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## Eski Türklerin Bereket Tanrıçası “Umay”: Üslup ve İkonografik Özellikleri\*\* Ancient Turks Fertility Goddess “Umai”: The Style and Features of the Iconography\*\*

### Özet

Bereket tanrıçası Umay'ın imgesi Eski Türklerin üçlü inanç sisteminde önemli bir yere sahiptir. Ancak Umay ikonografisi hâlâ yeteri kadar çalışılmamıştır. Kutsallık simgesi üç dilimli taca sahip Umay'ın dişil bir figür olarak tanımı ana tartışma konusudur. Ama cennetin bir sâkini, gökten inen güzel bir kadın, bir kuş-ana olarak Umay'ın kanath olması daha da önemli bir özellik olmalıdır.

Kanath kadın imgesi olarak tasviri iki yerde mevcuttur: Yenisey Nehri'nden bir bronz broş ve Abakan Koybalı Nehri üzerinde 7 No.'lu Kurgan'dan bir çift altın ve gümüş küpe. Bunlar 10-11. yüzyıllara tarihlenir. Bu imgeler Umay'ın ikonografisine atfedilebilirler. Bu yüzden, düzlemsel çizgede olmayan metal plastik etkisi uyandıran parçaların yapılmasına imkân veren teknolojik yeterliliklerin stil ve tasarım özelliklerinin detaylı çalışılması önemlidir. Bu durumlarda, hacimli imgeler, (kadın figürlerinin kendileri, ellerinde tuttukları kaplar, saç, kafa ve boyun süsleri, kanat ve hâleleri), pandantifler, boncuklar (insan ve hayvanların doğmamış ruhlarının sembolleri) ve elmas şekilli içi boş sarkıntılar (bebeklerin göbek bağları için) öne çıkar. Buna ek olarak, böyle durumlarda düzlemin detayları hakkında açıkça konuşulabilir, örneğin hâle – figürleri saç tarzlarından ayırarak onları hacimli hâle getirir. Bu yüzden, Umay imgesinin metal ve üç boyutlu özellikleri Eski Türklerin sanatında onun imgesinin tanımlanması için kapsamlı bir özellikler sistemi yaratılmasına izin verir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Eski Türkler, Umay, üslup, ikonografi, sembol.

**Keywords:** Ancient Turks, Umai, style, iconography, symbol.

**T**he image of the goddess Umai occupied an important place in the religious consciousness of the ancient Turks. On her special place in the tripartite structure of the Turkic pantheon can be judged by the repeated mention of her name in runic texts, as well as by studying the traditional world of modern Turkic peoples of Siberia and Central Asia (by V. V. Barthold, V. V. Radloff, P. M. Melioranskii, A. V. Anokhin, N. P. Dyrenkova, L. E. Karunovskaya, L. P. Potapov, S. M. Abramzon, N. A. Baskakov, N. A. Alekseev, F. T. Valeyev, V. Ya. Butanaev, E. L. L'vova, I. V. Oktyabr'skaya, A. M. Sagalaev, M. S. Usmano-

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va and others).<sup>1</sup> However, until now, researchers have not reached a consensus on is the form in which the ancient Turks portrayed itself Umai.

One of the first attempts to isolate the image of Umai in the fine art of the ancient Turks can be considered as the study of the semantics of anthropomorphic images on Kudyrinski valun (boulder from Kudyrge) on Altai (**Figure 1**).<sup>2</sup> On the basis of this analysis were carried out and attempts to highlight these images (with attribution them as images Umai) on materials Sulekskaya pisanitsa (petroglyphs from Sulek in Khakasia) (**Figure 2**) and other.<sup>3</sup> The main argument in the definition of female figures as Umay images in these cases was the presence of women on their heads tricorn (three-prong) caps, crowns, which are attributed as a sign of holiness, tiaras deities, etc. The partial withdrawal of proof of supplies image data the scope of the iconography of the Umai (at the level of accumulation of fine materials) rightly pointed out at the time of A. S. Surazakov.<sup>4</sup>

