

BABA TÜKLI AND THE SWAN GIRL. LEGITIMISING ELEMENTS IN THE TURKIC EPIC EDIGE

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The present article deals with two legitimising elements to be found in the Turkic epic cycle Edige. According to oral tradition Edige's genealogy goes back to Angšībay who married a heavenly swan girl thus laying foundation to the Manghit clan. But in the same oral tradition Edige's forefather is identified with a Muslim saint (*walī* or *awliyā*) called Baba Tükles. The article tries to analyse the process of linking the Muslim tradition of Baba Tükles, who in written sources appears as the Islamiser of the Golden Horde, to a pre-Islamic tradition about the superiority of a clan originating from a heavenly swan girl. Similarly to folklore and oral tradition, modern religious traditions also display the elements of Islamised folk belief and Central Asian Muslim (e.g. Sufi) traditions, where worshipping ancestor spirits is often intermingled with the respect for Muslim saints who were Islamisers or Sufi practitioners. Some historical and ethnographical data are presented to elucidate the parallel processes that took place in folklore and religious traditions.

Key words: Edige epic, Baba Tükli, oral tradition, religious traditions, Muslim saints, Sufism, heavenly swan girl, legitimisation.

The so-called 'Forty Heroes of Crimea' (Kazak *qırımning qiriq batiri*) is a widespread epic cycle in the oral tradition of the Kipchak Turkic peoples. The most significant epic of this cycle is that of Edige. It is well known not only among the Nogays, but it also has Karakalpak, Kazak, Bashkir and Kazan-Tatar versions. Edige or Edigü (1352–1419) was a historical figure from the Mongolic Mangghit clan who, after fighting the khan of the Jochi Ulus, Toktamış (died in 1406), founded the Nogay Horde around 1391 between the Yaik (Ural) and Edil (Volga) Rivers (Golden 1992, p. 324).

Historical Background

By 1378 Toktamış had seized the throne of the White Horde in Sygnak (eastern part of the Jochi Ulus or Golden Horde) with the help of Temür beg Küregen (Persian Amīr Tīmūr). Following Muscovite Russian victory in the Battle of Kulikovo (1380) by the Don River over Mamay, warlord and ruler of Crimea, in 1382 Toktamış managed to defeat the weakened Crimean ruler thus he took the western part of the Golden Horde also under his control. With his power more secure Toktamış turned against his former ally, Temür, and occupied the town of Ürgench (1387), but Temür beg's troops soon drove him out. Temür launched a major revenge expedition in 1391 having allied with Temür-Kutlug, the son of Urus (the former khan of the Golden Horde). Also joining this union was Edige who strove for more magnificence for his Nogay Horde. Not far from the modern town of Samara (Russia) Temür and his allies defeated Toktamış by the River Kondurcha, and Edige gained a measure of independence becoming Amir of the Nogay Horde while Temür-Kutlug was elected Khan of the Great Horde (Golden Horde). Toktamış soon recovered from this defeat and attacked Shirwan (Modern Azerbaijan) in 1394, but Temür Amir once again defeated him, this time by the Terek River (North of the Caucasus) in 1396 and then raided and destroyed many regions and towns (Crimea, Don, Azov, Kuban, Dagestan, Edil or Volga Region: Haji-Tarkan/Astrakhan, Yangi-Sarai) of the Golden Horde. Subsequently, in the course of the 15th century the Golden Horde fragmented into the Great Horde, Özbek Horde, Nogay Horde, Kazan, and Crimea.

Although Temür-Kutlug was the khan of the Great Horde from 1397 to 1400, real power rested in the hands of the main *wazīr* (commander) of the army, Edige. Following his defeat at the Terek River, Toktamış fled to the Sibir Khanate whence he sent envoys to Temür to make peace. But Temür soon died (1405) and Toktamış followed him one year later (Golden 1992, pp. 300–301). Two more puppet khans were elected over the Great Horde, Shadibek and Bolat, while Edige managed to unite the western territories of the Golden Horde. In 1410 the son of Temür-Kutlug suddenly seized the throne from Bolat khan and turned against Edige. Edige fled to Khwārazm (Khorezm). Within the Great Horde the sons of Toktamış vied for power with the support of either the Lithuanians or Edige. Eventually the Lithuanian ally Jabbārberdi (Toktamış's son) defeated Edige who fled to the Crimea and later died in a battle by the Yaik (Ural) River in Saraichyk (1419). As the Golden Horde fell once again into turmoil, Kazan and the Crimea used the opportunity to forge their own autonomy as well.

Edige as an Epic Hero

Edige not only gained independence for the Nogay Horde but also became a legendary hero in the territory of the former Golden Horde. His fame led to the formation of an oral tradition about Edige and his fight with Toktamış. This oral tradition, of course, differs greatly from historical events as found in written sources. Turkic

peoples of Inner Asia usually had epic traditions about mythic heroes (e.g. Manas, Alpamysh), but in the Nogay epic tradition historical figures became the heroes of epic stories (Edige, Chora) (Zhirmunskii 1974, p. 360). Many mythic elements and epic motifs mixed with historical events but these epics had an important role to legitimise the power of a dynasty or ruling clan among the nomads.

