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PREFACE

The Tajik people are a part of the great commonwealth of socialist nations constituting the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Since distant times close ties of friendship and cooperation have bound the peoples of the USSR together; they united by their common struggle against oppressors and Conquerors. This holds well in full measure for the Uzbeks, Tajiks, Turkmens, Kyrgyzs, Kazakhs, Karakalpaks and other peoples of the Central Asian Republics.

Research on history of the Tajik people helps to understand the sources of traditional links of the Central Asian peoples. Especially closely related are the Tajiks and the Uzbeks — peoples formed on a common ethnic basis. The cultural treasures of the Tajik people were also the property of the Uzbek people; in like manner, the achievements of the Uzbek culture were widely assimilated by the Tajiks. The character of the material culture, customs, and folk art — all this is closely related and at times indistinguishable. The pre-ancient, ancient and in many ways even the medieval history of these peoples is quite closely related, sometimes identical, as it developed on the same territory. Nevertheless two peoples were formed which have now become Tajik and Uzbek socialist nations.

That is why a study of history of the Tajiks, their original contribution to the common treasure house of human culture inseparably linked with study of the history of all the peoples of Central Asia revealing what united them. It based on such study those deep historical roots of brotherly cooperation of the Central Asian peoples can and must discovered.

Of course, the history of the Tajiks, like the history of all Central Asian peoples connected with the history of many peoples of the foreign East, with India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, the Arab countries and some other countries. The Soviet historians highly value the historically formed links between the peoples of Central Asia and the foreign East, which unite them in the struggle for peace and social progress.

In the works of bourgeois historians the past of the peoples of the East, including of the Tajiks, emerges as an unending succession of wars and palace coups, interspersed with stories about the kings, rulers, military commanders episodically introducing facts of history of culture. Historical regularity either rejected in these works or discussed from idealistic positions.

The vast material on the history of Central Asia shows the futility of the efforts of several bourgeois emigrant historians to present the history of the peoples of Central Asia as free from class contradictions and class struggles and view it only as arena of conflict of different ethnic formations and races. Speculative theories about predominance of one or the other "pure" races are

advanced and, contrary to scientific findings, races identified with one or the other peoples. Moreover, they ignore the fact that both the Uzbeks and the Tajiks related to the same Pamiro-Fergana racial type. Efforts to explain the history of Central Asia from the racist positions (like history of other countries as well) are harmful and unfounded from the scientific point of view.

Truly scientific interpretation of the social, economic, political and cultural aspects of life of the different peoples is possible only in the light of Marxist-Leninist teachings about the history of society. The mechanism of social development remarkably revealed by K. Marx: "In social production of their life people enter into certain necessary production relations who correspond to certain stage of development of their material productive forces. The totality of these production relations form the economic structure of society, the real basis on which stands the legal and political superstructure and to which certain forms of social consciousness correspond. Mode of production of material life serves the social, political and spiritual processes of life in general. Not the consciousnesses of people determine their being, but on the opposite, their social being determines their consciousness.

At a certain stage of their development material productive forces of society, come into contradiction with the existing production relations, or – what is only the legal expression of the latter with the relations of property, within which they hitherto developed. From the form of development of productive forces, these relations get transformed into their fetters. Then comes the epoch of social revolution with the change of economic basis there occurs more or less quickly an upheaval in the huge superstructure."¹ Proceeding from the determining role of the basis which is the complicated total of production relations in one or the other stage of historical development, Marxist-Leninist science also reveals the laws of mutual relations between the basis and the superstructure, the active role of superstructure and certain forms of social consciousness related to it, spiritual and material culture.

The best spiritual and material cultural values created through thousands of years of social and historical practice of humanity, fruit of its material, scientific and artistic activities, advanced knowledge, progressive theories and forms of creative thinking, i.e.... cultural heritage in broadest general sociological significance of its idea remain the powerful means of basic transformation of contemporary society. That is why, while trying to practically learn and understand the rich historical past of the peoples; we acquire newer and newer spiritual forces in the interests of genuine social progress and formation of a harmonious communist personality.

As it is well-known, class struggle acts as the moving force of historical development in an antagonistic society. Popular unrest and uprisings frequently shook the Central Asian society. K. Marx and F. Engels wrote: "Freemen and slaves, patricians and plebeians, landlord and serf, master and apprentice, in short, oppressor and oppressed were in perpetual antagonism to each other, conducted uninterrupted, covert and overt, always ending in revolutionary

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, Works., V.13, pp. 6-7.

reconstruction of the entire social edifice or general extermination of the struggling classes".²

For historians, V.I. Lenin's observation that for those who find themselves in "labyrinth and chaos" Marxism gives a leading thread, which enables them to discover regularity, this thread, is the theory of class struggle.³ Just it is from this position that the past of the Tajik people and other peoples of Central Asia is studied by the Soviet historical science.

Already in the twenties, there appeared a number of researches on questions of cultural and political history of Central Asia. It was then that the sketches of the great indigenous orientalist V.V. Barthold on the history of the Tajiks, Kyrgyzs, Turkmens, his general work "History of Cultural Life of Turkestan", excellent historical and historic-literary works of the founder of Tajik Soviet literature, S. Ayni, researches of A.A. Semenov and M.S. Andreyev brought out.

In the thirties, Marxist methodology in the historical researches acquired a leading place. A re-examination of the material collected earlier began from the position of historical materialism (here a particularly notable role was played by A.Iu. Yakubovsky); new sources appeared on the territory of Tajikistan with the beginning of first archaeological expeditions.

The post-war years witnessed a vast increase in the quantity of historical sources of the most varied character: old archives, medieval texts, numismatic, archaeological, paleo-anthropological, and linguistic and other materials. This considerably deepened the character of researches, enabling the working out of important regularities of the historical process. Besides a study of various questions and problems, historians moved over to creation of monographic and combined works.

In 1947, the author published a general work "History of Tajik People in a Short Summary". At first it was published in Tajik language (in 1947) and later in three (last one in 1955) editions in Russian language with corrections and additions in each edition. The chronological frame of this work covered the period ranging from the pre-historical times to 1917. It gives based on Marxist analysis a brief summary of historical development of the Tajik people. The author also participated in the preparation and editing of a three volume collective work (in five books) "History of the Tajik People" published by the Academy of Sciences of the Tajik SSR (Moscow, 1963-1965). During subsequent years, the author continued to work on problems of history and culture of the Tajik people as a result of which abundant material got collected which needed systematization, analysis and generalization.

The present work "Tajiks: Pre-Ancient, Ancient and Medieval History" covers the period ranging from the appearance on the territory of Central Asia the first human communities to the threshold of modern times (the middle of the XVIII century).

The book consists of five parts. The first part is devoted to an explanation of the primitive community system on the territory of Central Asia. The second

² K. Marx and F. Engels, Works., V.4, p. 424.

³ V.I. Lenin, Pol. Sobr. Soch, V.26, p. 58.

part throws light on the life of various tribes and nationalities – the ancestors of the Tajiks – in the epoch of development of slave-owning relations. In the third part, the historical destinies of Central Asia in the period of emergence of feudal relations examined. This followed by the fourth part "Central Asia in the period of development and consolidation of the feudal system", and, finally, the fifth part is devoted to the period of developed feudalism in Central Asia. The work includes a short historical reference, list of cited sources and literature as well as an index.

The author certainly did not intend to throw encyclopedic light on all problems of history of the Tajik people without any exception. The idea was to link the historical canvass with the researches on more important complex and often-discussed problems. A summary of the history and culture of the Tajik people is attempted against the backdrop of history and culture of all peoples inhabiting Central Asia as an integral part of the common history (and culture) of the Central Asian peoples.

Studying the pre-ancient, ancient and early medieval history of the Tajiks one discovers that a lot of it is still in the process of formation as the flow of new material is exceptionally large. Here it is often not possible to finally solve a problem, and hence along with pragmatically summarizing the facts, the book examines the various hypotheses of Soviet and foreign colleagues while formulating observations and viewpoint of the author. Naturally, it required detailed statement; references and citations of sources and corresponding historical, archaeological, numismatic, linguistic, epigraphically, literary publications and researches.

In the fourth and fifth parts of the book, on issues where the material is already sufficiently or fully elucidated, we have tried to avoid repeating the conclusions already made by our predecessors. Thus, it relates to the chapters on medieval, political and partly cultural history which has been sufficiently illuminated by the works of several generations of Russian and Soviet Orientalists (in the first place, of course, V.V. Barthold, A.Iu. Yakubovsky, A.A. Semenov, E.A. Bertels, P.P. Ivanov and others). Hence, the citation references here are more of a summary character.

Here are some of the problems analyzed in the book: the level of development of culture and economy of Central Asia in the epoch of Bronze Age and ties with the tribes of Hindustan, Iran and other countries: the Aryan problem and the ethno-linguistic substratum of ancient tribes and peoples of Central Asia, northern India, Afghanistan, Iran and the Eurasian steppe; emergence of class society, Central Asian, Iranian, Indian, Hellenistic synthesis; origins, chronological problems and culture of the Kushans. A special chapter is devoted to the socio-economic structure of ancient Central Asia, where besides a historiographical elucidation of this vexed problem an analysis of all the available material made, part of which has brought to light in this connection for the first time.

The history and culture of early medieval Tokharistan and Sogd has dealt with in detail; it has established that the emergence and development of feudal relations resulted in progressive changes in the life of society: growth of productive forces and extraordinary rise of artistic culture. Undoubtedly, in the

Kushan, early medieval and the later epochs, Central Asia became one of the most important cultural centers of the East.

In these chapters related to the affirmation and development of feudal relations, attention is concentrated on the new material brought to light by Soviet scholarship during the last two decades. This in the first place takes into account researches about the development of productive forces and production relations, economic life in its regularities and concrete manifestations.

The book places a basic stress on appearance of specifics in every period, on observation of the dynamics of different socio-economic institutions. The author has made use of the data of those disciplines and sources (mainly documentary and numismatic; in their understanding and Marxist interpretation O.D. Chekhovich and E.A. Davidovich have made a significant contribution) which were little or not at all used for reconstructing the general historical picture and for determining the character of development of society in medieval Central Asia. The medieval culture of the Tajik people briefly elucidated in all its aspects: literature, science, art, architecture, material culture. Some facts about cultural life of other peoples of Central Asia have also highlighted.

The ethnogenesis processes have also received attention in the book. The author has tried to concentrate upon and analyze all the data available to contemporary science – data contained in written sources, linguistics, paleo-anthropology and anthropology, ethnography, literary criticism – for tracing the path of formation of the Tajik people. Special section is also devoted to formation of the Uzbek people – here, as in other parts of the book, results of the researches of Uzbek colleagues have been liberally used to show convincingly the very old sources of Uzbek ethnogenesis, high level and originality of the culture of the Uzbek people.

In the present monograph the interpretation contained in our scholarly literature including also the works by the author of the. Consequences of inclusion of Central Asia in the Achaemenid state, of the Greco-Macedonian Empire and the Arab Caliphate has expanded to a certain extent. Two interpretations are well-known in this connection – one, typical of the bourgeois scholarship, unreserved admiration for the conqueror and direct or indirect belittling of the cultural level of the peoples of Central Asia; second, elucidation, as prevalent in the Soviet literature, stressing the just struggle of the freedom-loving tribes and peoples against the conquerors and projection of the original character and highly developed level of the local Central Asian culture. However, the struggle against the bourgeois conceptions and the Marxist interpretation opposed to them remained confined only to one part of the problem, mainly in relation to political events. In this connection, the socio-economic consequences not adequately investigated; these either remained in the dark or often explained in an exclusively negative way. The author has tried to add to this group of problems material about economic and historic-cultural links and the mutual influence of peoples and cultural synthesis.

The book also contains historical maps reproduced from "The History of the Tajik People" (Vol. I-II, Moscow, 1963-1964). Illustrations have been generously provided by the State Hermitage, Institute of Art Uzbek SSR, A. Donish Institute of History Academy of Sciences of Tajik SSR, the British

Museum, French Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan and other Soviet and foreign scientific institutions and individual scholars to whom the author expresses his sincere gratitude.

The work completed in 1970. Hence it makes use of those sources and researches which were available to the author at the end of 1969 and beginning of 1970; later sources could be used only partly while making corrections.

The author remains grateful to all those who helped him by their advice, observations and criticism, particularly to A.E. Bertels, I.S. Braginsky, E.A. Grantovsky, E.A. Davidovich, A.M. Mirzoev, I.M. Oransky, V.A. Ranov, V.A. Romodin and, of course, the editor of this book B.A. Litvinsky.

PART I

THE PRIMITIVE COMMUNITY AND ITS DECLINE IN THE TERRITORY OF CENTRAL ASIA

CHAPTER I

THE PRIMITIVE COMMUNITIES IN CENTRAL ASIA

1. PALEOLITHIC. PRE-TRIBAL SOCIETY. EMERGENCE OF TRIBAL SOCIETY

MONUMENTS OF LOWER PALEOLITHIC

It is difficult to say as to when the first men appeared on the territory of Central Asia because the oldest traces of their life might not have preserved. Some scholars are of the view that Central Asia could have been a part of the zone of territory on which apes evolved into human beings,¹ and even though this view cannot consider as a generally accepted one, nevertheless the possibility of finding on this territory the oldest remnants of human life cannot be ruled out.

In 1953, A.P. Okladnikov discovered, on river On-Archa close to river Naryn in Kyrgyzstan, in a stone wall of ancient middle Pleistocene terraces, a large stone possessed by man, and one end of which is like a long slightly arched bulging chipped off blade. Similar stone implements are known, in archaeological literature, as pebble cutting instruments — choppers.² It was the first discovery of its kind in Central Asia. During subsequent years, such implements found at ten different sites in Central Asia.³ Stone implements of this type are well known in most parts of the "ancient world" and are characteristic of characterize as the oldest known stone culture of humanity.⁴

Typological analysis shows that the stone implements of Central Asia are closely analogous to the so-called Soan Paleolithic culture of India.⁵ This indicates that these countries had a common historical path in the epoch of the lower Paleolithic. Geological data show that the carriers of the stone culture lived in the epoch of the first inter-glacier age and the succeeding Rees ice age, i.e. in the middle Pleistocene epoch, more than 200 thousand years ago. In that period, there existed such animals as the ancient form of elephants and fossil horse, early forms of mammoth, long horn bison, different types of rhinoceros. From all indications it appears that population in that period was very sparse.

¹ *Nesturkh M.F.*, 1964.

² *Okladnikov A.P.*, 1966 b, p. 19.

³ *Ranov V.A.*, 1966 b, p. 19.

⁴ See for example *Movius H. L.*, 1944; *Leakey L.S.B.*, 1951 and others.

⁵ *Ranov V.A.*, 1964 a.

Implements of a different type like hand chopper, highly characteristic of the lower Paleolithic period in Europe, are found only in Turkmenistan.

MONUMENTS OF THE MIDDLE PALEOLITHIC

The next stage in the life of primitive man – the middle Paleolithic – more richly represented in Central Asia. This is the time of the dawn of the Muster culture, the time of the existence of the Neanderthals, from who at the threshold of the Middle and Upper Paleolithic people of the contemporary type evolved.

The productive forces of society began to change more rapidly than in the epoch of Lower Paleolithic: the techniques of making implements speedily perfected, their forms changed and functions became more varied. People learnt not only to keep up the fire but also to obtain it. Latest statistical methods allow bringing out in different regions, including Central Asia, several local cultures of the Middle Stone Age, which perhaps reflect existence of something like large social unions.

Muster caves and open settlements have been discovered at many places of Central Asia, in the planes and the mountains.

In Turkmenistan, these have found on the Krasnovodsk peninsula and in the Central Kopetdag ranges, in Uzbekistan in cave camps near Tashkent and Samarkand and in Tajikistan a large number of open settlements in western Fergana, in the region of Ura-Teppe in Hissar and Vakhsh Valley and in the area of Dangara. In the recent years, traces of Muster culture have found in northern Kyrgyzstan also.

The Teshik-Tash grotto has become famous all over the USSR and abroad.⁶ It is located at a place not far from the city of Termez in the valley of river Turgan-darya in the Baysun-Tau hills. In this grotto five cultural layers have traced, which were left behind by the Neanderthals returning to the old place. About 3,000 stone articles have discovered here out of which 339 are finished implements. Among them two types are more prevalent sharp-edged stone blade and an oval-shaped spade. The sharp edged one mainly used as a cutting implement for processing wood, leather or as a knife. Other implements are rarely found. The main hunting object for the Teshik-Tash people was the Siberian mountain goat, available in large numbers in the mountains of Central Asia. They also hunted dears, bears, leopards and smaller wild animals.

The discovery of remains of a Muster man – an 8-9 years old boy – became an event of worldwide importance. In spite of the fact that from the time of this discovery more than three decades have already passed, archaeologists have not succeeded in finding another skeleton of this type, though in our country tens of Mousterian camps are well known. Around the remnants of the bones, (skull of the boy and bones of his skeleton) horns of a mountain goat were discovered which indicates pre-meditated burial.

The collection of stone implements from Teshik-Tash is being supplemented now by other cave monuments among which mention may be made

⁶ Okladnikov A.P., 1949.

of the relics found at the recently excavated grotto of Obirahmat, 100 kilometers from Tashkent. The materials of this interesting excavation have not published in detail. Here more than 30 thousand articles of the Mousterian period have been collected.

Considerable material has been found in the valley of river Syr-Darya between Leninabad (Khujand) and Naukat in Kairakkum. In this district, implements of two stages of the Muster period are related to the remnants of the old terraces of the Syr-Darya. Among them, as in Teshik-Tash, the sharp-edged implements and scrapers are not made of siliceous limestone but of thick and hard porphyry.

All these relics belong to the so-called Levaellua-Muster culture and are analogous to the Muster monuments of the Near East.⁷

In south Tajikistan, however, several Muster relics of a completely different character have been discovered which are akin to the cultures of India and other countries, situated to the south and east of Tajikistan. A large site of this type — Kara-Bura in the Vakhsh Valley (not far away from the settlement Jilikul) was investigated by V.A. Ranov. It is related to a series of not very high sandy points covered from above with two meter-thick stony surface. It is in such stony places that the Muster articles have found. They are interesting because besides the usual Muster implements some peculiar type of articles of stone — very stone implements — choppers, etc. have been discovered which have a great resemblance with similar articles of later stages of the Soan culture of India.

Thus, beginning with the Muster period one can notice in the cultures of the stone age in Central Asia a certain similarity with the two large Paleolithic regions — the Near and Eastern Asia. This closeness of cultures can be observed in the later period of the Neolithic.⁸ The age of the main relics of the Muster period in Central Asia, in the light of the latest data, is 50 to 40 thousand years.⁹

MONUMENTS OF THE UPPER PALEOLITHIC

Approximately 35-40 thousand years ago the formation of man of the contemporary type — *Homo sapiens* — can be said to have commenced.

To this period, a sharp improvement in the inventory of stone implements can be traced. The three or four main types of implements of the Muster period are replaced by a whole collection of various types of stone implements.

With the improvement of implements, their size sharply reduced, enriching the methods of hunting.

In the Upper Paleolithic period mature matriarchal clans emerge, represent exogamous groups of people bound by types of deep and common origin from the maternal side.

⁷ Okladnikov A.P., 1966 b, p. 48-49.

⁸ Ranov V.A., 1965 b.

⁹ Okladnikov A.P., 1966 b, p. 45-46; also Ivanov I.K., 1965.

Upper Paleolithic in Central Asia has not been studied in depth. Obviously, in comparison with the Muster period, natural conditions were not quite favorable for life of the upper Paleolithic people in all regions of Central Asia.

A more important camp for Upper Paleolithic monuments was Samarkand where their traces can be found scattered all over the territory of the city. Among thousands of articles discovered from the three cultural layers, there are different types of implements: scrapers, chisels, spades, scooping instruments and hewing implements etc. In 1964, a jaw of Upper Paleolithic man was discovered here. The leader of the expedition D.N. Lev conjectured that people in Samarkand habitat lived in mud and stone houses. The main hunting prey for them was the horse, donkey, bison, camel, antelope, wild goat and reindeer.¹⁰

Other monuments of the Upper Paleolithic are located in the small valley of the Turkestan mountain range not far from the village Chorku, in the place famous under the name of Khoja-Gor.¹¹ It belongs to the end of the Upper Paleolithic period; people lived here perhaps 12-15 thousand years ago in the contemporary geological epoch. The cultural layer has not been preserved here flint implements have been swept away by floodwaters,¹² but the relics discovered here are interesting as they represent a very full collection of flint implements, substantially different in form and processing technique from the implements found at the habitat in Samarkand.

Taking into consideration other materials as well, one can say that in the Upper Paleolithic epoch in Central Asia two technical traditions continue to exist. One is related to the East Asian and Siberian Paleolithic (the Samarkand habitat) and the other, to the Near East (Khoja-Gor).

CHARACTERISTICS OF PALEOLITHIC SOCIETY

Based on archaeological materials we have examined the productive forces of the Central Asian society in the Paleolithic epoch. The problem of social evolution of this society is extremely complicated. Even the basic regularities of its evolution have not been determined in the works of sociologists and the proposed schemes are subject of sharp discussions and debates.¹³ The question of peculiarities of developments of society of the epoch of Paleolithic in Central Asia has not yet been raised.

To state that for most of the period of time human society remained in the Stone Age would be a sort of general statement. Let us give the comparison, which though is often repeated. If we were to assume that the entire span of human civilization, before the great October Socialist Revolution, consisted of just one year, then the conversion of ape into man took place at the beginning of

¹⁰ Lev D.N., 1965.

¹¹ Okladnikov A.P., 1964, p. 170.

¹² Nesmeyanov, S.A.; Ranov V.A., 1964

¹³ See for example, Semenov Iu.I. 1966; Semenov Iu.I., 1968; Ter – Akopyan N. b., 1968; Butinov N.A.; 1968; Kabo V.R. 1968 (these works contain detailed bibliography and problems of historiography).

January, the Paleolithic continued up to the 25 December, and the entire history of Central Asian class society would be compressed into the last half hour before the new year!

In the Lower Paleolithic, social organization was highly primitive. F. Engels gave the name "herds" to the collectives of people in the ancient times, which had just formed.¹⁴ V.I. Lenin placed "primitive herd" and "primitive commune" in strict sequence.¹⁵

The period of formation of the primitive herd was the period of formation of human society when its first foundations were laid. In the end of the Middle and Upper Paleolithic, there emerged the tribal organization of society — the primitive communes with the tribal system. The role of women was very high in matriarchal tribal system.¹⁶ Family relations existed within the group marriage system.

Production was collective and corresponded to a very low level of productive forces. "This primitive type of cooperative or collective production was, of course, a result of weak individual personality and not socialization of means of production."¹⁷ Productive forces did not remain stagnant as they improved slowly. The progress and development of productive forces and social organization led to a complicated form of human culture. It may be noted that the possession of the method of producing fire, construction of primitive houses, development of hunting of large animals and the settled way of life associated with it — all these major developments characterize the progressive development of human society. As the burial of the boy in Teshik-Tash shows, a rudimentary cult of the dead also appeared as the first conception of religion.

2. MESOLITHIC AND NEOLITHIC AGE

The general duration of the Mesolithic and the Neolithic period is 10-15 thousand years, varying from place to place. Based on available archaeological data, an inference can be drawn that in this period there was in Central Asia a sizeable population was living in conditions of a matriarchal tribal system. The implements of production improved and became perfect. Implements for grinding, drilling and sawing, which were unknown earlier, found a wide use. New forms of economy appeared in the form of pottery production, hoe cultivation and primitive animal husbandry. In different areas of Central Asia settlements of hunters, fishermen, hunter-animal breeders or primitive land cultivators were formed depending on the local natural conditions.

¹⁴ K. Marx and F. Engels, Soch, L.48, p. 232.

¹⁵ V.I. Lenin, Pol. Sob. Soch, L.48, p. 232

¹⁶ In the Soviet historiography, there also exist different viewpoints (see: Kabo V.R., pp. 258-265).

¹⁷ K. Marx and F. Engels, Soch, L.19, p. 404.

MESOLITHIC MONUMENTS

Mesolithic monuments have been studied in detail in the Near-Caspian region where A.P. Okladnikov excavated the interesting cave of Jebel.¹⁸ In the later years, these data have been enriched by studies of other cave — Dam-Dam-Chashma.¹⁹ In the numerous cultural layers of these caves and other monuments of the Near-Caspian region tens and hundreds of small flint implements, among which particularly interesting are implements of geometrical form segments, triangles, trapeziums, have been discovered.

Archaeological data indicates that in the Mesolithic and the early Paleolithic period, which followed it, along with the hunting profession fishing profession developed besides that of food gathering. In their nature, the Near-Caspian region monuments are close to the contemporary culture of the Near Asian region.²⁰

The monuments discovered by V.A. Ranov on the Pamirs are quite different. In the exclusive conditions of high mountains, at an altitude of 3.5 thousand meters to 9.5 thousand meters above the sea level, the highest human habitats have been discovered where people lived 9 thousand years ago (these habitats have been dated on the basis of physical investigation of coal from the hearths of Oshkhona).²¹

By its very nature, it is another culture, sharply different from that of the western Mesolithic. Here crude implements of the types of stone scoopers dominate. The Paleolithic technique is dominant here and geometrical instruments are completely absent. We have in front of us the habitat of hunters who came during summer times to places full of birds. At the habitat in Oshkhona four cultural layers, with more than 10 thousand implements, have been found.²²

NEOLITHIC MONUMENTS

Approximately 7-9 thousand years ago the epoch of the new Stone Age began.

In Central Asia three quite distinct cultures, different from one another in the archaeological materials and conditions of existence, have been discovered. In this period, historical changes in the life of human society are taking place. Humankind was moving from period of acquisition to the period of production — hunting and food gathering are replaced by land cultivation and animal husbandry. This change is often called the "Neolithic revolution". This term, however, is relative.

Along the foothills of Kopetdag in that period there were settlements of people belonging to the Jeitun culture — tribes who changed over to cultivation

¹⁸ Okladnikov A.P., 1956.

¹⁹ Markov E.E., 1966.

²⁰ Okladnikov A.P., 1966 a.

²¹ Butomo S.V., et al. 1964.

²² Ranov V.A. 1962 b.

of land earlier than at any other place on the territory of the USSR. These tribes lived in clan villages in houses made of unique round bricks. The presence of cattle breeding may be noted here. Land cultivation implements, first, in the form of primitive sickles, which constitute 36.5% of all the implements under study (divided into cultures of wheat and barley). The flint stock is accompanied by discovery of fragments of earthen pottery. Vessels were made by hand and sometimes painted with wavy or suddenly gushing lines and eye-shaped decorations. It is the oldest known ceramic from Central Asia.

At a more fully studied settlement of this culture called Jeitun, some small earthen figures of animals and men have also been discovered which in the opinion of V.M. Masson represent tribal fetishes.²³ The chronological limits of the existence of the main monuments of the Jeitun culture go back to the VI millennium B.C.

A different community inhabited the plane part of Central Asia (especially the Bukharan oasis and the area near the Aral Sea). The monuments left behind by this group are known as Kelteminarian. In contrast with the former, it is a culture of hunters and fishermen. But, in later stages of their development, the Kelteminar people had already tamed the animals and learnt land cultivation. The generally accepted date of the existence of this community is IV-III millennium B.C.

Thus in this epoch one notices uneven development of cultures of the Stone Age. The excavations carried out at Janbas-qala where remains of a vast oval-shaped house built on land with a frame made of wood and cane have been discovered more graphically reveal the life of the Kelteminar tribes. It served a tribal community of 100 or more persons. An even larger house of similar construction has been discovered at the habitat Kovat – 7.²⁴

Kelteminar culture is characterized by a small flint inventory and a developed storage technique. Flint was extracted in the mountains of Sultanuizdag where a workshop for stone breaking and flint processing has been found (Burly 3) related to the Kelteminar times. In the settlements, a large quantity of ceramics has been discovered including the decorated ceramics.

The third tribal community represented by the Hissar culture inhabited the foothills and the highlands of Central Asia. It is the real "mountainous Neolithic" period characterized by specific conditions of existence in the mountain valleys. The first researcher of Hissar culture, A.P. Okladnikov noted the extreme originality of the stone inventory of the Hissar culture the main component of which were the stone tools representing the consummation of the development of implements of this type in Central Asia. The other specific character of this culture is the almost complete absence of ceramics.

A.P. Okladnikov was of the opinion that the carriers of Hissar culture were the first land cultivators of the mountain regions though, besides land cultivation and cattle breeding, hunting also continued to play an important role in their life. New light thrown on the Hissar culture and its economic basis by excavations at

²³ Masson V.M, 1966 b, p. 88

²⁴ Tolstov S.P., 1948 a. pp.59-66, Vinogradov A.V., 1968, Korobkova G.F., 1969.

Tutkaul (on the left bank of the Vakhsh River near Nurek) where a rich and multi layered settlement of this period spread over a large area is being studied. At Tutkaul four culture horizons have been opened up (two Mesolithic from X-VIII millennium B.C. and two Hissar culture itself). In the Hissar horizons there have been found semi-spherical homes built of stones and an original type of "dwelling spaces" sometimes lay in several strata made of stones. Such dwelling spaces consisting of light frame houses of wood were found in excavations in the Near East.²⁵

Among more than 40 thousand articles from the Stone Age discovered during excavations at Tutkaul there are excellent polished axes, knives with shining blades, domestic hand instruments: perforation and scrapping; large number of implements used for processing wood. Hunting instruments were spears and javelins equipped with small discs placed in a slot with a base of wood or bone and fastened with resin or other binding substance.

Big implements of stone found in a large number are characteristic of the Hissar monuments.

Bone implements are few in number.

Bone relics have also found — the first anthropological discovery of people of Hissar culture. The age of Hissar strata has been determined, by radiocarbon dating at 5150-5140 years B.C., for the upper part of the horizon.

It is very difficult to determine the economic basis of the Hissar culture of the Tutkaul stage. But on the basis of archaeological data this settlement is not of hunters and food gatherers but of people who are either moving towards productive form of economy or have just reached this form. The economy of the ancient mountain dwellers of Tutkaul is closer to the stage of "incipient land cultivation and cattle breeding". A number of indicators point to the decisive role of cattle breeding. Some of the bones from the cultural layer already examined are bones of domestic sheep and goats.

We have some basis for determining the frontiers of the extent of the Hissar culture now. Monuments of this type cover the valleys of the Tajik depression. Cultures close to the Hissar culture have unfortunately not been adequately studied. These are found in other areas of the mountains of Central Asia, partly in northern Tajikistan, in Fergana and the banks of the Issyk-Kul Lake.

The chronological divisions of the monuments of the Hissar culture are being established. This is not less than three thousand years B.C. (VI-III thousand years B.C.) Tutkaul monuments belong to the earlier period, the Kuyi-Bulyon to the middle, and the later monuments are represented by Tepe-i-Goziyon in Hissar.²⁶

The transition from the Hissar culture to the cultures of the metallic epoch has been studied even more inadequately.

²⁵ Braidwood R.J. 1967, p. 106-107.

²⁶ Korobkova G.F., Ranov V.A., 1968.

EARLIEST ROCK PAINTINGS

For researchers studying the past rock paintings are of great interest, as they provide a rich material for understanding the thinking of the ancient man, his image of the surrounding world and his ideology.

In Central Asia, thousands of drawings engraved on rocks are found in many areas. Particularly known are the pictures on the rocks at Saimaly-Tash in Fergana²⁷ and Langarkisht in the western Pamir.²⁸ In Tajikistan, numerous places can be identified along the Zerafshan River and its tributaries where rock paintings have been discovered.²⁹ They have also been found in the Kurama mountain range³⁰ and at several other places. In the Pamir alone, about 50 such places have been identified.³¹ However, a great part of the above mentioned rock paintings belong to the historical times and partly to the earlier and — the Scythian-Sarmatian period. Their study is a fascinating subject. Several generations of archaeologists and art historians will have to work hard to resolve many problems connected with them.

But the oldest drawings on the rocks by man in the Stone Age are even more interesting. These are found only at a few places and vary both in their themes as well as in style of execution. In contrast with the later drawings engraved or depicted on the surface of the rock or on separate stones, older paintings are filled with color.

The paintings of Zaraut-say (Uzbekistan) are more famous. They have acquired world fame. Among them, the picture showing hunters of wild bulls wearing wide cloaks are particularly interesting. According to latest data, these pictures relate to the Neolithic, though connection of the earlier layer with the Mesolithic cannot rule out.³²

The paintings found in the grotto of Shakhta excavated by Ranov in the eastern Pamirs in 1958 could be the ancient-most. Here on the wall of a small grotto, at a height of 4.2 thousands meters above the sea level, paintings in two colors have preserved. In these paintings, human figures behind birds, wild boars and bears are clearly visible. The flying arrows hit the animals. Judged by their style-related data the paintings in the Shakhta grotto are older than the ones from Zaraut-say and can be dated back to the Neolithic or Mesolithic.³³

The drawings discovered at two other high mountain places in Central Asia on river Sarijas³⁴ and not far away from the grotto of Shakhta in Kurteke-say³⁵ belong to a later period of the late Neolithic M 1 (the Bronze epoch).

²⁷ Bernshtam A.N. 1952.

²⁸ Ranov V.A. 1960 a.

²⁹ Dalsky A.N., 1949; Mandelshtam A.M., 1956.

³⁰ Ranov V.A., 1960 b.

³¹ Ranov V.A., Gursky A.V., 1960.

³² Formozov A.A., 1966; 1969., pp. 60-78.

³³ Ranov V.A., 1961.

³⁴ Okladnikov A.P., Ratsek V.I., 1954.

³⁵ Ranov V.A., 1964.

3. THE BRONZE AGE. TRANSITION TO THE PATRIARCHAL TRIBE

The Bronze Age is an important epoch in the history of mankind. During this period substantial changes are taking place, in both development of productive forces and in the social system: the extraction and melting of ore, production of metallic implements begins, cultivation of land along with artificial irrigation emerge, almost all tribes of Central Asia proceed to an economy of production and large settlements emerge; towards the end of the period social and economic inequality develops paving way for rise of class society in the subsequent period.

The early period of the Bronze Age is called the Chalcolithic-copper-stone age. It is during this period that the use of copper implements and wares gradually begins to spread although stone implements remain in abundant use. In the south Turkmenistan, Chalcolithic period covers V-III millennium B.C. and in other regions it continues up to the II millennium B.C. The proper Bronze Age extends from the end of the III millennium B.C. up to the IX-VIII centuries B.C.

In the Bronze epoch, the Central Asian tribes attained a very high level of material and spiritual culture. At the same time, they were a link in the chain joining the urban civilization of near, Middle East, and India on the one side and the tribes of the Volga region, Kazakhstan, Siberia, Central Asia and China on the other. There exists, in the Western literature, an obvious undervaluation of the significance of the Central Asian Civilizations. A serious work published by the UNESCO as "History of Mankind Development of Culture and Science" has the following observation to make about the south Turkmenistan culture in the bronze epoch: "Its character is relatively simple. It is the culture of a society in the backwaters rather than in the mainstream of progress."³⁶ Materials provided by Soviet researchers completely refute such nihilistic views. The contribution of Central Asia to the culture of the East, in this period, was quite high. From Central Asia travelled to the neighboring India, Afghanistan and Iran the tribes who were the carriers of Iranian and Indian languages. Those who were left in Central Asia differed from them somewhat and in future stood apart from the ones who went to Iran and Hindustan. Subsequent developments of Central Asian culture demonstrate the decisive predominance of the tradition going back to the Chalcolithic period.

PRODUCTIVE FORCES

Over the centuries, the implements of production further became perfect and the technology grew. One of the directions of this development resulted in appearance of smelting of metals. Science has no definite data about the origin of primitive metallurgy. In the beginning, native metals were treated in the same manner as stones. Gradually, people began to understand that, some stones possessed special properties particularly malleability. Later when in the cooled

³⁶ Hawkes J. and Wolley L., 1963, p. 827.

ashes of fire man on several occasions found pieces of formed in fire out of copper stones, there arose the idea of deliberate extraction of copper from the ore, i.e., ore-smelting. Acquaintance with the art of pottery making played important role in mastering the process of smelting metals. These first steps in the field of primitive metallurgy were taken with great difficulty and as archaeologists have shown, they took several thousand years.

However, the copper implements were not very effective as they were not sufficiently hard. The situation sharply changed with the appearance of smelting of copper and tin (it was at times changed for lead, antimony and arsenic). On account of its many technological advantages this smelting of bronze facilitated, thanks to its hardness, making of metallic implements though stone implements were not completely phased out.³⁷

F. Engels wrote, "most important among them (metals — B.G.) were copper and tin as also bronze made out of them; bronze gave superior implements and weapons, but stone implements were not driven out; it could be done only under the force of iron and extraction of iron ore was not yet known".³⁸

In Central Asia, there are many places where copper ore is found which could be exploited and was exploited in the Bronze Age. Thus, in Fergana copper ore was received partly from the place called Naukat and in the Chatkalo-Kurama mountains; in Central Asia copper ore extraction was also known in the hills of Bukan-Tau. Gradually the range of ore used for smelting expanded; in the beginning primitive metallurgists only from copper oxides, later was mastered the more complicated technology for smelting copper from the more widespread sulphide ores. Tin was also extracted in Central Asia, for example, in the mines of Karnab to the south of Zerafshan valley and also at other places.³⁹

Agriculture and cattle breeding, which already had appeared in the earlier period, was transformed into leading branches of economy. Hunting was reduced to secondary importance.

In Southern Turkmenistan where many small rivers and streams flow, in the beginning natural over land cultivators used forms. Sowing was practiced in the raw silt. Already, by VI millennium B.C. (end of the Neolithic) the first irrigation structures complex appeared which is one of the oldest in the entire Near East. An artificial irrigation reservoir, with a capacity of 3.5 thousand cubic meters of water, is well-known. Irrigation channels belonging to a later period (on the threshold of IV-III millennium B.C.) irrigating in one of the southern Turkmenistan settlements, about 150 hectares of cultivated land with drains linking the canals, have been found. The main crops in the beginning were two row variety of barley and soft and dwarf variety of wheat. Rye and small grapes were also produced. Initially stone sickles were used which were later replaced by those made of copper and bronze. There are reasons to assume that in the developed and later Bronze Age animal power was used for cultivating fields.

³⁷ Bogaevsky B.L., 1936, pp. 390-439; Litvinsky B.A. a., 1954 b. pp. 13-36; "A history of Technology", 1957, pp. 572-598.

³⁸ K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, V.21, p. 61.

³⁹ Litvinsky B.A. and others, 1950, 1962, pp.189-191.

Small cattle like sheep and goats formed the bulk of the animals and horses and camels were also used.⁴⁰

Among the tribes living in other regions of Central Asia, irrigated cultivation started in a later period though still in Bronze Age. There exists irrefutable evidence of irrigation by canals in Khwarezm in the II millennium B.C.⁴¹ Canals probably existed in Fergana as well. The proportion of cattle-breeding in the economy was higher in these regions than in South Turkmenistan.

Besides extraction of metals, metallurgy, land cultivation and cattle-breeding, production of ceramics and stone artifacts on a large scale had also started.

HISTORICO-CULTURAL REGIONS OF CENTRAL ASIA

The course of historical development in the different regions of Central Asia, in the Bronze epoch, was not quite even. Two large regions can be identified: 1) South-West (Southern Turkmenistan); 2) North and East (the rest of the territory of Central Asia). The cultures in these two regions differ sharply from each other, although there existed long and firm links between them.⁴²

In Southern Turkmenistan there developed a sedentary agricultural culture which has been named after the first monument discovered at Anau. Excavations at Anau were first conducted by Russian specialist of this area, A.V. Komarov and later continued by an American expedition under the leadership of R. Pampelle.⁴³ Scientific research on monuments of Anau began with the excavations at Namazgah-tepe by B.A. Litvinsky in 1949-50.⁴⁴ And later continued by B.A. Kuftin, which confirmed the scheme of periodization adopted in the literature on the subject.⁴⁵

The excavation conducted over a period of several years by V.M. Masson and his colleagues further provided a rich material. V.M. Masson investigated and summarized the material related to the Anau tribes as an integral part of a wide circle of problems in the history of the Ancient East.⁴⁶

In early Chalcolithic period settlements consisted of separate one-room dwelling houses. In the period of developed Chalcolithic age settlements are surrounded by defense walls; public buildings, with a two faced fire place are also found in these settlements. A new trend towards construction of multi – room buildings appeared. In the later Chalcolithic period the size of the settlements increased on account of multi – room houses built in several blocks.

⁴⁰ *Lisitsina G.N. 1965; "Srednyaya Aziya v epokhu kamnya i bronzy"*, M.L., 1966, pp. 110-113

⁴¹ *Itina M.A.*, 1968; *Andrianov B.V.*, 1969, pp. 102-110.

⁴² See: ITN, I. pp. 98-100.

⁴³ "Explorations in Turkestan", 1908.

⁴⁴ *Litvinsky B.A.* 1952 b.

⁴⁵ *Kuftin B.A.*, 1954.

⁴⁶ *Masson V.M.*, 1956 b; by the same author, 1959, 1960, 1964; "Srednyaya Aziya v epokhu kamnya i bronzy", pp. 76-128, 151-178.

A characteristic peculiar to the culture of Southern Turkmenistan in the Chalcolithic epoch which survived until the end of the Bronze Age is its ceramics with colored decorative design (the so-called painted pottery).

In the Bronze Age they had small and middle sized settlements (up to 10 hectare area) as well as very large settlements of the type Namazgah-tepe spread over an area of 70 hectares.

During the period of existence of Namazgah - tepe which arose in the Chalcolithic epoch itself, there accumulated cultural layers of about 34 meters.

The main occupation of the residents remained the same as before, but the range of agricultural crops had increased. Agricultural implements made of copper and bronze appeared. Copper and bronze implements were now being widely used although a variety of stone implements and artifacts could also be found. A settlement apparently consisted of large residential estates each accommodating a multi-family community. In one of such estates 27 dwelling premises were excavated (there were no less than 50 in all) all of which were interconnected with passages. Houses were usually in rectangular or square forms, though some in irregular forms could also be found. They were built of large rectangular bricks with joints. In the houses, there were hearths of several types. In the doorways, there were stones for stepping in where the fixed doors rotated on their axis. The walls were carefully plastered sometimes with alabaster. As per available data, a portion of the house had a vaulted ceiling. Thus in the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age in the southern Central Asia the housing architecture had attained a high level of development.

