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АКАДЕМИЯ НАУК СОЮЗА ССР

СОВЕТСКАЯ ЭТНОГРАФИЯ



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ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО АКАДЕМИИ НАУК СССР

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О ТУРКМЕНСКОМ «ПИРЕ» ДОЖДЯ БУРКУТ-БАБА

У туркмен, как и у других народов Средней Азии, ислам не вытеснил полностью прежних религиозных воззрений, и они продолжали существовать наряду или в сочетании с мусульманской идеологией. Как пример доисламских верований можно назвать почитание различных «святых» мест, играющее видную роль в религиозной жизни туркмен, остатки шаманизма, некоторые представления о душе, отдельные элементы похоронного обряда, веру в эффективность разнообразных магических действий и средств для очищения или предохранения людей и скота от болезней, порчи, сглаза и т. п.

Доисламские пережитки, более тесно связанные с народным бытом и традициями, отмирают медленнее, чем догмы и обряды ислама, и до сих пор оказывают влияние на жизнь населения, главным образом сельского. Борьба с ними часто ведется не совсем правильными средствами, и это делает еще более актуальной задачу исследования древних верований, результаты которого должны быть использованы для атеистической пропаганды в Туркменистане.

Настоящая статья представляет собой попытку проанализировать один из образов туркменской мифологии, которая тоже хранит отголоски домусульманских религиозных представлений,— образ Буркут-баба (Буркут-баба́).

Буркут-баба, называемый также Буркут-диванá, — пир (покровитель, «хозяин») дождя (ягының пири). Туркменская мифология знает и других пиров¹; они представляются туркменам святыми, между которыми Аллах распределил различные обязанности.

По представлениям туркмен Буркут-баба (или просто Буркут) — святой, он живет на небе. От него зависит, пойдет ли дождь. Наиболее выразительно Буркут-баба изображен как «хозяин дождя» в народном рассказе про глухое облако:

«Обычно Буркут-баба собирает все облака и говорит им, кто куда должен пойти, где должен быть дождь. У каждого облака свое место. Как-то один человек по имени Наладж-баба решил посеять пшеницу на каменистом холме (кыр) и для орошения стал строить чигирь, водоподъемное колесо. Буркут-баба, узнав об этом, сказал облакам: „Тот человек у меня помощи не просил, сам хочет достать воду; туда ходить

¹ Вейс-баба (Вейсель-Кара) — пир верблюдов (дүениң пири), Муса-пихамбер — пир баранов (гоюның пири), Дюльдюль-баба (Дюльдюль-ата) — пир лошадей (атың пири), Хайдар-баба (Мир-Хайдар, Ель-Хайдар) — пир ветра (елиң пири), Зэнги-баба — пир коров (сыгырын пири), Баба-Дайхан — пир земледелия (экиниң пири). В восточной части Туркмении (ближе к Узбекистану) число пиров увеличивается: Наладж-баба — пир водоподъемных сооружений (жыкырын пири), Сеит-ата — пир охотников (авчының пири) и др.

не надо". А одно облако сидело далеко и не слышало запрета. Гуляя по небу, оно увидело, что кыр сухой, и несколько раз смочило его дождем. Чигирь даже не понадобился. Урожай получился хороший. Буркут-баба потом спрашивал облака: „Кто туда ходил?“ Облако отвечало: „Я“. — „Зачем?“ — „А я не знало, думало, что это мое задание: там дать дождь“.

Поэтому, когда после дождя вскоре небо опять закрывается тучами, пастухи говорят: „Наверное, пришло глухое облако (кер булут гелди)“².

Старики в юго-западных районах Туркмении приписывают Буркут-баба более непосредственное участие в ниспослании дождя:

«Буркут-баба посылает облака куда-нибудь. Облака не хотят. Тогда он их бьет кнутом. След кнута — молния. Их крики, стоны — гром» (сел. Ходжа-Кала Кызыл-Арватского района). «Буркут-баба бьет кнутом по тучам, гремит гром, и затем идет дождь» (сел. Кёйне-Касыр) и т. д.

Правда, эти традиционные представления о Буркут-баба сейчас почти исчезли, и часто старики объясняют, как получается дождь, без всяких подробностей: «Буркут-баба — святой человек. Он может просить дождь у бога. Где надо — даст дождь, где не надо — не даст».

Эти представления связаны с соответствующим культом. Обычай просить дождь у Буркут-баба сохранился в некоторых местах Туркменистана вплоть до наших дней. Обряд вызывания дождя был известен, видимо, по всей Туркмении: где-нибудь на бугорке за селением или в степи привязывали «для Буркут-баба» голодного козла или (редко) барана, чтобы тот своими криками побудил Буркута дать дождь. Потом козла всем селением съедали в честь Буркут-баба (Буркудын ёлуна)³. Сейчас вызывание дождя практикуется крайне редко. Вообще в наши дни пир дождя занимает незначительное место в религиозных воззрениях туркмен. Однако Буркут-баба является весьма любопытным осколком туркменских доисламских верований, пока еще почти совершенно не изученных.

Буркут-баба, как мы увидим ниже, — персонаж тюркской мифологии, а остальные пиры, видимо, связаны с исламом или рано исламизированными культами ираноязычного населения, поэтому о Буркут-баба сохранилось больше рассказов, легенд, которые и дают материал для выяснения происхождения этого мифологического образа.

Эти народные рассказы таят в себе отголоски воззрений глубокой древности. В туркменских преданиях о Буркут-баба имеются, на наш взгляд, пласты, связанные с тотемистическими и шаманистскими представлениями. Мифы о Буркут-баба показывают также, каким образом ислам воспринимал местные верования, немусульманские культы, какими путями проходила исламизация Средней Азии.

Мифы являются ярким примером того, как в религиозных воззрениях народа ислам уживается с доисламскими верованиями, несмотря на их явную противоречивость.

² Записано в 1960 г. в Тахтинском районе Ташаузской области. Подобные рассказы мы дважды слышали и в юго-западных районах Туркменской ССР.

³ Население юго-западных районов Туркмении помнит и другие обряды вызывания дождя, которые связываются им с Буркут-баба. Так, человека обливали водой или толкали его в воду, в воду же опускали череп какого-нибудь животного или бумажку с именами сорока плешивых людей; на соке проросших семян пшеницы готовили пресные лепешки, а пшеничные выжимки бросали в воду; бросали в воду тесто и т. д. Эти обряды — типичные магические операции земледельцев, в той или иной форме встречающиеся у многих земледельческих народов. По всей видимости, они являются отголоском культа растительности (наследие оседлых ираноязычных предков) и вплелись в культ Буркут-баба поздно, с проникновением туркмен на Копет-Даг.

Эти мифы, собранные автором и С. М. Демидовым в Гасан-Кулийском, Кызыл-Атрекском, Кара-Калинском и Кызыл-Арватском районах Ашхабадской области Туркменской ССР осенью 1958 г.⁴, приводятся ниже. Цифра в скобках после каждой легенды показывает, сколько раз она была записана от разных информаторов.

1. Сулейман-пихамбер⁵ однажды постановил: такой-то парень и такая-то девушка должны пожениться в определенный день. Это услышал Буркут (огромная птица) и сказал: «Не выйдет». Буркут украл эту девушку, посадил ее к себе на спину и улетел в горы (или: на остров). В тех горах протекала река. Как-то упомянутый парень катался по этой реке на лодке и бурей его забросило в горы к девушке. Девушка спрятала парня и сказала Буркуту: «Когда ты летаешь, мне страшно. Сделай сундук, я туда сяду и не буду бояться во время полета». Когда сундук был готов, в него влезли парень и девушка. Буркут с сундуком прилетел к Сулейману: «Ты сказал, что они сегодня поженятся, а я сделал наоборот». Сулейман сказал: «А ну, открой сундук». Сундук открыли, и Буркут был посрамлен. Сулейман сказал: «Если свадьба намечена Аллахом, то никто не может помешать» (3).

2. Буркут-баба построил себе дом в ущелье. Мимо проходил какой-то пророк (чаще всего — Муса — Моисей) и сказал: «Зачем здесь дом построил? Если пойдет дождь, то все смоем». «Как может дождь пойти? Я — хозяин дождя», — отвечал Буркут-баба. Тогда пихамбер идет к Аллаху: «Что за порядки? Я думал, что ты хозяин всего на земле, а Буркут говорит, что он хозяин!». Решили проучить Буркута, и начался ливень, силь. Пророк, возвращаясь, видит: Буркут вывесил сушиться одежду, ловит в воде кошмы. Тогда он сказал Буркуту: «Ну как? Ведь ты говорил, что ты хозяин дождя, что дождя не будет?» Буркут-баба ответил: «Много есть на свете сплетников, и ты — один из них» (или: «Если все будут такими сплетниками, как ты, каждый день будет дождь» и т. п.) (12).

3. Однажды Аллах спросил Буркута: «Сможешь сорок дней и ночей стоять на одной ноге?» — «Смогу», сказал Буркут-баба. — «Тогда я дам тебе разрешение делать в аду (доузах) все, что захочешь». Буркут, стояв на одной ноге сорок суток, разнес в щепки одно из отделений ада. Аллах не одобрил: «Теперь тебя люди бояться не будут. — Но я не хочу, чтобы они горели! — Все же другой ад не разрушай, пускай тебя люди боятся; а я их за это не буду жечь в аду» (3).

Вариант: Буркут подарил Аллаху тахья (шапочку), на которой написал 1001 раз имя Аллаха, имена 124 тысяч пихамберов и 360 гаип-оулия⁶. После этого стало на один рай (бегишт) больше — восемь. За это Буркут просил отдать ему все семь доузахов, но Аллах один ад все-таки оставил (1).

4. У Буркута была посланная Аллахом книга даже с такими молитвами (дога), которыми можно оживить умерших. Как-то у Буркута умирал друг, и он хотел спасти его. Чтобы предотвратить нарушение уставленного им порядка, Аллах послал навстречу ему Джебраиля-Эмина

⁴ См. полевые записи В. Н. Басилова и С. М. Демидова (хранятся на кафедре этнографии МГУ).

⁵ Пихамбер — пророк, Сулейман — Соломой.

⁶ Гаип-оулия — так называется святой (не собственное имя), который по существу в Средней Азии представлениям при жизни или после смерти исчез неизвестно куда. Место, где он, по легендам, жил, делал чудеса, ступал или исчез, нередко объявляется верующими святым (оулия) и почитается. Один из таких гаип-оулия — Султан-Уппи: «Сын святого Хяким-ата (его оулия есть на берегу Аму-Дарьи) Султан-Уппи неизвестно куда ушел, исчез, когда был живой. Оулия его нет. Но он помогает, если попросить у него помощи» (записано в Тахтинском р-не Ташаузской обл.).

(Гавриила). Тот встретился с Буркутом на узком мосту через бурную реку: «Куда идешь?— Да друга хочу спасти.— А как это можно сделать?— А вот, книга есть». И Буркут-баба показал книгу. Джебрайиль ударил по книге, и она упала в поток. В руках у Буркута осталось только несколько страниц. Те молитвы, которые известны сейчас, и были написаны на этих страницах. А раньше молитв было гораздо больше (1).