We can find these legitimising elements also in Edige's genealogy (Reichl 2007, pp. 112–115). According to Kazak oral tradition¹ Edige's genealogy is the following:

Angšibay = Baba Tükti-šaštī aziz
Par-Pariya
Kutti-Kiya
Edige

According to Nogay tradition² Edige's genealogy is slightly different:

Bar-Kaya = Baba Tükli or Tükles
Kutli-Kaya
Edige

Baba Tükli

But who is this primogenitor, Baba Tükli or Tükles? He is a legendary saint (*walī*) whose name is recorded in historical sources as an Islamiser who converted the khan of the Golden Horde, Özbek (1313–1341), to Islam.³ Devin DeWeese (1994) dedicated a book to Baba Tükles and his role in historical and oral tradition to analyse the Islamisation of the Golden Horde (see also Reichl 2007, pp. 104–106). The most important written source about Baba Tükli is a chronicle by Ötemiş Hājī from the 1550s (DeWeese 1994, pp. 142–158 and Hofman 1969, pp. 72–74).

The Story of Özbek Khan's Conversion to Islam (DeWeese 1994, pp. 541–543)

The aforementioned khan [Özbek] – peace be upon him – was a great ruler. When he had ruled for several years, he became a Muslim through the favor of God most high.

¹ According to Sengirbekov Murīn jīraw's version, see Nurmagambetov (1989, pp. 46, 70).

² According to Kumukov Isxak yīraw's version, where Edige was born from an *albasli* (demon) girl and was fed by a bitch (Sheykhaliev 1991, pp. 18–21).

³ We do not know for sure if Baba Tükles was a sufi or not. The Ötemiş Hājī narrative calls Baba Tükles a saint, and he performs the *dhikr*. His image comes to be heavily shaped by Sufism, but there are other kinds of saints, e.g. Islamisers.

The cause of Özbek Khan's [conversion to] Islam was [that] inspiration came from God most high to four saints (Arabic *walī*)⁴ from among the saints of that age:

– Go and summon Özbek to Islam!

And by the command of God most high they came to the court (*eşik* = door) of Özbek Khan and sat outside [his] royal court (*korug*). It is related [that] the infidel and diviners of the unbelievers used to display such wonder to the Khan: they would bring a large bowl⁵ [full of honey] and place it before the Khan's assembly, and would prepare the vessel⁶ and pitchers;⁷ (A ferment made from) honey⁸ would be poured into the vessel and the [product] strained into the pitcher, and they would give the essence from the pitcher to him. The Khan considered all his sorcerers as advisors (*šayx*), and, seating them at his side, he paid them great respect and honor.

But one day [something unusual happened]. When the [saints] came and seated [themselves], the Khan, as on any other day, in observance of the custom of the assembly, came with his advisors, and all of them sat down. As on any other day, his goblet (*paymāna*) and the honey were brought and placed before the vessel and the pitcher. Quite a long time has passed, during which no honey was poured into the vessel as was usual, nor was the honey strained into the pitcher [as was custom]. The Khan said to his advisors of his:

– Why has this honey been left in abeyance?

The advisors [shamans] said:

– Probably a Muhammadan has come near, and this is his sign.

The Khan commanded:

– Go and look beyond the royal reserve! And if there is a Muhammadan, bring him [here]!

The servants went out investigated beyond the royal reserve. They saw [that] outside the royal reserve four persons of a different appearance were seated with their heads cast down. The servants said:

– What kind of people are you?

They said:

– [Take] us into the Khan's presence!

⁴ The Arabic *walī* means 'friend' and the idiom *walī-ul-lāh* 'Allah's friend' was used for the leaders of Sufi orders. Its plural form *awliyā* means 'Muslim saint' in Central Asian Turkic languages (Somfai 2008, p. 41).

⁵ Chaghatai Turkic *šapčak*, Nogay *šapšak*; this word is still used in Nogay as a 'little barrel for honey' (Baskakov 1963, p. 405, *bal šapšak* 'kaduška dlja mēda').

⁶ Chaghatai *čorjatī* probably derives from Mongol *čorjo* 'tube' with a *-tu* attributive suffix. Mongol *čorjotu* probably means 'something with a tube' or a 'sort of drinking straw'.

⁷ Chaghatai *dostīyan* is related to Kazak *tostagan* 'wooden cup'.

⁸ Bashkir *bal* (Uraksin 1993, p. 111) is 'an alcoholic drink fermented from honey or sugar'.

And they brought them [there]. The Khan's gaze settled upon them, and because God most high illuminated the Khan's heart with the light of guidance, an attraction and affection appeared in his heart toward these whom he saw. He asked:

– What kind of people are you, and on what business have you come?

They said:

– We are Muhammadans, and we have come by the command of God most high in order to make you a Muslim.

At this moment the Khan's advisors cried out saying:

– These are bad people; one should kill them rather than speak [with them]!

The Khan said:

– Why would I kill them? I am a ruler (Persian *pādšāh*); I have no cause for alarm from any of you. Whoever's religion may be true, I will be with him; if their religion is not true, why was your work today confounded and left without effect? [So] debate with one another; whoever among you has the religion that is true, I will follow him.

These two parties fell into discussion with one another, and together made much turmoil and contention. At last they gave him their decision: they would dig two oven-pits (Persian *tannūr*) and fire up each one with ten cartloads of tamarisk (Chagatay *söksewük*)⁹ [wood]. One person from among the shamans would enter one oven, and one person among these [saints] would enter the other oven. Whoever emerges without being burned, his religion will be true, they resolved.