The handicraft production had also reached a new stage. There existed workshops for casting copper wares, ranging from needles to seals and daggers. From stone, besides implements, various ornaments the beautiful pottery was also made. The potters acquired a high proficiency in making crockery of different types and sizes from small jugs to large vessels. Exquisite and delicate kitchen crockery was painted with many colors. The textile handicraft was also quite developed.

From a study of the designs on the pottery, one can draw several conclusions about the ideology of the inhabitants of Namazgah-tepe: besides geometrical pattern, one finds drawings of snakes, birds, snow leopards and goats



**Painted (107) and grey
(8-10) ceramics of time
Namazgah IV**

etc. The figure of a goat is drawn in a highly realistic style standing between the two trees. Earthen statuettes, made very realistically and depicting men and animals, have also been found. Some of the drawings indicate the existence of relics of a matriarchal society. The earthen model of a house and earthen wheel of a carriage are attributed to the practices of some cult. Remains of human beings are found near the walls of the houses or under them pointing to the practice of burial.⁴⁷

The other settlement of a proto-urban type has been found at Altyn-tepe. It is considerably smaller in size than the settlement at Namazgah-tepe (the area of Altyn-tepe is 26 hectares). But Altyn-tepe has provided monumental building of the ancient eastern type and interesting materials of other types including statuettes carrying signs reminding of pictographical ones.⁴⁸

A later stage of the Bronze period is also represented like Namazgah-tepe at other sites in the foothill region of the Kopetdag and in the Merv oasis as well.

In the course of the Bronze Age, the more developed and more cultured part of Central Asia was Southern Turkmenistan. It was a part of the "wide belt of early agricultural communities adjoining the urban civilizations of the ancient East, tribes of Central Asia, Iran, Balujistan and Afghanistan lying between the two biggest centers of ancient civilizations — the Indus and the region of the two rivers".⁴⁹ At the same time, while experiencing the great influence from the side of highly developed urban centers of the ancient East as well as the neighboring agricultural tribes of Iran and Afghanistan, the Central Asian (south Turkmenistan) tribes also in their turn exerted a certain influence over them.

It is difficult to evaluate the significance of the uninterrupted links of the south Turkmenistan tribes with the tribes of the second region of the Central Asian Bronze Age, which are called the tribes of the steppe circle, as they formed the inseparable part of the Eurasian steppe tribes.

During the latter half of the II and early I millennium B.C. large groups of the steppe tribes entered south Turkmenistan from the north.

In the region near the Aral Sea, the expeditions of S.P. Tolstov and his colleagues brought to light a large number of monuments of the Bronze Age. Many of them are related to the Tazabagyab culture. The Tazabagyab people lived in rectangular shaped semi-dug-out dwellings. In the center of the house there was a big hearth and alongside the walls there were storage pits. The population was engaged in agriculture including irrigated agriculture. Cattle breeding also played a big role in their life. The burial places of these people have also been discovered. A large number of ceramics with designs of pressed in lines or dots in the form of a triangle or broken lines etc. have been unearthed. This ceramic, as M.A. Itina has shown, has a considerable similarity with that of the Andronov culture of Western Kazakhstan and the tree-felling culture of the Volga Region.

Besides the Tazabagyab culture, another culture called Suyargan was also spread over the Aral region. Researchers are inclined to think that the form of

⁴⁷ Litvinsky B.A., 1952 b.

⁴⁸ Masson V.M., 1967 b.

⁴⁹ Masson V.M., 1964, p. 5.

this culture, to a great extent, is determined by its ties with the tribes belonging to the Anau culture.

Towards the end of the Bronze epoch (end of the II millennium B.C. or the first centuries of the I millennium B.C.) large mausoleums built on the mound of Tagisken, from raw bricks and wooden pillars for the tribal elite in the delta of the Syr – darya River, have been discovered. They were circular in form from outside (diameter up to 15 meters) and rectangular from inside. The clayey, walls are very large. Inside they were draped by some kind of carpets.⁵⁰.

In the lower parts of the Zerafshan River, at the end of the III — first half of the II millennium B.C., settlements of tribes, which the archaeologists call Zamanbabin, were in existence. Zamanbabins lived in small reed houses plastered with clay mixed with straw. They were engaged in agriculture (using caved in plots of land filled with water during floods), cattle breeding (large and small horned cattle and asses) as also fishing and hunting. Among the work implements of that time stone hoes, folding sickles and pounding instruments have been discovered.

The ceramics of these cultures, which rose to join the later Kelteminar culture, experienced a strong influence of the Anau culture. Here fragments of Anau ceramics, bronze and stone ornaments similar or identical to the ones found in Southern Turkmenistan have been unearthed. It cannot be ruled out that here and among the descendants of the Kelteminar culture a wave of immigrants flowed from Southern Turkmenistan. There is another explanation of cultural links (not ethnic) with the region of south Turkmenistan agricultural tribes.

Later (from the middle of II millennium B.C.) the tribes of steppe Bronze epoch started spreading over the Zerafshan Valley.⁵¹

On the territory of central and Southern Turkmenistan, the oldest finds from the Bronze Age are copper and bronze articles, including copper axes. One such axe has been found in the village Yori (Panjakent district), another in the village Shar-Shar (Kuibyshev district) and the third in a place near village Araqchin on the river Varzob. All of them go back to the end of the III beginning of II millennium B.C.⁵²

For the period of developed Bronze epoch, we arrange it into a series of monuments both in north as well as in south.

On the right bank of the river Syr – Darya, east of Leninabad in the deserted patch of Kairakkum, tens of settlements of the epoch of developed and later Bronze Age were found and studied. Among them, there were some tiny as well as considerably large size settlements of 10 hectares. The bulk of these settlements were of the size 0.1-3.0 hectares. These settlements mostly consisted of several houses. In many houses, the hearths were in the central row. The length of the average house was 20 meters and width 12-15 meters.

The inhabitants of Kairakkum were generally engaged in cattle breeding. Bones of sheep, goats, cows and horses have been unearthed in the settlements.

⁵⁰ Tolstov S.P., 1962, pp. 47-48; Itina M.A., 1962, “Srednyaya Aziya v epokhu kamnya i bronzy”, pp. 233-238.

⁵¹ Gulyamov Ya.G., Islamov U., Askarov A., 1956; Askarov A., 1969.

⁵² Litvinsky B.A., 1961.

The grain found in abundance along with grinding instruments for converting it into flour testify to the high development of agriculture.

One of the main occupations of the inhabitants of Kairakkum was the extraction of minerals and metallurgy. In the settlements, one finds a large quantity of bronze slag and stone moulds in two halves for casting pick-axes and axes. The Kairakkum ceramics is similar, though not identical, to the ceramics from Tazabagyab for making decorative designs, stamps of both types, cogged as well as flat, was used.

On the territory of Kairakkum itself, and also in the village Dahana (Asht district), burial sites for people of the Bronze epoch have been found.

The tribes of Kairakkum, in the Bronze epoch, formed part of the bigger group of tribes from the steppe Bronze who were then settled in some districts of the Fergana Valley. Related tribes lived in the Tashkent oasis and they closed in one the Semirechiye territory with the Andronov tribes of south Kazakhstan. This culture is known as Kairakkum culture. Besides Kairakkum on the territory of Northern Tajikistan Kairakkumites lived in the district of Shahristan. The remnants of their culture are contained in the upper layers of the caves of Ak-Tanga.⁵³

In the Fergana Valley there existed, besides the Kairakkum culture, another culture called Chust. The inhabitants of Chust settlement were predominantly agriculturists. For them painted pottery was characteristic.

In south Tajikistan, traces of settlements of tribes of steppe Bronze have been discovered in the center of the territory of the state agriculture farm near the city of Kurgantepa. In the valleys of the lower rivers Kizyl-Su, Vakhsh and Kafernigan flowing into the river Panj a number of graves, from the later Bronze epoch in the middle of latter half of the II millennium B.C. have been discovered. The people who have left behind these relics were using splendid ceramics (part of it was made on the potter's wheel) reminiscent of later Anau. Southern and Western contacts can be studied with the help of bronze articles of this culture. At the same time, burial rites, partly the form of the grave, prevalence of cremation, show the connection with the steppe culture circles. On the basis of the position of the grave, two types can be identified, namely, "Beshkent" and "Vakhsh", but their correlation is not yet fully known.⁵⁴ At a close-by place in the Surkhan – Darya region settlements, having similarity with the later Anau ceramics, have been found. Materials excavated at Kuchuk-tepe (studied by L.I. Albaum) and Sapali-tepe (under study by A. Askarov) show that from the end of III millennium to the beginning of II millennium B.C. in the South-East part of Central Asia there appeared communities having highly developed economy of the primitive agriculture type living in fortified settlements in beautifully planned and constructed houses (under the floors of which they buried their dead). Various crafts achieved a high level of development.

In the opinion of B.A. Litvinsky, at the end of III millennium beginning of II millennium B.C., a sharp expansion of the Anau tribes, which inhabited the eastern and south-eastern territory, took place. On the new land some of them

⁵³ Litvinsky B.A., et al, 1962; summary given in Glaesser G., 1965, pp. 323-329.

⁵⁴ Litvinsky B.A., 1967 a; Mandelshtam A.M., 1968.

continued the customary way of agricultural life, while others took to cattle breeding and semi-sedentary mode of living where the ecological conditions did not favor agriculture (they left behind the graves of south Tajikistan). The steppe people exercise great influence on their customs and material culture.

ORDER OF SOCIETY

The problem of social system in the Bronze epoch has evoked debates among the specialists who evaluate the developments differently and offer conflicting hypothesis.

Attention has been drawn to the viewpoint about a detailed study of the tribes belonging to the Anau culture. In the opinion of V.M. Masson the appearance of multi-room houses was related to the rise of family communes who lived in them. Already on the threshold of IV-III millennium B.C. there takes place a transition of large family matriarchal communes into patriarchal families. As the classics of Marxism-Leninism have shown, in the final analysis, transition from the matriarchy to patriarchy was conditioned by economic reasons, especially the growth of cattle breeding which was taken care of by man. "All surpluses came into the hands of man; woman participated in consuming it but had no share in the property. "Wild" warrior and hunter were content with the second place after woman, "meeker" shepherd proud of his wealth rose to the first place, pushing woman to the second... domestic work of women now lost its significance in comparison with the business labor of man."⁵⁵

At the end of the Bronze epoch, inequality of property and social differentiation had grown. Grand tombs like the ones in Tagisken were built. Proto-urban life was developing. It is difficult to answer this question with certainty but many early phenomena of this process are beyond dispute.

4. ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF POPULATION OF CENTRAL ASIA IN THE BRONZE EPOCH. THE ARYAN PROBLEM.

INDO – IRANIAN COMMUNITY. THE ARYANS

Ethnic processes growing on the territory of Central Asia in the Bronze epoch had a great significance not only for the development of Central Asia itself in the subsequent periods but also for the history of several neighboring countries in the vast space extending from India to South-East Europe.

Difficulties in the study of ethnic history of Central Asia, in the epoch under review, are determined in the first place by the absence of written sources and also by the fact that the archaeological materials available cannot be interpreted in a simple way. Nevertheless information on settling of tribes on the

⁵⁵ K. Marx and F. Engels, Works., V.21, p. 162.

territory of Central Asia and the neighboring countries, from the beginning of the historical period and comparative historic-linguistic data along with summing up of the ever increasing archaeological material, allows to draw several important and sufficiently definite conclusions in this direction.

Already the first reliably dated written sources, containing information about Central Asia, testify that in the VII-VI centuries B.C. tribes and nationalities belonging to the Iranian ethnic group — Sogdians, Bactrians, Margians, Khwarezmians, Parthians and various Saka and other tribes resided on whole of its territory.

In the present times, as a result of archaeological excavations and individual finds, scholars possess texts in several Iranian languages spread over the entire territory of Central Asia and the adjoining regions in the ancient and early medieval period. These languages were Bactrian, Sogdian, and Khwarezmian and also Khotano-Saka,⁵⁶ belonging to the east Iranian languages and the Parthian language related to the west Iranian languages but having a considerable influence of other east Iranian languages.⁵⁷ In one of the regions of Central Asia and in its adjoining territory, in the first half of the I millennium B.C., the dialect lying in the base of the language of the "Avesta", a collection of the holy books of the Zoroastrian religion, was quite wide spread.

The Persian language (known in three stages of its development: Old Persian, Middle Persian and New Persian), the Tajik, Kurd, Baluch, and other west Iranian languages; the Afghan (Pashto), Ossetin, Pamirian and several other east Iranian languages and dialects — all of them belong to the Iranian group of languages. Iranian languages are closely related to the Indian languages or the Indo-Aryan⁵⁸ group of languages in which Vedic dialect and Sanskrit and Pali languages besides contemporary languages are included.

Together with the Indo-Aryan languages, the Iranian languages consist of the Indo-Iranian or Aryan branch of the Indo-European family of languages. The latter also include the Slavic, German, Keltic, Roman, Greek, Armenian and other languages, the closeness of these languages is manifested even now in several moments, but their considerably larger closeness in the ancient times points out to their genetically kinship.

The earliest area of formation, of this family of languages, contemporary scholars identify with all the territory that lies between Central Europe and the Balkans in the West and the expanse of steppe in Eurasia in the East. But this relates to a very distant period of time. Later already in the period of formation of dialects, which were predecessors of the "historical Indo-European languages (such as the Greek, Slavic, German and others), the tribes speaking in these dialects occupied vast territory but they were still in contact with each other.

⁵⁶ It relics have been found in Eastern Turkestan; among the contemporary Iranian languages elements closer to the Khotan language are found only in one of the Pamir languages – Vakhani; See *Gertsenberg L.G.* 1965, p.31, and *Bailey H.W.* 1968, pp.157-159.

⁵⁷ On the place of Parthian language among the Iranian languages and borrowing of worlds in it from east Iranian languages, see: *Henning W.B.*, 1958, pp. 92-97.

⁵⁸ The term “Indo-Aryan” signify all corresponding languages in India apart from the Indian non-Indo-European languages – the Dravidian and Munda.

However, as distinct from the ancestors of other groups of "historical" Indo-European languages and peoples, the predecessors of the Indo-Aryan and Iranian languages and tribes still constituted in that time on the whole as a single group.⁵⁹

The close relationship or oneness of the ancestors of the Iranian and Indo-Aryan tribes is shown by the closeness of their languages. A study and comparison of the data about various Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages, in the first place, about the ancient-Avestian and Old Persian on the one side and the Vedic and the Sanskrit on the other, clearly testify to the common grammatical system and the basic vocabulary stock of the Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages in the ancient period.

In fact, it is easy, for example, to find a multitude of common words, differing only in respect of some phonetically peculiarities and in general fully corresponding with one another. Thus the word for water in the Old Iranian language was *ap*, in Old Indian language *ap*; land was *bumi* and *bhumi*; wind was *vata* and *rata*; body — *tanu* and *tanu*; hand — *zasta* (or *dasta*) and *hasta*; word for voice — *vachakh* and *vachas*; name — *naman* and *naman*; dress — *vastra* and *vastra*; father — *pitar* and *pitar*, brother — *bratar* and *bhratar*; inside — *antar* and *antar*; two — *dva* and *dva*; four — *chatvar* and *chatvar*; five — *pancha* and *pancha*; seven — *hupta* and *sapta*; eight — *ashta* and *ashta*; ten — *dasa* and *dasha*; twelve — *dvadasa* and *dvadasha*; hundred — *sata* and *shata*, etc.

A majority of these words continue to exist in the modern Iranian languages, after undergoing some phonetically changes. Thus, for example, the Tajik language has *ob* for water, *bod* for wind, *tan* for body, *dast* for hand, *nom* for name, *padar* for father, *barodar* for brother, *andar* for inside, *du* for two, *chahor* for four, *panch* for five, *haft* for seven, *sad* for hundred.

In grammar, too, a permanent corresponding similarity can be noticed in the system of declension and conjugation. Thus for *tanu* (body) the Old Iranian in the nominative case had *tanush*, in the accusative case — *tanum*, in the instrumental case — *tanva* etc. In the Old Indian language the corresponding words were also *tanush*, *tanum*, *tanva* etc. in conjugation of the verb *bar* (bear or carry) (in modern Tajik *burdan* is the base for *bar*) in the Old Iranian there existed such forms in the present tense — in the first person in singular form — *barami*, in the second — *barahi*, in the third — *barati*, etc.; in the Old Indian language the same verb *bhar* had correspondingly — *bharami*, *bharasi*, *bharati*, etc.⁶⁰

Such facts directly indicate the origin of Indian and Iranian languages from the same source, from one language from which they inherited the basis of their system of grammar and the nucleus of their vocabulary. It can also be shown as the linguists have observed that during the course of their independent development the New Iranian (as also the Indo-Aryan) languages came to differ among themselves more than the Old Indian and Old Iranian languages.

There was a lot of similarity in religion, mythology and epics of the ancient Indians and Iranians. Direct closeness also marks the meter composition and

⁵⁹ See, Ivanov V.V. and Toporov V.A., 1960, p.12, Grantovsky E.A. 1970, pp. 346, 350.

⁶⁰ The example of corresponding character of Old Iranian and Old Indian languages have been taken from the book: Oransky I. M., 1960, pp. 44-48.

special lexicon of the literary works of the Iranian and Indian people — the "Avesta" and the "Vedas". This testifies to the common traditions in the field of religion and epics inherited by them.

A comparison and reconstruction of Old Iranian and Vedic religion brings out a uniformity of thinking and common approach of the ancestors of the ancient Iranians and Indo-Aryans. A great similarity marks the rituals and customs of these two peoples, their practice of the cult of fire and sacred intoxicant drink — Iranian **hauma** and Indian **soma** made out of special plants by pressing them for juice (from the verb **zhat**). Great significance was attached in both languages to the magical quality of reciting the **mantra**.

Many names of gods and heroes were common, which were revered by both the ancient Iranians and Indians and which are sung in their sacred and epic literature. One of the main gods of the ancient Vedic tribes and the Iranians was **Mithra**. To both were known the powerful god of wind — *Vata*, and war — *Vayu* and the other one called god **Hauma** (Iranian) and **Soma** (Indian) (embodiment of the sacred drink). The Avestian hero and king **Yima**, son of the sun hero Vivahwanta corresponds to the Vedic **Yama**, son of Vivaswanta, etc.

Both the ancestors of the Indian and Iranian tribes had a common understanding of the "*arta*" — truth, cosmic order and justice. This understanding determined the important religious and broad ideological notions in general. It was also directly connected with the almighty, with the asura Varuna in the "Rigveda" and the Ahura-Mazda to the Iranian tribes. **Ahura** was a synonym for Indian **asura** meaning "lord", "sovereign".

This cosmologic concept is repeated in many ways. Thus, both the Iranian and Indian texts speak of the three planes of the cosmos — the sky, the space between the sky and the earth, and the earth. Each of these spheres was endowed with similar symbols and linked with one and the same gods; first with the high sky deities, second with the gods of wind, lightning and war, and the third, usefully linked, with fertility and prosperity.

An analysis of Tajik mythology shows that the direct emotional experience of the time of Indo-Aryan community had been preserved in it. We will limit ourselves to just a few examples. As M.S. Andreyev writes, the myth of Father Sky and Mother Earth — "two great parents" — was preserved in both "Rigveda" and the ideas of the Tajiks. In Yazgulam, particularly, the sky is still called **ded** — father and the earth **nan** — mother. This is also testified by division of time into masculine and feminine. Autumn and winter are termed masculine as there is rainfall in that period and spring and summer are feminine as nature gives birth in that period.

In the "Rigveda" Earth and Sky are represented as mother and father, as a closely linked pair. Traces of such notions were still preserved among the old Greeks and other peoples so that they can be considered not just as Indo-Aryan but Indo-European, too. Faith linked with the mountain goat is extremely close to the Tajiks living in the mountainous part and the people of Dard.⁶¹

⁶¹ Andreyev, M.S., 1927, pp. 77-78; Litvinsky B. A., 1964, pp. 147-150. For the parallel belief in Father Sky and Mother Earth, see: Schroeder L., 1923, pp. 582-583; Gonda J., 1960, pp. 95-99; Campbell L.A., 1968, pp. 152, 156, 157; Ogibinen B.L., 1968, p.13.

Other similarities in the fields of economy, way of life, organizations of society and socio-political structure are very important. Comparative data show that the ancestors of the Indo-Aryan and Iranian tribes led an identical form of life with similar forms of sedentary or semi-sedentary way of life and were engaged in cattle breeding and agriculture. It must be observed that agriculture was the permanent branch of economy of the ancient Aryans,⁶² though a cattle breeding was moving on to the first plane and possession of cattle was becoming the chief measurement of wealth and prosperity. Many common ancient Iranian and Indian words signifying domestic animals and cultivated plants, implements used in agriculture and cattle breeding and the terms related to that are well-known. For example, Iranian *gau* and Indian *gau* for bull and cow; *aspa* and *ashwa* for horse; *ushtra* and *ushtra* for camel; *karshi* and *krshi* for furrow, tillage; *yawa* and *yawa* for grain, etc.

In the "Aryan period", the ancestors of Indian and Iranian tribes knew metallurgy very well. Iranian and Indian languages have preserved common names of metals — Iranian *aiah* and Indian *aias* — for metal in general or for copper, bronze and later iron, Iranian *zaranya* (or daranya) and Indian *hiranya* for gold, *arshata* and *rajata* for silver and others. Many instruments of work had common names (including those made of metals) and weapons (spear; arrows and others), important data indicating the use in the "Aryan period" of warrior chariots (Iranian *rata*, Indian *ratha*) and the development of horse breeding are found. There existed many similarities in the military organization of the tribes and the character and method of their warfare.

The organization of society in families, clans and tribes, with a detailed similarity of individual institutions, customs and corresponding terminology is found among the two peoples (for example, Iranian *vis* and Indian *vishch* for clan, settlement, community, etc.), a comparison of Iranian and Indian traditions and lexicons shows that the Aryan families and clans had been organized on a patriarchal basis over a long time in the past. An important nucleus of organization of Aryan society, for example, was related to one common clan (based on the male line) originating from one ancestral group, including members of several families, belonging to it and entering along with other such groups into larger social units — clan (or community) and tribe (or union of communities). Ancient Iranian and Indian members of such groups were related by closest kinship and analogical property, cult and other rights and duties; there existed common principles of inheritance in these groups and similar customs of initiation into adulthood etc. In India such groups were called "*gotras*" (*gotra* is from Aryan *gautra*); the same term was preserved in the Iranian tradition (Middle Persian *goehr*, *goehr-ak* is from Old Iranian *gautra*).⁶³ Social relations were already highly complicated. There were groups of unequal and dependent population.

Population with full rights and freedom was divided into three groups; clergy, military aristocracy and free community men — cattle breeders and agriculturists. Data about social division into these three groups are reflected already in the "Rigveda" as also in "Avesta", beginning with its oldest parts, as

⁶² See: Grantovsky E.A., 1967, pp. 346-347, 377-378.

⁶³ Perikhanyan A.G., 1968, pp. 28-53

well as in the epic tradition of other Iranian tribes including the Scythian and Osetin. Common origin of this Iranian and Indian institution is indicated by detailed coincidence, related to the given triple division of ideological notions. Thus in both Indian and Iranian traditions each of "these social groups is associated with one of the planes of the cosmos (clergy — with sky, military aristocracy — with the space between the sky and the earth, which is simultaneously the sphere of the god of war, the community men — with the earth, (sphere of fertility and prosperity), and also with a certain color (clergy with white, military aristocracy with red, etc.). It may be noted that Indian *varna* and the Iranian *pishtra* both have literally the same meaning "colour".⁶⁴

Representatives of military aristocracy are in both ancient Iranian and ancient Indian traditions depicted as chariot warriors. This is pointed out by the common Avestian meaning of the given groups *rataishtar* — charioteer literally, "standing on the chariot", the corresponding Indian *ratheshtha* is found in the enumeration of *varnas* for designation of this group along with the more ordinary *khshatriya-khshatrii* (as also in the Iranian tradition in this meaning were sometimes used the corresponding *khshatriya, khshatra*). Along with the proofs about vast use of military chariot (*rastha*, Iranian *rata*) these data also permit to make some common conclusions of socio-economic character. The very existence of military chariot points out to the use of metallic implements and developed crafts, presence of professional chariot warriors indicates the existence of military aristocracy, which was even though partially free from productive work and consequently had non-labor source of income.⁶⁵ This also signifies the presence of dependent groups of population.

At the head of the Aryan tribes, there were leaders or "kings", originating from among the military aristocracy. For their designation, in the Iranian and Indian traditions, different terms were used including the term coming from ancient Iranian word *khshai* and ancient Indian *kshai* — to rule (from one of such ancient Iranian words as *khshai* is derived the word *shah*, in Tajik *shoh*). The Iranian word *khshatra* and Indian *kshatra* — power, dominance, kingdom — are of the same origin.

The power institution of such leaders, later kings, as well as some other systems of rule in ancient Indian and ancient Iranian tribes equally go back to the "Aryan period".

The closeness and unity of the ancestors of different Indo-Iranian tribes is testified by their common self-designation — "Arya".⁶⁶ This is widely known from both the Indian and Iranian ancient texts as well as from other sources. From the same designation also originates the modern word "Iran" from the ancient Iranian "Aryanam" (country of Aryans); Indian "Aryavarta" (country of Aryas)

⁶⁴ Dumezil G., 1930, pp. 109-130; Benveniste E., 1932 pp. 117-134; 1938, pp.629-650; Grantovsky E.A. 1960; 1970, pp. 158, 208-209, 348; Bongard-Levin G.M., Ilyin G.F., 1969, pp. 164-166.

⁶⁵ See: Grantovsky E.A., 1970, p.350.

⁶⁶ About interpretation of the initial etymological significance of this word also used later in the general sense for "noble", "free", see: Thieme P., 1938; Abaev V.I., 1958, p. a: Mayhofer M. 1961, p. 179 ff.

— Northern India or its part between the rivers Jamna and Ganga, i.e., one of the oldest Aryan centers in India.

Avestian "Aryanam-Vaejah" ("Aryan Space") — the legendary homeland of the Iranians; names of a number of Iranian tribes and tribal groups: Midi tribe *arizant* (literally "Aryan tribe"), Sarmat tribe *Arii*, tribal union *alan* (as the self-designation of the Osetin in their Nartov epic-Allon — from the ancient Iranian Aryana, etc.⁶⁷

In this manner, data of Indian and Iranian languages testify to their origin from a single common source, systematic and deep-rooted similarity in their religion and culture, social and political organization, economy and way of life of the Iranian and Indian tribes at the dawn of their written history, their common self – designation point out to the community of the ancestors of the Iranian and Indian tribes in the "Aryan Period". Indo-Iranian unity is therefore not only a linguistic phenomenon; it was the historical entity existing in a particular period on a unified territory. As a result of economic and social development in this period began the expansion of the Aryan tribes on the other territories which led to their division into the Iranian and the Indo-Aryans.

THE WAYS OF SETTLEMENT OF INDO-IRANIAN TRIBES AND THE CENTRAL ASIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL COMPLEXES

Where did the Indo-Iranian tribes live before they got separated, when and in what ways the settlement of their ancestors on corresponding territories took place?

There exist different opinions on these questions.⁶⁸ But the more prevalent view is that the ancestors of different Indo-Iranian tribes lived, before their settlement somewhere in the regions, near the Black Sea and later in Central Asia and its neighboring territories. From these territories one group of Indo-Aryans came to India, the other went to Asia Minor where, in the middle of II millennium B.C., traces of their language and culture have been found. Thereafter the Iranian tribes, ancestors of the Medes and Persians, advanced into Western Iran. A majority of historians and Iranologists and linguists holds such a viewpoint.⁶⁹ Such an opinion also prevails among Soviet archaeologists. Usually the carriers of Andronov or other steppe cultures of Central Asia in the Bronze epoch are also considered among the Aryans and Iranians (A.N. Bernshtam, S.P. Tolstov, M.A. Itina, Iu. A. Zadneprovsky, E.E. Kuzmina, A.M. Mandelshtam and others.) According to the other viewpoint the population of agricultural south-west of Central Asia and the neighboring regions of Iran and Afghanistan was Aryan already since III millennium B.C. or since its second half (S.P.

⁶⁷ See: *Abaev B.I.*, 1958, p.47.

⁶⁸ The history of the question of origin of the Iranian and Indian tribes is given in detail in the work of *E.A. Grantovsky* (1970, Chapter 1, pp. 7-66); see: similar bibliographical references to some opinions summed up below.

⁶⁹ Works of *V. Geiger*, *E. Meyer*, *V.V. Barthold*, *A. Christensen*, *E. Benveniste*, *J. Cameron*, *I.M. Dyakonov*, *G.A. Melikishvili*, *I.M. Oransky*, *I. Aliev*, *R. Frye et al.*

Tolstov, V.M. Masson, I.M. Dyakonov, Iu.V. Gankovsky and others). However, there were other viewpoints as well. Thus it is assumed that the ancestors of Medes, Persians and other western Iranian peoples entered Iran not from the east – from Central Asia but from the north through the Caucasus (G. Haussig, F. Kenig, R. Ghirshman, E.A. Grantovsky). In this connection it is assumed that in the second millennium B.C. Iranian tribes or a part of them lived in South-East Europe. Accordingly, it is usually considered that the other part of the Iranian tribes lived at that time in Central Asia and the neighbouring northern regions and the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans came to India from Central Asia.

However, there is another viewpoint as well according to which the Iranian tribes after arriving in Iran from the Caucasus went to Southern Pre-Ural and other regions of Central Asia (F. Al'theim, K. Iettmar).

The groups of Aryans arriving in Asia Minor in the II millennium B.C. are believed by some to have come through Caucasus. However, in this connection it is often considered that the other Aryan tribes, ancestors of the Iranians and the Indo-Aryans, lived together in Central Asia and the neighboring territories before their settlement in the countries started including the settlement of the ancestors of the Indo-Aryan tribes in India.⁷⁰ Their arrival in India in this case relates to the second half of the later centuries of II millennium B.C., and many specialists date the «Rigveda» to the period XII and X centuries B.C.⁷¹

Some authors proceeding from the assumption about the Caucasian route of the Asia Minor Aryans assert that just they were the ancestors of the Aryans of India in which direction they proceeded after being driven out from the region of Asia Minor about XII century B.C.⁷² Simultaneously a proposition was made that archaeological materials testify to the advance of the ancestors of Vedic Aryans into India through Iran from the side of Asia Minor and the Transcaucasia in the last centuries of the II millennium B.C. around XII and X century B.C.

Another completely opposite viewpoint may also be mentioned according to which the Aryan tribes inhabited India since a very remote period going back to the III millennium B.C. or even earlier. This opinion is connected with the view widespread earlier (but adopted now by some Indian scholars) which dated the "Rigveda" to the period prior to the II millennium H.C. This ancient relic of the old Aryan religious literature was finally completed in India within the territorial limits of the Punjab and the upper region of the rivers Ganges and Jamna. Since the discovery of the Harappan – Mohenjo Daro culture in the Indus Valley and the neighboring areas going back to the second half of the III millennium B.C., to the early centuries of the II millennium B.C., several scholars have been of the opinion that the Aryans already lived in India during that period and that this

⁷⁰ Burrow T. 1955, pp. 1-34; Hauschild R., 1962; see also, Ivanov V.V., Toporov V.N., 1960, pp.10-22.

⁷¹ See: the work of T. Burrow, R. Hauschild and others. R. Hauschild is of the view that the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans before their arrival in India lived in Central Asia and the neighboring Afghanistan for a long time together with the ancestors of several Iranian tribes including the "Avestans".

⁷² See: the works of P. Krechmer, V. Brandenshtain et al.

culture was Aryan.⁷³ Besides this, there exists another viewpoint as well according to which the "Rigveda" appeared prior to the formation of the Harappan culture.⁷⁴

Thus, we come across different viewpoints about the early abode of the Aryan tribes, about their period in history and paths of their movement from one country to another. From this, it does not follow that there do not exist any dependable bases for resolving the Aryan problem. On the contrary, the data at the disposal of scholars and the objective conclusions of many researches enable from one side, to reject as unsubstantial several of the theories mentioned above and on the other, to recognize, as fully convincing, some other propositions. New materials, partly obtained because of the work of Soviet archaeologists in Central Asia, allow drawing certain definite conclusions and assumptions.

The opinion that the Aryan tribes lived in India already in the III millennium B.C. and the hypothesis about the Aryan connection of the Harappan culture is quite untenable. The direct kinship of the Indo-Aryan languages with the Iranian language, the affiliation of the Aryan groups as a whole with the Indo-European family of languages, data about intensive and long standing contacts of the carriers of these languages and several other considerations do not permit us to subscribe to the viewpoint that the Aryan tribes had appeared in India earlier than in any case by the beginning of II millennium B.C.⁷⁵ The Harappan culture arose about XXIV-XXII centuries B.C. (or in the middle of the III millennium B.C.) Moreover, as the archaeological data show, it appeared on the basis of development of earlier local cultures of the Indus valley and the neighboring areas spread over there in the first half and the middle of III millennium B.C.⁷⁶ Hence, it has to be acknowledged that the creators of the Harappan culture belonged to the pre-Aryan population of India.

Besides, a number of contemporary scholars are of the definite view that the carriers of the Harappan culture spoke in a language of the Dravidian group or a language close to it. It seems that the pre-Aryan population of the Indus valley and adjoining regions belonged to this group. This is indicated by the strong Dravidian influence on the Aryan languages of India, clearly traceable already in the time of the "Rigveda" and in several other sources.⁷⁷

At present, the peoples speaking the Dravidian group of languages are confined mainly to the southern parts of India. But even now in the areas to the west of India, on the territory of Pakistan and its neighboring areas in the south of Afghanistan, a Dravidian language-speaking ethnic group "Brahui" has

⁷³ See, for example, the collection: "The Vedic Age", 1950, p. 194, 216

⁷⁴ Sastri K.N., 1956, p.142

⁷⁵ Several Indo-Europeans, Iranists and Indologists including *T. Burrow* and *R. Hauschild* think that the ancestors of the Indo-Aryan tribes lived in Central Asia along with the ancestors of the Iranians long before 2000 year B.C.

⁷⁶ *Bongard Levin G.M.* and *Ilyin G.F.*, pp. 88-92, see the literature cited therein.

⁷⁷ *Bloch J.*, 1934, pp. 321-331, *Burrow T.* pp. 373-378; *Vorobyev-Desyatovsky V.S.*, 1956, pp. 99-110; *Yeteppe M.V.*, 1956; *Dyakonov I.M.*, 1967, pp. 108-113; *Bongard-Levin G.M.*, 1969, pp. 105-106 and others.

survived.⁷⁸ In the preceding centuries there lived many Dravidian language groups on these territories. During the course of several centuries they, however, gradually assimilated with the Indo-Aryan and Iranian tribes and ethnic groups.

It may also be noted that in the opinion of the Soviet scholars engaged in research on the script of the Harappan culture with the help of computers the language of this script could not be Aryan and belonged to the Dravidian family to a language in the old proto-Dravidian stage of development.⁷⁹ Similar research work has also been conducted abroad and they have also arrived at conclusions about the language inscribed on the relics of the Harappan culture.⁸⁰

Thus, based on different researches one may reach a definite conclusion that the Harappan culture was not Aryan and the Indo-Aryan tribes were still not there in India before the early centuries of the II millennium B.C.

At the same time the opinion that the Indo-Aryan tribes are descendants of the Aryans, about whose language and culture the data is contained in the Asia Minor sources of about middle of the II millennium B.C., has no sound basis to support it. Linguistic and historical conclusions cited in support of this were later rejected in the works of several scholars, which showed that these Asia Minor Aryans could not have been the ancestors of the Aryan tribes in India.⁸¹ Similarly, the archaeological arguments supporting the movement of Indo-Aryan tribes from Asia Minor and Transcaucasia in about XII-XI centuries B.C. have also been proved untenable.⁸²

As far as the theory according to which the ancestors of the Medes, Persians and other Western Iranians came to Iran via the Caucasus is concerned, though it still has many supporters, it is impossible to treat it as finally proved. To us it seems more probable that in Iran, as in the case of several other territories, the Iranian tribes moved from Central Asia. Of course, both the routes can be conceded — directly from Central Asia or through the Caucasus.⁸³ But here one must keep in mind that the regions of South-East Europe, from where in this case some West Iranian tribes came to Iran, were a direct extension of the territory in the East including Central Asia inhabited by the Iranian tribes. It is also plausible that this group of West Iranian tribes, if really moved into Iran through the Caucasus, had come prior to that from the last through areas to the North of the Caspian Sea⁸⁴, i.e., followed the same route through which the Scythians advanced afterwards.

⁷⁸ In the opinion of linguists, the separation of the group from the proto-Dravidian language group, which the present day "Brahui" language is related, took place not later than IV-III millennium B.C. (See: *Andronov M.S.*, 1965, pp. 13-14).

⁷⁹ "Predvaritelnoe Soobshchenie";, 1965; "Proto-Indica", 1968

⁸⁰ *Parpola A. Koskenniemi S., Parpola S., Aalto P.*, 1969.

⁸¹ *Mayrhofer M.*, 1966.

⁸² *Deopik D.V., Merpert N.Ya.*, 1957; *Sankalia N.D.*, 1963; *Grantovsky E.A.*, 1970, p. 15, 36, 46 and others; also see: *Dyakonov I.M.* 1970.

⁸³ Compare similar views of *B.A. Litvinsky* in the book *Litvinsky B.A.* and others, 1962, p. 295, *Litvinsky B.A.* 1967 a, pp. 126-127.

⁸⁴ See, for example, the opinion of *B. Brandenstein*, according to whom the Aryan and Iranian tribes lived for a long time on the territory to the east from the Urals and the Caspian; the

But in any case, one must exclude, as highly unlikely the opinion that the Iranian tribes arrived in Central Asia from the territory of Iran. The arguments of the subscriber to this viewpoint are highly untenable.⁸⁵ Realistic data testify that the Iranian tribes were widely settled in Western Iran in the opening centuries of the I millennium B.C. and appeared here not earlier than the very end of the II millennium or the border of II-I millennium B.C.⁸⁶ In Central Asia the Iranian tribes were already living, as the historic-linguistic and archaeological evidences show, in the second half of the II-early I millennium B.C.

The greater part of modern Iranian peoples: Persians, Afghans, Kurds, Baluchis and others live on the Iranian plateau and on the neighboring territories in the West and East. But in the second millennium B.C. the territory of Western Iran was already populated by the peoples belonging to other ethnic and linguistic groups (Elamits, Lububeys, Kassits and others). In the first centuries of the I millennium B.C. in Western Iran, where events taking place in this epoch are highlighted in the written sources, these ethnic groups gradually gave up their positions to the Iranian tribes moving through the territory of Iran and assimilating the older local population.⁸⁷

In ancient times, the sphere of extension of Iranian languages and tribes was much vaster than in the medieval era and modern times. It extended from South-Eastern Europe to Eastern Turkestan and from near Ural and South Siberia to the South of Iran.

Ancient sources directly testify the movement of group of Iranian language tribes from the East of South-East Europe into the region to the North of Caucasus and the Black Sea. They were the Scythians who had arrived here in the IX-VIII centuries B.C. (after which on the border of VIII-VII centuries B.C. a part of the Scythians passed through the Caucasus into Asia Minor), followed by Sarmato-Alan tribes. The later included the ancestors of one of the important modern Iranian people — Osetins — presently living in the Caucasus. Before moving to the west the center of the Sarmat tribes, as shown by the written and archaeological sources, was the territories to the north of Aral and the Caspian Sea up to the Transurals.

The movement of the Iranian tribes into South-East Europe from the regions to the east of Volga and the Urals has been historically and archaeologically established. In any case, in these regions the Iranian tribes were living before the beginning of the I millennium B.C.

On the territory of Eastern Turkestan, Iranian tribes including the ancestors of the carriers of Khotano-Saks language, which is known to us from the available texts, could have arrived only from Central Asia and the neighboring region of Kazakhstan. By III – II centuries B.C. Iranian tribes,

movement of west Iranian tribes arriving upto Iran through the Caucasus, according to *Brandenstein*, from the regions in the north east of the Caspian Sea.

⁸⁵ See their distribution in the book of *E.A. Grantovsky*, 1970, pp. 21, 39-41, 52, 166-168.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* p. 304.

⁸⁷ History of this process has been researched in detail (with some differences in evaluation of relative weight of Iranian language tribes among the population of Western Iran during the given period) in monographs, *Dyakonov I.M.*, 1956; *Aliev I.*, 1960; *Grantovsky E.A.*, 1970.

perhaps mostly from the Saks group, occupied vast territories of Eastern Turkestan. The available written sources about these territories for the above period testify the fact that the said tribes lived here long before the III century B.C. (alongside other Indo-European tribes — Tokhars) and the expansion of the Turko-Mongol group of tribes from the North-East began much later.

The territory of Central Asia in the VII-VI centuries B.C. was, as stated above entirely inhabited by Iranian national groups — the Bactrians, Khwarezmians, Sogdians, Saka tribes group and others. It is based on these national groups, Bactrians and Sogdians, in the first place, that the Tajik people were formed in the early medieval period. During the above mentioned period, Iranian agricultural tribes were undoubtedly long settled on the given territory known by their names, Bactrians-Bactria, Sogdians-Sogdiana, Khwarezmians-Khwarezm, Margianians-Margiana, Areyans-Areya (along the river Harirud with its center in the region of Herat on the territory of modern Afghanistan), Parthians-Parthia (the northern part of which was on the territory of Southern Turkmenistan and the southern part in the adjacent regions of Iran). The development of Iranian nomadic tribes particularly the Saks also belongs to the epoch of history of Central Asia preceding the VI century B.C. as directly confirmed by archaeological materials. The fact that the Iranian tribes lived in Central Asia long before VII-VI centuries B.C. is positively confirmed by the material contained in the “Avesta”, the early parts of which were composed in Central Asia during the first centuries of the I millennium B.C. The “Avesta” mentions the Central Asia regions as well as adjacent to them territories including Sogd, Margiana, Khwarezm, Areya, and others.

The “Avesta” also preserves the memories about the semi-legendary country named Aryanam-Vaejah (“the Aryan space”), the early region of inhabitation of Iranian (or Aryan in general) tribes. Several scholars (I. Marquart, E. Benveniste, A. Christensen, S.P. Tolstov and others) equate this country directly with Khwarezm. But perhaps it is more correct to equate this country not with Khwarezm⁸⁸ (mentioned in “Avesta” by its own name), but with a larger territory of Central Asia and adjacent regions in the north. Such an opinion was expressed in his time by well-known Russian orientalist K.I. Inostrantsev and some present Soviet scholars are also of the same opinion.⁸⁹

Existing data about intensive ties between Aryan (in general, later Iranian) and the Finno-Ugor languages shows that the territory of the Aryan (later Iranian) tribes extended in the north up to the forest belt between the Volga region and Western Siberia, i.e., up to the territory where the ties with the Finno-Ugor could be forged. This data also mentions the contacts of the Aryan dialects and tribes with the other Indo-European dialects, which continued up to the “Aryan period”. This indicates the extension of the territory of the Aryan tribes in the north-west up to the steppes of South-Eastern Europe.