5. Одной супружеской чете исполнилось более сорока лет, а они еще не имели детей. Однажды, прогуливаясь, к ним в гости зашел Муса-пихамбер и, узнав о несчастье, обещал попросить у Аллаха для них сына. Аллах ответил решительным отказом, и Муса ушел куда-то далеко, так как ему было неудобно опять идти к тем людям. Как-то к бездетным супругам зашел Буркут-баба: «А почему детей у вас нет?— Да вот, Муса обещал, ничего не вышло.— Ну, я постараюсь». Буркут явился к богу: «Дай им сына». Аллах: «Нет.— Тогда два.— Нет.— Тогда три.— Нет, я же сказал, что они будут бесплодны.— Ах так?»— и Буркут стал разрушать угол воздушного трона Аллаха (эрш).— «Дам!»— закричал Аллах. А Буркут в это время уже просил семь сыновей. И женщина забеременела и родила какую-то бесформенную массу, что-то вроде мешка. Мешок разрезали, и там оказались семь хорошеньких близнецов. Сыновья выросли, поженились. Однажды мимо опять шел Муса-пихамбер: «Откуда у Вас дети?— Буркут дал». Муса направился к Аллаху: «Я просил детей — мне не дал. Значит, Буркут сильнее?» Аллах сказал: «Видишь — высокая скала? Кто из вас перепрыгнет, тот и сильнее». Муса разбежался, но у самой скалы испугался и отошел в сторону. Поэтому бараны пугливые⁷. Буркут сказал: «Что будет, то и будет». Разбежался и перепрыгнул. Аллах закричал «Держите его! Он дивана (сумасшедший)! Еще не то может натворить! Держите его». Приближенные кинулись ловить, успокаивать Буркута. Значит, Буркут-баба сильнее, чем Муса-пихамбер (3).

6. У одного человека умер сын. Пришел Израиль (ангел смерти) забрать его душу. «Оставь,— просил человек,— это у меня единственный сын». Но Израиль взял душу сына. Буркут-баба решил помочь несчастному отцу. Он поднялся в воздух за Израилем и стал его просить оживить сына того человека. Израиль не соглашался, и рассердившийся Буркут разбил у него бутылку, в которой были заключены души семи человек. Души вылетели, и семь человек воскресли, в том числе — сын того человека. Израиль пошел жаловаться Аллаху.

«Он сумасшедший,— сказал Аллах.— Если он просил воскресить одного, надо было уступить. Скажи спасибо, что дело обошлось только семью душами, а то могло бы попасть и тебе» (1).

Вот основные мифы о Буркут-баба⁸.

В этих мифах ярко проступает неисламский характер культа Буркут-баба. Буркут-баба противопоставляет себя Аллаху (или пророкам-пихамберам): он игнорирует Аллаха, признавая «хозяином» дождя только самого себя (миф 2), он оживляет людей (мифы 4, 6) и дает бездетным супругам детей (миф 5) вопреки воле Аллаха, зачастую добиваясь успеха силой. Мифы отражают борьбу ислама с этим культом. Создается впечатление, что некоторые из них были специально придуманы мусульманскими миссионерами для того, чтобы выставить Буркут-баба в смешном виде, унизить его перед всемогущим Аллахом. Таков, например, самый распространенный рассказ о постройке Буркутом

⁷ Как упоминалось, Муса-пихамбер считается пиром баранов.

⁸ В юго-западных районах Туркмении были записаны и другие легенды, но они не помогают выяснить первоначальную роль Буркут-баба.

дома в ущелье: Буркут-баба предстает здесь перед нами глупым и зазнавшимся, претендующим на роль единственного «хозяина» дождя, не сознающим, насколько он ничтожен перед Аллахом; поставить его на свое место Аллаху не составляет никакого труда. Но Буркут-баба, выступая против Аллаха и его пророков, не всегда терпит поражение (миф 6); вероятно, от древности мифа зависит, побеждает Буркут-баба или побежден.

В ряде легенд отразился и более поздний этап взаимоотношений культа Буркут-баба с исламом: признание Буркут-баба мусульманским святым, верным помощником Аллаха. Так, в одном из вариантов легенды о постройке дома в ущелье говорится, что построил дом некий неверный еврей, Буркут же сам ходил к Аллаху доносить на него (7 записей) или же по заданию Аллаха послал дождь (1 запись). Процесс ассимиляции мусульманством популярного божества туркмен виден и в одном из вариантов мифа 1 (о споре Буркут-баба с Сулейманом), по которому Сулейман и Буркут, чтобы проверить правильность предопределения Аллаха, бросили юношу в сундуке в море, в то время как девушку унесла рыба. Потом они поймали сундук и обнаружили там юношу вместе с девушкой (1 запись). Здесь ослаблена идея противопоставления Буркута Аллаху и пророкам; Буркут-баба действует заодно с Сулейманом. Несомненно, на том же этапе приспособления культа Буркут-баба к исламу окончательно сформировался миф о том, что Аллах разрешил Буркут-баба распоряжаться в аду.

Некоторые варианты мифов показывают дальнейшую судьбу Буркут-баба: постепенное ограничение его роли в народных верованиях под воздействием мусульманской идеологии. Так, скептическое отношение к силе святого обнаруживает рассказ, наверняка прошедший через редакцию духовенства, по которому у Буркут-баба не хватило сил простоять на одной ноге 40 суток, как предложил ему Аллах, чтобы дать ему право распределять людей в ад или рай; это право принадлежит только Мухаммеду (1 запись).

Стадии изменения образа Буркут-баба трудно уложить в определенные хронологические рамки; этот процесс мог продолжаться вплоть до наших дней.

Итак, в результате исламизации Буркут-баба (или Буркут-дивана) превратился в мусульманского святого (юродивого), которому Аллах дал способность управлять дождем. Но в легендах о Буркут-баба, полных конфликтов между ним и Аллахом (или пихамберами), частично сохранился прежний облик Буркута: его дерзость, грубость, смелость подчеркивают его могущество и силу даже в тех случаях, когда он остается в дураках. Легенды не лишают его независимости и тогда, когда Буркут-баба показан приближенным Аллаха. Мифы дошли до нас сильно искаженными под влиянием ислама, но в них сохранились, более или менее отчетливо, следы древних представлений.

Буркут-баба имеет власть не только над дождем, но и над загробным миром. Он облегчает участь узников ада, он оживляет покойников и способствует появлению на свет новых людей.

Это последнее свойство Буркута настойчиво выступает в нескольких мифах о нем с разными сюжетами. Если он захочет, человек родится даже вопреки намерениям Аллаха.

В некоторых легендах Буркут-баба имеет, по-видимому, черты птицы: он поднимается в воздух за ангелом смерти; по народным воззрениям, он, единственный среди всех других пиров, живет на небе. Та подробность (миф 5), что Буркут перепрыгивает через высокую гору, тоже, быть может, указывает на первоначальное значение этого образа. Самое его имя — Буркут — означает беркут, орел.

Эти детали придают особый интерес роли Буркута как покровителя деторождения и загробного существования (что в принципе одно и то же — это видно и из легенд). В мифах о Буркуте — патроне деторождения — содержится следующая основная идея: «Буркут-баба — покровитель людей. Человек рождается (не умирает, воскресает) по его воле», что, вероятно, является модификацией такого представления: «Буркут (птица) — наш отец. Мы все рождаемся по его воле, он распоряжается нашими душами». Это представление естественно рассматривать как пережиток веры в реинкарнацию — способность воплощения членов рода в тотем и обратно — неотъемлемый элемент тотемистического мировоззрения. Таким образом, появляются какие-то основания видеть в Буркут-баба черты тотема⁹.

Этот вывод был бы слишком предположительным, если бы не другие сведения, поддерживающие возможность подобного заключения. Рашид-ад-дин (XIV в.) наряду с подробным списком всех огузских племен с указанием их тамг и части туши, получаемой на общественных пирах, приводит также и название онгона (тотема, как это выяснил еще А. Н. Максимов¹⁰) каждого племени. Вот эти племенные онгоны.

У племен Кайи, Баят, Ал-караули и Кара-уйли — белый сокол. У племен Язер, Дукер, Дордирга и Япарлы — орел. У племен Аушар, Кызык, Бек-Дели и Каркын — охотничий орел за зайцами. У племен Бояндур, Бичинэ, Джаулдур и Чибни — кречет. У племен Салор, Имур, Алаюнтли и Уркиз — «уч» (козел?). У племен Бекдир, Букдуз, Йива и Кынык — копчик¹¹.

Из этого списка видно, что у некоторых племенных групп огузов тотемами были орлы¹².

Автору не удалось обнаружить следов почитания орла у туркмен; однако известно, что отголоски тотемистических верований, связанных с этой птицей, сохранились у многих других тюркских народов. Так, каракалпаки подвешивают высушенный трупик беркута в юрте, чтобы бесплодная женщина родила ребенка, или на шесте посреди поля, чтобы обеспечить хороший урожай¹³.

У узбеков «помощниками, покровителями порхана считались также птицы: беркут, степной орел — «кара-куш», ворона — «карга», сизоворонка — «кок-карга»¹⁴.

Киргизы считают, что «главными врагами злых духов „шайтана“ и „албарсты“ являются „беркут“ (орел), „аю“ (медведь) и „уку“ (филин).

⁹ У племен Эрсари имеется родовое название «Буркут» тотемного, как считает С. П. Толстов, происхождения (см. С. П. Толстов, Пережитки тотемизма и дуальной организации у туркмен, «Проблемы истории докапиталистических обществ», № 9—10, М.—Л., 1935, стр. 6).

¹⁰ А. Н. Максимов, К вопросу о тотемизме у народов Сибири, «Уч. зап. РАНИОН», т. VII, 1928, стр. 8—10.

¹¹ Рашид-ад-дин, Сборник летописей, т. I, кн. 1, М.—Л., 1952, стр. 87—90.

¹² В. Г. Мошкова установила, что племенные гёли (узоры) на туркменских коврах имеют следы когда-то реалистических изображений птиц (а также животных и растений); по ее мнению, первоначальный смысл гёля — фиксация тотема того или иного племени. Примитивные изображения орлов на коврах, по-видимому, малоазиатского происхождения (по двум картинам XIV в.), В. Г. Мошкова считает гёлями каких-то огузских племен с воспроизведением их тотемов (см. В. Г. Мошкова, Племенные «гёли» в туркменских коврах, «Сов. этнография», 1946, № 1).

¹³ Как любезно сообщили Т. А. Жданко и Х. Есбергенов.

¹⁴ К. Л. Задыкина, Узбеки дельты Аму-Дарьи, «Труды Хорезмской экспедиции 1945—1948», т. I, М., 1952, стр. 413. Племя, носившее название «Буркут», вошло в состав узбекского народа; оно упоминается в связи с событиями XV в. (см. А. А. Семенов, К вопросу о происхождении и составе узбеков Шейбани-хана, Труды АН ТаджССР, т. XII, Сталинабад, 1954, стр. 24).

Поэтому шаманы украшали себя медвежьей лапой, орлиными когтями и перьями филина»¹⁵.

У казахов баксы «иногда... стремятся запугать шайтана беркутом или совой, которых-де боится шайтан»¹⁶. Приступая к лечению пациента, баксы после обращения к святым за помощью призывают джинов по их именам; один из них — Кара-гус¹⁷ (так называется орел-могильник¹⁸).

«Орел — типичный тотем у якутов. Род, считающий своим тотемом (тангара — покровитель) орла, называется... происшедший от орла... Когда у бесплодной женщины, после молитвы орлу о детях, рождаются дети, то такие дети считаются действительно рожденными от орла... Как тотем орел неприкосновенен: убивать его великий грех» и т. д. «Орел — родоначальник и творец шаманов»¹⁹.

В верованиях качинцев орел выступает в роли родоначальника шаманов и в то же время в роли тотемного животного, эпонима и покровителя определенного рода. Белый дух, выбирающий шаманов, — родовой дух исключительно рода «Бүрүт» (беркута). У телеутов также есть род, носящий тотемное название беркут (меркет)²⁰. Некоторые родовые группы их считают себя происшедшими от беркута, от орла с белой головой²¹. Телеуты называют орла птицей хозяина неба; он рассматривается как неперенный спутник и помощник шамана²².

