# About the Image of the Shaman which Studied on the Mountain Morguzar

# Toshboev Furkat Eshboevich and Akchayev Farrukh Shavkatovich

Abstract--- In this article the author provides information on the meaning of the image of the Morguzar ridge of Turkestan Mountains, the image of the rock "God Sang" in the Uriklisoy Gorge, and the images of the man and the wolf beside it. The image of the Turkic people in this image, the hair of the back, the wolf and the man, the place of the wolf totem, the people of this monument, the cultural processes that took place during the Turkic Kaganate and the Shamanic belief among the people of Ustrushana are still preserved today. After analyzing the appearance, he came to the conclusion that the image looks like a shaman.

Keywords--- Morguzar, Chimkartag, Shoyboksay, Miqsay, Zaamin National Park, Tashbulak, Tuva and Altai Shamans, Chulishman, Three-horned "Tiara", Shaman, Turkish appearance, Abo Tyranny, Turkish Tribes, Shamanic Faith.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The northern slopes of the Turkestan Mountains are conducive to the development of animal husbandry, people can climb from the steppes to the high mountain peaks through streams which suitable for grazing and wintering. Adjacent to the mountain slopes, the steppe is bounded on the north by vast deserts which riches in various plants. This allowed for the rapid development of animal husbandry through the exchange in pastures, steppes and mountain pastures. It is known that the nomadic pasture routes passed through convenient water and grass-rich pastures, also around various ore deposits. With the arrival of spring, the Ustrushona nomads drove the cattle to the mountains and in the summer to the pastures of the Turkestan mountains. At the same time, it was also characteristic that a certain group of people stayed around the mines and engaged in handicrafts. Later, permanent settlements, villages - centers of handicrafts were formed around these deposits.

### **II.** THE MAIN RESULTS AND FINDINGS

Research shows that, in ancient times, there were many settlements of cattle breeders around the metal deposits in the mountains of Ustrushna. Of these, four mountain metal zones, mining centers Lyataband and Bogmozor in Chimkartag, Shoyboksay and Miqsay in the Morguzar mountains have been studied. Of these, ore mining and processing centers were located in Shaybaksay and Miksay (Sverchkov,1991. pp.13-14). In recent years, the number of such ore mining and processing centers has increased. The Uzbek-American joint archeological expedition has been conducting excavations at the Toshbulak monument in the upper part of the Morguzar Mountains, on the border with Tajikistan (Pardayev, Frachetti, Maqsudov, 2013. E. 151-158). At Tashbulak-1 (TBK-1) and Toshbulak-2 (TBK-2) at least two similar construction phases: two furnaces for the initial processing of iron were recorded. TBK-2, on the other hand, is more architecturally perfect with additional prefabrication of steel and additional structures for craftsmen to live in. In 2019, the expedition led by archaeologist F.A. Maksudov also found the

Toshboev Furkat Eshboevich, Assistant Professor, Historical sciences Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.), Jizzakh State Pedagogical Institute. Akchayev Farrukh Shavkatovich, Historical Sciences Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.), Jizzakh State Pedagogical Institute.

remains of the city of the Karakhani period. This means that the metal deposits in the high mountain valleys of the Turkestan Mountains are played an important role in the livestock industry from the earliest times and they later became major centers of handicrafts.

These historical processes are confirmed by ethnological research along with archeological research in the Morguzar Mountains. In 2017, research was conducted on the mountain rocks of 1800 m above sea level in the territory of Jizzakh region, Zaamin district, Turkestan (Morguzar) mountain. There is a 5 x 3 m anthropomorphic image carved in stone on this rock, and the historical monument is located in the Uriklisay gorge of the Morguzar Mountains, 200 m south of the Uriklisay camp. This rock, which is pictured, was first discovered in 2016 by academic A.A. Askarov<sup>2</sup>. In 2017, special expedition which led by F.E. Toshbaev, AN Kholmatov and artist B.K. Mansurov was organized to learn it. Uriklisay is one of the largest mountain gorges in Zaamin National Park. On the way to the mountain valley there is a camp "Uriklisay", which is part of the system of health resorts in Zaamin. The gorge is rich in a variety of trees, spruces, shrubs, and springs within the stream, and consists of a forest that rises toward a long high mountain peak. The mountain, with all its natural features has long allowed the development of pastoralism of the population.