At the same time the Iranian or early Aryan tribes inhabited the steppes space to the North-East and to the East of Central Asia. This assumption can be drawn also based on data about the population of this territory in the later period

⁸⁸ See the literature cited in the works Smirnov K.F., 1964, p.191; Grantovsky E.A. 1970, p.18.

⁸⁹ Inostrantsev K.A. 1911, p. 1911, p.316; Smirnov K.F. 1964, p.191.

(middle of I millennium B.C.), and archaeological data about the earlier epoch. In Central Asia and the neighboring northern region, the Iranian tribes lived in the later centuries of II and the beginning of I millennium B.C. which is indicated by the interpretation of materials in the written sources. It signifies that the archaeological monuments spread over these territories, in the given period, belonged to the Iranian tribes. These are the monuments of the Andronov circle (including the wood-felling Andronov culture, Tazabagyab, Kairakkum and other cultures). Similarly, in archaeological features as well as in anthropological forms, cultures of the European populace in the middle of II and beginning of I millennium B.C. were spread further to the East as well including the territories of Eastern Turkestan where particularly Andronov type ceramics have been excavated. Later in the I millennium B.C., in these regions, including the territories of Altay and Eastern Turkestan, there lived the Scythian-Saks tribes. Furthermore, in Eastern Turkestan there existed two closely linked languages (or dialects) of another group which are called Tokhar and the people speaking them Tokhars (or Protokhars), as is evident from the texts discovered here.

In the earlier period, they occupied vast territories in the West. About the appearance of Tokhars, in these regions, there exist different opinions among the scholars.⁹⁰ But it is important to note that linguistic data clearly indicate the definite contact of Protokhar with the Eastern Iranian tribes.

Thus, it is evident, that the early territory of inhabitation and main center of expansion of Iranian tribes was Central Asia and the regions adjacent to it in the North. Taking into consideration the close kinship or unity of predecessors of the Iranian and Indo-Aryan tribes, it follows that the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans resided approximately on the same territories, before they started their movement towards India. All these assumptions are confirmed by archaeological data and in particular by new materials obtained from the excavations in Central Asia.

We have seen that from the Neolithic period in Central Asia, there are two distinct forms of cultural and economic regions. In the South-West of Southern Turkmenistan there developed an agriculturist civilization, which attained a high level towards the end of the first centuries of the II millennium B.C., adjacent to similar cultures of Iran and the neighboring southern regions. On the larger part of Central Asia, there were cultures similar to the ones, which existed in the North. It was the population of this territory, first of all, the steppe tribes of the Bronze epoch which usually connected with the Aryans and the Iranians.

There exists another opinion according to which, as stated above, the Aryans were the agriculturist people from the South – West of Central Asia before the end of III millennium B.C. This theory arises from the assumption that both, the agriculturist tribes of South – East of Central Asia as well as the steppe, tribes were Aryans. But it would also mean that the various group of Aryan tribes lived under completely different economic and cultural conditions which is in contrast with the available historical and linguistic data about the Aryans.⁹¹ At the same time, data about economic and socio-cultural aspect of Indian and

⁹⁰ See: ITN, I, pp. 128; Abaev V.I., 1965, pp. 136-139, Grantovsky E.A., 1970, p.20, 360.

⁹¹ Grantovsky E.A. 1970, p. 367.

Iranian Aryans are fully identical with the materials from the steppe cattle-breeding-and-land cultivating cultures of the Bronze epoch but they hardly correspond with the data about the land cultivators in die Southern Turkmenistan.⁹²

It is also necessary to take into account that the cultures of Southern Turkmenistan from the Neolithic epoch up to early Bronze Age were included in the circle of land-tilling cultures existing towards the South in Iran, and from the neighboring regions of Asia Minor to Afghanistan and India. They are marked by closeness and uniformity in the economic and cultural spheres. There are numerous archaeological evidences, which indicate that in that period of later Neolithic, and early Bronze there existed intensive links between the land cultivators of Turkmenistan and the above-mentioned cultures of Iran and neighboring regions. Facts speak about closeness of the spiritual culture and genetically kinship between the population of Southern Turkmenistan and neighboring regions of Iran and Afghanistan in the South and also about the movement of population on these territories.⁹³

Thus, according to general economic and cultural aspect, probably ethnically as well agriculturists of Southern Turkmenistan in the Chalcolithic and early Bronze epoch were linked with the population of Iran, Afghanistan and neighboring regions. So far as the Aryan tribes are concerned they could not have apparently existed in these countries and on the other side there are clear and unmistakable evidences that on these territories lived at that time a population belonging to the other ethnic and linguistic group.

On the contrary, cultures of the other larger part of Central Asia were of a uniform type in the economic and cultural aspects. One finds constant contacts with the cultures of the northern regions, i.e., with the territories having close ties with the Indo-Iranian tribes as the historical and linguistic data show. It must also be understood that in the beginning of the Bronze epoch some ties of the ancestors of the Aryans with the Indo European tribes of Europe must have been intact.

At the same time archaeological data, about the population of the steppe culture of the Bronze epoch in Central Asia and in the regions to the north fully correspond with what we know about the ancestors of the Iranian tribes and Indian Aryans from comparative historical and linguistic materials. Among the steppe tribe of the Bronze epoch, cattle breeding were widely developed, but they were also well acquainted with agriculture. The same type of economy (cattle-breeding-cum-agriculture) with the increasing importance of cattle breeding and cattle as the main indicator of prosperity and wealth was characteristic, as we have seen for the Aryans also. Both the Indo-Iranian tribes and the steppe tribes of the Bronze epoch were horse breeders and horse breeding occupied an important role in the cattle breeding. The level of social development of steppe

⁹² See: Ibid; A.M. Mandelshtam expresses himself against the view about the Indo European affiliation of the native population of Southern Turkmenistan in III-II Millennium B.C. A.M. Mandelshtam "Srednyaya Aziya v epokhu kamnya i bronzy", pp. 255-256.

⁹³ See for example: Masson V.M., 1957 a: by the same author, 1964; Khlopin I.N., 1966, pp. 125-128; "Srednyaya Aziya v epokhu kamnya i bronzy", pp. 167-169.

population in this epoch was also quite high. Sepulchral material has led archaeologists to conclude that in that period the steppe tribes had a patriarchal family and social and property inequality had emerged among them.⁹⁴

The same features were characteristic of the Aryan society, also. Reference has been made above about the very high development of metallurgy among the Indo-Iranian tribes from the Aryan period. This is also corroborated by archaeological finds belonging to the steppe cultures of the Bronze epoch.⁹⁵

In this respect the data obtained by the archaeologists of Tajikistan during excavations in the North of the Republic in Kairakkum directly points to the wide scale local production of metallurgical articles which are important.⁹⁶

Historical and linguistic data testifying to the co-living of the ancestors of the Indian and Iranian Aryans in the period of high development of metallurgy and use of metallic tools can be significant for determining the date up to which the epoch of co-living of the ancestors of the different Indo-Iranian tribes continued. Based on archaeological materials from Central Asia and the territories to its north it can be assumed that the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans still lived besides the ancestors of the Iranian tribes within the borders of their ancient homeland at least up to the first centuries of the II millennium B.C. or even before the middle of it.

Approximately, the same period relates to the beginning of the movement of the Aryan tribes from Central Asia to the South, for other reasons as well.

The agriculturists of Southern Turkmenistan of the Chalcolithic and early Bronze period probably could not have been Aryans.

Also, the agriculturist culture of the South-West of Central Asia, in the period of its high growth, and more than this culture, for the same and other reasons, the proto-urban and urban cultures of North-East Iran (Hissar III and others) and of South Afghanistan (Mundigak IV), as well as of the Indus Valley with its monuments of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa period, etc., cannot be considered Aryan.

However, on all these territories important historical changes are confirmed during the second quarter of the II millennium B.C. Old centers, large settlements and cities become desolate. At many places, one can find sharp change in ceramics, replacing the old mode on the potter's wheel. These changes are often linked with the movement of new tribes generally assumed to be ethnically Aryans (or Indo-Europeans) coming from Central Asia.⁹⁷

So far, there are no direct archaeological evidences pointing to such a movement though it looks quite possible. It can be assumed that the above changes were brought about by internal reasons, also⁹⁸ which caused the later movements of the Aryan tribes on the same territory.

⁹⁴ See: "Srednyaya Aziya v epokhu kamnya i bronzy", See also *Grantovsky E.A.*, 1970, p. 359.

⁹⁵ See for example, *Stagul G.* 1969, pp. 56-57, 86.

⁹⁶ *Litvinsky B.A.* and others, 1962, pp. 170-231.

⁹⁷ *Stagul G.*, 1969, pp. 56-57, 86.

⁹⁸ About corresponding explanations for the agriculturist culture of Southern Turkmenistan see. «Srednyaya Aziya v epokhu kamnya i bronzy» p. 177; for the urban culture of Indus Valley of the Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa see: *Bongard Levin G.M.* and *Ilyin G.F.* 1969, pp. 113-115.

Thus, the widespread opinion that the Harappan culture fell as a result of the intrusions of the Aryan tribes into the Indus Valley need not be considered conclusive. The materials available make it no less probable the other opinion, according to which the Aryan tribes appeared in India several centuries later than the fall of the Harappan culture in the Indus Valley.⁹⁹

But notwithstanding these differences of opinion, the fact that in the territory of East Iran, South Turkmenistan, Afghanistan and West India the above mentioned changes in history, of the much earlier cultures, developed here did not yet happen until approximately XVIII-XVII centuries B.C.,¹⁰⁰ allows to assume that until the mentioned time active movement of the Aryan tribes on the said territories had not yet begun.

More exact data testifying to their settlement exists already for the middle and second half of II millennium B.C. Rich and varied materials of this time, obtained as a result of excavations of Soviet archaeologists, indicate an epoch of active tribal movements along the entire territory of Central Asia. The steppe tribes closely come in the borders of agriculture zone of South Turkmenistan and also, perhaps, intrude beyond its borders and appear in the settlements. Now we have data directly indicating the extension of the steppe population up to the borders of ancient agricultural oasis in South Turkmenistan — on their outskirts were found sepulchers of steppe tribes, typical of northern regions.¹⁰¹

In the same period, the movement of tribes towards Afghanistan and India was taking place. In this connection, the excavations of sepulchers in Southern Tajikistan, in the valleys of rivers Kizyl-Su, Vakhsh and Kafernigan, are of particular importance.

Evidence from these sepulchers show that they have been left by the population whose material culture was close to Namazgah VI, and whose burial rituals were close to the steppe tribes. Anthropological form of the population, which left their sepulchers, brings it close to the population of southern regions who were the carriers of painted ceramics.

The origin of these tribes cannot be considered fully established, as yet. There are contradictory efforts to establish their genesis and culture. Based on their burial rituals and some of the peculiarities of sepulchers, researchers have come out with the thesis about their link with the Aryan tribes and reflection of burial practices and some other rituals characteristic of Vedic Aryans as well as

⁹⁹ *Bongard Levin G.M.; 1962; Bongard Levin G.M.; Ilyin G.F., 1969, pp. 125-128* (these works give a detailed bibliography relating to this problem) for advent of the Aryans in India approximate dates given are: XIV-XIII centuries B.C. or more, generally the second half of the II millennium B.C.

¹⁰⁰ According to more probable data the complex Namazgah V on the South of Turkmenistan belongs to the border of III-II and first quarter of the II millennium B.C. (See «Srednyaya Aziya v epokhu kamnya i bronzy» pp. 151-169); the history of one of the important centers of that time in North-East Iran Hissar, continued approximately up to XIX-XVIII centuries (see *Dyson R.H., 1965, pp. 240-242*); cities of Harappan culture in the Indus Valley existed roughly up to XVIII-XVII/XVI centuries B.C. (see: *Bongard Levin G.M., 1962; Bongard Levin G.M. and Ilyin G.F., 1969, pp. 94-96*.

¹⁰¹ "Srednyaya Aziya v epokhu kamnya i bronzy" pp. 240-243.

East Iranian tribes.¹⁰² Materials of these Southern Tajikistan sepulchers acquire greater interest because Pakistani and Italian archaeologists in the region of Swat in the north-west Pakistan have found graves similar in construction and types of burial rituals. The first and earliest group of these sepulchers is dated back to approximately second half of the II millennium B.C.¹⁰³

Thus, from the one side there is no basis to consider the Central Asian tribes of the epoch of Chalcolithic and early Bronze as Indo-Aryans and from the other side, it is most likely that exactly the Indo-Aryans were Central Asian (and located to their north-west) steppe tribes of the developed and later Bronze epoch. The hypothesis by E.M. Dyakonov is in our view quite productive about the expansion of Indo-Iranian languages among agriculturist Anau tribes of Central Asia in the later stage of their development under the influence of different contacts with the steppe tribes. In the process of these contacts, ethnic communities known as Indo-Iranian were established. This hypothesis also developed, by other scholars (for example B.A. Litvinsky), explains the archaeological materials better, but it has some weak points as well. Only new facts will allow a final solution of this problem.

At the same time, the above-mentioned data shows the movement of tribes in the middle and second half of II millennium B.C. from Central Asia to the south, including into areas towards India and into its territory.

However, the expansion of tribes from Central Asia in the southern direction also continued later, when the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans were undoubtedly in India.

Archaeologists consider that in the establishment of the Southern Turkmenistan cultural complex, which existed in the epoch following the period of Namazgah VI, the steppe tribes who had expanded here or "conquered" these regions at the beginning of the said epoch, that is, roughly on the border of II and I millennium B.C. or the beginning of I millennium B.C.¹⁰⁴

On the far east of Central Asia in the Pamirs also the movements towards South, of the tribes emerging from the steppe population and arriving here in the first place perhaps from the regions of Fergana and neighboring territories can be noticed. Tribes of such origin appeared on the Pamirs in the Bronze period, at the end of II and the beginning of I millennium B.C.

Beginning with the VII century B.C., on the basis of archaeological materials from the Pamirs, one can speak about the tribes of the Scythian-Saks group. Archaeological data also support their movement to the borders of India.¹⁰⁵

These conclusions are directly supported by written sources and historic-linguistic data (irrespective of archaeological information) indicating that in the VII-VI centuries B.C. to the South of the Pamirs, to the borders of India (partly inside her territory) and in the regions of Eastern Afghanistan, the Iranian tribes

¹⁰² Ibid. pp. 243-259; Mandelshtam A.M., 1968; Litvinsky B.A., 1967 a, pp. 121-127.

¹⁰³ Litvinsky B.A., 1967 a. p. 122 (a detailed bibliography on the same page) for the latest publications see particularly. Dani A.N., 1967; Stagul G., 1969.

¹⁰⁴ Kuzmina E.E., 1964.

¹⁰⁵ Litvinsky B. A., 1960 a; 1969.

belonging to the Saks group (or closely related to them) including the ancestors of the contemporary Afghans and Munjans intruded and settled here.¹⁰⁶ The arrival of these tribes of the Eastern Iranian group from the North and from Central Asia is beyond doubt.

Thus we see that archaeological materials as well as historic-linguistic data indicate the settlement of various Aryan groups (in the earliest period largely Indo-Aryan and later Iranian) from Central Asia to the south, towards India, Afghanistan and obviously in the direction of Iran.

All this once again confirms that Central Asia, with the regions adjacent to it, was the main center of expansion of Indo-Iranian tribes and it was an ancient though not the initial region of their settlement. Those Iranian tribes who were left in Central Asia became the ancestors of the main population of Central Asia from the beginning of the historical epoch up to the early medieval period.

Afterwards on the basis of Eastern Iranian peoples of Central Asia, first of all the Bactrians, Sogdians and to a lesser extent other ethnic components, the Tajik people was formed.

¹⁰⁶ *Grantovsky E.A.*, 1964.

CHAPTER 2

EASTERN IRANIAN TRIBES OF CENTRAL ASIA AT THE DAWN OF EARLY CLASS SOCIETY (IX TO MIDDLE VI CENTURY B.C.)

1. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIALS OF EARLY IRON AGE

METALLURGY OF IRON

The picture of social life in Central Asia, at the end of second and beginning of I millennium B.C., can be drawn on the basis of the archaeological materials side by side with some linguistic data as well as the ancient written sources related to the later period.

In the beginning of I millennium B.C. in Central Asia they began to obtain iron from iron ore. Highlighting the significance of iron in the history of humankind F. Engels wrote: "Iron began to serve man, the latest and the most important of all the raw materials which played a revolutionary role in history. Iron made possible cultivation on large fields, clearing the vast forest for fields; it provided the craftsman such hard and sharp implements which no stone or no metal known at that time could withstand. All this happened not at once; the first iron was often softer than bronze."¹

In mastering the metallurgical process of obtaining iron, man was helped by his acquaintance with the metallurgy of bronze. The smelting of iron was done in raw blown furnaces in which temperature used to reach up to 1300 to 1400 degrees. Such working furnaces were discovered in the 20s of the XX century by M.S. Andreyev in the valley of Vanj.²

To the primitive man the change of disfigured pieces of stone-ore into strong forgeable material appeared mysterious and incomprehensible. This led to respectful feelings towards the metallurgists-blacksmiths and superstitious fear of them. Such an attitude persisted until recently among many peoples. In particular, in some areas of the Pamirs, blacksmiths were considered as the most respectable and their workshops were regarded as holy places: they were worshipped and after harvest, sacrificial rites were performed in their workshops. At the same time in other faiths, blacksmiths were looked upon as representatives

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, Works. V.21, p. 163

² Andreev M.S., 1926, pp.8-16

of the devil and restrictions were imposed on the use of iron, which was a reflection of fear of people for metal.³

Iron implements were spreading very slowly. In the beginning, iron was mainly used for making ornaments. Gradually they started making implements and weapons out of it. The process of making iron implements by forging was much more labor intensive than making bronze articles. The new technique was harnessed slowly, the apparent advantages of the metals, were not comprehended at once. At the very beginning of the early Iron Age in Central Asia there spread bronze-iron implements and weapons, for example, daggers, which had iron blades and handles partly or fully made of bronze.

In Central Asia, the victory of Iron Age took place quite early. Some other countries, for example, China were lagging behind Central Asia in this respect by several centuries.

SETTLEMENTS

The relics of the Early Iron Age in Central Asia were discovered and studied more inadequately than the relics of Stone and Bronze Ages.

In Southern Turkmenistan there continued to exist some settlements, which appeared as early as in the Neolithic epoch. Thus, for example, in Anau are found the strata related to the Early Iron Age. Here iron implements including the oldest in Central Asia iron sickles, the fragments of knives etc. were found.⁴

In the south-west part of Turkmenistan, where the Meshhedi-Misrian plateau is situated, there existed fortified and unfortified settlements belonging to another type of culture, different from Anau. Some of them were very large: for example, the square of Izat-Kuli was as large as 50 hectares. Houses were built of large-size raw bricks measuring three-fourth of a meter in length.

Canals from the Atrek River irrigated Meshhedi-Misrian Valley. Agriculture played a significant role in the life of the inhabitants of the settlements. This is testified not only by irrigation network but also by abundance of grain graters.

There is no doubt that metallic sickles were used; at the same time assembled stone sickles also continued to be used, as shown by discovered silicic sheaths, forming part of these sickles.

In the settlements, pieces of iron slag have also been found. From bronze, weapons were made including the arrowheads and daggers. Ceramics of a very high quality, made on the potter's wheel, is also there. It is without the decorative design.⁵

Lastly, a third (territorial) group of relics was found in South-Eastern Turkmenistan in the Murgab delta, i.e., in Margiana. The largest settlement here was Yaz-tepe, thirty-four kilometers northwest of Bairam-Ali. The settlement

³ Zarubin I.I., 1926, pp. 126-127.

⁴ Schmidt N. 1908, pp. 156-157.

⁵ Masson V.M., 1956 a; "Srednyaya Aziya v epokhu kamnya i bronzy" M.-L., 1966, pp. 179-182.

consists of an almost rectangular citadel and a wider part of the proper settlement. In the given epoch (Yaz-tepe continued to exist much later), its entire area was 16 hectares. On the brick platform, which was 8 meter high, was located a large building consisting of an oblong and square premises with a large rectangular hall. It was a whole palace forming the residence of a local ruler.

The main part of the finds from excavations in the settlement of Yaz-tepe consists of the ceramics, which unlike the Meshhedi-Misrian settlement is mostly made by hand.⁶ The Early Iron Age in Southern Tajikistan and Southern Uzbekistan is represented by the settlements of Kuchuk-tepe (Surkhan-Darya Province) Makoni-Mor (Farkhor region, Southern Tajikistan) and by some other excavations.

The settlement of Kuchuk-tepe was situated in Muzrabad steppe. It came into existence in the epoch of the developed Bronze and continued to exist till the middle of the I millennium B.C. In the given period there was an oval building in this settlement (in 1962-1964 seventeen buildings were excavated), built from oblong bricks. A round defensive wall surrounds the building. Here the smelters, bronze and stone articles, including stone sickles, were found.⁷

Another settlement of this period was discovered by Tajik archaeologists in the lower reaches of Kizyl-Su River in the locality of Makoni-Mor. Here there are no well-preserved buildings, only ceramics have discovered in abundance along with other articles related to the period under study.⁸

Different articles and their entire complexes were discovered in other regions of the Republic. In particular, mention may be made of the latest complexes from the Kairakkums; some burial sites in the Eastern Pamirs can also be related to this period.⁹

2. CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY IN EARLY IRON AGE

"AVESTA" AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE

The most significant historical source on ancient history of Central Asia is "Avesta" — a collection of religious texts of Zoroastrians. At present, besides a certain number of Zoroastrians in Iran, there are more than one hundred thousand of them in India. They are called Parsis. They have preserved not only the old religion, but also the old religious texts.

In the middle of the XVIII century Frenchman Anquetil du Perron who had a deep interest in studying this ancient religion traveled to India. From Parsi priests he studied religious rites, learnt to read ancient religious texts (on par with the Parsi priests), and also bought some manuscripts. On his return to France, he published the French translation of "Avesta" and accompanying texts.¹⁰ Thanks

⁶ Masson V.M., 1959.

⁷ Albaum L.I., 1965, pp. 59-60.

⁸ Excavations undertaken by B.A. Litvinsky (materials not published)

⁹ ITN, I. pp. 167-168.

¹⁰ Anquetil du Perron, 1771.

to his scholarly achievements, the information about “Avesta” became accessible to European scholarship. However, the translation made by du Perron was not very precise. Many of the contents not fully understood or understood incorrectly.

Thanks to the development of comparative linguistics, in the XIX century, established the kinship of the language of “Avesta” with the well-studied and kinship established which was known from many relics of ancient Indian languages — the Vedic language — in which “Rigveda” and other ancient relics of literature of India were written, and also with the Sanskrit language.

In this connection decipherment of relics of second known ancient Iranian language — Old Persian — further study of post-Avestian Zoroastrian literature, wide use of data from Indo-European comparative linguistics should be noted. Exceptionally important was the study of Middle Iranian and Eastern Iranian languages, of both dead (as Khwarezmian, Sogdian, Khotano-Saks and others) and alive, particularly the Pamir languages. All this considerably facilitated the scientific translation of “Avesta”.¹¹ Nevertheless, even now in translation of “Avesta”, one is faced with great difficulties and the knowledgeable specialists translate some of its important parts in different ways.¹²

For a long time “Avesta”, like other Indian and Iranian religious texts and epics has been preserved by oral transmissions (with some exceptions in some changes in pronunciation). This mode of transmission and recitation had an edge for a long time, even after appearance of written form of “Avesta” — in performance of the cult, teaching etc. as well as in preservation of traditional text.

Before the creation of modern Avestan alphabets (i.e., alphabets in which manuscripts of “Avesta” have been written), there existed Avestan texts written in obscure Aramei script, which was widely used in Iran and Central Asia from VI to V century B.C. According to Middle Persian Zoroastrian tradition, which, however, did not possess reliable information on many questions of early history of Zoroastrianism, collection of books of “Avesta” already existed during the Achaemenid rule and was destroyed at the time of invasion of Alexander of Macedonia. Later Arshakid King Valakhsh (i.e., Vologes, he is usually identified with Vologes I who ruled in the I century B.C.) ordered to collect the remains of the “Avesta” text and whatever was transmitted orally by the priests.¹³ Contemporary scholars consider the information baseless about Achaemenid “Avesta” and some even doubt the very existence of the Arshakid text of “Avesta”. But written “Avesta” obviously already existed in the second half of the Parthian period and certainly at the beginning of the Sasanid period.

¹¹ Oransky I.M., 1960.

¹² In this regard, it is instructive to compare, in particular the interpretations of “Avesta” by H. Nyberg and E. Herzfeld. On many questions, they take diametrically opposite viewpoints. (Nyberg N.S., 1938, Herzfeld E., 1947.) For polemical analysis of their views, see: Henning W.B. 1951).

¹³ Thereafter in conformity with the same traditions scattered Avestan texts were brought together during the rule of Ardashir I and Shapur I (Widengren G., 1965, pp. 246-247).

On the basis of some Parthian documents from Nisa I.M. Dyakonov and V.A. Livshits assume that in the Eastern Parthia in the I century A.D. the written text of "Avesta" already existed at least in some parts.¹⁴

Later "Avesta" was written in alphabet specially created for this purpose. It was created on the basis of developed Pahlavian italics (i.e. the script of Middle Persian Zoroastrian books) which represented a development, of one of the forms of the script that arose on the basis of Aramei written language. However, Avestan alphabet has larger number of letters (more than two times) including 14 letters designating vowels.

Texts written in minutised Avestan alphabet, precisely and scrupulously, reproduce traditional pronunciation of the narrator of "Avesta" in the period of emergence of the given alphabet. At the same time this transmission, of course with some peculiarities, (mostly depending on ancient peculiarities of the dialects), overall fully reflects the character of the ancient Iranian language, which was spoken during the period of the emergence of the Avestan texts. Avestan alphabet was apparently created in the VI century most probably during the reign of Khusrov I (531-579).¹⁵

The texts of "Avesta" which are available to us go back to this manuscript, written in the late Sasanid period. Early surviving manuscripts of the books of "Avesta" are related to the end of the XIII and XIV centuries. But they also go to the same prototype.

The writing down of "Avesta", in its modern alphabet, was done mainly on the basis of oral tradition. The name "Avesta" comes from the Middle Persian word *apastak* — the basis (or according to earlier interpretations, direction, prescription, praise, etc.¹⁶ related to the pronunciation of the very text of "Avesta").¹⁷ Appendices to the text of the "Avesta" were named Zend or Zand (Middle Persian zand-knowledge — teaching), and were thus called as the written text of the "Avesta" (stated in old alphabet and perhaps originally in the new written text), as well as probably other additions and commentaries of the canon in the Avestan language. But later the designation Zand mostly started

¹⁴ Dyakonov I.M., Livshits V.A., 1966, pp. 153-157.

¹⁵ According to another point of view, reflected in the works of G. Unker and some other scholars, Avestan alphabet was already formed in the IV century B.C. But, as prominent Russian Iranologist Academician K. Zaleman and later by V. Henning, D. Morgenshtern, G. Bailey have asserted, as far back as the XIX century the creation of Avestan alphabet took place not earlier than VI century (Henning W.B., 1958, p. 52: See also Perikhanyan A.G., 1966, pp. 108-109; more detailed list of literature given there.)

¹⁶ Henning W.B., 1946, p. 725; ITN I, p. 175; for other interpretations see: Braginsky I.S., 1956, p. 192.

¹⁷ The wide practice of oral transmission of sacred text by Zoroastrians was the reason why right up to the medieval times, the non-Zoroastrian contemporaries often assumed that the followers of Zoroastrianism did not have any sacred books at all. This perhaps is the reason since the period of Arab conquest of the countries of Islam Zoroastrians in contrast to the Christians and the Jews were not considered "the people of the Book" (i.e. the Holy Book) "which was reflected in the legal status of the Zoroastrians in the Islamic world. The significance of oral tradition and transmission, including the preservation of the sacred canon of "Avesta", is also pointed out by the evidences of Zoroastrian literature (Widengren G. 1965, pp. 245-259).

accompanying the Middle Persian translation and commentary of “Avesta” composed during the Sasanid period (all early manuscripts of Avesta have word for word Middle Persian translation). From here comes the incorrect designation of “Avesta”—“Zand Avesta”, and Avestan language as Zand which remained in use for long in the European literature.

In the course of many centuries of its existence collection of “Avesta” was subjected to codification. Sources mention about collection and putting in order of the Avestan canon during the reign of Arshakid Vologes I, apparently in the I century B.C. during the early Sasanid period in III century, in IV century during Shapur II when the edition of sacred canon, which was of utmost significance, was produced under the guidance of Aturpat Mehraspandan, and lastly after Mazdakit movement during the reign of Khusrow I in VI century (when from the “Avesta” some texts were taken out which formed part of it in the IV-V centuries).

After this last edition, “Avesta” consisted of 21 books (naska), name and short content of which are known from the Zoroastrian composition of IX century Dinkart (this resume is prepared on the basis of Middle Persian translation of “Avesta” and is not based on the Avestan text).¹⁸ The “Avesta” available to us consists of about one fourth of last Sasanid “Avesta”. It is first of all sections most essential, for public worship, the same objects basically correspond with the arrangements of the existing parts of “Avesta”, books “Yasna” etc. From among them “Videvdat” corresponds wholly with one of the books of the old “Avesta”.

The “Avesta” available to us consists of books: “Yasna” — sacrifice, praying, collection of text accompanying the basic ceremonies; “Yasht” — reverence, praise, hymns to the gods of the Zoroastrian pantheon; “Videvdat” — law against the devils (later in text form “Vendidad”), directions for observance of ritual, cleanliness (also contains a number of religious legal regulations, the fragments of ancient myths and epics etc.; “Visprat” — all the lords (later less exact “Vispered”), collection of prayers and liturgical texts, besides that “Avesta” contains a number of other sections of lesser significance and volume.¹⁹

Out of the 72 chapters of “Yasna” 17 are the “Gaths” (songs) of the Prophet Zarathustra, founder of Zoroastrianism. Seven chapters - “Yasna” haptahati (“Yasna” of 7 chapters) are a part of “Avesta” and are closer to “Gaths” and also the seven chapters of “Yasna” are more archaic than the language of the rest of the so-called "Younger Avesta" and differ from it in some peculiarities of dialect. Some scholars relate the Avestan language to the western Iranian languages (F. Tedesco, A. Meillet), while others consider it as Eastern Iranian language (H. Nyberg, and others).

¹⁸ West E.W., 1892.

¹⁹ There exist translations of “Avesta” and parts of it in Russian and West European languages; Kossovich K., 1861; Bertels Ye.E., 1924, pp. 3-11; Braginsky I.S., 1956, pp. 35-37, 46, 69-70, 105-116, 182-187 and others, Bertels Ye.E., 1960, pp. 53-66, 11, Abaev V. I., 1963, pp. 349-350, 367, 370. Darmesteter J. 1892-1893, Wolf F., 1910, Lommel H., 1927, Gershevitch I, 1959, Humbach H., 1959, Duchesne-Guillemin J., 1963 and others.

More correct perhaps, are the views, according to which it holds a special place among the Iranian languages (K. Hoffman) or else an intermediate place among their Western and Eastern groups (W. Henning). A number of peculiarities of the Avestan language, including the dialect of "Gaths", correspond to the Eastern Iranian languages. In the "Younger Avesta" is reflected the influence of Iranian languages (including the Western), spread on the territories where the Avestan language was used as a sacred one.

The question of time and place of origin of the different parts of "Avesta" continues to remain disputable in many aspects.

Based on Zoroastrian tradition about Zarathustra, the time of his life and the creation of "Gaths" relates to the end of VII - the first half of VI century B.C. This is the opinion of scholars, who assume that this tradition is based on fully reliable, but other scholars doubt its reliability, they point out that the tradition is based by evidence from later period and probably has a legendary origin. In any case, it is difficult to confidently rely on the authenticity of this data. Though it cannot be ruled out that Zarathustra really lived at the end of VII and beginning of VI century B.C.

According to the Sasanid versions, and the later tradition, Zarathustra belonged to Atropaten (Azerbaijan) or from the Median Rag (medieval Rey, close to contemporary Teheran). But these data are now considered to be unreliable; true, the materials of "Younger Avesta" indicate the early existence and dominance of the community of the followers of Zarathustra in Rag; this is, however, explained by the fact that the given territory located in the extreme North-East of Media, was the first of its regions where the teaching of Zarathustra penetrated from the east.

According to an early tradition Zarathustra lived in Bactria. This tradition was reflected in the works of Greek author Ctesius (end of V and beginning of IV century B.C).²⁰ Following this tradition some scholars (J. Multon and others) assumed that "Gaths" were created in Bactria and its language in the ancient times was Avestan (as was believed as long ago in the XIX century by V. Geiger and other scholars). However, other data do not support this opinion and the recently discovered relics of the language of Bactria of the Kushan period render this version unlikely.

J. Darmesteter, V. Jackson and some other scholars and later in the 30s and 40s of the XX century, A. Hertzfeld and other authors who considered the first Achaemenids including Darius as contemporaries of Zarathustra related the activities of the latter to North-Western Iran. But according to the generally accepted opinion the "Gaths" were composed before the formation of the state of the Achaemenids and have in its origin no relation with Western Iran.

In the view of contemporary researchers, based first of all on the geographical data of "Avesta" itself, the "Gaths" and parts of "Avesta" close to it in time, were composed in one of the regions of Central Asia or in neighboring territories of North-Western Afghanistan and North-Eastern Iran. The search for concrete solution of this question, different opinions is being expressed. S.P. Tolstov and others point out to the regions of middle and lower flow of the Amu-

²⁰ Pyankov I.V., 1968.

Darya or to Khwarezm itself and in this case reference is made to the opinion of I. Marquart, E. Benveniste and others, identifying of the mythical homeland of the Iranians and Zoroastrianism mentioned in the "Avesta" as Aryanam-Vaejah (the Aryan space) with Khwarezm, with the regions between Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya, i.e. in Sogdiana or neighboring regions (H. Nyberg), near the borders with Central Asian Scythian-Saka land (V.I. Abaev) and with the regions near the coast of the Aral Sea and the lower Syr-Darya (G. Videngren); with Margiana, Sogd and Khwarezm (J. Duchesne-Guillemin), etc.

The wide-spread opinion of W. Henning, K. Barr, I. Gershevitch, R. Tsener and others according to which the "Gaths" were composed within the territory of the confederation headed by Khwarezm believed to have existed on the eve of Achaemenid conquest (usually based on the above mentioned traditional data of Zarathustra) and including also the regions to the South of Khwarezm the possible region of creation of "Gaths" is particularly pointed out to Margiana and Areya (W. Henning and others). Academician V.V. Struve on the basis of other facts viewed Margiana as the probable motherland of Zoroastrianism); much later Avestan texts could be created according to W. Henning in Sistan.²¹ But irrespective of the fact whether such a confederation headed by Khwarezm existed or not this opinion is supported by the data of ancient authors there and is no definite evidence about Zarathustra's connection with it.

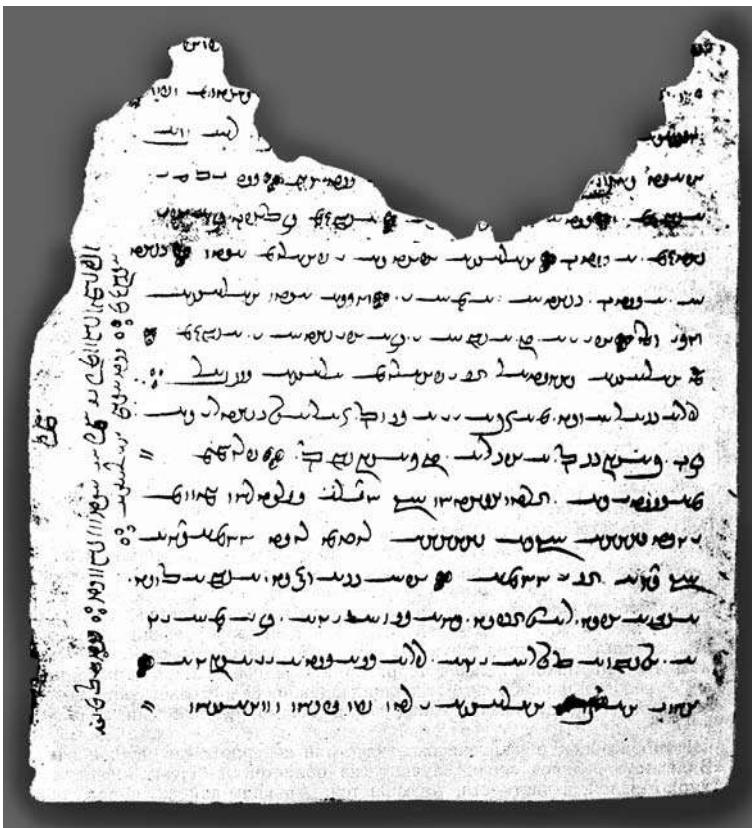
At the same time researchers, who do not consider it necessary to follow the "traditional evidence of Zarathustra" or deny its authenticity; usually relate the composition of the "Gaths" to the period preceding conquest of Central Asia by Achaemenids. Thus I. M. Dyakonov²² thinks, on the basis of level of development of society as reflected in the "Gaths", that they might have been composed not earlier than VI and before the second half of the VII century B.C. Edward Meyer and some other scholars, in their days, thought that it was possible to talk of even around the year one thousand or the beginning of the I millennium B.C. But the author of one of the latest major works on Iranian religions, G. Widengren, writes that the life span of Zarathustra can be related to one thousand six hundred years B.C. and in any case to the much earlier period than the time of the foundation of the Achaemenid Empire.²³

According to some scholars (including I.M. Dyakonov, G. Widengren and others), the early "Avesta" was accepted, as long ago as the middle of VI century B.C., in the East of Media, in the Rag, from where its teachings, though in the changed form, spread to Western Iran. Other researchers relate the penetration of the ideas of the "Gaths" into the West only in the time of the first Achaemenids (during the reign of Cyrus according to V. Hinz and during the rule of Darius I as W. Henning and I. Gershevitch).

²¹ Henning W.B., 1951, p. 44-45.

²² I.M. Dyakonov, 1956, p.390.

²³ Widengren G. 1965, p. 61.



A page from Manuscript of "Avesta"

Thus, it follows that the activities of Zarathustra and the composition of the "Gaths" relate to the period no later than the end of the VII and beginning of the VI century B.C., but we cannot say it with any exactitude. As far as the place of origin of the "Gaths" is concerned, though we cannot point out to some concrete region at this point of time, it can be asserted that it was situated on the territory of Central Asia or on the regions bordering it. This is amply testified by the geographical horizon of the "Avesta" itself and the number of countries listed in it.

A more detailed list of these countries is contained in the first chapter of the "Videvdat". Here among the "best of regions and countries" created by the Ahura Mazda are mentioned, in particular, Aryanam-Vaejah, "Gava, habitat of the Sogdian", "Mouru (Merv region) strong and righteous", "Bakhdi (Bactria), the beautiful, with its high flown flags", "Nisaia lying between Mouru and Bakhdi", Haroiva (Herat region) and other regions up to the districts on the Indus and Harahwati (Arakhosiya) in the South-East, Haitumant in the valley of Helmund in the south, countries of Gurgants and Rag (in the North-East Media) in the west. Thus, the geographical extent of this Avestan text included all the main historical regions of Central Asia as well as the territories adjacent to it, like

Afghanistan and North-Eastern Iran. Of course, this text in the form has reached us is related to a much later period than a number of other sections of the "Avesta" of the period when Zoroastrianism was widely spread. It is believed that at the base of the given extract lay the text mentioning lesser number of countries.

The Avestan "hymn Mithra", relates to a more ancient epoch ("Yasht" X, "Mehr Yasht"). It also contains an enumeration of countries. This "Yasht" is an example of best form of Avestan (or ancient Iranian) poetry. Here a colorful characterization of the countries "where victorious military leaders conducted numerous attacks, where high mountains with abundant pastures served those who care for the cattle, where deep lakes with rising waves stretch, where wide stormy rivers flow — Ishkat and Parut, Herat and Merv, Sogdian Gava and Khwarezm" (translation by V.A. Livshits).²⁴

The territory, which is mentioned in this text, must be considered as a territory where Zoroastrianism was spread in the first place and in our view one of the herein mentioned countries may be considered as the homeland of the first Avestan text. It may be noted that enumerated here are the regions neighboring or adjacent to Bactria and partly perhaps included in it before the Achaemenid Empire. Therefore, Bactria "with its high flown flags" as it mentioned in "Videvdat" was one of the countries (if not the first) where Zoroastrianism was spread very early.

In the texts of the "Younger Avesta" reflected the composite teachings of Zarathustra, which were developed by his successors ("Yasna of Seven Chapters" composed in the same dialect as "Gaths" and contains many concessions to the prevalent religions), with ideas, rituals and traditions alien to the first form of teaching of the Prophet are represented by the "Younger Avesta". A number of hymns of "Avesta" are dedicated to the gods and mythical characters that were worshipped by the Aryans since ancient times but rejected by the Prophet of "Gaths" (Mithra, Hauma and others). This was a concession to the tribal religions and faiths, prevalent on the territory of large states — Achaemenid, Parthian and Sasanid, during the existence of which were composed, designed and edited the parts of "Younger Avesta". However, such cults, rituals and instructions fictionally sanctified in the name of authority of Zarathustra and with the help of such types of phrases as "Thus spoke Ahura Mazda to Zarathustra..." and other editorial devices. Without these insertions, a number of extracts of "Younger Avesta" particularly "Yashts", are in their contents (but not in language) older than the "Gaths".

Thus, "Avesta" contains the data not only about Zoroastrianism but also about some ancient Iranian faiths and tribal cults, often going back to the Indo-European community. At the same time, "Avesta" is the most significant epic for the study of Iranian antiquity, culture and mode of life, social and political institutions, epics, etc. of Iranian tribes of Central Asia and Iran.

This process of fusion of the teaching of Zarathustra with the beliefs of other Iranian faiths had already been accomplished in the middle of the V century B.C.