1 W. Barthold, Die historische Bedeutung der alttürkischen Inschriften. Приложение к: *Radloff W. Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei. Neue Folge*, St.-Pbg. 1897; П. Мелиоранский, "Памятник в честь Кюль-Тегина", Записки Восточного отделения Русского археологического общества, СПб. 1899, Т. XII, Вып. II-III (P. Melioranskiy, "Pamyatnik v Ches't' Kyul-Tegina", *Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniya Russkogo Arheologicheskogo Obshchestva*, SPb. 1899, T. XII, Vyp. II-III); А. В. Анохин, "Материалы по шаманству у алтайцев, собранные во время путешествий по Алтаю в 1910-1912 гг. по поручению Русского комитета для изучения Средней и Восточной Азии", Сборник музея антропологии и этнографии АН СССР, Т. IV, Вып. 2, Л. 1924 (A. V. Anohin, "Materialy po Shamanstvu u Altaytsev, Sobrannie vo Vremya Puteshestviy po Altayu v 1910-1912 gg. po Porucheniyu Russkogo Komiteta dlya Izhcheniya Sredney i Vostochnoy Azii", *Sbornik Muzeya Antropologii i Etnografii AN SSSR*, T. IV, Vyp. 2, L. 1924); А. В. Анохин, "Душа и ее свойства по представлениям телеутов", Сборник музея антропологии и этнографии АН СССР, Т. VIII, Л. 1929 (A. V. Anohin, "Dusha i ee svoystva po Predstavleniyam Teleutov", *Sbornik Muzeya Antropologii i Etnografii AN SSSR*, T. VIII, L. 1929); Н. П. Дыренкова, "Умай в культуре турецких племен", Культура и письменность Востока, Кн. III, Баку 1928 (N. P. Direnkova, "Umay v Kul'te Turetskikh Plemen", *Kul'tura i Pismennost' Vostoka*, Kn. III, Baku 1928); Л. Э. Каруновская, "Представления алтайцев о Вселенной", Советская этнография, 1935, N 4-5 (L. E. Karunovskaya, "Predstavleniya Altaytsev o Vselennoy", *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, 1935, N. 4-5); Л. П. Потапов, "Умай – божество древних тюрков в свете этнографических данных", Тюркологический сборник 1972, М. 1973 (L. P. Potapov, "Umay – Bojestvo Drevnih Tyurkov v Svete Etnograficheskikh Dannih", *Tyurkologicheskii Sbornik 1972*, M. 1973); С. М. Абрамзон, Киргизы и их этногенетические и историко-культурные связи, Кыргызстан, Фрунзе 1990 (S. M. Abramzon, *Kirgizi i ih Etnogeneticheskie i Istoriko-Kul'turnie Svyazi*, Kirgizstan, Frunze 1990); Н. А. Баскаков, "Душа в древних верованиях тюрков Алтая (термины, их значение и этимология)", Советская этнография, 1973, N 5 (N. A. Baskakov, "Dusha v Drevnih Verovaniyakh Tyurkov Altaya (Termini, ih Znachenie i Etimologiya)", *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, N. 5, 1973); Н. А. Алексеев, Ранние формы религии тюркоязычных народов Сибири, Наука, Новосибирск 1980 (N. A. Alekseev, *Rannie Formy Religii Tyurkozazychnih Narodov Sibiri*, Nauka, Novosibirsk 1980); Н. А. Алексеев, Шаманизм тюркоязычных народов Сибири, Наука, Новосибирск 1984 (N. A. Alekseev, *Shamanizm Tyurkozazychnih Narodov Sibiri*, Nauka, Novosibirsk 1984); Ф. Т. Валеев, Западно-сибирские татары во второй половине XIX – начале XX в. Историко-этнографические очерки, Таткнигиздат, Казань 1980 (F. T. Valeev, *Zapadno-Sibirskie Tatars vo Vtoroy Polovine XIX- Nacale XXv. Istoriko-Etnograficheskie Oчерki*, Kazan' 1980); В. Я. Бутанаев, "Культ богини Умай у хакасов", Этнография народов Сибири, Новосибирск 1984 (V. Ya. Butanaev, "Kul't Bogini Umay u Hakasov", *Etnografiya Narodov Sibiri*, Novosibirsk 1984); В. Я. Бутанаев, "Хакасская народная медицина", Генезис и эволюция этнических культур Сибири, Новосибирск 1986 (V. Ya. Butanaev, "Hakasskaya Narodnaya Meditsina", *Genesiz i Evolyutsiya Etnicheskikh Kul'tur Sibiri*, Novosibirsk 1986); В. Я. Бутанаев, "Воспитание маленьких детей у хакасов", Традиционное воспитание детей у народов Сибири, Л. 1988 (V. Ya. Butanaev, "Vospitanie Malen'kih Detey u Hakasov", *Traditsionnoe Vospitanie Detey u Narodov Sibiri*, L. 1988); Э. Л. Львова-И. В. Октябрьская-А. М. Сагалаев-М. С. Усманова, Традиционное мировоззрение тюрков Южной Сибири. Пространство и время. Вещный мир, Наука, Новосибирск 1988 (E. L. Lvova-I. V. Oktyabr'skaya-A. M. Sagalaev-M. S. Usmanova, *Traditsionnoe Mirovozzrenie Tyurkov Yujnoy Sibiri. Prostranstvo i Vremya. Veshny Mir*, Nauka, Novosibirsk 1988).