Подобные представления мы встречаем не только у тюрков, но и у многих народов Сибири. У бурят «личность орла-беркута считается священной и неприкосновенной как потомка легендарного Эжина (хозяина) о. Ольхона... и его жены..., которые, не имея сыновей, усыновили трех беркутов»²³. У бурят же существует легенда об орле как о первом шамане. Потом, вступив в связь с одной женщиной, он передал свои свойства и знания ребенку, который стал первым шаманом из людей. «У тунгусских шаманов в Забайкалье на Борзе, бурбут, белоголовый орел — хранитель и покровитель шамана»²⁴ и т. д.

Все эти пережиточные тотемистические верования тесно связаны с шаманизмом — «духи — помощники шаманов, имеющие, как правило, животную форму, являются трансформировавшимися тотемами»²⁵; орел считается покровителем или родоначальником шаманов.

В рассказах о Буркут-баба есть, как будто, какие-то указания на связь его с шаманизмом. Святого часто называют «Буркут-дивана»²⁶ (сумас-

¹⁵ С. Ильясов, Пережитки шаманизма у киргизов, Труды Института истории, языка и литературы Киргиз. ФАН СССР, 1944, вып. 1, стр. 182. Ноги и перья беркута являются принадлежностями и алтайских шаманов, которых беркут, как и сокол, невидимо несет к их духу. См. А. В. Анохин, Материалы по шаманству у алтайцев, Л., 1924, стр. 45—46.

¹⁶ Н. К. Белиловский, Об обычаях и обрядах при родах инородческих женщин в Сибири и Средней Азии, «Живая старина», вып. III и IV, СПб., 1894, стр. 386.

¹⁷ А. Диваев, Баксы как лекарь и колдун, «Изв. Об-ва археологии, истории и этнографии при Казанском ун-те», т. XV, вып. 3, Казань, 1899, стр. 314.

¹⁸ Д. Н. Кашкаров, Животные Туркестана, Ташкент, 1931, стр. 298.

¹⁹ Л. Я. Штернберг, Культ орла у сибирских народов, Первобытная религия в свете этнографии, Л., 1936, стр. 115.

²⁰ Л. Я. Штернберг, Указ. раб., стр. 122.

²¹ А. Золотарев, Пережитки тотемизма у народов Сибири, Л., 1934, стр. 34.

²² Л. Я. Штернберг, Указ. раб., стр. 122.

²³ Там же, стр. 120.

²⁴ Там же, стр. 121. «Буркут» — название одного из племенных подразделений у монголов (см. Абулгази, Родословное дерево тюрков, Казань, 1906, стр. 52).

²⁵ Д. Е. Хайтун, Пережитки тотемизма у народов Средней Азии и Казахстана, «Уч. зап. Таджикского гос. университета», т. XIV, Сталинабад, 1956, стр. 93.

²⁶ «Дивана» на юго-западе Туркменской ССР название профессионального танцора, диким танцем открывающего «зыкыр» (арабск. радение; сейчас «зыкыр» теряет религиозное содержание и приобретает значение общественного праздника). См. А. Джикиев, Туркмены юго-восточного побережья Каспийского моря, Ашхабад, 1961, стр. 142—145.

шедший), а его скандальный и буйный характер подчеркивается почти в каждой легенде. Вероятно, эти свойства Буркута являются отражением шаманской практики. Следы власти Буркут-баба над душами, над загробным миром, его влияние на рождение людей находят прямую параллель в представлениях о способностях и возможностях шамана.

Шаманские черты более явно выступают у Буркут-баба в его казахском и узбекском вариантах (сходство легенд о казахском святом Шайхы-Борх-дивана и об узбекско-таджикском святом Дивана-и-Бурх с мифами о Буркут-баба позволяет думать, что эти три святых являются разновидностью одного и того же образа²⁷). Так, казахский баксы, обращаясь в начале сеанса к различным святым, просит помощи и у Шайхы-Борх-дивана²⁸. В узбекской легенде Бурх совершал «радение так громко, что от его возгласов „хо, ху“ дрожали земля и небо»²⁹.

Шаманские черты Буркут-баба становятся очевидными при сопоставлении мифов о нем с бурятскими легендами о первом шамане. Приведем для примера две легенды.

1. Первым бурятским шаманом был Моргон-Хара, обладавший сверхъестественной силой. Он не позволял злым духам ловить человеческую душу и отправлять ее в ад. Злой дух пожаловался на Моргон-Хара Эсэгэ-Малан-Тэнгэри — богу (отцу) неба, сказав, что шаман не дает овладеть ни одной душой и этим самым нарушает волю бога, приказавшего злым духам ловить души. Бог захотел это проверить. Он взял душу одного человека, поместил в бутылку и закрыл отверстие большим пальцем. Человек заболел, его родственники послали за шаманом. Моргон-Хара шаманил, искал душу и, наконец, обнаружил ее в бутылке. Он превратился в осу, ужалил бога в лоб; тот ударил себя рукой по лбу, а шаман в это время освободил душу больного и стал спускаться на землю. За это бог лишил прежней силы его и всех шаманов, бывших после Моргон-Хара.

2. Первым шаманом был обладавший сверхъестественной силой Бехнли-Хара. Один бездетный богатый человек попросил шамана помочь ему. Бехнли-Хара начал шаманить и сам создал ему сына. Только боги имели право создавать человека, поэтому бог Эсэгэ-Малан, узнав о мальчике, приказал принести ему его душу и спрятал ее в бутылку. Мальчик захворал, вылечить его позвали Бехнли-Хара, который, обратившись в осу, ужалил бога в лоб и освободил душу мальчика. Бог рассердился, взял его шаманскую книгу, разорвал ее и бросил, а также рассек на части его бубен, отчего уменьшилась сила у Бехнли-Хара и у всех бывших после него шаманов³⁰.

Туркменские и бурятские легенды обнаруживают поразительное сходство сюжетов, образов и представлений. Констатируя близость образов (и даже их имен — Буркут — Моргон — Бехнли), мы можем говорить если не о тождественности их, то, во всяком случае, о генети-

²⁷ Так, о Шайхы-Борх-дивана рассказывается, что он, стоя на одной ноге 40 дней, молил бога, чтобы тот уничтожил свои семь адов, и т. д. (см. А. Диваев, Указ. раб., стр. 313). Подобную легенду о Бурхе записал Г. П. Снесарев в 1954 г. от шейха мазара Дивана-и-Бурха, расположенного недалеко от Куня-Ургенча (ср. миф 3 о Буркут-баба). Другая легенда о Бурхе повторяет туркменский миф 5: в ней рассказывается о том, как Бурх заставил Аллаха дать бездетному купцу детей (О. А. Сухарева, Ислам в Узбекистане, Ташкент, 1960, стр. 45—46).

²⁸ А. Диваев, Указ. раб., стр. 313.

²⁹ О. А. Сухарева, Указ. раб., стр. 46.

³⁰ «Первый бурятский шаман — Морган-Хара» и «Первый шаман Бехнли-Хара» (вариант легенды о первом шамане у кудинских бурят...) (Г. Потанин?), «Известия Восточно-Сибирского отдела Русского Географического общества». Иркутск, т. XI, 1886, № 1-2, стр. 87—90.

ческом родстве, об их принадлежности к одному и тому же кругу верований.

Как уже говорилось, у бурят сохранились пережитки культа орла; по повериям бурят, первым шаманом был орел; очевидно, образ Буркут-баба создан в результате видоизменения верований, подобных представлениям ряда сибирских народов об орле.

Культ орла известен большой группе народов как Европы, так и Азии. Его «мы находим, с одной стороны, у представителей всех урало-алтайских народностей: маньчжуров, тунгусов, монголо-бурят, тюрков и финнов... С другой стороны, ...у народов средиземноморской культуры (в обширном смысле этого слова), начиная с индийцев, иранцев, семитов, греков, римлян и, наконец, у германцев»³¹.

Всем этим народам и народностям свойствен в принципе следующий комплекс представлений об орле: орел — творец, повелитель и возродитель природы, богов и людей, он приносит огонь; орел — первоучитель и покровитель шаманства, а также обитатель мирового дерева (тотемическое значение орла с уверенностью констатировано пока в немногих случаях). Нахождение ряда деталей и особенностей почитания орла у многих из перечисленных народов, даже отдаленных друг от друга, может быть объяснено, по мнению Л. Я. Штернберга, тесным общением их в далеком прошлом³². Такое объяснение совпадения определенных деталей культа орла у народов разных языковых семей весьма спорно. Однако критика или дальнейшее обоснование этой точки зрения не входят в нашу задачу.

Характер древних верований, следы которых хранят легенды о пире дождя, показывают принадлежность образа Буркут-баба к комплексу культа орла. Современная роль Буркут-баба («хозяин» дождя, воды — необходимого условия жизни) могла явиться отголоском значения орла как повелителя природы.

Особенности исторического развития сказались на своеобразии почитания орла (главным образом пережитков его, часто сильно преобразованных) у каждого народа; таким образом, воззрения сибирских народов на орла заметно отличаются от верований, которые остались от первоначального комплекса у иранцев. Закономерен вопрос: не повлияли ли на формирование образа Буркут-баба, по-видимому, принесенного с Востока тюркоязычными предками туркмен, иранские представления об орле, мифы, связанные с орлом?

Мы не видим сколько-нибудь существенных следов иранского влияния в образе Буркут-баба; лишь один миф (№ 1) кажется нам не оригинальным. Во всех рассказах Буркут-баба предстает перед нами человеком, и можно усмотреть лишь сомнительные косвенные указания на его первоначальный облик птицы; только в мифе 1 Буркут-баба имеет явные черты птицы. Эта деталь могла бы сделать более убедительным предположение о когда-то тотемическом значении Буркута, но мы намеренно не включаем ее в анализ. Дело в том, что этот миф, записанный в приатретских степях у ёмутов, гёклёны и нохурли на Копет-Даге рассказывают иначе. Крадет девушку не Буркут, а Симрух-гуш, птица Симрух (Симорг — чудесная птица иранских мифов и преданий, живущая в горах Эльборз), а над ней одерживает верх Али. По всей вероятности, миф 1 заимствован туркменами и приспособлен к Буркут-баба. Огромное дерево, на которое уносит девушку Симрух (мировое дерево комплекса культа орла, неизвестное легендам о

³¹ Л. Я. Штернберг, Указ. раб., стр. 125.

³² Там же, стр. 113.

Буркут-баба в их современном виде), было заменено горами. Заимствование мифа объясняется, видимо, тем, что в нем ярко выражена идея, которую мусульманское духовенство стремилось утвердить в мифах о Буркут-баба: Аллах превосходит всех своим могуществом.

* * *

Изложенный материал дает возможность составить некоторое представление о корнях и эволюции образа Буркут-баба. Туркменские мифы сохранили слабые следы тотемического мировоззрения, и в тотемическом происхождении Буркут-баба нас убеждает, главным образом, сходство мифов о нем с бурятскими легендами, роднящими образ Буркут-баба с воззрениями на орла многих сибирских народностей, в которых тотемические черты выражены достаточно отчетливо. Близкое сходство легенд о бурятском первом шамане и о Буркут-баба означает, что тюрками — предками туркмен — с Востока в Среднюю Азию был принесен культ уже антропоморфного Буркута (с развитием шаманства тотем превратился в птицу — покровителя шаманов, птица была переосмыслена как человек — патрон шаманов или первый шаман). Впоследствии связь Буркут-баба с шаманством была утрачена (полностью или частично — это покажет дальнейшее изучение вопроса), сохранившись, однако, в мифах.