²⁴ About the location of these regions, see: ITN, I, p. 508.

"Yasna of Seven Chapters" is often related to the VI beginning of V century B.C. and the composition of the older "Yashts" (particularly "Mehr Yasht") to the first decades of the V century B.C.²⁵. However, usually it is considered that the

"Gaths" were composed in the beginning or in the first half of the VI century B.C. However, it is possible that they were composed earlier. Later in time sections of "Avesta", "Yasna of Seven Chapters", and early "Yashts" can be related too much earlier period as well, and can be placed between the hitherto unsettled date of Zarathustra and the middle of V century B.C. The composition of other "Younger Avesta" texts continued even later than the above-mentioned period and some of them were composed, perhaps even in the first centuries of the first millennium.

As it is evident from the before said, during the use of "Avesta" as a historical source, one has to keep in mind the existence in it of many layers reflecting the different historical periods and even epochs, and also the influence on the text coming down to us of the views and ideas of the editors and compilers. In this, even the same extracts often represent fusion of information of different times.

Notwithstanding all these limitations, "Avesta" is the most significant, and in many ways, the only source for the knowledge of (the remote history of the Eastern Iranians, i.e., the population of Central Asia, Afghanistan and that part of Iran which is adjacent to Central Asia.

"AVESTA" ON CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

W. Geiger's work "Eastern Iranian Culture in the Ancient Times"²⁶ is a comprehensive and systematic compendium of information from "Avesta" about the character of the society. However, since the time of its publication in 1882, it has become in many respects outdated. However yet no other similar work unfortunately has appeared in the contemporary period. Besides the new philological-linguistic approach, a later work would have been benefited by a comparative study of the data provided by "Avesta" through the prism of archaeological discoveries. One can only hope that our Iranologists and archaeologists come out with a necessary work in the near future.

Analyzing the character of the Avestan society, researchers have noticed a four-layer structure. In the Yasht X, 115 it is stated, "the religious head of the house is called ***Imania***, religious head of the clan ***Visia***, of the tribe ***Zantuma***, of the country — ***dahiuma***, religious super head — ***Zarathustratema***".²⁷

Thus the family was called ***nmana***. At the head of this patriarchal family stood ***nmanopati*** i.e., "the master of the house". The senior woman of the family is called ***nmanopatni*** (the mistress of the house). Among the Tajiks, particularly in the Pamirs, inspite of thousands of years of the domination of Islam the great role

²⁵ Gershevitch I., 1959.

²⁶ Geiger W., 1882.

²⁷ Gershevitch I., 1959, p.131, 276, 299.

of senior woman in the family has been preserved until our days. The ethnographic materials collected from different regions of the Pamirs confirm this.

There is indirect evidence about the high role of women in ancient Central Asia. As is known, in the remote past, the rulers of such Central Asian regions, as Ustrushan and Sogd, carried the title Afshin.²⁸ V.I. Abaev conducted a detailed historic-etymological analysis of this term. He refuted the old and unconvincing efforts in etymology and equated this term with the word *afsin*, preserved in the Osetin language, meaning "mistress of the house"²⁹. In the opinion of V.I. Abaev it was how the woman-producer must have been called in the Saka-Massagetae tribes. From them it must have been borrowed in the neighboring areas of Central Asia, but now used for the male rulers³⁰. Thus the term signifying among the Osetins, "mistress of the house", gradually began to be used for male rulers in ancient Central Asia.

In the Avestan texts, the word *nmania* means member of the family. But, as I. Gershevitch proved, this term also meant deity — the protector of the house which in Old Russian beliefs carried the name "domovoy". There were tribal godheads "Visia" etc.³¹ The functions of these deities corresponded with the functions of *fravashis* — angels protectors and the spirits of all beings.³²

In the family were included members with unequal rights—*vira*, *vaisa* and *pariatar*. *Vira* usually mean "man", "warrior" but it can also mean "slave". Thus, "Yasht X", 28 says about Mithra that he gifts the house, which he graces with "cattle and multitude of viras" and probably slaves. In general, when in "Avesta" there is any enumeration or comparison mentioning "cattle and *vira*" the latter obviously signifies slaves, *vaisa* and *pariatar*, judged on the basis of some tests and were included in the family as junior members.³³

Larger unions than family were called *nafa*, on the paternal lineage. These agnatic groups possessed collective ownership in arable land, pastures and other properties and were bound by mutual guarantee and solidarity.

These groups were sufficiently large and contained up to hundred equal males. Zarathustra's complaint about the role of these agnatic groups "agnates and their allies rejected me; community was not favorable to me as also the rulers of the countries." ("Yasna", 46, 1).³⁴

Clan (*vis*) consisted of several agnatic groups, the head of the clan was called *vispati*. *Vis* means, not only clan, but also its settlement. Initially, obviously, this settlement consisted of related families. Later it gradually started acquiring the features of the rural commune.³⁵

²⁸ Barthold V.V., 1964 a, p. 497.

²⁹ Abaev V.I., 1959, pp. 112-116. On the functions of the *afsin* among the Osetins see: Kosven M.O., 1961, pp. 8-9.

³⁰ Abaev V.I., 1958, pp. 110-111.

³¹ Gershevitch I., 1959, p. 265.

³² Ibid, p. 266; ITN, I, p. 140.

³³ Gershevitch I., 1959, p. 87, 182, ITN, I, pp. 141-143.

³⁴ Perikhanian A.G., 1968, pp. 34-38.

³⁵ ITN, I, 1963, pp. 143-146.

On becoming adult (around 15 years), youths underwent a ceremony for initiation into the cult and the community. In the meeting, the agnatic group presented them a belt and a shirt. This act of initiation was looked upon as the "second birth" of a person. Only after this, the young person was considered a member of the community with full rights. He could then participate in cult ceremonies, conclude contractual relations and marry, etc.

Many important questions were resolved in the clan council, which consisted of the heads of the agnate groups. The council settled problems of internal life both related to production activities and social life, including observance of the cult and dispensation of justice, besides dealing with the questions of mutual relations with other clan collectives.³⁶

Judged on the basis of the text of the "Avesta", the society of those times was characterized by deep social and property differences. In the different parts of the Avesta, one comes across recollections about individual owners of houses and persons owning large cattle herds. Cattle were considered the main wealth. Of course, the wealth of the aristocracy was not measured in terms of the cattle head owned only but also land and other property.

In the "Avesta", such social and professional groups as priests, warrior-charioteer, peasant-cattle breeder and (only once) craftsman are mentioned. Some scholars think that this list goes to the period as far back as the Indo-Iranian community and hence must not be taken into account; others (not without some reason) consider that it reflects the existing (in the epoch of appearance of "Avesta" and later) historical reality and must be kept in mind while trying to reconstruct the society of "Avesta".³⁷

Along with common members of the commune, there were already noblemen aristocrats. One of the terms for noble-aristocrats was *azata* (noble-born); often he was the head of the *vis* (clan), and of his own family.

Detailed analysis of etymology and evolution of the meaning of word *azata* was made by H.W. Bailey. In the Middle Persian-Pahlavian language, it meant "born member of the royal house", "born noble" and "born free".³⁸

From here originates the Tajik word "*ozod*" — "free", unbounded, as also "*ozoda*", one of the meanings of which is "noble". The other term for aristocrat in the "Avesta" is *asna*.³⁹ The tribe—*zantu* perhaps played a considerably smaller role. At the same time, some texts narrate about the councils of "better people". The term for such councils — *hanchamana* — has been preserved in the Tajik word *anjuman* — assembly or congress.

Region and country consisting of several regions is called *dahiu*. It is not easy to explain this term, writes I.M. Dyakonov. Often in the oldest parts of "Avesta" *dahiu* are the mini countries, which existed in Media according to Assyrian sources, i.e. territorial units functioning not as states but as large clan-tribe formations. At the same time, this term was used for much larger territories.

³⁶ Perikhanyan A.G., 1968, pp. 38-39.

³⁷ Herzfeld E.P. 788 ff; Dyakonov I.M., 1956, p.154; Grantovsky E.A., 1960, pp. 1-2, 10, 13; ITN, I, p. 150.

³⁸ Bailey H.W., 1959, pp. 95-101; 1960, pp. 953-955.

³⁹ Gershovich I., 1959, p. 158.

V.A. Livshits is right in considering *dahiu* as a "concept territorial, geographical, often pointing to the ethnic community, but still not as an administrative unit of an already formed state".

At the helm of the *dahiu* was *dahiupati*. Among others possessing power should be mentioned *sastar* (ruler, sovereign), who perhaps exercised authority over some region from a fortified place.⁴⁰ In the "Avesta" there is a designation for the union of regions (*dahiusasti*) — the power over the regions.

At the head of such a union was *dahiupati* of all *dahius* lord of all regions; he was not the sole ruler because there was *dahiunam fratemadato* — council of the very important persons of the union of regions. Apparently the power of individual *dahiupatis* and even of the lord of all regions himself was limited as the council controlled their power.⁴¹

The analysis of the "Gaths" in the socio-economic relations (here the works of V.I. Abaev and I.M. Dyakonov are most important)⁴² shows that they reflect the situation common for societies on the threshold or beginning of formation of the state.

The society of the "Gaths" was suffering from brigandage, constant barbaric inroads of the neighbors and hijacking of cattle. In the "Gaths", there is an appeal for peaceful life, for the existence of prosperous settlements under the power of benevolent rulers. All this required big social changes, which proceeded in a very stormy way. It is necessary to keep in mind the fact that "in early period of class society leading position among the dominating class always belonged to the class of aristocracy, leaders, priests etc. standing out already in the midst of the primitive communal system. But the united state can be formed only by overcoming clan traditions and dominance of clan oligarchy powerful by its local communal roots and hence always separatistic."⁴³

Thus, the socio-communal relations in Central Asia in the period under study can characterize as transition from the primitive communal to the class system. Disintegration of the clan commune was taking place and the emergence of agricultural commune was going on. "Separate family is becoming the economic unit of the society", said Engels.⁴⁴

At the root of the agricultural commune, in contrast with the clan commune, there were not clans but economic and territorial links. In the history of the people of Central Asia, agricultural commune played a big role, having survived many centuries "Oriental despotism and domination of nomadic conquerors, following one another, during several millennia could not do anything to these ancient communes,"⁴⁵ noted Engels in his work "Anti-Dehuring".

Gradually, in the commune, inequality of property among the different families was growing. Patriarchal slavery was developing. There appeared rich

⁴⁰ H.S. Nyberg, 1938, p. 57, 304; Dyakonov I.M., 1956, pp. 185-189; ITN, I, 1963, pp. 146-147.

⁴¹ Gershevitch I., 1959, pp. 296-299. 42.

⁴² Abaev V.I., 1956; Dyakonov I.M., 1956, pp. 386-396.

⁴³ Dyakonov I.M., 1956, p.392.

⁴⁴ K. Marx and F. Engels, Works. V. 21, p. 164.

⁴⁵ Ibid., V.20, p. 166.

and the poor. The rule of the military leaders was growing, who were becoming the continuing power wielders. Their power was, however, limited by the council of elders and the assembly of the tribe. Unions of tribes were becoming a necessity.

As Engels noted, marauding raids further strengthened the role of the military leaders. War aimed at robbery became a permanent profession. Higher military leader and his helpers turned into hereditary aristocracy, "primitive naturally-grown democracy" got transformed into "contemptible aristocracy".⁴⁶

In the beginning of the I millennium B.C. on the basis of different conditions of production in the desert-steppe and oasis-steppe belts were formed two types of economy: nomadic-cattle-raising in steppes and sedentary agricultural in the oasis and the river valleys. Thus in the most ancient times, there arose, in Central Asia, a peculiarity about which Karl Marx wrote: "Among all the Eastern tribes can be traced from the beginning of history common relations between their semantic part on the one side and the still nomadic on the others".⁴⁷

PROBLEM OF FORMATION OF ANCIENT STATES

The above analysis of socio-economic situation in Central Asia shows that the country was undergoing transition towards a society of classes. It is quite natural that in some developed regions of Central Asia rise of the first state formations, perhaps like those, which in "Avesta" are called *dahiusasti*, began to rise.

In the historical sources, we come across only scant and mostly unreliable hints about these first state formations. One such formation was the "Great Khwarezm". Herodotus (III, 117) informs: "There is in Asia a plain surrounded from all sides by a mountain range, and this range has five gorges. Once upon a time, this plain belonged to the Khwarezmians, and it lies on the frontiers of the very land of the Khwarezmians, Girkans, Parthians, Sarangs and Tamans. From the adjacent valley of the mountains originates the great river Akes. In the beginning the river is divided into five branches and irrigates the land of the people named here". This extract from Herodotus led to the appearance of a whole range of literature containing different narrations, which included some fantastic interpretations. In reality, there are many difficulties here and a great specialist of historical geography as V.V. Barthold declined to concretely examine this information.⁴⁸

A majority of researchers however, do not have such a pessimistic approach towards it. First of all the river Akes, which Herodotus mentions, is identified by nearly all scholars with the river Tejen (in our opinion S.P. Tolstov, who in the face of all evidence to the contrary, both direct and indirect contained

⁴⁶ K. Marx and F. Engels, Works. V. 21, p. 168.

⁴⁷ Ibid., V.20, p. 214.

⁴⁸ Barthold V.V., 1965 a, pp. 25-26, 100-101.

in the sources tries to locate river Akes in the region of contemporary Khwarezm⁴⁹). Secondly, the information lying scattered in the works of other authors of antiquity is also interesting. Hekatey from Milet, who lived in times earlier than Herodotus (about 500 B.C.), mentions Khwarezmians living partly in the plains and partly in the mountains to the East of Parthia. Obviously, this is not contemporary Khwarezm but the region somewhere in the area of Herat — Merv.⁵⁰ Taking into consideration all this, I. Marquart not only identified river Akes with the contemporary river Harirud — Tejen. Thanks to him, not only the account of Herodotus has become real but his comparison of it, with the ancient Iranian legend of King Afrasiab, taking many rivers to the lake Helmand.⁵¹ He speculated about the existence of a large union of Eastern Iranian tribes - "Great Khwarezm".

The entire geographical context of the information given above confirms that at least the center of this union was situated not in contemporary Khwarezm but much more to its south, probably in the region of Merv or Herat.

The case of ethnic movements leading to the formation of such a union is a different case. There are two theories: according to one, the information of Hekatey and Herodotus suggest the gradual movement of Khwarezmians from north to south, the other, on the contrary, tries to convince that the Khwarezmians moved from Iran to areas near Aral region. Marquart advanced the theory that the Avestian *Aryanam-Vaejah*, which literally means, "Iranian (Aryan) space, is identical with this "Great Khwarezm".⁵² About the latter it is stated that it is situated near the river **Datya** (apparently the Amu-Darya) and where winter lasts for ten months. This theory is now accepted by most of the scholars. For the development of contemporary understanding about "Great Khwarezm" the linguists, particularly W.B. Henning, have made a large contribution. Henning compared the language of "Avesta" with the language considered to be Khwarezmian, at that time. The quintessence of the conclusions of Henning is that two main dialects of "Avesta" cannot be related to either Western or Eastern Iranian dialects but they occupy an intermediate position.

In his opinion the "Gaths", the oldest part of "Avesta", were composed in the region of Merv and Herat, and the later Avestan texts mostly in Sistan. He writes: "One cannot go as far as to say that the linguistic evidences provided by Khwarezmian material prove the correctness of our historical construction but it can be said that they (linguistic evidences) agree with it."⁵³

Thus, many questions relating to "Great Khwarezm" remain unclear. Yet the fact of existence of such a large union cannot be doubted.

The second such state formation was the ancient Bactrian kingdom. Ancient Greek author Ctesius has preserved a story about the campaign of the Assyrian King Nin against Bactria. This story narrates about the large population of Bactria, its abundant large cities, the capital of this country — the heavily

⁴⁹ Tolstov S.P., 1948 a, pp. 44-45.

⁵⁰ About this see: Tarn W.W., 1951, pp. 478-79; Pyankov I.V., 1961, p. 100.

⁵¹ Marquart I, 1938, p. 9.

⁵² Ibid., 1901, pp. 155-156, See also Benveniste E., 1934, pp. 265-274.

⁵³ Henning W.B., 1951, pp. 44-45.

fortified Baktr, the Bactrian king Oxyartes and about his wealth (Diodorus II, 5,3). In the light of contemporary historical critique the Assyrian campaign did not reach Bactria,⁵⁴ that is why the story of Ctesius is considered to be simply a literary fiction — an initiation of the story of Herodotus about the conquest of Lydia by Cyrus.⁵⁵

Most of the scholars, while rejecting the concrete content of the story of Ctesius, assume that behind it there are legends widespread in Iran. The confirmation of the fact about existence of the powerful Bactria is also provided by the information of Herodotus (I., 153) that on the way of the Achaemenid King Cyrus, after the conquest of Lydia "lay Babylon, Bactrian people, Saks and Egyptians". It means that Bactria stood in one line with such large states as Egypt and Babylon. Much earlier, W. Geiger expressed the view that ancient Bactria surpassed the power of neighboring regions and acquired a special place among them.⁵⁶

The territory of this union was apparently much larger than Bactria itself. According to some data in it were included (may be not always) Margiana and Sogd. The natural wealth of Bactria was well-known beyond its frontiers up to Asia Minor. In particular, the Badakhshan lapis lazuli was valued highly.

In the agricultural regions of Central Asia also lived - besides the above-mentioned Khwarezmians and the Bactrians — the Sogdians, Farganians, Margianians and Parthians. Sogd was situated in the valley of rivers Zerafshan and Qashqa-Darya; the Ferganians lived in Fergana Valley, Margianians in Merv oasis and Parthians to the North of Kopetdag Mountain. In valleys and mountains were situated the settlements of Saks tribes. Saki (Saks) was divided into two big confederations. Saki — haumavarga ("Saki-worshippers of hauma") or Amiurgi — the South-Eastern group of Saks tribes (historically linked with Bactria and India) and the Saki-tigrakhauda ("Saki with pointed caps"), or Ortokaribantii — Massagetae — the North-Eastern group connected with Khwarezm.⁵⁷

ZOROASTRIANISM

It has been mentioned above that "Avesta" is a complicated fusion of diverse elements of different times. Since long, researchers have been working on delineating these elements and bringing out the oldest layers of the religion of the Iranians. These researches have advanced in a marked way during the last two decades.⁵⁸ I. Gershevitch suggested three names, instead of one, general name,

⁵⁴ Dyakonov I.M., 1956, p. 169.

⁵⁵ Pyankov I.V., 1966, p. 9.

⁵⁶ Geiger W., 1881, pp. 66-67.

⁵⁷ The question of division of Saks tribes is extraordinarily complicated and there are many divergent viewpoints. We have adopted one of them (for latest attempt to determine it. See: Grantovsky E.A., 1963; Litvinsky B.A., 1969).

⁵⁸ Duchesne-Guillemin J., 1953; Duchesne Guillemin J., 1962; Zaehner R.C., 1961; Widengren G., 1965.

"Zoroastrism" (religion of the time of Zarathustra as reflected in the "Gaths"); "Zaratushtrianism" (religion reflected in much younger Avestan texts); "Zaratushtritsm" Zoroastrianism (religious doctrine of Sasanid period).⁵⁹ Among Iranian tribes as far back as (lie border of second — first millennium B.C. there existed certain beliefs and notions, which later formed part of Zoroastrism in a fully developed form. Here much comes from the period of Indo-Iranian community and a little, even goes back to the epoch of Indo-European community. Mention may be made of the cult of **Mithra**. The deities worshipped by the Iranians were called **Ahuras**. Gradually there appeared the notion of a higher deity **Ahura** which was called **Mazda** — i.e., the wise.

Notwithstanding the doubts expressed by some scholars (their opinion is cited in the "History of the Tajik People") it can be said with confidence that Zarathustra was a real historical person. He was the composer of the "Gaths" in which the personality — a live and fighting man of the preacher is vividly, reflected. Later in the "Younger Avesta", Zarathustra appears as a mythical character.

The name of Zarathustra (European form is Zoroastr) means the "Camel driver".⁶⁰ He belonged to the clan Spitama (from this Sogdian name Spitamana, in the Greek form Spitamen). His father's name was Pourushaspa, mother's Dugdova. Zarathustra belonged to the priestly class. He was not a rich man. He complained that he had very few cattle and serfs and was promised a gift of 10 horses with colts and a camel. Zarathustra was married and had children.

In the "Gaths" Zarathustra affirms that he received revelation of true faith from the God Ahura-Mazda (similar to Mohammad's meeting and communication with God and revelations received from him, as mentioned in the Koran).

Zarathustra began to propagate his new preaching's but did not have much success. He had to flee and at last found the patronage of Kava (King) Vistaspa who along with his retinue embraced the faith of Zarathustra. In the "Gaths" some other persons are also mentioned who were associates and relatives of Zarathustra. The teaching of Zarathustra was aimed against the clan-tribal leaders (or elite) and old priests who were practicing bloody sacrifices. Objectively, supporting the more progressive forms of economy and appealing against armed conflicts and barbaric raids aimed at grabbing cattle, Zarathustra gave a call for defense of semantic settlements for establishment of strong power and peaceful life on earth. Rejecting the clan-tribal cults of old, deities Zarathustra worshipped a single god Ahura-Mazda.

Among the basic tracts of the religious system of Zoroastrianism characteristic of the different stages of its development must be mentioned the following: 1) A certain monotheistic tendency which is found in the early forms of Zoroastrianism and reflected in the faith of high God Ahura-Mazda (Later

⁵⁹ Gershevitch I., 1964.

⁶⁰ Zarathustra is a Median form which, in a slightly changed form, appeared in Sasanidian Iran - Zardusht (from this comes the Tajik form also). The name Zoroastr that is used in European languages, perhaps, goes back through the channel of the Greeks to the reconstructed ancient Persian form Zara-ushta (*Gershevitch I.*, 1964, p. 28, 38).

Ormazd, Hurmuzd) ; 2) Dualism, often named as moral or ethical, included conflict of two eternal abstract principles — good and evil or truth and falsehood; at the head of the power of good (associated with truth, justice, light etc.) stood the benevolent God — Ahura-Mazda, at the head of the force of evil (falsehood, darkness, etc.) was the wicked and hostile spirit called Ahra-manyu (in the Avestan writing Angro-mainyu later Ahriman); the fighting between these two forces is the essence of the world process. After the name, Ahura-Mazda Zoroastrianism is also called Mazdaism,⁶¹ and the followers of it call themselves Mazdayasnians (from Mazdayasna "worshipping Mazda").

Among the Aryan tribes there existed quite early, long back in the Indo-Iranian period, the idea of two types of gods *daiva* (Indian *deva*, in Iranian later *dev*, *div*) ancient anthropomorphic natural gods, gods in general (Indo-European *deivo*) and *asura* (in Iranian *ahura*, literally "master", "ruler") — gods possessing high powers of moral order. In the ancient Indian tradition back in the later hymns of "Rigveda") *asurs* were hostile to man and later in India this term came to be used only for evil forces and the devas were left as proper gods. In Mazdaism a reverse process took place: devas became the hostile gods, the demons.⁶² In the list of demon — devas the "Avesta" includes such gods as Indra (one of the well-known and venerable gods of the Vedic Indians). Nahatya (Indian Nasatya) and others. The term "ahura", on the contrary, contains divine meaning.

Among the other gods stood out one who was considered the god of the sky, who was omniscient. Along with the epithet Mazda (wise) his name Ahura forms the name of a higher god Ahura-Mazda (wise ruler). These changes were directly linked in conversion to another faith in which a big role was played by ethical moments. Ahura-Mazda (as well as ancient Indian asura Varuna) is directly linked with one of the main religious concepts: *arta* (in the "Avesta" *asha*) — truth, justice, law and order, and divine justice. In the «Gaths» of Zarathustra Ahura-Mazda is not only the higher god as he not only rejects the other gods but also substitutes them.

In the realm of rituals Zarathustra rejected the bloody sacrifices devoted to them and the libation of the holy drink *haoma* (Indian *soma*), recognizing only the fire worship. Fire was considered as the expression or symbol of divine justice "*arta*". The cult and temples of fire later became one of the main characteristic features of Zoroastrianism. Prohibition of large-scale bloody sacrifices of cattle is also directly linked to social content of the teaching of Zarathustra.

Simultaneously, with monotheistic tendency developing amongst the group of Iranian tribes and in relation to the rise of the god Ahura later Ahura-Mazda, there also spread dualistic notion. According to them everything in the world —

⁶¹ Some Soviet authors call Mazdaism the Central Asian version of ancient Iranian faiths related to Zoroastrianism. In these cases, to avoid confusion, one should speak about Central Asian Mazdaism.

⁶² In Central Asia before medieval times, as stated in written sources and among Pamirians and Yagnobians until recently, the notions of deva as good creature not only in male but female form also have been preserved.

the gods, phenomena of nature and social life, animals, etc. — is related to good or evil notions, to the world of truth (*arta*) or to the world of falsehood (*drauga*, Avestan *drug*, *druj*), to the embodiment of injustice, everything evil and morally dirty. These notions were deepened and generalized in the teaching of Zarathustra combining monotheism in the realm of noble beginning with the consistent pursuit of dualism, concentrating all the existing earlier dualistic notions to one common world conflict in which active role has been assigned to man.

The role of man in Zoroastrianism is defined by the concept of free choice, enshrined in the "Gaths" of Zarathustra. Man chooses between the good and evil and his actions have a determining significance in the course of world struggle between good and evil. The path of good is indicated by the true faith brought on the earth by the Prophet — Zarathustra. The collective efforts of his followers should lead to the ultimate victory of the good. Zarathustra predicted the advent of the new world, which would mark the triumph of the forces of good over the forces of evil. After the test by fire, those who choose the good would be in the kingdom of justice founded by Ahura-Mazda. The final victory of the forces of good was foreseen in the near future. But later it was stated that after the birth of Zarathustra and the emergence of his faith as an instrument of struggle against the evil three thousand years would pass before the saviors Saoshiant appear (this term is used in the "Gaths"), the seed of Zarathustra, wonderfully preserved in the bed of a lake would be born and under him the final victory of the good over the evil would take place.

The main duty of the man, assisting the noble beginning of the fight with the evil, was considered first of all and not the performance of prayer rituals which were not given primary importance by Zoroastrianism, in particular, in the early stages of its development, but the just the way of life prescribed by the true faith; the "noble thought", "noble words", "noble deed", these are the things through which man fights the evil. The increase of material prosperity was one of the main instruments of struggle with the forces of evil (which were created by Ahura-Mazda or the sacred spirit for man) i.e., work in agriculture and cattle breeding.⁶³

In the "Gaths" along with Ahura-Mazda there are two twin spirits, one of which embodies truth and the other falsehood. In the section of "Avesta", known as "Yasna of Seven Chapters", there are many polytheistic motives where they worshipped not only as Ahura-Mazda and his manifestations but also as fire, water, wind, earth, air and the spirit of animals etc.⁶⁴

The most venerable gods of the Avestan pantheon were the god of sun and light, Mithra — the most powerful patron of lighters, gifting them victory, as well as the goddess of fertility and waters Ardisura Anahita in whose cult some features going back to the matriarchal epoch were preserved.⁶⁵

⁶³ See for general discussion *Duchesne-Guillemin J.*, 1962, pp. 71-223; *Widengren G.*, 1965, pp. 7-110 (bibliographical list as well).

⁶⁴ *Gershevitch I.*, 1964, pp. 12-15.

⁶⁵ *Gershevitch I.*, 1964, pp. 12-15; (also gives a vast list of literature); *Ringbom L.I.*, 1957, (useful but not adequate information).

Among the rituals of Zoroastrianism, more specific is the burial ritual (as practiced by the Parsis in India). The corpse of the dead is placed on a special platform (*dakhma*) for the birds to eat. The bones cleaned of meat in this manner are preserved in special vessels — *ossuarias*.

This ritual, the form of which by itself was much older than Zoroastrianism, was directly linked with its basic tenets and became possibly the sole criterion for the devotees of Zoroastrianism. The contrast between life and death was the main feature in the system opposites in the dualistic concept of Zoroastrianism. Life as a noble beginning was considered as a gift and death as the evil created by Ahriman. Because of this the body of the devotee, which was the noble beginning during his life after death becomes profane, the manifestation of evil beginning. At the same time, the worships of elements, fire, earth, water, categorically forbade their pollution. Hence, burial and cremation practiced earlier became unacceptable⁶⁶.

The teaching of Zarathustra prescribed, as sacred obligation, for his followers to engage in agriculture and cattle breeding - considering it as a deed of piety.

In the third chapter of Videvdat it is stated that the best place, liked by God, is "where the pious man constructs the house in which there are fire, milk, wife, children and cattle, in such a house flourish cattle... and the dog, wife and kid, fire and the well-being... when the pious man produces more bread, grass, plants and eatable fruits, where he irrigates dry soil or dries up highly moist soil...rears up large and small cattle... where large and small cattle produces dung" (Fargard 2-6; translation by I.S. Braginsky).

Here there is a direct appeal to develop settled cattle-breeding and most importantly farming.

Further, in the same chapter it is stated: "He, who tills soil... by left and right hand, by right and left hand, gives profit to it. It is like the loving husband gifting a son or other good thing to his beloved wife laying on soft bed... thus the soil is telling him: O thou man tilling me by left hand and right hand, by right hand and left hand... I will be giving birth without any fatigue producing food provision and abundant harvest...he who sows grain sow? Righteousness" (Fargard 25-26, 31: translation by I.S. Braginsky).

In the "Gaths" great attention is paid to the cattle-breeding as well. Addressing Ahura-Mazda the Prophet says: "Thou who has created for us the cattle, the source of well-being" (47, 3). Here we find a large number of excerpts about cattle, protection of cattle and peaceful cattle breeders from the raids of the barbarians. "Glorifying Ahura-Mazda and feeding the cattle - this we consider the best thing" (35, .7).⁶⁷

It is in the oldest section of "Avesta" that appeals for agricultural labor, popular myths and fantasies are contained. However, "Avesta" on the whole, as the work of a later period when in conditions of a class society the teaching of

⁶⁶ Inostrantsev K.A., 1909; Stavisky B.Ya, 1952; Herzfeld E., 1947, II, pp. 747-748, Humbach H., 1961; Rapoport Iu.A., 1971.

⁶⁷ Abaev V.I., 1956, pp. 23-56.

Zarathustra (Zoroastrianism) was canonized, became a state religion idolizing the power of the king and consecrating the aristocratic domination and priesthood over the toiling masses.

For study of the ancient history of the ancestors of the Tajik people, the ethnographic data is important. In the pre-revolutionary life of the Tajiks, particularly in the mountains, many remnants of the primitive communal relations had survived. For example, there are large common houses in the settlement of Darwaz and Qarategin. From among the many remnants of fire worship, the more widespread were the "fire houses" — the places for gatherings of male population of the village around the fire during which collective feasts were organized. Among the ancient tales about the epic heroes, the most popular were about Rustam. While starting work the Tajik highlander used to say: "Help Rustam!" Rainbow is called the "bow of Rustam". A number of customs witnessing to the preservation of the remnants of matriarchal society. Many archaic features are preserved in the ceramics and also in the art of building.

PART II

THE ANCESTORS OF THE TAJIKS IN THE EPOCH OF DEVELOPMENT OF SLAVE – OWNING RELATIONS

CHAPTER I

CENTRAL ASIA IN THE STATE OF ACHAEMENIDS

1. POLITICAL HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA IN VI BEGINNING OF V CENTURY B.C.

EMERGENCE OF THE ACHAEMENID STATE

Establishment of the first state formations in Iran is related to the IX–VII centuries B.C.¹ In the IX–VII centuries most of the regions of Western Iran were included in Assyrian and Urart empires (to Assyria belonged the regions which later became the center of the Median Kingdom; Persian tribes of South-Western Iran which were headed by the Achaemenids and subjected earlier to kings of Elam also recognized their dependence on Assyria around 640 B.C.). In the VIII – VII century's sizeable territories of North-Western Iran were united under the power of the Mane Kingdom.

In the first stages of their expansion on the territory of Iran (from the end of II and beginning of the I millennium B.C.) tribes speaking Iranian languages had not yet reached that level of socio-political development which would have allowed the creation of the unions of states.

Only later, on the basis of these tribes and the local population assimilated by them in some of the regions of Iran there took place consolidation of Iranian-speaking element as a result of which in the second quarter of the VII century A.D. Median Kingdom emerged. It was established initially on the territory of Ecbatana (Hamadan) and several neighboring regions. Thereafter this kingdom incorporated most of the regions of Iran (including Fars), territories of Mane and Urart states, some regions belonging earlier to Assyria, the eastern part of Asia Minor,² on the East up to the extent of Media came close to the borders of Central Asia.

In the middle of the VI century B.C. the Achaemenid State replaced the power of the Media. The establishment of the world power of the Achaemenids completed the processes manifesting the tendency towards union into one state of the different ancient eastern countries and peoples, which was characteristic of

¹ With the exception of South-Western regions of Iran where, as far back as the second half of the III millennium B.C., appeared the Elam state.

² The best research on the history of Media is the book by *I.M. Dyakonov* (1956); see also *Aliev I.*, 1960. Among the foreign works mention may be made of *Cameron G.*, 1936.

the preceding epoch (IX-VI centuries B.C.). It may be compared to the consistent expansion of the Assyrian, Urartian, Median and new Babylonian states, which had behind it certain economic and social reasons.

The founder of the Achaemenid power was king the Cyrus II of the group of Persian tribes who in the beginning was a vassal of the Media. As a result of a long and difficult struggle he not only freed himself of this dependence but in 550 B.C. fully liquidated and subjugated Media to his rule. He acquired the title of the King of Media while preserving his old title of King of Persia.³

Cyrus II conducted many wars. In the beginning, he subjugated the possession, included in the composition of the Median Kingdom. Later in 547 or 546 B.C. Lydia was annexed. The latter was the richest country in Asia Minor and was one of the Greek states of that region.⁴

THE CONQUESTS OF CYRUS II IN CENTRAL ASIA

The strengthening of the Achaemenid state was the result of a sharp rise in the material and human resources brought about by the activities of Cyrus II. All this created the pre-requisites for his aspirations, directed towards founding of a huge state including all the countries of Asia.

According to Herodotus (I, 153), after the conquest of Lydia, "there lay along the path before Cyrus II — Babylon, the Bactrian people, the Sakas and the Egyptians. The war against them was personally directed by him while he decided to leave the expedition against the Ionians to his commanders". Such plans of Cyrus II were not accidental: he probably possessed information about the power and preparedness for war of the Central Asian peoples and hence could not entrust this task to even the commanders closest to him.

We know almost nothing concretely as to how the Central Asian conquest proceeded. However, it was accompanied by great ruthlessness. As Herodotus informs (I, 177): "Lower Asia was depopulated by Garpag and the upper by Cyrus himself, subjugating one people after another without sparing any one of them". Babylonian historian of the III century, B.C. Beross, also informs that Cyrus attacked Babylon after subjugating the whole of Asia. All this refutes the story of Nicholas Damasky (*Istoria*, 75) that after the victories of Cyrus II over Media satrap of Heerkania with the expression of his submissiveness approached him. "Thereafter Parthian, Saks, Bactrian and other people's satraps were coming one after another trying to be first". All this is anachronistic because the Bactrians and the Saks were not incorporated in the Median Kingdom and Cyrus II had to conquer them.

³ Dyakonov I.M., 1956, pp. 417-422.

⁴ For a detailed history of Iran in this period see refer to Dandamaev M.A., 1963a. For a detailed presentation of political history Olmstead A.F., 1959. Our understanding of the socio-economic history of the Achaemenid state is based on a detailed discussion contained in the specialized works. (Ghafurov B.G. 1966, 1971).

Moreover, this story is not true in relation to the other regions as well. More reliable information appears to be that of Trog in the narration of Justin (I, 72): "The states which were tributaries of the Medians, considering that with change of power their status had also changed, declared themselves independent of Cyrus. This became the reason for Cyrus to launch his numerous wars".

Ctesius (fr. 9/29) give some details about Cyrus's conquests in Central Asia. He informs that Cyrus "fought with the Bactrians but the battle was indecisive". Only after the Bactrians learnt about the strong internal political situation in the Achaemenid state they "voluntarily" submitted to Cyrus.

The information given by the Behistun⁵ inscription of Darius has a special significance. From this inscription, we can derive indisputable data about the composition of the Achaemenid state, at the time of accession of Darius I. In this connection it should be kept in mind that the interval between the death of Cyrus II and the accession of Darius I., i.e. during 530-522 B.C., the Achaemenids were preoccupied with the conquests in Egypt and their internal problems and were not engaged in incorporation of the new regions of Central Asia.⁶ In the first column of the Behistun inscription Darius I states: "These are the countries which I received with the grace of Ahura-Mazda", and enumerates among others Parthia, Areya, Khwarezm, Bactria, Sogdiana, and also regions in South Afghanistan and North-Western India: Gandhara, Sattagidia, Arakhosia, between the first two is mentioned "Saka" (it refers to perhaps Sakas-haumavarga). Ethnic sources have preserved information (Pliny, VI, 23), that Cyrus destroyed Kapisa (usually researchers locate it in Bagram near Kabul).⁷

Summing up all scant data available to us it may be assumed that Cyrus II succeeded in conquering Parthia, Bactria, Khwarezm, Sogd and some part of Sakas; probably the Sakas-haumavarga.⁸ As to how far in the North-East the frontiers of the Achaemenid state were spread nothing is practically known. Opinions mentioned earlier that this state extended up to the Fergana Valley, based on references in later sources about the city of Kiropol-Kireskhata supposedly built by Cyrus were shaky, to some extent, in the light of linguistic analysis. Opinion was expressed that the city in fact was called Kuru(sh) – Kata where the first part of the word could be a tribal name and the Greeks changed it to Kireskhata.⁹

⁵ For the inscription see: Kent R.G., 1953, pp. 116-134 (text and English translation); full Russian translation: Dandamaev M.A., 1963 a, pp. 262-270.

⁶ Dandamaev M.A., 1963 a, pp. 116.

⁷ Masson V.M., Romodin V.A., 1964, pp. 58.

⁸ ITN.I. pp. 190-192.

⁹ Benveniste E., 1935-1943, 1947, pp. 163-164. Also see detailed analysis of V.A. Litvinsky: ITN, I, p.528. Latest linguistic analysis: Eilers W., 1964, pp. 180-236 (important for mainly areal); Abaev V.I., 1967, pp. 286-291 (convincing etymology).

CYRUS AND TOMIRIS. ROUT OF ACHAEMENID TROOPS

In 539 B.C. Cyrus II conquered Babylon and was about to conquer Egypt as well. But the situation on the north-eastern borders of the state, i.e., in Central Asia did not allow him to launch his Egyptian expedition. He led a new campaign in Central Asia in order to secure his rear areas. Cyrus II, who personally led his troops in this campaign, intended to crush the powerful Central Asian nomads.

Information about this campaign has been preserved in the works of many authors of antiquity but they narrate the events in different ways. One of the versions is that Cyrus after crossing Araks intruded into the land of the Massagetae, who were led by Queen Tomiris. According to the second version, overall not much different from the first, Cyrus fought with the Scythians who were under the command of Tomiris. The third version is that Cyrus fought with Derbiks. And there is also a story that Cyrus fought in the valleys of Dai".¹⁰

Detailed story of this expedition and its results is contained in the works of Herodotus, Trog-Justin and other authors. Here we cite from the account given by Trog-Justin: "Conquering Asia and bringing under his rule the entire East, Cyrus waged war against the Scythians. The Scythians had at that time Queen Tomiris. She was not scared of attack by the enemy as one normally expected of a women. Although Tomiris could have intervened before the enemy crossed over the Oks, she gave them an opportunity to do so thinking that it would be easier for her to fight on the territory of her kingdom and difficult for the enemy to flee back through the river lying on their way. After crossing the river with his troops, Cyrus penetrated a little deeper into Scythia and pitched his camp. Next day he pretended to flee, as if frightened. In the camp, he left a huge quantity of food and wine, enough for a big feast. When the Queen was told about this, she sent his young son with one-third of her force to chase the robbers. The youthful prince inexperienced in warfare, upon entering the camp of Cyrus, drank heavily the wine left behind, forgetting about the enemy he was sent to chase. Thus drinks much before arms defeated the Scythians. Learning about this Cyrus returned during the night, swooped down upon the hapless enemies, and killed the Scythians along with the son of the Queen, who were engaged in revelry in the camp. Having lost such a large number of troops and her only son, which was a harder blow; Tomiris did not drown her sorrow in tears but decided to console herself by avenging the treachery of the enemies who were celebrating their recent victory by responding through identical treachery. She pretended not to rely on her strength after the blow suffered by her and while fleeing lured Cyrus to a gorge where she had planned before and to ambush him in the mountains. There she destroyed 200 thousand Persians along with their King. This victory was all the more remarkable as no one was left to inform the Persians about such an awful defeat. The Queen ordered to throw the severed head of Cyrus into a vessel full of human blood and condemned his cruelty in these words: "Let you be

¹⁰ For historical analysis see: Pyankov I.V., 1964.

satiated with blood which you always thirsted and never fully satisfied" (Justin, 1, 8, 1-13).

The account of Herodotus is still more detailed (1, 205-214). From this, we learn that Cyrus, in the beginning, proposed through a special messenger that the Queen might become his wife. "But Tomiris understood", writes Herodotus, "that Cyrus was not asking to marry her but the Kingdom of the Massagetae and rejected the proposal" (1, 205). The son of Tomiris was named Spargapis (1, 211). He was not killed but he killed himself in custody (1, 213). About the battle between the Massagetae and Achaemenidian troops, there is the following account:

"...this battle, the fiercest of all the battle, in which the barbarians ever took part. It proceeded as I heard in this way: in the beginning, both the troops attacked each other with arrows from a considerable distance and when the arrows were exhausted, they grappled with daggers and spears. The troops held on for long against each other neither side was fleeing. At last, the Massagetae won. Most of the Persian troops fell dead at the battleground and Cyrus himself was killed" (Herodotus, 1, 214). Strabo (XI, 8, 5) adds one substantial detail to this account that during this battle the nomad enemies of Cyrus II (he calls them Saks) twice destroyed the Achaemenidian troops.