The next morning they dug two great oven-pits; they gathered tamarisk wood and heated them up. They assigned one to the shamans and the other to the Muslims. These saints (Arabic *'azīz*) were solicitous for one another [saying]:

– Which of us shall go in?

One of them was called Baba Tükles (Tögeles), because all of his limbs were covered with body hair (Turkic *tük*). He said:

– Give me permission; let me go in. You fix your attention on me.

The [other] saints recited the *fātiha* [giving blessing] on his behalf. [Then] that Baba Tükles said:

– Prepare armor (*jibe*)¹⁰ for me.

[And] when they had prepared the armor, he put it on over his bare flesh. Then he began to recite the remembrance (*talqīn*) of God

⁹ The Chaghatai word *söksewük* or *söksewül*, Kazak *seksewil*, Kirghiz *söksööl* derive from Mongol verb *segse-* 'to be fuzzy' (e.g. Mongol *segseger* 'fuzzy'). The Mongolic *segsegül/segsewül** can also be derived from that if we add the deverbal suffix *-gül/wül* (compare *qara-γul*, *qara-wul* 'guard').

¹⁰ The Mongolic word *jibe* can be found only in Doerfer's dictionary as 'cuirass of chain mail'. Not to be confused with Mongol *jebe* 'head of arrow' (see Doerfer 1963, pp. 284–286).

most high, and moved toward the oven. They say [that] the Baba's body hair stood straight up and came out the eyelets of the armor; everyone saw this phenomenon. He walked [on] and entered the oven. [And] they brought the flesh of a sheep and hung it over the oven, and fastened its opening.

Now we have come to the story of the shamans. The shamans took out one among them by force and threw him into the oven; as soon as he fell in, the ashes [of his body] turned blue and green and the flames [from his body] came out of the mouth of the oven.

When all the people, beginning with the Khan, saw this phenomenon, their hearts turned away from the infidel religion and inclined to the Muslim way.

And the voice of the Baba uttering [his] recitation came uninterruptedly out of the [other] oven. When it was presumed that the sheep's flesh was fully cooked, they opened the mouth of the oven; [and] Baba, wiping the sweat from his blessed face, came out of the oven; saying:

– Why did you hurry? If you had held off for a time, my business would have been finished.

They saw that the armor was glowing red hot; by the power of God most high not a hair of the Baba's body was burned. When all the people, beginning with the Khan, saw this situation, they at once grasped hold of the hems of the sheikhs'¹¹ [garments] and became Muslims; and praised be to Allah for the religion of Islam!¹²

Thus, Özbek nation (*tā'ifa*) became Muslim in the time of Berke Khan, [but] after him they apostatized and became infidels. [But] the great Özbek Khan became Muslim, and since then the Islam of the Özbek nation has not waned.

They say [that] Özbek Khan ruled for twenty years, and others say he ruled eighteen years. Then he attained the mercy of God: "Verily we are God's and unto Him do we return".¹³

As we have seen Baba Tükles¹⁴ – or Tükli (Sačli) in Central Asian folklore – is a Muslim saint whose legendary figure can be found in historical sources. In the

¹¹ Arabic word *shaykh* originally meant 'elderly man, clan leader' but Muslim religious leaders and teachers were also called by that name.

¹² Arabic text from the Qur'an using the well-known phrase *Al-hamdu li-llāhi* 'Praise be to Allah', see *Šūrat-al-Fātiha*, *Juz al-awwal* (First Part): 2nd verse.

¹³ Arabic text from the Qur'an, see *Šūrat-al-Baqara*, *Juz al-thānī* (Second Part): 156th verse.

¹⁴ The form of Tükles is somehow suspicious. The Turkic word *tük* 'hair' with a suffix *-les* is unlikely because there is no such suffix in Chagatai. We find his name simply with the attributive suffix *-li* in folklore texts (oral tradition) and sometimes *sač-li* 'hairy' is added too. Some scholars identify *-les* with the suffix *-leč* (DeWeese 1994, pp. 323–333). But why would Ötemiş Hājī use the form *-les* instead of the correct form? It is possible that his name was Tögeles which is a well-known Turkic clan in Inner Asia (Kirghiz *Döölös*, Altay *Töölös*, own fieldwork material 1995; see also Ligeti 1971, p. 205). The incorrect reading of this name (Tükeles/Tükles) could lead to the

Nogay and Kazak versions Baba Tükli appears as nickname for Angšibay or his son Par-Parīya (Bar-Kaya). In Edige's genealogy the belief that his mother was a swan (fairy) girl also has great significance. Let us see the Nogay version from Iskhak *yiraw*.¹⁵

Bar-Kaya became a grown-up. Most of the time he was hunting and fishing. So he rarely mixed with people but day and night stayed in the woods or by the riverside. Eventually Bar-Kaya's whole chest was covered by hair and he had long hair on his head, his beard covered his chest entirely. He was extremely strong. The people gave Bar-Kaya the name Baba Tükli Shashli aziz.