2 С. Суразаков, "К семантике изображений на Кудыргинском валуне", Этнокультурные процессы в Южной Сибири и Центральной Азии в I-II тысячелетии н. э., Кемерово 1994. с. 45-55 (A. S. Surazakov, "K Semantike Izobrajeniy na Kudyrnginskom Valune", *Etnokul'turnie Protsessi v Yujnoy Sibiri i Tsentralnoy Azii v I-II Tysyachetii n.e.*, Kemerovo 1994, pp. 44-55).

3 Ю. С. Худяков, "Шаманизм и мировые религии у кыргызов в эпоху средневековья", Традиционные верования и быт народов Сибири, Новосибирск 1987. с. 69 (Yu. S. Hudyakov, "Shamanizm i Mirovie Religii u Kirgizov v Epohu Srednevekov'ya", *Traditsionnoe Verovaniya i Bit Narodov Sibiri*, Novosibirsk 1987, p. 69).

4 Суразаков, с. 51-54 (Surazakov, pp. 51-54).

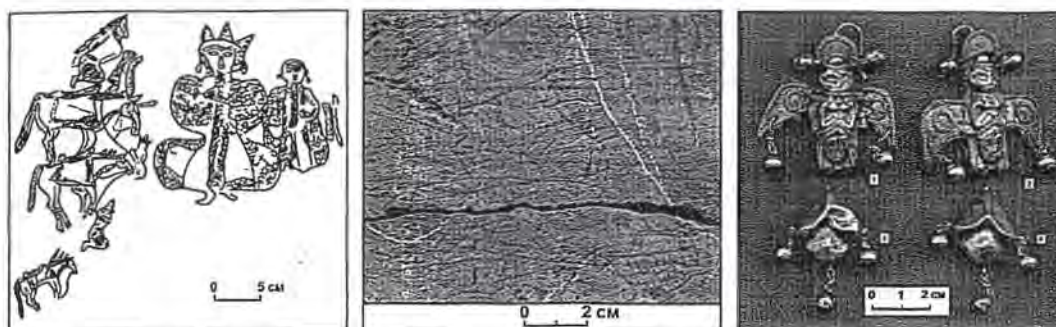


Figure 1: The images on the Kudyrġinski valun (boulder from Kudyrge) (by: A. Surazakov, 1994).