When the camping areas of the Urkilsay resort finishes, the gorge splits in two parts as it climbs 150-200 m up the mountain. Before reaching the boundary of this division, there is a rock on the western side of the mountain with the image of a man. On the opposite east side of the image there is a flat area (pasture) with all the conveniences for gathering, laying and living of livestock. On the southern side of the square there were found 7 tombs measuring 2 x 1.5 surrounded by stones dating to the 4th-6th centuries AD. This means that the place, with all its features was a place where cattle lay at night and shepherds slept. The mountain is made up of steep cliffs, and there is no convenient place in the vicinity for cattle to spend the night like this hut. The convenience of this place is mountainous on the east side, surrounded by rivers on the other three sides. The area is covered with gray soil. "Tangri sang" can be seen from the west on this hill.

The rock carvings depicted are so arranged that the high mountain ranges that surround the valley on the east side are separated from each other in height, and it is with these separated, sunlight coming from the distance that they fall on these stones. The image of "Tangri sang" is carved on a natural mountain rock 70 m above the river, which is difficult to climb. In our opinion, in ancient times (1500 years ago) the valley was very high and it was easy to get to the "Tangri sang".

The image is engraved on the stone in such a way that it can be seen full, bright when the sun shines in the morning. Her eyes are a little narrow, almond-shaped, her nose is moderate, her face is round. Her hair was plaited and thrown back. This image gives two different images at the same time: it looks meaningful to you when you look straight at it (Figure 1). When you walk towards the mountain (south) and look from the side where the animal climbs the mountain, as if it is staring at you (Figure 2). The image in Tangri Sang can be seen fully standing on the right side of the stream (opposite the rock).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Academician Askarov. A.A., who identified the image reflected in the rock, called it "Tangri sang" (Stone God) and recognized it's as an image of a shaman.

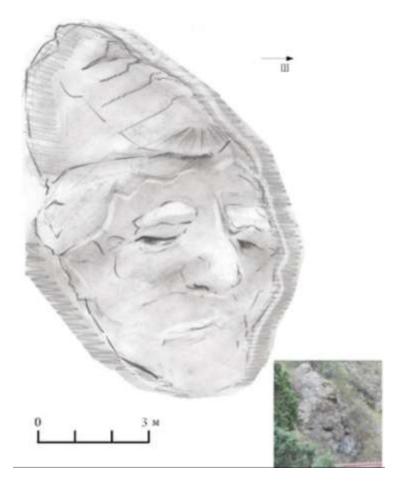


Figure 1: Frontal view of the image on the rock "Tangri Sang" on the Morguzar Mountain



Figure 2: Side View of the Image on the Rock "Tangri Sang".

One of the most striking features in her image is that her hair is plaited and thrown back. Such braiding, or braiding the hair on the shoulders, is still common today among the Buryat, Tuva, and Altai shamans (Fig. 3, 1, 2).

The Rock carvings by 1924-1925 in the lower flow of the Chulishman River in the Eastern Altai were studied (Gavrilova, 1965. p. 19). According to L.R. Kizlasov, the image of a woman on her knees, carved in stone in the Kuydirgi gorge, reflects the funeral of a child by shamans. The three-horned "tiara" on the head of the glorious woman symbolized the goddess Umay, who was common to the Turks for fertility, a home, and a patron of children (Kyzlasov, 1949, p. 50). The three-horned headdress was an unchanging symbol of the deity and the bakhshi, the kokhin (jrets).



