the elaboration of a whole complex of dumplings, noodle foods, finely-cut meat dishes, and so on. Where nomadic stockraisers elaborated dairy foods and easily-transported grain products, Koreans elaborated storage in less mobile ways. One cannot easily move 10-gallon pottery jars of kimchi.

Adapted from Paul D. Buell, Eugene N. Anderson and Montserrat de Pablo Moya, *Crossroads of Cuisine, The Eurasian Heartland, the Silk Roads and Food*, London: Reaktion Books, forthcoming

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## GOBI BÖLGESİNDE ARKEOLOJİK ARAŞTIRMA VE KAZI

(Ganzagad Bölgesinde Arkeolojik Anıtlar)

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### ÖZ

Ganzagad bölgesinde, Umnu Gobi ilinin Noyon köyü topraklarındaki arkeolojik araştırmalarda 3 bölge (Ganzagad'ın merkezine ve Vajigiin Khar'a yakın iki antik bölge ve taş aletler bölgesi) keşfedilmiştir. Toplam 9 mezarda kurban anıtları kazılmış, kayadan oluşan bir sanat bölgesi kaydedilmiş ve belgelendirilmiştir. Ayrıca bir taş aletler bölgesi incelenmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Arkeolojik araştırma, kazı, taş aletler bölgesi, Ganzagad.

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY AND EXCAVATION IN GOBI REGION

(Archaeological Monuments in Ganzagad Area)

### ABSTRACT

During the archaeological survey in Ganzagad in the territory of the Noyon soum of Umnu gobi aimag, 3 sites (Stone tools site and 2 ancient grave sites near Ganzagad center and Vajigiin Khar) were discovered. In total 9 graves and sacrificial monuments were excavated, one rock art site was recorded and documented and one stone tools site was investigated.

**Keywords:** Archeological survey, excavation, stone tools site, Ganzagad.

The area of Ganzagad is surrounded in the north of Tahilt mountain, in the northeast of Ganzagad Shovon and extends to the east, west and south as a plain with small hills and rain water collecting depressions and dry rivers. The Ganzagad bag center, Noyon soum of Umengobi aimag is located in the northern part of the area on the hill between two dry rivers. There are buildings of bag governor, hospital, cultural center and storage in the bag center.

There is stream in 200 m to the west from the bag center and in general the geographical condition of the area around the bag center seems to be very suitable for permanent settlement for ancient people been rich with open water source and abundant vegetation, located in the hills with flint and gravel rocks.

During archaeological survey 9 sites for ancient graves, sacrificial objects, Stone Age settlements, workshops and earthen kiln for metalwork are discovered at three locations within and in near-locating areas.

#### A. Ancient graves near Ganzagad area

During archaeological survey in Ganzagad area 9 ancient graves and sacrificial sites are discovered and excavated. These graves are labeled as follows:

1. Two graves are discovered near the road to Ganzagad bag in 6 km to south from Noyon sum center, on the east of the road on the southern slope of a small hill – **Ganzagad, Grave 1** and **Ganzagad, Grave 2**.

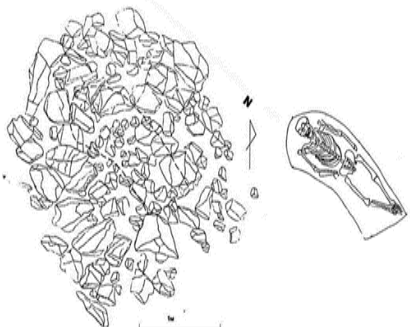

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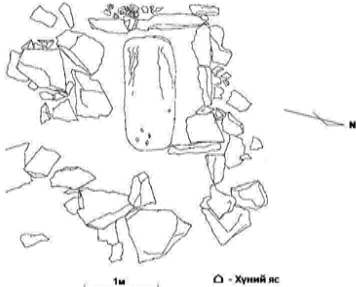



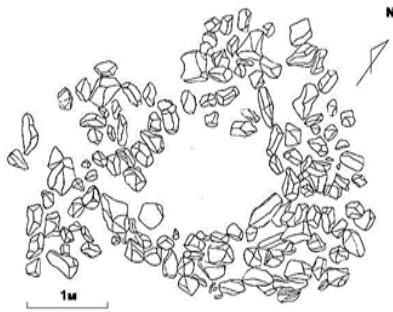


2. Three graves in 3.1 km to northeast from Ganzagad bag center - **Ganzagad, Grave 3, Ganzagad, Grave 4 and Ganzagad, Grave 5.**
3. Two graves in 2 km from the west road to Noyonsoumcenter, or in 6 km from bag center, on the eastern slope of a hill named Vajigiin Khar (Majigiin Khar)
4. Two graves in 500 m to southeast from Vajigiin Khar hill



The detailed description of the archaeological excavations is given below.

### Description of excavated Burial

 <p>Ganzagad, Grave 1. Stone feature and burial</p>	<p><b>Ganzagad, Grave 1. (Mongolian period)</b></p> <p>N 43° 06'36.5"      ALT 1894 m  E 102° 10'47.8"      Size 3.50x3.50 m</p> <p>The cleaning of the surface in 3.5 to 3.5 m area revealed slightly depressed stone feature. After removing the stones and leveling the surface, east-west oriented burial pit filled with earth is revealed. The deceased was buried with face turned to right and legs bent, oriented to the northwest. Except the lower right canine all the teeth were at the place. During the examination of the pit, a dried up organic material (possibly dried ear) with metal ring worn to it and stone bead of blue colour which was likely the part of the ring, are found from the underneath the skull soil. The further examination revealed no other artefacts and the graves reburied.</p>
 <p>Ganzagad, Grave 2. Stone feature</p>	<p><b>Ganzagad, Grave 2.(Sacrificial site)</b></p> <p>N 43° 06' 36,5"      ALT 1893 m  E 102° 10' 47,8"      Diameter 2.3 m</p> <p>The grave is located in 20 m to southwest from the Grave 1 on the western slope of a hill. The surface construction is a circular feature with diameter of 2.3 m. The excavation in the 2 to 2.5 m area did not reveal any burial materials and artifacts.</p>

 <p>Ganzagad, Grave 3. Stone feature</p>	<p><b>Ganzagad, Grave 3. (Sacrificial site)</b></p> <p>N 43° 00' 86,6"      ALT 1647 m E 102° 06' 24,7"      Size 4x4 m</p> <p>This is a circular construction close to the summit. After cleaning and planning the western part of the construction was removed. But in 10 cm depth natural subsoil is reached and excavation is stopped. The construction was likely built with sacrificial purpose.</p>
 <p>Ganzagad, Grave 4. Stone feature</p>	<p><b>Ganzagad, Grave 4. (Bronze Age)</b></p> <p>N 43° 00' 55.1"      ALT 1664 m E 102° 11' 09.0"      Size 4:4 m</p> <p>The original construction was likely built with large stones – the lower stones were removed. The enclosure size is 360 cm long and 190 cm wide. Fragments of bones were found from the lower part of the grave. In 30 cm of depth 170 cm long and 60 cm wide burial pit carved in natural rock is revealed. Excavation of burial pit gave no artefacts and human remains. Findings of human remains from the lower part of the enclosure and absence of the burial in grave pit suggest the grave was robbed in ancient time. By the surface feature the grave might belonged to the Bronze Age.</p>
 <p>Ganzagad, Grave 5. 2<sup>nd</sup> level</p>	<p><b>Ganzagad, Grave 5.</b></p> <p>N43°00'54.7"      ALT: 1648 m E102°11'09.0"</p> <p>This is a rectangular enclosure made of large stones without stones in the center. The excavation revealed any artifacts and burial materials and in 40 cm natural soil is reached. The grave was probably robbed in very ancient time.</p>
<p><b>Archaeological monuments in Vajigiin (majigiin) Khar mountain</b></p> <p>One of the two hills to south from Tahilt mountain is named Vajigiin Khar. We found two graves on the east of a hill next to Vajigiin Khar and labeled them as Vajigiin Khar 1, and Vajigiin Khar 2.</p>	

 <p>VajigiinKhar, Grave 1. Stone feature</p>	<p><b>VajigiinKhar, Grave 1. (Sacrificial site)</b></p> <p>N 43°00'86,8"      ALT 1889 m</p> <p>E 102°07'25,0"</p> <p>This a stone construction of triangular shape, with no stone in the center. The cleaning of the surface and the further excavation revealed any burial pit or stone construction. But from underneath of the northern part stones conic shaped pestle is found.</p>
 <p>Vajigiin Khar, Grave 2. Stone feature</p>	<p><b>VajigiinKhar, Garve 2. (Mongolian period?)</b></p> <p>N43°00'49.1"      ALT 1671 m</p> <p>E102°06'72.3"      Size 4.5x4.5 m</p> <p>The grave is located in 200 m to the south of the Vajigiin Khar mountain. This a stone mound with size 4.5 m in diameter. During the cleaning the surface in 5 to 5 m area human bones are found from the central stone box. Excavation revealed human skeleton out of the anatomical position. Probably, robbers dug into the central stone box and staffed human bones into the robbing hole. Near the human bones one "Bu" type coin is found.</p> <p><b>Description of the find:</b></p> <p>"Bu" type coin from Manchu period, diameter 2.5 cm.</p> <p>Iron knife fragment: 9.5 cm long, found during the cleaning the surface.</p>
	 <p>Vajigiin Khar.</p> <p>Grave 2."Bu" type coin from Manchu dynasty</p>

 <p>Vajigiin Khar, Grave 3. Stone feature</p>	<p><b>VajigiinKhar, Grave 3. (Bronze Age)</b></p> <p><b>N 43°00' 86,6"      ALT 1889m</b></p> <p><b>E 102°06' 24,7"      Size 5.50x4.50 m</b></p> <p>The surface feature is stirrup shaped construction which has a wall made of standing flat stones on the northeastern side and round enclosure made of arranged stones in the other sides. The middle stone of the northeastern wall is 85 cm tall, and has an image of rhinoceros. Stone enclosure is 40 cm tall and was filled with rocks. There are no stones in the center – might be a trace of robbery. In the depth of 45 cm, by leveling the excavation area we revealed a stone layer, where a small fragment of hard bone is found. The fragment was very hard to identify if it was animal or human origin. The further excavation for 55 cm revealed natural soil and the grave is backfilled.</p> <p>The surface construction of the grave grabs an interest. The grave is located in front of a small hill, where we found many petroglyphs from Bronze Age. Among these petroglyphs there is an image of a seal identical to the shape of the Grave 2 – semi-egg shape. We suggest that a tribe living in this area had a seal of this shape and maybe by their tradition they had a burial ritual to bury their deceased in the same shape grave construction.</p>
 <p>VajigiinKhar. Grave 4. Surface feature</p>	<p><b>Vajigiin Khar, Grave 4. (Sacrificial site)</b></p> <p><b>N43°00'23.6"      ALT 1672 m</b></p> <p><b>E102°06'72.3"      Size 2.5x3 m</b></p> <p>The grave is located in 300 m to southeast from the Grave 2 and is a rectangular feature. The excavation revealed any burial or artifacts. The site was possibly made with sacrificial purpose</p>

### C. Stone tool site in Ganzagad area

During the archaeological survey conducted in Ganzagad area numerous stone tools are collected. Most of these tools were made of rock of greenish color from the hill in 5 km to north from bag center.

#### **Stone tools site 1. N 42°59' 50.0" ALT 1594 m E102° 12'15.7"**

This is a small sand dune in 20 m to north from the bag center overgrown with broom grass, where most of the stone tools were found. At this dune and in 20 m radius 30 fine stone tools of several types and tens of fragments and pieces of stone tools are collected from the surface. In order to determine the location of the stone tool workshop and possible settlement of the stone tool makers we conducted a test trench excavation. The trenches were 1 m wide and the longer trench was 24 m long oriented along latitude and passed by the center of the sand dune. Another trench was 16 m long and started from the middle point of the longer trench and was along the longitude. Each meters of the trenches are labeled alphabetically from A to X for longer trench and from A to O for shorter trench. The excavation is made by 20 cm layer and in total 6 layers or 120 cm were excavated. Findings were recorded according to the layer and quadrant.

170 stone tools are found from the surface and Layer 1.

40 stone tools are found from the Layer 2.

21 stone tools are found from the Layer 3.

The further excavation revealed any stone tools or signs of a settlement.

#### **Stone tools site 2. N 42°59'27.6" ALT 1599 m E102° 12'16.2"**

This is a sandy area in 200 m to southeast from the bag center overgrown with broom grass. By the light survey 12 fine made stone tools and more than 20 fragments of stone tools are collected.

#### **Stone tools site 3. N 42° 59' 47,4" ALT 1893 m E 102° 12' 32,0"**

This is an area to west from the bag center: hills and sand dunes around a small stream. Numbers of stone tools and fragments are found in this area.

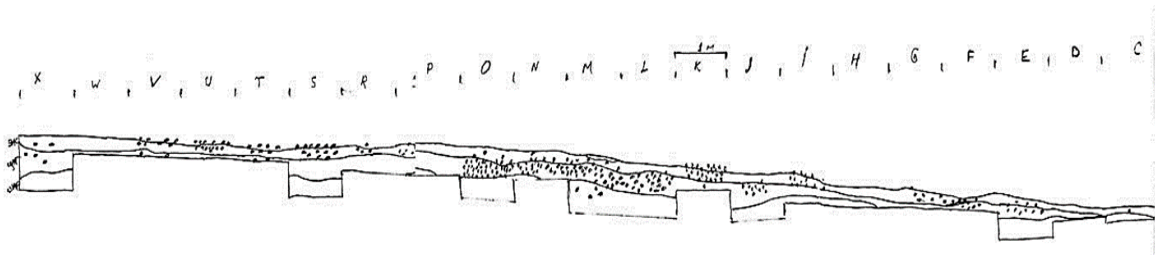
#### **Ganzagad kiln? N 42° 59' 32,0" ALT 1894 m E 102°12' 19,3"**

On the southeast from the stream, at the foot of a small hill an oval construction with size of 6 to 8 m made of clay with hard grass is found. There are masses of melted metal pieces revealed near the construction, which suggest the construction be an ancient kiln for metallurgy. Stone tool findings from Ganzagad show that the site may belong to the lower Paleolithic or Neolithic period (40000 to 15000 BP). Abundant findings of stone tools, such as very well made ones, fragments and broken in hunting and everyday activity pieces, suggest about the existence of the stone tool workshops and permanent or temporary settlements of ancient people from Paleolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic periods in the area. Not only the settlement, but it is quite possible, that

sacrificial places, and burial grounds of Neolithic people to be in very near surrounding areas.

For that reason, it is highly required the further comprehensive archaeological investigation of the site to determine the area of the stone tool distribution, its type, technology and to reveal ancient settlement and burials from Neolithic period.

The results of the preliminary archaeological investigation conducted in Ganzagad area show that since very early time – Paleolithic and Neolithic period to the very near historical period – Mongolian period, the area has been inhabited by ancient nomad people, which can be seen from the archaeological monuments revealed in the area. .



#### **Stone tool site 1. Cross-section of the trench excavation**

Test trench of the Stone tool site. Noyon soum, Umengobi aimag.

Stone tool site. Trench reburied.



Test excavation. Cross-section. Noyon soum, Umengobi aimag.

**STONE TOOL FINDS FROM GANZAGAD****Conclusion**

During the archaeological survey in Ganzagad in the territory of the Noyon soum of Umnu gobi aimag, 3 sites (Stone tool site and 2 ancient grave sites near Ganzagad center and Vajigiin Khar) were discovered. In total 9 graves and sacrificial monuments were excavated, one rock art site was recorded and documented and one stone tools site was investigated. Among the graves and monuments excavated there are 2 graves belonging to the Mongolian period, 3 graves belonging to the Bronze Age (2<sup>nd</sup> millennia BC) and 4 sacrificial sites. Out of three graves from Bronze Age, there are two slab graves and one "stirrup" type grave. Abundant findings of stone tools found near Ganzagad bag center likely belonging to the Upper Paleolithic and early Neolithic period suggest about the existence of not only the stone tool workshop and settlements of ancient people from Paleolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic periods, but also lead to propose of sacrificial places, and burial grounds of Neolithic people to be in very near surrounding areas. For that reason, the further comprehensive archaeological investigation of the **Ganzagad site** is highly required in order to determine the area of the stone tool distribution, type, culture and technology, and to reveal ancient settlement and burials from Neolithic period in the area.



## ÜÇ ÜLKEYE BÖLÜNÜMÜŞ ÇOK DİLLİ BİR HALK: HAMNİGANLAR VE DİL DURUMLARI

Yrd.Doç.Dr.Gökçe YÜKSELEN PELER\*

### ÖZ

17. yüzyıl sonrasında Çarlık Rusyası'nda Nerçinsk Tunguzları olarak bilinen ve diğer Tunguzlar tarafından At Tunguzları olarak adlandırılan Tunguz öbeğinin ahfadı, günümüzde Hamniganlar adı altında, Rusya Federasyonu, Moğolistan ve Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti olmak üzere üç ülkede yaşamaktadırlar. Hamniganlar bu üç ülkenin hiçbirinde resmî olarak Hamnigan kimliği ile tanınmamaktadırlar. Rusya Federasyonu'nda Buryat, Moğolistan'da Moğol ve Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nde Evenk olarak tanınmışlardır. Bu durum, Hamniganların etnik ve dillik durumları ile ilgilidir. *Hamnigan* kelimesi kendisi, Moğolcada 'Evenk Tunguzu' demektir. Hamniganlar ise her üç ülkede de kendilerine has bir Moğolca değişkesi konuşmaktadırlar. Günümüzde Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nde Moğolcanın yanında Evenk Tunguzcası da konuşmaktadırlar. Yakın geçmişe kadar Moğolistan'da da Evenk Tunguzcası konuştuklarına dair belirtiler mevcuttur. Hamniganların dilinin Rusya Federasyonu'nda neredeyse tamamen Buryatlaştığı ve Ruslaştığı düşünülmektedir. Moğolistan'da da Hamnigan Moğolcasının büyük oranda Buryat Moğolcasının ve Halha Moğolcasının etkisi altında olduğu görülmektedir. Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'ndeki Hamniganlar ise, dillerini en fazla muhafaza edebilmiş Hamnigan topluluğudur. Hamniganlar küçük ama etnik bakımdan oldukça çeşitli coğrafyada yaşamaktadırlar. Ruslar, Çinliler ve çeşitli Moğol halkları ile Tunguz halkları, Hamniganların birlikte yaşadıkları halklardır. Bu kültürel çeşitlilik, tabii olarak, Hamniganların çok dilli ve çok değişikli bir halk olması sonucunu ortaya çıkarmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Hamniganlar, Hamnigan Moğolcası, Evenk Tunguzcası, Moğollaşma, çok dillilik

### A MULTILINGUAL PEOPLE DIVIDED INTO THREE COUNTRIES: KHAMNIGANS AND THEIR LANGUAGE SITUATION

#### ABSTRACT

The descendants of the Tungus group, which was known as the Nerchinsk Tungus in the Tsarist Russia after the 17<sup>th</sup> century and was called the Equestrian Tungus by other Tungus groups, live in three different countries, namely the Russian Federation (RF), Mongolia and the People's Republic of China (PRC), under the name Khamnigan. The Khamnigan are not officially recognized in any of these three countries. They are classified as Buryats in RF, as Mongols in Mongolia and as Evenks in PRC. This is a result of the ethno-linguistic sate of the Khamnigan society. The name Khamnigan itself means 'Evenk' in Mongolian. On the other hand Khamnigans speak a variety of Mongolian in all three countries. In PRC they additionally speak a variety of Evenk. There is evidence that until recently they spoke Evenk in Mongolia as well. It is thought that the Khamnigans have almost completely switched over to Buryat and Russian in RF. Additionally Khamnigan Mongol is greatly influenced by Buryat and Khalkha Mongolic in Mongolia. The Khamnigans of PRC are the group, which has preserved the Khamnigan languages most. Khamnigans populate a small but ethnically mixed territory. Russians, Chinese and Mongolic peoples together with Tungusic peoples are ethnic groups,

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which Khamnigans are in contact with. Naturally the Khamnigan has become a multilingual people as a result of this cultural diversity.

**Keywords:** Khamnigans, Khamnigan Mongol, Evenk, Mongolization, multilingualism

### Giriş

Günümüzde, Hamniganlar, Rusya Federasyonu, Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti ve Moğolistan olmak üzere üç ayrı ülkede yaşamaktadırlar. Kısmen buldukları ülkelerin kimlik siyasetinin bir sonucu olarak, kısmen de kendi etnik ve dillik durumlarının açtığı karışıklıklar neticesinde, bu üç ülkenin hiçbirinde resmî olarak Hamnigan kimliği ile tanınmayıp farklı milliyetler altında tasnif edilmişlerdir. Hamnigan toplumu, hâlihazırda yaşadıkları bu üç ülkenin hiçbirinde resmî olarak “Hamnigan” kimliği altında tanımlanmamakta, bilakis toplumu oluşturan bireyler, her ülkede farklı olmak üzere, üç farklı milliyet adı altında sınıflandırılmaktadırlar. Rusya Federasyonu’nda Buryat Moğolu, Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti’nde Evenk Tunguzu ve Moğolistan’da da doğrudan Moğol olarak tasnif edilmektedirler. Esas ilginç olan ise, buldukları her ülkede, resmî makamlar veya çevre tarafından kendilerine yakıştırılan bu kimlikleri Hamniganların kabullenmiş gibi görünmeleridir<sup>1</sup>. İlk bakışta, bu hâl kafa karıştırıcı bir durum gibi görünse de, aslında Hamnigan toplumunu teşkil eden unsurlarla doğrudan alakalıdır. Hamnigan toplumunun özü itibarıyla Hamnigan Moğolcası ve Hamnigan Evenkçesi olmak üzere iki dilli bir toplum olması, bu durumun ortaya çıkmasında başlıca amil olmuş olmalı.