Figure 2: Women's Image in tricorn hats on Sulekskaya pisanitsa – (photo made by the author; images are shown by arrows).

Figure 3: Earrings with the image of the goddess Umai and hollow diamond-shaped pendants with a picture of a trefoil burial mound N 7 Koybaly: 1–2. Earrings, 3–4. Pendants to earrings (gold, silver).

Much more confident about how depicted Umai at the Sayan-Altai Turks in the High Middle Ages, it is possible on the basis of the interpretation of material from a woman's burial (number 7) mound burial Koybaly on the river Abakan, we excavated and dated IX–X centuries. Here were found two gold rings (with details in silver) in the form of identical images of winged women: they were accompanied by two suspension of similar materials in the form of diamonds with relief maps trefoil (Figure 3). We have already analyzed the details of these items. It is established that the canonical images of women pose has been widely reflected in the stone sculptures of the Turks. Wings – a necessary accessory of the deity, and a halo above his head – a sign of holiness, which is characteristic for a number of world religions, including the well-known and among the Turks. In the bowl of consecrated milk (in the hands of women) are stored embryos souls of men and animals, and gold and silver beads – they are symbols of embryos souls of living beings. Shamrock – common in many nations of the Old World tree symbol of life and fertility. Gold hollow diamond-shaped pendants are very similar to the storage bags for newborns umbilical cords (known up to now in Sayan-Altai Turks: Sagayts and Beltysr these sacs called "Umai"). Thus, all of the elements of the image fully comply with both the appearance and meaning of the image Turkic fertility goddess Umai.<sup>5</sup>

Unfortunately, such a complete set of "divine" attributes do not carry other images the ancient time that some authors are considered to belong to the sphere of the iconography of the Umai. Not reflected in the number of attributes of the deity on earrings burial Koybaly and tricorn (three-fold) headdress, tiara, based on the presence of which the individual authors conducted a number of women's attribution of images to the image of Umai. However, the main features of Umai – the wings. Recall that Umai in representations of modern Turkic-speaking peoples of the Sayan-Altai Moun-

5 С. Г. Скобелев, "Подвески с изображением древнетюркской богини Умай", Советская археология, 1990, N 2, с. 226-233 (S. G. Skobelev, "Podveski s Izobrajeniem Drevnetyurkskoj Bogini Umai", *Sovetskaya Arheologiya*, 1990, N. 2, pp. 226-233); С. Г. Скобелев, "Изображение божества Умай на подвесках из могильника Койбалы", Первобытное искусство. Семантика древних образов, Новосибирск 1990, с.152-159 (S. G. Skobelev, "Izobrajenie Bojestva Umai na Podveskah iz Mogil'nika Koybaly", *Pervobitnoe Iskusstvo. Semantika Drevnih Obrazov*, Novosibirsk 1990, pp.152-159.); С. Г. Скобелев, "Вариации принадлежности понятия "кут" у тюрков Сибири и Средней Азии в эпоху средневековья", Сибирь в панораме тысячелетий, Новосибирск 1998, с. 534-542 (S. G. Skobelev, "Variantsi Prinadlejnostey Popyatiya «Kut» u Tyurkov Sibiri i Sredney Azii v Epohu Srenevekov'ya", *Sibir v Panorame Tysyaçeletiy*, Novosibirsk 1998, pp. 534-542.); С. Г. Скобелев, "Курган N 7 могильника Койбалы – уникальный памятник древнетюркской культуры с территории Западного Присаянья", Памятники культуры древних тюрков в Южной Сибири и Центральной Азии, Новосибирск 1999, с.129-149. (S. G. Skobelev, "Kurgan N 7 Mogil'nika Koybaly – Unikal'nyy Pamyatnik Drevnetyurkskoj Kul'turi s Territorii Zapadnogo Prisayan'ya", *Pamyatniki Kul'turi Drevnih Tyurok v Ujnoj Sibiri i Tsentral'noy Azii*, Novosibirsk 1999, pp.129-149.)