Трудно сказать, что представлял собой культ Буркут-баба ко времени появления в Туркмении ислама. По туркменским мифам, например, потеря Буркутом власти над загробным миром представляется результатом исламизации, но тот же сюжет в бурятских легендах (первый шаман тоже теряет свою силу) позволяет предполагать в мотиве борьбы Буркут-баба с верховным божеством более древний пласт. Возможно, что прежде в туркменских мифах, как и в бурятских, первый шаман вступал в конфликт с богом неба (в туркменском языке сохранилось слово «таңры», означающее «бог»), которого затем легко заменил Аллах. С этой заменой мотив конфликта в легендах усилился в результате конкуренции ислама с культом Буркут-баба и ослабел как только ислам утвердился, а древние верования утратили былую роль.

Несомненно одно: Буркут-баба был популярным божеством язычников-туркмен, и культ его вызвал сильное беспокойство у мусульманских миссионеров (антагонизм двух систем верований отображен в мифах как антагонизм между Буркут-баба и Аллахом или пророками). Борьба ислама с домусульманским культом в легендах показана очень выразительно. В известных нам мифах, варианты которых отражают стадиальные различия, зафиксированы, на наш взгляд, следующие этапы этой борьбы:

1. Начало столкновения ислама с культом Буркут-баба (в мифах Буркут-баба побеждает).

2. Ислам основательно проник в Туркменистан. Буркут-баба еще успешно соперничает с Аллахом, иначе бы не было смысла создавать легенды, специально предназначенные для осмеяния и унижения Буркут-баба. Мифы, демонстрирующие Буркут-баба неудачником, являются следами стараний духовенства уничтожить чуждый исламу культ.

3. Ислам окончательно победил. Ликвидировать Буркут-баба не удалось, но он оттеснен на задний план и уже не представляет какой-либо опасности для мусульманства, хотя еще почитается народом. В этих условиях Буркут-баба был сделан мусульманским святым, из противников Аллаха был переведен в его свиту.

Ассимиляцию культа Буркут-баба исламом следует понимать не как обдуманное мероприятие духовенства, а скорее как стихийный про-

цесс. По мере распространения ислама туркмены замечали противоречия между прежними представлениями о Буркут-баба и учением о едином Аллахе и пытались избавиться от этих противоречий, придать какую-то стройность своему мировоззрению. Но, конечно, Буркут-баба был помещен в сонм мусульманских святых не без деятельного участия духовенства.

Пиром дождя Буркут-баба показан лишь в одном мифе, не имеющем следов ранних пластов (№ 2). Вероятно, это его амплуа определилось сравнительно недавно, быть может, только в период исламизации, в том смысле, что власть над дождем — одна из древнейших черт образа Буркут-баба (беркута) — стала основной и единственной характеристикой его тогда, когда Буркут-баба был лишен всех других, более основательных признаков его мощи. Функция «хозяина» дождя — остаток прежней власти Буркут-баба над природой, над обновлением ее, над жизнью — теснее всего была связана с практикой скотоводов степей и песков Туркмении, почему и сохранилась вплоть до наших дней. Эта узко специальная функция оставляет Буркут-баба незначительную и зависимую от Аллаха роль в религиозных представлениях народа о силах природы, и здесь оказался возможным компромисс между исламом и древним туркменским культом.

Анализ образа пира дождя, сейчас почти забытого населением, несомненно, представляет интерес не только в аспекте изучения вопросов истории религиозных верований туркмен и в какой-то степени их этногенеза. Научное объяснение происхождения народных верований является одним из методов антирелигиозной пропаганды. Историко-этнографическое изучение народных верований, дающее конкретный материал для атеистической пропаганды, особенно важно в наши дни, когда доисламские верования выступают в мировоззрении верующих на первый план. Доисламские представления и обычаи, коренящиеся в семейном быту, наименее доступном для вторжения нового (поддерживаемые главным образом женщинами, чья жизнь под влиянием пережитков феодально-байского отношения к ним нередко еще замыкается в семейном кругу), наиболее упорно сопротивляются натиску атеизма. На это обстоятельство в пропагандистской работе, основным содержанием которой является критика официального ислама, до сих пор не обращалось должного внимания.

SUMMARY

The article deals with the myths about Burkut-baba, the Turkmenian «saint», considered to be the «pir» (master) of rain. Close examination of the myths shows that the starting point in the emergence of the figure of Burkut-baba was the eagle totem. The links between totemistic beliefs and shamanism stipulated the evolution of concepts, which invested the eagle, initially the patron of shamans, with human shape as the first of the shamans. At a certain stage of the evolution of Burkut-baba into a deity of the Turkmenian pagan pantheon, his connection with shamanism was severed. The islamization of the Turkmenians which took place in the course of a struggle waged by the Muslim clergy against the cult of Burkut-baba, transformed the latter into a Muslim «saint», who retained only his function of the «pir» of rain. At the present time the master of rain and his cult are of minor importance in the religious beliefs of the Turkmenians.

ISLAM IN TRIBAL SOCIETIES

From the Atlas to the Indus

Edited by Akbar S. Ahmed
and David M. Hart



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8 HONOUR GROUPS IN TRADITIONAL TURKMENIAN SOCIETY

V.N. Basilov

Veneration of the Prophet Muhammad's family is a tenet of Muslim tradition raised by the Shi'a branch to the status of a religious dogma. Kinship with the Prophet and, for that reason, a special standing in society are claimed by some groups among the peoples who have adopted Islam. These are called variously by the Arabic words *sharif* (noble) in North Africa and *saiyid* ('master') (1) in the Near East. The term *sharif* is unknown in Central Asia, but the word *saiyid*, as the name for the posterity of the Prophet is, however, used there (mainly by Uzbeks and Tajiks). Yet much more widely in use in Central Asia as a name of the group claiming descent from Muhammad is the term *jodja* ('master' in Persian).

The relation between the terms *saiyid* and *hodja* is still in need of clarification. According to V.V. Bartold they are synonymous. 'The honour to be a *saiyid* was considered to be so high, while the *hodjas* were not inclined to let strangers into their privileged group through marriage, that in the nineteenth century even sovereigns had to take daughters of *hodjas* forcibly as their wives in order that future sovereigns should have the honour of being called a *saiyid*. Such is the origin of this title which was borne by many sovereigns in all the three khanates of that time - the Bokhara, Khiva and the newly-formed Kokand.' (2)

Information regarding the Bokhara emirate provided by V.V. Krestovsky differs:

The *saiyids* and the *hodjas* rank as the first two division of society in the state, a sort of the latter's aristocracy. The *saiyids* are descended from Khazrati-Osman and Khazrati-Ali Shiri-Khuda by the daughters of the Prophet Muhammad. The *hodjas* are descended from Abu Bakr Saddyk and Omar Ul-Faruk and also from the above mentioned Osman and Ali but by wives other than the daughters of Muhammad. But the *saiyids* and *hodjas* could claim the authenticity of their descent from some of the four above-mentioned persons only on the strength of written genealogical documents (*shadzhara*). (3)

The latter evidence is confirmed by other researchers (N.N. Khanykov, O.A. Sukhareva, and B.H. Karmysheva). (4) Thus, B.H. Karmysheva writes that in the southern area of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan the *saiyids* were considered to be the descendants of Fatimah, the daughter of Muhammad, and Ali, the fourth caliph. 'The *saiyids* who claimed their descent from their son

Hasan were called the Hasani while those who claimed descent from the second son Husain - the Husaini. The hodjas were the posterity of Muhammad's companions or some saints.'⁽⁵⁾ I would like to add here that in North Afghanistan there is a group of hodjas claiming descent from Abu Bakr.⁽⁶⁾ Still there is an impression that the traditional difference between the saiids and the hodjas carried a strong element of convention even among the Uzbeks and Tajiks. The histories of descent of some groups of hodjas, as recorded by B.H. Karmysheva, point to their kinship with Muhammad.⁽⁷⁾ As for the Turkmen and the Khazakhs, the hodjas are considered the posterity of Ali and Fatimah, i.e. the posterity of Muhammad in female tail.⁽⁸⁾

The saiids and the hodjas living in small groups among the common people were revered by the latter. A. Borns recorded that even Mir-Khaidar, the Bokhara emir, always dismounted from his horse in order to greet a saiid or a hodja.⁽⁹⁾ The saiids and the hodjas - who were numerous in Central Asia - did not all enjoy the same social standing. Not all representatives of this society's division were members of the clergy or rich people. Many of them were artisans or engaged in agriculture.

Groups of the hodjas and the saiids were found among the Turkmen, too. The hodjas were the most honoured group in society and they were not identified with the saiids. Apart from them, the Turkmen honoured another four groups - the Shikh, Ata, Magtym and Mudjevur, whose histories of descent are connected with the first ('righteous') caliphs or prominent Muslim saints. Among the Turkmen (and only among them) all these groups were called *ovlyads*. The term originates from the Arab word *walad* (volad) - 'son' in plural, and is used in its original sense (children-posterity) in the Turkish, Uzbek and some other languages; it has not yet lost this meaning in the Turkmenian language. However, the Turkmen understand this word as a term close to the word *ovliya* (övlüyä in Turkmenian) which is the plural form of the Arab word *wali* (vali) - 'friend', 'saint', but is used by the Turkmen and other peoples of Central Asia as the singular form in the meaning of 'saint', 'holy place', which explains the translation of the term *ovlyad* one comes across in many works: 'holy' or 'sacred' tribe. Although this translation of the Turkmenian word is almost exact, it fails to convey the real position of the *ovlyads* among other Turkmenian groups ('tribes'). It would seem more appropriate to call them honour groups.

In Turkmenian society whose distinctive feature was the division into 'tribes', the *ovlyads* were regarded as 'tribes' in their own right. Usually they considered themselves to be of Arab descent rather than Turkmen. This was a point of view evidently shared by the famous historian, the Khiva Khan Abu-l-gazi (seventeenth century). Discussing Turkmenian tribes, he left out the *ovlyads*.⁽¹⁰⁾ Even when the *ovlyads* did not insist on their Arab descent, they preferred not to identify themselves with the Turkmen. Echoes of this tradition still per-

sisted until recently. I, for example, met old Shikhs who claimed their descent from the saint Ismamut-ata (the Takhta District of the Tashauz Region) and who in reply to the question about their nationality said: 'I am not a Turkman and not an Uzbek, I am a Shikh!' The data about the numbers of the ovlyads are not to be fully relied upon. According to some evidence, the Shikhs and the saiyids of south-eastern Turkmenia numbered 400 nomad tents at the end of the nineteenth century. (11) Other available evidence refers to the 1920s and places the total number of hodjas, Shikhs, Atas, Magtymys and Mudjevurs approximately at 30,000. (12)

The ovlyads had no single territory. They usually lived among other Turkmenian 'tribes' in small groups though there exist whole villages inhabited predominantly by representatives of some or other honour group. Thus, the fact of the existence of some settlements almost wholly consisting of the hodjas and the Magtymys (in Atek, the foothills of the Kopet-dag) was noted in censuses taken and studies made, already in the pre-Revolutionary times. (13) The Shikhs lived in compact groups in Bakharden, Kizil-Arvat and Geok-Tepe while the settlement of Bendesen (the Kizil-Arvat District) consisted wholly of the Shikhs. The Atas lived in compact groups in the vicinity of Kizil-Arvat, in the Tedjen and Serakhs Districts, in Dargan-ata.

Among the Turkmen the ovylads were held in esteem which sometimes took the form of superstitious veneration, a fact noted in literature: 'The Turkmen considered that to have representatives of those tribes [i.e. the ovlyads] in their *auls* was agreeable to God and the most eminent of them were given donations.' (14) Another researcher writes that it was considered reprehensible not to have the ovlyads in the Turkmenian 'tribes', and 'such tribes or groups were called contemptuously *ovlyadsyz-lar*' ('without ovlyads' in a literal translation). (15) Usually, the Turkmen's cemeteries arose around the tomb of some saint, most often a hodja, Shikh or a representative of other groups of the ovlyads. It was considered that a holy ovlyad gave protection to both the living and the dead.