It is difficult to solve the problem of concrete direction of the campaign of Cyrus II. Some are of the opinion that it was Syr-Darya, Amu-Darya or Uzboi. The last seems to be more probable.¹¹

The defeat of Cyrus by the Massagetae at the end of July and the beginning of August 530 B.C. is the first exactly fixed date in the history of the peoples of Central Asia.¹²

As M.M. Dyakonov writes, "Cyrus was one of the most outstanding personalities of ancient history".¹³ This is undoubtedly a correct observation because in his activities Cyrus manifested many progressive tendencies of his times. Behind him, there were the great resources of the vast Achaemenid Kingdom, which extended from Asia Minor to the Indus Valley. Nevertheless, in his fight with the Central Asian nomads he not only suffered an awful defeat but also was himself killed. But this is not just the case of vicissitudes of the capricious military success. While defending its freedom and independence a people mobilize all its forces in the struggle against the enemy. There are numerous examples of it both in the history of Central Asia and in world history, as a whole.

¹¹ Herrmann A., 1914, p. 19; Pyankov I.V., 1964, pp. 126-130; compare Struve V.V., 1968, pp. 51-56.

¹² This date is established based on Babylonian documents: the last document of Cyrus II is dated 12 August 530 B.C., and the first document in the name Kambiz-31 August 530 B.C. Thus, the news about the death of Cyrus reached Babylon in the middle or second half of the month (Parker, R. and Dubberstein W.H., 1956, p. 14; Dandamaev M.A., 1963, 963a, p. 11). The other date 529 (Masson V.M., Romodin V.A. 1964 p. 57) is not correct.

¹³ Dyakonov M.M., 1961, p. 79.

UPRISINGS AGAINST ACHAEMENIDS DURING THE REIGN OF DARIUS I

The victory of Central Asian nomads over Cyrus II played a notable role in the destiny of the Achaemenid state. Not only the powerful founder of the Achaemenid state was killed but also his son and successor Kambiz had to postpone their long planned campaign against Egypt.¹⁴ Later Kambiz carried out this campaign. Egypt was conquered and subjected to the power of the Achaemenids.

In 522 B.C., Darius I (ruled up to 486 B.C.) who was the representative of the sidelined Achaemenid dynasty seized power in Iran. Disorder in the royal house, the struggle for power against the backdrop of a socio-political crisis, resulted in the separation of most of the provinces from the Achaemenid state. The famous Behistun inscription of Darius I, aimed at perpetuating his achievements, gives a detailed account of suppression of uprisings.



Costumes of Central Asian peoples V.C. B.C.
(from the achaemenid reliefs)
1. Sak-tigrakhauda, 2. Bactrian, 3. Sogdian, 4. Khwarezmian

¹⁴ Dandamaev M.A. 1963, pp. 116-117.



**Eastern Pamirian Warrior – Sak (VII-VI B.C.)
(from the sepulcher materials)**

The Central Asians also used this situation to overthrow the rule of the Achaemenids. Parthia, Margiana the Saks country took to rebellion (Behistun inscription II 6-8). The Margian uprising acquired a particularly wide sweep. In the Behistun inscription (III, 10-12) Darius I describes it thus: "Says the King Darius: the Margiana country has become rebellious. One Frada of Margian has become the leader. Following this, I sent a message to the Pers named Dadarshish, my slave and satrap in Bactria telling him to crush the forces, which do not belong to me. After this Dadarshish went along with the troops and fought a battle with the Margians. Ahura-Mazda helped me. By the grace of Ahura-Mazda, my troops routed the rebel forces. On the 23rd day of the month of Assiyad the battle was fought". Darius further adds (Behistun inscription, III, 19-20), "The country became mine". The date given in the inscription corresponds

to 10 December 522 B.C.¹⁵ This date along with the date of Cyrus's defeat at the hands of the Massagetae is the two exact dates known in the ancient history of the USSR.

The Achaemenid troops commanded by the Bactrian satrap did not spare any one. The rebellion was drowned in blood. According to the Babylonian version and the Aramei copy of Behistun inscription, over 55 thousand people were killed and 6.5-7 thousand men were taken prisoners.¹⁶ The rebel leader Frada, who initially escaped, was seized by Achaemenid troops. The rebellions in the provinces of Parthia and the region of the Saks were also ruthlessly suppressed.

Darius I, in the third year of his rule (519/518 B.C.), undertook a special campaign against the Saks – tigrakhaudas (Behistun inscription V, 20-30). The Saks were defeated in a battle and a part of them was taken as prisoners. Among the prisoners was the leader of the Saks-Skunha. Darius I nominated a new leader of the Saks.¹⁷

The antique author Polien (XII, 12), based on the Saks legends surviving until his times, and narrates about one of the episodes of the brave struggle of the Saks. Against them moved Darius I at the head of a vast army. In his camp appeared a Saks stableman named Shirak. His face was disfigured and he was badly wounded, his ears and nose were chopped off. Shirak told that his tribesmen had done this to him and he was determined to avenge himself. He offered to lead the Persian troops along the paths known to him in order to reach the rear of the Saks, suddenly. After seven days of tiring march, the Persian troops found themselves in an inhospitable desert. They were on the verge of perishing. The Persians now understood the deception. Shirak whom they threatened to kill proudly said: "I have won a victory because to avert the misfortune and disaster of my compatriots Saks, I, have starved the Persians". The Persians beheaded the brave stableman.

This campaign of Darius I, according to Polien, was unsuccessful.

2. CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY IN V-IV CENTURIES B.C.

CENTRAL ASIA AS PART OF THE ACHAEMENID STATE

As the primary sources show, a considerable part of Central Asia formed Achaemenid State. According to one of the Persepolis inscriptions it extended from "Saks who were beyond Sogd", up to Kush (Ethiopia). The opinion that the "Saks beyond Sogd" were (the Saks from behind the Syr-Darya who lived along the higher and middle stream of this Central Asian river.)¹⁸ Khwarezm, Sogd,

¹⁵ In his work "Uprising in Margiana during the rule of Darius I." *Struve V.V.*, 1949 has made a special study of this rebellion.

¹⁶ *Struve V.V.*, 1949, p. 24.

¹⁷ *Struve V.V.*, 1968, *Dandamaev M.A.*, 1963 b.

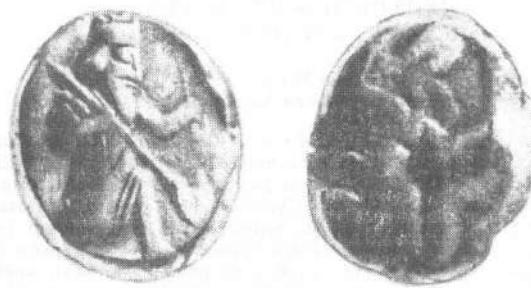
¹⁸ *Litvinsky B.A.*, 1960 b, pp. 91-92.

Bactria, Parthia and many regions populated by nomadic Saks – all formed part of the Achaemenid State in the period of its highest development.

Bactria remained a part of the Achaemenid State until the end of its existence. It was the most important center of the Achaemenid State in the East. Large human, economic and military resources of Bactria and of the regions linked with it, determined its role in the economic and political life of the Eastern part of the state overall. In the dynastic struggle for the throne of "King of the Kings" Bactria had great importance. Bactrian elite apparently followed a separatist policy. But sometimes it actively supported one or the other claimant for the throne and tried to acquire a leading role in the whole state, along with the Persians.¹⁹

The entire Achaemenid State was divided into military tributary circles called the satraps. During the reign of Darius I (522-486 B.C.) according to the information provided by Herodotus (III, 89-94), there were 20 satraps. The satrap who was directly under the king was always appointed from among the Persians. His duties were mainly collection of taxes in his region and maintenance of the troops.²⁰ He had also the right to have dealings with the neighbors and could with the concurrence of the king, even organize military expeditions. The position of the satrap was often hereditary.

The main function of the state apparatus was collection of taxes. According to the tax reform of Darius I every satrap was obliged to pay the annual tax in money. Besides, this tax was also paid in kind i.e. in the products of the handicrafts, mines, agriculture and cattle breeding. From the inscription on buildings in Suza it is known that the Central Asian satraps provided different types of decorative stones for construction of palaces of the Achaemenid Kings (probably for other constructions as well) and gold. In addition to these taxes and obligations, there also existed internal duties and road taxes. Providing soldiers to the Achaemenid army was a heavy burden on the population.



Achaemenid coin Darik

¹⁹ ITN, I, pp. 209-211.

²⁰ As R. Frye writes, satraps were like small kings with their own courts and administrative apparatus reminiscent of the Central Government (*Frye R.N.*, 1963, p. 102).

The people greatly suffered under the burden of these taxes, for the payment of which they were often forced to mortgage lands with the moneylenders and even to sell their children as slaves.

Central Asia was divided into four satrapies. The nomadic tribes, who lived along the coast of the Caspian Sea, according to Herodotus, formed part of the XI satrap and paid yearly taxes amounting to 200 Babylonian silver talents.²¹ Khwarezm, Sogd and Parthia formed part of the XVI satrap and paid 300 talants. Bactria was part of the XII satrap and paid 360 talants. Lastly, the Saks formed part of the XV satrap and paid 250 talants. These were large sums for those times.

One of the ways of extracting additional taxes from the peoples of Central Asia, by the Achaemenids, was the closing of the barrage gates, depriving them of water for irrigating their fields. For opening of the barrage gates, the people had to pay new taxes. Herodotus (III, 117) writes: "...when they don't have water they go to Persia with their wives, they stand before the king's castle and wail; the king seeing the dire need of the supplicants orders the opening of the barrage gates leading to their valleys. When their lands' thirst is fully quenched, the barrage gates are again closed; along with this, the king orders to open the barrage gates for other people who are in dire need of water. I know from the stories that the king charges large sums of money for opening of the barrage gates in excess of the usual payments.

Locating the barrage, which was situated, according to Herodotus, on the river Akes is very difficult. According to majority of researchers, this is river Tejen — Harirud sometimes also called Murgab. Attempts have been made to identify it more exactly.²²

Probably in the Achaemenid period large irrigation complexes were in the hands (or in control) of Achaemenid administration.

The condition of the toiling masses of Central Asia under the Achaemenid rule was very difficult. Freedom loving tribes and people constantly rebelled against the oppression of the Achaemenid rulers. In the second half of IV century B.C. the Khwarezmians formed a state independent of the Achaemenids. At about the same time the Saks also ceased to be the subjects of the Achaemenids.

The Achaemenid state was a vividly manifested slave-owning military-aristocratic state, the privileged and ruling strata of which consisted of the Persians and partly Medians. At places particularly distant from the center of the Achaemenid state, in the regions of Central Asia, the power of "their own" Central Asian administration was very great: the Achaemenids and the local aristocracy jointly oppressed the peoples of Central Asian satrapies.

²¹ Talant weighed about 30 kg. of silver.

²² Marquart I, 1938, p. 9; Dyakonov I.M., 1956, p. 357; Masson V.M., 1967a, pp. 172-175.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM, CULTURE AND RELIGION IN SOGD, KHWAREZM AND BACTRIA IN VI-IV CENTURIES B.C.

The social system of the Eastern Iranian peoples of Central Asia, during the rule of the Achaemenid dynasty, as we know it through research on the entire complex differs to some extent or even substantially from the system of the Western Iranians.

In Central Asia, the slave labor did not become the basis of economy although slave-owning system was quite developed here. Here the remnants of the tribal system were preserved more extensively and village communes were predominant. The establishment of the Achaemenid rule played a double role in the further socio-economic development of Central Asia: from one side it increased the development of slave-owning system to some extent, but considerably weakened the economy on the other side. Huge wealth was pumped out of the country in the form of tribute and material supplies, the best craftsmen were taken away from the country to build the palaces of the Achaemenid kings.

Archaeological data, from excavations of the Afrasiab (ancient Samarkand) and accounts of authors of antiquity, give us an opportunity to characterize, in general, the condition of Sogd in that period.²³ Agriculture played a key role in the life of Sogd. This period was based on artificial irrigation. This is supported by written sources. Strabo (XI, 11, 5) writes about the river Politimet (Zerafshan): having irrigated this area (literally quenching fully the thirst of the country), it enters the country of sands and is devoured by them. Apparently, it meant that Zerafshan after providing water to the numerous canals of the Sogdians preceded the desert.

Along with agricultural settlements, whose population was engaged in agriculture and cattle breeding, urban settlements emerged.

The largest among the latter was, what the Greeks called, Marakand — local name of Samarkand (modern Samarkand). At the time of Macedonian conquest, the city had two parts: a citadel in circled by a wall and a moat, and the city itself with walls extending 70 *stadi* i.e., not less than 12-12,5 kilometers (Kwint Kurtsiy, VII, 6, 10). The city was surrounded by a river, apparently Siab.

According to archaeological data, the ancient Samarkand (or its nucleus) was situated on the site of old city of Afrasiab. Research on this city reveal traces of settlement as old as VI-IV centuries B.C. in the North-Western and Southern parts of Afrasiab the territory in size about 50-70 hectares. If one takes into account the entire Afrasiab as populated, its size would then be more than 200 hectares. There is evidence that in the South the early population extended far beyond Afrasiab. So far as the citadel is concerned, it might have been located on the place of the medieval citadel.

The length of the above-mentioned city wall — 70 *stadi* — raises a serious question, which has not yet been resolved. The existing length of the outer wall of Afrasiab — 5 kilometers — does not correspond with the, 2.5 times larger, length

²³ Terenozhkin A.I., 1947, p. 128; 1950 b, pp. 153, 155-156.

mentioned in the sources. However, it may be kept in mind that the ancient city might not have been confined to Afrasiab as it extended beyond its limits.

During excavations at Afrasiab in the layers, related to the above-mentioned period, remnants of city buildings (raw bricks and mud) and ash pits have been found. Here vessels made on potter's wheel and by hand, and round-bottomed crude cauldrons made on textile fabric stencil were discovered. Excavations also revealed several types of instruments, articles of daily use (small iron spade, slightly bent iron sickle with wooden handle, bronze mirror, etc.), and weapons (bronze arrowhead). A stone seal with the picture of a king or deity with arrow can also be dated from the same period.²⁴

There existed many city-type settlements, smaller than Marakand. Bazars in these settlements attracted traders from various countries, thanks particularly to the skillful products of the Sogdian craftsmen. A large number of craftsmen were engaged in the processing of iron, making utensils and weaving etc. Exchange existed although the economy mainly retained its natural character. Sogdian aristocracy acquired more and more power over the ordinary members of the commune. At that time, the main religion of the Sogdians was Zoroastrianism, though side by side other cults inherited from the tribal system also existed.



Ceramics of ancient Bactria

As shown by the results of the Khwarezmian expedition in Khwarezm during the period of VI-V centuries B.C. there existed very large settlements. One of them known as the settlement of Kiuzeligyr has a triangular form and extended over one kilometer in area. The outer perimeter of the town is in the form of a

²⁴ Terenozhkin A.I., 1950 b, pp. 153-156; Shishkin V.A. 1969, pp. 148-149; Shishkina G.V., 1969 b, 1969a, Filanovich M.I. 1969, p. 206; Gulyamov Ya.G., 1969, p. 7; Pyankov I.V., 1970. A negative approach to equating Marakand with Samarkand (*Pachos M.K.*, 1967) is in our view baseless.

compact corridor like a passage with a width of 2.5 to 4 meters. In its interior, there is one and two rows of buildings made of mud and bricks. These were meant to serve as storehouse for ammunition and cells for prisoners. In the center there is a big building with large halls of regular planning. The magnificence of this building is in dire contrast with the poor construction of the peripheral constructions of the city, which underscores the deep-going process of socio-economic and property differentiation. The other relic of this period in Khwarezm is the settlement — Dingildezh. Here suburban multi-room manor house is built apparently for the residence of the local aristocracy. The settlement Kalaligyr, with its halls of many columns, belongs to the end of the given period.²⁵

Margiana was famous for fertility of its fields. According to Strabo (1, 10,102) in Margiana the land "produces fine vineyards. They say that here the stem of the vine is so thick that only two persons can embrace it and the grape bunches are as big as two arms". Here large urban settlements in the pre-Achaemenid times started emerging. One of them, apparently the largest one, was located at Gyaur-Kala which was the site of the ancient Merv.

The citadel stood on a platform several meters in height and was built of raw bricks. Probably, it was here that the residence of the ruler of the region was situated. As for Yaz-tepe, it was losing its earlier importance.²⁶

The settlement of Yelken-tepe, whose study has revealed the existence of a powerful fortification system, played a significant role in northern Parthia.²⁷ According to the archaeological evidence, in this period, there existed in Merv large oasis irrigational canals one of which supplied water to the settlement of Gyaur-Kala and surrounding fields. Here archaeologists have discovered a large number of ceramic figures and other articles including bronze arrowheads of the Scythian type.

In Bactria, the main occupation of the population was agriculture. Kwint Kurtsiy writes: "The nature in Bactria is full of variety: there grape vine brings large and sweet fruits, abundant waters irrigate the hot soil; on the more fertile soil they sow grains, on the other soil they have pastures to raise cattle, but most of the land is barren plain". Pliny informs that in Bactria they produce cereals equal to usual wheatears in size.

For agriculture both types of land, irrigated and non-irrigated was used. Thus for example in V-IV centuries B.C. the water of Vakhsh River was taken out in a canal which corresponds to the modern canal of Juybari Bolo. It irrigated a zone of 50 kilometers.²⁸

Excavations in Balkh showed that it is most ancient layer belonged to the first half of the I millennium B.C.²⁹ Interesting material on the culture of Northern Bactria was obtained during the excavations by M.M. Dyakonov in the

²⁵ Tolstov S.P., 1962, pp. 96-117.

²⁶ Piotrovsky B.B., 1949, pp. 35-41; Masson V.M., 1959.

²⁷ Marushchenko A.A., 1959, pp. 54-72.

²⁸ Zeimal T.I., 1971, p. 52.

²⁹ About the excavations in Balkh: Schlumberger D., 1949, pp. 173-190; Cardin J.C., 1957, *Le Berre M* and Schlumberger D., 1964.

lower parts of Kafernigan on the site of Kala-i Mir (Shahrtus district of the Republic of Tajikistan). In this settlement, which existed until the Revolution (at that time it was the abode of the Qubadian Bekhs), was found a badly ruined residential complex of the ancient Bactrian period. Eight narrow buildings built of raw rectangular bricks were discovered here. The outer walls of the complex were thicker than the other walls. At this place many vessels, of the type found in ancient Samarkand and Merv discovered. Bronze arrowheads from the VII-V centuries B.C. as well as metallic articles (needle, knife) were found. The residents of this settlement, as shown by the archaeological excavations, were engaged in handicrafts (pottery, weaving, making of iron tools and bronze articles) as well as in agriculture on irrigated lands and cattle breeding.³⁰ The other settlement from V-IV centuries B.C. was excavated by T.I. Zeimal in the Vakhsh Valley, at the hillock of Boldan-tepe near the city of Kurgantepa.³¹

About the level of development of artistic crafts in Bactria can be judged on the basis of articles forming part of the so-called Amu-Darya treasure — a collection of large quantity of art articles mainly made from gold and silver (in all there were more than 180 articles, initially), a large number of gold and silver coins. All this collection was bought by Bukharan traders from the local residents, somewhere in the district of Qubadian in 1877, was brought by them to India and later fell into the hands of researchers. The authentic history of creation of this collection is not known.³² The artistic genius of ancient Bactrians, consummate skill of the jewellery makers found their remarkable expression in many articles of the Amu-Darya treasure. Here we see for example, chariots made of gold with harnessed horses, silver statue of man, gold plates with human pictures carrying all details of the dress and weapons, gold bracelets with goat and snakehead form at the tips, the large gold figure of deer, etc.

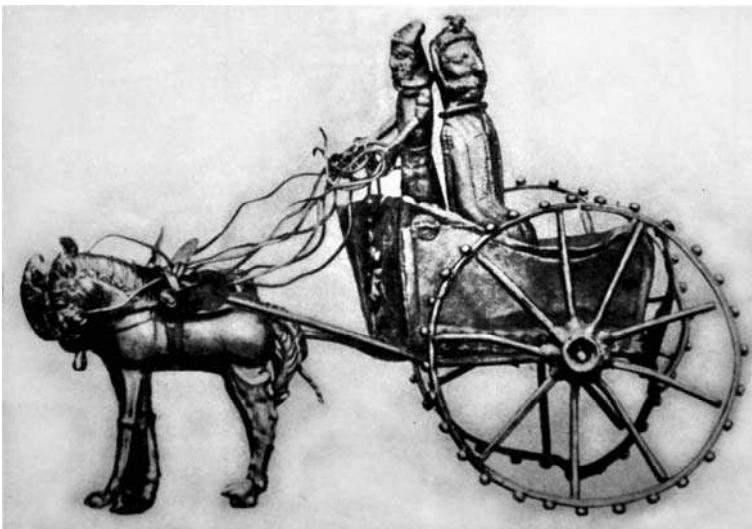
A. Cunningham considers that this is a personal collection belonging to some aristocratic Bactrian family. R. Ghirshman is of the view that the Amu-Darya treasure is a part of the treasure of the famous temple Anahita in Bactria, which was possibly destroyed during the invasion by the troops of Alexander of Macedonia or Seleucus I. R. Barnett who gave a later date for formation of this treasure (II Century B.C.) supported the latter hypothesis.³³

³⁰ Dyakonov M.M., 1954 b.

³¹ Zeimal T.I., 1971, pp. 50-52.

³² Full publication: Dalton O.M. 1964; Bellingers A.R., 1962, pp. 51-67. For circumstances leading to their discovery, see: Zeimal T.I., Zeimal E.V., 1962. Some Western scholars have tried to prove that among this collection there are many items brought from outside. In our opinion, it consists mainly of Bactrian articles. It is another matter that the art of Bactria and the Western Iranian regions had many common elements and a sort of roll call is fully understandable. By the way, the publication of Dalton, which first appeared in 1905 and in a revised form in 1926, has by now become outdated in its research related parts. It is high time for a new research on the articles of the Amu-Darya treasure in the light of new discoveries in the field of ancient art of Iran and other countries of the East as well as Central Asia. This gap has only been inadequately filled up by the research of R.D. Barnett (*Barnett R.D.*, 1968).

³³ Ghirshman R., 1964, pp. 88-94; Barnett R.D., 1968, pp. 35-52. It may be noted that R. Barnett based this theory of his on the idea of B.B. Tarn about the absence of gold in Bactria. However, this is not true because gold mines existed on the territory of Bactria.



Amu-Darya Treasure. Model of Coach (gold)

Urban settlements, including large ones, existed in that period on the territory of Northern Tajikistan. Such urban settlement was Greek named Kiropol (in the territory of contemporary Istaravshan district).

On the large territory, occupied by the Saks tribes, there were also varieties of monuments. In the Eastern Pamirs these were burial mounds. The burial was made not at great depth and was in a square form. At times, we come across burials in pair. In the Semirechiye are found large mounds with a wooden cell. In the Aral region, between the Amu-Darya and the Syr-Darya, large and complicated constructions of sepulchers of the Saks aristocracy are found. Also, found are the settlements supposed to be of the Saks.



Amu-Darya Treasure. (Silver plate)

Religious faiths of the inhabitants of Central Asia were not uniform. In the settled regions, Zoroastrianism was widespread. It absorbed in itself different local cults. In our knowledge about the real content of religious concepts, there are many lacunae. Several Saks tribes, perhaps, also adopted Zoroastrianism while some others followed religious concepts in which the central place belonged to the higher god connected with the sun — more likely Ahura-Mazda (or Mithra).³⁴

In the Achaemenid state, the so-called young Avestan calendar was introduced. It was worked out based on the Egyptian solar calendar with 12 months in the year of 30 days each and five days extra. The names of the months and days used in it were formed after the names of the deities and mythical characters of the Zoroastrian pantheon of the "Younger Avesta", as mentioned in "Gaths" and other Iranian deities (including those categorically rejected by Zarathustra). This calendar was widely used by the Iranian peoples. In Central Asia, its use in the ancient times and early medieval times is testified by the available text for Sogd, Khwarezm and Parthia. From this originate the calendar of Middle Persian and the New Persian (the names of months in the Iranian solar calendar originate from the names of deities of "Younger Avesta"). The names of months of this calendar are confirmed in some other countries of Asia Minor also particularly in Armenia.³⁵



Saka bronze incense stand

The Central Asian tribes and ethnic national groups had developed in this period epic literature, which reflected in the "Avesta". Ctesius has preserved extracts of the epic novel about the fate of the Saks queen Zarina and Striangei of Median. After the death of her first husband, who was the king of the Saks, she

³⁴ Litvinsky B.A., 1968 b.

³⁵ Dyakonov I.M., and Livshits V.A. 1966, pp. 153 and thereafter.

married Mermer, the ruler of the Parthian region. A war took place between him and the king of the Persians.

During this war, "one Striangei of Median threw from the horse a Saks woman — the Saks women fought like Amazons. Seeing a beautiful Saks woman, he let her go without any harm. After some time Striangei was himself taken prisoner by the husband of that Saks beauty. He fell in love with her and she too responded to his love. However, Striangei was condemned to death and entreaties by the queen could not soften the heart of her husband. Upon this she freed the prisoners and with their help killed her husband and started "friendship" with Striangei (Ctesius, extracts 7 (26), 8, (27) and others)."

In the opinion of some scholars, it is an echo of the Saks epic. Others presume that it reflects the tradition of Median. In our opinion, the first point of view is preferable.

3. CENTRAL ASIA AND IRAN DURING THE ACHAEMENID PERIOD

The Achaemenid state existed for more than two hundred years and thus it was one of the strongest one, among the known empires of the ancient world. The Achaemenid state played a big role in the history of the East. The cultural traditions, which emerged in the Achaemenid period, preserved themselves in the much later times during the empire of Alexander of Macedonia and the states of the Parthian, Sasanid and the Central Asian peoples.

During the Achaemenid period great social changes took place (development of land relations, increase in the importance of slave labor, active business of trading houses in Babylonia, etc.); a unified state currency system, taxation system based on economic possibilities of the countries comprising the empire an administrative system with division of the state into satrapies with exactly determined frontiers, a secretariat using a uniform common state Arameic script were created. The state postal system was also established, the old caravan roads were reconstructed and new ones were built. Besides this, a common state legal code was prepared leaving intact the old laws of the different peoples.

Of course, the historical reality was quite complex. The politics of the Achaemenid Kings can be considered as positive only in comparison with the earlier ancient Eastern monarchies where despotism and suppression was stronger than what was under the Achaemenid rule. However, even under them it was no idyll, in any way. Fierce class struggle, uprisings of the vanquished peoples continuously shook the Achaemenid state.

The Achaemenids in contrast with the preceding Eastern Kings were highly tolerant of the religions of others and even reconstructed the temples in different countries (for example in Babylonia and in the land of the Jews). Cyrus, the founder of the state, was most popular. The Persians called him their father, the Babylonians messenger of the Babylonian god Marduk, the Greeks the great state figure, and the messiah of the Jewish god Yakhwe.

During the Achaemenid rule, favorable conditions for international trade were created. Countries in the Achaemenid Empire were accessible to travelers and scholars. Many great representatives of ancient Greek culture (Hekatey, Herodotus, Democritus and others), travelled during this period to the countries of the East and acquainted the Greeks with the achievements of the countries of the East.

All this helped in widening the cultural horizons of the subjects of the Achaemenid state and contributed to intensive interaction among the representatives of the different peoples.

As is known well, Alexander of Macedonia had an idea of unifying the Greeks and the peoples of the East into a single cultural and political entity which he wanted to achieve with the help of the Macedonian phalange (this met with a fierce opposition of the peoples, particularly, Central Asian) and also with peaceful means. It has to be noted that the process of cultural synthesis of different people started and grew intensively; two hundred years prior to the conquest of Alexander of Macedonia, and thus the measures taken in this respect by the latter were continuation of the Achaemenid policy.

In the Achaemenid period, the representatives of different peoples lived and worked side by side. For example, on the island of Elephantine, on the border with Nubiya and in the city of Memphis Egypt, there lived and traded Egyptians, Greeks, Khwarezmians, Babylonians, Arameians, Jews and Phoenicians, etc. Often they exchanged different religious concepts, worshipped not only theirs but also other's gods and even changed their names for the names of aliens. In Nippur and other cities of Babylonia lived and worked together Babylonians, Egyptians, Karians, Lydians, Medians, Jews, Indians, Saks, Bactrians and Khwarezmians, etc. In Suza, Persepolis and other cities lived hundreds and thousands of emigrants from Egypt, Babylonia and Greece, etc. In these cities representatives of different people used to arrive starting with India and ending with Egypt. Material and spiritual culture of different peoples amalgamated and as a result gradually emerged the culture of the Achaemenid state, which became a synthesis of scientific knowledge, art performance and religious faiths of many countries. In this culture, many peoples, including of course Central Asians, made their contribution.

In the Achaemenid state, the Bactrians, Khwarezmians, Sogdians, Parthians, Margianians, Saks and other peoples of Central Asia, played an important role.

The peoples of Central Asia provided a large number of warriors, who were accustomed to the military way of life. For example, during the Greco-Persian wars in the battle of Marathon along with the Persian infantry the Saks Cavalry distinguished itself and forced the Central battle line of the Athenians to retreat. The Saks showed the marvels of their valor in the battles of Platei and Fermopil. Persian general Mardoniy took into his contingent selected troops with which he intended to conquer Greece Bactrians and Saks along with Persians and Medians. The Saks warriors also formed part of the naval forces. We see them even in Egypt. Terracotta figures, depicting the Saks warriors in their conical hoods, can be found in the different cities of the Achaemenid state from Egypt to Central Asia.

In the Babylonian city of Nippur and its neighborhood, Saks military settlers lived in big colonies permanently.

They also lived in other cities of Babylonia. For example, in a document of the period of Darius I the name of Sak Sakiet from the city of Sippar is mentioned. Representatives of other Central Asian peoples served in different countries in the armies of the Achaemenid kings. They found themselves in these countries under different circumstances. On the distant island of Elephantine Khwarezmian Dargman lived and owned a house. It may be noted that in the Babylonian documents of the period of Darius I women from Gandhar and Bactria who were sold as slaves are mentioned. Representatives of Central Asia were also to be found in the Asia Minor.

In turn, in Central Asia emigrants from the Western countries also lived. During the rule of Xerxes in the V century B.C. in Central Asia lived emigrants from the Greek city Milet. They spoke in local as well as Greek language. During the period of Darius I the residents from the city of Bark (North Africa) were moved to Bactria. Besides, in Central Asia there also lived the representatives of the Achaemenid state bureaucracy, particularly the Arameian scribes.

Although the key posts in the state administration were concentrated in the hands of Persians, the Achaemenids also allowed the representatives of other peoples to hold big posts. The Central Asians often held important positions. Thus, in the IV century B.C. a Parthian Amminasp was the ruler of Egypt.

Iranian folk epic, which is partly known to us from the fragments of the work of a court physician Artaxerx II Ctesius "Persian History", was created initially in the Central Asian regions (mainly among Bactrians and the Saks). Later this epic spread to the West, additions, alterations were made in it, and it became the basis of the Iranian national epic. Many plots of this epic got incorporated in the "Shahname" of Firdausi.

The Zoroastrian religion, which emerged in Central Asia during the Achaemenid period, started spreading to Iran and further to the West, later becoming the state religion of the Iranians before the conquest of Iran and Central Asia by the Arabs. Already in the V century B.C., in the city of Memphis, in Egypt was a temple of Iranian god Mithra and during the Roman Empire the cult of Mithra was popular in various countries extending up to the British islands.

According to the Babylonian historian Beross of III century B.C. Artaxerx II placed for worship the statues of goddess Anahita in Babylonia in the cities of Suza, Ecbatana, Persepolis, Baktra, Damascus and Sarda.

From the Babylonian cuneiform tables and Arameian papyrus, it is known that Iranian magicians appeared in Babylonia and Egypt in the Achaemenid period. Perhaps they performed religious rites in these countries.

Ancient Greek scholars who wrote special treatises about it in general, knew Zoroastrian religion. Thus, for example, Aristotle wrote a work about magic of which only fragments have been preserved. About Zoroastrian religion Plutarch, Diogen Laertsky and others have also written. In the ancient Greek language, Lydian historian of V century B.C. Ksanf, Babylonian historian Beross, philosopher Filon from Bibla and many others also wrote about

Zoroastrianism. The main tenets of the Zoroastrian religion had a certain influence on the philosophical system of the ancient Greeks.

Artists in the Achaemenid period creatively recreated and developed cultural traditions, inherited from their predecessors and neighboring peoples.

The Scythian tribes on the vast territory, from Siberia to Northern Black Sea region, even before the Achaemenid period developed specific styles of depicting animals ("the Scythian animal style"). The works of this style were famous in the ancient times. Some Greek painters used such subjects. Achaemenid art is in many ways indebted to the "Scythian animal style" which was prevalent among the population of the Eurasian steppes including Central Asia (Its wonderful works have been found in Aral region, Semirechiye, in the Pamirs and in some areas of Kazakhstan). The works of Achaemenid art, the products of Achaemenid craftsmen penetrated not only into Central Asia but also further into the interior of the steppes for example, to Savromats influencing their art and culture.

The peoples of Central Asia and Iran had much in common in their dress also, particularly the Khwarezmian, Bactrians and other Central Asian tribes who had similar dress. The dress of the Saks-tigrakhaud was distinguished by their conical headwear. This dress consisted of short half-coats with wide belts and narrow trousers. The representatives of Central Asians are depicted on the reliefs of Behistun, Persepolis and Naqshi-Rustam, which give valuable information about the characteristic anthropological and ethnographic peculiarities of the people. From the same relics, it is obvious that the Persians also wore the dress similar to the one worn by the Central Asian peoples.

Kurgan excavations of VI-IV centuries are indicative about the cultural and trade links of the Achaemenid Iran with Central Asia and the regions to the North-East of the Altay. Here, in conditions of permafrost articles, from leather, wool and felt are nicely preserved. Of great interest are the pieces of woolen materials and felt carpet found in V Pazyryks mound. These articles testify to the high level of technique of weaving and carpet making. Some experts assume that Persian or Median masters made this carpet while others are of the view that it is of Central Asian origin. Apparently, such carpets were made in Iran and Central Asia because the style, technique of artistic execution and the subjects depicted on them were common among many Iranian-speaking peoples. Great similarity is also seen in the various types of weapons and the style of their wearing among the peoples of Central Asia and Iran, as is evident from the data of archaeological excavations and depictions on the Achaemenid reliefs.

In the I millennium B.C., in Central Asia and the Eurasian steppes, there appeared the type of a heavily armed cavalryman with protective armor, loincloth and helmet, and armor for the horse as well. Later this type of weaponry spread to Iran and Asia Minor where it is already evident at the end of the V century B.C. Lastly, the peoples of Central Asia made their large material contribution in the creation of splendid monuments of Achaemenid arts. As an inscription of Darius tells for the construction of palace in Suza the gold was supplied from Bactria, lazurites from Sogdiana and turquoise from Khwarezm. This information, the data of authors from the ancient times and archaeological excavations testify to the high level of mining in Central Asia and its influence on

the development of mining in Iran. It may also be noted that lazurite from Central Asia was used in India, Babylonia and Egypt. In this manner, the incorporation of Central Asia into the Achaemenid state greatly widened the geographical horizon and scientific knowledge of the Western Iranians, Greeks and other peoples. In their turn, the peoples of Central Asia borrowed many developments from the Persians, Medians and other peoples.

The Central Asian regions were first acquainted with the script when they joined the Achaemenid state.

The discovery of Arameian inscriptions on the territory of former Eastern satrapies of Achaemenid state (Taksila, Pul-i-Darunta and Qandahar) testify that in this period the Arameian language and script had already penetrated into the province of the upper Sind and in Central Asia and were used there for official purposes. Under the Achaemenids, standard formulations of transmission of Arameian terminology and office terms into the Iranian languages were gradually worked out.

Later, from the post-Achaemenid official Arameian script, developed four ideographical script systems: Parthian, Persian, Sogdian and Khwarezmian. These systems were preserved in Central Asia and Iran before the Arabs conquered these countries. The main material for the study of Central Asian and particularly Bactrian art of the middle of the I millennium B.C., is provided by the Amu-Darya treasure. The latest coins of the Amu-Darya treasure date back to 200 B.C. but most of the articles are undoubtedly from an older period-IV century B.C. and probably VI-V centuries B.C.

In the treasure there are many imported articles, however, a part of it consists of products of local masters. They were acquainted with the court art of the Achaemenid Iran is known to us first from the magnificent palaces of Persepolis and Suza. Scenes of lion hunting depicted on the golden — facing of the dagger sheath, figures of lions show the influence of tradition of the masters of the Assyrian reliefs whose favorite theme was royal lion hunting. Even more prominent in Ancient Bactrian art was another school, this was close to the art of the wide world of the nomads. This art is distinguished by its particularly expressive methods of depicting animals in their quick movements, unusual poses and postures. Traits of this style can be traced on the articles in the Amu-Darya treasure. Such are miniatures of deers, silver sculpture of goat standing in an intensely energetic movement, scene of cavalrymen hunting goats and hares. From the sources, it is known that the Sogdian aristocracy of the IV century B.C. owned hunting parks and it was quite natural that the hunting scenes were so popular in the art of ancient Bactria. Hence, during a study of the problems of art of the "animal style", it is necessary to take into account the role of the art schools of Bactria and other settled oases.

During the Achaemenid period, because of development of crafts and money commodity relations there began a more intensive development of Central Asian cities as administrative and handicraft centers.

It may also be noted, that during the Achaemenid period the peoples of Central Asia, for the first time, got acquainted with the limited coin. The samples of gold dariks and other coins of the Achaemenid monetary system were discovered on the territory of Central Asia.

In the Achaemenid period, the trade links of Central Asia with other countries were developing intensively.

The caravan road joining Iran with Babylonia, which extended up to Bactria, helped this development. On the territory of Central Asia have been found art articles of Western Iran, Egypt and other countries. Among them, there are articles of the Achaemenid period made by Greek craftsmen in the Nile basin in the city of Navkratis.

Besides this, the peoples of Central Asia, in the Achaemenid period, got acquainted not only with the culture of Western Iranians but also with the ancient civilizations of Elam, Babylonia, Egypt and other countries.

Thus, the inclusion of Central Asia, in the Achaemenid state played a big role in the development of culture and state institutions of the peoples of Central Asia as well as their Western neighbors. All the common cultural values, which emerged, during this period, were preserved over many centuries.

The Achaemenid state existed for more than two hundred years and proved itself one of the strongest world empires of the ancient times. The developments in the sphere of economy, political and cultural traditions continued to play a big role in the history of the peoples of the East in the Hellenistic period and the existence of the Parthian and Sasanid states.

Archaeological material and the data in written sources testify to a considerable progress during the Achaemenid period in the sphere of productive forces (for example, the introduction of iron tools in the various countries from Egypt to Central Asia), the development of agriculture, irrigation and wide reclamation of new lands, the big progress of crafts and growth of cities and settlements, and flourishing of internal and external trade. The culture and art of the Achaemenid state, which was created as a result of active interaction of different ethno-cultural traditions, not only outlasted the Achaemenid state itself but also left a deep influence on the development of culture of different peoples of the East and the West. Thus, the Achaemenid period of political unity of the peoples of the East formed a significant stage in the economic and cultural development of the entire world civilization and in this; the role of the Central Asian peoples and tribes was great.

The establishment and the entire period of existence of the Achaemenid state marked by expansion of class struggle of the people masses against the exploiting minority. The establishment and expansion of the Achaemenid state was accompanied, as in the case of any other empire, by campaigns of conquest and suppression of rebellions in the different parts of the empire. But at the same time, as mentioned above, the Union of many countries helped the development of civilization in the East and the strengthening of mutual economic and cultural links of people.³⁶

³⁶Ghafurov B.G., 1966, 1971.

CHAPTER II

PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST GRECO-MACEDONIAN CONQUERORS

1. CAMPAIGN OF ALEXANDER OF MACEDONIA IN THE EAST

THE RISE OF MACEDONIA

During the reign of Philip II (359-336 B.C.) a sharp increase took place in the power of Macedonia, its consolidation and unification. In this the successful struggle against the separatism of the Macedonian nobility played an important role. Philip also reorganized the army. In particular, the formation of the infantry in separate units — phalanges — was introduced. Especially significant was the introduction of new tactical methods, coordinated actions of various types of troops. Philip was successful in conquering a considerable part of Greece. In the year 137 B.C., in the Corinth Congress, the Macedonian hegemony over Greece acquired a legal basis. It was then that a war against Persia was declared. In the year 336 B.C. ten-thousand strong army of Philip began a war against the Persians in Asia Minor. But Philip was killed by his own bodyguard.



Coin with figure of Alexander of Macedonia

Power came into the hands of Alexander, the 20-year old son of Philip whom known in the history as Alexander of Macedonia. Greek cities tried to restore their independence but Alexander quickly destroyed their illusions, he turned out to be a more ruthless ruler than his father was and subjugated his opponents.

Engels wrote "Philip and Alexander gave political unity to the Hellenic peninsula."¹ Thanks to the information from Persia, Alexander knew well about the unstable position of the Achaemenid state.²

The Achaemenid ruler Artaxerx II Mnemon had 150 sons. After the death of the king in the year 359 B.C.³ one of them Artaxerx III Okh inherited his throne. Even before the death of his father, and because of his (Okh's) treachery, his brothers were killed; on coming to power he annihilated all['] his relatives without any consideration of age and gender thus entering history as the bloodiest among the Achaemenid kings.

The first years of his rule were marked by continuous wars in the Asia Minor. The wars with Egypt were long and bloody (Egypt had separated long ago from the Achaemenid state). Although these wars were over in the year 342 B.C., by incorporation of lower Egypt (as also Phoenicia and Cyprus), they exhausted the strength and capacity of the Achaemenid State. Striving to impart some stability to the state, Artaxerx III prohibited the Asia Minor satraps to keep mercenary troops. This measure was important but it came too late, in the year 338 B.C., Artaxerx III Okh was poisoned by his physician approximately his eunuch Bagoy⁴, who had acquired great influence by that time.

Disorder in the royal family enlivened the hopes of Greek enemies of the Achaemenids. The new Achaemenid king, Arses, was a puppet in the hands of court circles led by Bagoy. When Arses tried to act independently the powerful eunuch ordered to poison him (Arses ruled for less than two years); his sons were also killed. As the representatives of the main line of the Achaemenid house were annihilated, "the king-maker" installed the third cousin of Arses on the throne who became known in history under the name Darius III Kodoman. After some time Bagoy tried to poison his newly installed protege but the latter forced the eunuch to drink the bowl of poison.