Figure 3: 1, 2. Modern shamans of Tuva and Buryatia

In 1972, a statue of the 7th-8th centuries BC was found in the town of Kurgan (18 km east of Takhtakor). It is depicted in expensive clothes and ornaments in the form of a sitting woman, made of clay, wearing a hat in the form of a three-sided horn with a helmet-like top on her head. According to V.N. Yagodin, the statue of a woman depicted in the Kurgan monument was an image of the goddess Umay (Yagodin, 1999. p. 89. fig. 1). This headdress was a symbolic symbol among the population of ancient Turkish women (e.g., shaman) that distinguished them from others and represented a certain class. The image in this statue looks like a Kazak bakhshi, a shaman in a canvas, and his sitting position indicates that he is performing some kind of ritual.

In general, plaiting and customs like that belongs to Turkish tradition and these images are depicted in stone statues dating from the 6th-7th centuries in various parts of Central Asia and in tombs of Turkish khanate officials found in northeastern China, as well as coins minted by Turkish Tudun Ikhshids in Sogdia, Chach and Fergana, and palace walls. Sources also say that the rulers of the Central Asian oasis countries also plaited their hair.

The facial features described in the image we are describing are - the eyes are squinty, the nose is moderately located, and the face is round. It resembles the depictions of images and shamans depicted in stone balbals studied in the tombs of Turkish rulers around Altai, western China, Mongolia, and Lake Baikal (Kyzlasov, 1949. p.50). We have mentioned that such rock paintings have been studied extensively in the Altai, Tuva, and Buryatia regions. In particular, in Tuva, rocks with human figures have been studied, it belongs to the Vuyuk culture of the VII-III centuries and the first stages of the Shurlikli culture (II centuries BC I centuries).

This image was undoubtedly associated with the totem and divine-magical imaginations of the ancients. At the same time, it also reflected the real life of antiquity. Such ancient Turkic images and figures were most often drawn on ordinary slabs or untreated stones (Kyzlasov, 1964 p. 30). Similar images are well preserved on the Shomonka rock on the west coast of Baikal's Olkon Island (Istochniki: www.magicbaikal.ru; ...).

If we pay attention to the facial structure reflected in "Tangri sang", it has a completely Turkish image. Such images are also reflected in the image of the Ustrushans of the VI-VIII centuries. It can be seen in the residence of the rulers of Ustrushan (Qalai-Qahqaha in Shahristan) which the pre-Islamic ruler excavated from Bunjikat, in the image of a king carved into wooden objects in the central room of the Afshin Palace (Voronina, Negmatov, 1976. pp. 241-246). The main features of the appearance of the king and the courtiers depicted in these tablets - body color, facial structure - slightly swollen cheeks, slightly angled nose and brachycephalic (rounded) appearance on the skull have a typical Turkish image. In addition, the images of the rulers depicted on the coins of the rulers of Ustrushna in the VI-VIII centuries show Turkish images, which indicate that they are typical of the Turkic - "Central Asian two-river type" (Smirnova, 1971 pp. 59-64).

This situation was not in vain. It is also known from the names Harabugra (Karabugra), Hanahara (Khanqara), the ancestors of the Afshin were Turkish tribes, who came to the throne with the help of the Turks. When the governor of Ustrushna, Afshin, took over the caliphate, he left his cousin Mangujur (Manguchur) in his place (Akhunova, 2004. pp. 16-18). This information shows that the Afshin were Turks not only on the paternal side but also on the maternal side. The fact that the Turkish ethnos was deeply ingrained in the settled environment in the VI-VIII centuries is confirmed by the information about the marriage of Afshin Hasan ibn Haydar to the daughter of the Turkish general (Ancient Zaamin ... 2018. p. 135). From the above data, it is clear that the Turkish layer was widespread in Ustrushana for a long period, from the beginning of antiquity to the Middle Ages.

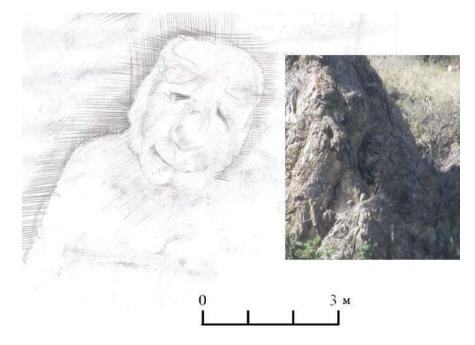


Figure 4: Images around the Rock "Tangri Sang"

On both sides of the image (low and high) there are images carved out of stone at almost the same distance (30 m). The first of these is in the form of a man (Fig. 4) on the high (west) side of the Tangri sang, and the second (below) is in the form of a wolf (or dog) (Fig. 5). In our opinion, these images are the symbolic guardians of the man represented in the Tangri sang and that the man and the wolf performed the same function. That is probably why only the head of both of them is depicted.

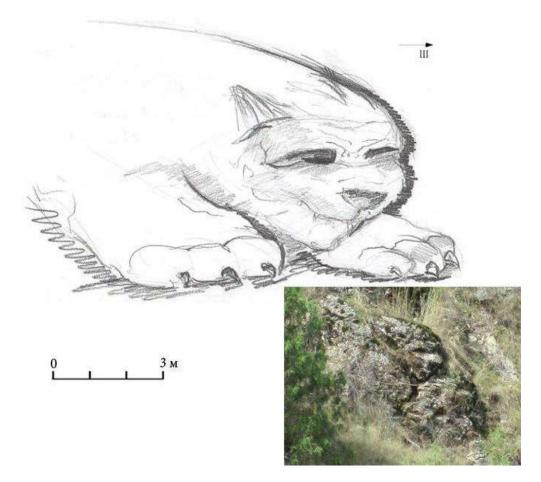


Figure 5: Images around the rock "Tangri Sang".

In our opinion, The image next to "Tangri sang" represents more of a wolf than a dog. This means that the locals envisioned the wolf as their first ancestor, the protector, the patron saint of all calamities. It is known that the wolf totem is one of the most widespread religious ideas in the Turkish people (Pardaev, 1995. p. 26), and many Turkish tribes and clans considered the wolf "their totem - the first ancestor, the beginning of the seed." For example, in ancient legends, the wolf was revered as the great ancestor of some Turkic tribes, and therefore it was considered a sacred animal among the Turkish people (Ashirov, 2007. pp. 150-152), and even the image of the wolf's head was reflected in the flag of the Turkish Khanate.

At the same time, the view of the wolf as a divine patron can also be found among the people living in northwestern Ustrushna. Among the inhabitants of Ustrushona live the noble qualities of the wolf, the legends about the "Wolves of Destiny", "Brave wolves" and exemplary wisdom about the wolf (Alibekov, 2017. P.28-34). In

particular, doctors treated the sick children, who were very sick in Zaamin, by turning the dried skull of a wolf by reciting prayers. For those who are sleepless, sleep-deprived, and terrified, the wolf's dried brain talc is coated with bread talc. People who received such treatment acted as if they were not afraid of any life event in their daily life. Here the tradition of religious views of the wolf chill period is also widely preserved (Alibekov, 2016. pp. 163-164). The divine worship of wolves is also reflected in folk art, and the images of the rulers of Ustrushna - the residence of the "Afshin" in the palace of Qalai-Qahqaha depict the mother wolf who gives food to her two calves (Otakhojaev, 2010. - P.9). The depiction of a guard wolf next to the "Tangri sang" shows that he imagined not only people, but also their god - the shaman - as a protector from all calamities, diseases and evils.

Archaeological sources show that before the advent of Islam in Central Asia, along with ancestral beliefs and cults related to natural phenomena, various religions were widespread, and they also influenced the religious life of the pastoral population. Sources mention religious rituals of the nomads, such as the worship of the sun, ancestral spirits, the blue spirit (god) belonging to the whole nation, the worship of mountains, water sources (rivers and lakes) (Alekseev, 1980. pp. 60-64). The Kanguys, including the people of the Middle Syrdarya, worshiped the god Farn, one of the gods of Zoroastrianism (Litvinsky, 1968. p. 3). The Chinese chronicle "Weishu" contains several doctrines specific to the Turkish religion. Along with the belief in shamanism, the Turks also had the beliefs of heroic ancestral spirits and the deification of nature (Gumilev, 2007 p. 93).

The image on the rock "Tangri sang" was probably painted by ancient people in the form of "shaman" for worship. The people worshiped it mostly at dawn - at sunrise, before the cattle grazed, and then the cattle were driven to the mountain pastures. The reason for this is that among the residents of Jelli-Gulli village of Sh. Rashidov district, such rituals as worship of mountain peaks and sacredness of these places are still preserved. On the north-eastern side of this village are high mountain cliffs at the end of Mount Nurata. This rock, called Suzmoyil ota, sunrise light the rocks from sunrise to sunset, and this is where the vast pastures on the north side begin. Due to such conveniences, this place has been a sacred shrine of the ancient inhabitants for thousands of years. There are more than 200 depictions of wild and domestic animals, people, hunting scenes, carts, suns and other images from the Bronze Age to the Middle Ages, painted on stone by artists of their time (Kholmatov, Pardaev, Toshboev, 2018. P. 254 -258). These images are much preserved around the highest peak of the rock - the center of worship. Suzmoyil ota kaya is still visited by the population for various reasons. This visiting takes place around two hearths on a rocky slope. A fire is lit for him, donations are made around him, wishes are made (Field notes. Kadyr bobo Subonov). This means that the rock was a sacred place of worship in ancient times, and this tradition has survived to the present day.

An analysis of the sources, the modern Buryat, Kazakh and Tuvan hats, and similar images carved in stone lead us to call the image in the Tangri Sang a "shaman image." As in all Turkish people, one of the most common religious beliefs in the Ustrushans was Shamanism, which was mixed with animism and totemism. These views also came from the Turkish cattle-breeding tribes settled in Ustrushna. In the existing literature, along with the term shamanism, there is also the term "shamanism". Shamanism refers to the rituals and myths associated with shamanic activities. The term shamanism refers to the religious system in the views of people in which shamans play an important role in daily life. Among the inhabitants of the mountain villages of Ustrushna, the notion of Shamanism is still widespread. They firmly believed in the existence of auxiliary spirits, i.e. Parishioners, ancestors and grandmothers, as well as giants and demons. The shamanistic belief, which is mainly practiced by women, has survived to this day, almost in its original form, in the cattle-breeding areas of Ustrushna (even among the urban population).

In Ustrushona, shamans are called "baxshi", in some places "kushnoch", and they are primarily engaged in the treatment of the sick. To do this, the bakhshi is invited to the patient's home, after that the animal is sacrificed and the patient vaccinated with its blood or skin. During the ceremony, his facial expressions, gestures, and voice are abnormally altered using a shamanic circle. The sound of the circle strikes with force, as if a running beast were running, or a weapon (bow and arrows) was demonstrated, and its voice merged with the song. At this time, the neighbor takes on a different appearance and begins to communicate with gods and spirits (Field inscriptions. Musallam baxshi Sulaymonova). Various measures are taken to treat the patient and get rid of various diseases. Shaman is supported by other women around him and is sometimes accompanied by him. The patient is brought in and rotated in a circle, which is called a ring throw. Bakhshi, it is also called the ritual of the shaman's "communication" with the spirits and their summoning. The shamans communicate with the spirits in a state of frenzy, and the patron saint unites with the shaman as a whole, or he takes the form of a patron saint.

The main sign of shamanism is the belief in the contact of the chosen and trained people with the spirits, as well as their divine power (Potapov, 1992. – P.534). The performers of these religious views were specially selected women. Thus, shamans even considered treat and repel various diseases, find lost people, animals and things, predict the future, be aware of events and happenings in different places and times, study natural phenomena, observe the spirits of the dead after death, and soon, capable of fighting evil spirits. These customs also occur in some cases when they are mixed with each other (Akchaev, 2020. P.15).

No matter how popular the traditions of Islam were, the notions of Shamanism, the Blue God, and the Umayyad Mother, have not been forgotten which had existed among our people since ancient times. In the middle of the XIX century among the inhabitants of the southern Aral Sea there were two women: the positive - the yellow mother and the evil - the demon (Mambetullaev, p. 210). The demon is represented by demons, and the Yellow Mother (yellow girls, fairies) is represented by an angel. A similar concept exists today on the cattle-breeding population of Ustrushna and on the southern slopes of the Nurata Mountains. Phrases such as "Yellow fairies destroyed the house", "Yellow fairies looked" or "demon (ajina) played" are often used by Bakhshi (neighbors) in the treatment of patients (Field records. Sultanat Bakhshi Usanova).

Let us now turn our attention to the question of the formation of a monument associated with the religious beliefs of this ancient population. It is known that one of the largest waves of influx of large numbers of cattle from the Eurasian steppes was observed in antiquity, especially in the last quarter of the first millennium BC and the beginning of AD. This process continued in the early Middle Ages, and with the influx of the Xionian, Kidar, Hephthalite, and Turkish tribes, not only agricultural oases but also mountainous areas were actively developed (Pardaev, Gafurov, 2016. p. 261). Some groups of tribes that entered during this period also remained and settled in the steppe and foothill areas around the agricultural oases of Ustrushna, which were suitable for cattle.

The most popular period since the active entry of the Turkish people into Central Asia and neighboring countries was the V-VIII centuries AD, during which migrations had a significant impact on the formation of the culture of the people of the region. Especially with the establishment of the Turkish khanate, the influx of Turkish tribes into this land accelerated so much that in the northern, northeastern and northwestern regions of Central Asia, the Turkic ethnos became the dominant ethnic layer of society (Askarov, 2007, p.236). The people of Ustrushona have been in close contact with the Turkish world since ancient times, and its steppes have always been the pastures of Turkish tribes. By the time of the Turkish khanate, the Turkish ethnos had not left its interior untouched.

Historical sources show that during the Turkish khanate, many Turkic tribes came and settled with the future khan Amrok. According to Markwart and SP Tolstov, the Turkish prince Abo, who was born as a concubine with Hakan Muqan, was deprived of the right of monarchy and settled in Central Asia (Bukhara) in the 70-80s of the VI century AD. Along the way, he united with the landless part of the peasantry, expelled the local aristocracy from the country, captured the city of Poykent and established his own state (Essays on the Statehood of the History of Uzbekistan. 2001. p. 53). Due to the tyranny of Abo, a large number of Turks entered the Bukhara region. Most of the Turkic tribes that settled at that time were the Morguzar ridges of the Turkestan Mountains, that is, the present-day Zaamin, Sh. It is located in the mountainous areas of Rashidov and Gallaorol districts. Based on the above, it is possible to conclude that these monuments are associated with the spiritual life and religious ideas of the Turkic tribes that entered our country in the VI-VIII centuries.

### **III.** CONCLUSION

In short, the ancient spiritual life of the Ustrushans is rich in various traditions and ceremonies, which are preserved in archeological monuments. In our opinion, the image of a man on the rock "Tangri sang" in the Oriklisay gorge, represents the image of shaman, and the images around it embody the religious beliefs of the ancient people related to shamanism, totemism and animistic views.

Religious rituals associated with the Shamanic faith have been studied to some extent in Uzbekistan. However, no special research on this topic has been conducted in Ustrushna yet. This finding is important in proving on the basis of material sources that Shamanism was involved in religious activities. Archaeological excavations in recent years, ethnographic data found at funerals, various beliefs about shamanism, and the images recorded in and around this shaman provide a broader picture of the ancient customs and rituals of the Usturushona people. This leads to an increase in research on the ethnography of the Ustrushona people, including the Shamanic faith.

### References

- [1] Alekseev N.A. Early forms of religion of the Turkic-speaking people of Siberia. Novosibirsk, 1980.
- [2] Akchaev F.Sh. "Sacred shrines and shrines of Jizzakh oasis. Author's abstract of the Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) dissertation on historical sciences". Tashkent, 2020
- [3] Alibekov U. "On the "Cult of the skull" of the wolf in the ethnoculture of the Uzbek people". // "Ustrushona on the Great Silk Road. Gulistan, 2016.
- [4] Alibekov U. "The symbol of the wolf in the ethnoculture of the Uzbek people". Guliston, 2017.
- [5] Askarov A.A. "Ethnogenesis and ethnic history of the Uzbek people" Tashkent, University, 2007.
- [6] Akhunova N. "Turks in the system of government of the Arab caliphate". Baku: Elm, 2004.

- [7] Ashirov A.A. "Ancient beliefs and ceremonies of the Uzbek people". Tashkent, Publication of the National Library of Uzbekistan named after A.Navoi, 2007.
- [8] Voronina V.L., Negmatov N.N. "Relief heads from the palace of Ustrushany's afshins (Shakhristan)" // SA. Issue 1. Moscow, 1976.
- [9] Gavrilova A.A. "Kudyrgy burial ground as a source on the history of Altai tribes". Moscow Leningrad, 1965.
- [10] Gumilev L.N. "Ancient Turks (Translation, introduction and authors B.Ordabekli and A. Ayritomiy)". Tashkent, Fan, 2007.
- [11] Kyzlasov L.R. "The history of Chaumont beliefs in Altai" // CSIIK No. 29. Moscow, 1949.
- [12] Kyzlasov L.R. "On the appointment of ancient Turkic stone sculptures depicting people" // SA issue. 2. Moscow, 1964.
- [13] Litvinsky B.A. "Kangyui-Sarmatian Farn". Dushanbe, 1968.
- [14] Mambetullaev M. "Figurine of the goddess Umai from Kerder" // IMCU. Vol. 31. Tashkent, 1999.
- [15] Otaxo'jaev A. "Turkish-Sughd relations in the early medieval Central Asian civilization". *Tashkent*, ART-FLEX, 2010.
- [16] Pardaev M., Frachetti M., Masĸsudov F., Pardaev S., Winter J., Hermes T., Li Yuchi, Zhen Chin. "Archaeological research at the Tashbulak monument in 2012" // Archaeological research in Uzbekistan 2012. Samarkand, 2013.
- [17] Pardaev M.H "Worship of the spirit of sheep and wolves" // O'IF. Tashkent, 1995.
- [18] Pardaev M.H., G'ofurov J.I. "The first medieval rural sites of Ustrushna (based on written and archeological sources)". *Tashkent*, 2016.
- [19] Potapov L.P. "Turkish people mythology". T.2. // Myths of the people of the world. Moscow, 1992.
- [20] Sverchkov L.M. "The settlement of Myk a source on the history of medieval Ustrushana". Candidate of Historical Sciences Samarkand, 1991. 21. Smirnova O.I. "The first coins Ustrushany". // Epigraphy of the East. No. 20.
- [21] L.: 1971. 22. Tugusheva L.Yu. "Uyghur version". Moscow, 1974.
- [22] Tugusheva L.Yu. "Uyghur version" Moscow, 1974.
- [23] Kholmatov A.N., Pardaev M.H., Toshboev F.E. "Preliminary results of the study of rock paintings Suzmoyil ota" // Archaeological research in Uzbekistan. Samarkand, 2018.
- [24] Yagodin V.N. Kerderskaya "Umai" // Bulletin of the Karakalpkak branch of the Academy of Sciences of Uz. Nukus, 1999.
- [25] "Ancient Zaamin (history, archeology, numismatics, ethnography)" Tashkent, 2018.
- [26] "Essays on the history of statehood in Uzbekistan". Tashkent, Sharq, 2007.
- [27] Sources: www.magicbaikal.ru; http://baikaler.ru; http://nature.baikal.ru; http://pro-baikal.ru; www.andigu.ru; https://ria.ru; ru.wikipedia.org;
- [28] "Field records. Autonomous grandfather Subonov (born in 1938)". Jelli-Gulli village of Sh. Rashidov district.
- [29] "Field records. Musallam Bakhshi Sulaymonova (born in 1933)". Kushrabot district, Quvkalla village. He died in 2005.
- [30] "Field records. Sultanat Bakhshi Usanova (born in 1944)". Kushrabot district, Quvkalla village. He died in 2016.