The Turkmen had a custom of giving a special prize to the representatives of the ovylads at festivities where sports competitions (horse racing, wrestling) were held. The herald called on an ovlyad to come forward and receive a prize and only then was the competition started. Usually, the representatives of the hodjas came out to receive the prize for they were held by the Turkmen in the highest esteem. If the hodjas were not present the prize would go to the Shikhs or representatives of other groups of the ovlyads. In some places, there was a custom of giving several prizes according to the number of the various groups of the ovlyads living in the given locality. Thus the Gerkez-Turkmen inhabiting the Middle Sumbar and between the mountainous country called Kara yalla established sometimes four prizes for their festivities: for the hodjas, Shikhs, Atas and saiyids. (16) The custom was built on the fear of getting the

upper hand of the ovlyad for it was believed that in such an eventuality the winner would thereby incur a misfortune. Sh. Annaklychev describes wedding ceremonies at which 'a hodja was given three large prizes without making him take part in wrestling. . . . Sometimes, wrestlers did struggle with the hodja just out of interest but surrendered purposely'. (17)

The belief that a severe retribution awaits anyone offending an ovlyad has given rise to the tradition according to which both the person of an ovlyad and his property were inviolable. The ovlyads remained unaffected by the military raids which so complicated the life of the Turkmenian tribes. In the last century the Shikhs in the south-west of Turkmenistan could without hindrance maintain their livestock and carry on trade amid inter-tribal strife and armed pillage; thieves and robbers did not dare to touch their property. (18) The same attitude was shown in the south-west of Turkmenia to the Atas. References to the inviolability of the hodjas can also be found in written sources. In particular, in the nineteenth century, a group of armed Turkmen, subjects of the Khan of Khiva, made a foray upon the Akhal Oasis (south-west of Turkmenistan). On the outskirts of the Geok-Tepe settlement 'they came across four yourtas belonging to the hodjas but spared them'. (19) The belief that it was impossible to infringe upon the safety of the ovlyads' property with impunity was extremely strong. One can hear in various parts of Turkmenia a story about a man who came to a shepherd to enquire as to whom did the ram he had stolen the other day from the herd belong to. 'To a hodja' was the reply. It turned out that the thief had eaten the ram and had since been suffering from a severe pain. The man went to the hodja to acknowledge his guilt and to compensate him for the loss.

Many Turkmen believed that due to their descent the ovlyads were endowed with supernatural powers and could, among other things, cure the sick. The amulets with inscriptions made by some literate hodja or Shikh were considered a dependable remedy against illness, the evil eye, and spirits. One of the Russian travellers who visited the south-west areas of Turkmenia in the second half of the last century wrote: 'it was enough for a Mahtum to do as much as to spit on the sick man once to have the latter surely recovered'. (20) The Turkmen believed that the ovlyads could by their prayers help infertile women to have children. If born after such supernatural intercession, the children were usually given such names as Hodjaberdi (the hodja gave), Hodjageldi (the hodja came), Hodjanepes (the hodja's breath), etc.

The attitude shown to the same group of the ovlyads could, however, be different in various areas of Turkmenistan. The Ata group was, for example, held in highest esteem among the Yomud and Teke Turkmen in the south-west of Turkmenia while on the other hand, the population of the basins of the Tedjen and Mourgab rivers (the Tekes, the Salys, the Saryks) did not show any particular esteem for the Atas and did not even consider

them as ovlyads. Not all Turkmen considered the Mudjevurs as ovlyads. In the western part of Turkmenia the Mudjevurs are unknown at all and on hearing that such a group of the ovlyads exist in the Tashauz Region the old men only shrug their shoulders. But whatever the local peculiarities, the general attitude to the ovlyads was one of deference because their kinship with the known Muslim saints (the first four caliphs, in particular) and the Prophet himself associated them in the minds of people with those supernatural powers which in popular belief their forefathers possessed.

The Turkmenian ovlyads, as a rule, stuck fast to the custom of not allowing their daughters to marry men from groups other than the honour ones. Still living in folk memory are romantic episodes about dare-devils attempting to steal the beauties of noble blood who had won their hearts but most often pursuers overtook the fugitives and a savage reprisal was the lot of both the youth and the girl.

As for the origin of the ovlyads, various conjectures have been made on that account in literature. The earliest of them gives full credence to the legends of the ovlyads, according to which they are Turkmenized Arabs.(21) But since this opinion is based only on legendary lineages it has been made an object of a just criticism,(22) because the ovlyads exhibit in their culture no peculiarities which may point to their ties with the Arabs. According to another conjecture, the ovlyads were one of the first heathen groups to adopt Islam,(23) but no argument has been offered in support of this opinion. A view was also advanced that the ovlyads represent the descendants of some pre-Islamic priest groups(24) but this viewpoint has also not been confirmed by any factual evidence and, after some time, its author himself recognized that a search in other directions might be more fruitful.(25)

A great deal of reliable and well-checked evidence regarding the ovlyads (in particular, about their genealogical traditions) was obtained in the course of the research done in recent years. The factual evidence that has been accumulated thus far indicates, beyond any doubt, that there is a certain connection between some of the Turkmenian honour groups and Sufism. In other words, the origins of some ovlyad groups should be sought in Sufism because in the Turkmenian context the descendants of well-known Sufis (*pir*, *sheykh*, *ishan*) became ovlyads while the Atas were descended from a religious community made up of descendants and murids of a Sufi sheyikh.(26) The latter point of view has not yet been criticized in Soviet literature and the available evidence seems to corroborate it. Let us cite now the data on which this hypothesis has been built.

First of all, despite the wide renown that many ishans (representatives of the Sufi clergy) who hailed from the common folk enjoyed, the popular tradition still identified ishans as such with the ovlyads. Sev was the first to note this: 'The Turkmenian ishanism exhibits a peculiar phenomenon consisting in the exist-

ence of the so-called ovlyad tribes . . . in which everybody considers himself an ishan. . . . Probably, what made the ovlyad, i.e. holy tribes also ishanic tribes, was their Arab descent and the concept of ishan as a saint.'⁽²⁷⁾ To consider that this statement is true in all respects would hardly be correct. Of course, the fact that each representative of the ovlyads considered himself an ishan is open to doubt. For example, the Turkmen belonging to other groups did not look upon the Shikhs from Ismamutata and the hodjas from Nokhur as ishans and did not call them so. But many Turkmen believed, indeed, that ishans usually came from the midst of the ovlyads. A view was also widespread that there was no difference between ishan and hodja (opinions to this effect can be heard from old people, for example, in the Serakhs and Tahta-Bazar Districts). Part of the believers in the Tedjen District considers that the ishan usually comes from the midst of the ovlyads (hodja, Magtym, Shikh), that any hodja, even an illiterate one, is an ishan and he should be addressed accordingly, even if he is still a boy, with the words 'Ishan-aga'. In the Kaahka District the Turkmen from other groups usually said 'Ishan-aga' in addressing a Magtym. The common people use the same form of address in relation to the Shikhs living, for example, in the Serakhs District because the Shikhs are believed to have ishans among their ancestors.

Further, according to genealogical legends, the hodjas, the saiyids, and the Magtym are the descendants of Ali (and consequently, of Muhammad), while the Shikhs - the descendants of Abu Bakr, and the Atas - of Osman. This peculiarity of the legends accords with Sufi ecclesiastical lineages (*silsilla*, 'chain') which are listings of the saints, heads of the given order of darweshes or community who handed down the teaching and the blessing. The 'chain' of ishans was traced usually to the first caliphs and to Ali.⁽²⁸⁾ With the vulgarization of Sufism the spiritual ties came to be understood as physical kinship. Many Sufi sheyikhs found the temptation to ascribe to themselves kinship with the Prophet or the first caliphs too great to resist, even going to the length of composing false documents.⁽²⁹⁾

The word hodja could acquire currency as the exact translation of the title of saiyid, but there are reasons to believe that it came to be used as the name for honour groups in a different way. We already pointed out above that in Central Asia the names of the hodja and the saiyids were not considered as synonymous everywhere. But they certainly would be if the term hodja had appeared as the local equivalent of the term saiyid. It is quite possible that the term hodja as the name of one of the honour groups can be traced to the title hodja (master) used by murids in addressing their sheyikh (*pir*)⁽³⁰⁾ and also was appended to the names of popular Sufi saints. We would like to add here that the word 'master' in its turkic form (*törä*) was considered by the Uzbeks as the synonym for the hodja and saiyid and was used in Tashkent as the title of prominent ishans.⁽³¹⁾

Clear evidence of the connection between the ovlyad groups and the Sufi saints can be found in the former's genealogical legends existing both in the oral and written form. Thus, one of the hodja groups who lived among the Nokhurli Turkmen (the Bakharden District of the Ashkhabad Region) considered themselves to be the descendants of the Khorezm Sufi Shikh-Sherep (Sheyikh-Sheref), the fourteenth century saint who in the 'Yusup-Akhmet', the popular Turkmenian folk *destan*, is referred to as *pir*, *ustad*, and *ishan*. (32)

Among the Turkmen, there are several groups called Shikhs. One of them, the most numerous, while claiming its descent from Abu Bakr, considers Pakyr-shikh as their immediate ancestor. His tomb is situated in the outskirts of the Bendesen settlement in the Kysil-Arvat District. In Central Asia and the entire Muslim world the Arab word شيخ (sheyikh - 'old man', 'elder') also had another meaning, leader of the dervish community (*pir*, *ishan*). The Turkmen usually preserved for posterity the honourable title of their forefather (in this way, there arose within the 'tribes' certain groups called 'yuzbashi', 'beg', 'kazy', etc.). Possibly, the appellation Shikh was continued to be borne by the descendants of an *ishan*, who, in his time, was a well-known figure (in Tashkent the descendants of the venerated Sufis were also called sheyikhs) (33). The use of the name Pakyr (from the Arab word *faqir* - 'poor man', 'in need of something') in the legends of the Bendesen Shikhs is explained by the fact that their holy forefather (who later married a daughter of the local khan) was a poor man. (34) Probably a poor man he was but not in the direct meaning of the word: in the Muslim world the term *faqir* was used to denote itinerant dervishes. (35)

Another group of Shikhs who do not claim descent from Abu Bakr consider Kheleway, a servant of the saint Ismamut-ata, as their ancestor. According to oral legend, Kheleway, a son of a rich Turkman and considered a dolt, once decided to drive into the ground 40 (or 360, etc.) pegs for tying horses. All thought it was just another oddity of his but after some time 40 (or 360, etc.) equestrians rode up to the *aul*. It was Ismamut-ata with his retinue. In this episode the ancestors of the Shikhs possess a trait characteristic of the stories about holy dervishes: what seems at first sight to be a sign of mental inferiority turns out to be a manifestation of holiness.

According to tradition the Magtymys descended from Ali. In their lineage which originates from Adam we find Muhammad, Ali, Husain, Zein-al-abidin and then one's attention is drawn to the factual ancestor of this group - Habib-ed-din Magsym, who settled in Gorgan (northern Iran) because 'the divine passion, love had come upon him', i.e. a mystic love of God, so characteristic of Sufi teachings. A special place is occupied in the lineage by Makhzum Agzam, the descendant of Habib-ed-din in the eighth generation. In the legends he is called the ruler in his *villaiyet* and his close ties with the local Sufis are emphasized. After he died in 1494-5, it was the Sufi clergy who arranged his

funeral. In the procession composed of the sheykhs and murids his body lay on a white she-camel. The mausoleum over his tomb still exists today in the valley of the Sumbar river. In the Magtym's oral legends Makhzum Agzam figures as their leader and patron.(36) He remains in the memory of his descendants under the honourable title, Makhzum Agzam - 'Great Master' and it reminds us about the traditions of medieval Sufism. 'Makhdum' مخدوم is a title of eminent pirs, leaders of Sufi orders or individual communities.(37) The hodjas who took over power in Kashgaria in the seventeenth century and then for a short period in Fergana were the descendants of a well-known sheykh Makhdum-i A'azam who came from the Fergana settlement Kasan, and died in 1542.(38) It is evident that the 'Makhdum-Aazami', a Sufi order, whose followers were to be found in Kokand and Bokhara, took its name after him.(39) In north-eastern Turkmenia the word *makhsum* was used for the descendants of ishans.