Dynastic feuds and palace coups weakened the central power in the Achaemenid state and increased separatist aspirations of the nobility in the provinces. Economic development of different regions, included in the Achaemenid state, contributed to the separatist urges. Although direct data about the social policy of the Achaemenids, at the end of the dynasty's existence are absent, a definite impression of absolute dominance of the nobility is created. The policy of social balance declared by Darius I and perhaps by his nearest successors, was later abandoned. The social base of the dynasty became extremely narrow. Popular masses continuously struggled against the Achaemenid yoke; uprisings broke out repeatedly.

It was in these conditions that war started between the Greco-Macedonian and the Achaemenid states. Shortly after the beginning of military actions the Greco-Macedonian army inflicted a crushing defeat on the Achaemenid army in

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, V. 22, p. 483.

² For a detailed account see: Olmstead A.F., 1959, p. 424.

³ Another date given is 358 B.C.

⁴ In the opinion of Olmstead, despite his thirst for blood, Artaxerx III Okh was a capable ruler. However, the view that having killed him Bagoy thus destroyed the Achaemenid state (Olmstead A.F., 1959, p. 48) is purely imaginary and far from truth.

the battles on the river Granik (May 334 B.C.) and near the city Iss (November 333 B.C.). Alexander of Macedonia conquered the Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Phoenicia and Egypt. In the spring of 331 B.C. the Greco-Macedonian troops moved to the Central part of the Achaemenid Empire.

On 1 October 331 B.C., the battle of Gaugamela's took place (a settlement in North-Eastern Mesopotamia). The Achaemenid troops suffered complete defeat. Darius III fled. The victories march of the Greco-Macedonian troops, into the central parts of the Achaemenid state, began. One after another Babylon, Suza, Persepolis, and Pasargads were captured. A large booty fell into the hands of the conquerors. The war was won but for its conclusion, it was necessary for Alexander of Macedonia to capture Darius III. The Greco-Macedonian troops started chasing the Achaemenid king fleeing hastily towards the northeast.

At the same time among the Achaemenid nobility, surrounding Darius III, a conspiracy against him was ripening. The cowardice and indecision of Darius III and his lack of military talents contributed to the Greco-Macedonian victories. He was not the figure around whom the anti-Macedonian forces could have grouped. At this moment there came to the fore a relative of the Achaemenid king, the satrap of Bactria, Bessus (Arrian, III, 21, 5), who led the conspiracy.

Following a military coup, Darius III was arrested and later killed. Bessus declared he the king ascending the royal throne of Artaxerx and started gathering forces to repulse the Greco-Macedonian troops.

STRUGGLE AT THE APPROACHES OF CENTRAL ASIA

In the written sources, there is some information about the measures adopted by Bessus. First, he tried to legitimize his power. An echo of such an action is the information given by Diodorus (XVII, 74, 1-2) about Bactria: "Bessus promised to lead in the war and the people having become convinced declared him as the king". Further, it is evident from the source that Bessus "recruited troops and collected a large quantity of weapons". Bessus tried quite successfully to gain support of the neighboring satrapies, first, Areya in the region of modern Herat as also of the nomadic people. A "coalition of satrapies" was formed. However, Bessus could not get the support of the wide sections of the people because of his assumption of the title and the name of the Achaemenid king. Moreover, he did not have time the Greco-Macedonian troops were rushing from the West.

Serious opposition was offered to the Greco-Macedonian troops in Areya. It took more than a month for Alexander of Macedonia to crush this resistance. A large cavalry force of Are yans, under the leadership of Satibarzan, managed to escape from Alexander to join Bessus. Alexander of Macedonia, having seized the southern regions of Afghanistan where perhaps there were supporters of Bessus, preceded to the north through the Hindukush passes. At the time of arrival of the Greco-Macedonian, troops in the valley of Northern Afghanistan Bessus had seven or eight thousand armed Bactrians and some other small contingents

(Arrian III, 28, 5; Kwint Kurtsiy, VII, 4, 20). In order to divert a part of the troops of Alexander he sent Satibarzan with two thousand strong cavalry to Areya and there a rebellion broke out for the suppression of which Alexander had to send some auxiliary detachments. Even then, the forces of Alexander of Macedonia and Bessus were unequal. Bessus retreated to the Northern trans-Amu-Darya part of Bactria, i.e., to Central Asia. In the historical literature, there are different contradictory assessments of the character and results of the notions of Bessus. In our view, these actions, notwithstanding the subjective monarchist aspirations of Bessus, had an objectively progressive significance. Thanks to the struggle unleashed under the leadership of Bessus the intrusion of the Greco-Macedonian troops into Central Asia was postponed by several months, may be by half a year because the troops of Alexander got exhausted. The struggle of the "coalition of satrapies against the Greco-Macedonian troops" formed a prelude to the popular struggle, which started later on the territory of Central Asia.⁵

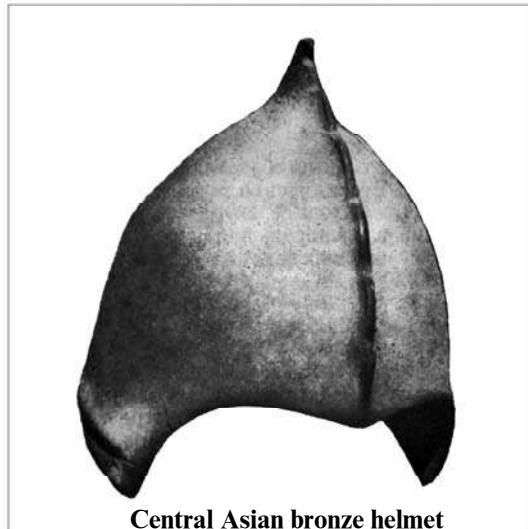
2. STRUGGLE OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN PEOPLES AGAINST THE GRECO-MACEDONIAN FORCES

MILITARY FORCES AND THE ART OF WAR OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN PEOPLES

What kind of forces the Central Asian peoples possessed to rebuff Alexander of Macedonia? It must be observed that the main shortcoming of the Central Asian defense forces was the absence of centralization. The Achaemenid possessions in the given period consisted of only a part of Central Asian territory and were not firmly unified; in the remaining regions, the individual rulers and the tribal rulers were at the helm of affairs.

The Central Asian weaponry in the IV century B.C. had attained a high level of development. The Central Asian troops widely used iron (rarely bronze) daggers and swords, handles of which were richly decorated. Daggers were worn on the right side. For dagger, the Central Asian peoples used the term *karta* along with the other term *akinak*. Swords were quite long — up to 1,2 meters. Very often in fighting battle axes were used — *sagaris*. Such iron battle-axes, with one or two blades, have been found in the excavations of burial grounds in the Pamirs. Herodotus (I, 215), Strabo (XI, 8, 6) inform that pole axes of the Massagetae were made of copper. Spears (*arshti*) with long bronze or iron heads were of great importance. Herodotus (I, 215) calls the Massagetae as "spear carriers". The role of the mace was modest.

⁵ ITN, I., pp. 241-242.



Central Asian bronze helmet

For distant fighting, often bows and arrows were used. Already from the middle of the I millennium B.C. complex bow of the, so-called Scythian type, was in use. It was distinguished by its considerably long range and effectiveness. There were several types of it. For the making of Bactrian and Sogdian, Parthian and Khwarezmian bows reed was used (Herodotus, VII, 54, 66). In the historical sources "bowmen" and "horse-riding bowmen" of Saks and Massagetae are mentioned (Herodotus I, 215; Xenophon, "Cyropedia", V, 3, 24; Arrian, III, 8, 3). The Central Asian warriors were skillful in using slings as well (Arrian, IV, 3, 3; Kwant Kurtsiy, VII, 6, 2, 2; Plutarch, "The life of Alexander", XV, 3).

Defensive armours protected the warriors. Kwant Kurtsiy (IV, 9, 3) writes that the Central Asian steppe people had armor made from "iron plates". According to Arrian (III, 13, 4) the Central Asian warriors were "thoroughly covered" by metallic armor. Metallic helmets and shields of different forms and sizes were used. According to Herodotus (I, 215) the Massagetae horses were protected by chest armours. There were also war chariots in Central Asia.

At the end of the bronze epoch in Central Asia the art of fortification was born. By the time of Greco-Macedonian invasion, Central Asia was a country of large heavily fortified cities. Besides, general city fortifications in big cities, there were powerful fortification points in the form of city citadels. Walls had lowers with loopholes.

The Central Asian forces knew divisions in separate units based on different types of troops; they used column formations in sub-units and compact sub-units in deep mass echelons of troops made sometimes attack. At the same time, another tactical method was known — strategic retreat when the cavalry first charged and then pulled back in order to deliver a swift blow from the other direction. In general, as a rule the offensive used to start by a sweeping attack when galloping at full speed the charging troops rained arrows and spearheads on the defending warriors. This was followed by a decisive attack and hand-to-hand

fighting and chasing of the fleeing enemy. At the decisive moment of the battle, reserves were pressed into operation.

Old sources highly evaluate the military skills of the Saks troops about which the Greeks were convinced, at the time of Greco-Macedonian wars. Later Alexander of Macedonia was himself convinced for the first time, at the beginning of the battle near Gaugamela when the Saks Bactrian cavalry forced the vanguard of Alexander to flee (Arrian, III, 13).

Researchers of the military affairs of the Central Asian peoples have drawn the following conclusions:

- The armament of the Central Asian troops stood at a high level and in certain respects even surpassed the armament of the Greco-Macedonian troops.
- The Central Asian troops knew and used different tactical methods in defense and offence.
- Thanks to the participation in the wars of the Achaemenid state with the Greeks, including the battles against the troops of Alexander of Macedonia (beyond the frontiers of Central Asia), leaders of the Central Asian troops were very well acquainted with the weaponry and tactical methods of the Achaemenid as well as the Greco-Macedonian troops.
- The military potential of the peoples of Central Asia in VI-IV centuries B.C. was very high which was the main factor in their struggle against foreign invaders.⁶

MILITARY OPERATIONS IN CENTRAL ASIAN INTER-RIVER REGION

Arrian (III, 28, 9-10) narrates the events, thus "Bessus, when informed that Alexander is already near, crossed the river Oxus (Amu-Darya B.G.). He burned down the vessels used for crossing the river and he proceeded towards the Sogdian land into Navtak. He was followed by Spitamen⁷, Oxyartes with Sogdian cavalrymen and Dai from Tanais". Here for the first time in sources appears Spitamen – the hero of anti-Macedonian struggle.

Alexander took five days to cross the river Amu-Darya.⁸ Here in event took place, which has not clearly narrated, in the sources.⁹ Bessus was overthrown by his accomplices — Spitamen and others and handed over to Alexander of Macedonia. The motivations for this are not clear. It cannot be ruled out that being at this stage of no use, as he could not lead the struggle any more, Bessus nevertheless did not want to yield his leadership to others and the latter with

⁶ Litvinsky B.A., Pyankov I.V., 1966, pp. 51-52; Litvinsky B.A., 1966.

⁷ Abyayev V.I., 1959, footnotes 2 on p. 114. K.

⁸ Trever K.V., 1947, p. 114.

⁹ Many studies are devoted to the military campaign of Alexander of Macedonia in Central Asia and the struggle of the Central Asian peoples against Greco-Macedonian invasion. See particularly: Grigoriev V.V., 1881; Trever K.V., 1947; ITN, I., pp. 236-274; Zolling, T.H., 1875; Schwarz F., 1906.

some hesitation were forced to eliminate him.¹⁰ In the council of Macedonian leaders and the Persian nobles, who had gone over to Alexander's side which was convened by Alexander after his return from Bactria, Bessus was accused of murder of the "legal" king and usurpation of the royal title.

Alexander ordered to cut off the ears and nose of Bessus and to take him to Ecbatana for execution before the Medians and Persians. He wanted to win over the sympathy of the Persian nobility by projecting the execution of Bessus as punishment for usurpation of the king's power.

After capturing Navtak, Alexander advanced towards the capital of Sogd, Marakand (Greek form of the local name of Samarkand")¹¹ and seized it. Perhaps in the region of Marakand, he met with resistance because according to Kwint Kurtsiy (VII, 6, 10) "having left his garrison in the city, Alexander burnt down and devastated the nearby villages". After that, he proceeded to the North-East. But the troops of Alexander of Macedonia faced great difficulties on the way. The Sogdians united revolted against the foreign invaders. When it came to the defense of the freedom and independence of their motherland, they defended it with outstanding courage. This struggle formed a bright page in the history of the peoples of Central Asia. One of its first episodes was the clash of the Greek invaders with the Sogdian tribes of the mountainous region of Ustrushan, which took place during the military campaign of the troops of Alexander, through the mountains between Marakand and Kiropol.

Groups of foragers were sent to the Ustrushan cities including the main city of Kireskhata (Kiropol). The inhabitants enraged by the violence and extortion were forced to retreat into the mountains where they tried to organize their defence.¹² The struggle was conducted in the inaccessible Rocky Mountains. The Sogdians resisted to the last. Arrian informs that many of them, desiring not to be taken as prisoners, took their own life. With great difficulty, Alexander could suppress their resistance. Because of his military campaign, 22 thousand local people were killed. Great losses were suffered by the Greco-Macedonian troops also. Alexander of Macedonia himself was seriously wounded (Arrian, III, 30, 10-11).

After savage reprisals of Sogdians of Ustrushan, Alexander advanced to Syr-Darya, which at that time was considered the border between the nomadic steppe and agricultural valleys. On the right bank of the river lived the Saks and on the left several large and small cities were situated. Alexander stopped on the banks of Syr-Darya and stationed Greco-Macedonian garrisons in the local cities. After some time the population of seven cities on the left bank of Syr-Darya rose against the Greeks. On the other bank, the Saks were waiting for the opportune time to cross the river to help the rebels. At the same time, rebellion broke out in Bactria and Sogd. It was the beginning of a general uprising of the peoples of Central Asia against Greco-Macedonian invaders.

¹⁰ V.V. Grigoriev in his work "The campaign of Alexander the Great in Western Turkistan" writes that overthrow of Bessus was related to his "outrageously cowardly behavior".

¹¹ Henning W.B., 1958, p. 54.

¹² ITN I., pp. 253-255.

Alexander found himself in a difficult situation and decided first to strengthen his position on the bank of Syr-Darya. In two days, he captured five riverside cities and savagely dealt with their population. "All the male population was killed. This was the order of Alexander; women, children and other booty were taken by soldiers" (Arrian, IV, 2, 4).

The population of the city of Kiropol put up a strong resistance to the siege by the Greeks, which was the center of the revolt on Syr-Darya. Alexander was forced to personally take part in the assault on Kiropol. He took with him a contingent of warriors and having entered the city by crossing the dried up course of the river, let his troops in by opening the gate. On the streets of the city, a bloody battle followed in which eight thousand local people were killed. The losses of the Greeks were big. In this battle, Alexander and several of his important commanders were wounded.

After a severe onslaught, the last stronghold of the rebels was captured. Thus, the uprising of the people against the Greek invaders was suppressed. Arrian says that out of the population of the seven cities participating in this uprising every one was killed or sold in slavery.

THE UPRISE OF 329-327 B.C.

The struggle of Sogd and Bactria for independence was led by a local military leader Spitamen, one of the remarkable figures in the history of the predecessors of the Tajik people. In the years 329 B.C., after collecting considerable troops, which were also joined by peaceful inhabitants, he captured the city of Marakand. A major part of the garrison was slaughtered and the surviving Greek warriors locked themselves up in the citadel waiting outside help. Alexander, after suppressing the uprising on the Syr-Darya, sent three thousand infantrymen and eight hundred cavalrymen to help the Greeks under siege and himself started construction of the fortified city of Alexandria Eschate (remote Alexandria) on the Syr-Darya (probably between modern Bekabad and Leninabad or in the region of Leninabad, including the territory of the city).¹³ According to Kwint Kurtsiy (VIII, 6, 25-27), "Alexander came back to the banks of river Tanais (i.e. Syr-Darya, B.G.) and built a wall around the space occupied by the camp. The walls were 60 stadii in length (10-11 kilometers, B.G.). He ordered this city to be named, Alexandria. The construction of the city was so fast that on the seventeenth day after the erection of the fortifications the city houses were built. In the new city the prisoners were settled". According to Arrian (IV, 4, 1) a wall surrounded the new city in twenty days. Alexander "settled there Hellenic mercenaries, along with those neighbors of the barbarians who desired to settle down there and such Macedonian soldiers as were no longer fit for

¹³ Findings about the location of this city are based on a study of the sources and detailed acquaintance with the topography of the locality, which were published in the book: B.G. Ghafurov, Istoriya Tadzhikskogo Naroda, third edition, Moscow, 1955. An opinion was expressed that Alexandria Eschate was located on the place of the citadel in Khujand, i.e., in the center of the Leninabad city (N.N. Negmatov, 1956, pp. 33-34).

military service". Justin (XII, 5, 12) also confirms that the construction (reference to the early basic construction work), took 17 days. The city wall was in circle 6,000 "pairs of footsteps", i.e., about 9 kilometres.¹⁴ In the newly built city, according to Justin, inhabitants of other cities were moved and such troops of Alexander were left as were prone to rebellion. This city was conceived as a fortified stronghold on the North-Eastern border of the state. The actions of Alexander, in particular, construction of the fortified city roused the concern of the Saks who lived beyond the Syr-Darya. "King of the Scythians (i.e. the Saks, B.G.), whose state extended at that time on the other side of river Tanais, considered that the city founded by the Macedonians on the bank of the river was the yoke around his neck", - wrote Kwint Kurtsiy (VII, 7, 1). The nomadic Saks shooter arrows on the Greeks from the other side of the river Syr-Darya. Alexander fired on them from catapults and forced them to retreat.

After crossing the river on the rafts, Alexander attacked them, forcing them to flee to the steppes. However, the attempt to completely crush the Saks fell almost short of destruction. Terrible heat, shortage of water, lack of roads in the desert along with the continuous attacks of militant Saks who were commanded by the brother of their king (Kwint Kurtsiy VII, 1), created for the invaders an unbearable situation. They had to stop their chase as if because of the illness of Alexander (Arrian, IV, and K-9).

At the time when the Greco-Macedonian troops attempted to capture Ustrushan and Western Fergana, the fire of rebellion spread over the entire Sogdiana and a part of Bactria. Alexander of Macedonia without realizing the magnitude of the uprising sent to Marakand as help to the besieged garrison in the citadel a relatively small detachment (around 2500 men). When the detachment came close to Marakand Spitamen ended the siege and feigned to retreat. The Greek troops started chasing the Sogdians. At the appropriate moment, Spitamen turned back and took to offence. The Greeks, writes Arrian (IV, 5, 8), "fled to the small island in the river (river Zerafshan, B.G.). Here the Scythians and the cavalrymen of Spitamen surrounded them and shot them down."¹⁵

As the famous West German historian, F. Altheim, rightly observed, "Spitamen succeeded in achieving what none other before him could achieve; he annihilated in a battle, a part of the Macedonian troops."¹⁶ Supported by local population Spitamen besieged the Macedonian garrison in Marakand for the second time. When Alexander with his main forces reached Marakand Spitamen again retreated with his troops into the steppe without fighting. Having learnt a

¹⁴ Coordination of the testimonies of Kwint Kurtsiy and Justin about the size of Alexandria Eschate became possible only after the term used by Justin for measurement of length was differently interpreted. This term does not mean "one step" as it was usually translated in our literature (at that time the circumference of the city worked out to 4 – 4,5 kilometers) but a "pair of steps" (ITN, I., pp. 256, 529).

¹⁵ According to F. Schwarz, the battle took place on the right side of Zerafshan in the region of Ziaddin (Schwarz F., 1906, pp. 62-63); in the opinion of Litvinsky, it took place towards the West (ITN, I., pp. 530).

¹⁶ Altheim F., 1953, p. 68.

good lesson in the battle with nomad Scythians, Alexander did not chase Spitamen in the steppe and contented himself with ruthless punishment of the peaceful population of the Zerafshan Valley. "He ordered to burn down the villages and kill all the adults" (Kwint Kurtsiy VII, 9, 22). Doomed to punishment, thirty Sogdian nobles showed self-composure, which surprised the Macedonians; while singing they embraced death (Kwint Kurtsiy VII, 10, 4). The losses of the Greek troops were extraordinarily large and Alexander feverishly prepared for the spring campaign of 328 B.C. spending winter in Bactria, he negotiated with the Saks leaders and Khawarezmians and was occupied with replenishing his troops. The heroic people of Sogd, notwithstanding their big losses did not even think of surrendering. Spitamen did not leave his enemy in peace even for a day. He attacked the invaders with his "flying cavalry" detachments inflicting hard blows on them. As Arrian informs, "many Sogdians fled to fortified places and did not want to obey the satraps" (appointed by Alexander, B.G.) (IV, 15, 7). Indeed the ransacked and ravaged country of the Sogdians was rising again against the intruders. With the object of suppressing the uprising, Alexander divided his twenty thousand strong troops into five detachments and went through Sogd from one end to the other killing everyone he met. Greek historian Diodorus of Sicily (XVII) informs: "Alexander chases the rebellious Sogdians and kills more than 120 thousand people". As a result, of this ruthless punitive expedition, the country became so devastated that Alexander ordered one of his commanders "to found cities in Sogdiana" (Arrian, IV, 16, 3). Perhaps, Alexander had in mind the founding of Greek military settlements in the devastated Sogdian cities, which could serve as strong base for Greco-Macedonian army and the administration.¹⁷

At a time when the invaders in Sogd were shedding streams of blood and the military commanders left in Bactria by Alexander took all measures to keep the country in subordination and punish the rebels, Spitamen with 600 cavalrymen penetrated into the rear of Alexander (Bactria), where he continued his fight with the Greek troops with exceptional energy and courage. In the autumn of 328 B.C., Spitamen along with three thousand cavalrymen proceeded towards the capital of Sogd. After the battle, in which both sides suffered heavy losses, he had to retreat into the steppe. There the leaders of the nomadic tribes treacherously attacked Spitamen, beheaded him and sent "his head to Alexander so as to divert the danger from themselves" as Arrian says (IV, 17, 7).

The death of Spitamen did not mean the complete victory of the foreign invaders and the subjugation of the Sogdians. The situation in Sogd remained, as before, dangerous for the invaders. Alexander of Macedonia who easily crushed the world empire of the Achaemenids was forced to spend the winter of the years 328-327 B.C. in the unvanquished Sogd.

However, since the autumn of 328 B.C. Alexander, desiring to make the local aristocracy his supporter in the struggle against the rebellious population of Sogd, radically changed his policy towards the nobility and the Zoroastrian priesthood. In 327 B.C., while seizing some mountainous fortifications which

¹⁷ This viewpoint has now been confirmed by detailed philological analyses conducted by I.V. Pyankov (Pyankov I.V., 1970, pp. 47-48).

were defended by local aristocrats, Oxyartes, Sisimir and Horien, Alexander not only spared them but also gave them back all their property. He started rewarding in money and gifting the property of the rebels, not only to those representatives of the local nobility who helped him but also even to those who did not take part in his struggle against the Sogdians. The change in the attitude of Alexander towards the local nobility can be judged by reproaches of the court historian of Alexander, Kallisthen, quoted by Arrian: "If, as they say, in a barbarian country it is necessary to adopt the barbarian way of thinking, nevertheless I request you — Alexander — to keep in mind Hellas for the sake of which this military campaign was undertaken by you with the purpose of uniting Asia to Greece".

Alexander entered into a relationship with the higher social strata of Sogd. He married the daughter of Oxyartes — Roxana (Rokhshanak) who was taken prisoner by him and he brought the relatives of the wife nearer to him. The Sogdian aristocracy, on becoming convinced that Alexander was fighting not against them but only against the people, became his puppet thus selling the interests of its country to the enemy. Thus, Sisimir helped Alexander to conquer the Saks tribe by providing him considerable number of troops.

An example of betrayal of the local nobility of the interests of its people is provided by the behavior of the Sogdian aristocrat, Oxyartes. Having become a relative of Alexander, he did everything possible in order to help him in subjugating his motherland. In the spring of 325 B.C., when Greek troops left, Bactria revolted against Alexander and seized the fort of Bactria. Oxyartes, instead of taking advantage of the favorable situation for the struggle against the invaders, informed Alexander about the happenings. Alexander, who was then in India, immediately took measures to suppress this mutiny and appointed Oxyartes as the satrap of the province of Paropamis (the Valley of Kabul). When rebellion against the invaders broke out here also, Oxyartes himself suppressed it and brutally punished the rebels.

As the invaders had a centralized military power, also because of the betrayal of the local nobility, the revolt of the local Sogdian people was suppressed. The Macedonians seized the entire territory along the right tributaries of the Amu-Darya. According to the legend, Alexander reached the upper reaches of the Zerafshan River, which is known as Lake Iskandarkul (the lake of Alexander).

Khwarezm, during the period of conquest of Central Asia by Alexander, could preserve its independence. Arrian narrates that during the stay in Bactra in winter 329-328 B.C., the Khwarezmian King Farasman with 1,500 cavalrymen who offered to unite against Kolchs and Amazons visited him (IV, 15, 1-6).

The ancestors of the Tajik and other peoples of Central Asia defended for three years the independence of their motherland and struggled against the invaders who were creating the great empire. Although their heroic resistance conquered them, however, they delivered a heavy blow to Alexander and the military power of his troops was considerably weakened.

The destruction of the Achaemenid state and subjugation of Bactria, Sogd and other Central Asian countries by the Greco-Macedonian invaders did not improve the lot of the toiling masses of these countries. The local nobility, which found in the invaders heavy support, intensified the exploitation of the people for

both personal enrichment and the interests of the invaders. That is why during the whole period of domination of Macedonian invaders the peoples of Central Asia continuously revolted trying to overthrow the yoke of alien rule.

COLLAPSE OF THE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER OF MACEDONIA AND RESULTS OF MACEDONIAN CONQUEST

Making Babylon the capital of his new state and preserving the same system of rule as during the Achaemenid period, Alexander tried hard to achieve the unity of the state. Thus in 324 B.C. besides the Greeks, Persians and Bactrians, Sogdians and representatives of the peoples of Central Asia were recruited in the troops. Thirty thousand younger's from local nobility were armed in the Macedonian style and distributed among the cavalry detachments.

With the purpose of creating the strongholds of Greco-Macedonian colonization, Alexander built, according to the data of old authors, in Sogd and Bactria 8-12 cities, the so-called Alexandrias. There are mentioned: Alexandria Eschate, Alexandria of Areya (Herat), Alexandria on the Oxus (presumably in the region of Termez or Kulab), Alexandria of Ai-Khanum, Alexandria of Bactria (probably Baktra), Alexandria of Margiana (Presently Bairam-Ali). In these cities, up to twenty thousand infantrymen and three thousand cavalrymen were stationed.

However, all these measures of Alexander of Macedonia could not make his empire a single united entity. It remained an accidental conglomerate of tribes and peoples. Its fragility became known immediately after the death of Alexander (323 B.C.).

The news of death of Alexander evoked the revolt of the exploited population of Asia. Historians of antiquity inform that the "barbarians" after the death of the invader immediately destroyed the Alexandria of Margiana.

After the death of Alexander, power fell into the hands of his successors-generals called *diadokhas* (i.e. the heirs and *epigons* (i.e., the heirs of the heirs). Among them, struggle for possessing the empire broke out, but none of the claimants succeeded in fully capturing the high power. After a fierce battle of the two main groups of diadokhas near Ips (301 B.C.) in the Great Phrygia, which was one of the bloodiest battles of the ancient world, the empire of Alexander was divided into three independent states: Macedonian, Egyptian and Syrian (Seleucids). These states are called in history Hellenistic states.

Other bourgeois historians project the military campaigns of Alexander of Macedonia as a progressive phenomenon and do not indicate that the main purpose of these campaigns of Alexander was expansion of the power of Greece towards the East, increase in trade turnover, exploitation of the peoples of the East and seizure of their wealth. All this followed by brutal annihilation of local population.

A study of the history of the countries subjugated by the Greco-Macedonian troops shows that "the Greeks and Macedonians finding themselves alienated in the conquered territory brought their methods of behavior with the

conquered population based on the development of Greek slave-owning society: application of crude force, unrestricted coercion in respect of this population, use of captured people for the sake of profit and their sale and transfer to other places."¹⁸

Noting the influence of the Greek culture on the culture of the East, (it was really quite large) many bourgeois historians often keep silent about the cultural achievements of the Eastern peoples. In fact, the thousands of years old culture of the East also made a great and many-sided impact on the culture of Greece and other countries of the West.

In the so-called Hellenistic culture, as is known, found reflection not only the "pure" Greek cultural creativity but also a peculiar interweaving of the Greek and Eastern cultures. In the development of the Hellenistic culture, a leading role belongs to the peoples of Central Asia.

Archaeological findings bring new evidences of the contribution of the peoples of the East, including Central Asia, in the development of material culture of the Hellenistic world. Some of the main basic principles of the Hellenistic city construction, for example, the Hippodam system of city planning go back to the ideas developed in the East, long before the epoch of Hellenism.

Central Asian and Iranian religious cultures had a certain influence on the religious views of the Greeks and Romans and later on the development of Christianity also. "In this sphere", writes V. Tarn, "The East took its invader as prisoner; although this movement perhaps did not reach its summit before the Christian era, it continued to grow during the entire Hellenistic period."¹⁹ The influence of the East reflected in the Greek philosophy, art and literature, etc.

¹⁸ Zelyin K.K., Trofimova M.K., 1969, p. 66.

¹⁹ Tarn V., 1949, p. 309.

CHAPTER III

GRECO-BACTRIA AND PARTHIA IN III – II CENTURIES B.C.

1. CENTRAL ASIA IN THE SELEUCID STATE

One of the military commanders of Alexander of Macedonia, Seleucus, was ultimately confirmed in Babylonia 312 B.C. as a satrap. During the following nine years, he gradually expanded his power to the West and East including Iran and Central Asia. In some places he acted diplomatically but in Central Asia he met with firm resistance and he had to wage a war. Pompey Trog (Justin XV, 4, 11) informs that Seleucus I "having increased his force by the conquest near Babylonia seized Bactria". Parthia and Sogd were also conquered (Appian, "Syria", 55). However, the attempt of Seleucus to conquer Northern India failed.

"The history of Seleucus, - wrote the noted Soviet historian of Hellenism A.B. Ranovich, - presents great difficulties for the historians because of the bad state of literary sources".¹ It is even truer in the case of Central Asia, the history of which under the Seleucid rule, i.e. at the end of III and middle of II century B.C. almost not known.

As the state of Seleucus I was extremely large and the affairs in the East demanded constant attention, in 293 B.C. he appointed his son Antioch as the co-ruler in the East. It may be noted that Antioch was born of the marriage of Seleucus with Apama, the daughter of Spitamen, and thus Central Asia for Antioch was to some extent the country of his ancestors.

According to some data, in Central Asia at the beginning of the III century B.C., rebellions against the Seleucid state used to break out. Simultaneously the nomadic tribes also frequently invaded the Central Asian Seleucid Empire. During these invasions, many fortifications of the Seleucid Empire were destroyed, in particular, Alexandria Margiana and Alexandria Eschate, which were founded by Alexander of Macedonia. Seleucus later reconstructed these cities and a big wall of 250 kilometers in length encircled the oasis of Margiana. Against the trans-Syr-Darya nomads a military expedition, under a military commander of Seleucus - Demodam (Pliny, IV, 18, 49) was sent. Thanks to a series of military, political and diplomatic measures, Antioch succeeded in suppressing the anti-Seleucid movement.²

¹ Ranovich A.B., 1950, p.113.

² ITN, I, p. 283.



Coin of Antioch I

Very interesting information for understanding the eastern policy of Seleucus and the position of his satrap Antioch is provided by numismatic material,³ analyzed in this aspect by B.A. Litvinsky and V.M. Masson.⁴ Being the co-ruler, Antioch issued the coins as per "Indian" weighing standard. The coins of this series carry the names of the king Seleucus I himself and his son Antioch. Perhaps, it was an attempt to assert independence. In any case, after the death of his father in 280 B.C. Antioch became the ruler and stopped the minting of these coins. Nearly for two decades (280-261 B.C.) the rule of Antioch I was marked by numerous wars in the West; he gave little attention to the east of his state, in particular to Central Asia. In the meantime, the process of strengthening of Central Asia was going on. Here life was beginning to return to normal and agriculture, handicrafts and trade were developing.

Notwithstanding the fact that Central Asia was far from the main centers of the Seleucid Empire, it remained the main part of it. The interest of the Seleucids in Central Asia, in both military strategically and economic spheres, can be explained by their construction of new settlements and cities along the trade route, leading from Seleucia on the Tigris to Bactria.⁵

The composition of the dominating class was a mixed one. Along with the Greek satraps and the Greek nobility surrounding them, the representatives of local aristocracy were also included in it. Of course, the Seleucidian authority in Central Asia rested upon the military power in the form of warriors living in Greek settlements – Katoikis. However, in the exploitation of the population, the Central Asian representatives of the dominating class also took part. This class was not united in its attitude to the Seleucid state; draining of wealth of Central Asia beyond its' frontiers gave rise to discontentment among those groups which had counted upon "snatching" a large part of it, for themselves. The local population, which was subjected to double exploitation, was deeply dissatisfied.

³ Newell E., 1938.

⁴ ITN, I. pp. 283-286; Masson V.M; Romodin V.A., 1964, pp. 99-101.

⁵ Frye R.N., 1963, p.140. The best collection of materials of written, sources about the cities founded in the East by Alexander of Macedonia and the Seleucids is the work: *Tsherikower V.*, 1927. The city-building work of the Seleucids, however, took place mainly not in Central Asia but in the West (*Altheim F.*, 1947-48, p. 265).

At the same time it would be proper to note that "the period of inclusion of Central Asia in the Seleucid state was the time of restoration of the productive forces of the country which were destroyed by the Greco-Macedonian invasion and consolidation of the Bactrians, Sogdians and Parthians and other peoples of Central Asia in the struggle against the Seleucids.⁶

Inside the Seleucid state continuous clashes were taking place between the various claimants for power. Some satraps were constantly dreaming of separation and acquiring independence. All this created, particularly in the peripheries, an explosive situation.

2. THE GRECO-BACTRIAN AND PARTHIAN STATE

EMERGENCE AND EARLY HISTORY OF PARTHIA AND GRECO-BACTRIA

During the interneceine struggle, between the two brothers (Seleucus II and Antioch Gierax), for power in the Seleucid state the Parthians separated from them, under the leadership of Greek Andragor. As an author of antiquity who has given detailed information about the events in Central Asia at that time writes, "It was then that Diodot also separated (from the Seleucids, B.G.) — The ruler of thousands of Bactrian cities and declared himself king; following this example, all peoples of the East broke away. At that time, there lived Arshak, a person of unknown origin but of proven courage. He was usually engaged in brigandage and pillage. Having come to know that Seleucus (Seleucus II, B.G.) had been defeated in Asia, he without any fear, with a band of brigands attacked the Parthians and by defeating and killing their ruler Andragor seized power [over the Parthian] people" (Justin, XLI, 1,4-7).

In this information, about the early history of Greco-Bactria and Parthia, many things are not clear. First of all, the chronology of events, when the separation of Greco-Bactria took place? The first researcher of this problem Russian academician F. Bayer (1738) and many others after him, have analyzed in detail the texts constantly draw attention to the fact that these texts, including the one by Justin, have several discrepancies⁷, quite likely, the events related to Diodot took place a little earlier, approximately in 256 B.C. which are linked to Arshak in around 250 B.C.

Even more complicated is the main question about the character of the events, which took place at that time. There are two viewpoints in history. British scholars G. Macdonald and W. Tarn are of the view that the appearance of the monogram, with the first letter of the name of Diodot on the coins of the Seleucids, issued in Bactria testify to the gradual and slow rise of power and independence of this satrap, who at last became actually independent⁸. However, as Indian scholar A. Narain thinks, such monograms usually signify the mint or

⁶ ITN, I., p. 289.

⁷ For analysis of this see: *Narain A.K.*, 1962, p. 16.

⁸ *Tarn W.W.*, 1951, pp.72-74.

the person supervising the issue of the coins. In the case of expression of independence of one or the other satrap, his full name is mentioned⁹. There are also other hypotheses. Till now the meaning of monograms on the Greco-Bactrian coins, strictly speaking, cannot be ascertained¹⁰. At the same time, it is characteristic, that there is a whole series of coins of the Seleucid type where in place of the portrait of the Seleucid king there is the portrait of Diodot. Some historians think that it is not the same Diodot as the one we are talking about but his son. However, there is no serious basis for such a view.



Coin of Diodot

Thus, the data of coins cannot be the basis for the hypothesis of Macdonald and Tarn. Besides, this hypothesis rejects the direct and clear information given by Justin that Diodot, "separated" from the Seleucid state, i.e., revolted against the Central state power and founded his own state.

Our concept of the events, over which not much light has been thrown in the sources, has been given in the "History of the Tajik People" (1955). It is believed that in Bactria the Seleucid satraps had considerable Greek military forces. Using these forces and taking support from the local Hellenized Bactrian-Sogdian nobility, which also strove for separation from the Seleucids, Diodot led the movement, which resulted in the separation of Bactria from the Seleucids. Undoubtedly, in this movement popular masses, struggling against the double yoke and for independence, also took part¹¹.

It is difficult to say as to what the size of this new state was. Strabo (XI, 9, 2) has a story supplementing the one mentioned above. According to him, the Greek satraps (meaning the subordinates and accomplices of Diodot) "First of all persuaded Bactrian and the nearby country to revolt". We do not have any more concrete information. This could be Sogdiana (as some scholars think), Areya and/or Margiana (this is also quite likely).

The early history of the Greco-Bactrian state is closely interring woven with the history of the Parthian kingdom. Justin directly says that Arshak "was afraid" of Diodot - the king of Bactria (XI, 1, 4, 8). Strabo (XI, 9, 3) gives a version that Arshak was a Bactrian who "in order to save himself from the rising power of Diodot and his successors staged a revolt in Parthia".

⁹ Narain A.K., 1962, p. 15.

¹⁰ Curiel R. and Fussman G., pp. 68-70.

¹¹ For the other view see: Bickerman E., 1966, p. 89 (note 13) 91-93.

His son Diodot II succeeded Diodot I, who probably ruled for not very long. Numismatists cannot conclude as to which coins, with the portrait of Diodot, relate to Diodot I and which ones to Diodot II¹². It is also not clear as to how the Parthian Kingdom came into existence. The sources of antiquity contain three different versions about the early period of Parthian history. In the words of N. Debevoise, author of the best work on the political history of Parthia, "(the ancient, B.G.) Greeks did not know anything about the historicity of these information's)"¹³.

It is likely that in the middle of the III century B.C. the satrap of Parthia tried to separate from the Seleucids. At this time, Bactria fell apart from the Seleucids. According to some sources, Arshak seized the power in Parthia. According to Strabo (XI, 9, 3; XI, 9, 2) he originated from the nomads Dakhs (or Parns-Dakhs); "others on the contrary, continues Strabo, consider him as a Bactrian who in order to save himself from the rising power of Diodot and his successors raised a rebellion in Parthia". Justin informs (XLI, 1, 4, 6) that Arshak - "a person of unknown origin but of proven courage" attacked the satrap of Parthia, defeated him and "seized power over the Parthian people". Lastly, Arrian (Parthica, fr.l) gives the third and (more detailed version). The satrap of the Seleucids humiliated two brothers, Arshak and Tiridat. They took five accomplices, murdered him, and persuaded people to revolt.

We can agree with the view of N. Debevoise¹⁴ that without any additional source it is impossible to tell as to which of these versions is correct.¹⁵

"In the beginning Arshak was exhausted from the continuous wars with the people whose lands he had seized..." (Strabo, XI, 9, 2). He died shortly afterwards. The following Parthian Kings are called in the sources not by their own names but "Arshaks" and the dynasty itself as the "Arshakid".

In his place came his brother Tiridat¹⁶ "After some time Arshak (i.e. Tiridat I, B.G.) seized the Girkan kingdom also. Thus, having become the ruler of the two states, Arshak collected a large army, fearing Seleucus as well as Diodot, the king of Bactria" (Justin XLI, 4, 8).

It is important to note that the two newly formed states were in a state of serious conflict. Perhaps each one of them initially pretended to hegemony in Central Asia. The Parthian ruler feared Diodot I in the beginning but not less than the Seleucids. However, after the death of Diodot the situation changed. Apparently, the expansionist efforts of the Seleucids, which endangered the

¹² Curiel R. and Fussman S., 1965, pp.63-65; Lahiri A.N. 1965, pp. 110-114, 265.

¹³ Debevoise N.C., 1938, pp. 9-10.

¹⁴ Debevoise N.C., 1938, p. 10.

¹⁵ On the question of emergence and early history of Parthia, many historians in our country and abroad have been working (A.G. Bokhschanin, G.A. Koshelenko, M.E. Masson, I. Wolsky, J.I. Ride and others). However, neither the chronology nor the content of the events that took place in the III century B.C., have been finally determined and explained.

¹⁶ Thus we don't accept the opinion of I. Wolsky (Wolsky I., 1947, p.222) and G.A. Koshelenko (Koshelenko G.A., 1968, pp.64-65) about the legendary character of Tiridat. The data of Nisii Archives (Dyakonov I.M. and Livshits V.A., 1960 a, pp.20-21) testify the existence of Tiridat.

independence of both Central Asian states, played a decisive role in changing the mutual relations between Parthia and Greco-Bactria. After the death of Diodot I his son Diodot II concluded a peace agreement with Parthia (Justin, XLI, 4, 8-9). The Seleucid king Seleucus II sent his troops to the East in an attempt to annex the Central Asian regions. But it appeared that the nut was too hard to crack. The Parthians, having secured their rear formations, were able to repulse the Seleucids. It is true that in the beginning Tiridat I had to retreat in the direction of Apasiaks, to the nomads living inwards the North of Parthia, but afterwards he returned and defeated Seleucus II. We mentioned above about the external political objectives of the Parthian-Greco-Bactrian union. Perhaps through this union Diodot II tried to strengthen his internal political position also as the situation in his kingdom was not good.

His opponent Eutidem, an Asia Minor Greek by origin and who had seized power through a coup was acquiring more and more important role. There was an opinion that he was a brother of Diodot, but it is hardly probable. More probable is the surmise that he occupied, even before the coup, a high position in the Greco-Bactrian state. But it is not known as to what kind of position was held by him. Some are of the view that initially he was satrap of Sogdiana while according to others he was satrap of Areyā and Margiana. However, there is no serious basis for these conjectures.

Polibiy (XI, 34, 2-3) puts into the mouth of Eutidem the following words: "I am not the first to rebel against the king; on the contrary I attained the sway over Bactriana by annihilating the successors of several other betrayers". It follows from this that Eutidem annihilated the successors of Diodot I, i.e., obviously Diodot II himself and his children and probably killed the successors of the accomplices of Diodot I.