Once Bar-Kaya, who is called Tükles nowadays was catching fish with a net by Sekerli Lake. Suddenly nine swans landed on the shore of the lake. They landed, and what a miracle, as they flapped their wings they cast off their swan clothes and turned into nine beautiful ring-like, narrow-necked¹⁶ girls. When Bar-Kaya noticed them, he slowly approached to the lake and sneaked closer to them. All of the nine girls were most beautiful. They left their swan robes on the shore of the lake and went into the lake to swim. Bar-Kaya fell in love with one of them and carefully stole the swan robe of that girl. What did they do afterwards? Eight of them got dressed up turning into swans again and flew away. But that one remained behind crying. Bar-Kaya came out of the reed and started talking to the girl:

– I have fallen in love with you, if you leave me I shall die from grief. I have your clothes with me. I will give them back to you if you become my wife. The girl could not do anything so she said:

– Alright, I will be your wife, but once in a while you shall give back my clothes and grant me permission to visit my sisters.

– I agree – said Bar-Kaya. They got married, and afterwards Bar-Kaya kept hunting and fishing while his wife dried all that meat.

Many days had passed and the woman became pregnant. Once Bar-Kaya having returned from fishing he could not find his wife. A baby was crying in the tent (*kos*). He ran inside and found a new-born baby boy lying there. He looked for his wife and called her but she had disappeared. Then he checked the place where he was hiding the swan garment but the clothes were gone. Then Bar-Kaya realized that the swan girl had left forever. There was nothing he could do so Bar-Kaya took the baby and went to the nomadic camp (*awıl*). He gave the boy the name Kutlu-Kaya.

legend that the (Sufi saint) Baba's body was covered by hair (*tük*) and later various forms became known: Tük-les, Tük-li or Tük-li Sač-li.

¹⁵ It was recorded from Aji Iskhak *yiraw* (Kumuk-uli) from Ikon-xalk awılı by the Kuban River in 1920 (Sheykhaliev 1991, pp. 18–19).

¹⁶ In the Nogai text it literally says 'the swallowed water is visible in their throats'.

The story of 'heavenly swan girls giving birth to children' is a widespread motif among Inner Asian and Siberian (Eurasian) nomads.¹⁷ The most well-known version is the genealogical legend of the Khorī Buriats. The Khorī and Aga clans traditionally believed that they were the descendents of Khung-Shubuun *ežii* (Swan Bird mother).

The Khorī and Aga clans consider the swan as a holy bird and hunting it is a taboo. Similar kinds of genealogies can be found in written sources as well as in oral tradition of Inner Asia. Some members of the Kirghiz Bugu (deer) clan believe that they are descendents of Bugu *ene* (Deer mother). Bugu *ene*'s spirit is invoked even nowadays, people pray to her and make sacrifices to her.¹⁸

The legendary forefather of the Khorī and Aga Buriats, Khoriodoi *mergen* (hunter) married a swan girl, from whom the twelve clans of the Khorī Buriats descend. This story has been recorded by many scholars (see e.g. Khangalov 1958–1960, vol. 3, pp. 277–278), but I would like to present an unpublished version collected by Vilmos Diószegi in 1957 among the Bulagat Buriats.¹⁹

The *zayaan šubuun* spirit originates from the swan; it has a swan root spirit (*udxa*).²⁰ Three [swan] birds descended from heaven to bathe. When they were bathing [there] Khoriodoi *baabai* (grandfather) passed by close to that place. He noticed that three swans were bathing. The [swan] birds took off their clothes and turned into beautiful girls. Khoriodoi *baabai* crept over and hid the clothes of one of the girls. When they stopped bathing they noticed that the clothes of one were missing. The two (older) sisters could dress up and they were about to leave when they said:

– We told you to hurry up. We sensed the odor of a human being, but you are not listening.

Not having her [swan] clothes the youngest girl had to stay on the ground. Father Khoriodoi took the girl by the hand and brought her home. He did not give back her clothes but hid them. He married that beautiful girl. Then they lived together and they had nine children. Once that woman turned to Khoriodoi:

– Where are my old clothes? Bring them to me! – she said, but Khoriodoi did not bring them.

– Come on – she said, – I have given birth to nine of your children, where would I go?

¹⁷ In the Karakalpak version we find doves (*kepter*) instead of the swans, see Reichl (2007, p. 180) and Däwletnazarov – Bekmuratov (1990, p. 12).

¹⁸ My fieldwork material 2006, see Somfai (2008a, p. 49).

¹⁹ Informant Khadi Khankhaev, collected by Vilmos Diószegi, 1957, Bokhan, Ust'-Orda Buriat District, Irkutsk Province, Bulagat Buriat folder from the Manuscript Archive (Institute of Ethnology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest).

²⁰ Buriat *udxa* 'root spirit' can inherit ability and talent to people (e.g. shamanic ability), see Somfai (2008b, pp. 89–106).

Khoriodoi was making liquor from milk²¹ [at that time] but brought her clothes. The woman purified her body with the bark of Siberian Fir²² then put on her clothes. She became light and flew out of the smoke ring (*ürxe*). Khoriodoi tried to catch her but could not grab her feet.²³

– Well, Father Khoriodoi, raise our nine children [yourself]! – she said and left.

Father Khoriodoi remained there with his children. After [his wife] left he could not live without a wife for long. He got married again but this time to a real woman. Father Khoriodoi had altogether seven sons and seven daughters. The other daughters born from the second wife maltreated the two older daughters of Father Khoriodoi. They had to rub skin all the time. They had to rub and tan much skin so their hands had scars and bruises.

Later the two girls with [swan] bird *udxa* started to perform magic; they shamanized and sang [shamanic] songs. They did not know what would happen. Then came a lama and chased them to the northern side [of Lake Baikal]. After they reached the Northern side of the Lake they became *zayaan* spirits.²⁴

The motif of the swan girl is wide-spread all around the world (Uther 2004, p. 400). Among the people of Inner Asia it can be interpreted as the legitimisation of a clan. Buriats believe that Khoriodoi's clan is the ancestor clan of the Khori Buriat clans, because their children were born from a heavenly mother. The seven sons were the founders of the Khori's seven clans while the two girls inherited shamanistic abilities from heaven. They became female shamans (Buriat *udgan*) and later turned into helping spirits (Buriat *zayaan*).

In the case of Edige the forefather is also a hunter Angšibay (Kazak *angši* 'hunter'), sometimes replaced by Bar-Kaya or Par-Pariya. Their children also received spiritual power from the Swan mother. This legitimises the Mangghit clan and Edige who later became the head of the Nogay Horde. But we do not find data about their ability to make contact with the spiritual world (so-called shamanic ability).

About Sufism

Sufism (Arabic *taṣawwuf*) is a mystical tradition in Islam where practitioners (*ṣūfī* or *darwēš*) try to make spiritual contact with Allah. These practitioners reach an altered

²¹ Buriat *togoo šaba*- 'make liquor' and *togoonoī arxi* (Bulagat *arsi*) 'milk liquor'.

²² Abies Sibirica, Khori Buriat *žodoo*, Bulagat *yodoo*, Russian *pikhta*.

²³ In some versions Xoriodoi touches the legs of the swan with his dirty hands but it flies away. That is why swans have black legs (see Rumiantsev 1962, pp. 146–151).

²⁴ The *zayaan* spirits are spirits that influence the fate (*zayaan*) of the people (Manzhigeev 1978, p. 52).

state of consciousness through different rituals. The most important ritual is the monotonous repetition of the name of God (Allah) called *dhikr* (Persian and Turkic *zīkr*).

In Central Asia Khoja Ahmad Yasawi was one of the most famous Sufi saints (*walī*), and he also founded a Sufi order (*tarīqa*). According to local tradition Yasawī was born in the town of Sayram by the Sir-Darya River and died in Yasī.²⁵ First he lived and practiced in Bukhara but later moved to the town of Yasī on the northern banks of the Sir-Darya and founded a Sufi center there. That center was destroyed after his death, but his Sufi order (Yasawiya) still exists in Bukhara (DeWeese 1999). The great Temür beg built a tomb for him and a *madrasa* (Muslim religious school) at the end of the 14th century and named it Türkistan.

Sufism and Shamanic Traditions in Central Asia

I have been collecting data about local religious traditions among the Turks of Central Asia (mainly Kazak, Kirghiz, Uighur) since 1994. Scholars debate whether we can use the term shaman for the religious specialists of local Islamic traditions,²⁶ who make contact with the spirits (Arabic *arwāh*). Although we can find similarities with Siberian Turkic shamans (*kam*), Central Asian Muslim shamans are different. Worshipping ancestor spirits (Kazak *arwak* and *pir*) was legitimised through Islam. This tradition evolved after the conversion of the Turks while Pre-Islamic animistic beliefs were also Islamised.

Sufism also influenced local Islamic traditions and worshipping ancestor spirits. The helping spirits (Kazak *arwak*) of the Muslim shamans are not deceased shamans but often the souls of Sufi saints. A Kazak shaman (*baksī*) from Shīmkent, Zamanbek, invoked the spirits of Ahmad Yasawī and Arslan baba during his ritual (Somfai Kara 2005, p. 183), and also mentioned the Muslim holy places (Arabic *mazār*) along the Sir-Darya (Türkistan, Otrar, Sayram/Āwliye-ata). Abdikadīr, a Kirghiz shaman from Xinjiang, in his invocation also mentioned the Sir-Darya and its holy place of Türkistan where Ahmad Yasawī's tomb can be found. He added the holy Suleyman Mountain (Persian *taxt-i Sulaymān*) in Osh where according to the legend prophet Suleyman (Solomon) was buried (Somfai Kara 2007, p. 58). These shamans call their spirit invocation song and ecstasy *zikir*. That name comes from the Sufis' ritual of *dhikr*. Shamans often legitimise their spiritual power through Sufi saints and their holy places and tombs (*mazār*). Muslim Turks do not worship their shamanic ancestors but rather Sufi and other Muslim saints.

²⁵ According to some sources he lived in the 12th century and he was the student of the legendary Arslan baba. He also wrote religious poetry in Turkic (*Dēwān-i Hikmat*) but the liability of these sources is doubted by some scholars.

²⁶ Kazak *baksī*, Kirghiz *bakšī*, Uighur *baxši/perixa:n*, Uzbek *baxši/parxān*, Türkmen *porxa:n*, Karakalpak *porxan*, see Basilov (1992, pp. 48–49).

Folklore and Folk Beliefs

Folk beliefs are strongly related to folklore or can be considered as a part of it. Islamic traditions of Central Asia including Sufism influenced various forms of oral tradition, e.g. the legitimising stories of certain clans (in our case Edige's Manghit clan). According to local Islamic traditions it was more accepted to connect ancestors to Muslim saints (Arabic *walī*, plural *awliyā*) than to grant them supernatural (shamanic) abilities. In my opinion that is the reason why Nomadic Turks (Nogay, Karakalpak and Kazak) identified the legendary Baba Tükli as Angšibay or Bar-Kaya. But the story of Özbek Khan's conversion to Islam by Baba Tükles is unknown in nomad Turkic oral tradition.

Conclusion

In this short article I could not analyse all the problems that arise. I have just aimed to draw attention to some aspects of Baba Tükli's role in the Edige epic. To my mind it clearly reflects the influence of Islamic traditions on folk belief and folklore as it illustrated the process by which Muslim saints were linked to ancestors of the clans in the traditions of nomadic Turks. The Sufi traditions as part of Islam had a great influence on Central Asia. As for the nomadic Turks, whose pre-Islamic beliefs might be linked to South Siberian shamanic traditions, Sufism must have been popular among them and many of the Sufi saints were considered Turks themselves. So one can safely presume that Sufism played a significant role in the Islamisation of the Turks in Central Asia. Elements of Sufism can be traced not only in their religious traditions but also in their folklore along with some pre-Islamic beliefs. While religious specialists often invoked the spirits of Sufi saints during their rituals, the Turkic storytellers (bards) sometimes identified the legendary ancestors of clans with various Muslim saints. The superiority of a specific clan was legitimised through folk belief and oral history. The genealogical story of Edige's Manghit clan is a good example for this.

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APPENDIX

Hikāyat-i sabab-i islām-i Özbek xan
(The story of Özbek Khan's conversion to Islam)²⁷

Hazrat xan-i mazkūr'alayh-u-rahmat 'azamat ulug pādšāh erdi. Bir neçe yıl pādšāhlik kīlgandīn song, Allāh-ta'ālāning 'ināyatī bolup muslimān boldīlar. Hikāyat-i sabab-i islām-i Özbek xan: Sabab-i islāmī ol erdi, kim ol zamānning walīleridin (turur) tōrt walī-ge Allāh-ta'ālādīn ilhām boldī, kim:

– Sizler barīp Özbekni islāmga da'wat kīlīnglar!

Takī Allāh-ta'ālāning amrī bile Özbek xanning ešigige kelip, koruning tašida olturup mutawajjih boldīlar. Andag riwāyat kīlurlar, kāfir-i-sāhirlar birle kāfir-i-kāhinlar xanga andag karāmat kōrsetip ediler, ki xanning majlisiga sapčaknī keltürüp koyar erdiler, čorgatī wa dostaganlarnī tayyār kīlur erdiler. Bal özi čorgatīga koyulur erdi wa dostīganga süzülür erdi, wa dostagan özi ol kišige barur erdi. Bu sāhir-kāhinlarnī xan özlerige šayx kīlip yanlarīdan yanaša olturup bisyār i'zāz-u-ikrām kīlur erdi. 'Ammā bir kün, ki bular kelip mutawajjih bolup oturdīlar, künde ki teg xan majlis arasīda sunnat kīldī. Šayxlari bile bal keltürdiler. Čorgatī wa dostīganga keltürüp koydīlar. Bir xēlē muddat ötti, kim na bal künde ki teg čorgatīga koyulur, na dostīganga süzülür erdi. Xan bu šayxlarga aydī:

“ne jihattīn bu bal ma'til kalīp-tur?”

Šayxlar aydīlar kim:

“gālib bu yakīn Muhammadī kelip-tur, bu anīng 'alāmatī-tur” – tediler.

Xan hākim kīldī, kim:

“Korudīn yürüp istengler, takī Muhammadī bolsa alīp kelingizler.”

Mulāzimlar čikīp korudīn taftīš kīldīlar erse, kōrdiler, korīning tašida tōrt özge sūratlīg kišiler başlarīnī kuyu salīp olturur erdi. Mulāzimlar aydīlar, kim:

“sizler ne kišiler-tursizlar?”

Bular aydīlar:

“bizlerni xan kašīga alīp barīngiz!”

Keldiler, xanning kōzi bularga tūšti. Čūn nūr-i-hidāyat bile Allāh-ta'ālā xanning kōnglini munawwar kīlip erdi, bularnī, ki kōrdi, mayl-u-muhabbatī kōnglünde paydā boldī. Sordīlar, ki:

“sizler ne kišiler turur, ne iške yürüyür-siz, ne iške barur-siz?”

Bular aydīlar:

“Bizler Muhammadī turur-biz. Xudā-ta'ālā amrī birle kelip turur-biz, kim sizlerni musulmān kīlgay-miz.”

Bu asnāda xanning šayxlari faryād kīlip aydīlar:

“Bular yaman kišiler bolur. Bularnī söyle(t)mek kerekmez, öltürmek kerek.” – tediler. Xan aydīlar:

²⁷ Ötemiş Hāji: *Ta'rīx-i Dost Sultān*. Oriental Research Institute of Uzbekistan, Tashkent, MS No. 1552, ff. 48a–49b. This material was published in Iudin (1992).

“Ne-čün öltüre-dur-men. Pādšāh-men, sizlarning hēč kaysīngizdin farwāyim yok-turur. Kaysīngizning dīningiz bar-haqq bolsa, anīng birle bolur-men. Āgār bular-nīng dīni nā-haqq bolsa, sizlarning būgūndeki işleringiz nečük bātil bolup mu’tal kaldī, wa sōzlešingiz! Kaysīngizning dīningiz haqq bolsa, anga tabe’ bolur-men.” – tedi.

Bu eki jamā’at bir-birisi birle bāhske tūštīler. Kōp ġawġā-u-jadal kīlīštīlar. ’Āqibat anga qarār berdīler, kim eki tannūr kazgaylar. Hār birisini on ’arāba sōksewül bile kīzdurgaylar. Bir tannūrğa sāhirlarnīng bir kīšisi kirgey, yana bir tannūrğa bulardīn bir kīši kirgey. Har kaysī kūmey čīksa, anīng dīni haqq bolgay, tep qarār berdīler. Tangalsī eki ulug tannūr kazdīlar. Sōksewül otunlardīn yīgīp kīzdurdīlar. Birisini sāhirlarga ta’yīn kīldīlar, yana birisini musulmānlarga ta’yīn kīldīlar. Bu ’azīzlar biri-birisi birle marā’at kīlīštīlar. “Kaysīmīz kirer-biz?”

Bularnīng birisige Baba Tūkles dep erdīler. Tamām a’zālarīnī tūk bašīp erdi. Ol aydī:

“Manga ijāzat beringiz, men kireyin. Siz manga himmat tutungiz!” – tedi.

Bu ’azīzlar anīng haqqīna fātiha okudīlar. Ol baba aydī:

“Manga jibe hāzir kīlīngiz.”

Jibeni hāzir kīdīlar erse, jibe kiydi yalang etke.

Takī Allāh-ta’ālā yād-i-talqīn bašlap tannūr tarafīga mutawajjih boldī.

Aytur, babanīng tūkleri öre kopup, jibening kōzleridīn čīkīp erdi. Bu hālātnī barča kōrer erdīler. Bular yūrīp tannūrğa kirdi. Koy etini keltūrīp tannūrğa astīlar, agzīnī berkittīler. Emdī keldūk kāhinlar qissasīnga. Kāhinlar zarūrattīn birisini čīkarīp tannūrğa saldı. Hamīn, ki tūškeč, kūli kōkli-yašīllī bolup, yalīnī tannūrning agzīndīn čīkara bardī. Bu hālātnī xan bašlīg barča xalāiq kōrdīler erse, kōngūlleri kāfir dīnidīn ewrūlūp, musulmānlikka mayl kīldīlar, wa takī babanīng talqīn aytkan awāzī tannūrdīn muttasīl kelūr erdi. Koy eti bīštī tegen mahallda tannūrning agzīn ačtīlar. Baba-i mubārak yüzlerindīn terlerini sūrtkeč:

“Ne ašuktīngiz? Agar bir zamān tawaqquf kīlsangiz erdi, išim tamām bolup erdi.” – tep tannūrdīn čīktī.

Kōrdīler, ki jibe čok bigin kīzīl bolup erdi. ’Ammā Xudā-ta’ālāning qudratī birle babanīng bir tūki kūmeyin čīktī. Bu hālīnī xan bašlīg barča xalāiqlar kōrdīler erse, fī-l-hāl šayxlarnīng eteklerini tutup musulmān boldīlar. Al-hamd-ul Illāh ’alā dīn as-salām. Basa Berke xānning zamānīda özbeg tāifasī muslimān bolup erdīler. Olardīn song yana murtad bolup kāfir boldīlar erdi. Büyük Özbeg xān muslimān boldī. Andīn berū özbeg tāifasīning islāmī taġyīr tapmadī. Ayturlar, Özbeg xān yigirmi yıl pādšāhlīk kīldī, wa ba’zīlar aytur, on sekiz yıl pādšāhlīk kīldī, andīn haqq-i-rah-mātke wāsīl bolup. “Anā ’llāh wa anā ’liyah rāj’ūn”

Edige dāstanī (extract from the Nogay epic)²⁸

Bar-Kaya ösip üyken adam boladı. Ol kōbisinše angšīlap, balīkšīlap yūrġen. Sonīng üšin xalkka kōp kōsīlgan yok, keše-kūndiz agašlīkka, suw yagada yūrġennen sebep,

²⁸ Informant: Isxak yīraw (Kumuk-ulī), Ikon-xalk awīlī, Kuban River, 1920. Published by Sheykhaliyev (1991, pp. 18–19).

Bar-Kayadīng sawlay kewdesin tük baskan, basına uzın şaş bitken, sakalī saw köki-regin yaba-tagan bolgan.

Özi kolaysız mazallı, kuwatlı bolgan. Bar-Kayaga xalk **Baba Tükles şaşlı Aziz** dep at takkan. Bir kere Bar-Kaya, sölegi Baba Tükles, Sekerli kölde, tang ses bergen zamanda, yilim man balık islap turganda, kölding yagasına togız ak-kuw kelip kondı. Konsa, konsın, birden kanatların kagıp yiberidiler de, ak-kuw kiyimlerin taslap, togızı da işken suwı tamagınan köringgen, yüziktey kızılar boladılar. Bar-Kaya bulardı körüp, akırın yagaga şigadı, em yasırınıp bularga yuwık keledi. A togız kız, ärüwliklerinde esap yok, ak-kuw kiyimlerin kölding yagasında kaldırıp, özleri kölge kirip, suwga tüşip baslaydılar. Bar-Kaya kızlardıng birewine bek aşık boladı, em akırın bildirmey sol kızdıng ak-kuw kiyimin urlaydı. Kızlar suwga tüşip bolıp, şigıp kiyinip baslasa, bir kızdıng kiyimi yok. Ne etsinler, segizi kiyinip, kaytara ak-kuw bolıp, uşıp ketedi. Birewi yılay-yılay kaladı. Sonda kamıstıng işinen Bar-Kaya şigadı, aytadı kızga:

– Men saga aşık boldım. Sen ketseng, men kaygıdan öleyekpen. Sening kiyiming mende, men saga kiyimingdi kaytarayım, tek sen benim xatınım bolsang! Kızga amal yok, kız aytadı:

– Ärüw, men sening xatınıg bolayım, tek sen yımada bir kere kiyimidi berip, öz äptelerime barıp kelmege izin berersing.

– Yaxşı. – deydi Bar-Kaya.

Bular yaşay beredi, Bay-Kara balık islaydı, kiyik uradı, xatını olardı keptiredi.

Bir xıylı zaman ketken song, xatın awır-ayaklı boladı. Bir kere Bar-Kaya balık awlap üyge kaytsa, xatını yok. Kostıng işinde bir bala yılaydı. Şawıp barıp karasa, yangı tuwgan er bala yatır. Bar-Kaya xatının izleydi, şakıradı, yok. Song barıp, ak-kuw kiyiminin yasırgan yerin barıp karaydı, karasa, ak-kuw kiyimi de yok. Sol zamanda Bar-Kaya ak-kuw kızdıng kötere ketkenin anglaydı. Amal yok, Bar-Kaya balanı alıp awılga kaytadı. Balaga **Kutlı-Kaya** dep at beredi.

Xoriodoi father and the Swan Girl (Buryat epic)²⁹

Zayaan şubuun baiha-iime, şubuunhaa garahan şubuun udxatai. Tenggerhee gurban sagaan şubuun ožorood lo, xodo şunggadag baigaa. Tiixede tere şunggadag huuriin xazuuda Xoriodoi baabai yabaa. Tere gurban xung şubuuhaa ožorood şunggaxa-iyyi-ni xaraa. Şubuud xubsahaa tailaad yexe goyo-haixan basagad bolood, şunggaba. Xoriodoi baabai marai-maraihaar ošood, tenggeriin basaganai tailaad orxihon xubsaha abaad xadalgaşxiba. Şunggaad garaxalaar-ni nege basaganai xubsahan übei baiba. Xoyor basagan-ini xubsahaa ümdöod xarişxibad. Xarixayaa baixadaa xelebe:

– Xari, xari! Ende xüünii üner garana, gehe-mnai-d, xari daa, xüüri duulaa übei ‘han (g)eeş taa. – Baga basagan-ini xubsaha übei üldeed gazar deere taharşaba. Xorio-

²⁹ Informant: Xadi Xanxaev, collected by Vilmos Diószegi in 1957 (Bokhan, Ust'-Ordo Buriat District, Irkutsk Province), Manuscript Archive of the Institute of Ethnology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Bulagat Buriat folder.

doi übgen tere basagayaa xütelööd gertee asaraa. Xubsaha-iiyi ügöo übei, ogto xadalgašxio. Tere haixan basagaaraa hamga xee. Xamta huugaad yühen xübüütei bolood, tiim baixada tere basagan Xoriodoidoo xelebe:

– Urai xubsaha-mni xaana-m daa, asarža üge laa – gebe, Xoriodoi ügeže ügene übei.

– Xarahuu laa – gebe, bi-šni münöö yühen xübüütei bolohon xoino xaana ošo-xo-iima be?

Xoriodoi togoogoo šabaža baihan xün, xubsaha-iyii-ni asaraad ügebe. Hamgan-ini yodoogoor beyee ariulaad seb geed baina bšii daa. Hamgan-ini xubsahaa ümdeže üzööd beyee šelgeegeed, ürxe ööde niideže garašaba. Xoriodoi baabai xoinohoon “barixam” geed, harbagad geed xülhöön xalta bariad aldaba. Xügšen-ini xelebe:

– Zai, Xoriodoi übgen, ene yühen xübüüdee yexe bolgooroi daa! – geed yabašxio aa-la-m. Tiigeed Xoriodoi baabai xübüüdeeree üldešxio. Arilhan xoino-ni, ezii übei huuža arga übei, baha gerlee, miixan türeltei xüüneer. Doloon xübüü, xoyor basagatai baigaa Xoriodoi. Šene hüülxi hamgan-ini Xoriodoinggoo xoyor basaga-iiyi muušalaad zaxalaa. Bütüü arha eriülüüle, eem dalain xolsooroo arha eriülülne, mušxuulna, garaa xolso mušxana. Tiigeed tere xoyor šubuun udxatai basagad šeže yuugaa gargaad, böölööd-duulaad zaxalaa-m. Tied Ene yün bologšo aab gebe? Lama yereed, xoito beyede zarašxio. Tiigeed dalain xoito beyede yerexedee zayaan boloho-iime.