The Magtym's are divided into three groups. The Gylly Magtym group represents those descendants of Makhzum Agzam who have moved to the Akhal Oasis. A special place among them is occupied by Issa-pir whom legend pictures as a powerful saint. The Pir Magtym group takes its name after Pir Magtym whose lineage reports that before he came to be venerated as a saint he 'was in the hands of one pir'.(40) Genealogical legend associates the Magtym's with the Sufis (ishans) who were well known at the time.

According to the legends the Mudjevur group has Sheykh Akhsan-baba, called Dana-ata, as their ancestor whose venerated tomb is located in south-western Turkmenia.(41)

The ancestor of the Ata group was Gyzli-ata, a descendant of Caliph Osman and a *murid* of the holy pir hodja Akhmed Yassavi, who founded the Sufi order of Yassavia. The word Gyzli means here the all-seeing. The legends relate that he was a powerful saint while yet a *murid* of his sheykh. The connection between the Atas and Sufism is confirmed also by the fact that it was none other but the Atas who kept up among the surrounding population the custom of performing *zikr* (the Sufi collective devotional exercise)(42) in its 'loud' form (*djahr*). Turkmen of any 'tribe' could participate at *zikr* but the right to officiate at the occasion was traditionally reserved only for the Atas (in the south-western parts of the area - also to the Magtym's).(43)

For researchers studying Sufism by the religious philosophical works written by the founders of various teachings the statement that there is a connection between the Turkmenian honour groups, the ovlyads, and Sufism and that this connection has to be traced on the basis of isolated details may, of course, seem rather strange. The distance between the intricate conceptions of Muslim mysticism and the traditions of the supernatural veneration of some isolated groups is very large. Yet the ties we are trying to establish between the Turkmenian ovlyads and

Sufism were quite real, and the very historical destinies of Sufism in Central Asia provide a convincing explanation to that effect.

During the many centuries of its existence, Sufism did not remain unchanged. In various periods and among various peoples, this phenomenon took on a specific aspect and played a different role in the religious life of the population. In Central Asia, Sufism, whose characteristic feature is rightly considered to be syncretism (the ability to mix elements most diverse in their origin, including the rituals and beliefs of the ancient local cults),⁽⁴⁴⁾ assimilated in the course of its spread, already in the early Middle Ages, the traditions of pre-Islamic religions and, particularly, shamanism. This has already been pointed out.⁽⁴⁵⁾ I wish to add here that in connection with the general economic, political and cultural decline that took place in Central Asia during the last centuries Sufism did not remain unaffected. Its pantheistic philosophy remained unknown not only to the common people but even to the representatives of the Sufi clergy - the *ishans* (*pirs*). Sufism has, on the whole, made a strong impact upon the religious life of the Central Asian peoples but it is in fact, mainly the outward aspects that have been really assimilated by them. As for the content of the beliefs associated with the personality of *ishans* and also with the specific Sufi rituals, the preponderance in them belonged, in many cases, to the local heathenish traditions reflecting the most archaic concepts. Alisher Navoi, the renowned Uzbek poet who lived in the fifteenth century, wrote about the Sufi *zikr*: 'When in pursuit of the beauty of the *pari* he (*sheykh*) performs his trance dance, sputtering with saliva, he shows up his fanaticism.'⁽⁴⁶⁾ For Navoi the connection between the ritualistic practices of the Sufis and the ancient belief in the possibility of sexual intimacy, while in the state of frenzy, between the chosen people (usually shamans) and the *pari* spirits was all too evident.

The ability for the *ishan* activities was understood in the folk practice in the concepts of shamanism. Thus, the Bokhara residents considered that the magic powers are possessed only by those *ishans* or *duokhons* (healing by prayers) who have a patron spirit. After the *ishan* dies the spirit 'chooses' his successor from among his descendants. According to the Bokhara residents, the spirit 'molests' the chosen one in order to compel him to take upon himself the 'burden' of stewardship. If the man who considered himself to be a 'chosen' one had mental instability he often fell ill. The inheritance of the *ishan* power, social position and riches was attributed to the existence of a patron spirit in the family.⁽⁴⁷⁾

The itinerant dervishes - *divana* (*dumana*, *Dubana*)m to be met in all parts of Central Asia, reminded people of the Muslim mystics by their life-style. Their attire, which had a ritualistic importance, was determined by local pre-Muslim traditions. The

Kirghizian dumanas wore, for example, a dressing-gown which was sewn from shreds of fabric, a cap made of swan skin, sometimes adorned with bells, and carried in their hands a staff with metal pendants or bells. The dumanas were looked upon as people possessing the faculty of fortune telling, soothsaying, driving away evil spirits and curing the sick. (48)

As already indicated above, in Central Asia (as also in other regions of the 'Muslim world') Sufism did not exist in real life as a sophisticated philosophical and religious teaching. In the life of the common people Sufism established itself as the cult of miracle-worker saints, of people chosen by God or 'friends of God' - all in combination with various pre-Islamic beliefs. This peculiarity of Central Asian Sufism also shows up in the traditions connected with the Turkmenian ovlyads.

In the veneration shown to the ovlyads one can easily discern the survival of the cult of ancestors. The Turkmenian beliefs retain traces of the conviction in the importance of kinship ties between saints and those who venerate them. Some old men still think that the closest saint for the believer is the one with whom he has kinship ties. But since the Turkmen endowed their saints with their own views on life, the saints, in turn, the Turkmen believed should be more inclined to help their relatives. These beliefs in the preferential attitude of the saints towards their posterity goes to explain the superstitious fear of the ovlyads. With the aid of their patronizing holy ancestors, the ovlyads (and the posterity of ishans) are, allegedly, able to show a miraculous force and punish offenders. This belief finds its manifestation in the most diverse spheres of folk life. Thus one can hear from old people a story about a man who died after stealing a horse from a hodja because the latter called in the aid of his ancestors in his prayers. One can also hear of a hodja horse which always won a prize at races. Many people were certain that the hodja called in the aid of his ancestors (*atabasyni chagyryer*). Therefore, one man whose horse participated in the race held out a 10-rouble note to the hodja and said: 'Give me a benediction (*pata*). Let your ancestors be impartial.' Having accepted the money (i.e. a donation to his ancestors) and having sealed the donation with his prayer, the hodja was thus unable to resort to their aid. The above-mentioned special prizes given to the ovlyads before the start of horse races or wrestling constituted, in fact, also an instance of donations for the ancestors.

Considering that the saint might be more inclined to respond to his own posterity, some believers used to approach the ovlyads (or the posterity on an ishan) with a request to solicit the benevolence of the ancestor in their favour. In such cases, the believers said: 'Call in your ancestors, apply to them with a request.' This custom clearly reveals the traces of the formerly priest functions performed by the relatives of a venerated man in old times. (49) The cult of ancestors also demands that it is

the posterity of the saint who should look after his grave and accept donations from pilgrims. Today this view is shared by only a small number of believers but in the past it was held widely. The reason why the word 'sheykh' (*shikh* - in Turkmenian) has come to mean in Central Asia 'keeper of the tomb of a saint' apart from its former meaning, and has thus become identical with the Arab word *mudjavir* lies precisely in the fact that the functions of the keeper of the tomb of a saint (most often a Sufi, a *sheykh*) were performed by his posterity who continued to bear the title of his ancestor (*sheykh*). Let us return in this connection to the way the word *Shikh* might have made its appearance as a name for a number of the *ovlyad* groups. This word could become the name of the given groups already in its new meaning just like the word *müdjevür* (in Turkmenian) has become the appellation of a special group of the *ovlyads*.

The belief in the importance of kinship ties with saints indulged by the Turkmen and some other Central Asian peoples was not inspired by Islam. It belonged to a number of local pre-Islamic religious traditions and reflected the structure of the society based on kinship ties. Thus, a major role in the formation of the *ovlyad* groups was played by the clan-tribal traditions which continued to preserve their force and it should be noted that the *ovlyad* groups as well as other Turkmenian 'tribes' were divided into branches and sub-branches precisely in accordance with those traditions.

Another layer of pre-Muslim religious beliefs and rituals from which the special position of the *ovlyads* in Turkmenian society stems is represented by the clear survivals of shamanism. Strong survivals of the shamanistic cult are exhibited by the Ata Turkmen who practised *zıkr* (*zikir*, *zyakir* in Turkmenian). This ritual, in its Turkmenian form, is a graphic example of how a Sufi ritual has turned into a shamanistic act.

Among the Atas, *zıkr* was still practised as a folk custom until the 1930s. *Zıkr* was usually performed in order to cure the sick who were harmed by the spirits, jinns, in cases where the prayers of the mullah proved ineffective. During the *zıkr* the felt cover of the *yourta* was taken off for the curious (men and women) to see what went on inside. *Zıkr* could be started in the morning or in the evening. There were cases when *zıkr* lasted for several days or even for a whole month, but with interruptions. The ritual was performed only by men. These were the *Shikhs* who ascended into a trance, readers of spiritual verse (*gazelchi* or *khapyz*) and 'people performing *zıkr*'. All of them were, necessarily, from the Ata 'tribe'. Among the 'people performing *zıkr*', there could be Turkmen from 'tribes' other than the Atas but the reader and the *Shikh* could be only from among the Atas. We are thus coming across a new meaning of the word *Shikh* among the Turkmen: *Shikh* is the main participant at *zıkr*, an Ata in origin.

Having received a benediction from a clergyman (*akhun*, *ishan*),

the reader begins reading from memory loudly and in a singing voice verses from Sufi poets (Diwana-i Mashrab, Khakim-ata, Dyrdu-shikh, Hodja Akhmed Yassavi, and others). There is no musical accompaniment and when one reader became tired he could be substituted by another. The reading of the verse brought the central figure of the ritual - the Shikh - to a state of excitement. He was also inspired by the cries of people performing zikr. Standing around the Shikh in a circle and strongly holding each other's arms they cried out 'Oh-Oh!' in hoarse voices and in rhythm between couplets. Their voices became louder and then died down, their actions being regulated by the khapyz. The Shikh fell into a frenzy. He performed motions which are conveyed by the Turkmenian word *yikylmak* - to fall. In his strange dance he beat his head against the framework of the yourta. One of the witnesses saw for himself how a corpulent Shikh deftly climbed a staff forming the dome of the yourta and through the flue to the top of the yourta without the staff even sagging. Another old man related how he saw a famous Shikh known by the name of Kebelek (butterfly). Soon after the khapyz began singing the verse and the performers of the zikr started their guttural cries, he jumped up and began, to the accompaniment of the cries, running inside the yourta on its framework 'like a fly'. His dressing gown was flapping and the whiffs of air could be felt even by those who were outside the yourta. One could hear the people saying that if the Shikh would not arise to the singing of religious verses after falling unconscious the mullahs would surely have to read the *surah* 'Yasin' from the Holy Qur'an to him.

During the zikr the Shikh beat the sick person on the face, on the back and threw him against the framework of the yourta. In this way he was driving away the spirits which had caused the disease. According to other legends, the Shikh might not even touch the sick person. For example, one story has it that near the tomb of Gyzli-ata pilgrims, the Yomud Turkmen, asked the Atas to cure a raving girl who was lying nearby, bound hand and foot. Among the Atas there was a Shikh and a khapyz. The khapyz began singing while the Shikh soon began in his frenzy to snatch at burning coal with his bare hands. Three butterflies were flying over the girl. The Shikh rubbed one part of the burning coal with the palms of his hands and one butterfly dropped dead. The Shikh rubbed the coal again and the second butterfly died. The Shikh again pressed the burning coal and the third butterfly lay motionless near his legs. The girl immediately recovered. It was believed that the Shikh saw the jinns, struggled against them, called in the aid of saints, and was victorious, driving them away for ever.