W. Tarn believes that the coup of Eutidem had "public support" because the union (of Diodot II, B.G.) with Parthia could not be popular among Bactrian Greeks and because Eutidem acted in the interests of Seleucids.¹⁷ W. Tarn thinks that Eutidem was married to the daughter of the Seleucid princess and that is why he considered himself bound by all kinship relations with the Seleucids. But all these are mere conjectures.

Little is known about the actual state of further events, of the rule of Eutidem. One can only guess that having eliminated Diodot II he aggravated the relations with Parthia. It could have resulted in an armed conflict. As the following account shows, during the rule of Eutidem, the Greco-Bactrian state already included Areyā, Margiana and perhaps two other regions — Aspion and Turiva. Thus, his Central Asian dominions were quite large. Its nucleus remained Bactria. Sogd and perhaps some other adjacent regions were included in it.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SELEUCID EXPANSION

Information contained in sources takes us to the last decade of the III century B.C. By this time, Parthia had become a powerful state. Tiridat expanded

¹⁷ Tarn W.W., 1951, p. 74.

the frontiers, of the Parthian kingdom, by joining in it some territories in Iran and by building some fortifications and increasing his army. However, he died in 211 B.C. approximately after a reign of 37 years. His son Artaban I ascended the throne after his death.

During these years, the Seleucids again gained their power. The Seleucid king Antioch III tried to restore his authority over all the Seleucid dominions in the East. According to, probably exaggerated information, of Justin (XLI, 5, 7) with a large army of 100 thousand infantry, 20 thousand cavalrymen Antioch III proceeded further¹⁸. The Parthians fought courageously but had to yield before the superior forces of the enemy. They lost a part of their territory and were forced to sign a treaty of alliance with the Seleucids¹⁹.

The road to the frontiers of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom was open. Polibiy writes about further developments. He moved the advance cavalry (10 thousand strong) included in the army of Eutidem to the river Arey (Harirud).

Their task was to prevent the Seleucid troops from crossing the river. This crossing was guarded at daytime, but in the night, the cavalry moved away from Arey leaving the sentry posts. Coming to know of it, Antioch III brought his troops to the river, under cover of night, and succeeded in sending across the river a major part of his forces. On receiving this intelligence, the Bactrian cavalry rushed to the river. Antioch III personally led his troops. The Bactrian cavalry inflicted consecutive blows by three echelons and as result, there was a large casualty on both sides. The sources record the effectiveness of the attacks by the Bactrian cavalry.

When the second and third Bactrian troops started their attacks, Seleucid troops, as Polibiy writes, "started giving up under heavy onslaught of the enemy." But Antioch III brought into the battle the military reserves while the main part of the Bactrian troops stayed at quite a distance. As a result, the Seleucid troops won and only a small part of the Bactrian cavalry followed by the enemy reached the main forces, led by Eutidem himself. He was forced to retreat to Zariasp-Bactra under cover of the strong fort walls (Polibiy X, 49, 1-15).

In the preserved text of Polibiy there is a large gap. Thereafter the final events of the seizure of Bactra are narrated. Long negotiations were held between the two enemies. Eutidem thus analyzed his proposals for peace: "On the frontier are standing large hordes of cavalrymen threatening both of us. If the barbarians cross the frontier the country will probably be conquered by them". As follows from the text of Polibiy the Seleucid king also saw the futility of the siege and longed for a mutually acceptable solution. The negotiations lasted long. For their completion, Eutidem sent to the camp of Antioch III his son Demetry. "The king (Antioch III, B.G.) received him with love and found that the youngman, by his appearance and excellent behavior, deserved a royal status and hence offered him the hand of one of his daughters, and agreed to recognize his father's title of king. The other conditions were included in a written agreement and an alliance was concluded on oath. After providing his troops the abundant food supplies

¹⁸ M.E. Masson wrongly wrote that this large army belonged to Artaban I (*Masson M.E.*, 1955 b, p.ll). But actually this figure is related to the army of Antioch III.

¹⁹ For details see: *Debevoise N.C.*, 1938, pp. 14-18.

and taking the elephants of Eutidem with him, Antioch departed from the place" (Polibiy XI, 34, 1-11).

About the conditions of the agreement, more details are not known. Only one thing is clear: by presenting gifts to Antioch III and in particular by giving war elephants, Eutidem in any case, preserved the independence of Greco-Bactria. It was possible because of the courage and unity of the defenders of Bactra whose determination for victory could not be broken by the long siege.

One detail of the account given by Polibiy, however, cannot escape attention. The striking force of Eutidem was the Bactrian cavalry — those ten thousand of Bactrian cavalrymen who bore the first blow of the Seleucid troops and nearly defeated them in the first battle. In the opinion of W. Tarn, the numerical strength of the Bactrian cavalry is explained by the fact that as a result of some internal political measures of Eutidem the Bactrian aristocracy was drawn into the governance of the state²⁰. In fact, it is impossible to imagine the assignment of such a responsible task to the Bactrian cavalry and above all to understand the character of its actions in the war without recognizing that the Bactrian aristocracy was vitally interested in repulsing the Seleucid threat.²¹

Ending the siege of Bactra, Antioch III proceeded to the South. Crossing the Hindukush he entered India, "where he renewed his friendly alliance with the Indian king Sofagasen", (thus Polibiy, XI, 34, 11, gives the name of one of the kings of the Maurya dynasty, Subhaganasena). The Indian campaign of Antioch III was an unsuccessful attempt to capture a part of the territory of the then already weak Maurya state. At the same time, it showed to the Greco-Bactrian rulers the possible direction of their further expansion.

BLOSSOMING OF THE GRECO-BACTRIAN KINGDOM

Son of Eutidem, Demetriy, implemented the expansion of the frontiers of Greco-Bactrian kingdom towards India. Justin (XLI, 6, 4) calls him "king of Inds". Strabo (XI, 11, 1) tells about the conquest of Demetriy and another king Menander in India. In the travel book of Isidor Harak the city of Demetriy, in Arahozia, is mentioned.

The coins with the name of Demetriy are of different types. The king on these coins is depicted with either a diadem or a helmet in the shape of head of an elephant. The face of the king is also/different. On some coins there is Greek inscription and on others Greek and Indian (in Kharoshthi). On the coins carrying bilingual inscriptions, around the portrait of the king on the front side is inscribed - "King Demetriy the invincible."²² Based on differences in coins some scholars suppose that there were two kings with the name of Demetriy, but others categorically deny this. So far, this question has not been solved finally. In any case, Demetriy (or some other

²⁰ Tarn W., 1950, pp. 124-125, 410.

²¹ Compare the effort to put this assumption under doubt (Tolstov S.P., 1940, p. 199).

²² About this see: Bivar A.D., 1951, pp. 22-39; Masson V.M., 1961, pp.40-41; Curiel R., and Fussman C., 1955, pp.75-76.

king with this name) considerably expanded the frontiers of Greco-Bactria in the South. The appearance of bilingual inscriptions and of the helmet in the shape of the head of an elephant can be explained by the fact of inclusion in his state of some territories of ancient Gandhara (presently North-Western Pakistan).

Based on Indian tradition Indian scholar A.N. Lahiri concludes that Demetriy intruded into India during the reign of a weak ruler of Maurya dynasty Brihandratha. It happened around 185 B.C. Following R. Whitehead, A.N. Lahiri surmises that it was not an enduring conquest but a prolonged military raid during which Greco-Bactrian troops, penetrated deep into the territory of the Maurya state. It had great effect on the East, which resulted in the appearance of the epithet "king of Inds" in relation to Demetriy in the account given by Justin. "The direct result of this expedition was not big. It merely paved the way for later Greek (Greco-Bactrian, B.G.) invasions and occupation of the territory of North-Western India." In the opinion of A.N. Lahiri, having reached Pataliputra and after defeating the troops of Brihandratha, Demetriy shortly returned to Bactria — the fight with Eukratid the Great was awaiting him.²³ This sober and based on facts, analysis of Lahiri appears to be convincing.

When Demetriy was preoccupied by his campaign in India, there appeared on the stage of Greco-Bactrian history another big figure of Eukratid.

About this Justin writes: "Almost at the same time there appeared two kings, Mitridat in Parthia and Eukratid in Bactria. Both were great men. However, the fate was more favorably disposed towards the Parthians and led them under this ruler to the zenith of their power. The Bactrians waging one war after another lost not only their kingdom but also independence; exhausted by the wars with the Sogdians, Arahots, Drangs, Areyas and Inds they finally conquered by weak Parthians. However, Eukratid fought these numerous wars with great courage; and already weakened by them he had to bear the siege by Demetriy the king of the Inds, he (Demetriy) with the help of three hundred warriors defeated sixty thousand — strong enemy by constant raids. Having restored his independence after five months of siege he conquered India". (XLI, 6, 1-5).

Strabo (XV, 1, 3) citing the "Parthian history" of Apollodor writes that the Greco-Bactrian kings "conquered even larger part of India than the Macedonians.... Other writers affirm that under his power "were nine tribes and five thousand cities." Strabo (XI, 9, 2) informs that the Parthians "also seized a part of Bactria by driving away the Scythians and even earlier Eukratid and his supporters." Enumerating the Bactrian cities, Strabo (XI, 2) points out the city of Eukratideya "thus named after its ruler" and further writes, "The satrapies of Aspion and Turiva were taken away by Parthians from Eukratid".

Such is the data provided by the written sources. Besides, there are many coins of Eukratid. They have been found in large quantity in Central Asia also. Thus in the Qashqa-Darya region, near Kitab, was found a treasure of about one hundred Greco-Bactrian coins. The bulk of these coins are from the mint of Eukratid. Similar coins of Eukratid were also discovered on the territory of Tajikistan; for example near the settlement of Panj, in Kulob region and other places.

²³ Lahiri A.N. 1957, pp. 40-49.



Coins of Greco-Bactrian rulers

Mention may be made of the coins carrying on the front side its portrait of Eukratid and an inscription "The great king Eukratid" and on the other side two profiles — one of a female (with diadem) and of a male (without diadem) in the background and the inscription "Heliokl and Laodika". As these names are in the possessive case many contradictory explanations have appeared. It should be read as following: "of the great king Eukratid [children] Heliokl and Laodika", "of the great king Eukratid's parents Heliokl and Laodika", or on the reverse side are depicted the son of Eukratid and his wife — the princess (hence she is wearing a crown). A majority of scholars admit that here the parents of Eukratid are depicted in particular, his mother — the princess by which he wanted to legitimize his actions and ascension to the throne.²⁴ We think it is necessary to accept this explanation and reject the concept of W. Tarn, which was subjected to critical analysis in the Soviet literature.



Coins of Greco-Bactrian rulers

On the basis of the data of written sources and coins given above we can draw a hypothetical sketch of the events of the reign of Eukratid the Great.²⁵

While Demetriy was in India, one of the representatives of Greek aristocracy, Eukratid, whose mother Laodika was of royal origin, organized an uprising on the territory of Bactria.

It happened almost simultaneously with the ascension to the Parthian throne of Mitridat I, i.e. about 171 B.C. In the seizure of power, Eukratid helped by the fact that at this time Demetriy took the main contingents of Greco-Bactrian troops away to India. After taking power he took the title "Soter" ("Savior"), implying that he "saved" Bactria from Demetriy. The information

²⁴ Grigoriev V.V., 1867 a, p. 343; Narain A.K., 1962, pp. 55-56.

²⁵ Our understanding of these events is close to the sketch of A.K. Narain although it differs in some moments and does not have anything common with the concept of W. Tarn.

about seizure of power might have reached Demetriy and he probably sent considerable forces for putting down the rebels.

The numerical advantage was on the side of Demetriy. The small army of Eukratid was besieged and his situation seemed to be hopeless because the besieging force had strength of sixty thousand soldiers and he had a very small force. Continuously attacking the enemy and carrying out raids with three hundred warriors and displaying utmost courage and thanks to chaos in the camp of the enemy about which the source perhaps does not inform, Eukratid could crush the superior forces of Demetriy. Having ascended the throne he took the title of "The King, The Great Eukratid" and issued a series of coins on which his parents were depicted.

Coins with the name of Eukratid were issued in bulk. They had a large circulation in Bactria and were perhaps still in circulation after the death of Eukratid. Their imitation was issued later also after the collapse of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom.

After strengthening his power in Bactria, Eukratid started the conquest of Indian possessions of Demetriy and even expanded their frontiers. It was believed that he conquered one thousand cities.

Not everything was smooth in the career of Eukratid. He lost two Western provinces of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. The powerful Parthian king Mitridat along with other border territories seized them.²⁶

Having completed the conquest of the North Indian territories Eukratid preceded towards Bactria. As Justin writes (XLI, 6, 5), "on his way back from his military expedition Eukratid was killed by his son whom he had earlier made his co-ruler. The son did not even try to conceal the killing of his father, as if he did not kill his father but an enemy. He drove the chariot on his father's corpse and ordered it to be thrown without a burial." These tragic events at the end of the reign of Eukratid took place in about 155 B.C. ²⁷.

A contemporary and rival of Eukratid, Parthian king Mitridat (171-138/7 B.C.) achieved great success in expanding the frontiers of his kingdom. In a fierce struggle against local rulers and the Seleucids, he occupied Western Iran and incorporated Media and Mesopotamia into Parthia. The kingdom of Parthia gradually became one of the most powerful states of the world.

The situation was different in Greco-Bactria. From the middle of the II century B.C. starts the decline of its political power. The large state occupying the massive regions of Central Asia, Afghanistan and India disintegrated. Separate rulers, successors of Diodot, Eutidem and Eukratid and powerful aristocrats not belonging to these royal families captured power and minted coins in their names. Obviously, in Bactria and Sogd in the second half of the II century B.C. Antimach was the ruler who acquired the title "Teos" (God). Among the Indo-Greeks Menandr, who seized Indian dominions, probably immediately following

²⁶ The information given by Orosiy (V, 4, 16) about the conquest of Mitridat I does not necessarily relate to India (*Debevoise N.C.*, 1938, pp. 56-57).

²⁷ According to Narain, Eukratid had two sons — Platon and Heliokl (not to be confused with Heliokl – father of Eukratid). The killer of father is called Platon by him (*Narain A.K.*, 1962, pp. 71-72).

the death of Eukratid, played a great role.²⁸ According to the Buddhist traditions, he was an extremely wise king. His measures helped the state to prosper. It believed that the information provided by the Buddhist sources about adoption of Buddhism is true.

At the end of III century B.C., during the reign of Eutidem confederations of nomadic tribes created a real threat to the Northern dominions of the Greco-Bactrians. In later half of the II century B.C., the nomadic world of the Northern parts of Central Asia was like a stormy sea, the waves of which now and then swept the Greco-Bactrian shores, inundating the coastal area. Before the coming storm, the conquerors of the Seleucid and Parthian king the successors of powerful Mitridat I were trembling.

3. THE INTERNAL SYSTEM, ECONOMY AND CULTURE OF CENTRAL ASIA IN III – II CENTURIES B.C.

THE GRECO – BACTRIAN KINGDOM

The extreme scarcity of historical sources does not provide the possibility to characterize the state establishment and social system in Greco-Bactria, in detail. During the reign of strong rulers, the state had centralization to some extent, probably imitating, in many ways, the Seleucid state. Plutarch narrates an anecdote about Seleucus having supposedly told many times, that "if the majority had known how much labor is necessary only to write and read so many letters, diadems would have been lying scattered on earth and no one would have picked them up." As Soviet historian of Hellenism A.B. Ranovich writes, "according to the data obtained from inscriptions it is clear that the government of the Seleucids conducted a vast correspondence, composing orders and decrees on most varied affairs, appointing judges and arbiters for small law suits of the cities, organizing colonies entering into diplomatic correspondence with other states and maintaining constant links with its own cities, the cities of Greece, with temples and common Greek shrines."²⁹ The Greco-Bactrian state apparatus was probably not as developed, ramified and centralized as that of the Seleucids. At the helm of the state stood the king. Sometimes the king's son was his co-ruler. The state was divided into satrapies.

From "Milinda-Panha"³⁰ we learn that in the kingdom of Menander, i.e., in the Indian part of Greco-Bactria there were six court noblemen: the supreme chief of the army, the first minister, chief judge, chief of the treasury, and the carrier of parade umbrella and the carrier of parade sword. Besides them the "lord of the settlement" is also mentioned.

²⁸ Narain A.K., 1962, pp. 76-77.

²⁹ Ranovich A.B., 1950, p.140.

³⁰ "Milinda-Panha" is a work written in II century B.C. in Pali language in the form of dialogue on philosophical topics between Greco-Indian king Menander (Indian Milinda) and Indian scholar Nagasena.

As has been rightly noted (*Milinda-Panha* IV, 1, 36) by K.V. Trever, "An analysis of all this terminology and comparison of the instructions of "*Milinda-Panha*" with the data in other sources can to some extent throw light on the social aspect of the state of Menander. For Bactria and other regions connected with it the sources do not give such information."³¹

A great role was played by the army, which was recruited, both from Greeks and from local population, in particular, from Bactrians. The Bactrians provided the army with contingents of cavalry. The king probably had his personal guards. War elephants increased the attacking force of the army.

There are several data about military organization of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. The cavalry and infantry played the main role in the army. In the art, relics available to us and written sources it is mentioned that in the army of Bactria there were detachments of war elephants on whose backs armed warriors were seated. Elephants were inducted into the battle, probably at its height.

Justin (XLI, 4, 5) called Diodot "the ruler of a thousand Bactrian cities". Strabo (XV, 1, 3) informs that Eukratid had under him one thousand cities. These writers probably had in



Corinthian style chapter Ai – Khanum

minded not only Bactria itself, but the larger territory of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom including Northern India. However, the figure of "thousand" is an exaggeration. At the same time, it must be kept in mind that the basis for this exaggeration was a wide development of cities and urban life in Bactria.

The Bactrian (as also Sogdian) cities can be divided into three groups by their origin, the first group must be included the old cities that emerged in the

³¹ Trever K.V., 1940, p. 19. The attempt of W. Tarn to find in the text of this source an indication of the existence of a royal council consisting of 500 persons (Tarn W., 1950, p. 267, 418) has evoked strong and apparently valid objections from A.K. Narain (Narain A.K., 1962, p. 167-168).

pre-Achaemenid and Achaemenid period. Among there is a capital and largest city of Bactria — Bactra; the city which existed in the lower part of Kafernigan (now the settlement Kala-i Mir); the capital of Sogd — Marakand and others. The cities of the second group emerged in the period of Greco-Macedonian invasion or that of the Seleucids. In the third group, there are cities, which emerged directly in the period of Greco-Bactrian kingdom. Among the cities of the second and third groups did Alexander of Macedonia found the cities (for example, Alexandria Eschate) or by the successive Greek rulers (for example, the city of Eukratideya in Bactria) as well as the cities that emerged without interference of the royal power.

About the internal system of urban life of Bactrian (and Sogdian) cities, we know little. However, the following epigraphically discoveries possibly show some phenomena characteristic of Parthian and Seleucid cities, in particular, some forms of city self-rule were taking place. A description of one of the large cities of the Greco-Bactrian or the later period is given in "Milinda-Panha". In it, there is information on the basis of which it can be concluded that the handicraft industry was highly developed. Thus in the city mentioned in "Milinda-Panha" there were experts who made articles from gold, silver, zinc, tin, copper, bronze and iron. There were potters, tanners, tent makers, comb makers, spinners, cotton blowers, basket makers, experts of making bows, masons, gold washers, cooks, bath attendants, butchers, traders of wine, flowers, etc. "Milinda-Panha" mentions that among the local population there were quite a number of traders of broadcloth and different foodstuffs.³² From all this we can infer that both handicrafts and trade were mainly concentrated in the hands of local population.

The capital of Bactria was considered the pivot of the Greco-Bactrian kings. Here they collected forces for invasion of neighboring countries, particularly India.

The location of the capital city of Bactria does not give rise to doubt; it was situated about 20 kilometers from the present day Afghan city of Mazari Sharif. However, on the place, where ancient Bactra was situated, life continued all through the medieval times though with some interruptions when there was a big city of Balkh. Hence, ancient layers were overlapping by later layers, which complicate archaeological research. The nucleus of Bactra of the Greco – Bactrian period was the modern city of Bala – Hissar ("high fortress"). It was oval-shaped and had an area of 120 hectares. French scholar D.Schlumberger and M.Le Berre have succeeded in revealing the construction of the walls of ancient Balkh.

The strength of these walls was astounding. In their foundation, they measure 31 meters in width. The walls had several lines of loopholes and researchers believe that it cannot be ruled out that fortifications helped the defenders of Bactra to stand the of the huge army of Anti-och III. Bactra during the Greco–Bactrian period was obviously not confined to the territory of Bala–Hissar.³³ In 1964–1965 French archaeologists started excavations at the settlement Ai – Khanum. It is located in Afghanistan on the bank of river Panj

³² "The Questions of King Milinda", 1894.

³³ Le Berre M. and Schlumberger D., 1964.

where the Kokcha – Darya falls into it. The huge settlement has the shape of a triangle.

Its two kilometer long foundation is adjacent to Panj. The other side (1.5 kilometer) borders upon Kokcha – Darya. The North – Western part of the settlement adjacent to Panj River is situated lower than the South – Eastern part, which is considerably higher. The excavations at Ai – Khanum have yielded important results. Here parts of large constructions have been unearthed the characteristic feature of which is the wide use of Hellenistic planning charts and building details. Constructions made from stones, raw and baked bricks. Stone columns, pilasters, and stone details of the ceiling match the walls made of raw bricks. The parts of stone architecture are made in Corinthian order and exactly correspond with the Hellenistic standards. Here Hellenistic sculptures, ceramic, jewelry and other articles are found as also the Greek burial places and epitaphs the entire material including the finding of coins testify that Ai-Khanum is Greco-Bactrian city of III-II centuries B.C. in which elements of Greco-Hellenistic culture as well as the Greek element itself in composition of the population played an extremely important role.³⁴ We do not know yet the name of one of these largest Greek cities. Maybe this is one of the Alexandrias or the Antiochies and may be this is Eukratideya. Only one thing is clear: this city undoubtedly existed in the Seleucidian and Greco-Bactrian period and was one of the main centers of the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom.

Interestingly, on the other (Soviet) bank of the river Panj, on the territory of the Farkhar region, archaeologists have discovered and are excavating the other main monument Saksan-Okhur, from the end of the Greco-Bactrian period. It is situated seven kilometers to the north of the present-day district center Farkhar. The entire area of the settlement was about five hectares. Excavations on this site have revealed a colony of artisans with furnaces for baking ceramics and terracotta's and a palace-temple complex. The center of this



Hellenistic sculpture.
Ai – Khanum

³⁴ See the initial information: *Schlumberger D.*, 1965-1966; *Bernard P.* 1967a, 1967, 1968a, 1968, 1969.

complex is a square yard (27,7 x 27,7 meters). It is enclosed from three sides by a roundabout corridor. On one side of the yard, there is a deep four-column *aiwan* (gallery). At the interior of the aiwan there is a passage leading to the circular corridor, in the side-wings of the aiwan there are small rooms. Towards the axis of the aiwan but opposite it, there is a large rectangular hall the ceiling of which supported by two columns.

Adjacent to this hall was a rectangular elongated room for offerings. The hall and this room encircled by a corridor linked with the main circular corridor.

Along with the Western segment of the circular corridor there are eight rooms forming three separate cells. The most interesting is the Northern one, which included a square room with pilasters and columns. Here most precious things were found including a gold trefoil.

The walls of the building are massive, domes and large ones (square-shaped and rectangular) by ceilings resting on columns cover narrow rooms. The thresholds of the main rooms are made of exquisitely decorated stone tiles. High stone columns the complex bases of which were standing on two-stepped pedestal decorated the aiwan (gallery). Particularly impressive were the capitals built in Corinthian order.

The two-columned hall beyond the aiwan, along with the adjacent room with the fire sanctuary, was probably the cult center of the complex and the three-part cell mentioned above served as the reception hall and palace chapel. The construction of the complex dates from the II century B.C.³⁵

On the territory of Tajikistan, in the Greco-Bactrian times there were many other urban settlements. Such, for example, is the site of Kei-Qobad-shah near the present day district center Qubadian. In plan, it is rectangular (285 X 315 meters). Massive wall with protruding right-angled towers surrounds it on all sides. The wall is made of pakhsha raw bricks with merlons at the top. Inside the city, several square and rectangular rooms have been dug out, the walls of which are covered with white plaster. Kei-Qobad-shah did not contain a citadel.

Not far away from this settlement there was another one inside the same district center, at the present site of Kalay-i-Mir. Here, during excavations a copper foundry, a large number of household articles and coins were found.³⁶ A special place, among the archaeological monuments of Tajikistan, is occupied by Kuhna-Qala (to the south of Kolkhozabad). It is a bit smaller than Kei-Qobad-shah and consists of two parts: the main rectangular and the other one in irregular form is adjacent to it. The site is located at a strategically convenient place on the precipice of the terrace of the Vakhsh. Inside the walls a compact construction was going on which represented a combination of mutually, connected corridor-type rooms with different in size, rectangular and square, premises.

As the excavations show, Kuhna-Qala's construction was not complete. Maybe it was being built at the end of the existence of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom and the onslaught of the nomads did not allow completion of its construction.

³⁵ Litvinsky B.A. and Mukhitdinov Kh, 1969.

³⁶ Dyakonov M.M., 1953, p. 272 and next; 1959, pp. 57-66.

Kuhna-Qala as well as Kei-Qobad-shah allows us to reconstruct ancient Bactrian fortification. Closely built rectangular towers represented powerful military installations. Special projections — pilasters covered their surface as well as the surface of the walls. Lines of loopholes were both actual and fictitious. Special installation and high tower before it strengthened the entrance.³⁷

As is known Samarkand and Sogd suffered heavily from Macedonian invasions. Nevertheless, here life was gradually coming back to normal and further development had taken place. In particular, considerable achievements were made in ceramic production. In general, the handicrafts in this period attained considerable growth. Along with the products of the local craftsmen, the products of the Hellenic craftsmen were also available in the market. A mutual enrichment of culture took place, which helped further rise in quality and level of local handicrafts, which in turn considerably influenced the handicrafts of the entire Hellenic East. All these processes are noticeable in the production of ceramics and in construction activities.

In agriculture, too, significant results were achieved. Old sources provide much information about the favorable natural conditions in Bactria. Grains were produced here (it was considered that the grains produced locally were of a big size) in particular rice was grown, there were orchards and vineyards and cattle breeding was quite developed. Undoubtedly, in Bactria and Sogd there was a network of irrigation canals. Above, while examining the political history, we referred to coins many times. In present (1970) the text of "Indo-Greek coins corps" composed by Indian scholar A.N. Lahiri³⁸ is the most comprehensive and systematic survey. Lahiri did not use collections in the Soviet museums and publications on this topic. Greco-Bactrian kings minted coins from gold, silver and copper. Besides, there were coins of alloy of copper and nickel. Many silver Greco-Bactrian coins have survived.

The front side of these coins usually depicted the portrait of the king and on the other side that of a deity (Apollo, Arthemida, Athen, Demetr, Dioskur, Hekat, Helios, Heracle, Zeus, Nika, Poseydon). These Hellenistic deities, as A.N. Lahiri writes, "sometimes carried features characteristic of their Eastern counterparts - doubles".

On the early Greco-Bactrian coins, the inscription included only the king's title and the name of the king. Eukratid was the first who introduced the epithet "Great" on the coins and Antimach started calling himself "God". During Eukratid's reign bilingual inscriptions on the coins appeared for the first time. The Greek legend usually depicted, on the backside, was shifted to the front side and on the backside; there appears the literal Prakrit translation in Kharoshthi script. In some cases, however, the inscription did not coincide. On the copper coins of the two later Indo-Greek rulers, the other Indian script Brahmi was used.³⁹

The question of weight standard of the Greco-Bactrian coins is quite complicated. A part of Greco-Bactrian coins fits into the weight-scheme based on

³⁷ Litvinsky B.A., 1956 a; Kuzmina E.E. and Pevzner S.B., 1956.

³⁸ Lahiri A.N., 1965, p. 27.

³⁹ Lahiri A.N., 1965, pp. 38-42, 256-282.

the Greek-Attic system with the weight of gold units equal to 132 grains, i.e., 8.2 grams. Exactly the same is the weight of the gold coins of Diodot I and II, Eutidem I and Eukratid. However, Greco-Bactrian coins, not always and in all respects, followed the Attic weight standard. The other weight systems were also used. Their origin and economic effect of their use is subject of discussion.⁴⁰

The abundance of Greco-Bactrian coins undisputedly proves the existence of developed trade exchange. Judged by latest archaeological findings the international trade was widespread, in particular, in the Hellenistic world. At the same time, the coins were used for internal trade as well. This is supported by written sources, also. Foreign observers noted that the Bactrian's are "skillful in trade". In Bactria, there existed a very big bazar.⁴¹

The information about spiritual culture is scattered and fragmentary in character. But even then it is evident that Greco-Bactria was one of the cultural centers of that world. On the territory of Bactria, there existed highly developed original-centuries old culture. Extremely fruitful was the contact of the Bactrian civilization with the richest culture of India and with the Hellene culture and Hellenistic East.

A very high level of development was attained by the Greco-Bactrian art. Its most knowledgeable expert K.V. Trever wrote about coins of the Greco-Bactrian kings: "... the depiction of the kings on the Greco-Bactrian coins is distinguished by great skill. The stamps for them were made by renowned artists who were able to reflect in miniature depiction the realistic portrait not just expressing the individual traits of the person but also throwing light in some small details on the characteristic peculiarities of one or another person". In her opinion, in the cities of Bactria, there ought to have been the statues by the remarkable Greek sculptor Lisipp — the author of widespread sculptural portraits of Alexander of Macedonia. His creations were distinguished by great realism. Hellenistic sculpture of III century B.C. was developing under the influence of Lisipp and his school. The same is true of Bactria. In any case, on the Ai-Khanum site Hellenistic sculptures have been discovered. So far as the coins are concerned, continues K.V. Trever, "it is possible that among the model makers there were Greeks also, but taking into account the fact that the Greco-Bactrian coins, by their particular, freshness of depicting of the portrait features, and by their ability to express the thought as well as tenderness and force and stubbornness, are different from the Greek coins of their time, there is a possibility that the stamps were made by "local master, Greek or Bactrian, who had adopted the best from Lisipp".⁴²

We also know about the remarkable creations of the Bactrian embellishment art. The walls of the rooms were decorated by paintings, stone and metallic reliefs, etc.

As already mentioned, for this period the wide cultural links of Bactria with the Hellenistic world and India are characteristic, which left their influence on the religious faiths, also. It was then that Buddhism penetrated into Central Asia.

⁴⁰ Lahiri A.N., 1965, pp. 13-18.

⁴¹ Bichurin, II, p. 152.

⁴² Trever K.V., 1940, pp. 40-41.

This does not mean that Zoroastrianism had lost its position. To the center of Bactria the city of Bactra — where Zoroastrianism was widely recognized, numerous pilgrims were coming. Here there was the main temple of fire, the temple of Goddess Ardisura Anahita, in which her statue with gold crown on her head and clothes in thirty beaver furs stood along with the temples of other gods. Perhaps the sanctuary of the complex of Saksan-Okhur was Zoroastrian.

There is no doubt that in Bactria there were Greek temples also as there lived sizeable Greek population and the rulers of the Greco-Bactrian State were themselves Greeks. One evidence of this is the pictures of the Greek gods stamped on the reverse side of the coins. Their list we have given above) The Greek cult constructions, found during the excavation were on the Ai-Khanum site.

Thus in Greco-Bactria there existed different religions. From the Milinda-Panha (1, 3) we know about religious tolerance in the Indian City of Shakala. There "words of welcome were addressed on the streets to the preacher of any religion". It is likely that the same was the case in Bactria itself; and there is no basis to doubt that the main part of the local Bactrian population practiced Zoroastrianism. Perhaps the Greek population was also influenced by it.

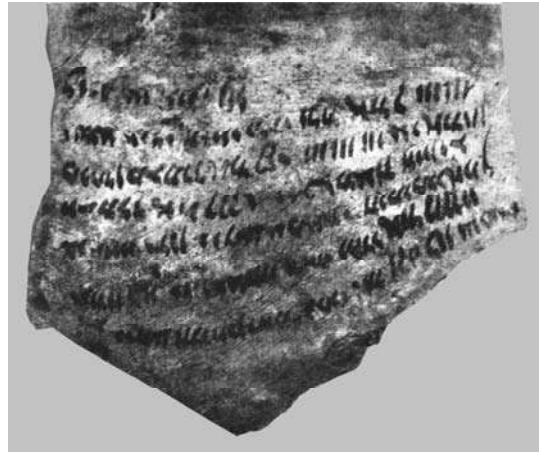
THE PARTHIAN KINGDOM

In contrast with the Greco-Bactria, much more is known about the internal system of the Parthian state, in particular, if not to confine ourselves to the chronological limits of this chapter and keep in mind the later materials. Old authors have preserved some information. Epigraphically monuments and others also give a great deal of information. The discovery in one of the largest centers of the Parthian Kingdom — Nisa — (near Ashqabad) of the great archive of special documents has a special significance.

In the Parthian state, the king's power was to some extent limited by the preference of two councils — the council of clan aristocracy and the council of priest-magicians. In the council of clan aristocracy, along with the representatives of the ruling house of Arshakids, were included perhaps the representatives of six noble clans. The two councils from the representatives of the ruling dynasty, keeping in mind the will of the late king, selected the king.

In the state were included small dependent kingdoms (for example, Heerkania or Sakastan) the rulers of which sometimes minted their own coins (Elam, Persida) and satrapies (they were comparatively small) headed by the satraps (Khshakhrap or Nakhvadar). The satrapies were divided into *giparhis* and the latter into *statms*. Positions higher than satraps were occupied by *marzpans*, to who group of satraps were subordinated.⁴³

⁴³ Perikhanyan A.G., 1956, pp. 50-51; Dyakonov I.M., 1961, pp. 194-197.



Parthian Ostracon. Nisa Archive I c. B.C.

Valuable materials for understanding the mechanism of the local administration functioning in North-Eastern Parthia were obtained by I.M. Dyakonov and V.A. Livshits during the deciphering and research of the archive from old Nisa. In local places, there existed ramified administrative unit *diz* – fortified settlement, (in Tajik language this word means "fort") at the head of which stood its chief — *dizpat*. Dizpats were subordinated to satrap. In the twenties of the II century B.C. there ruled a satrap, Kofezat. They are known by name the chief military commander of the cavalry Tiridat, several "treasurers" "horseman Sasan". In the collection of taxes and preservation of foodstuffs, a whole army of officials took part. Thus in the collection of taxes, in the form of wine in the royal stores — madustans — officials carrying the titles: "wine supplier, seal applier", "clerk", "accountant" and "table keeper" participated. In the privileged class, "magicians" were also included; the priest Sposak-aturshpat ("The lord of fire") is mentioned.⁴⁴ The task of the local bureaucracy was, first of all, to exact possible maximum taxes and duties from the people and keeps them in obedience.

On considerable parts of the fertile lands in Southern Turkmenistan, as is evident from the documents of the Nisa archive, there existed "estates" consisting of "vineyards". Lands were divided into several categories. Corresponding natural taxes for the king were collected from them. A special tax (partly in kind and partly in money) was collected for maintenance of fire — a type of church tax.

In the center, in the fortress of Mehrdatkirt (now it is the settlement of old Nisa), there were large royal wine stores, and here supplied wine was poured into large khums and entered in the receipt book. Material for writing, fragments of vessels were used which was a label on which marks were made ("sour", "poured into the other vessels", etc.) In the documents the quality of wine the name of vineyard and of the estate, the name and designation of the supplier, date, grade of the wine, etc. were mentioned. Such detailed documents were composed during

⁴⁴ Dyakonov I.M. and Livshits V.A., 1960a pp. 22-23; 1966, pp. 141-143, 146.

70 years. Besides them, there are summary records, lists and demands for the supply of wines.⁴⁵

Until recently, only the cities of Western Parthia, their city construction and culture were studied. From the documents found there it is known that the cities, at least the large ones, had bodies of self-rule. Agriculture district was also included in the city. Sometimes the cities minted their own coins.

Thanks to the excavations by Soviet archaeologists, the cities and settlements of North-Eastern Parthia have become known for the first time. In particular, excavation extending over many years was conducted in two nearby settlements of Nisa in the village of Bagir (close to Ashqabad). The settlement of old Nisa appears to be the royal sanctuary and the settlement of new Nisa — the remnant of the Parthian city itself.

The fortress of old Nisa consisted of royal palaces (including their household services), cult buildings, places for residences of guards and nobles. The fortress was in the shape of pentagon and was encircled by a powerful wall, the thickness of which at the base was 9 meters. In the Southern corner in a giant tower, the top area of which was a square measuring 35 x 35 meters, there was an entire citadel, one of the main points of defense of the fortress. The walls and towers were made of pakhsa and raw bricks reinforced by straw. It assumed that one could enter the fortress through the long narrow and inclined slope paths going alongside the walls.

The central place inside the fortress was the huge square hall with an area of 400 square meters. In the center of the hall there were four powerful columns made of baked bricks. The body of each column was like a bundle of four semi-columns. Along the perimeter stood the semi-columns. Semi-columns attached to the walls also decorated the second tier of the walls and in the space between them in the niches; there stood large statues made of clay (higher than the human height). The walls of the second tier were covered by bright red plaster and colorful ornamental paintings, gilding also was used. The floor was of alabaster, ceiling wooden, with a hole for light in the center for the only source of light. The power of the central columns raising upwards, the splendor of the sculpture and of the classical architectural finishing and magnificence could not but astonish everyone who visited this complex. Among the specialists — architects and archaeologists — a discussion is going on about the functions of this grand complex. Some of them assume that this huge hall is the hall of audience of the Parthian kings; others are of the more plausible view that this square hall is a monument of temple architecture of the gigantic temple of fire constructed in honor of the idolized ancestors.

Besides the temple complex, in Mehrdatkirt, there were many other constructions, in particular, wine stores having capacity of more than half a million liters and the royal treasure house — a closed square construction (60 x 60 meters).

In one of the rooms, many articles were found made of ivory, mainly vessels for drinking wine resembling horns. The upper side of these vessels carry a border with relief depictions of Dionysian episodes, gods etc. The lower part of

⁴⁵ Dyakonov I.M. and Livshits V.A., 1960b pp. 16-20; 1966, pp. 134-136.

these vessels is designed in the shape of sculptures. Sculptures made of baked clay (including gilded ones) bronze, marble, and silver were also found.

Such are the silver gilded figures of Parthian goddess, silver figure of godhead Eros with golden bracelets. The Parthian monuments of Nisa, according to G.A. Koshelenko, are "characterized by organic fusion of two main "sources": local, coming from the depth of cultural tradition of Iranian-speaking peoples of the Near East and Central Asia, and the Hellenistic."⁴⁶

A special place among the discoveries at old Nisa belongs to, the already mentioned above numerous Parthian documents mainly related to taxes written on clay fragments.

In the second settlement — New Nisa — were found the ruins of the temple and burial chamber.⁴⁷

The Nisa archive helped to understand deeply not only the administrative and taxation system but also the spiritual culture of North-Eastern Parthia. The documents are written in Arameic script. It may be recalled that this script was used in the Achaemenid offices. While deciphering these documents I.M. Dyakonov and V.A. Livshits from the beginning faced the fact that some words were Arameic and others were Parthians, and the same meanings appeared in both Arameic and Parthian words. The syntax of the documents is Parthian not Arameic; Parthian words have no Arameic grammar indicators but Parthian only. All this led the researchers to the conclusion that the Arameic words at that time were merely ciphers heterograms of their kind. They were not read in Arameic, and after seeing this or other group of signs, the scribe pronounced the corresponding Parthian word. It was not very easy to learn such a script. The students exercised a lot before they were entrusted with the writing of documents. Training exercise books have been found written on clay fragments (the other material, leather, was too expensive to be used during the studies).

So far as the religion is concerned the Parthian kingdom presented a very colorful picture. Besides the local cult of the sun God Mithra and the cult of the founder of the dynasty of Arshak, the Greek cults, Zoroastrianism, Judaism and later Christianity were spread here. Zoroastrianism occupied the leading place.

In the documents from Nisa two hundred names are mentioned; any of them could have been that of orthodox Zoroastrian, and many are purely Zoroastrian. The calendar was also Zoroastrian.

The priest Sposak has already been mentioned. He bore the title of "Lord of Fire". The common magicians are also mentioned. In the documents, figure the nameless temples of Fraat and Nanaya. Possibly the temple households also existed. Syncretism of Parthian religion manifested itself for inclusion in the Parthian pantheon of alien gods. Thus, Nanaya is ancient Mesopotamian moon god known from the times of Sumer. Later it spread to Assyria and subsequently penetrated into Iran from one side and into Armenia, Syria, and Egypt and even into Greece from the other. In the West its fusion with other gods, in particular, with Greek Artemis is noticed. Nanaya (Anahita) was later seen in the Kushan

⁴⁶ Koshelenko G.A., 1966, p. 40.

⁴⁷ For publication of Parthian monuments of Southern Turkmenia, see: "Trudy UTAKE"; Masson M.E. and Pugachenkova G.A., 1959, pp. 22-117.

and Sogdian pantheon. The name of this god shifted to the Shugnan language where "Nan" is for "Mother".

In connection with the documents from Nisa the question of the Parthian calendar has appeared again. The starting point in it was the year corresponding to 247 B.C. In the documents of Nisa, the dates are according to the Zoroastrian (Young Avestan) calendar. As is known it came into use in Iran from the second half of the V century B.C. and was created on the model of Egyptian solar calendar. The year was divided into 365 days, twelve months (of thirty days each) plus five additional days. The names of the days and months in it are the Parthian forms of names of Zoroastrian gods.⁴⁸

Iranian medieval chroniclers, in every possible way, ignored the entire centuries — old period of the Parthian Kingdom. They presented it tendentiously as a dark period of usurper's power. However, in the mind of the people the memory of this period is preserved in original form: the word "Pahlavan" acquired common meaning of an epic hero and expression of "Pahlavian narration" "Pahlavian song" took the meaning of fairy tale narration or ancient song.

The entire literature in the Middle Persian language of the period of III-VII centuries A.D. also acquired the designation Pahlavian.

The history of Parthian kingdom, covering five hundred years in the second half of its existence, was unfolding mainly on the territory of Iran and Mesopotamia and partly transcends the bounds of history of the ancestors of the peoples of Central Asia.

