DOI: 10.1134/S1563011007010136

G.V. Kubarev
Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, Siberian Branch, Russian Academy of Sciences,
Akademika Lavrentieva 17, Novosibirsk, 630090, Russia
E-mail: gvkubarev@online.nsk.su

ANCIENT TURKIC STATUES: EPIC HERO OR WARRIOR ANCESTOR?*

Rarely has the question of whether the semantics of Ancient Turkic statues resemble specific individuals or stylized images been addressed as a research theme. Although L.N. Ermolenko (2006) has recently attempted to present a detailed analysis of this issue, we find it impossible to accept her central idea that the faces on Ancient Turkic statues are stylized images and that the T-shaped feature rendering contracted eyebrows and nose is meant to convey anger. Here we attempt to present detailed arguments against her proposition. In doing so, we refer not only Ermolenko's 2006 article, but also her monograph (2004) and other articles authored by her (Ermolenko, Getsova, Kurmankulov, 1985; Ermolenko, 1995a, b, 1998a, b, 2003; etc.). The reason for this wide reference base is that certain claims made by Ermolenko in her recent article are brief and lack substantiation whereas elsewhere she elaborates on them more fully.

In her most recent article on the semantics of Ancient Turkic statues, Ermolenko does not make it clear which statues are being referred to: those in Kazakhstan only or all Central Asian statues known to date. Nor is it clear how many statues have been examined by her and how many of them are, as she describes them, "stylized," i.e. have a T-shaped bas-relief nose and large eyes. Ermolenko's claim that the "faces on many statues are stylized" is unacceptably vague. More detail may be found in her monograph (Ermolenko, 2004: 19) in which 120 presumably Ancient Turkic statues from Kazakhstan are examined. Seventy-six of these have large eyes and 68 show the T-shaped arrangement of eyebrows and nose. Roughly the same proportion is observed in Ancient Turkic "busts"*: among 42 of them, 18 have large eyes, and 14 have the T-shaped arrangement of eyebrows and nose (Ibid.: 21 – 22). This means that only half or just above half of the statues in question actually reveal the features characteristic of so-called "stylization." Notably, in many cases, large eyes do not combine with the T-feature and even Ermolenko herself admits that this feature is in fact comparatively rare (Ibid.: 43).

Ermolenko's first idea that "stylized" faces are neither realistic in manner nor refer to specific persons is in our view questionable. It is my belief that, rather than being generalized images of epic heroes, Ancient Turkic statues are realistic representations of specific individuals (Fig. 1 – 7). The realistic manner is especially apparent in sculptures of high-

*This study has been conducted in conjunction with the projects "Ancient Nomads of the Altai and Central Asia: Environment, Cultural Origins, and Ideology" and "Absolute and Relative Dating in Siberian and Central Asian Antiquities" under the Program "Adaptation of Peoples and Cultures to Environmental, Social, and Technogenic Transformation," Russian Academy of Science and the V.I. Molodin Research School (Research Schools Support Program, Project 6568.2006.6).

*In my view, the word "busts" used by Ermolenko is misleading since it does not reflect the characteristic features or the iconography of the largest group of Ancient Turkic and Kypchak statues. Many scholars have long used the term "sculptures with faces" with reference to this group in which only the face or the silhouette of the head is shown. In the Altai for example, more than 150 sculptures with faces are known to date. V.D. Kubarev (1984: 21) attributes these to a fourth type of stone statue.

© 2007, G.V. Kubarev



Fig. 1. Facial features on realistic Ancient Turkic sculptures in Dzhetysu (*1 – 6*) and Tuva (*7*).
1 – after (Fedorov-Davydov, 1976); *2* – after (Charikov, 1980); *3 – 5* – after (Sher, 1966); *6* – after (Margulan, 2003); *7* – after (Grach, 1961).

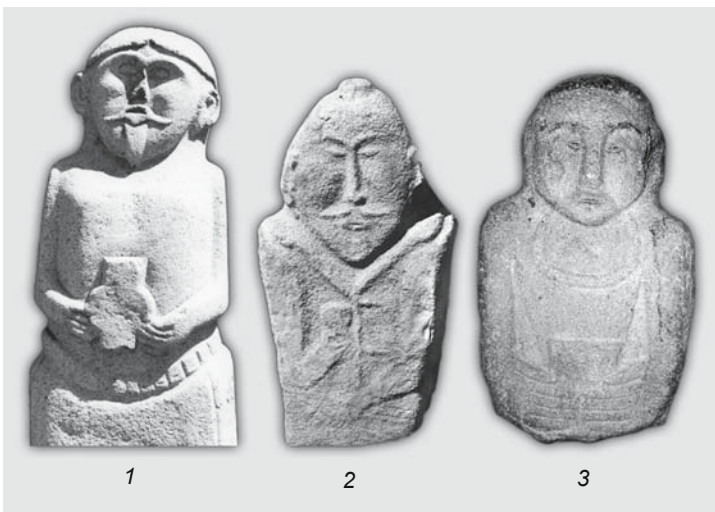


Fig. 2. Facial features of realistic Ancient Turkic sculptures in Tuva (*1*, *2*) and Mongolia (*3*).
1, *2* – after (Grach, 1961); *3* – after (Potanin, 1881).



Fig. 3. Statue at Kemeh-Kechu, the Altai.

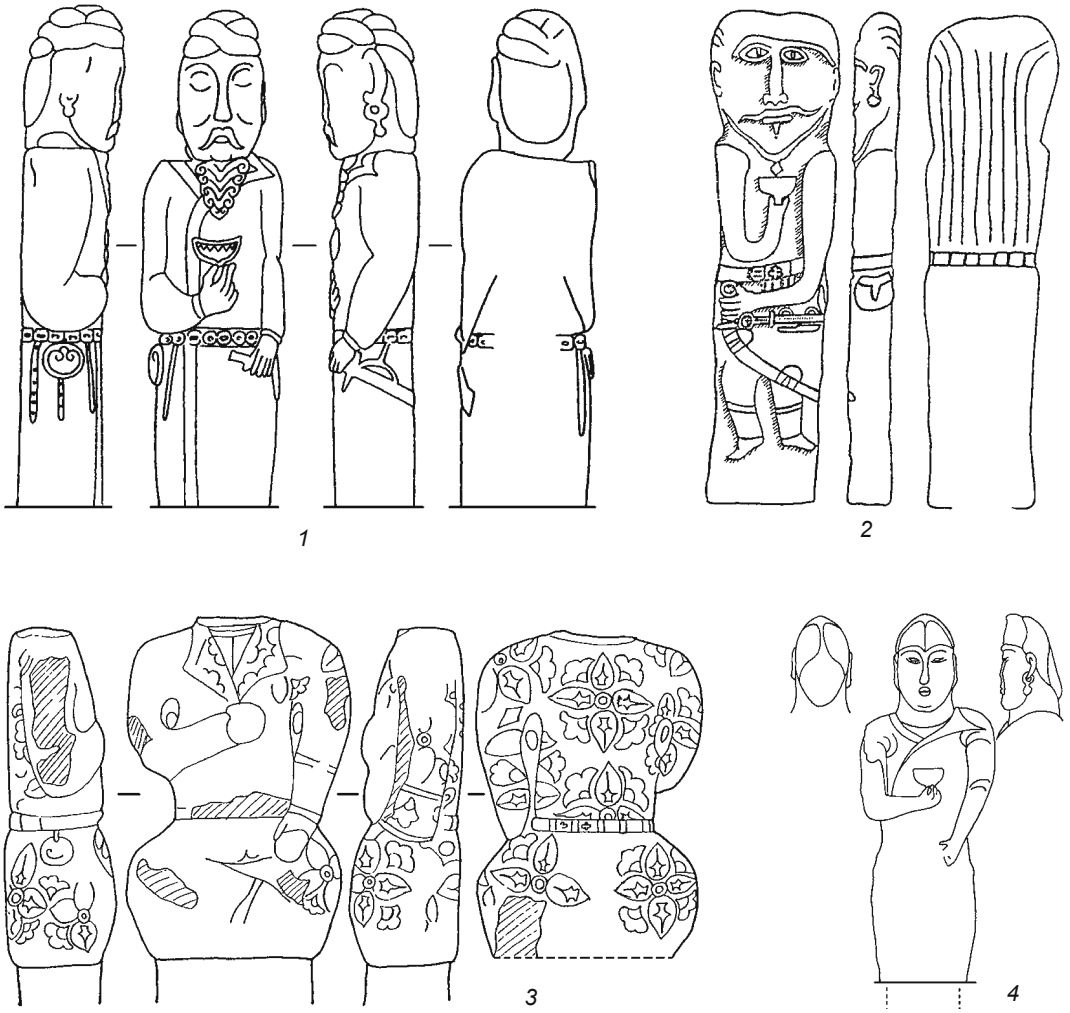


Fig. 4. Sculptural representations of Ancient Turkic aristocrats in Mongolia (*1*, *3*, *4*) and Kirghizia (*2*).
1, *3*, *4* – after (Bayar, 1997); *2* – after (Charikov, 1984).



Fig. 5. Head of the Ancient Turkic statue called Chinghiz-Khan. Barlyk steppe, Tuva.



Fig. 6. Head of the statue of Kul-Tegin. Mongolia.