According to the stories, a Shikh falling into a trance lost all sensibility. He fell down from the top of the yourta on the ground, threw himself into the fire fanned out nearby for cooking food, poured boiling water on himself from a samovar, all without incurring any harm to his person. In short he was

not like the usual man. The story about one Shikh has it that during zikr sparks flew out of his mouth and singed the beards of other performers of the ritual. During the zikr the Shikh was engaged in fortune-telling. If someone asked whether he would have children, the answer given by the Shikh would be correct. He could tell what gifts he was going to receive, and could tell who from among the performers of the zikr and the spectators had not performed the ritual ablution. He drove away such people.

While any literate person could be the reader, the Shikh was endowed with unusual abilities from above. These abilities are conveyed by the word *keramat* which means the 'force' of a saint, a miracle. While recognizing that in the old times there were saints from among the Shikhs, a majority of believers did not, however, place the Shikh and the saint on the same level. One can hear explanations that the Shikh receives his abilities from Allah and he should 'give his hand to a pir', be 'pure' in the religious meaning of this word and to observe faithfully the old traditions which are called by the general name of *Turkmenchilik*. According to a most widespread belief the Shikh has helping spirits at his disposal, 'comrades' (*yoldash*). Some believers are inclined to consider that it is none of their business to know which spirit aids the Shikh. The Shikh himself would not venture to tell about his comrades for he may otherwise lose his force and be killed by them. He does not even dare to say: 'I have comrades'. Nevertheless, the helping spirits are called *jinn*, *arvakh* (in the Turkmenian language these words are identical in meaning) or *al* (the latter exists also in the combination *al-yoldash*). Certain *Atas* consider that a Shikh has only one *jinn* or *al* in the form of a camel, bull, tiger, snake, dog, etc. But this was not a common conviction. One of the respondents, for example, thought that the spirit was a girl whom the future Shikh met somewhere in the steppe; the Shikh should pull out a hair from her head, put it in his bread and constantly have it on his person.

The spirits (or a spirit) of the Shikh tell him about the future; they also help him to drive away the jinns of a sick man by entering into the struggle against them. The spirits causing diseases and harming people are 'infidel' (*kapyr*) jinns. The Shikh's jinns are Muslims. The patient can be cured only if the Shikh's comrades are stronger than those which have caused the disease. If a Shikh should decide to struggle against the spirits which are superior in force to those of his comrades he runs the risk of being harmed, becoming a madman, or dying.

Thus the Shikh has much in common with the shaman. He goes into a trance, is aided by spirits in the form of animals and his ritual practices follow the actions of the shaman during his performance. The Turkmenian shamans also drove away the spectators who had failed to do the ablution, were soothsayers and also guessed what gifts were brought to them. This similarity, had its effect upon folk beliefs. Though the shamans

called *porhan* by the Turkmen are not to be found among the Atas, the Turkmen from other tribes, who are neighbours of the Atas, consider that the *porhans* are usually from the Ata 'tribe'.

The shaman and the Shikh were also united in having a specific illness which manifested itself, when the jinn 'joined' them. The fits of the illness continued even when the rapport with the spirits was firmly established. From time to time, the Shikh suffered breakdown. He spent his time at home bedridden, and covered with blankets for he was cold. He could neither eat nor drink. Only *zikr* could cure the Shikh. To the singing of the spiritual verse and the guttural, hoarse cries of the performers of the *zikr*, the Shikh livened, then fell into a frenzy, took burning coal into his hands or put the coal into his mouth, walked barefoot on burning coal - in short he performed everything he was called to do during the ritual. After the *zikr* the Shikh felt fully recovered from the illness. Thus, to take part in *zikr* from time to time and sometimes to have the ritual performed only to unburden his heart was a requirement for the Shikh.

The man who could potentially become a Shikh showed his abilities at festivities when the songs to the words of Navoi and other poets were performed to the accompaniment of the *dutar*: he could not sit quiet. He betrayed himself also during the *zikr*. From the stories of old people it does not follow that the abilities of the Shikh were inherited though there were some isolated cases when the son became the Shikh after the death of his father.

Sometimes the Shikhs arranged a sort of competition between themselves to see who was the strongest - like the Siberian shamans. It was believed that the jinns of the Shikhs began in this case to battle each other and the Shikhs whose jinns suffered a defeat were obliged to follow the orders of the victor.

Sometimes women also performed as Shikhs. Old men remember a woman Shikh named Tyotyovi who died in 1937. There was a time when she went into a trance to the singing of verses. Once in the year 1916, she ascended into a state of strong excitement, ran out of the *yourta*; the clergymen who were present at the *zikr* said to her: 'Remain seated, sing verses but do not fall (*yikylma*), it is awkward for a woman to have her body exposed'. Since the women did not participate in the dervish devotional exercise together with men, this incident can be possibly explained in the light of the traditions of female shamanism known in Central Asia.

Any traces of the connection between this Ata ritual with the Sufi *zikr* have almost entirely disappeared. People think that the origins of this custom of performing *zikr* go back to the Prophet Zaccaria. At one time, running away from 'infidels', he hid himself in a tree which had in response to his command split apart and then closed. But a piece of his shirt stuck outside and a magpie which pulled at it with a cry turned the attention of the

pursuers to the tree. The 'infidels' chopped off the top of the tree and then began sawing the trunk of the tree from the top down, and the teeth of the saw cut into the head of the Prophet. By uttering 'Oh - Oh' in their hoarse voices, the performers of the devotional exercise imitate the groans of Zaccaria and bemoan him. This legend that was connected with the ritual probably because the name of the Prophet and the word *zikr* sound almost alike goes to show that the Sufi interpretation of *zikr* has disappeared from folk beliefs. Only once did I hear an opinion that Hodja Akhme Yassavi somewhat changed this custom which had been continued since the time of Zaccaria. Many old men from the Ata 'tribe' explain the particular nature of their tradition by the fact that the Shikhs have been given to the 'tribe' by God.

Rather curious is the further destiny of the Turkmenian *zikr*. Brought by the Atas to the south-west of Turkmenia it began to be performed by the end of the nineteenth century, already by the Yomoud Turkmen but only as a laity youth dance; in the 1940s this dance moved eastward and is now known in the Akhal Oasis. In our days, this dance is usually accompanied by performing roundelays which are far from the religious themes but the people still remember also the spiritual verse which the dancers used to cry out.

The comparison of some couplets recorded by ethnographers with the verses by a Fergana mystic Diwana-i Mashrab leaves one in no doubt that the dance represents the Sufi devotional exercise. (50)

Yet another example of the persistence of the shamanistic cult in religious practice is provided by the folk beliefs associated with the hodjas living among the Nokhurli Turkmen (in particular, in a large settlement of Nokhur, the Bakharden District of the Ashkhabad Region). The residents from Nokhur and the surrounding settlements believed that it was a family ability of the hodjas to have at their disposal subservient spirits (*jinn*, *arvakh*), 'comrades'. Allegedly, those spirits could help some hodjas to foretell the future, to know what was taking place elsewhere, to command an unusual physical force and, what was most important, to cure nervous patients, the mentally deranged, infertile women and impotents. According to traditional beliefs the reasons for those ailments lie in the activities of evil, 'infidel' spirits which 'strike' the man or are with him constantly. The Muslim-jinn who are subservient to the hodjas, allegedly drive away evil spirits in the course of the struggle against them. In folk stories, both categories of the jinn are pictured as people ('troops' - *goshun* in Turkmenian). In an effort to drive away the 'infidel' spirits with the aid of his 'troop' of spirits the hodja reads prayers, calls in the aid of his ancestors, and sometimes beats the patient with a lash.

Folk beliefs contain traditional ideas regarding the very process of driving away the jinn which have caused harm to a certain man. For example, once Ovez-Hodja who lived in the second half of the last century was invited to a settlement in the

valley of the Sumbar River to cure a raving person. No sooner had the hodjas entered the house than he saw the jinn who had caused the ailment. The jinn said to the hodja: 'If you do not come to heal the person I am going to strike next I shall go away'. The hodja agreed, and the jinn warned: 'I am going to Kara-Kala to strike the bride of a rich man.' The jinn disappeared and the patient immediately recovered. Ovez-Hodja stayed in the settlement for the rest of the day. He was already going to leave when a man from Kara-Kala appeared with a request from the local rich man to cure his daughter-in-law who had suddenly become mad. The hodja understood it was the deed of the jinn and declined the request. However he was compelled to agree. Having arrived at the house of the rich man, Ovez-Hodja dismounted, and entered. He began beating the raving girl with a lash, saying prayers and repeating: 'Who are you to come here?' The spirit said: 'Hodja! You promised not to come but you haven't made good your promise. Therefore, I will strike your daughter.' The jinn disappeared while the rich man's daughter-in-law recovered from the affliction. Ovez-Hodja took a second horse from the rich man and immediately set out for Nokhur where he lived. On arriving there, he saw that the jinn had implemented his threat: the hodja's daughter was ill. The hodja began beating the jinn with a lash again and said. 'Who are you to come here?' Then the jinn asked for mercy: 'Ovez-Hodja, you will not leave me alone. I will leave this place for good.' He disappeared and the hodja's daughter recovered from her illness.

It was also believed that the hodja had to take great pains to gain victory over the jinn of the sick man because the latter's jinn turned out to be stronger. There were also cases when while in difficulty one hodja asked another for assistance and the latter sent him his own 'troop' of jinn. It once happened that Ovez-Hodja was attacked by a madman who began getting the upper hand. The hodja cried out: 'Uncle Mammed. Help me!' At that time, Mammed-Hodja was in Nokhur among his countrymen. Suddenly, he took off his sheepskin coat and lay at some distance away from them on the ground having covered himself all over with the coat. After some time, he stood up and approached his surprised countrymen again. 'My Hodja, what happened?', somebody enquired. Mammed explained: 'Now in Iran, Ovez-Hodja is healing a raving man with prayers. The jinn of the sick man began to win over the hodja's jinn and he sent to me two jinns with a request to help him. I dispatched part of my own troop to his aid. And now, after my troop joined Ovez-Hodja's the jinn of the sick man has been vanquished.' His countrymen did not believe him. Mammed said: 'Ovez-Hodja will return to Nokhur tomorrow in the evening. Ask him.' The following day the residents of Nokhur instructed several people to meet Ovez-Hodja on the road beyond the settlement. When they saw Ovez-Hodja, those people began asking him where he had been and what he had been doing. Allegedly Ovez confirmed what had been said by Mammed-Hodja.

There was a widespread belief that if the hodja sustained a defeat in the struggle against the patient's jinn, he was to lose his former strength and fall ill. According to some old men, after Ovez-Hodja had to call in the Mammed-Hodja's aid, he contracted pain in the small of his back.

Of interest may be the local beliefs regarding the way a hodja acquired his helping spirits. There are three various groups of hodjas living in Nokhur. They regard themselves as descendants of Ali and Fatima but associate with various branches and various saints. It was usually one hodja in a whole group who could have jinns at his command. After the Hodja died, his 'troop' was handed down to his son or another relative.