tains – is a fabulous bird that nests in the air, beautiful woman descending from the sky, mother-bird, etc. Although in people's old bird traits that image faded, remained very granted that Umai must be wings to dwell in heaven. In the Kyrgyz Tien Shan "Umai" – it's also a fabulous bird that nests in the air. Separate groups Khakases generally seen in the image of Umai white or blue bird that brought the child flesh and blood. The preferential representation of the goddess Umai in the form of a bird or a winged woman directly related to the fact that in the mythological systems of Eurasia is the bird has been the main intermediary between the two opposing realms of the universe - the "upper and lower" worlds.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to our findings wings shown on only one of the female images relating to the Middle Ages (when it is necessary to distinguish the winged creatures found in the taiga zone of the Urals and Western Siberia and relating to other cultural traditions – is the image on the Sasanian silver dishes, apparently, local bronze cult casting, etc.).<sup>7</sup> The subject comes from a number of random finds in the steppe zone of the Sayan-Altai (found on the Yenisei River near the village Aeshka, Novoselovo district), ie, in the traditional places of residence of the population of Turkic ethnic circle. It is stored in the Minousinsk museum two halves of the object to store needles. Needle cases such as fish are widespread in the steppe nomadic environment in the Tang Dynasty and Liao.<sup>8</sup> They are identical to the image on the belt woman in a headdress in the form of a tricorn-crown tiara. Crown has the off to the side and a few hanging down two additional beam. Showing the locks of hair on either side of a broad and flattened face. The woman lush swing style clothing robe. In his hands, folded on his chest, a woman, apparently holding an object. Behind the back shows the wings that look different than the earrings from the burial ground Koybaly: they are much smaller in size and their ends are folded down, as on earrings, and raised up (Figure 4).

Due to this fact, there is good reason to believe that this is also the image Umai, only made in a slightly different manner. Possible interpretation of it as a display of the Buddha seated on a lotus (or some other Buddhist character). But such an assumption can be based only on the general shape of the image, the design of which carried no doubt strongly influenced by Buddhist motifs in fine art. In addition to the above, one can also note that we have taken for the locks of hair two subjects on both sides of the woman's face may be the transfer characteristic of the Buddhist image of large ears of anthropomorphic characters. Image of a hat and type of clothing women in this Pincushion and demeanor in his hands at chest level, an object (a cup or poultry), in general, the same type that we can see on the Kudyrinski valun.

6 М. И. Боргояков, "Об одном древнейшем мифологическом сюжете, его эволюции и отражении в фольклоре народов Евразии", Вопросы древней истории Южной Сибири, Абакан 1984, с. 139-140 (M. I. Borogoyakov, "Ob Odnom Drevneyšem Mifologičesom Syujete, ego Evolyutsii i Otrajenii v Fol'klоре Narodov Evrazii", *Voprosi Drevney İstorii Yujnoy Sibiri*, Abakan 1984, p. 138-140); Потанов, с. 276-277 (Potarov, pp. 276-277.); Алексеев, 1980, с. 149-150 (Alekseev, 1980, pp. 149-150.); Абрамзон, с. 295 (Abramzon, p. 295.); Бутанаев, 1984, с. 97 (Butanaev, 1984, p. 97.); В. В. Иванов-В. Н. Топоров, "Птица", Мифы народов мира, М. 1982, с. 346-349 (V. V. Ivanov-V. N. Toporov, "Ptitsa", *Mifi Narodov Mira*, М. 1982, p. 346-349).

7 К. В. Тревер-В. Г. Луконин, Сасанидское серебро. Художественная культура Ирана III-VIII веков, Искусство, М. 1987, рис. 57-58 (K. V. Trever-V. G. Lukonin, *Sasanidskoe Serebro. Hudojstvennaya Kul'tura İrana III-VIII vekov*, İskusstvi M. 1987, fig. 57-58); Г. М. Буров, "Бронзовые культовые плакетки западносибирского стиля на европейском Северо-Востоке", Западная Сибирь в эпоху средневековья, Томск 1984, с. 32-45 (G. M. Burov, "Bronzovie Kul'tovie Plaketki Zapadnosibirskogo Stilya na Evropeyskom Severo-Vostoke", *Zapadnaya Sibir v Epohu Srednevekov'ya*, Tomsk 1984, pp. 32-45).

8 О. А. Митько, "Средневековые игольники", Проблемы средневековой археологии Южной Сибири и сопредельных территорий, Новосибирск 1991 (O. A. Mit'ko, "Srednevekovie İgol'niki", *Problemi Srednevekovoy Arheologii Yujnoy Sibiri i Sopredel'nyh Territorii*, Novosibirsk 1991).

Thus, we can assume that Umai in the Middle Ages could sometimes depicted without a halo. On her head she could be in the form of a hat tricorn (three-fold) tiara. But it could be a tiara of five horns (five rays). At the same time, Umai could be dressed in a magnificent swing style clothing coat (on earrings from the burial ground Koybaly no signs of wear at Umai is not available). In this case, the number of image features Umai is may be increased. This will include a hat with three or five horns (rays), as well as lush and loose clothing such as a robe. According to these indicators of a woman on a Kudryginski valun be considered within the scope of the iconography of the Umai (Figure 4). Does not contradict this assumption, and the whole point of the overall composition of the images on Kudyrge boulder (the worship of a high-ranking people in females), which some authors considered only in terms of reflecting the social relations in the ancient society.<sup>9</sup>

Interesting finds from excavations in 1995-1996 the Medieval burial ground Syuttyu-Bulak-1 in Kyrgyzstan can talk about this more confident.<sup>10</sup> Here, among other things, there are two bony plates. In one battle scene shows – Turks with distinctive hairstyles in long braids shoot bows and swords hack. On the other plate is given a depiction of women in tricorn (three-fold) tiara. She is dressed in a robe type of garment swing and accepts the worship of men, which is depicted in exactly the same style as the Turks engaged in the battle scene. The nature of the scene (a large picture of a woman and a small image of a man, apparently a woman worshiper) undoubtedly conveys a picture of a man worshipping a high-ranking individuals (being). This fully corresponds to what can be observed on the Kudryginski valun: a large image of a woman in a tiara and similar clothing and small images of people who worship this woman, one of them – a man, a characteristic of the Turks hair in long braids (Figure 5).

Probably, in these two cases, we are dealing with the canonical storyline, which can be interpreted as the worship of the people no one high-ranking substantially. Since in

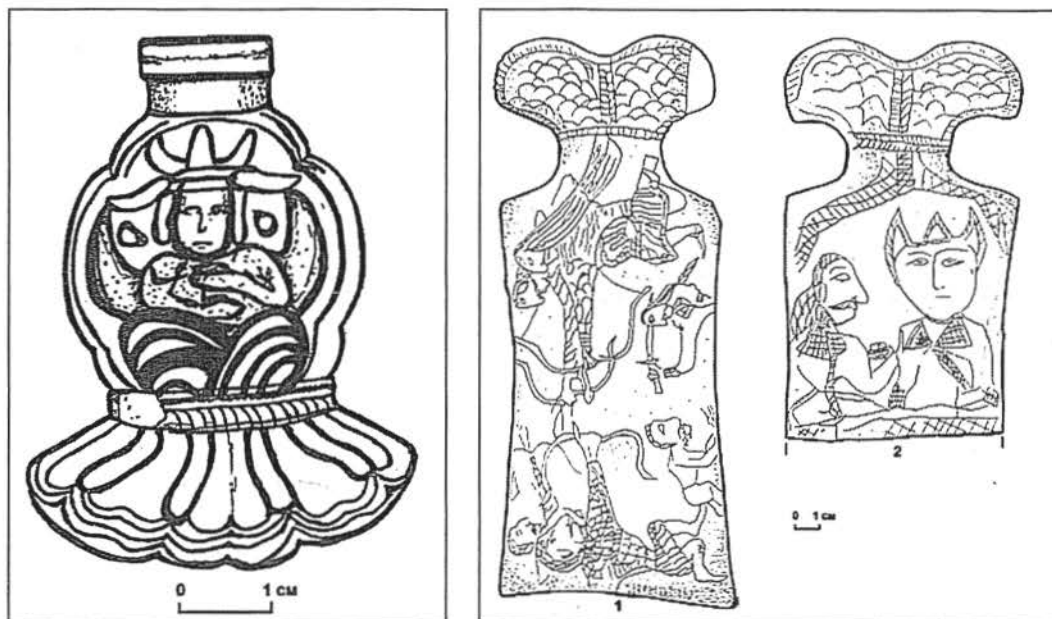


Figure 4: Half needler with the image of a woman with wings of funds Minusinsk museum (bronze).

Figure 5: The images on the bone plates (1-2) of the burial mound N 54 Syuttyu-Bulak-1 (by: B. Anke, M. I. Moskalev, O. A. Soltobaev, K. S. Tabaldiev, 1997).

<sup>9</sup> Суразаков, с. 45 (Surazakov, p. 45).

<sup>10</sup> B. Anke-M. I. Moskalev-O. A. Soltobaev-K. S. Tabaldiev, "Ausgrabungen auf dem Graberfeld von Süttü-Bulak, Raj. Kockorka, Kyrgyzstan", *Eurasia Antiqua. Zeitschrift für Archäologie Eurasiens*, Band 3, 1997.

both cases, this role is played by a woman, depicted with a number of characteristic features, it is believed that this is the goddess Umai. Accordingly, it has been suggested to belong to the sphere of the iconography of this image other similar images of women in characteristic tricorn (three-prong) tiara areas of settlement of Turks in the Middle Ages also receive greater thoroughness.

The fact that the ancient Turks Umai could sometimes portrayed as a woman, and without wings, indirectly said information ethnography of modern Turkic-speaking peoples of the Sayan-Altai. And now they have a goddess Umai appears in anthropomorphic form, and in the form of a bird, and in the form of their compounds, ie, winged woman, female-birds. So Khakases Umai – plump, gray-haired old lady, while at the same time, it is not visible to people and is always in the sky among white clouds, from which follows the birth of children and protect them from disease. She may have a golden wings. Teleuts presented May-Aine (ie, the mother of Umai) in the form of a young, beautiful women (and sometimes girls) with wavy, silver hair that descends from the heavens on a rainbow. In general, the Sayan-Altai Turks were Umai's mother in the form of a beautiful woman coming down from the sky.<sup>11</sup>

But it is known a situation where Umai portrayed as dolls made of birch bark with braids of white horsehair (Sagayts – hemp), pupae of fabric with small bow and arrow (such as Kachintses). Umai image could symbolize white cloth or bark cradle with a doll-baby (such as Teleuts and parts of Shors) and stitched together two fox pelts or bundles of beads (as, for example, the majority of Khakases), white hare skin (as, for example, in the Altai kind of Kipchaks portrayed Dayyk Umai). Sometimes, however, it appeared just as the bow and arrow (as, for example, part of the Shors, including those living on the territory of Khakassia), or a bow without arrows (as, for example, among many others Shors).<sup>12</sup>

It is well known that the ancient Turkic ethnic groups have never been closed, isolated. They are constantly in contact with the various neighboring civilizations, nations and peoples, seeing their religious beliefs, including the Buddhists, Christians and followers of Mani.<sup>13</sup> Because of this they went fast development of their own culture. In such a moving and sensitive environment could not be strict canonization associated,

<sup>11</sup> Потапов, с. 276-277 (Potapov, pp. 276-277.); Алексеев, 1980, с. 149-150; Бутанаев, 1984, с. 139-140 (Butanaev, 1984, pp. 139-140).