Fig. 7. Statue called Daian-batyr. Mongolia.

ranking members of the Turkic social elite (see Fig. 1, *1*, *2*, 2; *1*, *2*; 3 – 7). Such sculptures are numerous, especially in Mongolia (Bayar, 1997: 124, 130, 140, 143, 146, etc.) and in Dzhetysu (Sher, 1966: fig. 2, 9, pl. III, VIII, etc.; Margulan, 2003: fig. 24, 97, 98, etc.) This is only to be expected given that these territories were unitied within a single state (the First Turkic Kaganate) and that the subsequent Eastern and Western Turkic kaganates emerged on the same territories. The individuality of the sculptures in question extends to facial features, the cut of clothing (even the design on the silk kaftan) and insignia of social or economic status (headdress, neck rings, earrings, bracelets, belts, and expensive weapons) (see Fig. 1, *1*, *2*; 2, *1*, *2*; 3 – 7). It is impossible to interpret these sculptures as generalized, legendary images of warriors, which Ermolenko compares to descriptions of heroes in the epics of modern Turkic peoples.

It is true that most Ancient Turkic sculptures of Central Asia are schematic and even primitive in style. This can probably be explained by the socio-economic status of common Turkic warriors or members of the civil strata who were unable to hire a professional sculptor or who were obliged to hew the statues themselves. Funerary tradition required that the stone or wooden representation of the deceased be made and set up despite the fact that a specific likeness had not been achieved. This may be the reason why many medieval sculptures show facial features only or outlines of the head separated from unworked stone monoliths. On occasions, even a crude stele or rock bearing some resemblance to a human figure may have carried reference to a specific individual. In the Altai, stone slabs or elongate (roughly anthropomorphous) rocks with smooth surfaces on which facial features, belt, weapons and other details of the Turkic costume were painted, stand near stone burial enclosures (Kubarev V.D., 1984: 82). This tradition originating in Central Asia was apparently borrowed by Polovets (Kuman) artists who decorated the sculptures in black and red paint (Pletneva, 1974: fig. 28a). I also subscribe to the idea of L.R. Kyzlasov (1969: 26) and Ermolenko (2004: 42 – 43) that the clothes and weapons of the deceased individual may have been hung on the steles and crude sculptures with faces which stood for the dead person and compensated a lack of resemblance. In this way, the funerary custom would have been formally observed.

Contrary to the claim made by Ermolenko (Ibid.: 38), many archaeologists also believe that Ancient Turkic statues are images of specific individuals (Evtyukhova, 1952: 114, 116; Kyzlasov, 1969: 26; Charikov, 1980: 213; 1986: 101 – 102; Kubarev V.D., 1984: 83; Savinov, 1984: 59 – 60; 1994: 129; Hayashi, 2001: 224; Margulan, 2003: 36, 45; etc.)*. The idea that Turkic statues are stylized and idealized and that their faces are "masks of rage" (Ermolenko, 2004: 38) is far from popular among archaeologists.

It is our view that the approach of various cultural anthropologists and art historians in the evaluation of portrait likeness in Ancient Turkic statues indicates a lack of knowledge of archaeological material and primary sources being largely based on publications containing small, low-quality drawings; it appears that various authors have not in fact even seen the statues themselves nor even high quality photographs of them**. Their knowledge of the archaeological and ethnographic context of Turkic memorial statues also proves insufficient. The work of certain art historians also reveals a somewhat derogatory attitude towards both the monumental art of medieval nomads and the small sculptures made by them: "Precisely at that time, a new image becomes common in the development of ceramic tradition in classical, urban, cultural centers, alien to the esthetic standards of urban dwellers – the image of an ugly horseman which continues to be present for many centuries. This image was the godling of the steppe people, a crudely made idol associated with sorcerous practices of shamanism inherent in the ideology of nomadic horsemen. The figurines were crudely shaped by a careless pinch that

---

*A.A. Charikov (1986: 101 – 102) gives a very precise evaluation of the production of image likeness in Ancient Turkic statues and aptly remarks, "Nearly all stone statues examined by us evidently resemble speicifc individuals in one way or other. Only one whose conversance with the Eurasian nomadic sculpture is superficial may regard them as virtually identical. On closer inspection, the supposed uniformity proves to be extremely relative and the similarity may be attributed to the peculiarities of the medieval sculpture (the low relief of arms tightly pressed to the body, flattened faces, indistinct outlines), which were largely defined by the properties of the material used (granite). Naturally, the statues could be identified with the deceased by reproducing certain attributes but the most important element had to be attaining a portrait likeness. The aspect of realism may seem inadequate and vague to a modern viewer due to the manner of its reproduction which was effected by accentuating the most prominent features of the face such as a broad mouth, a squint or close set eyes. Together the specific combination of these features made the face identifiable.

One may suppose that funeral rites dictated that the statue should be erected during the process of the funeral. In this case, the ancient sculptor would have been obliged to reproduce the likeness of the deceased from memory rather than from life. This may also account for the conventionality of these statues which at times border on the grotesque. The sculptor may have striven to represent the individual's most striking features or simply those which they remembered most clearly."

**For that reason, in the present article, photographs of statues are published. Contour drawings make these statues appear more schematic and introduce elements of considerable distortion. I take the opportunity here to thank A.N. Kubareva, who prepared the illustrations for this publication.

formed an awkward human figure with schematically rendered bodily parts and an ugly face; the figure was set on a likewise crudely modeled horse" (Pugachenkova, Rempel, 1982: 77).

Approximately the same has been said of Ancient Turkic statues: "Pillar-like, thoroughly hewn stone blocks or slabs were transformed into schematic, almost identical statues. The characters' sex would be virtually indeterminable, were it not for such unambiguous details as a moustache, weapons or breasts rendered as circles. Facial features such as slant eyes, flat nose and small mouth are extremely schematic. Likewise, details of costume and arms bent at the elbow are also schematically rendered. A small bowl is often held with one hand in the area of the belt. A balbal [statue. – **G.K.**] is a cold, impassionate idol (Ibid.: 81).

It is likely that ideas surrounding the stylization and idealization of the warrior's image, allegedly manifested in the stone statue and the belief that the latter impersonates an epic hero, was first expressed by art historians and cultural anthropologists and were later borrowed by certain archaeologists. Thus, in the words of G.A. Pugachenkova and L.I. Rempel (Ibid.: 78, 93), the image of a heroic warrior devoid of any individuality was predominant in early medieval Central Asian figurines and paintings. Ermolenko (2004: 38, note 1) erroneously ascribes this opinion to G.A. Fedorov-Davydov. Actually, his views with regard to eastern Central Asian, western Central Asian (Turkic) and Eastern European (Polovets, or Kuman) sculptures were quite different. He wrote that realistic Polovets sculptures were indeed related to the cult of idealized ancestors but that their Ancient Turkic conterparts referred to specific deceased warriors (Fedorov-Davydov, 1976: 92). Fedorov-Davydov believes that the Ancient Turkic statue represented the substitute of the deceased, its double, rather than a mere temporary repository of one or more of their souls (Ibid.). He offers numerous ethnographic parallels indicating that many Siberian peoples practiced the custom of making a dummy of the deceased which was dressed, "fed," etc., and buried or carried to the cemetery after a certain period of time had elapsed after their death. In his opinion, realism and personal resemblance were not essential and the dummy, like the stone statue, was worshipped by close relatives only (Ibid.). The idea that the sculpture fulfilled the role of double for the deceased appears to be most plausible.

Ermolenko disregards the fact that the T-shaped bas-relief rendering eyebrows and nose on certain Turkic statues was very widely distributed both chronologically and territorially. Her parallels concern clay sculptures and toreutics of the medieval Orient, ancient Mesopotamia, Celtic and Mixtec art and the list may be easily extended. Where did the artistic device of rendering eyebrows and nose as a single T-shaped feature originate and how did it spread? Can it be regarded as a stylistic device at all? If so, how was it interpreted in other cultures? Did it likewise represent contracted eyebrows and thus refer to rage? Ermolenko makes no attempt to answer these questions despite their being crucial to an evaluation of the issue discussed.

Ermolenko appears certain that the T-feature* as well as the large eyes pertain to artistic manner rather that to actual anatomical features. The only "proof" thereof is a reference to Ya.A. Sher. In my view, the available evidence disproves this idea and suggests that the distribution of this artistic device in widely differing cultural traditions attests to the artists' focus on the most striking facial features (nose, eyebrows and eyes) rather than to stylization.

Indeed, numerous medieval representations of people in monumental and portable sculpture and in the toreutics of western and eastern Central Asia and the Far East reveal the following regularity. Faces of realistic and thoroughly made figures, mostly sculptures, display the relief T-feature (Fig. 8, 9)**. Virtually all medieval sculptures, both large and small, were painted and specifically, the eyebrows were painted black (see Fig. 8, *2 – 4*).

Ermolenko (2004: 17) considers the large eyes on Ancient Turkic statues to be a stylistic feature. However, the eyes on large and realistic specimens such as the head of Kul-Tegin***, the statue near Lake Dayan Nuur, the Baltakol sculpture, etc. (see Fig. 3; 4, *2*; 5, 6, 7), are also large, but this feature represents the eyeball itself and both the upper and lower eyelids are also shown (see Fig. 6, 7). In some cases the pupils are shown too. "Large eyes" on such sculptures, in contrast to other specimens, which are cruder and lack eyelids, pupils, etc., look quite natural. This leads us to suppose (provided ancient statues were painted) that on less skillfully sculptured Turkic statues, eyelids, pupils, eyebrows and likewise other seemingly missing details of hairstyle, clothing and belt were additionally marked with paint****. This device (showing relief eyeballs with eyelids and

---

*The number of statues in which the ends of the eyebrows are rendered as lines bent upward is diminutively small relative to the total number of sculptures.

**Rugged male features (prominent supraorbital relief, heavy chin, etc.) always referred to masculinity. As for the T-feature in anthropomorphized carnivores, this is not a stylistic device, but a way of accentuating the anthropomorphous image by stressing the most human-like features such as nose and eyebrows.

***It is possible that Kul-Tegin's sculpture was made by a Chinese artist. This, however, is not critical, because other representations of Turkic noblemen reveal very realistically rendered eyebrows connected with the nose.

****We do not doubt that Ancient Turkic statues, like most early medieval Oriental sculptures were indeed painted (Kubarev V.D., 1984: 82; Ermolenko, 2003; 2004: 42).



Fig. 8. Eyebrows and nose rendered as the T-feature (*1 – 5*) compared to a face distorted by rage (*6*).
1 – 4 – China (after (China…, 1994; Excavation…, 2004)); *5*, *6* – Eastern Turkestan (after (Diakonova, 1995)).

pupils) is also present in certain Chinese figurines (see Fig. 8, *1 – 4*).

Attempting to demonstrate that the faces on Turkic statues show a "grimace of fury," Ermolenko cites ethological facts and draws parallels from the heroic epic. This approach is hardly justified however, since outward signs of fury are similar in all cultures and easy to interpret (see Fig. 8, *6*; 9, *4*). It does not require an ethologist to read the emotion shown on a portrait, be it fury, joy, amazement or some other emotion*.

Having differentiated large-eyed sculptures from others Ermolenko draws far-reaching conclusions. In some articles she opposes them to "evident Mongoloids" (Ermolenko, Getsova, Kurmankulov,



Fig. 9. T-feature (*1 – 3*) compared to a face distorted by rage (*4*).
1, *2*, *4* – Eastern Turkestan (after (Diakonova, 1995));
3 – Aral Sea area (after (Rapoport, Nerazik, Levina, 2000)).

*Of course, the Ancient Turks recognized signs of rage similar to those described in the epic: bulging eyes, loud voice, etc. (Ermolenko, 2006: 86). However this does not substantiate proposed affinities with the epic tradition or their use in one's judgement. Signs of rage described in the epic (bulging eyes and contracted eyebrows) are the same as those described by human ethologists and cited by Ermolenko. As she correctly states, these facial markers of emotion are common to all cultures (Ibid.).

1985: 146 – 147) whereas on another occasion she regards bulging "furious" eyes as a stylistic device (Ermolenko, 2004). She does not explain however, why approximately half of all Turkic statues show a calm expression, "normal" eyes and no T-feature (which allegedly matters so much), whereas the other half displays bulging eyes and contracting eyebrows expressing rage. Nevertheless, both "calm" and "furious" statues represent warriors.

The Turkic artistic canon was naturally affected by various esthetic standards and ideology. The sculpture, being no exception would have been subject to certain esthetic criteria which would have been reflected in the execution of the eyebrows. According to Sher (1966: 67), citizens of the Yueban state practiced the Turkic custom of trimming eyebrows and smearing them with paste which agrees with Turkic standards of beauty with regard to eyebrows, cited by Ermolenko (2006: 84 – 85). However, the standard of beauty reflected in bushy or painted eyebrows differs from that of eyebrows contracted in fury.

The small group of female statues (seventeen in number) in Dzhetysu and the Tien Shan is given no mention at all in Ermolenko's article. Their characteristic feature is a three-horned headdress. Ermolenko (1995b) herself writes that these statues are female, however, in her monograph (2004: 23, 30) she interprets them as representations of beardless males and compares the three-horned headdress to a formally similar male headdress*. Ermolenko ultimately denies that these Ancient Turkic statues, some of which display the T-feature, belong to a separate group of female sculptures. Did Ermolenko change her position because these statues challenge her idea of the "idealized, furious warrior image"?

Many Ancient Turkic statues in Mongolia realistically represent people squatting crosslegged in an oriental manner (Bayar, 1997: fig. 86, 92 – 95, 97, 127, etc.). In other statues, crossed legs are shown in relief (Sher, 1966: pl. XXIII, 105; XXIV, 117; XXV, 120, etc.). Other stone statues lack this feature, because crossed legs are difficult to represent; however, they were probably implied and the unworked lower part of the statue dug into the ground (Ibid.: 26; Klyashtorny, 1978: 250). The squatting posture would coincide with the function of the statues which represent the ancestors symbolically taking part in the funerary repast. The "mask of fury," of which Ermolenko writes, appears quite inappropriate in this case since it links neither with the posture nor with the funerary rite in general.

The oft-cited Chinese dynastic chronicles contain valuable evidence concerning Turkic funerary rites. According to one of them, "In a house constructed near the grave, a painted image of the deceased is placed along with the description of battles in which he had taken part" (Bichurin, 1998: 234). The words "painted image" no doubt refer to a stone or wooden sculpture. Mongolian, Ancient Turkic rhunic inscriptions often mention sculptures representing dead persons. The word *bediz*, as Klyashtorny (1978: 244 – 250) has convincingly demonstrated, meant statuary or bas-relief representations of persons to whom the funerary rite was dedicated. Previously, the word *bediz* had a broader meaning, referring to a memorial (decorated) building, to ornaments in general or carved (sculptured) ornaments. *Bediz* then, was an attribute of the Ancient Turkic royal funerary ceremonial complex, which included a temple, a statue and a stele with an inscription (Ibid.: 248). The burial complex of common society members included a stone enclosure substituting the temple, a statue or an anthropomorphous stele. In his description of Turkic-speaking Polovets, Willem Rubrouck wrote, "The Kumans construct a large mound above the grave and erect a statue in honor of the deceased; the statue faces east and shows the figure holding a bowl in the area of his navel" (Puteshestviya…, 1957: 102).

Apparently, most statues were those of warriors and members of the elite. In the Tuvinian tradition, for instance, "should the dead man have earned the people's respect, his image hewn of stone or wood was placed near his grave" (Katanov, 1894: 128). In the Kirghiz tradition, *tul*, the dead patriarch's or respected person's dummy made of his clothes, served to preserve his image and was considered his temporary substitute (Vielstrup, 2002: 129, 131). The Kafirs of Nuristan, Afghanistan, were said to practice the following custom: "When a leimoch [a man who had killed seven male enemies. – **G.K.**] or a pyrymoch [a man perfect in all respects, i.e., one who was rich, brave, hospitable, and had been a leimoch in the past. – **G.K.**] had died, a *crude* [italics added. – **G.K.**] statue to the dead man was hewn of wood, after which, a slave took it on his back and hopped (danced?) with it about the streets of the village. For seven days and seven nights the dead man's body remained unburied and was exposed in a high place while his image was carried about the streets. The wooden statue was then placed on his grave" (Grunberg, 1971: 277).

The custom of making a statue to a dead warrior is reflected in the heroic epic as well. Sher (1966: 54)

*In a separate article (Kubarev G.V., 2003), I have attempted to demonstrate that these statues represent females. They apparently date from the 7th – 8th centuries AD. A horn plate with a carved representation of a woman wearing a three-horned headdress was found at the Sutuu-Bulak burial at this time in the central Tien Shan (Hudiakov, Tabaldiev, Soltobaev, 1996). This image is also present in the Altai in carvings on the Kudyrgeh rock and in the Bichiktu-Boom petroglyphs.

quotes a passage from the Kirghiz epic *Manas*, describing Manas's funeral, where a master named Bakai

> …had cut down a poplar trunk,
> He tried his hardest
> To hew a statue:
> Under his hands,
> Manas's wooden double emerged!
> Its arms were like those of Manas,
> Its legs were like those of Manas,
> Even its eyes were similar!

The sources cited above and other pieces of historic and ethnographic evidence indicate that the statues represent specific individuals who were mostly warriors and members of the social elite. The semantics of Ancient Turkic sculptures, especially those of respected warriors, are doubtless related to military glory and heroic deeds. This, however, does not justify Ermolenko's belief that the sculptures represent an idealized, impersonal image of a furious warrior taking part in the sacrificial repast dedicated to a deity of war. We consider this idea totally unfounded.

It should be noted that the modern Turkic peoples of Central Asia, descendants of the Ancient Turks, worshipped and heroized many Turkic and Mongolian statues, giving them names and calling them "batyrs" (heroes), thereby reinterpreting their epic function. This is especially true of large and artistically made sculptures which were called *kos-alyp* (two heroes), *alyp-tas*, or *tumyktyn-alyby* (hero stone) (Margulan, 2003: 40). The most widley known Ancient Turkic statues have specific names such as *Kezer* and *Aktash* in the Altai, *Daian-batyr* (see Fig. 7), *Uvshkhai*, *Lovkh*, and *Lam-chuluu* in Mongolia, and *Chinghiz-Khan* (Fig. 5) in Tuva (Kubarev V.D., 2004: 32 – 33). As part of the statue cult, these were "fed," bound in kerchiefs or belts, partly painted and sometimes had wooden constructions erected over them. One small sculpture brought to Tomsk University by G.N. Potanin had painted lips, eyes and eyebrows (see Fig. 2, *3*)*. There is no doubt that over their millennial history, the most realistic statues were more than once reinterpreted and associated with batyrs (heroes), shamans and other well-known persons, whereas the names of Ancient Turkic warriors and aristocrats, to whom the statues were originally dedicated, were forgotten.

We agree that the Turkic heroic epic of Central Asia already existed in the Early Middle Ages. This has been demonstrated by V.V. Radlov, V.M. Zhirmunsky, A.S. Orlov, S.S. Surazakov, and other orientalists. Nonetheless, the above considerations challenge the idea that the faces of these statues are stylized and that their iconography is based on literal representational parallels to the Turkic epic and show Ermolenko's approach in which she draws direct comparisons between plastic images and epic text to be unjustified.

*When eyebrows are painted, the T-feature is not as striking and looks more natural.

References

Bayar D. 1997
Mongolyn tov nutag dah turegiin hun chuluu [Turkic stone sculptures in Central Mongolia]. Ulaanbaatar: ADMON.

Bichurin N.Y. (Iakinf) 1998
Sobranie svedenii o narodakh, obitavshikh v Srednei Azii v drevnie vremena, vol. 1. Almaty: Zhalyn baspasy.

Charikov A.A. 1980
Novaya seriya kamennykh statui iz Semirechiya. In *Srednevekovye drevnosti evraziiskikh stepei*. Moscow: Nauka, pp. 213 – 234.

Charikov A.A. 1984
Baltakolskaya skulptura. In *Zapadnaya Sibir v epokhu srednevekoviya*. Tomsk: Izd. Tom. Gos. Univ., pp. 58 – 63.

Charikov A.A. 1986
Izobrazitelnye osobennosti kamennykh izvayanii Kazakhstana. *Sovetskaya arkheologiya*, No. 1: 87 – 102.

China: Eine Wiege der Weltkultur (5000 Jahre Erfindungen und Entdeckungen). 1994
Mainz/Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.

Diakonova N.V. 1995
Shikshin: Materialy Pervoi russkoi turkestanskoi ekspeditsii akademika S.F. Oldenburga. 1909 – 1910. Moscow: Vostochnaya literatura.

Ermolenko L.N. 1995a
K voprosu o kartine mira drevnikh tyurkov (na materiale izvayanii i ogradok). In *Voennoe delo i srednevekovaya arkheologiya Tsentralnoi Azii*. Kemerovo: Izd. Kemerov. Gos. Univ., pp. 186 – 198.

Ermolenko L.N. 1995b
K probleme izvayanii v "trekhrogikh" golovnykh uborakh. In *Naskalnoe iskusstvo Azii*, iss. 1. Kemerovo: Kuzbassvuzizdat, pp. 54 – 55.

Ermolenko L.N. 1998a
Predstavleniya drevnikh tyurkov o voine. In *Altaica II: Sbornik statei i materialov*. Moscow: Inst. vostokovedeniya RAN, pp. 46 – 66.

Ermolenko L.N. 1998b
"Brovi ego soedineny…": Semantika khudo-zhestvennogo priema po arkheologicheskim i folklornym istochnikam. In *Slovtsovskie chteniya-98: Materialy nauch.-prakt. konferentsii*. Tyumen: n.p., pp. 126 – 128.

Ermolenko L.N. 2003
Mogli li raskrashivatsya drevnetyurkskie izvayaniya? In *Stepi Evrazii v drevnosti i srednevekovie: Materialy Mezhdunar. nauch. konferentsii, posvyaschennoi 100-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya M.P. Gryaznova*, bk. 2. St. Petersburg: Izd. Gos. Ermitazha, pp. 236 – 239.

Ermolenko L.N. 2004
Srednevekovye kamennye izvayaniya kazakhstan-skikh stepei (tipologiya, semantika v aspekte voennoi ideologii i traditsionnogo mirovozzreniya). Novosibirsk: Izd. IAE SO RAN.

Ermolenko L.N. 2006
On the meaning of certain stylistic features in the faces of Ancient Turkic sculptures. *Archaeology, Ethnology and Anthropology of Eurasia*, No. 3(27): 82 – 87.

Ermolenko L.N., Getsova N.S., Kurmankulov Zh.K. 1985
Novyi vid sooruzhenii s izvayaniyami iz Tsentralnogo Kazakhstana. In *Problemy okhrany arkheologicheskikh pamyatnikov Sibiri*. Novosibirsk: IIFF SO AN SSSR, pp. 137 – 161.

Evtyukhova L.A. 1952
Kamennye izvayaniya Yuzhnoi Sibiri i Mongolii. *MIA*, iss. 24, vol. 1: 72 – 121.

Excavation of a tomb of the sixteen kingdoms period at Pingling, Xianyang. 2004
Wenwu, No. N 8: 4 – 28.

Fedorov-Davydov G.A. 1976
Iskusstvo kochevnikov i Zolotoi Ordy: Ocherki kultury i iskusstva narodov Evraziiskikh stepei i zolotoordynskikh gorodov. Moscow: Iskusstvo.

Grach A.D. 1961
Drevnetyurkskie izvayaniya Tuvy. Moscow: Izd. vostochnoi literatury.

Grunberg A.L. 1971
Nuristan: Etnograficheskie i lingvisticheskie zametki. In *Strany i narody Vostoka: Srednyaya i Tsentralnaya Aziya (geografiya, etnografiya, istoriya)*, iss. 10. Moscow: Nauka, pp. 264 – 287.

Hayashi T. 2001
Several issues concerning Turkic stone statues. In *Türk dili araştirmalari yilliği*: *Belleten 2000*. Ankara: Turkish Language Inst., pp. 221 – 240.

Hudiakov Y.S., Tabaldiev K.Sh., Soltobaev O.A. 1996
Mnogofigurnye kompozitsii na kostyanykh plastinakh iz pamyatnika Suttuu-Bulak. In *Noveishie arkheologicheskie i etnograficheskie otkrytiya v Sibiri: Materialy IV Godovoi itogovoi sessii IAEt SO RAN*. Novosibirsk: Izd. IAE SO RAN, pp. 242 – 245.

Katanov N.F. 1894
O pogrebalnykh obryadakh u tyurkskikh plemen (s drevneishikh vremen i do nashikh dnei). *Izvestiya Obschestva arkheologii, istorii i etnografii pri Imp. Kazanskom universitete*, vol. 12, iss. 2: 109 – 142.

Klyashtorny S.G. 1978
Khram, izvayanie i stela v drevnetyurkskikh tekstakh: K interpretatsii Ihe-Hanyn-norskoi nadpisi. In *Tyurkologicheskii sbornik 1974*. Moscow: Nauka, pp. 238 – 255.

Kubarev G.V. 2003
Zhanrovaya sctena iz Bichiktu-Boma. In *Stepi Evrazii v drevnosti i srednevekovie: Materialy Mezhdunar. nauch. konferentsii, posvyaschennoi 100-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya M.P. Griaznova*, bk. 2. St. Petersburg: Izd. Gos. Ermitazha, pp. 242 – 246.

Kubarev V.D. 1984
Drevnetyurkskie izvayaniya Altaya. Novosibirsk: Nauka.

Kubarev V.D. 2004
Ancient **s**teles and sculptures in the ceremonies and superstitions of Central Asian peoples. *Archaeology, Ethnology and Anthropology of Eurasia*, No. 1(17): 28 – 38.

Kyzlasov L.R. 1969
Istoriya Tuvy v srednie veka. Moscow: Izd. Mosk. Gos. Univ.

Margulan A.Kh. 2003
Kamennye izvayaniya Ulytau. In *Margulan A.Kh. Sochineniya*, vol. 3/4. Almaty: Daik-Press, pp. 21 – 46.

Pletneva S.A. 1974
Polovetskie kamennye izvayaniya. Moscow, Leningrad: Nauka. (Svod arkheologicheskikh istochnikov; iss. E 4–2).

Potanin G.N. 1881
Ocherki Severo-Zapadnoi Mongolii, iss. 2. St. Petersburg: [Tip. V. Kirshbauma].

Pugachenkova G.A., Rempel L.I. 1982
Ocherki iskusstva Srednei Azii. Moscow: Iskusstvo.

Puteshestviya v vostochnye strany Plano Karpini i Rubruka. 1957
Moscow: Izd. geograficheskoi literatury.

Rapoport Yu.A., Nerazik E.E., Levina L.M. 2000
V nizoviyakh Oksa i Yaksarta: Obrazy drevnego Priaraliya. Moscow: Indrik.

Savinov D.G. 1984
Narody Yuzhnoi Sibiri v drevnetyurkskuyu epokhu. Leningrad: Izd. Leningrad. Gos. Univ.

Savinov D.G. 1994
Drevnetyurkskie plemena v zerkale arkheologii. In *Stepnye imperii Evrazii*. St. Petersburg: Farn, pp. 92 – 165.

Sher Ya.A. 1966
Kamennye izvayaniya Semirechiya. Moscow, Leningrad: Nauka.

Vielstrup F.A. 2002
Iz obryadovoi zhizni kirgizov nachala XX veka. Moscow: Nauka.

Received June 28, 2006.

COPYRIGHT INFORMATION

TITLE: Ancient Turkic Statues: Epic Hero or Warrior Ancestor?
SOURCE: Archaeol Ethnol Anthropol Eurasia 29 no1 Mr 2007

The magazine publisher is the copyright holder of this article and it is reproduced with permission. Further reproduction of this article in violation of the copyright is prohibited. To contact the publisher: http://www.springerlink.com/content/1563-0110/