In the stories of the 'Iranian' hodjas, the Padishah of the jinns in the image of a girl suggests that the hodja should take possession of the spirits. The earliest story about this is devoted to Myatykhan-Hodja (the middle of the eighteenth century; the date is determined on the basis of the genealogical tree). Once on the top of a high mountain Myatykhan met a girl. She suggested that they test their forces in the struggle. Myatykhan agreed and, having read a prayer, won. Then he understood that it was not a man before him but a spirit, and produced a knife. The girl said to him: 'Do not kill me. I am the padishah of the jinns. I will bring you much good.' She gave hodja an amulet on which there was a list of names of all the jinns. After Myatykhan died, the girl met Garry-Hodja on the top of the mountain who also gained a victory in the struggle. She also met Ovez-Hodja on the bank of a river but disappeared before he touched her. The transfer of power over the spirits to Ovez-Hodja took place in different conditions.

According to one of the legends, after the death of Garry-Hodja Ovez-Hodja was awoken in the darkness of night by two people who said to him: 'Our padishah invites you to Gyzylyk (an old cemetery). Don't be afraid. Follow us.' And they went there. At the foot of the mountains Ovez-Hodja saw crowds of people who had gathered around fires. Two jinns led Ovez-Hodja over to the throne on which the padishah was seated - that very girl whom he had met near the river. The girl said: 'I have already tested you. You are able to command the spirits. Therefore, I will give you a troop of jinns which belonged to your ancestors.' Ovez-Hodja did not utter a word. The girl said: 'Tie a belt round his waist.' The two jinns took a thin rope made of a sheep (goat) intestine with many knots on it, uttered something unintelligible and tied it around him. The girl-padishah explained: 'Each knot signifies part of the troop. When in need of aid, you will have only to utter the name of the knot and to touch it.' She then conveyed to him the names. The jinn's rope was visible only to its possessor. According to other versions of the story Ovez-Hodja was also given an amulet.

In the legends about the Khiva group of hodjas the engirdling with a rope figures as the main ritual in transferring the spirits. For example, the above-mentioned Mammed-Hodja before his death

tried, all by himself, to transfer his 'troop' to his grandson Ishan-Hodja. He led him to a desert place and ordered him to look south. 'Do not be afraid of anything. Whatever you may see, or whatever you may be spoken to about, do not utter a word. If you show ability to go through this ordeal then part of the jinn troop will be yours.' While pronouncing those words, Mammed-Hodja tied a white belt tightly around his grandson. Ishan-Hodja saw a troop of horsemen riding straight towards him. When several horsemen began walking around him and touching his belt Ishan-Hodja proved unable to bear the ordeal and cried out 'Go away from me!'. Mammed-Hodja said: 'You have neither the knowledge, nor a brave heart; you will not be able to preserve the jinns', and he decided thereupon to transfer his 'troop' to his three-year-old grandson Yacoub-Hodja. Mammed-Hodja took off his belt, tied it around the waist of his grandson, bent down on his knees before him and began praying. The women who were watching the ritual with uneasiness cried out: 'The child is dying!'. Mammed-Hodja untied the belt and the boy came to his senses. Mammed said: 'You cried in vain. If he had lain (with the belt on) a little longer I could have provided him with more troops.' According to another version of the legend Mammed-Hodja did not pay any attention to the weeping and crying of women and continued his prayers. Yacoub died three times and came back to life again. Then Mammed-Hodja said to those present: 'After my death, my place will be taken by him.'

Though clothed in a Muslim garb, the beliefs contain some features pointing to their shamanistic origin. The possession of helping spirits, inheriting the spirits, the ability to tell fortunes, to find lost things, and to cure lunatics – all these features are typical of the Turkmenian *porhan*. The legends about the initiation of Yacoub-Hodja find their parallel in the folk beliefs of the peoples in Siberia according to which, in becoming a shaman, a man dies and then rises from the dead. The very ritual of curing the sick as practised by the hodjas has some features in common with shamanistic performance. Thus, both the hodja and the shaman tell what colour of wool the animal to be sacrificed for propitiating the spirits and obtaining the cure should be.

From the point of view of the Nokhurli Turkmen the difference between the shaman and the hodja having spirits in his possession is negligible. This can be easily understood if we take into account the fact that the last shaman in Nokhur named Allahverdi was descended from a hodja (from the group of the 'Ekme' - Hodjas). Why is it then that hodjas possessing the jinns are called *porhan* in some but not in other cases? Old people from Nokhur are unable to provide any clear answer. Some elders reduce the matter to literacy: if the hodja who meets a 'troop' should be illiterate he becomes a shaman. But others disagree.

Evidently the hodjas themselves equated their activities and shamanistic practices. The following witness account goes to

confirm this. A shaman from another village was invited to Nokhur to cure infertility in the beautiful wife of one of the local residents. At the height of the shaman performance Nazar-Hodja (the son of Ovez-Hodja) entered the house. He stood and said nothing but all those present noticed that the excitement of the shaman diminished. One of the Nokhurli upbraided Nazar-Hodja for this and said: 'Why do you interfere? What have you come for?' The hodja beside himself with anger jumped to the middle of the room and caught something in the air with his hand (what he caught was the jinns of the shaman). He said to the porhan: 'You have no right to carry on your rituals where we are now!' The performance of the shaman was, of course, discontinued. In this story the hodja felt insulted that the driving away of the jinns had been entrusted to someone else. In other words, one shaman was offended only because the invitation was extended not to him but to another shaman. This story also points to the identity of the functions performed by the shaman and by the hodja, with the jinns at his command. In fact, the only detail that places them apart consists in the way they are performed. The hodja heals by prayer, the shaman - by specific rituals. It does not follow from the story that, compared to the shaman, the hodja with his troop should necessarily be superior in force. To the question 'Who is stronger - the hodja or the porhan?' - some believers replied, 'The stronger is the one whose "troop" is larger'. (51)

Such beliefs associated with the hodjas are not specifically Turkmenian. Among other peoples of Central Asia there were cases when some representatives of the hodjas were endowed with shamanistic functions. For example, in the Uzbek settlement Karamurt (the Sairam District, the Chimkent Region of the Kazakh SSR) in the 1930s one Abbaskhan, a representative of the local group of the hodjas, showed unexpected shamanistic abilities. In his youth he was a pupil of a mullah and wished to become a reader of the Holy Qur'an but could not remember the words because of his poor memory. He was passionately fond of riding on horseback. His nimble and fast horse was famed far and wide and some people were even convinced that the horse possessed invisible wings. When, fearing for the life of his son, Abbaskhan's father sold the horse, Abbaskhan fell seriously ill. He was constantly raving, pronouncing some lines from spiritual verses and accompanying his declaration with gestures. Once he spent a night near the tomb of a saint and saw spirits in his dream. The latter instructed him to hold during the reading a rattle made from the deer horn. This was made by the local smith and Abbaskhan was thus given the nickname 'Shakildak-ishan' (rattle-ishan).

Abbaskhan spent little time at home. Usually, he walked around the surrounding villages and loudly sang spiritual verses for which he received donations from believers. Like the calandar dervishes of the Nakshbandia order he attached to his belt a special vessel 'kashkul' for collection of alms. Abbaskhan's con-

stant occupation was reading spiritual verses and it was taken by the people as a manifestation of his contact with spirits. Once he was asked as to why he kept his eyes closed and his head bowed low when reading the verses. 'When I am reading the verses the spirits - *devs*, *paris*, *jinns* - are hovering over my head', replied Abbaskhan, 'Once I already looked at them and have become insane'. His rattle was considered a ritual object. When Abbaskhan swung it people would say, 'He is calling in the troop (of his jinns).'

Abbaskhan also undertook to cure the sick. His ritual of curing was simple. He applied his rattle three times to the forehead of the sick person, said a prayer and then pronounced: 'God help you, go, you will recover.' He was also famous as a skillful fortune-teller. Since, in the opinion of believers, he was assisted in curing and fortune-telling by spirits he was regarded as a kind of shaman and was also called Abbaskhan-bakshi (*bakshi* is shaman in Uzbek). Thus, Abbaskhan manifested the features of both the itinerant dervish and the shaman. (52)

In summing up the foregoing, I wish to point out that the customs associated with the honour groups among the Turkmen contain strong pre-Muslim elements. The general Muslim tradition of venerating the Prophet's descendants is united with the ancient local traditions traced to the cult of ancestors, which was brought into being by the tribal-clan structure of society. Especially strong are the survivals of shamanism. There are a number of facts which provide a sufficient basis for a hypothesis that the emergence of some groups of the *ovlyads* was associated with local Sufism in its declining, vulgarized, and common folk forms. The evidence cited in this paper confirms the scientific view that the local peculiarities of Islam in some parts of the 'Muslim World' owe their existence to those beliefs and rituals which are an echo of earlier cults.

NOTES

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- 4 N. Khanykov, 'Opissanye Bokharskogo Khanstva' (A description of the Bokhara Khanate), St -Petersburg, 1843, p. 94; O.A. Sukhareva, 'Islam v Uzbekistane' (Islam in Uzbekistan), Tashkent, 1962, p. 66; B.H. Karmysheva, 'Ocherki etnicheskoi

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 - 7 Karmysheva, op. cit., p. 151.
 - 8 Here and further in the text, if there is no reference to literature, it means that the author makes use of his own field materials.
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 - 13 See, for example: Zapiska g.-sh. polkovnika Kuzmina-Karaeva o vvedenii russkogo upravleniya v Ateke v 1885 g. (The memorandum on the introduction of Russian administration in Atek in the year 1885, submitted by Colonel Kuzmin-Karaev), in 'Sbornik geographicheskikh, topographicheskikh i statisticheskikh materialov po Azii' (Collection of geographical, topographical and statistical materials for Asia), issue XXI, St Petersburg, 1886, pp. 154-5.
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 - 22 See S.M. Demidov, 'K voprosu o religioznom syncretisme u turkmen XIX - nachala XX veka (On the Question of the Religious Syncretism among the Turkmen in the 19th - the beginning of the 20th Century), A report at the VII International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnographical Sciences, Moscow, 1964, p. 7; G.E. Markov, 'Ocherk istorii formirovaniya severnikh turkmen' (Essays on the history of the formation of the Northern Turkmen), Moscow, 1961, pp. 94-5.
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 - 25 S.M. Demidov, see note 16, p. 12.
 - 26 In more detail, see V.N. Basilov, 'Kult svyatikh v Islame' (The Cult of the Saints in Islam), Moscow, 1970, pp. 113-14; also by the same author, O proiskhozhdenii turkmen=ata /prostonarodniye formi sredneasiatskogo sufisma/ (On the Origins of the Ata-Turkmen - the folk forms of the Central Asian Sufism), in 'Domusulmanskiye verovaniya i obryadi v Srednei Azii' (The pre-Moslem Beliefs in the Central Asia), Moscow, 1975; S.M. Demidov, 'Magtymi' (istoriko-etnographicheskii etud) (The Magtymys - a historico-ethnographical essay), in *ibid.* Also by Demidov, see note 25; and 'Sufizm v Turkmenii' (Sufism in Turkmenia), Ashkhabad, 1978, pp. 125-9, 150-3.
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- 34 K. Ataev, see note 15, p. 76.
- 35 T.P. Hughes, see note 28, pp. 115-23.
- 36 In more detail, see S.M. Demidov, 'The Magtym's' (see note 26).
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- 40 S.M. Demidov, 'The Magtym's' (see note 26), pp. 173-8.
- 41 In more detail, see S.M. Demidov, see note 16, pp. 159-66.
- 42 About zikhr, see T.P. Hughes, note 28, p. 703.
- 43 In more detail, see V.N. Basilov, 'O proiskhozhdenii Turkmen-ata' (On the origins of the ata-Turkmen).
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- 47 See note 4, pp. 49-50.
- 48 In more detail, see T.D. Bayalieva, 'Doislamskiye verovaniya i ikh perezhivaniya u kirghizov' (Pre-Islam Beliefs and their Survivals among the Kirghizes), Frunze, 1972, pp. 120-1.

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- 52 Use is made here of the field materials of K. Taizhanov and H. Ismailov (the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR).