



歐亞學刊

新7輯

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF EURASIAN STUDIES

(總第17輯)

余太山 李錦繡 主編



創于1897

商務印書館
The Commercial Press

圖書在版編目(CIP)數據

歐亞學刊. 新7輯 / 余太山, 李錦繡主編. — 北京:
商務印書館, 2018

ISBN 978 - 7 - 100 - 16388 - 0

I. ①歐… II. ①余… ②李… III. ①東方學—叢刊
IV. ①K107.8-55

中國版本圖書館CIP數據核字(2018)第157372號

權利保留，侵權必究。

歐亞學刊

(新7輯)

余太山 李錦繡 主編

商 務 印 書 館 出 版
(北京王府井大街36號 郵政編碼 100710)
商 務 印 書 館 發 行
三 河 市 尚 藝 印 裝 有 限 公 司 印 刷
ISBN 978 - 7 - 100 - 16388 - 0

2018年7月第1版 開本 889×1194 1/16
2018年7月第1次印刷 印張 16 1/4 彩插 20

定價：98.00元

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE UZBEK SKULLCAP

Shamsiddin Kamoliddin

On the site of Qara-Bulaq in the Ferghana Valley is found bronze human figure with a peaked headdress.^① The prototype of high conical felt caps of Turkic warrior-riders are headdresses of the Sakas *Tigrayauda* (i.e. with peaked head-dresses), which depicted on the bas-reliefs of the tomb of Darius I, of Naqsh-i Rostam and Behistun or of the Ortokoribanties of Herodotus.^② It is assumed that these Sakas were settled in Tashkent oasis, the foothills of the Western Tien Shan and the steppes of Southern Kazakhstan.^③ Further development of this form is conic head-dresses (skullcaps) of the Turkic people of Central Asia.^④

According to the Arab historian al-Ya'qubi (III/IX c.), the Caliph al-Mu'tasim (reigned in 218-227/833-842), the son of Harun al-Rashid, in everything followed the example of his brother al-Ma'mun. He practiced riding much and liked culture of the non-Arabs (*al-Adjam*). He wore clothes with narrow sleeves and people also began to wear such clothes, following his example. He wore big boots and square cap (النشاش المربعة). He was the first to wear square cap (مربعة شاشية), so it was called by his name "*al-Shash al-mu'tasimiyya*" (النشاش المعتصمية), i.e. "the cap of al-Mu'tasim"^⑤.

In Arabic for designation of a cap worn under a turban, used the word '*arraqiyya* (عراقية).^⑥ In addition, used the word *Shash* (شاش) – "muslin", "gauze" and *shashiyya* (شاشية) – "cloth turbans", "cap".^⑦ The Arabs called turban '*imama* (عمامة).^⑧

① Pamyatniki 1983, 35 (№ 66).

② Diakonov 1956: 248.

③ Akishev 1978: 61.

④ Sukhareva 1954: 345.

⑤ al-Ya'qubi: 31-32.

⑥ Baranov 1970: 653.

⑦ Baranov 1970: 488.

⑧ Girgas 1881: 553.

In New Persian used the word *'arq čin* (عرق چین) – skullcap, cap.^① In addition, used the words *shash* (شاش) – “turban”^②, “turban”, “cap under the turban” or “bandage of turban”^③ and *shashiya* (شاشیه) – “cap under the turban”^④. The Persians called turban *dastar* (دستار).^⑤

In Turkic a headpiece called *börk* – “cap”^⑥, the lower headpiece *-kəbəs (=kepeš) or kəbəs (= kepes)* – “skullcap”, “cap”; “head-dress around of which a turban wrapped”^⑦, and the upper headpiece called *čalma* – “turban”.^⑧

In medieval sources mentioned 3 types of men’s headdresses – *kalpak* (قلپاق), *burk* (بورک) and *taqiyya* (طاقیه). Among them are mentioned cap (*taqiyya*) of style “Khwadja-‘Ubayda”, on which was wrapped a turban, and a cap (*taqiyya* – probably, skullcap) with patterned embroidery, in particular, with a pattern of “peach blossom”. In 16th century in Bukhara manufacturing of *taqiyyah* was a special craft in which men were engaged. Turban, which had a number of options, termed *dastar* (دستار) and *foute* (فوطه).^⑨ In the miniatures of 15th-19th centuries there are images of several kinds of quilted caps round shape, sewn from fabric lined, worn by all sectors of society and in all cases of life. They served as headdress for outside and for home using, and as night cap. In the miniatures are also represented several kinds of turban.^⑩ At the end of 19th-early 20th centuries in Samarqand used three kinds of male headgear fabric: *qalpoq* – solid lined cap (skullcap); *araqčın* – soft cap unlined; *kuloh* – cap from 4 cross linked triangular fractions, no band. Uzbek term *qalpoq* means high conical headdress, most felt, it was widely used by the ancient Turks, and even earlier – by the Saks.^⑪

In the report of al-Ya‘qubi headdress worn by the Caliph al-Mu‘tasim called *shash* or *shashiyya*. This word is clearly not Arabic someone and not of Persian origin, and, judging from the ending *-iyya* (یة), it is the name of a relative, which can be explained as related the place-name “Shash” or “belonged to Shash”. By this term, perhaps, the Arabs called headdress used by the inhabitants of Chach, i.e. skullcap. The second feature of the headdress worn by the Caliph al-Mu‘tasim was that it had square shape. Skullcap is a male lower

① Dehkhoda X: 15827; PRS II: 180.

② Yagello 1911: 887.

③ Dehkhoda IX: 14007; Vullers 1864: 386.

④ Dehkhoda IX: 14011.

⑤ Dehkhoda VII: 10824-10826; Vullers 1855: 863; PRS I: 634.

⑥ DTS: 118.

⑦ Tarjuman: 48; Kuryshjanov 1970: 142; Rasulova 1969: 204.

⑧ DTS: 137.

⑨ Mukminova 1979: 73-74.

⑩ Gorelik 1979: 63-67.

⑪ Sukhareva 1982: 72-73.

headgear widely spread among the peoples of the East – the Arabs, Persians, Turks, and others, even though each of the people called it in different ways. It is noteworthy that almost all nations, including the Turks, used skullcaps with a round shape. According to the special study of costume of ancient Iranian peoples of Eurasia, among male headgears, there was no one had square shape.^① Hence, the origins of this headdress should be sought among costumes of other peoples. Currently skullcap with square form use only the Uighurs of Xinjiang, in China, Uzbeks of the Ferghana Valley and the Tashkent oasis. It was the same in 19th-early 20th centuries, when the culture of the peoples of Central Asia have not much changed and kept the basic cultural features of their ancient and medieval ancestors. Therefore, there is reason to believe that it was the same in the period of the early Middle Ages. So, the report of al-Ya‘qubi, probably refers to the square skullcap of the Turks of al-Shash, i.e. Chach, possibly, similar to the one that is currently used in Tashkent. In this case, this report is the most ancient mention of the Turkic skullcap in textual sources.

In the report of al-Ya‘qubi nothing is said about ornament on headgear worn by the Caliph al-Mu‘tasim. Perhaps, there were no any patterns on it. This is exactly Tashkent skullcap, which is of different colors, but has no ornamentation. As for the skullcaps of the Fergana Valley and Xinjiang in China, then they have patterns: at the top, once – divided into 4 equal field – 4 large identical petal shaped patterns and in each of the 4 lower lateral parts – 4 patterns (16 in total) in form of series of semicircles or arches (Figure 1). Female skullcaps of these regions are also square, but they do not have these symbols, and they are embroidered with multicolored flower patterns.



Fig. 1 The Uzbek skullcap

① Yatsenko 2006: Fig. 1, 3, 22, 23, 27, 46, 58, 62-64, 84-87, 89, 121, 123, 135, 137, 152, 154, 157, 158, 180, 181, 189, 216-218.