### Adlandırma

17. yüzyılda, Hamnigan anavatanını ele geçiren Ruslar, günümüz Hamniganlarının atalarını teşkil eden topluluğa Nerçinsk Tunguzları (Janhunen 2011: 83) veya *konnye tunguzy* ‘Atlı Tunguzlar’ adını vermişlerdir. Daha yakın zamanlarda ise bu isimlerin yerini *hamnigan* adlandırması almıştır (Janhunen 1996: 829). Diğer Evenk Tunguzları, Baykal ötesinde Buryat Moğolları ile birlikte yaşayıp sığır ve at yetiştiriciliği ile uğraşan Evenk Tunguzlarına *murçen* ‘at halkı’ demişlerdir (Vasilevich ve Smolyak 1964: 621, Atkine 1997: 110). Çinliler Evenk Tunguzlarına *ki-ling*, *ç’i-ling* veya *o-lun-ç’un*; Mançu Tunguzları *oronçun*, *oroçen*, *oroçan* veya *uronço*; Gilyaklar *kili*; Oroçen Tunguzları *kile*; Uıça Tunguzları ve Negidal Tunguzları *kile(n)*; Nanay Tunguzları *kilen*; Buryat Moğolları ve Merkezî Moğollar *hamnigan*; Yakutlar ise *tunguz* demektir. Yakutlaşmış, Buryatlaşmış ve Moğollaşmış Evenk Tunguzları da kendilerine *hamnigan* demektirler<sup>2</sup> (Vasilevich ve Smolyak 1964: 621).

<sup>1</sup> Moğolistan’da yaşayan Hamniganların Moğol kimliğini benimsemelerinde bir sorun olmamakla birlikte, çevrenin kendilerine layık gördüğü Buryat kimliğinden pek hoşnut olmadıkları anlaşılmaktadır. Zira Yu (2011: 2), kendisinin mülakat yaptığı Hamniganların “Hamnigan, Buryat ve Halha diye üç halk vardır. Hamnigan Buryatı diye bir şey yoktur. Hamnigan, Hamnigan’dır, Buryat da Buryat” dediklerini kaydetmektedir.

<sup>2</sup> Mesela günümüzde Rusya Federasyonu’na bağlı Buryatistan Cumhuriyeti’nin Zakamna bölgesinde yaşayan Armak Hamniganları denilen Evenk öbeği, yakın zamanda Buryatlaşmıştır. Bu Hamnigan öbeğini bu yazının konusunu teşkil eden Hamniganlardan ayıran hususiyet, bu topluluğun hiçbir zaman Hamnigan Moğolcası denilen Moğol lehçesini konuşmamış olmasıdır. Dil değiştirimi, doğrudan Evenk Tunguzcasından Buryat Moğolcasına olmuştur (Janhunen 2005: 14-15).

Günümüzde Moğolistan'da yaşayan Hamniganlar kendilerine *mongol hamnigan* demektedirler. Moğolistan'ın resmî dili olan Halha Moğolcasında Hamniganlara, *hamnigan* 'Mançu-Tunguzca konuşan', Rusya Federasyonu'na bağlı Buryatistan Cumhuriyeti'nin resmî dili olan Buryat Moğolcasının Hori ağzında *hamnagan* - *hamnigan* 'Evenk, Tunguz' (U-Köhalmi 1959: 164, Yu 2011: 3), Çince de ise, *hamunikan* (Salminen 2007: 254) denilmektedir.

### Etnik Köken

U-Köhalmi (1959: 165), dilbilimlik, tarihî ve budunbilimlik veriler tahlil edildiği zaman, Hamniganların 16. yüzyıl ile 20. yüzyıl arasında geçen dört asırlık sürede, Tunguzluktan Moğolluğa geçtiği sonucuna varıldığını kaydetmektedir. Gruntov (20.12.2016: 1) ve Koreli Moğolluk bilimci Yu (2011: 1) da Hamniganların bağımsız bir Moğol lehçesi konuşan Evenk-Tunguz kökenli bir topluluk olduğu görüşündedir. Gerçekten de 17. yüzyıla ait Rus vergi kayıtları bugün Hamniganların yaşadığı bölgelerde, Tunguz kabilelerinin yaşadığını kaydetmekte ve 18. yüzyılda da bölge halkı, resmî olarak Nerçinsk Tunguzları olarak tanınmakta idiler (U-Köhalmi 1959: 171).

Buryat Moğolları ile olan bütün içtimai ve tarihî yakınlıklarına rağmen, U-Köhalmi (1959: 174-175) yaptığı tarihî ve dilbilimlik araştırmalar sonucunda ortaya koymuştur ki, Hamniganları Moğollaştıran Buryat Moğolları değil, Onon ve Tas vadilerinde yaşayan eski Halha Moğolları olmuştur. Ancak 19. yüzyılda Buryat Moğollarının Aga vadisine yerleşmelerinden sonra, Hamnigan dili ve yaşam tarzı yoğun bir Buryat etkisi altında kalmıştır.

U-Köhalmi (1959: 182), Hamniganların atalarının 16. yüzyılda veya öncesinde Moğollaşmaya başladıklarını ve bu Moğollaşmanın Kentey dağlarından Haylar nehrine kadar olan Moğol – Tunguz etnik sınırında gerçekleştiğini düşünmektedir. Baykal ötesindeki orman – bozkır sınırında yaşayan Tunguzlar, zamanla, geleneklik rengineyiği yetiştiriciliğinin yanında, at, sığır ve koyun yetiştirmeye başlamışlar, hatta bazı kabileler rengineyiği yetiştiriciliğini bırakıp tamamen at ve sığır yetiştiriciliğine geçmişlerdir<sup>3</sup>. Geleneklik orman hayatını bırakıp bozkır yaşamına geçen Tunguzlar, gittikçe bozkır hayatında daha yüksek içtimai seviyeye ve üretime sahip olan Moğolların etkisi altına girmişlerdir. Moğollardan, rengineyiği yetiştiriciliğinde olmayıp da at, sığır ve koyun yetiştiriciliğinde olan gerekliliklerin yanında, konuttan giyime kadar bozkır hayatına ait birçok unsuru da almışlardır<sup>4</sup>. 17. yüzyılda bölge Ruslar tarafından ele geçirildiğinde,

<sup>3</sup> Russell ve Cohn (2012a: 8) Hamniganların yarı göçebe at, sığır ve koyun yetiştiriciliğine geçmelerinin 1880 sonrasında gerçekleştiği görüşündedir. Bu iddia iki sebepten dolayı pek muhtemel gibi görünmemektedir. Öncelikle bozkır hayatına geçiş sonrasında Moğollaşmanın hız kazandığı dikkate alınır, bu iddia bölgeyi ziyaret edenlerin gözlemleri ile tutarlı değildir. Castren, Pallas ve De Pauly'nin gözlemlerine göre, o tarihlerde, hatta öncesinde bölge Tunguzlarının dili ve yaşam tarzı ziyadesiyle Moğollaşmıştı. İkinci olarak, yine bölgeyi ziyaret edenlerin gözlemlerine göre, diğer Tunguzlar bölgede yaşayan birtakım Tunguzlara zaten *Murçen* "at insanları" demektedirler, yani, zaten bozkır yaşamına geçmişlerdi. Ancak bu iddianın Hamniganların bir kısmı için geçerli olabileceği ihtimali gözden kaçırılmamalıdır. Zira günümüzde bile hâlâ Tunguzca konuşan Hamniganlar olduğu düşünüldüğünde, Moğollaşma etkisinin bütün Hamniganlar üzerinde aynı derecede olmadığı sonucuna varılabilir. Bu da bazı Hamniganların daha geç tarihlerde bozkır hayatına geçmiş olabileceği şeklinde yorumlanabilir.

<sup>4</sup> Burada dikkatten kaçmaması gerek bir husus şudur ki Moğol hayat tarzını benimseyip diğer Tunguzlar tarafından *Murçen* 'at insanları' olarak adlandırılanlar sadece Hamniganların ataları

Baykal ötesinde ve Kuzey Moğolistan'daki Tunguzların Moğollaşma süreci oldukça ilerlemişti (U-Köhalmi 1959: 183). Yüz yıl sonra 18. yüzyılın sonlarında Baykal ötesini ziyaret eden Pallas (Pallas 1778: 194-200), Argun, Onon ve İngoda nehirleri arasında yaşayan Tunguzların dil ve yaşam tarzı bakımından oldukça Moğollaşmış olduklarını, kıyafetlerinin tamamen Moğol olduğunu, sadece saç şekillerinin ve rengineyiği derisinden mamul şapkalarının Tunguz tarzında olduğunu kaydetmektedir. 19. yüzyılın ortalarında, Urulginsk ve Mankovskaya<sup>5</sup> civarındaki bozkırlarda yaşayan Çita Tunguzlarının dili, güçlü bir Moğol ve Buryat etkisi altında idi (Castren 1856: xv, 71-96). De Pauly (1862: 74) de Nerchinsk Tunguzlarının, nezaketleri ve canlılıkları itibarıyla, huy bakımından "gerçek" Tunguzları hatırlattıklarını, ancak giyim, hayat tarzı ve görünüş bakımından Buryat Moğollarını anımsattıklarını kaydetmektedir. 18. yüzyılın sonlarında ve 19. yüzyılın başlarında, Baykal ötesi Tunguzları yoğun bir Buryatlaşmaya<sup>6</sup> ve büyük sayıda Rus köylülerinin yerleşiminden sonra da Ruslaşmaya maruz kalmışlardır (U-Köhalmi 1959: 183). 1897 yılında yapılan nüfus sayımına göre, Transbaykal eyaletinde yaşayan 34,379 Tunguz'dan sadece 4,015 (%16) kişi Tunguzca konuşabilmekteydi. Eyaletin güneyindeki İngoda ve Şilka dikkate alındığında bu oranın daha da düştüğü görülmektedir. Çita bölgesindeki 24,559 çiftçi Tunguz'dan, 17,005'i Rusça ve 5,955'i Buryat Moğolcasını anadili olarak beyan etmiştir. Sadece 1,958 (%8) kişi Tunguzca konuşabilmekte idi, Urulginsk'te 12 kişi, Mankovskaya'da 1,820 kişi. Olovskoe, Şunduinskoe, Ongocon ve Kujertaeva Tunguz bozkır bölgelerinde sakin halk sadece Rusça ve Buryat Moğolcası konuşmakta idi. Moğol sınırındaki Aşka bölgesindeki Tunguzlardan 3,472'si anadilini Buryat Moğolcası, 754'ü Rusça ve sadece 510'u Tunguzca olarak beyan etmiştir. Troitskosavsk bölgesinde ise, Tunguz nüfusu neredeyse tamamen ortadan kalkmıştı, sadece 5 kişi kendini Tunguz olarak kaydettirmişti (Patkanov 1905: 162, 272-273). 19. yüzyılda, Ruslaşmanın beraberinde Hristiyanlaşmayı da getirdiği anlaşılmaktadır. Zira De Pauly (1862: 74) Ruslara yakın yaşayan Nerçinsk Tunguzları arasında Hristiyan olanların da olduğunu kaydetmektedir<sup>7</sup>. Müteakip otuz yıl içerisinde, bu az sayıda Tunguzca konuşan toplulukların da kayıtlarda tamamen ortadan kalktığı görülmektedir. 1926-1927 yılındaki sayımda Baykal ötesinin bütün Tunguzları kendilerinin Rus veya Buryat Moğolu olarak beyan ettirmişlerdir (U-Köhalmi 1959: 184). U-Köhalmi (1959: 184-185), Baykal ötesi ve Kuzey Moğolistan'daki Atlı Tunguzların bir kısmının Hamniganların atalarını teşkil ettiğini, bunların da Moğollaşmasının çok erken bir devirde gerçekleştiğini ve dillerinde bulunan birtakım eskicil unsurların Moğollaşmanın Hori-Buryatlar bölgeye gelmeden tamamlandığı görüşündedir. Ancak önce Rus ve daha sonra Sovyet vergi kayıtları ile

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değildir. Solon Tunguzları, Manegir Tunguzları, Birar Tunguzları ve daha diğer kabileler bu Tunguz şubesi içinde yer almaktadır (Forsyth 2000: 53).

<sup>5</sup> Urulgisk ve Mankovskaya, isimlerini sırasıyla eski Urul'ga ve Man'kovo Tunguzlarından almaktadır (Atknine 1997: 112)

<sup>6</sup> 1712-1735 yılları arasında, Baykal ötesine yoğun bir Buryat göçü gerçekleşmiştir. Bu Buryat Moğolları arasında Buryatlaşmış Karanut Tunguzları önemli bir orana sahipti (Dolgikh 1962: 76). Yani kendileri Buryatlaşan Karanut Tunguzlarının daha sonra Baykal ötesi Tunguzlarının Moğollaşmasına katkıda buldukları anlaşılmaktadır.

<sup>7</sup> Bilhassa meşhur Tunguz Beyi Gantimur'un Rus kültürüne olan hayranlığı neticesinde kendi isteği ile vaftiz olmasının ardından, Nerçinsk bölgesinde, hem Tunguz soyluları hem de sıradan halk arasında Hristiyanlığın hızla yayıldığı anlaşılmaktadır (De Pauly 1862: 74). Dağur asıllı Bey Gantimur'un Ruslara bağlılık ilan etmesi, bölgede Rusların Çing Mançu Hanedanına karşı üstünlüğü ele geçirmesine sebep olmuştur (Lindgreen 1930: 521).

nüfus sayımlarına dayanan bu verilerin tam olarak gerçeği yansıtmadığı anlaşılmaktadır. Zira 20. yüzyılın sonlarında, Çita oblastında Evenk Tunguzcasının hâlâ eğitim dili olarak kullanıldığına dair kayıtlar mevcuttur (Sunik ve Bulatova 1990: 104). Yani Tunguz varlığı sadece bir kimlik olarak değil, dilini koruyan bir topluluk olarak bölgede varlığını devam ettirmiştir. Bunun sebebi, göçebe olarak yaşayan Tunguz öbeklerinin Çarlık devrinde ve Sovyetler Birliği'nin erken dönemlerinde yetkililerden kaçınabilmiş olmaları olmalıdır. Nitekim Rusya Federasyonu'nda 2010 yılında yapılan nüfus sayımında, Buryatistan Cumhuriyeti'nde 2974 kişi, Zabaykalski (Baykal ötesi) krayında ise 1387 kişi kendilerini Evenk Tunguzu olarak kaydettirmişlerdir ([http://www.gks.ru/free\\_doc/new\\_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis\\_itogi1612.htm](http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis_itogi1612.htm)). Yani mevzu bahis bölgelerde, Tunguzlar, Moğollaşma etkisinden günümüze kadar kendilerini koruyabilmişlerdir.

U-Köhalmi (1959: 176-179), Moğolistan'da yaşayan Hamniganların bir Moğol lehçesi konuşmalarına rağmen, kendilerinin farklı bir kökenden geldiklerinin farkında oldukları düşüncesindedirler. Kendilerini *mongol hamnigan* olarak adlandırmalarının da buna işaret ettiğini, zira benzer bir şekilde Moğollaşmış Tuva Türklerinin de kendilerine *mongol uranhay* dediklerini kaydetmektedir. Bu tespit, Moğolistan'da yaşayan Hamniganların kimlik algıları bakımından, oldukça ilginç bir durumu ortaya koymaktadır. Zira bu tanımlama, Hamniganların bir taraftan kendilerini Moğol kimliğine bağlı gördüklerini ifade ederken, diğer taraftan Tunguzluk ile ilişkili olduklarını göstermektedir, yani Moğol Tunguzlar.

Janhunnen (1991: 16; 1996: 829; 1997: 132; 2011: 84), köken olarak, Hamniganların yarı yarıya Moğollardan ve Evenklerden meydana geldiğini belirtirken, aslında zımnen Hamniganların Moğollaşmış Tunguzlar oldukları fikrine karşı çıkmaktadır. Janhunnen'in bu iddiası pek muhtemel görünmemektedir. Her şeyden önce, At Tunguzlarının Moğollaşma süreçlerini, bölgeyi ziyaret edenlerin kayıtlarından takip etmek mümkün. Gerek Pallas, gerek De Pauly gerekse Castren bölge Tunguzlarının yaşam tarzlarındaki, kılık kıyafetlerindeki ve dillerindeki Moğol etkisinden açık açık bahsetmektedirler. Hatta dil konusunda, hem Halha Moğolcası hem de Buryat Moğolcası etkisinden bahsedecek kadar ayrıntıya girmektedirler. Yani Tunguz ve Moğol'u birbirinden ayırt edebildikleri gibi, çeşitli Moğol kabileleri arasındaki dillik, halk bilimlik ve budunbilimlik farkları görebilecek kadar da Moğolları iyi tanımakta idiler. Hiçbiri, Tunguzlar arasında yaşayıp Tunguz adını almış veya Tunguz hayat tarzını benimsemiş Moğollardan bahsetmemiştir. İkinci olarak, Moğol dil ve kültürünün hâkim olduğu ve Tunguzları hayat tarzından dile kadar her yönden Moğollaştıran bir çevrede, birtakım Moğolların Tunguzlar arasına karışıp Tunguzlaşması veya onlarla birlikte farklı bir etnik topluluk meydana getirmeleri beklenmez. Hele böyle bir ortamda Moğolların "Tunguz" adını alması hiç beklenmez. Böyle bir karışma durumunda, Tunguzların Moğollar arasında eriyip Moğollaşması beklenir. Hülasa adı Hamnigan olan, yani adı Moğolcada Evenk Tunguzu manasına gelen bir topluluk arasında Moğolların da bulunduğu varsaymayı gerektirecek herhangi bir sebep yoktur.

### **Dağılım, Yerleşim ve Nüfus**

Hamniganların tabii anavatanı, Baykal ötesi (*Transbaikalia*) olarak adlandırılan bölgede, Kuzeydoğu Moğolistan ile Kuzeybatı Mançurya'da, Onon ve Argun nehirleri

havzaları arasındaki arazidedir. Onon nehrinin kollarından olan Onon Borzya ırmağı havzası ve Argun nehrinin kollarından olan Yukarı Borzya, Orta Borzya, Aşağı Borzya, Gazimur ve Urulyunguy ırmaklarının havzaları, yerleşimin ağırlık merkezini teşkil etmektedir. Onon nehrinin kollarından olan İngoda ve Aga ırmaklarının havzalarında da Hamnigan topluluklarının yaşadığı bilinmektedir. Tarihî olarak Hamnigan yerleşiminin Argun nehrinin sağ kıyıları kapsayıp kapsamadığı açık olmamakla birlikte, yakın zamanlarda, Bargu (Barga) bozkırının bazı bölgelerine, bilhassa Hamniganlar tarafından *Gurban Gol* ve Ruslar tarafından *Trikreç*'ye olarak adlandırılan Üç Su bölgesi ile İmin, Mergel ve Haylar ırmakları havzalarına Hamniganların göç edip yerleştiği bilinmektedir. 19. yüzyılın sonlarında, bu bölgedeki At Tunguzları olarak adlandırılan Tunguz topluluğunun nüfusu 25,000 civarında idi. Bu nüfusun 5,000 kadarını Hamniganların teşkil ettiği tahmin edilmektedir (Janhunen 2005: 9, Janhunen 2011: 83-84).

Yukarıda da zikredildiği üzere, günümüzde Hamnigan yerleşim alanı, Rusya Federasyonu, Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti ve Moğolistan olmak üzere üç ülke arasında bölünmüştür. Rusya Federasyonu'nda Zabaykalski krayında bulunan Çita oblastına bağlı Nerçinsk okruğu, Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nde İç Moğolistan'ın Hülün Buir aймаğına bağlı Eski Bargut sancağının (*Çen Baerhu Ki*) Evenk sumu (*Evenke sumu*) ve Moğolistan'da Kentey aймаğının Dadal sumu Hamnigan nüfusunun yoğunlaştığı bölgelerdir.

Hamniganların Baykal ötesindeki tarihî anavatanı olduğu farz edilen bugünkü Rusya Federasyonu'nun Zabaykalski krayında, Onon nehri boyunca, Çita oblastına bağlı Kyriski, Akşinski, Karimski, Şilinski ve Ononski rayonları ile Muhtar Agin-Buryat okruğuna bağlı Aga, Duldurginski ve Mogoytuyski rayonlarında yaşamaktadırlar (Gruntov 20.12.2016: 1). Gruntov'un (20.12.2016: 1) buradaki nüfuslarının 2,000 civarında olduğunu iddia etmesine rağmen, Buryat Moğollarının bir alt şubesi olarak kabul edilmeleri (Janhunen 1996: 829) sebebiyle, sayılarının tam olarak kaç olduğu bilinmemektedir. Ancak bölgenin doğusunda hâlâ bazı köylerde Hamniganların nüfusun çoğunluğunu teşkil ettikleri düşünülmektedir (Janhunen 1997: 130).

Moğolistan'da yaşayan Hamniganlar, yukarıda da zikredildiği gibi yoğun olarak Kentey aймаğının Dadal sumunda yaşamakla birlikte, bu aймаğın diğer sumları ile Dornod ve Selenga aymaklarının sumlarında da bulunmaktadır. Bu bölgelerde Buryat Moğolları ile karışık olarak yaşayan Hamniganların yaşam tarzları, tamamen Buryatlarınki ile karışmış durumdadır. Moğolistan'da 2000 yılında gerçekleştirilen nüfus sayımında, 574 kişi kendini Hamnigan olarak tanımlamış olmakla birlikte, günümüzde Hamniganların tam sayısını ve Hamnigan nüfusu içerisinde Hamnigan Moğolcasını konuşabilenlerin oranını tespit etmek mümkün görünmemektedir (Yu 2011: 1-2). 1987 yılında bu nüfusun 1,000 civarında olduğu (Krauss 1997: 15) dikkate alındığına, Hamniganların çok çabuk erdiği anlaşılmaktadır. On üç yıl içerisinde nüfus neredeyse yarı yarıya azalmıştır. Geçmişte Selenga aймаğının Yöröö sumuna da adını veren Yöröö nehri havzasında da Hamniganların yoğun olarak yaşadığı, ancak günümüzde bu Hamnigan nüfusunun ortadan kalktığı anlaşılmaktadır (U-Köhalmi 1959: 164). Günümüzde Moğolistan'ın kuzeydoğusunda yaşayan bu Hamnigan nüfusunun iki aşamada oluştuğu ileri sürülmektedir. Zira halk arasında, Rus Devrimi sonrasında gelen Hamniganlar ve Rus Devrimi'nden önce orada olan Hamniganlar olmak üzere, iki

türlü Hamnigan olduğu iddia edilmektedir. Rus Devrimi sonrasında bölgeye gelen Hamniganlar, bugün Rusya Federasyonu'na bağlı Buryatistan Cumhuriyeti'nde olan anayurtlarını, 1918 yılında terk edip Moğolistan'a gelmişlerdir (Yu 2011: 3). 1689 Nerçinsk Anlaşması neticesinde bölgenin Rusya sınırları içerisinde kalması sonrasında, bölgeye yoğun bir Rus göçünün gerçekleşmesini müteakip, 1700 yılında birtakım Hamnigan'ın kuzeydoğu Moğolistan'a göç ettiğine dair kayıtlar da mevcuttur (Janhunen 1996: 829; Wurm 1996b: 816). Bu yönüyle, Kuzeydoğu Moğolistan'daki Hamnigan nüfusunun oluşmasının aşamaları hakkındaki umumi kabul sorunsuz gibi görünmektedir. Ancak burada cevapsız olan bir soru var. O da mezkûr bölgede, 1700 yılı öncesinde Hamnigan nüfusunun bulunup bulunmadığı sorusudur. Bu sorunun cevabının olumlu olması pek muhtemeldir. Zira Hamnigan nüfusunun göç etmek için burayı seçmesinde, pekâlâ 1700 göçünün öncesinde yerleşik bir Hamnigan nüfusunun bulunmuş olması ihtimal dahilindedir ki bölgeye yapılan 1918 göçünün sebebi de bu olmalı<sup>8</sup>. Hülâsa, günümüzde Kuzeydoğu Moğolistan'da yaşayan Hamnigan topluluğu pek tabi olarak iki aşamada değil, belki üç belki de daha fazla aşamada ortaya çıkmış olabilir. Rusların bölgeye gelmesinden önce, sınırların da çok daha geçirgen olduğu dikkate alındığı zaman, bu ihtimal oldukça kuvvet kazanmaktadır. Kuzeydoğu Moğolistan'ın her zaman Hamnigan anavatanının bir parçası olmuş olabileceği ihtimali de göz ardı edilmemelidir.

Günümüzde, Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nde, dilleri ve tarihî gelişimleri birbirinden farklı üç ayrı Tunguz öbeği, resmî olarak Evenk (Evenke) adı altında tanınmaktadır<sup>9</sup>: Solon Evenkleri (Suolun Evenke), Tunguz Evenkleri (Tonggusi Evenke) ve Yakut Evenkleri (Yakute Evenke). 1982 sayımında nüfusları 19,000 olan Evenklerin %90 civarındaki oranını Solonlar teşkil etmekte idi. Yakut<sup>10</sup> veya Ren Geyiği Tunguzlarının sayısı 200'ün altına düşmüştü. Diğer adı Hamnigan Evenkleri olan Tunguz Evenklerinin sayısı ise 1,600 civarında idi. 1992'de ise, Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'ndeki Evenk sayısı 29,000'e yükselmışti ve bu nüfusun yine %90 civarındaki bir oranını Solonlar oluşturmaktaydı (Tsumgari 1992: 83-84; Krauss 1997: 15; Tsumgari 2009: 1-2). Yakut Tunguzlarının sayısının daha da düşmüş olma ihtimalinin yüksek olduğu dikkate alındığında, geriye kalan resmî Evenk nüfusunun tamamına yakınının Hamniganlardan oluşuyor olması gerekir. 2000 nüfus sayımında ise, Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'ndeki toplam Evenk Tunguzu sayısı 30,505'e yükselmiştir. (Russell ve Cohn 2012a: 8). Bu nüfus içerisinde de Hamniganların sayısının 2,000 civarında olduğu tahmin edilmektedir (Janhunen 2005: 13; Janhunen 2011: 84). Ülkedeki Hamnigan nüfusu, İç Moğolistan'ın Hülün Buir aймаğında, iki ayrı öbek hâlinde yaşamaktadır. Daha küçük olan öbek, ağırlıklı olarak Solon yerleşim yeri olan ve Şineken nehri boyunca uzanan Muhtar Evenk Sancağında (Evenke-zu Ziji Kı) yaşarken, büyük olan öbek, Mergel nehri

<sup>8</sup> Zaten göç etmek zorunda kalan insanların kendilerine benzer toplulukların buldukları yerlere göç etmeyi tercih etmeleri umumi bir davranış biçimi değil mi? Bilhassa toplum tarafından gerçekleştirilen toplu göç olayları için bu durum daha fazla geçerlidir. Ekonomik sebeplerle yapılan şahsi göçler bu duruma istisna teşkil edebilir ki bu tür göçte bile benzer durumların etkili olması nadirattan değildir.

<sup>9</sup> Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nde, beş ayrı Tunguz şubesine, resmî olarak, milliyet statüsü verilmiştir: *Evenke* "Evenk Tunguzları", *Elunçun* "Oroçen Tunguzları", *Heje* "Nanay (Goldi) Tunguzları", *Man* "Mançu Tunguzları" ve *Şibo* "Sibe Tunguzları" (Tsumgari 1997: 175).

<sup>10</sup> Yakutistan civarından buraya geldikleri için onlara bu isim verilmektedir (Tsumgari 1992: 83).

havzasında, az önce zikredilen Muhtar Evenk Sancağının kuzeyinde bulunan Eski Bargut Sancağının (Çen Baerhu Kı) Evenk sumunda (Evenke Sumu) meskûndurlar. Yakut Evenk yerleşiminin merkezi ise, Argun Sol Sancağının (Eerguna Zuo Kı) kuzeyinde yer alan Oluguya Evenk Yerleşimidir (Aoluguya Evenke-zu Şiang) (Tsumgari 1992: 84; Janhunen 1997: 130).

### **Dil Durumu ve Dil İlişkileri**

Hamniganların günümüz itibarıyla yaşadıkları üç ayrı ülkede, farklı farklı dillik manzaralar arz ettikleri görülmektedir. Topluluğun tabii dilleri addedilebilecek Tunguzca ve Moğolcanın yanında, buldukları çevrenin barındırdığı etnik ve dillik çeşitliliğe göre dil dağarcıkları da çeşitlenmektedir. Hamniganlar, çeşitli Moğol deęişkelerinden, Hint-Avrupa dili olan Rusçaya ve Çin-Tibet dili olan Çinceye kadar çeşitlenen çok dilli bir alanda yaşamaktadırlar. Bu durum, Hamniganların buldukları ülkeye göre çok deęişkeli veya çok dilli ya da hem çok deęişkeli hem de çok dilli bir dil yapısına sahip olmalarına sebep olmuştur. Tabii dilleri olan Hamnigan Moğolcası ve Evenk Tunguzcası bakımından da baędaşık bir durumda olmadıkları görülmektedir. Bu çoklu durum sebebiyle, Hamniganların dil durumu ve dil ilişkileri incelenirken, hem kendi tabii dilleri arasındaki ilişkiler, hem de komşu dil ve deęişkelerle olan ilişkileri dikkate alınmalıdır.

Geçmişte Hamniganlar iki Evenk ağız ve iki Moğol ağız konuşmakta idiler. Bu ağızlar, Hamniganların Çin'e göç etmeden önce yaşadıkları bölgeler ile ilişkilidir. Bunlar Urulyunguy (Urulga) ve Borzya (Mankovo) Hamnigan Moğolcası ağızları ile Urulyunguy (Urulga) ve Borzya (Mankovo) Tunguz ağızları idi. Urulyunguy ağızları, günümüzde Rusya Federasyonu sınırları içerisinde kalan Urulyunguy nehri ile ilişkilidir. Borzya ağızları ise, yine günümüzde Rusya Federasyonu topraklarında bulunan Yukarı-Borzya nehri ile alakalıdır. Günümüzde ise, Mergel havzasındaki Hamniganların dilinde, iki Evenk ağızının ama sadece bir Moğol ağızının yaşadığı görülmektedir. Yaşayan Hamnigan Moğolcası ağızı, Urulyunguy ağızıdır ve her iki Evenk Tunguzcası ağızı ile ortaklaşa durumdadır. Borzya Evenk Tunguzcası ağızının Solonların diline benzeyen yönleri bulunmaktadır. Bunun sebebi her ikisinin de Eski Mañçurya Evenk Tunguzcasının koşut dalları olmalarıdır. Urulyunguy Evenk Tunguzcası ağızı ise, Yakut Evenklerinin ve Oroçen Tunguzlarının konuştukları ağızların da mensup olduğu Sibirya Evenk Tunguzcasının bir alt koludur (Janhunen 1991: 12-13; Janhunen 1997: 132-133; Janhunen 2005: 17-18). Hamniganların konuştukları Evenk Tunguzcasının Tunguzca içerisindeki yerini belirleme konusunda herhangi bir sorun olmamakla birlikte, aynı şeyi konuştukları Moğolca için söylemek mümkün deęil. Hem resmîyette hem de dilbilimciler arasında Hamnigan Moğolcasının Genel Moğolca içerisindeki durumu tartışma konusudur. Hamnigan Moğolcası, Moğolistan ve Rusya Federasyonu'nda resmî olarak Buryat Moğolcasının altına yerleştirilirken, Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nde yok sayılmaktadır. Çoęu Buryat dilbilimcinin Hamnigan Moğolcasını Buryat Moğolcasının bir ağızı kabul etmesine (Skribnik 2011: 104) rağmen, Hamnigan Moğolcası, iç hususiyetleri itibarıyla, herhangi bir Moğol lehçesinin alt dalı deęil, başı başına bir Moğol lehçesidir. Barındırdığı eskicil unsurlar yönünden, dięer Moğol lehçelerinden farklı olarak doğrudan Orta Moğolcaya baęlı gibi görünmektedir. Dięer Moğol lehçelerinde bulunan Orta Moğolca devresi sonrasında ortaya çıkmış hususiyetlerin hiçbiri Hamnigan Moğolcasında mevcut deęildir (Janhunen 2011: 85)

Günümüzde, Rusya Federasyonu sınırları içerisinde, Hamniganların anavatanı olan bölgede, Hamnigan Moğolcası veya Evenk Tunguzcası konuşan hiç Hamnigan'ın kalmadığı ve tamamen Buryat Moğolcası ve Rusça konuşanlar arasında eridikleri düşünülmektedir (Janhunen 2005: 13). Bu durum, Buryat Moğollarına komşu olarak yaşayan Evenk Tunguzlarının, genel olarak neticede dillerini Buryat Moğolcasına değiştirme eğiliminde oldukları (Wurm 1996a: 976, Atkinine 1997: 119) gerçeğinin bir parçasıdır. Yukarıda zaten, umumi olarak Buryatlara komşu Tunguzların Buryatlaşmasından ve Moğollaşmasından bahsedilmişti.

Günümüzde, Moğolistan Hamniganlarının sadece Moğolca konuştukları ve resmî dilinin Buryat Moğolcasının bir ağızcığı olarak kabul edildiği görülmektedir. Buryat Moğolcası ise Halha Moğolcası ve Oyrat Moğolcası ile birlikte Moğolcanın üç büyük ağzından bir olarak kabul edilmektedir (Yu 2011: 3). Yani Hamniganların konuştuğu dil, Moğolistan'da resmî olarak Halha Moğolcasının bir alt dalıdır. Moğolluk bilimciler arasında da, Moğolistan'da yaşayan Hamniganların dilinin yerini Halha Moğolcasının aldığına dair umumi bir kanı, hâkim gibi görünmektedir (U-Köhalmi 1959: 185, Janhunen 1996: 829, Janhunen 1997: 129, Yu 2011: 3)<sup>11</sup>. Ancak bu kanı sorgulanmaya değer bir durumdur. Moğolistan'da yaşayan Hamniganların dilinin, diğer ülkelerde yaşayan Hamniganlara göre, Halha Moğolcasına daha yakın bir hâl aldığından şüphe yoktur. Zira memlekette eğitim-öğretim ve diğer resmî işler başta olmak üzere, bütün toplum hayatı, büyük oranda ülkenin ölçünlü dili olan Merkezî Moğolcanın Halha lehçesi ile yürütülmektedir<sup>12</sup>. Hamniganların yaşadığı bölgedeki günlük konuşma dili ise, Buryat Moğolcasının Hori ağzının Aga ağızcığıdır (U-Köhalmi 1959: 165). Bu sebeple Hamniganlarının dilinin Buryat Moğolcasından da, hatta Halha Moğolcasından daha fazla, etkilenmiş olması gayet olağan bir durumdur. Ancak, resmî sınıflandırmadan anlaşılmalıdır ki Moğolistan'daki Hamniganların dili sadece Halha Moğolcasından değil, altında tasnif edildiği Buryat Moğolcasından dahi farklılık arz etmektedir. Aksi takdirde Hamniganların dili doğrudan Buryat Moğolcası olarak adlandırılmalı idi. Bu sınıflandırmadan çıkan sonuç, Moğolistan'da yaşayan Hamniganların dilinin hem Buryat Moğolcasından hem de Halha Moğolcasından yoğun bir şekilde etkilendiğidir. Hamniganların dilinin Buryat Moğolcasının altında tasnif edilmiş olmasının sebebi ise, Hamniganların yaşadığı bölgede gündelik konuşma dilinin Buryat Moğolcası olmasından dolayı, tabii olarak, Hamnigan Moğolcasının Buryat Moğolcasından yoğun bir şekilde etkilenmiş olması sebebiyle, resmî bakış açısı ile Hamniganların dilinin Buryat Moğolcasına, Halha Moğolcasından daha yakın görünmesi olmalıdır. Moğolistan'da konuşulan Hamnigan Moğolcasının Buryat Moğolcasından farklı olduğunun bir diğer delili ise, Hamniganların Buryat Moğolcası konuşurları ile karşılıklı anlaşabildiğine ve hatta bazı Buryat Moğollarının Hamnigan

<sup>11</sup> Benzer bir eğilimin Moğolistan Buryatlarının dili için de mevcut olduğu görülmektedir (Yu 2011: 3).

<sup>12</sup> Bu durumu, Türkiye'de yaşayan Doğu Türkistanlı Kazakların veya Uygurların dili ile karşılaştırmak belki daha aydınlatıcı olabilir. Bu topluluklardan bazı bireylerin Kazak Türkçesini veya Uygur Türkçesini artık konuşmadıkları doğrudur. Ancak bunun sebebi toplum hayatında kullanılmadığı için bu şahısların bu lehçeleri unutmuş veya hiç öğrenmemiş olmalarıdır. Bu lehçeleri konuşan şahısların dillerinin Türkiye Türkçesinin bir ağızı hâline geldiği iddia edilemez. Ancak konuştukları dil, Türkiye Türkçesinin etkisi altındadır denilebilir. Benzer bir durum, belki daha yoğun bir oranda, Moğolistan'daki Hamniganların dili için de geçerli olmalı.



Moğolcası konuşabildiğine (Wurm ve Rachewiltz 1996: 910) dair kayıtlardır. Hamniganların konuştuğu dilin Buryat Moğolcasının bir alt şubesi olması durumunda, karşılıklı anlaşılabilirliğin veya birtakım Buryat Moğollarının Hamniganların dilini konuşabilmeleri kayda değer bir durum teşkil etmezdi. 1959 yılında bölgeye seyahat eden K. U-Köhalmi, Moğolistan'da yaşayan Hamniganların dilinde hâlâ Evenk Tunguzcasının etkilerinin görülebildiğini, hatta görüştüğü bazı Hamniganların yakınlarda bulunan bir derenin yanında Tunguzca konuşan bir avcının yaşadığını söylediklerini kaydetmiştir (U-Köhalmi 1959: 164 vd.). 2009 yılında da, Evenk Tunguzcası konuşmamakla birlikte, 70 yaşın üzerindeki bazı Hamniganların birkaç Evenk Tunguzcası kelime hatırladıklarını Shimunek'in kaydettiğini, günümüzde ise bu etkinin tamamen ortadan kalktığını Yu (2011: 2) aktarmaktadır. Anlaşılmaktadır ki Moğolistan Hamniganları arasında, kendileri de Evenk Tunguzcası konuşmayı bilmeyen fakat birkaç Tunguzca kelime hatırlayan yaşlı neslin ortadan kalkması ile birlikte, Tunguzluk izleri tamamen ortadan kalkarak Moğollaşma süreci artık son haddine varmıştır. Yukarıda da zikredildiği gibi, Kentey aймаğı dışında, Kuzey Moğolistan'da yer alan Selenga aймаğında da Hamniganların yaşadığına dair kayıtlar mevcuttur. Bilhassa Orhon nehrinin kollarından olan Yöröö (İro) suyunun kıyılarında yaşadıkları için Yöröö (İro) Hamniganları denilen Hamnigan öbeği üzerinde çalışmalar yapılmıştır. Shimunek (2016: 13-28), Moğol Tunguzluk Bilimci L. Mişig'in 1963 yılında gerçekleştirdiği saha araştırmalarının sonuçları üzerinde yaptığı dilbilimlik çalışma neticesinde, bu Hamnigan öbeğinin yakın bir zamana kadar Tunguzca konuştuğunu ortaya koymuştur.

Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nde yaşayan Hamnigan topluluğu, Moğolistan'daki nüfusa nazaran, dil bakımından çok daha karmaşık bir manzara arz etmektedir. Toplulukta hem Moğolcanın hem de Evenk Tunguzcasının anadili olarak öğrenildiği görülmektedir. Toplumun üçte biri anadili olarak sadece Hamnigan Moğolcası öğrenirken, üçte ikisi küçük yaştan itibaren Hamnigan Moğolcasını ve Evenk Tunguzcasını birlikte öğrenmektedir. Hamniganların kendi aralarında kullandıkları cemiyet dili Hamnigan Moğolcasıdır. Topluluğun Evenk Tunguzcasını bilen kısmı, bu dili evde konuşulan bir aile dili olarak kullanırken cemiyet içerisinde her zaman Hamnigan Moğolcasını kullanmaktadırlar. Bu iki dilli Hamniganlar için, Hamnigan Moğolcası ve Evenk Tunguzcası arasında birincil dil - ikincil dil ilişkisi yoktur. Bunlarda etnik iki dillilik mevcuttur ve her iki dile de ayrı ayrı topluluk vazifeler yüklemektedirler. Ancak Hamnigan toplumunda baskın dilin Hamnigan Moğolcası olduğu söylenebilir. Tek dilli (sadece Hamnigan Moğolcası konuşan) ve iki dilli (Hamnigan Moğolcası ve Evenk Tunguzcası konuşan) Hamniganlar, sadece okul öncesi çocukları ile orta yaşlı ve yaşlı hanımlar ile sınırlıdır. Yani Hamniganlar toplum hayatına karışmaya başlamalarından itibaren çok dilli ve çok değişikli hâle gelmektedirler. Burada üzerinde durulması gereken bir konu, Hamniganlar arasında tek dilliliğin sadece Hamnigan Moğolcası ile olduğudur. Sadece Evenk Tunguzcası konuşan Hamniganlar bulunmamaktadır. Hamniganlar, Hamnigan olmayanlar ile konuşurken çok ender olarak kendi dillerini kullanırlar. Sadece iki dilli yaşlıların nadiren Solonlar ve Oroçenler ile konuşurken Evenk Tunguzcasını kullandıkları kaydedilmiştir. Hamniganların büyük çoğunluğu, çevredeki en yaygın dillerden biri olan Buryat Moğolcasını ve İç Moğolistan'ın Klasik Moğolca temelli ölçünlü dilini de bilmektedirler. Bilhassa Şineken nehri boyunca

yaşayan Hamniganlar arasında Buryat Moğolcası – Hamnigan Moğolcası iki değişikliğinin çok yaygın olduğu ve Evenk Tunguzcasının oldukça zayıfladığı görülmektedir. Bu Hamnigan öbeği içerisinde, Evenk Tunguzcası konuşanların sayısı yok denilecek kadar azalmıştır. İç Moğolistan'daki ölçünlü dilin kullanımının da Hamniganlar arasında karışık bir manzara arz ettiği görülmektedir. Bazı Hamniganların Hamnigan Moğolcası ile Ölçünlü Moğolca arasında kesin çizgiler çizerek, her iki lehçeye ayrı ayrı içtimai görevler yüklediği görülürken, bazı Hamniganların iki lehçeyi birbirine karıştırarak konuştukları görülmektedir<sup>13</sup>. Çin'de yaşayan birtakım Hamniganların dili ayrıca Güney Moğolcanın Horçin ağzından da etkilenmiştir. Bilhassa Mergel bölgesindeki Eski Bargut Sancağında, sancaktaki yönetim kadrolarının ana ağız olan Horçin ağızı, sancakta yaşayan Hamniganlar arasında muteber dil konumundadır<sup>14</sup>. Fakat Hamniganların dâhil olduğu dil ilişkileri içerisinde en ilginç olanı, Hamniganlar arasında yaşayan birtakım Han Çinlilerinin de günlük dil olarak Hamnigan Moğolcasını benimsemiş olmalarıdır. Bilhassa Hamniganlar arasında yaşayan Çinli ailelerin çocuklarının, Hamnigan Moğolcasının etkin bir şekilde cemiyyet dili olarak kullanılması sebebiyle, Hamnigan Moğolcasını akıcı bir şekilde öğrendikleri görülmektedir. Benzer bir durum diğer Moğol deęişkelerini konuşan ailelerin çocuklarında da görülmektedir (Janhunen 1996: 829, 831, 833; Wurm 1996b: 816-817; Janhunen 2005: 20; Salminen 2007: 254).