<sup>12</sup> Бутанаев, 1984, с. 103 (Butanaev, 1984, p. 103); Бутанаев, 1988, с. 212 (Butanaev, 1988, p. 212); Алексеев, 1980, с.156-159 (Alekseev, 1980, pp. 156-159); Алексеев, 1984, с. 31, 40 (Alekseev, 1984, p. 31,40); Л. Р. Павлинская, "Игрушка и мир ребенка в традиционных культурах Сибири", Традиционное воспитание детей у народов Сибири, Л. 1988, с. 243 (L. R. Pavlinskaya, "İgruşka i Mir Rebenka v Traditsionnih Kul'turah Sibiri", *Traditsionnoe Vospitanie Detey u Narodov Sibiri*, L. 1988, s. 243); Л. Э. Каруновская, "Из алтайских верований и обрядов, связанных с ребенком", Сборник музея антропологии и этнографии АН СССР, Вып. VI, Л. 1927, с. 20-28 (L. E. Karunovskaya, "İz Altayskih Verovaniy i Obryadov, Svyazannih s Rebenkom", *Sbornik Muzeya Antropologii i Etnografii AN SSSR*, Vip VI, L. 1927, pp. 20-28); Потапов, с. 274-276 (Potapov, pp. 274-276.); Е. С. Новик, Обряд и фольклор в сибирском шаманизме, Наука, М. 1984, с. 195-197 (E. S. Novik, *Obryad i Fol'klor v Sibirskom Şamanizme*, Nauka, M. 1984, pp. 195-197).

<sup>13</sup> А. von Gabain, "Buddhistische Turkenmission", *Asiatica. Festschrift F. Weller*, Leipzig 1954. s. 161-173; Л. Р. Кызласов, История Тувы в средние века, Изд-во МГУ, М. 1969 (L. R. Kızlasov, *İstoriya Tuvi v Srednie Veka*, İzd.-vo MGU, M. 1969); Ю. П. Алехин, "Мировые религии и мировоззрение народов Южной Сибири в VIII-X вв.", Сибирь в панораме тысячелетий, Новосибирск 1998 (Yu. P. Alehin, "Mirovie Religii i Mirovozzrenie Narodov Yujnoy Sibiri v VIII-X vv.", *Sibir v Panorame Tysyaçetiy*, Novosibirsk 1998); С. Г. Скобелев, "Христианство и манихейство у енисейских кыргызов в развитии и позднем средневековье", Сибирь на перекрестье мировых религий. Материалы третьей межрегиональной научно-практической конференции, посвященной памяти выдающегося ученого и педагога, специалиста по библеистике, профессора НГУ Михаила Иосифовича Рижского, Новосибирск 2006 (S. G. Skobelev, "Hristianstvo i Maniheystvo u Eniseyskih Kırgızov v Razvitom i Pozdнем Srednevekov'e", *Sibir na Perelkrest've Mirovih Religiy. Materiali Tre'tey Mejregional'noy Nauçno-Praktičeskoj Konferentsii, Posvyashennoy Pamyati Vıdayuşhegosya Uçenogo i Pedagoga, Spetsialista po Bibleistike, Professora NGU Mihaila İosifoviça Rijskogo*, Novosibirsk 2006)

for example, with the requirement of the image of the goddess Umai only one form of the established ritual. To some extent, confirming the possibility of the existence of diversity in the iconography of the Umai in the culture of the ancient Turks, and are presented and analyzed above facts. Thus, the situation with the cult of the goddess Umai the ancient and the modern Turks, the variety of types and methods of the image is one of the clearest illustrations of fact the ancient cultural phenomenon, the study of which is only in its initial stages.

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