Regarding the meaning of these patterns, different opinions were expressed, not only by specialists. So, in the ornament of the skullcap some people tried to see the wing of a pheasant or a sheet of a tulip, and others the almond or pepper. Some believe that the black flap of the skullcap is a starry sky or a black hole in which the entire Universe is compressed, containing endless information. 4 main ornaments can mean three months germ of a child, and 16 arches bordering the lower part of skullcap – the cradle (*beshik*) of newborn baby. The points inside the arches signify the fading light of the deceased person. The Universe expands and shrinks, it is born and dies. The Universe will return again to some starting point. This will begin a new cycle and will be happen another “big bang”. There will appear again galaxies, star clusters, a life.^①

I think that the patterns of the skullcap reflects Svastik shaped solar symbolism widespread in all cultures, in particular, in Buddhism and Manicheism (Figures 2 and 3).

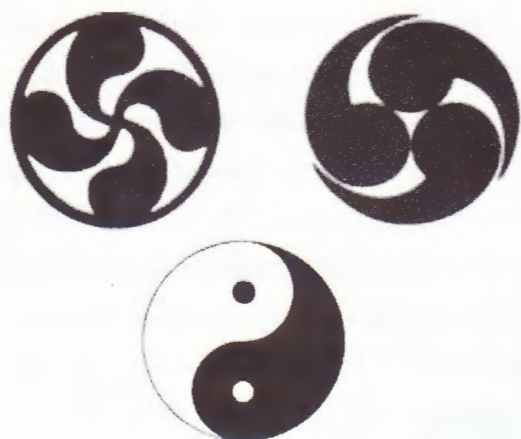


Fig. 2 Different types of solar symbols



Fig. 3 Rock painting, North America, early 1st millenium BC

Close resemblance to the patterns of the upper part of the Uzbek skullcap has ornament of the ceramic dish of 10th century AD from Akhsikath (Fig. 4).

① Fozili 1999: 17-18.



Fig. 4 Ceramic dish, Akhsikath, 10th c. AD

Svastik shaped solar symbols are also found in the ornaments of the medieval architecture of Central Asia (Figures 5-8).

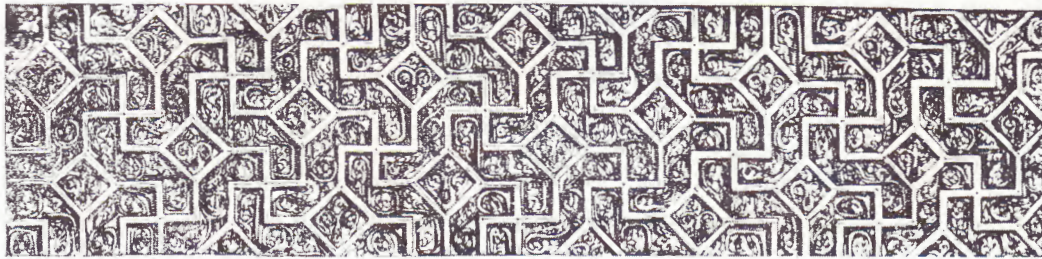


Fig. 5 Ornament on the walls of the Samanids palace, Samarqand, 10th c. AD



Fig. 6 Brick ornament of the Burana tower, Balasaghun, 11th-12th c. AD

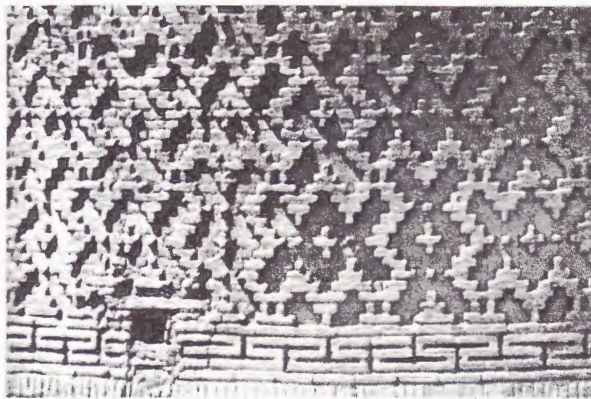


Fig. 7 Brick ornament of the minaret, Wabkent, 11th c. AD



Fig. 8 Base of column, Khiva, 18th c. AD

Where these patterns come from and the square shape of the headgear, it is difficult to say. Currently, in the Ferghana Valley people use 2 types of male square skullcaps, which differ in style of symbols – “the Chust skullcap” and “the Margilan skullcap”. Meanwhile, in Xinjiang there are about 30 types of square skullcaps. Almost every town has a kind of embroidery for designation of the same symbols. The “Chust” type of the Ferghanian skullcap there called “the Kashghar skullcap”. In the light of these data, I think that the square shape of headgear, as well as above mentioned patterns, originated from Xinjiang. This conclusion agrees also with the fact that in early medieval time Xinjiang of China was one of the largest cult centers of Buddhism and Manichaeism. In my opinion, square skullcap on a head when viewed from above has a shape of circle (head) built in square (skullcap), which is a kind of cosmogram, and along with the patterns is reproduction of one of the types of the Buddhist-Manichaean mandala.^① Squares and circles built into each other in the middle symbolized cosmogram of decreasing and increasing Universe.^② Geometric symbols (polygons, circle, square and their combinations with each other, mandala, cross, svastika

① Mandala 1998: 140.

② Bulatov 2005: 36; 2009: 79.

etc.) described space structure in its vertical and horizontal aspects in space and time forms, as well as more and more “overall” space images: earth, country, city, village, palace, temple, tomb.^①

Here the question arises – why the Arab Caliph wore Turkic skullcap or headgear of al-Shash. During the reign of the first ‘Abbasid Caliphs in the second half of 8th-9th centuries the Turks played an important role in the political life of the Arab Caliphate. Turkic troops were still in the army of Abu Muslim, who headed the movement in favor of the ‘Abbasids in Khurasan. Shortly after coming to power of the ‘Abbasids party the Turks of Khurasan along with the Persians began to occupy key and strategically important positions, especially in the capital Baghdad and in other cities and areas of the central part of the Caliphate. Furthermore, some of the ‘Abbasid Caliphs had Turkic wives and therefore their heirs to the throne genetically were half Turks.^② According to Abu Bakr al-Suli, who served as a court *nadim* of several ‘Abbasid Caliphs and wrote the history of their reign, many of the Baghdad Caliphs wore Turkic clothes, were well-spoken in Turkic and showed a tendency to all Turkic.^③

The first ‘Abbasid Caliph who attracted considerable number of the Turks to his service was al-Mansur^④, in whose army there were 40 thousand of *mawla*.^⑤ Some of them held high posts in his administration. So, in 137/754-55 Zubayr ibn al-Turki was appointed as the governor of Mosul and Hamadan.^⑥ Hammad al-Turki, who was head of the personal body guard of al-Mansur, took an active part in the building of Baghdad, and was then appointed as the *amil* in al-Sawad.^⑦ Mubarak al-Turki was the military commander of the Caliphs al-Mahdi and al-Mansur.^⑧ Faraj al-Khadim al-Turki in the 162-164/779-781 served as the governor of Egypt^⑨, and for Harun al-Rashid was the governor of Tarsus.^⑩ The Turks were the basis of the military forces of Harun al-Rashid, in the army of which were additionally

① Toporov 1991: 272.

② The first Caliph, who married Turkic girl, was al-Mansur whose wife named Humar, then al-Mahdi married Mubarak, and later their example followed other Caliphs [al-Tha'alibi 1995: 19]; Harun al-Rashid had Turkic wife named Marida, who came from the environs of Samarqand, she was the mother of the Caliph al-Mu'tasim [al-Masudi: 305], the wife of the Caliph al-Mu'tasim was a Turkic slave from Tokharistan named Shuja [al-Suli: 57]. The mother of the Caliph al-Muktafi called by Turkic name Djidjak (čičak – Turkic “flower”) [al-Tha'alibi: 102].

③ al-Suli: 117, 122, 148, 150, 154, 167.

④ al-Tha'alibi: 49.

⑤ Ibn al-Zubayr: 213.

⑥ al-Tabari III: 118.

⑦ al-Tabari III: 276-280, 309, 392.

⑧ al-Djahiz 1993: 96.

⑨ al-Tabari III: 562.

⑩ al-Tabari III: 604.

called about 3 thousand *ghulams*.^① His son al-Ma'mun had in his army about 70 thousand of the Turkic *ghulams* who were recruited through the efforts of his brother al-Mu'tasim^②, who was himself in half the Turk. His mother Marida was originated from the Turks of Samarqand area^③, and his wife Shuja was Turkic slave from Tokharistan.^④ After becoming Caliph al-Mu'tasim called recruits not only through purchase, but also invited the Turkic nobility and military leaders to move to Baghdad and live under his patronage. One of these generals was Jaff ibn Yil-tegin, prince of Ferghana. When al-Mu'tasim heard that he is very brave and courageous warrior, he called him together with other princes to his palace, and they were all met by him with great honor. When was built Samarra (Sur man ra'y), they were allocated land holdings there, which is called by their names – Jaff, Djawsaq al-Khaqani, etc. Many Turks who arrived to the service of al-Mu'tasim were Idolaters and Zoroastrians, and some of them who converted to Islam, continued secretly to confess their religion (for example, al-Afshin). Gradually, all political power passed from the Persians to the Turks, and Persian *wazirs* begun to share their power and influence with the Turks. Shortly the Turks seized all power in the Caliphate, killed unwanted Caliphs and appointed in their place their henchmen.^⑤ Many of the Turkic military leaders were the largest owners and had a huge land properties, granted them as *al-iqta'* by the Caliphs, and not only in Iraq but also in Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor and the Caucasus. Arab poets in verse and special works praised dignities and advantages of the Turks.^⑥

All of these data, in our view, explain why the Caliph al-Mu'tasim wore Turkic skullcap, and to example of him followed the courtiers and Baghdad nobles. Most of the Turkic *ghulams* served in the army of al-Mu'tasim was originated from the Ferghana Valley, Chach and Ustrushana.^⑦ Perhaps this is precisely what explains the square form of the headgear, which came into vogue in Baghdad during the reign of al-Mu'tasim.

① al-Jakubi 1967: 255-256.

② al-Tabari III: 799, 891.

③ al-Masudi: 305.

④ al-Suli: 57.

⑤ Macoudi VII: 118, 122, 259-268, 324, 334, 364; VIII: 11, 29, 345, 348; IX: 2, 7, 12, 28-30; al-Suli: 56, 159, 161, 166, 175, 192, 199, 202, 213, 224, 241.

⑥ Akhundova 2004: 258. In the middle of 9th century AD the Arab poet al-Jahiz wrote for al-Fath ibn Khaqan work named "Risala fi manaqib al-Atrak wa imamat djunud al-Khilafah" ("A Treatise on the merits of the Turks and the primacy of the soldiers of the Caliphate") [al-Djahiz: 17-23].

⑦ Ismail 1966: 18.

References

Primary Sources

al-Djahiz – Abu Othman Amr ibn Bahr Basrensi al-Djahiz. *Tria opuscula* / Ed. G. van Vloten (edition photomechanice iterate). Lugduni Batavorum: E. J. Brill, 1968.

al-Djahiz 1993 – Abu Usman Amr ibn Bahr al-Dzhahiz. *Poslanie al-Fathu ibn Khaqanu “O dostoinstvah tyurkov i ostal’nogo khalifskogo voyska”* / *Perevod s arabskogo F.M.Asadova // Asadov F.M. Arabskie istochniki o tyurkah v ranneye srednevekov’ye*. Baku: Elm, 1993, pp. 56-103.

Ibn al-Zubayr – al-Qadi al-Rashid Ibn al-Zubayr. *Kitab az-zakha’ir va-t-tuhaf*/Ed. by Muhammad Hamid Allah and Salah al-Din al-Mundjid, al-Kuwayt, 1959.

al-Jakubi – Ahmad ibn Abu Jakub ibn Wadhah al-Jakubi. *Kitab al-buldan* / Ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, pars 7. Lugduni Batavorum: E. J. Brill, 1967.

Macoudi – Macoudi. *Les prairies d’or* / *Text et traduction C.Barbier de Meynard*, t. I-IX. Paris: Societé Asiatique, 1861-1877.

al-Masudi – al-Masudi. *Kitab at- tanbih wa-l- ishraf* / Ed. M.J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, pars 8. Lugduni Batavorum: E. J. Brill, 1967.

Siaset-name – Siaset-name. *Kniga o pravlenii vazira XI stoletiya Nizam al-Mul’ka* / *Perevod, vvedenie v izuchenie pamyatnika i primechaniya B. N. Zakhodera*. Moskva; Leningrad: Izdatel’stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1949.

al-Suli – Abu Bakr Muhammad as-Suli. *Kitab al-avrak (“Kniga list’yev”)* / *Kriticheskiy tekst i perevod na russkiy yazyk V. I. Belyaeva i A. B. Khalidova*. *Predislovie, primechaniya i ukazateli A. B. Khalidova*. Sankt-Peterburg: Peteburgskoe vostokovedenie, 1998.

al-Tabari – Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir al-Tabari. *Annales* / Ed. M. J. de Goeje, I-III series. Lugduni Batavorum: E. J. Brill, 1964.

Tarjuman – Tarjumon. XIV asr yozma obidasi. Toshkent: Fan, 1980.

al-Tha’alibi – al-Tha’alibi. *The Lata’if al-ma’arif. The Book of curious and entertaining information* / *Translated with introduction and notes by C. E. Bosworth*. Edinburgh: The University Press, 1968.

al-Tha’alibi 1995 – Abu Mansur as-Saolibiy. *Ajoyib ma’lumotlar / Tadqiq qiluvchi, tarjimon, izoh va ko’rsatkichlar tuzuvchi I. Abdullayev*. Toshkent: Abdulla Qodiriy, 1995.

al-Ya‘qubi – al-Ya‘qubi. *Mushkalat al- nas li-zamanihim* (The Adaption of Men to their Time) / Ed. by William Millward. Beirut: The New Book Publishing House, 1962.

Secondary Sources

Akischev 1978 – Akishev. K. A. *Kurgan Issyk. Iskusstvo sakov Kazakhstana*. Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1978.

ARS – *Arabsko-Russkiy Slovar* (okolo 33 000 slov) / Sostavil H. K. Baranov. Izdanie 4-e stereotipnoe (v 2-h knigah). Moskva: Sovetskaya Enciklopediya, 1970.

Akhundova 2004 – Akhundova N. *Tyurki v sisteme gosudarstvennogo upravleniya Arabskogo khalifata* (VIII – seredina X vv.). Baku: Elm, 2004.

Bulatov 2009 – Bulatov M. S. *Kosmos i arkhitektura*. Tashkent: SMI-ASIA, 2009.

Bulatov 2005 – Bulatov M. S. *Khramy Solntsa v drevney Transoksiane* // *Arkhitektura i stroitel'stvo Uzbekistana*, 2005, nos. 2-3-4, pp. 35-36.

Dekhoda 1998 – Dekhoda A. (1878-1955) *Loghatnāme* (Encyclopedic Dictionary) / Ed. Mohammad Mo‘in and Ja‘far Shahidi. 16 volumes. Tehran: Tehran University Publications, 1998.

DTS – *Drevnetyurkskiy slovar* / Otv. red. V. M. Nadelyaev, D. M. Nasilov, E. R. Tennishev i A.M.Scherbak. Leningrad: Nauka LO, 1969.

Dyakonov 1956 – Dyakonov M. M. *Istoriya Midii* (ot drevneyshih vremen do kontsa IV v. do n.e.). Moskva; Leningrad, 1956.

Fozili 1999 – Fozili M. *Kosmogoniya tyubeteyki ili “antumindal”* // *San‘at*, 1999, no. 1, s. 17-18.

Girgas 1881 – *Slovar k arabskoy khrestomatii i Koranu* / Sostavil Prof. V. Girgas. Kazan: Tipografiya Imperatorskogo Universiteta, 1881.

Gorelik 1979 – Gorelik M. V. *Sredneaziatskiy muzhskoy kostyum na miniatyurah XV – XIX vv.* // *Kostyum narodov Sredney Azii. Istoriko-etnograficheskie ocherki*. Moskva: Nauka, 1979, s. 49-69.

Ismail 1966 – Osman S. A. Ismail. *Mu‘tasim and the Turks* // *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 29. London, 1966, pp. 12-24.

Kuryshdzhanov 1970 – Kuryshdzhanov A. K. *Issledovanie po leksike starokypchakskogo pis'mennogo pamyatnika XIII v. – “tyurksko-arabskogo” slovarya*. Alma-Ata, 1970.

Mandala – *Mandala* // *Brockhaus die Enzyklopädie in vierunzwanzig Bänden*, Leipzig: E. A. Brockhaus Mannheim, 1998, p. 140.

Mukminova 1979 – Mukminova R. G. Kostyum narodov Sredney Azii po pis'mennym istochnikam XVI v. // Kostyum narodov Sredney Azii. Istoriko-etnograficheskie ocherki. Moskva: Nauka, 1979, s. 70-77.

Pamyatniki 1983 – Pamyatniki kul'tury i iskusstva Kirgizii (drevnost i srednevekov'ye). Katalog vystavki. Leningrad: Iskusstvo, 1983.

PRS – Persidsko-russkiy slovar (svyshe 60 tys. slov), v 2-h tomah / Pod red. Yu. A. Rubinchika. Izd. 3-e stereotipnoe, s prilozheniem Grammaticheskogo ocherka persidskogo yazyka. Moskva: Russkiy yazyk, 1985.

Rasulova 1969 – Rasulova N. A. Issledovanie yazyka "Kitab al-idrak li lisan al-atrak" Abu-Hayyana (morfologiya, leksika i glossariy) / Diss... k. filol. n. Tashkent, 1969.

Sukhareva 1954 – Sukhareva O. A. Drevnie cherty v formah golovnyh uborov narodov Sredney Azii // Sredneaziatskiy etnograficheskiy sbornik, vyp. 1. Moskva, 1954, s. 299-353.

Sukhareva 1982 – Sukhareva O. A. Istoriya sredneaziatskogo kostyuma. Samarqand (2-ya polovina XIX – nachalo XX vv.). Moskva: Nauka, 1982.

Toporov 1991 – Toporov V. N. Geometricheskie simvoly // Mify narodov mira, v 2-h tomah. Moskva: Sovetskaya Enciklopediya, 1991, 1992. T. 1, s. 272-273.

Vullers 1855, 1864 – Ioannis Augusti Vullers. Lexicon Persico-Latinum etymologicum cum linguis maxime cognatis Sanscrita et Zendica et Pehlevicacomparatum ...t. I-II. Bonnae ad Rhenum: Impensis Adolphi Marci, 1855, 1864.

Yagello 1910 – Polnyi persidsko-arabsko-russkiy slovar (Sostavit 1 chast industansko-russkogo slovarya) / Sostavil polkovnik I. D. Yagello. Tashkent: Tipo-litografiya Shtaba Turkestanskogo voyennogo okruga, 1910.

Yatsenko 2006 – Yatsenko C. A. Kostyum drevney Yevrazii (iranoyazychnye narody). Moskva: Vostochnaya literatura, 2006.