Yukarıda, Çin'de üç ayrı Evenk Tunguzu öbeğinin resmî olarak Evenk kimliği altında tasnif edildiğinden ve bu nüfusun %90 gibi yüksek bir oranını Solonların oluşturduğundan bahsedilmişti. İşte Evenk nüfusu içerisindeki bu yüksek oranlarından olacak, Çince de Evenkçe denilince bilhassa Solonların dili anlaşılmakta ve diğer ikisi bu Evenk ağzının alt şubeleri olarak algılanmaktadır. Oysa Tunguzcanın kendi içerisindeki taksimatına bakıldığında, Solonların dili gibi, Yakut Evenklerinin (diğer adı Oluguya Evenkleri) ve Hamniganların (diğer adı Tunguz Evenkleri) dili de, aynı Çin'de resmen milliyet olarak tanınmış bir diğer Tunguz şubesi olan Oroçenlerin (Elunçun) dili gibi, Evenk Tunguzcasının bağımsız ağzlarını teşkil etmektedir. Solonların dilinin ise, Evenk Tunguzcasının çok farklılaşmış bir ağız mı, yoksa bağımsız bir Tunguz lehçesi mi olduğu konusu tartışmalıdır (Tsumgari 1992: 83-84; Tsumgari 2009: 1-2,)<sup>15</sup>. Yani her

<sup>13</sup> İç Moğolistan'da, kırlık kesimde, Han Çinlileri dışındaki bütün çocuklar Ölçünlü Moğolca ile eğitim görmektedirler. Ölçünlü Moğolca ayrıca, yönetim dili, radyo - televizyon dili ve İç Moğolistan'ın Han Çinlisi olmayan nüfusu için gazete ve kitap dili olarak kullanılmaktadır. Bu sebeple Ölçünlü Moğolca, bölgede, Hamniganlar, Dağur Moğolları, Buryat Moğolları ve Evenk Tunguzları gibi azınlık milliyetlerinin ikinci veya üçüncü dili hâline gelmiştir. Hülün Buir'de, Ölçünlü Moğolcanın neredeyse hiç etkisi altına alamadığı iki azınlık öbeği, Yakut Evenkleri ve Oroçen Tunguzlarıdır. (Janhunen 1996: 833).

<sup>14</sup> Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nde bulunan Moğol lehçelerinin birbirleri ve başka diller ile olan ilişkilerinin yanında, Çin'in umumi dil hiyerarşisi içerisindeki topluluk durumları hakkında ayrıntılı bilgi için Abdurrazak Peler 2012'ye bakılabilir.

<sup>15</sup> Diğer bir sınıflandırmaya göre ise, Evenk Tunguzcası, Oroçen Tunguzcası, Solon Tunguzcası ve Negidal Tunguzcası birlikte Kuzeybatı Tunguzcayı teşkil etmektedir (Grenoble ve Whaley 2003: 97). Daha eski başka bir diğer sınıflandırmaya göre ise Evenk Tunguzcası, Even (Lamut) Tunguzcası, Negidal Tunguzcası ve Solon Tunguzcası Kuzey Tunguzcayı teşkil ederken, Mançu Tunguzcası, Nanay (Goldi) Tunguzcası, Ulça Tunguzcası, Orok Tunguzcası, Udehe Tunguzcası ve Oroçen Tunguzcası Güney Tunguzcayı oluşturmaktadır (Menges 1968: 27). Bir diğer tasnife göre Evenk Tunguzcası ve Even Tunguzcası Kuzey Tunguzcayı oluştururken, Oroken Tunguzcası, Negidal Tunguzcası, Solon Tunguzcası ve Manegir Tunguzcası Evenk

hâlükârda Yakut Evenklerinin ve Hamniganların dilini Solonların dili altında tasnif etmek, dilbilimlik olarak mümkün görünmemektedir. Hamniganların kullandıkları Evenk Tunguzcası ağzının Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nde en çok çocuk konuşura sahip olan Evenk değişkesi olmak (Salminen 2007: 245; <https://www.ethnologue.com/language/evn>) gibi bir hususiyete sahip olması, onu ülkedeki geleceği en sağlam Evenk Tunguzcası değişkesi konumuna oturtmaktadır. Ancak, İç Moğolistan'daki Evenkçe Moğolca iki dilliliği sebebiyle, Hamnigan Evenkçesinde bol miktarda Moğolca ödünç kelime bulunmaktadır. Hamnigan Evenkçesinde, Solonca ile ortak olan birtakım Moğolca kelimeler de mevcuttur. Birçok Rusça ödünç kelime de bulunmaktadır. Fakat Çince ödünç kelime sayısı sınırlıdır (Tsumgari 1992: 88).

İlginç bir şekilde, Rusça hâlâ Çin'de yaşayan birçok Hamnigan tarafından yüksek medeniyet dili olarak kabul görmektedir ve yakın bir geçmişe kadar yetişkin erkekler arasında Rusça konuşabilme yaygındı. Ancak yerini Mandarin Çincesi almaktadır. Mançuko devrinde, (1931-1945) eğitim dili Japonca idi. Bundan dolayı, çok yaşlı neslin arasında az da olsa Japonca bilgisine sahip olanların bulunması muhtemeldir. Daha sonra, Japoncanın yerine Çince onun yerine geçti ve şu anda bölgede yaşayan farklı kökenden gelen insanlar arasında ortak iletişim dil hâline gelmiştir. Tabii olarak Hamniganlar da bundan etkilenmektedir. Yine de Hamniganlar arasında Çince bilenlerin oranı oldukça düşüktür (Janhunen 2005: 20-21). Ancak, Solon Tunguzlarında olduğu gibi, Hamniganlar nüfusu içerisinde de, Moğolcanın yanında, Çince bilen bayanlar mevcuttur. (Janhunen 1988: 345).

### Sonuç

Tarihî anavatanları bugünkü Rusya Federasyonu'nun Zabaykalski krayı olan Hamniganlar, 17.-20. yüzyıllar arasında anavatanlarında cereyan eden siyasi olaylar neticesinde, günümüzde Rusya Federasyonu, Moğolistan ve Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti olmak üzere, üç ülkeye dağılmış durumdadırlar. Hamniganlar, bu üç ülkenin hiçbirinde resmî olarak Hamnigan kimliği altında tanınmamaktadırlar. Rusya Federasyonu'nda Buryat, Moğolistan'da Moğol ve Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nde Evenk olarak tanınmaktadırlar.

Kökenleri itibarıyla Tunguz oldukları anlaşılan Hamniganlar – ki Hamnigan kelimesi de zaten Moğolcada Tunguz manasına gelmektedir – 17., 18. ve 19. yüzyıllar boyunca, önce Halha Moğollarının tesirinde kalarak gerek yaşam tarzı bakımından gerekse dil bakımından Moğollaşmışlar, daha sonra da bölgeye gerçekleşen yoğun Buryat göçü neticesinde, Buryat Moğollarının tesirinde kalmışlardır. Rusların Baykal ötesine yoğun şekilde yerleşmelerinin ardından ise, Hristiyanlaşma ve Ruslaşma başlamıştır.

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Tunguzcasının alt dallarını teşkil etmektedir. Güney Tunguzca ise Güneydoğu Tunguzca ve Güneybatı Tunguzca olarak ikiye ayrılmaktadır. Güneydoğu Tunguzca; Nanay (Goldi, Hejen) Tunguzcası, Akani Tunguzcası, Birar Tunguzcası, Kilen Tunguzcası, Samagir Tunguzcası, Orok Tunguzcası, Ulça Tunguzcası, Oroçen Tunguzcası ve Udehe Tunguzcasından meydana gelirken, Güneybatı Tunguzca; Mançu Tunguzcasından ve Sibe Tunguzcasından oluşmaktadır (Russell ve Cohn 2012b: 5). Tunguz lehçelerinin tasnifi konusundaki meseleler üzerine ayrıntılı bilgi için Menges'in çalışmasına bakılabilir.

Özleri itibarıyla Hamnigan Moğolcası ve Evenk Tunguzcası olmak üzere iki dilli bir halk olan Hamniganlar, günümüzde, yaşadıkları üç ülkede dil cihetinden de çeşitlilik arz etmektedirler. Anavatanlarında, dil olarak büyük oranda Buryatlaşmışlar veya Ruslaşmışlardır. Hâlihazırda Rusya Federasyonu'nun Baykal ötesi bölgelerinde, Hamnigan Moğolcasını konuşan kimsenin kalıp kalmadığı konusunda bir veri olmamakla birlikte, eğer varsa birkaç yaşlı dışında kimsenin kalmadığı tahmin edilmektedir. Yakın zamana kadar Hamniganlar tarafından Evenk Tunguzcasının da konuşulduğuna dair ciddi verilerin olduğu Moğolistan'da ise, Hamniganların konuştuğu Moğolcanın büyük oranda Buryat Moğolcasından ve ülkenin resmî ölçünlü dili olan Halha Moğolcasından ciddi şekilde etkilendiği anlaşılmaktadır. Hatta ülkede Hamnigan Moğolcası, Buryat Moğolcasının bir alt kolu, Buryat Moğolcası ise Halha Moğolcasının bir ağızı kabul edilmektedir. Yani Hamnigan Moğolcası, Halha Moğolcasının altında tasnif edilmektedir. Oysa Hamnigan Moğolcası barındırdığı eskicil hususiyetler itibarıyla başlı başına bir lehçedir. Hamniganların dillerini en iyi şekilde muhafaza ettikleri ülkenin Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti olduğu görülmektedir. Hamniganlar bu ülkede hem Hamnigan Moğolcasını hem de Evenk Tunguzcasını muhafaza etmektedirler. Topluluğun bir kısmı sadece Hamnigan Moğolcası konuşurken, diğer kısmı hem Hamnigan Moğolcası hem de Evenk Tunguzcası konuşmaktadır. Hamniganlar, bu iki dilliliğin yanında, içerisinde yaşadıkları cemiyetin etnik çeşitliliği sebebiyle, Çince ve Moğolcanın farklı deęişkelerini de günlük hayatlarında kullanmak durumundadırlar. Dil bakımından en sağlam durumdaki Hamnigan öbeęi olan Çin'deki Hamniganlar, gelecekte, şüphesiz ülkedeki bütün etnik azınlıklar gibi Çincenin ve büyük Çinli nüfusunun baskısını hissedeceklerdir. Hamniganlar ve dilleri için bir diğer tehdidi ise, İç Moğolistan'da yaşayan bütün Moğol kökenli azınlıklar gibi, Ölçünlü Moğolcanın gün geçtikçe artan etkinlięi oluşturmaktadır.

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## ARAP HARFLİ MOĞOLCA SÖZLÜKLERDE MEYVE ADLARI

Doç. Dr. Bülent GÜL\*

### ÖZ

Bu makalede 13.-14. Yüzyıl Batı Orta Moğolca dönemine ait Memluk-İlhanlı sahasında yazılan Arap harfli Moğolca *Kitāb-ı Mecmū-ı Tercümān-ı Türkî ve Acemî ve Muḡalî, Kitāb Hilyetü'l-insān ve Helbetü'l-lisān, Mukaddimetü'l-Edeb, Şāmilü'l-Luḡa ve Rasūlid Hexaglot* adlı sözlüklerde Moğolca kaydı ile verilen meyve adları incelenmiştir. Moğolistan coğrafyası ve iklimi nedeni ile meyve yetiştiriciliği konusunda çok fazla bilgiye sahip olmayan Moğolların dilinde, coğrafyalarına uygun meyve adları bulunmaktadır. Moğolların İlhanlı-Memluk sahalarına gelmeleri ile bu dönemde yazılan Moğolca sözlüklerde bir kısmı Türkçe, bir kısmı da Farsça olan meyve adları Moğolca kaydı ile verilmiştir. Bu çalışmada bu meyve adlarının Moğolcadaki varlıkları ve özellikle tarihi Türk dili alanındaki kullanımları da gösterilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Moğolca, Orta Moğolca, Arap harfli Moğolca Sözlükler, Türkçe, Meyve adları.

### FRUIT NAMES IN THE MONGOLIAN DICTIONARIES WITH ARABIC ALPHABET

#### ABSTRACT

This paper explores Mongolian fruit names in the dictionaries titled *Kitāb-ı Mecmū-ı Tercümān-ı Türkî ve Acemî ve Muḡalî, Kitāb Hilyetü'l-insān ve Helbetü'l-lisān, Mukaddimetü'l-Edeb, Şāmilü'l-Luḡa* and *Rasūlid Hexaglot* written in Arabic alphabet in the Mid-West Mongolian Period in Mamluk-Ilkhanate region during the 13th-14th Centuries. Mongolians who did not have much knowledge about growing fruits due to their geographical and climatic status had authentic words for the local fruits grown in their region. These dictionaries written after the Mongolian movement to Mamluk-Ilkhanate region include Turkish and Persian fruit names recorded as Mongolian. This paper shows the use of those names in Mongolian and especially in Turkish.

**Keywords:** Mongolian, Middle Mongolian, Mongolian Words in Arabic alphabet, Turkish, Fruit names

Moğol tarım terimleri incelendiğinde Moğolların kuru tarımı bildikleri, Moğolistanın iklimden dolayı da sadece kuru tarıma uygun olduğu görülmektedir. Moğol tarım terimlerinin de genel olarak Türkçeden alınmış terimlerden oluştuğu bilinmektedir. Arap harfli Moğolca sözlüklerde de bu tarım terimlerinin Türkçe ile ilişkili olduğu da görülmektedir. Arap harfli Moğolca sözlüklerde aynı şekilde meyve ile ilgili terimlerin de Moğolcadan ziyade Türkçe ve Farsçadan alınmış terimler olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

Arap harfli Moğolca sözlüklerde genel anlamda “meyve” için, özel olarak da “üzüm” için kullanılan *cemiş* kelimesi ile birlikte şu meyve adları görülmektedir: *alima* “elma”, *anār* “nar”, *armut* “armut”, *cayaq* “ceviz”, *cigde* “iğde”, erük “erik”, *hayba* “ayva”, *hurma* “hurma”, *incir* “incir”, *qara erük* “armut; erik”, qara yemiş “kara erik”, *qa'un* “kavun”, *quru üzüm* “kuru üzüm”, *şaftali* “şeftali”, *şira erük* “kayısı”, *üzüm* “üzüm”.

Arap harfli Moğolca sözlüklerde yer alan meyve adları aşağıda maddelendirilmiştir. Özellikle Türkçe yolu ile Moğolcaya geçmiş meyve adlarının tarihi

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Türk dili metinlerindeki kullanımını da göstermeye çalıştık. Ortak sayılabilecek meyve adlarının dışında Farsçadan Türkçeye ve Moğolcaya geçmiş olan meyve adları da aşağıdadır:

**alima (الما), (البيما):** elma. Clauson, Eski Türkçeden itibaren Türkçede tanıklanan *alma* kelimesinin Moğolcaya *alima* şeklinde ödünçlendiği bilgisini verir (1962: 231; ED 146). Kelime İM'de *alma* (الما) şeklinde yazılmıştır (İM 219). King Sözlüğü'nde de kelime Türkçe *alma* karşılığı olarak Moğolca *alima* şekliyle (البيما) tanıklanmıştır (202 B3). Klasik Moğolcada *alim-a* şeklinde geçen (MHHTB 2006: 30) kelime, Modern Moğolcada *alim* şeklinde yaşamaktadır (Tsevel 1966: 33). Lessing, sözlüğünde *alim-a* /MM *aliml* "elma" bilgisini verir (Lessing 2003: 52). Kelime Kalmukçada da (альмин) yaşamaktadır (Bk. Ramstedt 1935: 7).

Kelime tarihî Türk dili metinlerinde *alma* ve *almıla* şekilleriyle tanıklanır (ED 146). Kelime, MK'de *alma* ve *almıla* şeklinde geçmektedir. MK *almıla* "apple" (MK I. 81) *alma* şeklinin de Oğuzca kelime olduğu belirtilmektedir: *alma* "apple" (MK I. 77). (*alma* DLT I. 130; *almıla* DLT I. 130, 138; II. 272, 311). Kelime Kıpçak sözlüklerinde de *alma* şeklinde tanıklanır: CC *alma* "Apfel" (Grønbech 1942: 35); DM *alma* "elma" a. 5a/12 (Toparlı 2003: 70); KK *alma* "elma" (Toparlı 1999: 100) KK 71a; "*alma* ağacı" KK 66b; TZ *elma* "elma" (Atalay 1945: 168); KTAM *alma* "elma" (Toparlı 2000: 86); İM *alma* "elma" (Battal 1938: 9); Kİ *alma* "elma" (Caferoğlu 1931: 3). Kelime Batı Türkçesinde de *alma* "elma" (BŞSl. 43a-3) şeklinde tanıklanır ve Türkiye Türkçesinde elma şeklinde yaşamaktadır. Ayrıca Bk. (Eren 1999: 133).

**anār (انار):** nar. Kelime Farsça kökenlidir ve Türkçeye de Farsçadan geçmiştir. Kelime King Sözlüğü'nde Türkçe *anār* karşılığı olarak Moğolca *anār* şeklinde verilmiştir (202 B10). Kelime, ME'de *nār* şeklinde tanıklanır ve ayrıca benzetme unsuru olarak da kullanılır: *nārin arasun* - Tü. *nār kabuğu* "nar kabuğu" (Poppe 2009: 92); *nārdāni budan* - Tü. *nārdāni aş* "nar taneli yemek" (Poppe 2009: 92); *ene nardu adali köketü ökin* - Tü. *bu nar ök emçeklik kız* "bu nar gibi memeli kız" (Poppe 2009: 51); *nār kökentü bolba* - Tü. *nār emçeklik boldı* "nar memeli oldu" (Poppe 2009: 92); *ökin köken nārça katü bolba* - Tü. *kızning emçeki nārulukşadı* "kızın memeleri narımsılaştı" (Poppe 2009: 106). Kelime Klasik Moğolcada ve Modern Moğolcada *anar* şeklinde "nar" anlamı ile yaşamaktadır (Lessing 1960: 42). Kelime Kalmukçada da *anr* şeklinde "nar" anlamıyla yaşamaktadır (Bk. Ramstedt 1935: 11).

Kelime tarihi Türk dili alanı içinde Harezmi-Kıpçak ve Batı Türkçesi metinlerinde *enār*, *nār* şekillerinde tanıklanır: KTAM *enār* "nar" (Toparlı 2000: 105); "*ol iki bostan içindä yemişler bar taqı hurma takı nar bar*" (Borovkov 2002: 193); KK *nār* "nar, meyve" (Toparlı 1999: 119); KTAM *nar* "nar" (Toparlı 2000: 129); BŞSl. *nār* "nar" (43a-8); BŞSl. *nār aşı* (22a-6); BŞSl. *nār çiçeği* (46a-5); BŞSl. *nār danesi* "nar tanesi, nar çekirdeği" (43a-8). Kelime Türkiye Türkçesinde de *nar* şeklinde yaşamaktadır.

**armut (ارمط):** armut. Kelime İM'de tanıklanmaktadır (İM 219). Kelime Farsça *amrūd* şeklinden Türk dillerine *armut* şeklinde geçmiştir. Yine Doerfer'e göre bu kelime Farsçadan Moğolcaya *armut* şeklinde geçmiştir. Doerfer de bu ödünçlemeye sadece İbni Mühennā Lügati'ni örnek verir (Bk. TMEN IV: 1966). Kelime ME'de, TT'de ve King Sözlüğü'nde tanıklanamamıştır. Kelime Modern Moğolcada da tanıklanamamıştır.

Kelime Tarihi Türk dili metinlerde *armut* şeklinde tanıklanmaktadır. MK *armut* “Pear” (MK I. 60; DLT I. 95); “*armut qatutı*” “A split pear’ *qatut*. The glue used by shoemakers” (MK II. 408; DLT II: 284); BŞSI. *armut* (43a-3); CC *armut* “Birne” (Grønbech 1942: 40); DM *armut* “armut” (Toparlı 2003: 71); TZ *armut* “armut” (Atalay 1945: 141); KK *armut* “armut” (Toparlı 1999: 101); KTAM *armut* “armut (Tkm)” (Toparlı 2000: 88); İM *armut* “bildiğimiz yemiş” (Battal 1938: 11). Kelimenin etimolojik açıklamaları için Bk. (Eren 1999: 18).

**cayaq** (جغاق) “ceviz”: Clauson, Eski Türkçeden itibaren Türkçede tanıklanan *yayaq* kelimesinin Moğolcaya *cayak* şeklinde ödünçlendiğini ve Türkçe *yag-* fiilinden türemiş olabileceğini ileri sürer (1962: 231; ED 900a). Kelime Moğolca King Sözlüğü’nde Türkçe *yayaq* karşılığı olarak Moğolca *cayaq* şeklinde verilmiştir (202 B12) ancak, diğer Arap harfli Moğolca sözlüklerde geçmemektedir. Kelime Modern Moğolcada da tanıklanamamıştır. Kalmukçada ise kelime *janxag*, *janğag* şekillerinde tanıklanmaktadır (Ramstedt 1935: 215).

Kelime, Eski Türkçe metinlerde ve sivil Uygur belgelerinde *yagaq* şeklinde tanıklanır (Bk. ED 900a). Kelime İslami çevre Türkçe metinlerinde de tanıklanır: MK *yayāq aqı* “walnut” (MK I. 57); *yayaqlıy* “cevizli” (DLT III. 50); *yayaqlıq* “cevizlik” (DLT III. 51). Clauson, kelimenin Çağatay Türkçesi metinlerinde de *yaṇaq/yaṇay* ve Batı Türkçesinde *yaṇaq* şekillerinde tanıklandığını bildirir (ED 900a).

**cemiş / cimiş / yimiş** (جميش) / (يميش): “yemiş, meyve”: Türkçe *yemiş* kelimesi Eski Türkçeden itibaren metinlerde yaşamaktadır ve Moğolcaya *cemiş* şeklinde ödünçlenmiştir (ED 938). İbni Mühennâ, sözlüğünde de kelimeyi (يميش) *yimiş* şeklinde kaydetmiştir (İM 218; Gül 2016). Kelime King Sözlüğü’nde Moğolca *cemiş*; Türkçe *yemiş* karşılığında verilmiştir (202 B2). ME’de *cimiş* şeklinde geçen kelimenin “üzüm” ve “yemiş, meyve” anlamları bulunmaktadır. ME’de kelimenin Türkçe “yemiş; meyve” anlamı ile kullanımları şu şekildedir: *cimiş* - Tü. *yemiş* “meyve” (Poppe 2009: 32); *cimiş amtan* - Tü. *yemişnin mezesi* “meyvenin tadı” (Poppe 2009: 32); *cimiş idebe* - Tü. *yemiş yedi* “meyve yedi” (Poppe 2009: 32); *cimiş ökbe modun* - Tü. *yemiş berdi yığaç* “ağaç meyve verdi” (Poppe 2009: 32); *cimiş kudalduqçı* - Tü. *yemiş satğuçı* “meyve satıcı” (Poppe 2009: 32); *say kürüksen cimiş* - Tü. *yanı yetilgen miwe* “yeni olmuş meyve” (Poppe 2009: 128). *cimiştü* - Tü. *ni’metlik* “meyveli” (Poppe 2009: 32); *ene tü’üksen cimiş* - Tü. *bu tergen miwe* “bu toplanmış meyve” (Poppe 2009: 52); *gürbe küken dağı cimiş* - Tü. *yetildi yemiş dağı oğlan* “yemiş ve çocuk yetiştirdi” (Poppe 2009: 59); *noytan cimiş* - Tü. *öl yemiş* “yaş yemiş” (Poppe 2009: 97); *tübe cimişi* - Tü. *terdi miweni* “meyveyi topladı” (Poppe 2009: 152); *tübe cimişleri* - Tü. *terdi yemişlerini* “meyveleri topladı” (Poppe 2009: 152); *tü cimişi modunāsa* - Tü. *terdi yemişlerini yığaçdın* “yemişleri ağaçtan topladı (Türk. topladı)” (Poppe 2009: 152); *tügel kibe tündü cimişi* - Tü. *tükel kıldı anka yemişni* “ona iyi meyve verdi” (Poppe 2009: 151).

ME’de kelimenin Türkçe “üzüm” anlamı ile kullanımları da şu şekildedir: *çagān cimiş* - Tü. *aq üzüm* “ak üzüm” (Poppe 2009: 36); *hekin cimiş* - Tü. *baş üzüm* “baş üzüm” (Poppe 2009: 66); *hekin cimişin modun* - Tü. *baş üzümün yığacı* “baş üzümün ağacı” (Poppe 2009: 66); *hula’ān cimiş* - Tü. *kızıl üzüm* “kırmızı üzüm” (Poppe 2009: 68); *konçı cimiş* - Tü. *kişmiş* “kuru üzüm” (Poppe 2009: 121); *kösün cimiş* - Tü. *kuruğ üzüm* “kuru üzüm” (Poppe 2009: 123); *borin cimiş* - Tü. *çağır yemişi* “şarap üzümü” (Poppe

2009: 25); *bolba cimiş* – Tü. *pişdi üzüm* “üzüm olgunlaştı” (Poppe 2009: 24); *boluqsan cimiş* – Tü. *pişken üzüm* “olmuş üzüm” (Poppe 2009: 24); *butaba cimişin modun* - Tü. *butadı tākni* “asmaı budadı” (Poppe 2009: 27); *cañıksan ko'āsun cimiş köknar selte* - Tü. *yançkan kuruk üzüm köknar birle* “haşhaş tohumu ile dövülmüş kuru üzüm” (Poppe 2009: 30); *cimişin hüren* - Tü. *üzüm çekirdeki* “üzüm çekirdeği” (Poppe 2009: 32); *cimiş usun* - Tü. *üzüm şiresi* “üzüm şırası” (Poppe 2009: 32); *cimiş usun kudalduqçı* - Tü. *üzüm şiresini satğuçı* “üzüm şırası satıcısı” (Poppe 2009: 32); *dere örgübe cimişin modun* - Tü. *yokarı köterdi taklamı* “asma dallarını yukarı kaldırdı” (Poppe 2009: 47); *niken butak cimiş* - Tü. *bir budağ üzüm* “bir budak üzüm” (Poppe 2009: 94); *oktalba hekin cimişi* - Tü. *kesdi baş üzümni* “salkım üzümü kesti” (Poppe 2009: 102); *ölgüksen hekin cimiş* - Tü. *asılğan baş üzüm* “asılı salkım üzüm” (Poppe 2009: 106); *şikaba cimişi* - Tü. *sıktı üzümni* “üzümü sıktı” (Poppe 2009: 139); *tülüy cimiş ğura* - Tü. *yetilmegeñ baş üzüm* “olmamış salkım üzüm” (Poppe 2009: 152).

Türkçe *yemiş* kelimesi, Klasik Moğolcada *jimis* şeklinde tanımlanmaktadır (MHHTB 2006: 345) ve Modern Moğolcada meyve anlamıyla *cims* şeklinde yaşamaktadır (Tsevel 1966: 247). Kelime Kalmukçada da *zemş* şeklinde yaşamaktadır (Bk. Ramstedt 1935: 472).

**cigde** (چگدا): iğde. Kelime İM 219'da ve King Sözlüğü'nde *cigde* (202 B13) şeklinde tanımlanmaktadır. King Sözlüğü'nde kelimenin Türkçe karşılığı da *yigde* olarak verilmiştir. Kelime ME'de tanımlanmamaktadır. Clauson, Türkçede *yigde*, *cigde*, *jigde*, *jiyde*, *jide*, *iyde* ve *iğde* şekillerinde tanımlanan kelimenin Moğolcadaki durumu ile ilgili olarak herhangi bir bilgi vermez (ED 911b). Klasik Moğolcada *jigde* şeklinde tanımlanan kelime, Modern Moğolcada içi açık renkli, kahve renkli kabuklu olup çok tatlı meyve veren ağaç manasında *cigd* şeklinde yaşamaktadır (Tsevel 1966: 243).

Kelime tarihi Türk dili alanlarında da tanımlanmaktadır. Eski Türkçe metinlerde *yigde* (ED 911b) şeklinde geçen kelime Karahanlı Türkçesinde *yigde* “iğde ağacı” (DLT I. 33); Kıpçak Türkçesi sözlüklerinde de İM *yigde* “iğde ağacı” (Battal 1938: 89); KTAM *yigde* “iğde, yaban iğdesi” (Toparlı 2000: 157) ve Batı Türkçesi metinlerinde de *igde* “iğde ağacı ve yemişi” (BŞSl. 43a-7) şeklinde tanımlanmaktadır.

**erük** (ارک): erik. Türkçe *erük* kelimesi Moğolcaya ödünçlenmiştir; ancak, Oyrat ve Kalmuk lehçelerinde görülmektedir (TMEN IV: 1952). Kelimeye İM 228'de verilen Arapça karşılık (المشمش) şeklindedir. King Sözlüğü'nde ise bu Arapça (المشمش) kelimesi için verilen Moğolca karşılık *şira erük*; Türkçe karşılık *saru erük*, Farsça karşılık da *zerdalu* şeklindedir (202 B5). Kelime, Modern Moğolcada tanımlanmamıştır. Ancak Kalmukçada kelime *örög* “erik”, *har örög* “erik” ve *şar örög* “kayısı” anlamları ile yaşamaktadır (Ramstedt 1935: 298).

Kelime tarihi Türk dili alanında *erük*, *erik*, *irik* şekillerinde tanımlanmaktadır. Clauson, kelime için erik, şeftali, kayısı gibi meyvelere verilen genel ad olarak “çekirdekli meyve” için kullanılan gıda terimi anlamını vermiştir (ED 222a). Kelime eski Uygur Türkçesinde de *ärük* ~ *örük* şekillerinde geçer (Bk. ED 222a). Kelime diğer tarihi Türk dili alanlarında da şu şekillerde tanımlanmaktadır: *erük* “erik” (DLT I. 69, 318; II. 282); *erüklük* “eriklik, erik bahçesi” (DLT I. 152); *erüklen-* “erik meyvası vermek” (DLT I. 294); TZ *irik* “erik” (Atalay 1945: 178); *kara irik* “kara erik” (Atalay 1945: 178); *sarı irik* “sarı erik, zerdeli”

(Atalay 1945: 178); Kİ *ärük* “erik, sarı erik, şeftali” (Caferoğlu 1931: 12); BŞSI. *erik* (43a-4) vb.

**hayba** (هيبه): ayva. Clauson, *ayva/ayva*’nın Farsçadan alıntı olabileceğini söylemiştir (ED 16b, 268a). Räsänen sözlüğünde kelimenin kökenini vermemiştir (153a). Eren’e göre kelime Farsçadan Türkçeye geçmiştir (1999: 29). Kelimenin Farsça şekli *ābia*’dır ve Türkçeye geçtiği anlaşılıyor.

Kelime Arap harfli Moğolca King Sözlüğü’nde *hayba* şeklinde tanıklanmaktadır ve kelimeye Türkçe karşılık *hayva* şeklinde verilmiştir (202 B4). Moğolca eserler İM, TT ve ME’de ise kelime tanıklanamamaktadır. Kelime Modern Moğolcada da tanıklanamamıştır.

Tarihi Türk dili metinlerinde kelime *ayva*, *awya*, *äyvä* ve *hayva* şekillerinde tanıklanmaktadır. MK *awya* “quince” (MK I. 70; DLT I. 114); *açıy awya tışiy qamattı* “The sour quince (or other) set the teeth on edge” (MK II. 421; DLT II. 311); İM *ayva* “bildiğimiz sert yemiş” (Battal 1938: 14); KTAM *ayva* “ayva (Tkm)” (Toparlı 2000: 91); Kİ *ayva* “bugünkü manasında” (Caferoğlu 1931: 9) ~ *äyvä* “ayva” (Caferoğlu 1931: 13); TZ *hayva* “ayva” (Atalay 1945: 173); KK *hayva* “ayva” (Toparlı 1999: 109); BŞSI. *ayva* (43a-3);

**hurma** (خرما): Farsça *hurma* kelimesi Türkçe ile birlikte Arap harfli Moğolca sözlüklerde görüldüğü üzere bu dönemde Moğolcaya da geçmiştir. King Sözlüğü’nde Türkçe *tutmaç* “yemek” karşılığında Moğolca olarak *hurma tutmac* tamlaması verilir (187 C20). Kelime ME’de yaygın şekilde tanıklanmaktadır. Özellikle hurma ağacı anlamında kullanılan *hurma mod* tamlamasının yanı sıra *hurmayin bor* “hurma içkisi”; *mü hurma* “kötü hurma” ve *noytan hurma* “yaş hurma” gibi kullanımlar da göze çarpmaktadır: *hurma modunu beye* - Tü. *\*hurma yığaçı boyı* “hurma ağacı gövdesi” (Poppe 2009: 168); *hurma selte açiksän modun* - Tü. *hurma birle yüklenmiş yığaç* “hurma yüklü ağaç” (Poppe 2009: 168); *hurma hüçüken modun* - Tü. *hurmaniij kiçik yığaçı* “hurma fidanı” (Poppe 2009: 168); *açi’ātu kibe hurmayin moduni* - Tü. *yüklük kıldı hurma yığaçını* “hurma ağacını yükledi” (Poppe 2009: 12); *butaba hurmayin moduni örgesüni* - Tü. *butadı hurma yığaçınıij tikenni* “hurma ağacının dikenini budadı” (Poppe 2009: 27); *kündü açātu hurmayin modun* - Tü. *a. yüklendi\*hurma yığaçı* “hurma ağacı çok yüklendi” (Poppe 2009: 82); *oktalba hirārāsa* - Tü. *kesti hurma tübini* “(Türk. hurmayı) dibinden kesti” (Poppe 2009: 102); *oktalba hurmayin hirār* - Tü. *kesti hurma tübini* “hurma dibini kesti” (Poppe 2009: 102); *oktalba hurmayin moduni* - Tü. *kesti \*hurma yığaçını* “hurma ağacını kesti” (Poppe 2009: 102); *unaba hurma* - Tü. *tüşti hurma* “hurma düştü” (Poppe 2009: 154); *urtutba hurma* - Tü. *uzadı hurma* “hurma ağacı uzadı” (Poppe 2009: 155); *çinebe hurmayi* - Tü. *çinedi hurmanı* “hurmayı ölçtü” (Poppe 2009: 38).

*Bu dönemde hurmadan içecek yapıldığı da görülmektedir: hurmayin bor* - Tü. *hurma çağırı* “hurma şarabı” (Poppe 2009: 168); *hurma bor kibe* - Tü. *hurma çakırı kıldı* “hurma şarabı yaptı” (Poppe 2009: 168).

Hurmanın süt ile pişirildiği de yine ME’de verilen şu cümle ile görülmektedir: *sündü çinaksan hurma* - Tü. *süt[t]e pişken hurma* “sütte pişmiş hurma” (Poppe 2009: 135).

Moğolcada kötü hurma için *mü hurma*; ham hurma için *ese küreksen hurma*; yaş hurma için *noytan hurma*; kuru hurma için *kösün hurma* ve ezilmiş hurma için *cañıksan hurma* denildiğini de yine ME'de görüyoruz: *mü hurma* - Tü. *yaman hurma* "kötü hurma" (Poppe 2009: 90); *ese küreksen hurma* - Tü. *yetilmegen hurma* "yetişmemiş hurma" (Poppe 2009: 55); *noytan hurman* - Tü. *öl hurma* "yaş hurma" (Poppe 2009: 97); *noytan hurmayin açānu örele* - Tü. *öl hurma yük sınıkarı* "yarım yük yaş hurma" (Poppe 2009: 97); *kösün hurma* - Tü. *kuruğ hurma* "kuru hurma" (Poppe 2009: 123); *ko'āsun hurmayin açānu örele* - Tü. *kuruk hurma yük[i]nin sınıgarı* "kuru hurma yükünün dengi" (Poppe 2009: 119); *cañıksan hurma* - Tü. *yançılğan hurma*: "ezilmiş hurma" (Poppe 2009: 30).

ME'de meyve çekirdeği için *hurma yasun* örneğinde gördüğümüz gibi *yasun* kelimesi kullanılmaktadır: *hurma yasun* - Tü. *hurma çekirdeki* "hurma çekirdeği" (Poppe 2009: 168); *hurma yasuni kakarkay* - Tü. *hurma dānesi yaruğı* "hurma çekirdeğinin yarığı" (Poppe 2009: 168).

Kelime Modern Moğolcada tarafımızdan tanıklanamamıştır ancak, kelime Kalmukçada *hurmn* şeklinde yaşamaktadır (Ramstedt 1935: 199).

**incir (انجیر):** incir. Kelime Farsçadan *ancir* şeklinde Türkçeye geçmiştir (Bk. Eren 1999: 191). Kelime Moğolca King Sözlüğü'nde Türkçe ve Moğolca *incir* şeklinde verilmiştir (202 B11). ME'de ise kelime tanıklanamamaktadır. Kelime Modern Moğolcada da tanıklanamamaktadır. Ramstedt, bu Farsça kelimenin Türkçe üzerinden Kalmukçaya *incr* şeklinde geçtiğini bildirir (1935: 208).

Kelime, tarihi Türk dili alanında ve modern Türk lehçelerinde de yaşamaktadır (Bkz. Eren 191b; VEWT 44a). Kelime tarihi Türk dili alanında şu metinlerde tanıklanamaktadır: Orta Asya Kuran tercümesi *bir tabaq incir kätürdilär* (Borovkov 2002: 137); *incir oguz iğın kedärür niqrasin kedär* (Borovkov 2002: 199); CC *incir* "Feige" (Grønbech 1942: 107); TZ *incir* "incir" (Atalay 1945: 178); KK *incir* "incir" (Toparlı 1999: 110); KTAM *incir* "incir" (Toparlı 2000: 109); BŞSl. *incir* "incir ağacı ve yemişi" (43a-9).

**qara erük (قرا اروك):** armut; erik. Kelime King Sözlüğünde Türkçe ve Moğolca *qara erük* şeklinde verilmiştir. Kelimenin anlamı ise "armut" ve "erik" şeklinde verilmiştir (Bk. 202 B6). Clauson, *erük* maddesinde *qara erük* "armut" örneğini de verir (ED 222a). Bk. *erük*.

**qara yemiş (قرا يمش):** kara erik. İM 219'da Arapça (الاجاص) "kara erik" kelimesine karşılık olarak Türkçe *qara yemiş* "karayemiş" verilir. Tarihî Türkçe metinlerde bu Arapça kelimeye karşılık olarak Türkçe *qara erük* tanıklanamaktadır (Bk. ED 222a). Burada dikkatimizi erik kelimesi yerine yemiş kelimesinin kullanılması çekmektedir (*yemiş* için Bk. ED 938).

**qa'ün (قاونون):** "kavun". Kelime ME'de Moğolca olarak *ka'ün* şeklinde Türkçe *qawun* "kavun" karşılığı ile tanıklanamaktadır (Poppe 2009: 118). ME'de yine şu şekillerde kullanılmıştır: *noqayn qa'ün* - Tü. *it qawunı* "yaban kavunu" (Poppe 2009: 98); *qa'ününun arasun* - Tü. *qawun qabuı* "kavun kabuğu" (Poppe 2009: 118); *cisübe qa'üni* - Tü. *tildi qawunni* "kavunu dildi" (Poppe 20009: 33); *qa'untu* - Tü. *\*qawunluq* "kavun ocağı" (Poppe 2009: 118). Kelime Modern Moğolcada tanıklanamamıştır; ancak, Kalmukçada *gū* şeklinde

yaşamaktadır ve Ramstedt kelime ile Türkçe *qaun*, *qawun*; Tibetçe *qa-gon*, *kau* ile ilgisine de dikkat çeker (Ramstedt 1935: 156).

Kelime Türkçedir ve Eski Türkçede *qayun* şeklindedir. Clauson'a göre *qay-* fiilinden türemiştir. Kelime Uygur Türkçesinde *qayun*; Karahanlı Türkçesinde *kayun*, Kıpçak Türkçesi metinlerinde de *qawun* şekillerinde tanıklanmaktadır (Bk. ED 611b).

**quru üzüm** (قرو أزم): kuru üzüm. Türkçe ve Moğolca arasında ortak olan *quru* “kuru” ve *üzüm* “üzüm” kelimelerinden yapılmış bir tamlamadır. *quru üzüm* tamlaması İbni Mühennâ tarafından Türkçe olarak da verilmiş olabilir (İM 219). Clauson, *quruy* kelimesinin Türk dilinin bütün dönemlerinde şekillerini gösterir ancak Moğolca ile ilişkisi konusunda bir şey söylemez (ED 652). Bk. *üzüm*.

**şaftali** (شفتالي): şeftali. Kelime King Sözlüğü'nde *şaftali* şeklinde Moğolca olarak kaydedilmiştir. Kelimenin Türkçe karşılığı da *şaftalu* şeklinde verilmiştir (202 B7). Kelime Farsça kökenlidir ve Türkçeye de ödünçlenmiştir. Eren, kelimenin etimolojisi için “< Far. *şaftālū* ‘a peach (rough plum)’ (*şaft* ‘kalın, semiz, yağlı; koyu’ + *ālū* ‘erik’)” açıklamasını yapmaktadır (Eren 1999: 385). Tarihi Türk dili sözlüklerinde *şeftelü*, *şeftālu*, *şefteli* şekillerinde geçen kelime belki de *tülüg erik* tamlamasının yerini almıştır. İM'de de *tülüg erik* için “tüylü erik demektir ki şeftali olacaktır” (Battal 1938: 78) açıklaması yapılmaktadır. Kelime Kıpçak Türkçesi sözlüklerinde ve Batı Türkçesinde şu şekillerde geçmektedir: KK *şeftelü* “şeftali” (Toparlı 1999: 124); TZ *şefteli* “şeftali, tülü, hülü, tüylü erik” (Atalay 1945: 246); CC *şaftalu* “Pfirsich” (Grønbech 1942: 230); BŞSl. *şeftālu* “şeftali” (43a-4).

Kelime Kalmukçada *şabdül* şeklinde tanıklanmaktadır (Ramstedt 1935: 343).

**şira erük** (شيرا ارک): kayısı. Kelime King Sözlüğü'nde *şira erük* olarak tanıklanmaktadır. Aynı sözlükte kelimenin Türkçe karşılığı da *saru erük* olarak verilmiştir (202 B5). Moğolca *şira* “sarı” ve Türkçe *erük* “erik” kelimelerinden oluşturulmuştur. Clauson, *erük* maddesinde *sarıy erük* “kayısı” örneğini de verirken kelimenin tarihi Türk dili dönemlerindeki kullanımlarını da gösterir (ED 222a). Tarihi Türk dili alanında *sarıy erük* “kayısı, zerdali” anlamında kullanılmıştır: *sarıy erük* “kayısı, zerdali” (DLT I. 69); İM *sarıy erik* “zerdali” (Battal 1938: 59); TZ *sarı irik* “sarı erik, zerdeli” (Atalay 1945: 232); KTAM *sarı erük* “sarı erik” (Toparlı 2000: 135). Kıpçak Türkçesi ve Batı Türkçesinin şu eserlerinde de *sarı erik*'in eş anlamlısı olarak zerdali'ye rastlamaktayız: KTAM *zerdālu* “erik” (Toparlı 2000: 161); KK *zerdeli* “kayısı” (Toparlı 1999: 132). BŞSl. *zerdālu* “zerdali” (43a-3).

Kalmukçada kelime *şar<sup>a</sup> ör<sup>g</sup>* şeklinde “kayısı” anlamları ile yaşamaktadır (Ramstedt 1935: 298). Bk. *erük*.

**üzüm** (أزم): “üzüm”. Kelime İM'de *üzüm* şeklinde geçmektedir (İM 219). King Sözlüğü'nde kelime Türkçe ve Moğolca olarak yine *üzüm* (ازوم) şeklinde tanıklanır (202 B8). ME'de *üzüm* şeklinde tanıklanmayan kelime için *cimiş* kullanılmaktadır. Bk. *cimiş*. Türkçe ve Moğolca söz varlığında ortak olarak kullanılan bu kelime Eski Türkçeden itibaren Türk dilinde yaşamaktadır (Bk. ED 288). Doerfer, Türkçeden birçok dile ödünçlenen kelimenin Moğolcaya da geçtiğini bildirir (TMEN II: 473). Kelime, Klasik Moğolcada *ujüm* şeklindedir (MHHTB 2006: 946) ve Modern Moğolcada *üzem* şeklinde, “üzüm,

kurutulmuş üzüm” anlamında yaşamaktadır (Tsevel 1966: 617). Kelime Kalmukçada da *üzüm* şeklinde yaşamaktadır (Ramstedt 1935: 460).

Kelime Tarihi Türk dili alanında *üzüm* / *üşüm* / *yüzüm* “üzüm” şekillerinde tanıklanmaktadır ve Modern Türk dillerinde de yaşamaktadır: Uygur metinlerinde *üzüm*, *üşüm* şeklinde geçmektedir: *üşüm* (ED 288). Kelime Arap harfli İslami dönem Türkçe metinlerinden MK, AH, İM, BŞSl., ME’de ise *üzüm* şeklinde geçmektedir: *üzüm* “Grapes” (MK I. 50); “*üzüm yēgil azu qāyūn yēgil*” (MK I. 57); (Bkz. DLT I. 75, 88, 180, 184, 282, 289, 353, 360, 514; II. 16, 18, 104, 125, 186, 265; III. 8, 119, 201, 265, 331, 410); AH *üzüm* “üzüm” (Arat 1992: LXX); İM *üzüm* “bildiğimiz meyva” (Battal 1938: 83); BŞSl. *üzüm* “üzüm” (23a-8), (43b-8); *üzüm salqımı* (43b-8); *yaş üzüm* (43b-8); ME *üzüm* “üzüm” (Yüce 1993).

Kelime CC, TZ, KK, KTAM gibi sözlüklerde ise *yüzüm* şeklinde sözbaşındaki bir y-türemesi ile geçmektedir: CC *yüzüm* “Traube” (Grønbech 1942: 132); TZ *yüzüm* “üzüm” (Atalay 1945: 291); KTAM *yüzüm* “üzüm” (Toparlı 2000: 161); KK *yüzüm* “üzüm” (Toparlı 1999: 132). Metinlerde *üzüm*, *üzüm yıyāçı*, *üşüm*, *üzüm* ve *yüzüm* şekilleri mevcuttur: *üzüm yıyāçı* “Grape vine” (MK II. 448); *yüzüm ayaçı* (KK 73); İM *üzüm ağaçı* “üzüm asması” (Battal 1938: 83). Üzüm ağacının salkımı için MK’de *üzüm çupi* denilmektedir: “*üzüm çupi*” “The sediment of grapes” (MK II. 494). MK’de olgunlaşmış üzüm zamanı için *türk üzüm udi* tamlaması kullanılmaktadır: *türk üzüm udi* “The mid-time of ripening grapes” (MK I. 178).

Bu incelememizde Arap harfli Moğolca sözlüklerde görülen yukarıdaki meyve adlarının Moğolcada yaşayıp yaşamadığı sorusuna da cevap aradık. Bu meyve adlarından *alima* “elma”, *anār* “nar”, *cigde* “ıgde”, cimiş “yemiş, meyve” ve *üzüm* “üzüm” kelimelerini Modern Moğolcada tanımlayabiliyoruz. Moğolcanın lehçesi olan Kalmukçada ise Arap harfli Moğolca sözlüklerde yer alan meyve adlarından *alima* “elma”, *anār* “nar”, *cayaq* “ceviz”, *cimiş* “yemiş, meyve”, *erük* “erik”, *qara erük* “erik”, *şira erük* “kayısı”, *hurma* “hurma”, *incir* “incir”; *qa’ün* “kavun”, *şaftali* “şeftali” ve *üzüm* “üzüm” kelimeleri yaşamaktadır. Bu çalışma ile ortaya çıkan bir sonuç olarak da Arap harfli Moğolca metinlerin incelenmesi sırasında Kalmukçanın önemli bir dil olduğu söylenebilir.

#### Kısaltmalar:

[AH]: Arat, 1992.

[BŞSl.]: Turan, 2001.

[CC]: Grønbech, 1942.

[DLT]: Atalay, 1940-1943.

[DM]: Toparlı vd., 2003.

[ED]: Clauson, 1972.

[İM]: Kilisli Rifat, 1340, [1922].

[Kİ]: Caferoğlu, 1931.

[KK]: Toparlı vd., 1999.

[KS]: *The King's Dictionary*:

[KTAM]: Toparlı vd., 2000.

[MHHT]: Çoimaa vd., 2006.

[MK]: Mahmud Kaşgari. Dankoff-Kelly, 1982.

[TMEN]: Doerfer, 1963-1975.

[TT]: Saitô, 2006.

[Tü.]: Türkçe.

[TZ]: Atalay, 1945.

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## BİR İSTİLA BİR DÖNÜŞÜM: MOĞOL İSTİLASININ KUMAN/KIPÇAKLARA ETKİSİ

Arş. Gör. Aslı ÇANDARLI ŞAHİN\*

### ÖZ

Moğollar ve Kuman/Kıpçaklar...Her ikisi de yaşadıkları döneme damga vurmuş, sahip oldukları konar-göçer kültür ile yerleşik toplumların hayatında derin izler bırakmış iki halktır. Bilindiği üzere Kuman/Kıpçakların siyasî hayatı Moğol istilası nedeni ile sonlanmıştır. İlk bakışta bir felaket olarak değerlendirilebilecek söz konusu istila hareketi aslında diğer tüm halklar için olduğu gibi Kuman/Kıpçaklar için de tam bir dönüm noktasıdır. Kuman/Kıpçak birliği şeklinde var olan siyasî etkinliği sona erdirmiş ya da sahip olunan verimli arazilerin ve ticari kazanç açısından çok faydalı coğrafi sahaların elden çıkmasına neden olmuş olması istilanın bir boyutu iken; Kuman/Kıpçakların özellikle Bulgar ve Macar sahasında oldukça etkin bir rol oynamaları sonucunu beraberinde getirmiş olması ve söz konusu devletlerin hayatında askerî ve hatta idarî önemli görevler almalarını sağlaması diğer bir boyutudur. Bu noktada Moğolların XIII. yüzyılda gerçekleşen hareketi Kuman/Kıpçak tarihinin yön değiştirmesine vesile olan bir hareket olarak algılanmalıdır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Moğol, Kuman/Kıpçak, Bulgar, Macar, İstila

### AN INVASION, A TRANSFORMATION: EFFECT OF MONGOL INVASION ON CUMANK/KYPCHAKS

#### ABSTRACT

Mongols and Cuman/Kypchaks...Both of them are folks that made an impact on their era, and left a mark on the people through their nomad culture. As is known, Cuman/Kypchaks political life ended because of Mongol invasion. In fact, said invasion movement that can be considered as a disaster at first sight, is a turning point for Cuman/Kypchaks like any other community. While ending the Cuman/Kypchak political association or causing loss of geographical land with fertile lands and high trading profits is one dimension of the invasion, causing Cuman/Kypchaks playing a big role especially in Bulgarian and Hungarian land and even taking a charge in military and governing positions of these countries is another dimension. In this aspect, Mongol invasion in XIII. century is not to be considered as an end to Cuman/Kypchak history, but a rather turning point.

**Keywords:** Mongol, Cuman/Kypchaks, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Invasion

#### Giriş

Kuman/Kıpçakların<sup>1</sup> siyasî gücü, XIII. yüzyılda yaşanan Moğol istilası nedeniyle önemli ölçüde kırılmıştır. Ancak Moğollar ile Kuman/Kıpçakların bir arada anılmasına vesile olan tek olayın söz konusu istila hareketi olmadığını belirtmek gerekir. Zira Moğollar Kuman/Kıpçakların hayatında menşeleriyle ilgili tartışmalardan başlamak üzere var olmuşlardır.

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<sup>1</sup> Kumanlar ve Kıpçaklar başlangıçta iki ayrı boy olarak yapılanmıştır. XI. yüzyıldan itibaren Kumanlardan bazı grupların Kıpçak boy birliğine dâhil olması ile karışıp kaynaşma meydana gelmiş ve Kumanlar, Kıpçakların batı kolu olarak nitelenmiştir. Bkz. Yu. A. Yevstigneev, Polovtsı:Kto Oni?(K Voprosu Ob İh Etničeskoy İdentičnosti), "Obşestvo.Sreda.Razvitie", SPB, 2011, No:2, s. 57; İ. O. Knyazkiy, *Rus i Step*, Moskova, 1996, s. 41.

İran asıllı XI. yüzyıl coğrafyacı ve tarihçisi Gerdîzî'nin, "Zeynü'l-Ahbar" adlı eserinde geçen köken hikâyesi, Kıpçakları Kimekler ile birlikte Tatar<sup>2</sup> soyundan göstermiştir. Söz konusu anlatıya göre; Tatarlardan babaları ölen iki oğul arasında bir yönetim mücadelesi yaşanmış, başarısız olan küçük oğul Şad, cariyesi ile birlikte bulunduğu yeri terk edip suyu, ağaçları ve av hayvanlarının bol olduğu bir yere gelip yerleşmiştir. Arazinin otlak ve sulak olması hayvan otlatmak için son derece elverişli koşullar sağlamaktadır. Nitekim bir süre sonra Şad'ın yedi Tatar akrabası daha hayvanlarını otlatmak için geldikleri bu araziye yerleşmiştir ki, adları İmi, İmâk, Tatar, Balandur, Kıpçak, Linkâz ve Eclâd'dır. Zaman içinde bu yedi kişinin adını taşıyan yedi boy olarak etrafa dağılmışlardır(Şeşen 2001: 73-74; Gömeç 2009: 297-298).

İlim dünyasında Kuman/Kıpçakların menşeyini Moğollara dayandırma yönündeki girişimlerden biri, Alman bilim adamı Joseph Marquart tarafından yapılmış ancak kabul görmeyerek reddedilmiştir(Kurat 1972: 69-70; Rásonyi 1971: 136). Moğolluk iddialarının sadece Kuman/Kıpçaklar için değil Kuman/Kıpçak birliği içindeki boylar için de söz konusu edildiğini belirtmek gerekir. Örneğin Kuman/Kıpçak boylarından Toksoba ile Durat'ın bir mücadelesinden ve bu mücadele sırasında Toksoba boyunun Moğol desteğinden faydalanmasından yola çıkarak Kuman/Kıpçak birliğini oluşturan boyların soy açısından karışık olduğu ve Toksoba boyunun kökeninin Moğollara dayandığı yorumunda bulunulmuştur. Genel anlamda da Kuman/Kıpçaklar ile Tatarlar arasında her daim yakın ilişkilerin vuku bulduğu, taraflar arasında evlenme yolu ile akrabalıklar kurulduğu belirtilmektedir<sup>3</sup>(Kumekov 2001: 382).

Etnik menşe tartışmaları bir kenara bırakılırsa Kuman/Kıpçaklar ile Moğolları ortak bir paydada bileştiren en büyük olay daha önce de belirtildiği üzere hiç şüphesiz XIII. yüzyıla damgasını vuran Moğolların büyük istila hareketidir.

<sup>2</sup> Günümüzde "Tatar" kelimesi bir Türk boyuna ad olmuşsa da eski zamanlarda bu ismin Moğol ulusu için kullanıldığı bilinmektedir. Orhun Kitabelerinde "Otuz Tatar" ve "Tokuz Tatar" biçiminde geçen Tatar adı çok büyük ancak bir o kadar da istikrarsız ve muhtemelen Moğol dilini konuşan kabile topluluklarını ifade etmektedir. XII. yüzyıl başlarında Moğolistan'da yaşayan tüm kabileleri ifade edecek ortak bir adın varlığı henüz söz konusu değildir. Moğol adı öne çıkmaya başlamış küçük bir kabile için kullanılmaktadır. Ancak aynı yüzyılın ortalarında Tatarlar, Moğolları mağlup ederek öne çıkan kabile olmuştur. XIII. yüzyıl ortalarında Moğol ve Tatar adları rahatlıkla birbirinin yerine kullanılabilen eş anlamlı kelimeler halini almıştır. Bkz. George Vernadsky, **Moğollar ve Ruslar**(Çev. Eşref Bengi Özbilen), Selenge Yayınları, İstanbul 2007, s. 25-26; István Vásáry, **Eski İç Asya'nın Tarihi**(Çev. İsmail Doğan), Ötüken, İstanbul 2007, s. 23; Faruk Sümer, "Tatarlar", **DİA**, C. XL, Türk Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul 2011, s. 168; S. G. Klyashtorny-T. İ. Sultanov, **Türkün Üç Bin Yılı**(Çev. Ahsen Batur), Selenge Yayınları, İstanbul 2013, s. 138.

<sup>3</sup>Tüm bu iddialar ve öneriler bir yana yapılan araştırmalar neticesinde Kuman/Kıpçakların bir Türk boyu olduğu düşüncesi netlik kazanmış ve genel kabul görmüştür. Boy birliğinin etnik durumu konusunda ise ağırlıklı unsuru Türklerin oluşturduğunu, ancak bununla birlikte Türkleşmiş Moğol ve İran asıllı grupların da birlik içindeki varlığını kabul etmek gerekir. Bkz. İbn Hurdazbih, **Yollar ve Ülkeler Kitabı**(Çev. Murat Ağarı), Kitabevi, İstanbul 2008, s. 39; Ramazan Şeşen, **İslâm Coğrafyacılarına Göre Türkler ve Türk Ülkeleri**, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 2001, s. 101, 186, 193; Kaşgarlı Mahmut, **Divanü Lûgat-it Türk**(Terc. Besim Atalay), C. II, Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 1992, s. 276; Peter B. Golden, "Kıpçak Kabilelerinin Menşeyine Yeni Bir Bakış", **Uluslararası Türk Dili Kongresi (1988)**, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, s.49.

### Moğol Seferi

Kuman/Kıpçaklar ile Moğolların ilk karşılaşması Moğolların Türkistan seferinden önce gerçekleşmiş, Cengiz'in büyük oğlu Cuci, İrtiş boyunda Kuman/Kıpçaklar ile savaşmıştır. Yine Harezmşah-Moğol mücadelesi sırasında da Harezmşah ordusunda birçok Kuman/Kıpçak savaşçısı yer almıştır(Kurat 1972: 92).

Moğolların 1220-1222 yılları arasında Türkistan'a yaptıkları büyük seferden sonra 1223'teki hedefi bu kez Kuman/Kıpçaklardır. Bu doğrultuda Gürcistan üzerinden ilerleyen Subutay ve Cebe-Noyan adlı iki kumandan idaresindeki Moğol ordusu, Kafkaslarda Derbend Geçidi dolaylarında Alan-Kuman/Kıpçak ittifakı ile karşılaşmıştır. Kuman/Kıpçaklara *"biz ve siz aynı cinsiz"* diyerek; elde edecekleri ganimetin bir kısmını tarafsız kalmaları karşılığında kendilerine vereceklerini söyleyerek söz konusu ittifakı bozmaya çalışan Moğollar sonuç itibarıyla başarılı olmuşlardır. Ne var ki vaatlerinin aksine önce Alanlara ardından da Kuban boyundaki Kuman/Kıpçaklara saldırmışlardır. Moğollar ile yaptıkları anlaşma gereğince rahat olan Kuman/Kıpçaklar böylece gafil avlanmış ve saldırıya çok hazırlıksız yakalanmıştır(İbnü'l Esîr 1987: 341-342).

Moğollar ile tek başlarına mücadele edemeyeceklerini düşünen Kuman/Kıpçaklar Ruslar ile irtibat kurmuştur(Barthold 2006: 135; Kafalı 1971: 184-185). Ağırıklı olarak savaş seyrinde ilerleyen Kuman/Kıpçak-Rus ilişkileri kimi zaman evlilikler yolu ile kurulan akrabalıklar kimi zaman da ortak düşmana karşı gerçekleştirilen askeri ittifaklara sahne olmuştur ki, bu ittifaklardan biri 1223'te gerçekleşen söz konusu Moğol hareketi karşısında yaşanmıştır(Kurat 1972: 76; Yücel 2007: 301, 326; Yücel 2009: 11). Kuman/Kıpçaklardan Moğolların ne derece tehlikeli olduğunu öğrenen ve bu tehlikenin kendilerine de ulaşacağını düşünen Ruslar onlara karşı birlikte hareket etme kararı almıştır. Bu durumda Moğollar, Kuman/Kıpçaklar için de Ruslar için de deyim yerinde ise *"beterin beteri"* dir.

Kuman/Kıpçak-Rus birleşik ordusu, 31 Mayıs 1223 yılında Don Nehri kollarından biri olan Kalka Nehri civarında gerçekleşen ve tarihe *"Kalka Muharebesi"* olarak geçen mücadelenin sonucunda Moğol kuvvetleri tarafından büyük bir yenilgiye uğratılmıştır(PSRL, I: 189-190; II: 163). Moğollar aslında Kuman/Kıpçakların ve onlarla sürekli mücadele halinde olmalarından dolayı Rusların da çok iyi bildikleri Turan Taktiğini uygulayarak başarılı olmuşlardır(İbnü'l Esîr 1987: 343). Kuman/Kıpçaklar askeri kimlikleri ile ön plana çıkmış bir halk olmalarına, Moğollar ile aynı savaş yöntemlerini kullanmalarına ve üstelik sayıca Moğollardan fazlalıklarına rağmen beklenenin aksine Moğol ordusuna karşı koyamamıştır. Bunun, mücadeleye Moğolların kaçtıklarını düşündükleri bir sırada hazırlıksız yakalanılmış olması ve müttefikleri olan Rusların farklı knezlikler olmanın dışına tam olarak çıkamayıp birlik oluşturamaması ile alakalı olduğu düşünülebilir(Kafalı 1976: 17; Roux 2001: 207-208). Moğolların Kalka Savaşı ile elde ettikleri, Kuman/Kıpçak ve Ruslara ağır bir hezimet yaşatmanın yanı sıra ganimet ve esir kazanımından fazlası değildir. Zira hareket, Moğollar açısından keşif seferi niteliğindedir. Kalıcı bir yerleşmeden söz edilemez. Ne var ki, Kalka Savaşı'ndan sonra da devam eden Moğol ilerleyişi Dinyeper(=Özü)'e kadar ulaşmış,

Ruslar ve Kuman/Kıpçaklar için sarsıcı etkiler yaratmıştır(Kurat 1972: 95; Yücel 2007: 473-479; Vernadsky 2007: 58-59).

Ögedey'in han seçildiği 1228 yılı kurultayında, Moğol hâkimiyeti altına girmemiş ülkelerin hâkimiyet altına alınmasına karar verilmiştir. Bu doğrultuda Kuman/Kıpçaklar üzerine gönderilen Moğol ordusunun başında Cengiz Han'ın torunu Batu Han vardır. Ordunun gücünün arttırılması için ulusun idaresinde pay sahibi olan-olmayan tüm üst düzey sorumluların büyük oğullarını sefere göndermeleri istenmiştir(Gizli Tarih 2010: 191; Cüveynî 1998: 240). Bu talep Moğolların söz konusu sefere verdikleri kıymeti göstermesi açısından önemlidir. Bulgar Ülkesine, Rus knezliklerine ve Kuman/Kıpçaklar üzerine yönelen ordu buraları itaat altına almayı başarmıştır. 1240 yılına gelindiğinde Kuman/Kıpçakların Karadeniz'in kuzey bozkırlarındaki hâkimiyeti sona ermiş, bölge tamamen Batu Han eline geçmiş durumdadır(Gizli Tarih 2010: 195-196; Cüveynî 1998: 447-448).

### Moğol Seferi Sonrası Dönem

Moğollar ile girişilen mücadele sırasında Kuman/Kıpçakların çoğu yaşamını yitirmiş; geride kalanların bir kısmı ise Moğol hâkimiyetine girerek Altın Orda Devleti'nin temellerini oluşturmaya başlamıştır(Carpini 2014: 134). Yeni Türk ve Moğol etnik grupları ile karışan Kuman/Kıpçak unsurlar Moğol dönemi sonrasında Türk Kavimlerinin, Kazan ve Kırım Tatarlarının, Nogayların, Kazakların kökenlerine dâhil olmuşlardır. Moğolların önünden kaçan bazı Kuman/Kıpçak grupları Macaristan'a sığınmıştır. Bazı gruplar ise Balkan topraklarına gitmiştir. İdil boyundaki birçok Kuman/Kıpçak Orta İdil boyuna yani Bulgar Yurdundaki ormanlık alana yönelmiş ve bu yönelme eski İdil Bulgar Ülkesinin tamamen Kıpçaklaşması sonucunu beraberinde getirmiştir(Kurat 1972: 96-97; Vásáry 2007: 240; Rásonyi: 1971:142). Bütün bunlar Moğol hareketinin Kuman/Kıpçaklar için bir son olmaktan daha ziyade bir dönüşüm yarattığını düşündürmektedir.

XI. yüzyıl ortalarından itibaren Tuna Nehri'ni geçerek Dobruca'nın güneyine ulaşan(Ülküsal 1966: 15) Kuman/Kıpçakların Balkanlarda oldukça etkin oldukları, özellikle Bulgarlar ile yakın temas halinde buldukları bilinmektedir. XII. yüzyıl sonlarında Bulgarların Bizans karşısında verdikleri bağımsızlık mücadelesi ve II. Bulgar Devleti'nin kuruluşunda Kuman/Kıpçak katkısı oldukça fazladır(Ostrogorsky 2011: 373-375; Khoniates 1995: 120-123; Vásáry 2008: 31). Ne var ki, Kuman/Kıpçakların nüfuz alanları, Bulgar siyasi hayatındaki etkinliklerine rağmen Moğol istilasına kadar sadece Tuna'nın kuzey kısmını kapsamıştır. Nitekim Kuman/Kıpçaklar ancak Moğol istilası üzerine 1237'den itibaren Aşağı İdil sahasından Bulgar yurduna doğru yoğun bir göç hareketi başlatmıştır(Kurat 1993: 789). Tuna'yı geçen Kuman/Kıpçaklar Çar II. İvan Asen tarafından Doğu Trakya'ya yerleştirilmiş ve Meriç Nehri'nin güney kısmını yaşam alanları olarak belirlemiştir(Vásáry 2008: 75-76; Stoyanov 2002: 804).

Kuman/Kıpçakların Bulgar topraklarına ikinci büyük göçü de yine Moğol istilası nedeni ile 1241 tarihinde gerçekleşmiştir. Kuman/Kıpçaklar bu şekilde Moğol istila hareketi nedeni ile geldikleri Bulgar topraklarında askeri etkinliklerinin yanı sıra çok önemli siyasi görevleri de üstlenmişlerdir(Vásáry 2008: 77; Stoyanov 2002: 804-805). Örneğin bu dönemde Bulgar topraklarına göç eden Kuman/Kıpçak boyu Terteroba, Bulgar Devleti'nde Asenlerden sonra yönetici boy haline gelmiştir. I. Georgi Terter çar

olmuştur. Terter sülalesinin ardından Bulgar Devleti'nin yönetici ailesi yine Kuman/Kıpçak asıllı diğer bir aile olan Şişmanlardır. Bu durumda II. Bulgar Devleti'nin kuruluşundan sona ermesine kadarki süre içinde giderek artan bir Kuman/Kıpçak etkisi söz konusudur ve bu etki Moğol istila hareketi ile yakından ilişkilidir(Yücel 2013: 559; Stoyanov 2002: 801,805).

Kuman/Kıpçaklar Tuna'nın güney sınırlarında oldukça baskın bir unsur olarak yer almışlardır. Güney Moldovya, Eflak ve bölgenin nehir vadilerinde yoğun olarak bulunmuşlardır(Rásonyi 1971: 142; Vásáry 2008: 41, 45, 147, 149). Bu saha XII. yüzyılda II. Bulgar Devleti'nin kurulması ile birlikte yoğun bir Ulah göçüne de maruz kalmıştır ancak bahsedildiği üzere hâkim unsur Kuman/Kıpçaklardır. Aynı coğrafi bölgede bir araya gelen ve benzer hayat tarzlarına sahip olan bu iki halk zaman içinde karışıp kaynaşmış(Rásonyi 1971: 142, 149; Vásáry 2008: 147); Romen Devleti'nin etnik menşesini oluşturmuşlardır(Vásáry 2008: 41).

Günümüz Romanya sahası, Moğol istilasından sonraki süreçte de önemli miktarda Kuman/Kıpçak nüfusu barındırmaktadır. O kadar ki bunlar sayıca Romenlerden daha fazladır. 1330 tarihinde Basaraba<sup>4</sup>, Macarları yenilgiye uğratarak Eflak Prensiği'ni kurmuş; kısa sürede ciddi başarılar kazanarak Romen hükümdar sülalesinin kurucusu olmuştur(Rásonyi 1971: 150). Kuman/Kıpçakların varlığı, Prenslük için gerek siyasi gerekse askeri açıdan büyük faydalar sağlamış, kültürel bir etkileşimi de beraberinde getirmiştir. Bunun en büyük kanıtı Romen yer ve kişi adlarıdır. Gerek Romen tarihinin başlangıç noktası olarak kabul edilen "Curtea de Argeş" nehir ve şehir ismi gerekse Romen devlet adamlarının kullandığı birçok kişi ismi Kuman/Kıpçak menşelidir(Rásonyi 1939: 418-419; Vásáry 2008: 162-165; Kafesoğlu 2010: 184).

Kuman/Kıpçak-Macar ilişkilerine bakıldığında başlangıç noktasının 1091 yılı olduğu görülmektedir. Kuman/Kıpçaklar, Bizans'ın müttefiki olarak yer aldıkları Lebunium Savaşı'nın ardından Macar topraklarına yönelerek Transilvanya ve Tisza bölgelerine gelmişler ve Kral Aziz Lazsló tarafından Temeşvar yakınlarına gönderilmişlerdir(Horváth 1989: 44; Çoban 2014: 24; Berta 1998: 136). 1099 yılına gelindiğinde Bonyak liderliğindeki Kuman/Kıpçaklar Rusların müttefiki olarak Macarlara karşı zafer kazanmışlardır(Rásonyi 1971: 139; Berta 1998: 136; Çoban 2014: 30-31). Ancak taraflar arasındaki ilişkinin seyrini asıl belirleyen olay hiç kuşkusuz Moğol hareketleri olmuştur.

Moğol seferlerinin devam etmesi ve doğrudan Kuman/Kıpçakları hedef alması üzerine Kuman/Kıpçak başbuğu Köten, 1238'de Macar topraklarına yerleşebilmek için Kral IV. Béla'nın (1235-1270) iznine başvurmuş ve olumlu yanıt almıştır(Vernadsky 2007: 72). Zira IV. Béla<sup>5</sup>, Kuman/Kıpçak yardımı sayesinde kişisel hâkimiyetini daha da

<sup>4</sup> Basaraba'nın kökeni ile alakalı olarak Onun Kıpçak Türkü ya da Türkleşmiş Moğol olduğu yönünde farklı iddialar ortaya atılmıştır. Bkz. İ. Kafesoğlu, *Türk Milli Kültürü*, Ötügen, İstanbul 2010, s. 183; L. Rasonyi, *Tarihçe Türklük*, Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları, Ankara 1971, s. 151.

<sup>5</sup> IV. Béla, Kuman/Kıpçakları himayesinden dolayı "Kumanların Kralı" anlamında sonraları diğer Macar kralları tarafından da kullanılan "Rex Cumanie" unvanı almıştır.

güçlendirecek, onların askeri güç ve yeteneklerinden faydalanacaktır. Üstelik Kuman/Kıpçaklar Hıristiyanlığı kabul etme taahhüdünde bulunmuşlardır(Eckhart 2010: 65; Rásonyi 2006: 106). Ancak IV. Béla'nın bu olumlu tavrı, Macar ülkesi içinde sorunlar yaşanmasına sebep olmuştur. Zira Kuman/Kıpçakların hayvancılık ile meşgul olmaları Macarların yaşamsal alanlarına zarar vermiştir. Şikâyetlerin artması üzerine Kral, Macar ileri gelenleri ile istişarelerde bulunarak Kuman/Kıpçakların ülkenin çeşitli kısımlarına dağıtılmasına karar vermiştir(Horváth 1989: 49; Rásonyi 2006: 106). Ne var ki alınan bu karar öfkeli Macar halkının Kuman/Kıpçak başbuğu Köten'i öldürmesini engelleyememiştir<sup>6</sup>. Tam da Macarların Moğollara karşı savunma hazırlıkları yaptığı bir dönemde meydana gelen bu olay, Kuman/Kıpçakların Macar topraklarını terk etmesine ve dolayısıyla Macarların askerî açıdan zayıflamalarına neden olmuştur. Macar ordusu, 1241'de Moğollar karşısında büyük bir hezimete uğramıştır(Horváth 1989: 51-52; Eckhart 2010: 66; Çoban 2014: 69-71).

Söz konusu yıkımın ardından ülkesini yeniden toparlamak zorunda olan Kral IV. Béla için ihtiyaç duyduğu insan gücünü karşılamının yolu yine Kuman/Kıpçaklardan geçmektedir. 1246'da IV. Béla, ülkesinden ayrıldıktan sonra Bulgar topraklarına giden Kuman/Kıpçaklara başvurmuş ve onları geri çağırmıştır. Köten'in bağlı olduğu aile dışındaki Kuman/Kıpçaklar Bulgar Krallığı içindeki belirsizliği de göz önüne alarak bu davete icabet etmiştir. Bu sefer işleri sıkı tutmak niyetinde olan Kral IV. Béla, aradaki ilişkilerin daha da sağlam bir zemine oturması amacıyla oğlunu Kuman/Kıpçak başbuğunun kızı ile evlendirmiştir. Kuman/Kıpçakları Tuna, Tisza, Körös, Maros ve Temes Nehirleri civarındaki geniş bölgeye yerleştirmiştir(Horváth 1989: 52-54, 60-61; Rásonyi 1971: 142; Çoban 2014: 72-75). Daha öncesinde Macar topraklarına gelen Köten ve beraberindeki Kuman/Kıpçak grubu sığınmacı konumunda olduklarından dolayı mevcut koşullara uygun hareket etmeleri gerekmişken şimdi geri gelmeyi isteyen, kendileri değildir(Çoban 2014: 74). Dolayısıyla daha özgüvenli bir şekilde hareket etme imkânına sahip olmuşlardır.

Davet üzerine Macar topraklarına gelen Kuman/Kıpçaklar Macar ordusunda ücretli asker olarak görev almışlar ve süvari birliğini oluşturmuşlardır(Yücel 2013: 565; Çoban 2014: 80). Krallığın dış güçlere karşı savunulmasında birinci derecede etkilidirler. İçeride de mutlak egemenlik için Kuman/Kıpçak askeri mutlaka elde tutulmalıdır. Merkezî gücün ana dayanağı durumuna gelmişlerdir. Karşılığında da askerî ve siyasî açıdan önemli mevkiiler edinmişlerdir. Ülke topraklarının büyük bir kısmına sahip olmuşlardır. IV. Béla'dan sonra başa geçen Macar kralları da iktidarlarını Kuman/Kıpçak unsurlara dayandırma doğrultusunda hareket etmiştir(Horváth 1989: 71-72; Rásonyi 2006: 107; Çoban 2014: 86-87, 99). Nitekim Kral IV. Laszló

<sup>6</sup> Kuman/Kıpçaklar başlangıçta Macarlara karşı Moğollar adına casusluk hareketinde bulunmakla itham edilmişlerdir. Bunun sebebi ele geçirilen birkaç Moğol ordusu mensubunun Kıpçakça konuşmasıdır. Oysa bunlar Moğol ordusuna katılmak zorunda kalmış Kuman/Kıpçaklardandır. Durumun casuslukla bir ilgisi yoktur. Ancak galeyana gelen halk durdurulamamış ve sonuçta Köten'i ailesiyle birlikte öldürmüştür. Bkz. András Pálóczi Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasiens: Steppe Peoples in Medieval Hungary*, Kner Printing House, Budapeşte 1989, s. 50-51; F. Eckhart, *Macaristan Tarihi*, (Çev. İbrahim Kafesoğlu), Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 2010, s. 65.

zamanı(1272-1290) Macaristan'daki Kuman/Kıpçakların en fazla nüfuz sahibi oldukları dönemdir. Kuman/Kıpçak menşesine sahip bir annenin evladı olan IV. Laszló kim bilir belki bunun da etkisiyle Kuman/Kıpçaklara büyük bir sempati duymuştur. O kadar ki, kralın Kuman/Kıpçaklara olan ilgisini saklamaması, onlar gibi giyinmesi, eşinden ayrılıp Kuman/Kıpçak kökenli biri ile evlilik yapması gibi olaylar kendisine "Kun Laszló", "Kuman Laszló" denmesine sebep olmuştur(Horváth 1989: 77-78; Eckhart 2010: 71).

Kuman/Kıpçakların ülke içinde kazandıkları nüfuz, 1278'de Tétény Kararlarının alınması sonucunu doğurmuştur. Buna göre Hıristiyan olmayanlara baskı yapılacak, yerleşik hayat kabul edilecek, yasadışı yollarla ele geçirilen kilise arazileri terk edilecek, Hıristiyan esirler serbest bırakılacaktır. Bu kararlar "I. Kuman/Kıpçak Yasası" olarak tanınmıştır(Horváth 1989: 54, 79; Rásonyi 2006: 108). Kuman/Kıpçakların başlarını kendi geleneklerine göre traş etmeleri iznini de kapsayan II. Kuman/Kıpçak Yasası ise yerleşim bölgesi olarak ayrılan alanın kesin olarak belirlenmesi noktasına yoğunlaşmıştır. Buna göre Kuman/Kıpçaklar Macar topraklarında Tuna ve Tisa arasındaki alanın bir kısmı(Kiskunság:"Küçük Kumanya"), Tisa ötesinin bir kısmı(Nagy Kunság:"Büyük Kumanya"), Maroş ve Temeş arasını kapsayan sahada yaşayacaktır(Horváth 1989: 58; Rásonyi 2006: 108-109).

Kral IV. Laszló'nun ölümünden sonraki dönemde Kuman/Kıpçaklar artık asimilasyon sürecine girmişler ve her geçen gün daha fazla Macarlaşmışlardır. Askerî güç olarak görev alsalar da artık ordunun esas gücünü oluşturan ana unsur değillerdir(Horváth 1989: 82-83; Rásonyi 1971: 143).

Moğol hareketi sonucunda Kuman/Kıpçakların hayatında meydana gelen dönüşüm sadece Bulgar ve Macar sahasında etkinlik kazanmaları ile sınırlı kalmamıştır. Nitekim Cengiz Han, Kıpçak yurdunu büyük oğlu Cuci'ye bırakmıştır. Ancak Cuci'nin erken ölümü, oğlu Batu'ya fırsat tanınmasını sağlamış ve sonrasındaki süreçte Altın Orda devletinin temelleri atılmıştır(Yakubovskiy 2000: 37; Temir 2002: 256-264). Batu, merkezi Aşağı İdil boyundaki Saray şehri olan ve daha sonraları Altın Orda diye bilinen Kıpçak Hanlığını kurmuştur. Bu dönemde birçok Kuman/Kıpçak ve Alan askeri Batu idaresi altındadır(Roux 2001: 280; Vernadsky 2007: 82, 173). Söz konusu devlet içinde oldukça yoğun biçimde bulunan Kuman/Kıpçak unsuru kültürel ve etnik yapısını korumuş ve mevcudiyetini devam ettirmiştir. O kadar ki, "Deşt-i Kıpçak" ismi bu dönemde de kullanılmaya devam etmiş üstelik daha da umumileşmiştir(Kafalı 1976: 12, 15; Zekiyev 2006: 458-460).

## Sonuç

XIII. yüzyılda meydana gelen Moğol istilasının felaket yönü inkâr edilemez. Ancak yarattığı tek etkinin yıkım olmadığını kabul etmek gerekir. Söz konusu hareket Kuman/Kıpçak toplum yapısını kökünden sarsmış; Cuci'nin görür görmez havasına suyuna, yeşilliğine hayran kaldığı Deşt-i Kıpçak sahasının el değiştirmesine neden olmuş, Kuman/Kıpçakların siyasi güçlerinin kırılma noktasını oluşturmuştur. Ancak genel anlamda bir felaket olarak kabul edilen Moğol seferlerinin Kuman/Kıpçakların tarihinde her yönüyle olumsuz bir olay olarak yer almadığı ortadadır. Zira tüm olumsuz sonuçlarına rağmen Moğol seferleri Kuman/Kıpçaklar üzerinde dönüştürücü bir etki de



yaratmıştır. Altın Orda Devleti yaşamına Kuman/Kıpçakların mirasçısı olarak başlamış; Kuman/Kıpçak etnik ve kültürel yapısını bünyesinde muhafaza etmiştir. Kuman/Kıpçaklar Romen devletinin kurulmasına büyük katkı sağlamışlardır. Macar ve Bulgar yurtlarında askeri ve hatta idari önemli görevler üstlenerek etkinliklerini devam ettirmişlerdir.

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## CULT OF ALAN-GHO'A AND THE UNIQUE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE CHINGGISID DYNASTIES

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ÖZ

### ALAN-GOA KÜLTÜ VE MOĞOL HANEDANLIKLARINDA KADININ ÖZGÜN KONUMU

Moğollarda soylu kadınları her zaman siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyal hayatta önemli roller oynamışlardır. Ayrıca, kadının soyu kocasının ve çocuklarının siyasi ve askeri kariyerleri için hayati bir öneme sahip idi. Daha da önemlisi, bu gelenek, Moğol İmparatorluğu yıkıldıktan sonra Orta Asya ve Hindistan'da kurulan devlet ve imparatorluklarda yüzyıllarca devam etmiştir. 14. yüzyılda Moğol hanedanlıkları yıkıldıktan sonra, özellikle Cengiz Han'ın *Altın Soyundan* gelen kadınlar ile evlilik, hükümdar olmak isteyen emirler için en önemli meşruiyet kaynaklarından biri olmuştur. Türk devlet sistemi içinde de soylu kadınlar çok önemli olmasına rağmen, bu durum en azından Moğollarda olduğu gibi süreklilik arz etmemiştir. Türkler ile karşılaştırma yapıldığında, Moğollarda ana soyu her zaman daha önemli olmuş ve kadınların siyasi olarak daha aktif olmuşlardır. Türkler ve Moğollar aynı coğrafyada, benzer sosyal ortamda benzer politik ve ekonomik yapılara sahip olmalarına rağmen, kadının konumu neden farklılıklar gösteriyor? Bu makalede bu soruya cevap bulabilmek amacı ile başta Cengiz Han'ın Altın soyunu dayandırdığı Alan-Goa hikâyesi ve Türk hanedanlıklarının soylarını dayandırdıkları Oğuz Kağan destanları karşılaştırmalı incelenecektir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Alan- Goa, Oğuz Kağan, Orta Asya, Türkler ve Moğollar, Moğol Kadını

### ABSTRACT

The Mongol noble women played very important roles in political, economical, and social lives in their societies. Moreover, women's noble lineage had crucial importance for their husbands' and children's political and military careers. Furthermore, this tradition continued among post-Chinggisid dynasties in Central Asia and India for centuries. After the fall of the Chinggisid dynasties about 14<sup>th</sup> century, especially marrying with women from the Chinggisid Golden Lineage *Altan Urugh* was one of the most important tool of legitimization for the *amirs* (tribal leaders) who wanted to be the ruler. From this perspective, although noble women were also very important in the Turkish state systems, it was not continuous as it was in the Mongols. For the Mongols matriline was more important and women had higher positions when it is compared with the Turks who established states and empires. The Turks and Mongols lived in the same geographical and social conditions and had similar political systems. Then, why the position of women shows differences? In order to answer this question, comparison will be made between the narrative Alan-Ghoa who was accepted as Chinggis Khan's ancestress and the legend of Oghuz Khan who was accepted as a legendary ancestor of the Turkish dynasties.

**Keywords:** Alan Gho'a, Oghuz Khan, Central Asia, Turks and Mongols, Mongol women

### Introduction

The noble Mongolian women, well respected members of their societies, had always taken active part in political, social, and cultural affairs of their societies throughout history in the Mongolian and Turco-Mongolian dynasties. "Matriline had

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crucial importance in the society. Women's nobility determined their husbands' and children's political and military career. Maybe because of this understanding, a noble Mongol woman not only as a mother of a ruler but also as a daughter or even childless wife of a ruler became very effective in politics and society. This understanding continued among the post-Chinggisid dynasties after the fall of the Mongol Empire and even among the non-Chinggisid dynasties in the Central Asia like Timurids and Baburids in India.<sup>1</sup> Giving such a high importance to the women's lineage or matriline was a distinguishing character of the Mongolian dynastic tradition. Such kind of matrilineal tradition probably became effective in softening power of patriarchy and strengthening power of matrilineity in the Mongol state system.

How this unique position of the Mongolian noble women can be explained? If we try to explain this as an outcome of nomadic way of life, how can we explain different position of the Turkish noble women? Basically, the Turkish noble women were also active and prestigious in the political and social arena. As a mother or wife of a ruler, women's lineage was important for a ruler to legitimize his rule. Nevertheless, among the Turkish societies that founded states, patriarchy and masculine values had been more and more important from the ancient times onwards. As it is well known, the Ottoman Turkish rulers abandoned marrying women from noble origins and accepted concubine marriage officially from 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards (Peirce 1993) Furthermore, importance of matriline, and social and political position of Turkish women in all of the Turkish dynasties were not the same throughout history (Dalkesen 2007).

When we compare the Mongolian and Turkish societies, they consisted from the people of the same land and had similar way of life as well as social, economical and cultural characteristics. What was the underlying reason in this difference? It appears like; the cult of Alan-Gho'a was the key element in this unique position of the Mongol women. This cult became a part of the Chinggisid imperial ideology, because through this cult, golden lineage of the Chinggisid house was constructed. In this paper, the cult of the Alan-Gho'a, as an ancestress of the Chinggisid golden lineage (*Altan Urugh*), will be compared with the Oghuz Khan, the ancestor of the Turkish ruling clans from the Oghuz tribes, in order to figure out the role of the cult of Alan-Gho'a in the high position of the Mongolian elite women.

### **The Turks and the Mongols**

The Inner Asian Turkish and Mongolian nomadic and semi-nomadic societies showed great similarities in respect to their social, political, cultural, and geographical conditions; economic structures; and ideological understandings. Furthermore, from tribes to empires, they followed similar experiences, even; the terminology of "Turco-Mongolian States/Empires" is used in the literature. According to Golden, the process of super stratification is typical of the nomadic system of state building. The imperial traditions of the early Turks derived from earlier Xiongnu and Rouruan practices. This became the standard form of organization for successor states in the east and the west: Khazars, Bulgars, Uighurs, Kitan, Karaxanids and others, including the Chinggisid realms. Distant echoes of these practices could also be found among the

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<sup>1</sup> My forthcoming article "Women in the Baburid Dynasty."

Saljuks and even the Ottomans (Golden 1991:47) Similarly, Fletcher also stated that from the rise of the Xiongnu at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., the East Asian steppe tribal confederations had shown a growing trend toward empire, and the Mongols were its culmination (Fletcher 1986: 21)

While the Turks experienced state formations in the same geographical areas many centuries before, Mongols did with Chinggis Khan in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Chinggis Khan benefited from pre-existing Inner Asian state traditions and created his distinctive imperial ideology and traditions. According to Jagchid and Hyer, the Mongolian Empire was born in the Inner Asian state tradition according to which a heavenly supreme lineage united clans, lineages, sublineages, tribal groups, and ruled all over them. Chinggis Khan brought new contributions to this system. He confirmed himself and his successors as the center and superseded the old clan-lineage system with a new, farther reaching and united social order (Sechin & Hyer 1979: 264-267; Togan 193:137). In this way, he attempted to monopolize the power of people whose traditions had been shaped by power-sharing.<sup>2</sup> So, Chinggis Khan's policies can be evaluated within the nomadic state formation patterns (Sechin & Hyer 1979: 260). It is clear that Chinggis Khan tried to establish more long-lasting and more centralized empire comparing to the previous empires and states.

### **Legends and Narratives**

During these political and social formations, Turkish and Mongolian societies invented or created their own narratives of origin through history. These legends shaped state ideologies, political understandings, and social structures of these newly established states and empires. About this matter Bruce Lincoln said the following words:

In descent-based segmentary systems, it is not enough to observe blandly that the various groups and subgroups are defined by reference to apical ancestors. Rather, they are constructed, literally *called into being* by ancestral invocation-understanding within this term not only certain formal and ceremonial speech acts, but all of the means whereby persons remind themselves and others of the ancestral figures around whom their groups take shape: allusions, gestures, narratives, displays of emblematic objects or design, and so forth (Lincoln 1986: 20).

These legends and narratives could reflect cultural codes, way of life, perception of gender, and political ideologies or even political aims of these societies. In these narratives, women and/or female figures with male beings and/or man mentioned together and women or female being played crucial roles in these formation periods, and certainly they were very effective in their future in the new social and

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<sup>2</sup> According to İsenbike Togan, redistributive power ensures sharing and restriction of the political power which is supposed to be given and sanctioned by the God. In this sense "limitation of political power" will be referred to as "power-sharing." Togan 1998, 5; Fletcher explained this power sharing in a different way. He said that "the tribes' obedience could not be held indefinitely by force. It had to be bought. To buy the obedience of the tribes, he who would a ruler must be given them something that they could not obtain by themselves." Joseph, Fletcher, "The Mongols: Ecological and Social Perspectives," *HJAS* 46 (1986): 15. See also Golden 1987/91.

political system. Since, “narratives of origin incorporate classificatory schemes that describe the order of things as well as the relations between things and between different kinds of people. And these origin stories are a prime locus for a society’s notion of itself-its identity, its worldview and social organization.” (Yanagoski & Delaney 1995:2). During formations of these new identities, these narratives were like a bridge between the past and the present. Old beliefs, traditions, culture, way of life merged into new ideologies, social, and political structures. And these old values were re-shaped or reformulated according to the new ideologies. According to Karl Reichl, the old and new cultural values were mixed in these legends or narratives, and this can be explained as “formations of layers”. (Reichl 200:177-178).

These social and political transformations were mostly from egalitarian to hierarchical social structures. About this matter Peter Golden said:

The nomadic state, once achieved, did not resolve the internal conflicts of that society. The tribesmen, although submitting, in varying degrees, to the discipline and order demanded by the Xan or qagan (rather limited in the Saldjuq example, very highly developed in the Mongol system), never really come to terms with their new status as subjects. Moreover, state-formation, as it involved conquest and the influx of new wealth (which was unevenly distributed), furthered the process of social differentiation. The core tribes were superior to the tribes that had submitted later. Those that had to be conquered were often on a still lower level (unless internal politics dictated otherwise). Even within the core tribes, some clans and families or factions became clearly more privileged than others. The state brought an end to egalitarianism. It also elevated the ruler and his clan to a very new and special status (Golden 1987/91: 77)<sup>3</sup>.

“End of egalitarianism” brought with the gender inequality (Muller 1977; Ortner 1978; Lerner 1986; Wallby 1992). More egalitarian gender relations were replaced by more hierarchical and more patriarchal understandings. Probably, before state formations, Turkic and Mongolian societies had had similar egalitarian gender relations, and after the state formations old understanding emerged in the new one through these narratives. These narratives shaped and re-shaped according to new ideological understandings (Jacobson 1993; 180; Kubarev 1997: 239-246; Pustogaçev 1997: 283-306). Parallel to the social and political similarities, creation narratives or legends had great similarities. Some basic symbols or events in the narratives show great similarities. According to the genealogy of Chinggis Khan, “By the mandate of Heaven, Börte-Chino’a, with his wife Gho’a-maral, crossed the Tenggis Sea [legendary] and came to the Burkhan mountain at the head waters of the Onon river, at which place Bata-chaghan was given birth” (Rachewiltz 2004:1). With this legend in the *Secret History* Börte-chino’a and Gho’a-maral were common legendary ancestors of Chinggis Khan and his people. *Chino’a* (*chino*) means “wolf” and *Börte* “spotted”; the compound therefore may mean “spotted wolf”. Maral means a “doe” or “female deer” (Sechin & Hyer 1979: 245-246). This common ancestor was accepted or invented in the 12<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> About this matter see also Peter Golden’s another article “Nomads and Their Sedentary Neighbors,” *Essays on Global and Comparative History, American Historical Association*, Washington, 2001, 25.

century. This myth incorporates with the earlier ones such as she and he wolves in the mythology of the early Turks. According to Fuzuli Bayat, the “sacred wolf” figure was accepted as their ancestor by the Chinggisids, Börte Chino’a (spotted wolf) and Alongoa became pregnant from a blue light from the sky, which according to the writer was a wolf. (Bayat 2006:176) According to Togan, in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, there were no individuals but groups in the state formation. These groups were called *buluo* in Chinese; they gathered around charismatic leaders and provided them with a basis of support. The nomadic people who contributed to the state formation were not organized as kinship based tribes, but consisted of composite groups. As we have seen in these tribal societies, clans, lineages, sublineages, and *buluo/irgen* “people” united under the certain lineages. *Ashina* among the early Turks, *Altın Urugh* (Golden lineage) among the Chinggisids were such lineages. They were both chosen and appointed by the Heaven (Togan 1998: 10; Sechin & Hyer 1979: 245-271). The Turks lived this experience during 6<sup>th</sup> century and the Mongols about six hundred years later under the leadership of Chinggis Khan.

Besides these legendary common ancestral figures like wolf or she-wolf, the portrait of “khan and khatun”, i.e. the emperor and the empress, were the common characteristics of the both societies. Generally, the portraits of “khan and khatun” have been seen as a symbol of equality between men and women during pre-Islamic Central Asia. Actually, the figure of “khan and khatun” reflected women’s active participation to politics and social affairs, but did not mean “equality”. For example, in the Orkhun inscriptions, when ascendance to the throne was described, *khan* and *khatun* were mentioned equally because it was believed that both of them were assigned by God. On the other hand, Bumin Khan and Istemi Khan’s domination (in the 1<sup>st</sup> state) of the world is narrated but the khatun is not mentioned. Roux evaluated this as equality of khan and khatun in front of their national gods (Roux 1989:200-204; Eröz 1998:118). In fact, khatun among the Turkish dynasties was not passive at all. She had her own autonomous area and authority. She had her own *otagh*, male and female slaves; she took part in the state affairs beside her husband, but not in equal terms (İzgi 1973-75, 24-25). It seems that the khan was identified with his wife, whose powerful presence served authority and legitimacy of the khan. Maybe because of this when one person defeated a khan, he could not proclaim his victory unless he captured or killed the wife of the khan. (Roux 1989, 205) The khatun with her high and noble origin and personality legitimized and empowered the khan, in other words the patriarch. Such kinds of relations between rulers and their wives can be seen in the world history, too. According to Susan Fischler, wife of ruler or hero goddess was a potent and popular combination, resulting in some very powerful representations of divine empress (Fischler 1998:174).

On a basic level, the image of the mother goddess was a natural addition to imperial iconography, not because it was *de rigueur* that these women be honored, but because their inclusion in the cult completed the image of the patriarchal emperor. It was more a part of the discourse about masculine power and patriarchal ideal, than about an individual woman’s power within the imperial state... Thus the portrayal of his womenfolk enhanced the image of the emperor as



masculine leader, one who could be sure of exercising control over an immortal household and, by extension, the empire (Fischler 1998:178).

Fischler's approach partly reflected the basic ideological understandings behind khan and khatun figures. In the Orkhun inscriptions, for khan "Tengriteg" like God and Umayteg, like Umay were used. Khan and khatun were identified with God and Goddess, in this way they were blessed and legitimated. In other words, God and Goddess were at the Heaven and khan and khatun on earth. Khatun completed the khan. This was continuation of old cultural values in the new system. Shortly, it can be said that in the Turkic societies during the establishment periods, women figure played a crucial role, completed and empowered the ruler's power and prestige, but this did not mean gender equality, on the other hand. Furthermore, for the Turks patriline was much more important than matriline for legitimizing power of ruler or status of elite men in the state system and society (Dalkesen 2007). In this frame, when it is compared with the Mongols, in a time matriline became less and less important and during the time of Ottomans matriline<sup>4</sup> lost its importance completely.

While Turkish noble women's lineage became less important and generally less active in political and social affairs after centuries later, the Mongolian women's lineage and presence preserved its importance in their societies even among the non-Chinggisid dynasties. For example, in the Chinggisid dynasties, or even dynasties that were not Chinggisid but accepted themselves as heirs of the Chinggisid House, like Timurids (Dalkesen 2007) noble women continued to play crucial roles and especially women from the Chinggisid line had much more power and prestige than other noble women.

Here, it seems that the cult of Alan-Ghoa, female ancestor of the Chinggisid Golden Lineage ensured consolidation of high position of women, which originated from ancient times. Alan-Ghoa was pregnant with a heavenly men and she became ancestress of the Chinggisid House. On the other hand, in the Turkish creation or re-creation legends or narratives, except for she wolf (Ashina) (Sinor 1982: 223-225), visible ancestors of the Turkish societies were men; while women (or female beings) were spiritual. Oghuz Khan who was accepted as the ancestor of the Turkic dynasties, Oghuz Khan had boys from supernatural beautiful female beings who were sent by God (Ögel 2003). It might be said that these unifications empowered and legitimized power of Oghuz Khan and his descendants, in other words patriline. According to Eireann Marshall masculinity was constructed through these *hierogamous* (sacred marriage) marriages (Marshall 1998: 100). Apollo's marriage to Goddess Kyrene served to the consolidation of patriarchy in Athens (Marshall 1998: 100).

The Turkish history had many creation or re-creation legends, which can be evaluated with regards to the Marshall's hierogamous marriage patterns. The Oghuz Khan legend shows similarities with Apollo in respect to making hierogamic marriages to establish men centered patrilineal society: In the *Oghuz Khan* legend, the hero (Oghuz Khan) married the daughter of Sky who was very beautiful,<sup>5</sup> and they had three

<sup>4</sup> Only the daughters of the Ottoman family as a "sultan" were important, but their nobility from their fathers not from their concubine origin mothers.

<sup>5</sup> *Oğuz Kağan bir yerde, Tanrıya yalvarırken*

sons whose name are *Gün* (Day), *Ay* (Moon), and *Yıldız* (Star) (Ögel 2003:117). Then he married beautiful daughter of the Earth (Ögel 118).<sup>6</sup> They had three sons *Gök* (Sky), *Dağ* (Mountain), and *Deniz* (Sea) (Ögel 2003:118). These women or spiritual female beings were disappeared after giving birth of these sons. In this way Oghuz and his line were blessed by God/Gods. This legend is very similar to Uighur creation legends. Böğü Qa'an who was the most powerful ruler of the Uighurs, united with the "Sacred Girl" who came from the sky, at "Ak-Tag" (White Mountain) (Ögel 2003:87). Ögel assumed that in the Turkish mythologies, wives of heroes are sent by God. Because in the Turkish mythology, men are in a form of human being, women appeared in the form of spiritual being (Ögel 2003: 87). He perceives Oghuz Khan Legend as an example of one high cosmogony. Actually, Oghuz Khan Legend is the legend of the Turks who founded a great world empire (Ögel 2003:432). At the first glance, it seems that here we have a unification of patrilineal and matrilineal powers. But in the long run, this unification legitimizes and empowers men's rule from these lineages.

In the *Secret History*, there are two creation legends that gave heavenly authority and charisma to the Chinggisid golden lineage. In this genealogy, the *Secret Börte-Chino'a* (spotted wolf) and *Gho'a-maral* (female deer) are original *History* notes that the great-grandson of Börte Chino'a was Dobun-mergen. After his death, his wife, Alan-Gho'a gave birth to three sons as a result of being impregnated "by a divine light penetrating from the yurt door" (Rachewiltz 2004:§21). The common ancestor (Börte-Chino'a and Gho'a-maral) representing both male and female became an important uniting factor for the Mongol societies and made them *ulus*.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, it gave equal legitimacy to the rival lineages. But, by the second legend, Chinggisids gained superiority over other rival lineages. In both of these patrilineal genealogies, matrilineality was very important ( Jagchid and Hyer 1979:246). Alan-Gho'a, the ancestress was impregnated by the light of heavenly man and gave birth to three sons.

According to *Secret History*, Alan-gho'a addressed her sons that every night, a resplendent yellow man entered by the light of the smoke- hole or the door to of the tent, he rubbed my belly and his radiance penetrated my womb. When he departed, he crept out on a moonbeam or a ray of sun in the guise of a yellow dog. How can you speak so harshly? When one understands that, the sign is clear: They are the sons of Heaven. How can you speak, comparing them the *ordinary* black-headed men? When they became the rulers of all, then the common people will understand! (Rachewiltz 2004:§21).

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*Karanlık bastı birden, bir ışık düştü gökten!  
Öyle bir ışık indi, parlak aydan güneşten! (Orda Kızı görür)  
Bir ben vardı başında, ateş gibi ışığı,  
Çok güzel bir kızdı bu, sanki Kutu yıldızı!  
Öyle güzel bir kızdı ki, gülse gök güle durur.*  
..... Ögel 2003, 117.

<sup>6</sup> *Ağacın kovuğunda, bir kız oturuyordu,  
Gözü gökten daha gök, bu bir Tanrı kızıydı,  
Irmak dalgası gibi saçları dalgalıydı.  
Bir inci idi dişi, ağzında parlayan,*  
..... Ögel 2003, 117.

<sup>7</sup> For the discussion of *ulus* meant confederation or nation see Jagchid and Hyer 1979, 260-61.

Here, “female being” was real, but “male being” was spiritual. In fact, after this unification the Chinggisid lineage, i.e. men’s lineage gained power and legitimacy for ruling, but through a female ancestor. In contrast to the other Inner Asian dynasties, in this new dynastic system matrilineal descent played a crucial role. As we have seen, union with supernatural beings was an element strengthening the matriline or patriline; if the unification is between a man and supernatural female being, this unification empowers and legitimates the patriline; if it is between a woman and a supernatural male being, matriline and feminine values preserve their importance within a patrilineal society. In the *Secret History*, the Chinggisid lineage comes from the unification of Alan Gho’a and a light (resplendent yellow man). This may be because the Mongol society gave great value to matrilineality and matrilineal values and *Temüjin* shaped his ideology and policies according to these values. Furthermore, Chinggis Khan’s *Altan Urugh*, the Golden Lineage, married daughters from the *Qongrath* tribe (Togan 2004). This matrilineal tradition continued more than one century, at least until the end of Yuan Dynasty. In this way, there was apparently a long tradition of both matrilineal and patrilineal marriage exchange between these two clan-lineages (Sechin & Hyer 1979: 92, 248). In the new patriarchal system matriline had gained a very strong position, which lasted through all the Chinggisid and post-Chinggisid dynasties.

Besides above mentioned cultural factors, political background of the Chinggisid Empire probably became very effective in formations and transformations of these matrilineal values: Under the leadership of the Temujin, the Mongol society experienced radical transformation from tribal organization to the empire for the first time in 13<sup>th</sup> century (Togan 1998, 124-150). So, they transformed their ancient cultural values, which gave great importance to matriline, into new imperial system. In this new system, Chinggis Khan’s *Altan Urugh*, the Golden Lineage, was at the center and it took its legitimacy from woman Alan Gho’a. Thanks to the *Secret History* of the Mongols, importance of matriline and vitality of women’s role in family, society, and state mentioned very often and transformed this tradition to the next generations for centuries. Throughout the book, being son of a same father wasn’t emphasized but being son of a same mother was seen very important for the brothers. Below mentioned example from the *Secret History* is a good example in this respect:

Further, Alan Qo’a addressed these words of admonition to her five sons: ‘You, my five sons, were born of one womb. If, like the five arrow-shafts just now, each of you keeps to himself, then, like those single arrow-shafts, anybody will easily break you. If, like the bound arrow shafts, you remain together and of one mind, how can anyone deal with you so easily?’ Some time went by and their mother Alan Qo’a died (Rachewiltz 2004:22).

In this example, Alan-Gho’a emphasized the importance of being born from a same mother, father was less important even he was a heavenly male being. Through the book similar examples can be seen. In this example, similarly matriline was seen very important:

When Qorči came he said, ‘As we were born from the *same* woman captured and taken as wife by the august Bodončar,

We are from the same womb,

We are from the one womb water (Rachewiltz 2004:121).

The most striking example in the *Secret History* is about *Cochi*, the eldest son of Chinggis Khan. He had chosen his four sons from his wife Borte from Qongrat tribe, as his successors. His second son *Chaghatai* argued against his father's decision and said "What do you, *Coči*, say? Speak up!" But before *Coči*, could utter a sound, Č'a'dai said, 'When you say, *Coči*, speak up!', do you mean *by that* that you will appoint *Coči*, as your successor? How can we let ourselves be ruled by this bastard offspring of the Merkit?'(Rachewiltz 2004:§254). Most probably, Chinggis Khan was not Cochi's father because when Borte was captured by Merkits, she had been pregnant to Cochi when she was rescued by her husband. While Chinggis Khan did not show any reaction to his son's objection, old men replied Chaghatai with the following words,

"You speak so as to harden the butter of your mother's affection, so as to sour the milk of *that* august lady's heart.

From the warm *womb*, coming forth

Suddenly, were you *two*

Not born from the same belly?" (Rachewiltz 2004:§254).

Cochi was not Chinggis' own child, but he was born from his high-born wife Borte from Qongrat tribe (Togan 2006), and this made Cochi successor of Chinggis Khan. Chinggis Khan sent him farthest part of his empire where he established empire of the "Golden Horde". These historical events were transferred from generation to generation through the *Secret History*. This was also very effective transferring traditional understanding of the Mongols about women and matriline from generation to generation.

In conclusion, it can be said that sometimes, cultural characteristics of societies could be more effective than social and political elements in determining gender relations. Turks and Mongols had similar political and social structures, but different gender understandings. The Cult of Alan-Gho'a and transformation of "matrilineal traditions" by the *Secret History of the Mongols* from generation to generation made "matriline" and "values related to women" very important in political culture of the Mongolian political and social system.

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