THE OTHER REGIONS OF CENTRAL ASIA

One of the most important agriculture regions of Central Asia-Fergana — as it follows from the accounts of the end of the II century B.C. had a highly developed economy in the preceding period, as well synchronizing with the Greco-Bactrian Period. It is true, that we can speak about this only by projecting the information of the end of II century B.C. As for the monuments of the III-II century B.C. they have practically not been discovered in Fergana.

The inclusion of Fergana in the Greco-Bactrian kingdom is questionable. On the basis of one observation in Strabo's work (XI, II, I) many scholars contended that Fergana was a part of Greco-Bactria. But the proof supporting is vulnerable.⁴⁹

In Fergana the coins of Eutidem, Demetriy and imitations of the mint of Heliokl have been discovered. Of course these coins, as the Greco-Bactrian coins, found in Parthian Nisa could have reached there as a result of trade.

⁴⁸About documents from Nisa see: *Dyakonov I.M., Dyakonov M.M., Livshits V.A.*, 1951 and the works of *I.M. Dyakonov* and *V.A. Livshits* cited above. For general characteristics of the Parthian religion on the basis of written sources see *Unvala G.M.*, 1925. For the cult of Nanaya in the East see: *Ingholt H.*, 1954, pp. 12-14.

⁴⁹In this connection besides the works of W. Tarn and A.K. Narain see: also *Barthold V.V.*, 1964b; *Altheim F.*, 1947-1948, pp. 315-317.

Khwarezm which had not suffered much from foreign intrusions was in the II-I century B.C., a powerful independent state. Written sources do not inform about it but the monuments discovered by the Khwarezmian expedition are indisputably proof of it. Let us dwell at length on one of them. Janbas-Qala represents the regular rectangle surrounded by powerful double walls. The entrance, on the defense of which particular attention was paid, consisted of a passage with five bends additionally reinforced by the loopholes in the interior walls. In the absence of towers, the loopholes are situated in a fan-like system and in the walls are semi-circular niches with three loopholes, which allowed shooting along the walls. For better shooting of the enemy, the loopholes were set into depth and below them were sloped furrows.



Township of Koi-Krylgan-Qala (IV c. B.C. – IV c. A.D.)

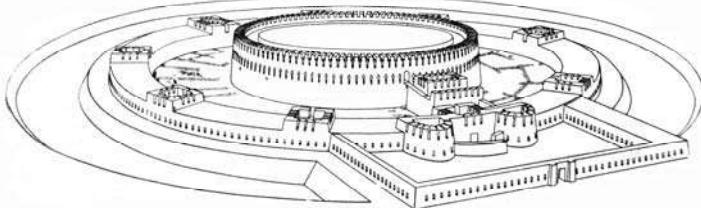
Because of this, the walls give the impression of being covered by semi-columns.

The existence of a large number of loopholes in the fortress walls makes us assume that the entire population was drawn into its defense. In general, the whole system of fortification testifies to the existence of a single plan for defense of the oasis from the raids of the nomads.

The division of the city into two parts is typical. The «House of Fire» — the center of the social cult of the inextinguishable fire closed the main street dividing the city into two parts from the side opposite the gate. On both sides of the main street, there were giant houses, i.e., residential constructions consisting of a large number of rooms approximately of one size.⁵⁰

One of the most interesting constructions in Khwarezm is Koi-Krylgan-Qala. In contrast to the common square and rectangular constructions, Koi-Krylgan – Qala has the appearance of a separately standing cylindrical tower with a diameter of 42 meters which is surrounded by a round wall (diameter of the external circle is 87.5 meters.) with towers. The central cylindrical construction consisted of two storeys twice reconstructed. The circular courtyard was gradually covered with buildings.

⁵⁰ Tolstov S.P., 1948 a, pp. 88-98.



Township of Koi-Krylgan-Qala (reconstructed)

During excavations, different materials were discovered, including a large number of **khums** used for storing water and food. On the walls were highly artistic reliefs, (depiction of griffins, horse-riders, women etc.) — numerous statues made of clay and alabaster recreate the Gods of Khwarezmian pantheon; there are also depictions of household. Some of the statues are extremely realistic. Several inscriptions from III-II centuries B.C. and written in Arameic script were discovered. On one of them, there is a name the basis of which is the word **aspa**, ("horse") the name apparently means "horse rider".

At Koi-Krylgan-Qala were discovered the fragments and tens of **ossuaries** — store of bones and burial mask. In the vicinities were found a large number of **ossuaries** — made of square clay boxes, carrying on the top sculptural depiction of a man (sometimes in natural size).⁵¹

In the opinion of researchers of Koi-Krylgan-Qala "the central building was constructed as the burial place in the first place for the performance of cremation rites. This peculiar "house of the dead" was burnt down along with the corpse of a nobleman prince or maybe even the Khwarezmian king. The ashes of the dead and perhaps of the persons accompanying him to the other world were taken out of the fire and put into ossuary. Afterwards the complex became the center for the funeral service, subsequently turning into a large temple and also a center of astral cult and astronomical observations".⁵²

These conclusions are interesting though debatable, yet there is no doubt that Koi-Krylgan-Qala is an outstanding monument of the culture of Central Asia.

Nomadic and semi settled tribes occupied large steppe belt, foothills and the zone of alpine meadows. Near the Aral region, in the area between the two rivers Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya, they were under the influence of Khwarezmian culture. It is here that they took to a settled life. The nobility of the nomads had fortified settlements. Nomadic Saks tribes occupied the regions on the right bank of the Syr-Darya and in its middle course, the Southern Kazakh steppe, the Northern Kyrgyzstan, the periphery of Fergana Valley and partly in its internal regions and the Eastern Pamirs. They were closely linked in economic, political

⁵¹ Rapoport Iu.A., 1971, pp. 64-66.

⁵² Tolstov S.P., 1962, pp. 117-135. See also: "Koi-Krylgan-Qala", 1967.

and cultural spheres with the regions of full settlers; at the same time, they were simultaneously part of the vast sea of the nomadic tribes spreading from Mongolia to the Southern Russian steppes.

* * *

We know only vaguely the visible contours of the history of Central Asia in the III-II centuries B.C. It is not just the case that the political events of this period are appearing like separate stills of a lost cinema film. The sequence of these stills is not clear to us — the cause of one or the other phenomenon is, as a rule, absolutely not known. The political history of Greco-Bactria continues to be dark and incomprehensible. Exactly a hundred years ago Russian orientalist V.V. Grigoriev, after critically examining the different attempts to "sort out" the names of Greco-Bactrian rulers known from the coins noted sadly: "by such combinations which were concocted, in this manner, the historical knowledge does not move a step further".⁵³ Over the past hundred years, the quantity of the Greco-Bactrian coins has risen considerably. Other reconstructions have appeared of Greco-Bactrian history, which is bolder than those of the numismatists of the first half of the XIX century. The boldness of these attempts, particularly of W.W. Tarn, is based not on some confirmed facts but on arbitrarily constructed matrimonial alliances and considerations about the kinship of one or the other character on the basis of comparison of their portraits and extended interpretation of the sources etc. Excessive subjectivism led W.W. Tarn to the creation of a completely inadequate picture of Greco-Bactrian history. We are not going to completely reject the importance of the work of the outstanding British historian. There are many valuable observations and materials in it. We wish to underline only one thing: There are limits by crossing which a historian is risking to become a novelist. And this happened with W.W. Tarn.

At the same time the economic and cultural characterization of Greco-Bactria, thanks to the works of the archaeologists and numismatists, has now acquired adequately concrete and distinct contours.

We should dwell upon another question also. In the Western literature the role and importance of the Greco-Hellenistic culture in the development of Central Asia is extremely exaggerated. Some scholars maintain that the socio-economic development of Central Asia, after the Greco-Macedonian conquest, owes to the Greek influence that the cities, particularly fortified ones emerged only after the advent of the Greeks, etc.

In the works of Soviet scholars, particularly in the earlier published works of the author, this concept sharply criticized. The internal causes of the deep socio-economic processes are the main factor determining the development of Central Asian society. Archaeological discoveries have simultaneously enabled to bring out also the features of the deeply original culture of the Bactrians, Khwarezmians, Sogdians and other peoples of Central Asia.

However, in this just criticism of the unfounded bourgeois concepts some scholars have gone to the other extreme of not showing adequately the

⁵³ Grigoriev V.V., 1867 b, pp. 774-775.

importance and fruitfulness of socio-economic cultural contacts between the Greco-Hellenistic world and Central Asia by denying the existence on its territory of the large Greek settlements.

The Greeks came to Central Asia as conquerors but they remained there, by no means, only as part of the military contingent. The Greek population of the Central Asia, Afghanistan and Northern India included artisans and traders, actors and sculptors, physicians and musicians. The development of the slave-owning system received a new impetus in connection with close contacts with the Hellenistic world. The cities here could not but experience the influence of the urban system of the Greek cities founded in Central Asia and the neighboring regions.

Even more considerable was the influence on local culture, spiritual and material. Let us give only one example. The Greek script continued to remain the leading script in Bactria during the millennium after the military campaign of Alexander of Macedonia. In the stone architecture, in sculpture, in the art of jewellery making; etc. — everywhere the mutual interaction of the Hellenistic and local cultures can be traced; the results of this synthesis continued to evolve in subsequent centuries as well. However, contrary to the assertions of many western researchers in this synthesis Central Asian culture was an equal and even leading component. The language of Greek settlers, surrounded by local population, gradually got mixed with the language of the indigenous population of the country. Their culture also acquired a syncretic character. The international trade turnover, the movement of groups of population in the process of trade, wars and transmigration led to wide penetration into the West of the best achievements of Central Asian spiritual and material cultures. Hence, the so-called Hellenistic culture is the creation of the genius of many people's: Hellens, local population of the countries of the near and Middle East and also of the peoples of Central Asia and India.

In addition, one more detail W.W. Tarn viewed that the Greco-Bactria as the vital part of the Hellenistic world as one of the Hellenistic states.⁵⁴ Criticizing this viewpoint A.K. Narain calls the entire history of the Greco-Bactria as history of the "Indo-Greeks", and writes: "Their history is part of the history of India and not of the Hellenistic states; they came, they saw, but India conquered them."⁵⁵

Both these viewpoints are far from the truth. Of course, the history of Greco-Bactria cannot be viewed outside the Seleucid background. It is true that the second half of the history of Greco-Bactria is linked with India. However, the sources of history of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom lie in Central Asia. Here it emerged and (in Afghanistan) it became strong. In fact, the combination of Bactrian and Greek elements created those powerful forces, which could conquer Northern India. Therefore, the Greco-Bactria is first of all Central Asia and Afghanistan as well as India and the Hellenistic world.

⁵⁴ W.W. Tarn., 1950, pp. XIX-XX.

⁵⁵ Narain A.K., 1962, pp. 10-11.

CHAPTER IV

CENTRAL ASIA IN THE KUSHAN PERIOD

1. PARTHIA, GRECO-BACTRIA AND THE NOMADS. EARLY HISTORY OF YUEH – CHIH

THE NOMADS AND PARTHIA

In 138-137 B.C. Fraat ascended the Parthian throne. He was an adolescent and in the beginning, his mother ruled the state. The security of the country demanded the presence of the king in the East. However, suddenly everything changed. The Seleucids attacked the Parthians. The Seleucid troops succeeded in capturing the main part of the Western territories of Parthia, including Babylonia. But the triumph of the Seleucids was not lasting. The inhabitants of the cities, who were ruthlessly exploited and robbed, rebelled and attacked the Seleucid garrisons. Fraat won full victory over the enemy, the Seleucid king perished or committed suicide and Fraat II took his daughter into his harem. This was the last attempt by the Seleucids to regain the Eastern dominion, which once belonged to them. The Parthian troops again entered Babylonia and started preparing for the military campaign against Syria.¹

After this considerable success came the troubled years for the Parthian rulers. Justin (LXII, 1-3) gives the most complete account of this: "... At this time a revolt among the Scythians (Justin thus calls the nomadic Central Asian Saks tribes-B.G.) compelled him (Fraat II-B.G.) to return in order to defend his own state. The fact is that the Scythians summoned on payment for the help of the Parthians against Antioch, the king of Syria but they arrived when the war was already over. They were falsely accused of coming late with their help and were not paid the promised tribute. The Scythians who were unhappy that they had undertaken in vain such a long campaign demanded that either they be paid for their labor or be directed against another enemy. Offended by the arrogant refusal, the Scythians started devastating the Parthian territory. That is why Fraat undertook a military campaign against them..."

The military operations (in 130 B.C.) were unfolding in the following way (Justin, XLII, 1, 4-5): "... Fraat took with him, to the war, the Greek troops which were taken prisoners after the war with Antioch and with whom until then he had behaved arrogantly and rudely... hence, when the Greeks saw that the battle line of the Parthians was shaken, they switched over to the enemy side and

¹ Debevoise N.C., 1938, pp. 27-37.

took their long-awaited revenge for their imprisonment by destroying the Parthian troops in a bloody battle and Fraat himself."

The uncle of the previous ruler Artaban II became the King. As for the Scythians, they plundered Parthia and returned to their nomadic territories (Justin, XLII, 2, 1). The proud Parthia was compelled to pay tribute to them (Ioann Antiochian, Fr.66). But Artaban II tried to free himself from this dependence. He went to war with one of the tribes — Justin calls them Tokhars — was wounded and died shortly thereafter.

This happened in about 123 B.C. The son of Artaban, Mitridat II otherwise known as the Great, occupied the Parthian throne. Only under him the Parthians succeeded in stopping the advance of the Saks tribes and even in winning back from them (may be not the whole) captured territories. Justin informs (XI, II, 1, 5): "Several times he waged the successful wars against the Scythians also and avenged himself for the offences against his predecessors." During the rule of Mitridat II (123-87 B.C.) Parthia attained unprecedented power.

THE PROBLEM OF ORIGIN OF YUEH – CHIH

The events in Greco-Bactria were unfolding in a completely different way. In order to understand them and also the whole situation in Central Asia it is necessary to have a look at the events taking place to the North-East of the territory of Central Asia and reflected in the ancient Chinese sources. The neighbors of the Hunns living on the territory of Mongolia were the people called Yueh-Chih. In the second half of the III century B.C., the Yueh-Chih became very powerful and the ruler of the Hunns was forced to hand over to them his son as hostage.² But then the situation changed. The chief of the Hunns Maodun (or Mode), who created a distinctive military-administrative system of Hunn society turned these nomadic people into a fierce force. Maodun twice undertook military campaigns against China. The Han emperors trembled before him. In 176 B.C., one of the Hunn military leaders defeated the Yueh-Chihs.³ The son of Maodun Laoshan, in the year routed the Yueh-Chihs, killed their ruler and made a drinking bowl out of his skull. The defeated Yueh-Chih went back to the West to East Turkestan and Central Asia.⁴ However, the people living here and known to the Chinese under the name of "Usuni" were themselves dependent on the Hunns to some extent. Perhaps instigated by them the Usuni started fighting with the Yueh-Chihs and were defeated. Afterwards the Yueh-Chihs crushed the Se tribes which advanced towards the South and having crossed the "hanging bridge" (the mountain passes in the South-Eastern Pamirs), penetrated Gibin (the North-Western part of Indostan). The strengthened Usuni in their turn crushed the Yueh-Chihs, which compelled them to start moving towards Darya-Bactria.⁵

² Bichurin, I, pp. 46-47.

³ Ibid, pp. 54-55.

⁴ Bichurin, II, pp. 147-151.

⁵ Bichurin, II, pp. 151, 190-191; De Groot, 1926, p. 15, 123. The history of the Hunns and their mutual relations with the neighbors have been highlighted in detail in many works, see for

As West European scholar G. Haloun writes, "It is very difficult to date both parts of the journey of the Yueh-Chihs. The assumption of the Japanese scholar I. Kuwabara that the Yueh-Chihs migrated to the North of Central Asia between 172-161 B.C. and went to the South towards the region of the Amu-Darya, between 139-129 B.C., is more accurate.⁶ Moreover, in the region of contemporary Samarkand they arrived between 133-129 B.C.⁷

The Yueh-Chihs arriving in Central Asia were named Dayueh-Chihs (the "Great Yueh-Chih"). Those who settled in Eastern Turkestan were named "Small Yueh-Chih".

The sources of antiquity present these events in a completely different way. They merely do not know many things because the events of inner Asia remained unknown to them. Strabo (XI, 8, 2) writes, "of these nomads became known those who took away Bactriana from the Greeks, that is, Asii, Pasians, Tokhars and Sakarauls who migrated from the region across the other bank of Yaxartes near the region of Saks and Sogdians occupied by Saks" In the prologue to XLII, book of Pompey Trog there is such a phrase: "Asii are the kings of Tokhars and destructors of Sarauks"; in the book XLI there is another phrase where it is particularly stated: "...Bactria and Sogdiana were seized by Scythian tribes of Sarauks and Asians".

This in fact is that no Yueh-Chihs mentioned here. At the same time, it is clear that the Chinese, as well as the Western sources are speaking about the same events, which led to the destruction of Greco-Bactria.

Attempts to reconcile these two groups of sources comparing the peoples and tribes mentioned here with one another and other ethnic (and geographical) Central Asian names have been made since the middle of the XVIII century. At the same time, it is still far away from reaching a final solution.

An assumption has been made that in the text of Strabo the scribes made a distortion and that initially there was not "... the Asiis, Pasorans..." but the "Asiis or Asians", that was completely understandable graphically. Then there are just two forms of the names of the same people. As for the people mentioned by Strabo as "Sakarauls" it is identical with "Sarauks" of Pompey Trog. Comparing these two names many linguists on the basis of other references think that the correct name was "Sakarauks" originating from the word "Sakaravaka" ("fast moving Saks")⁸ reconstructed by them.

Thus, let us sum up result:

example: *McGovern W.M.*, 1939, pp. 116-129; *Bernshtam A.N.*, 1951, pp. 57-71; *Gumilev L.N.*, 1960b, pp. 63-94. The Usun "vendetta" against the Yueh-Chih, according to some contemporary historians, is the invention of the Chinese chronicles and lacks any historical basis *Pulleyblank E.G.*, 1970, pp. 158-159.

⁶ For summary of the researches of Japanese scholar, see: *Haloun G.*, 1937, pp. 246-249.

⁷ *Rerich U.N.*, 1963, p. 120.

⁸ About this see: *Litvinsky B.A.* 1960 b, pp. 92-93 (Ibid. the literature on the question). But there are many other explanations, particularly by *E.A. Grantovsky* who in his address at the International conference on the Kushan problems in Dushanbe (1968) offered the etymology of the "White (light colored) Saks".

Asii	Asii
Pasiāns (Asians)	Asians
Tokhars	Tokhars
Sakarauls (= Sakaraauks)	Saraauks (= Sakaraauks)

Let us look at the Chinese sources. In them figure Usuni, Se and Dayueh-Chih. The ethnonym "Usun" in the Middle Chinese language should sound as "Uosuan" and in the ancient Chinese language as "O-sw-n". Often it has stated that Usun is for Asii in the Chinese; thus, for example, A.N. Bernshtam upheld such an opinion in a very categorical form.⁹ Besides the similarity of sound here, there is a certain parallelism in the sources: according to the Chinese sources, Usunis devastated the Yueh-Chihs, according to Pompey Trog — Asis — the Kings of Tokhars destroyed the Sakaraus.

However, everything is not so simple. A great expert on sources, I. Marquart, sharply denied the possibility of such identification.¹⁰ G. Haloun rightly stated that according to the Chinese sources, Usuns continued to live in the Semirechiye and in the Tien Shan and there are no indications of their migration to South of Central Asia, while according to authors of antiquity the Asis migrated distinctly to the South. Hence he considers that the equation Usuni = Asis is "problematical".¹¹ It must be added that according to the conclusions of the noted contemporary foreign expert of Chinese historical linguistics E. Pulleyblank the equation Usuni=Asis (or Asians) is impossible also from the historical-linguistic point of view.¹² Thus, the often-found assertions in the literature including the special literature that, the Usunis are identical with Asis-Asians, is simply guesswork with no substance in it.

As for *Se*, this name should sound like "*Sek*" in the period we are talking about. Now it generally recognized that these are the Saks of ancient Persia and antique sources. Let us dwell on the Yueh-Chihs, the main character of this historical drama. On the pronunciation of the name by the Chinese in the ancient times, there is no agreement among the Sinologists. Earlier it thought that their name once pronounced as *ngint-tsie* or *ngiwat-tia*, which meant foreign name for the Chinese, as *got-ti*, *gut-ti*, *geti* etc.¹³ Now Pulleyblank proves that such an understanding would have been justified for a much later period; and in the epoch when the Yueh-Chih fell into the field of vision of the Chinese sources, their Chinese name should have reflected a sort of the name *Ywati*.¹⁴

All these linguistic nuances have great importance. Depending on how the name Yueh-Chihs was pronounced in the ancient times, they are compared with one or another people famous in the sources of antiquity.

⁹ Bernshtam A.N., 1947 a, p. 43.

¹⁰ Marquart I., 1901, p. 204, Anm. 5.

¹¹ Haloun G., 1937, pp. 252-254.

¹² Pulleyblank E.G., 1966 a, p. 29.

¹³ Maenchen-Helfen O., 1945, p. 77.

¹⁴ Pulleyblank E.G., 1966 a, pp. 17-18.

From the first half of the XIX century a hypothesis exists in minding to which the Yueh-Chihs are the Massagetae. Among the Soviet scholars, S.P. Tolstov worked out this hypothesis.

He proceeded from the assumption that the guess of O. Franke that a part of the Massagetae moved away from Central Asia to North-East is an indisputable fact though actually it has not been proved. He interpreted the name «Massagetae» as the "great Gets" and as that time it was established that the "great Yueh-Chih" ought to be pronounced as "great Gwats" or Gats, S.P. Tolstov stated that the Yueh-Chihs are the Massagetae.¹⁵ This concept built on mistaken and unproved assumptions and Tolstov hastily declared other possibilities and explanations as "biased and pseudo-scientific constructions."

In the "History of the Tajik People" the constructions of supporters of the equation of the Yueh-Chihs = Massagetae have been highlighted in detail and at the same time it is noted that among the Soviet scholars there are opponents of this equation, in particular I.I. Umnyakov.¹⁶ It may be observed that the question of correct etymology of the word "Massagetae" has not been solved until now.

In their time I. Marquart and E.G. Pulleyblank considered it possible that in the ancient pronunciation of Yueh-Chih (Ywati) was reflected the name of tribes Yatis which Ptolemy (VI, 12) puts besides Tokhars.¹⁷

So far as the Tokhars are concerned their name sometime is compared with that of the country Dawan. In ancient times, it should have pronounced as Dawayan. Such a sounding could have reflected the local name "Taxwar" (Tokhars)¹⁸. In the historical literature, there is a firm opinion that Dawan is Fergana. There seems to be no cause for reexamining this assumption. The old and new attempts to "shift" Dawan (to Pamirs and Eastern Turkestan) appear completely unconvincing.

The authors of the IV and later centuries translated the word Yueh-Chihs invariably as "Tokhars"¹⁹, which further confirms the links between the Tokhars and the Yueh-Chihs.

Lately, there is a growing tendency to link the Yueh-Chihs and the Tokhars with those group of population of Eastern Turkestan whose medieval descendants have left manuscripts written in two languages (or dialects) — manuscripts of the "Tokhars". These languages have nothing in common with either Indian or Iranian languages though they are Indo-European languages. Among the Soviet scholars, particularly U.M. Rerich and V.V. Ivanov support this point of view.²⁰

Japanese scholar K. Enoki tried to avoid the complication in the following way: he proceeded from the fact that the antique and Chinese sources throw light on not only the same events but on two consecutive stages of conquest of Bactria. The antique sources inform about the much early stage while the Chinese dealt

¹⁵ Tolstov S.P., 1948 a, pp. 242-245.

¹⁶ Umnyakov I.I., 1940, 1946.

¹⁷ Marquart I., 1901, p. 206; Pulleyblank E.G., 1966 a, p. 22.

¹⁸ Pulleyblank E.G., 1966 a, p. 22.

¹⁹ Rerich U.N., 1963, p. 122.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 122-125; Ivanov V.V., 1967.

with the much later stage. In such a case, there is no need for identifying the Yueh-Chihs with any of the people mentioned in the sources of antiquity. As for the Yueh-Chihs, Enoki following G. Haloun, suggest to consider them as Scythians. He assumes that the carriers of the Pazyryk culture were included in the Yueh-Chih state. "In my opinion", writes K. Enoki, "the Yueh-Chihs of III century B.C. were very similar in their territory and power to the Turks of the VI-VII centuries and the so called migration Yueh-Chihs was not the migration of the groups of people from one place to another but extension of the Eastern and Northern frontiers of the Yueh-Chih state."²¹ It deserves to be noted that the linguistic side of the equation Yueh-Chihs = Scythians has now been criticized by A. Pulleyblank; the other side of this hypothesis is also highly vulnerable.

Overall, the Yueh-Chih problem received a forceful impetus as a result of the linguistic researches of the scholars of different countries, including Soviet during the last half a century. A considerable collection of material has taken place. Many contradictory hypotheses and theories have appeared. To unite all these information's, facts and observations in a single picture has not been possible so far. Perhaps, the creation of such a synthesized picture will remain the work for the future.

Evaluating all that has been done in this sphere, it is necessary to note the growing importance of archaeological material for resolving this problem. In contrast to presentation of the role of mutual relations of China-Hunns-Yueh-Chihs in the events linked to the end of the Greco-Bactria, S.P. Tolstov comes out with his own concepts: "...On the whole the conquests of Bactria by the "barbarians" is depicted as the movement of the tribes, first of all, of the Near-Aral region, in the Southern direction against their traditional enemies".²² In our opinion it were the developments on the territories distant from Central Asia which led to the intrusion into the Northern Central Asian regions of the big masses of the nomad Yueh-Chih that resulted in drawing into the movement of bigger masses of Central Asian nomadic tribes and peoples. There began a chain reaction of its kind. However, it could flow with such intensity, only because continuing this comparison in the "cauldron" a "critical moment" had reached.

ASSAULT ON GRECO-BACTRIA

In 206 B.C. several decades before the Yueh-Chihs intruded into Central Asia, the nomad hordes were already standing on the frontiers of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. The further weakening of this kingdom led perhaps to the continuous loss by it of its Northern territories. In connection with the movements caused by arrival of the Yueh-Chihs, a more decisive onslaught on the Greco-Bactria began. How this process was proceeding in reality is not known. One of the possible conclusions (which have many vulnerable spots as others have) is the following: "The Saks pushed back by the Yueh-Chihs advanced through Eastern Turkestan and the Pamirs through mountain passes

²¹ Enoki K., 1959, pp. 227-232.

²² Tolstov S.P., 1948 a, p. 245.

into North-Eastern India.²³ The Sakarauks, camping on the middle of the Syr-Darya, captured Sogdiana and from there they advanced to the Merv oasis and moved to the South Sakastan (contemporary Sistan) and North-Western Indostan. Towards the South, to Bactria moved also the big groups of tribes from the outskirts of Fergana (Tokhars?) and also the wing of another wave of nomads coming from the Near-Aral region."

Chinese ambassador Chajan-Tsian in 128 B.C. could note that the Yueh-Chih had already conquered Dahya-Bactria. However, then headquarters of the Yueh-Chih military chief was located further to the North of the Amu-Darya.²⁴ Perhaps, in the beginning the rulers of the regions of Bactria acknowledged the vassalage of the Yueh-Chih; later, due to the movement of the Yueh-Chih troops, the Yueh-Chih administration was established.

Obviously, A.K. Narain is right in stating that the Greco-Bactrian kingdom was attacked along the different operational lines by different people and in different times.²⁵

Consequently, the Greco-Bactria fell down. At the end of the second-first half of the I century B.C. the last dominions of the Greco-Bactrian rulers were captured and liquidated.

Thus, in contrast with Parthia the nomadic, onslaughts led to the complete destruction of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom.

2. CENTRAL ASIA IN II – I CENTURIES B.C.

BACTRIA AND SOGD

The seizure of Bactria resulted in its further fragmentation and decentralization. Initially, in each city with its surrounding areas, there were rulers from the Greco-Bactrian times. The Chinese sources inform that five dominions were dependent upon the ruler of the Yueh-Chihs. After shifting to Dahya-Bactria, "the house of the Yueh-Chihs" was divided into five princely houses.²⁶ This text suggests the idea that the territorial division corresponded to the clan-tribal principal, as it often was the case with the nomads who came to Central Asia earlier also.

The rulers of these dominions carried the title which the Chinese called by the word "Hi-Heu" (ancient sound "nheap-goh"). There is no doubt that it is the same title which appears later on the Kushan coins in the form of "Yavyga" and subsequently reaches the Turks in the form of "Yabgu". As G. Bailey showed this title is etymologically derived from the Iranian language and should have meant "leader".²⁷

²³ Litvinsky B.A., 1960 a, pp. 8-11.

²⁴ Bichurin, II, pp. 151-152.

²⁵ Narain A.K., 1962, p. 138.

²⁶ Bichurin, II, pp. 184-227.

²⁷ On this see: Litvinsky B.A., 1967 b, p. 36.

The real chain of events occurring in the II-I century B.C. is practically not known. The only data at our disposal is received from the study of numismatic and archaeological materials.

Probably, after the disintegration of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom continued to circulate the small coins on the territory of Bactria — obols — with the name of the Greco-Bactrian King Eukratid. The discovery of coins made in Southern Tajikistan showed that these coins were, minted during the rule of Yueh-Chihs — at the end of II-I centuries B.C. These coins are reproduction of the coins of Eukratid himself with small distortion of the inscriptions. It is supposed that several series of such coins were issued (they are found in Hissar and in Qubadian).²⁸

The other coins are also very important. They were minted according to the sample of one of the later Greco-Bactrian ruler — Heliokl. Some of them are very similar to the coins of Heliokl, and on the others there appears the figure of the horse which was absent on the coins of Heliokl. The coins with horse are of much later period and probably testify to some political changes, maybe, to the urge for consolidation of power in the I century B.C. These coins have been found in Surkhan-Darya and Hissar Valleys²⁹ and recently in the Farkhar region of Tajikistan.

In Sogd also the coins imitating the Greco-Bactrian ones continued to be minted. However, the "tetradrahms" of Eutidem were taken as the sample. A part of these coins, which were closer to the sample, could be minted (and circulated) in the epoch chronologically coinciding with the second half of the existence of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom when Sogd freed itself from the rule of the Greco-Bactria. Other coins, which were far different from the original coins, could be minted after the destruction of Greco-Bactria. These coins apparently are linked to the Bukharan oasis.³⁰

Besides, in Sogd (and partly in Bactria) were circulating other coins as well. Very interesting are the coins on the back side of which bowman is depicted. In the Greek inscription there is the name of the Seleucid king Antioch but on the front side is depicted a local ruler instead. Such coins are found in Tali-Barzu near Samarkand and in Panjakent.

There are many coins with the name Girkod, partly with Greek and partly with Sogdian inscriptions. R. Ghirshman suggests the following reading of Greek inscriptions: "[coin] of Girkod [son] of Ardetr Sakarauk". In the Sogdian legend he reads the name as Artadr (or Aratadr) and "Sakarag".³¹

On the basis of the reading of this legend R. Ghirshman asserts that it was the Sakarakhs who captured Sogd and settled there and their power increased, thanks to the resources of this region. However, the reading itself evokes strong doubts.

²⁸ Mandelshtam A.M., 1966 v.

²⁹ Masson V.M., 1957 b.

³⁰ Masson V.M., 1954.

³¹ Ghirshman R., 1946, pp. 111-115; Masson V.M., 1955 pp. 42-43; ITNI, 1963, pp. 346-347, About the complexity of the reading of Sogdian legends on the coins of this period see: Henning W.B., 1958, p. 26.

In the lower Kafernigan (Beshkent Valley) and in the area of Babyshov (on the right bank of the Amu-Darya, between the stations of Tashrabat and Mukry), large sepulchers of the nomads have been examined. They are situated at some distance from the oases of settled agriculturists, semi-desert oases near the water sources. Sepulchers are located beyond limits of irrigated lands. From the other side, the sepulchers are situated between the river crossings of the Amu-Darya. All this corresponds to the idea of large masses of people switching over to the semi-nomadic way of life during their migration to the regions of Northern Bactria.

The excavations of sepulchers, in the valley of Kafernigan, have provided abundant material: articles of armaments (the arrowheads, swords, etc.), jewelry including of gold, ceramics, etc.³² Most of these articles undoubtedly adopted from the local settlers, for example, the typical Bactrian ceramics, etc. This shows that the processes of cultural interaction with the settled population led to fast and wide assimilation of many elements of Bactrian culture into the households of the nomadic conquerors. The excavations also showed that by their anthropological types the newcomers were very close to the population of the Northern regions of Central Asia; Saks and Usunyas of the Semirechiye and the Near-Aral region but with noticeable layers of Mongoloid anthropological features.³³ However, it cannot be ruled out that these are the relics, not of the newcomers, but of the nomadic population of Bactria (hypothesis of B.A. Litvinsky).

The sepulchers of the newly arrived nomadic population were also studied in Sogd. These are in particular Kuiumazar and Lavandak sepulchres.³⁴ Their historic-cultural importance is very near to that of the sepulchers of Bactria.

Here in Sogd the aliens assimilated the culture of locally settled population.

THE ANCIENT FERGANA STATE OF DAWAN

In the Chinese sources of II-I centuries B.C. the vast, rich and densely populated country of Dawan is described in detail. An absolute majority of scholars, Russian and foreign, place Dawan in Fergana. The complication lies in explaining the appearance of the name "Dawan" completely different from the word "Fergana". In general, the word "Dawan" is found in the III century B.C. Afterwards the names of "Bohan" and "Polona" (V century B.C.) appear and it is indicated that they correspond to the ancient Dawan. Polona is undoubtedly the Chinese transcription of the word Fergana.³⁵ So far as Dawan is concerned, the explanation is offered that the Chinese thus gave the country the name which was linked to the Tokhars (Takhwar).

According to the information received from China at the end of II century B.C. the population of Fergana consisted of three hundred thousand people.

³² Mandelshtam A.M., 1966 a; 1966 b.

³³ Kiyatkina, T.K., 1965, pp. 6-8.

³⁴ Obelchenko O.B., 1956, 1961.

³⁵ P'o-lo-na arises in the Chinese tradition dated 436-437 B.C. (Pelliot P., 1934, p. 41).

However, no census was carried out at that time and the methods of approximate evaluation had not been worked out. Hence, this figure is merely the impression of a traveler and not the result of correct information. In Dawan there were many cities and large settlements (according to sources their number was 70). The main city was Ershi.

As it is informed the inhabitants have deeply "in-set eyes and thick beards; they are skillful in trade ... respect women. What the wife says the husband cannot but obey."³⁶

Dawan is described as a country of highly developed agriculture. Here there were large vineyards; wine was made which was preserved for several decades. Lucerne was cultivated ("grass of mu-su").

The horses of Fergana were especially famous. Among them were Argamaks, which were the object of desire of the aristocracy of the neighboring countries. The Chinese dreamt of these Fergana horses, which "perspired with blood".³⁷ They considered them heavenly horses on which you can reach the "country of immortality". The Han emperor Wu-Di specially longed for "blood perspiring horses" and maniacally sought the ways to become immortal. These Fergana horses became an object of worship and reverence in China. The matter reached to extent their composition by poets dedicated odes to them. However, these horses did not need admiration but medical treatment: and what was considered as mark of divinity — their blood-perspiring — actually was the result of scraping of their skin by parasites.

The Chinese emperors tried to conquer Dawan. The people of Dawan had to withstand the worst of wars against the invaders lasting many years. In 104 B.C., the Chinese troops consisting of 60 thousand equestrians were sent to Dawan and extra forces of "scores of thousands of young warriors from China", as the Chinese sources mention, were added. After failing to achieve victory, the miserable remnants of the Chinese troops returned. Later a second campaign was launched in which 60 thousand strong army accompanied by additional forces was directed. The Fergana people under the leadership of their king Mugua fought valiantly with the invaders and although in this war, they suffered great losses and Mugua himself was killed due to betrayal, finally the invaders were forced to flee. The succession policy, which Mugua followed, led to the succession to the throne by his young brother.³⁸

Thus the people of Fergana, who supported by the neighboring Central Asian peoples, could withstand the Han expansion and defend their independence.

NORTHERN REGIONS AND PEOPLES

One of the peoples who came to the help of the Ferganians in the difficult time was the Kangyuans inhabitants of Kangyuia (ancient name kha nkiah). Sources give detailed information about Kangyuia. From one side Dawan was

³⁶ *Bichurin, II*, pp. 161-162, 188.

³⁷ *Bichurin, II*, pp. 161-162, 186-188.

³⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 163, 1, pp. 162-167; 1963 b, pp. 350-351.

bordering i.e. Fergana, perhaps it was its South-Eastern frontier. On the South Kangyuia was bordering the Yueh-Chihs. On the North-West the dominion of Kangyuia extended up to Yangtsai, i.e., Near-Aral region Sarmat-Alan tribes who were dependent on Kangyuia.³⁹

Who were these Kangyuians? Where was the center of their large dominions? The viewpoint of S.P. Tolstov about the similarity of Kangyuia and Khwarezm⁴⁰, which was widespread in our historiography, was for long considered quite acceptable. However, a careful study of the sources and acquaintance with the latest researches leads to the conclusion that his viewpoint was contrary to many facts.

The camps of Kangyuians were situated along the Syr-Darya and the residences of their rulers were located in the region of Tashkent. Thus, the nucleus by the Kangyuians was in the middle Syr-Darya. That is why it is clear how the Kangyuians could come to the help of the Ferganians in their struggle against the Chinese. As for Khwarezm it was situated on the vast periphery of the dominions, which were under the influence of Kangyuia.

The ethnic affiliation of the Kangyuians is a subject of debate among the scholars. There is an opinion that they were Turks. Others are of the view that the Kangyuians belonged to the carriers of the Tokhar language. However, it is likely that they were the Iranian-speaking people, the descendants and heirs of the Syr-Darya Saks.

The sources call Kangyuians "nomadic people". There is also an information that in their customs the Kangyui are completely identical with the Yangtsai", but the Yangtsai "people live inside the adobe walls". In fact, on the territory including Kangyui there was many settlements.⁴¹

As follows from the written sources, the Kangyui was a powerful state formation. In the period of its heyday in the I century B.C. it had a 120 thousand strong army. Kangyui had its independent foreign policy and helped its neighbors in their struggle against alien invaders. In peaceful times, it clearly demonstrated to the representatives of the Han Court as to how little regard it had for them. They informed desperately — "Kangyui... arrogant, insolent".⁴²

The history of Kangyui is known little. Already in 270 B.C. it sent missions beyond the borders of Central Asia. Later its power finally declined and it merged with the Hepthalite state.

Archaeological studies of the middle Syr-Darya have established that there were many sepulchers and settlements. Among the latter, G.V. Grigoriev studied the settlement of Kaunchi near Yangi-yul. Near it lie the Jun sepulchers. The experts-archaeologists call the culture of the middle Syr-Darya in the last centuries B.C. and the I centuries of our era Kauchin — Jun culture. The main area later widened reaching Karamazar Mountains and Samarkand. This culture is the culture of Kangyui. In its origin, it is undoubtedly local. Among the faiths of the Kangyuians, on the basis of archaeological data there appears the faith in

³⁹ *Bichurin, I*, pp. 150, 165, 186, 229.

⁴⁰ *Tolstov S.P.*, 1948 a, pp. 20-26.

⁴¹ *Litvinsky B.A.*, 1968.

⁴² *Bichurin, II*, pp. 184-185.

Pharn — the God which was included in the Zoroastrian pantheon. This God was the guardian and protector of the rulers and of the home, family and health. This god was personified, particularly in the form of the sheep. That is why the inhabitants of Kangyuia made the handles of their vessels in the shape of a sheep (the remnants of these concepts are preserved among the Tajiks until date).⁴³

Usun (ancient sound *O-swan*) was a large nomadic formation in the North-East Central Asia and in Eastern Turkestan. According to a legend, the Usuns initially lived in Mongolia and subsequently moved to the West. The ruler of the Usuns was called Kunmo (Kun-bag — "prince over the tribes"). Usuns, as the legend tells, lived in Mongolia and Nan-dou-mi ruled over them. Later the Usuns attacked by the Yueh-Chihs. Nan-dou-mi was killed. Usuns approached the Hunns in the hope of finding support from them. According to another version, (Hunns killed the Usun chief themselves). A newly-born son survived Kunmo. Once the guardian of the newly-born wrapped the child in clothes and left him on the grass and went in search of food when he returned he found that a she-wolf was feeding the child from her breast and a crow was hovering over them with a piece of meat in the beak [the guardian] considered him as a spirit and took him to the Hunn. [The Hunn] Shanyui became fond of him and brought him up and when the Kunmo attained maturity he gave him backs the people of his father and sent him to lead the troops." Becoming strong Kunmo at last attacked the Yueh-Chihs who shifted to the West and crushed them, thus avenging the death of his father.⁴⁴

"The Usuns do not engage in agriculture or horticulture but they roam with their cattle from one place to the other looking for grass and water", informs a source. In the I century B.C. the Chinese considered that the number of the Usuns was more than 600 thousand. It was one of the strongest Central Asian dominions with which China curried favor.

The representatives of the nobility played an important role. One could have an idea of their riches from the fact that they possessed large cattle herds, 4 to 5 thousand horses. The grown-up sons of the ruler had their own estates and in solving the state problems, the Kunmo was the sole authority.

The council of elders executed the ascension to the throne of the new Kunmo.⁴⁵

The last information about the Usuns is contained in the report of the emissary Dun Din who visited their capital "the city of the Red valley" in 435. At that time, the Usuns were under heavy attacks from the Avars, finally losing their independence.⁴⁶

In the Tien-Shan and the Semirechiye many Usun sepulchers have been excavated.⁴⁷ The discovered material from these excavations has enabled to

⁴³ Grigoriev G.V., 1948; Terenozhkin A.I., 1950 b, pp. 158-160; Litvinsky B.A., 1968.

⁴⁴ Bichurin, II, pp. 155-156. For analysis of the versions of the origin of the legend, see: Zuyev Y.A., 1960, pp. 121-124; Pulleyblank E.G., 1970, pp. 154-160.

⁴⁵ Bichurin, II, pp. 190-198.

⁴⁶ Zuyev Y.A., 1960, p. 121.

⁴⁷ Voyevodsky M.V., Gryaznov M.P., 1938; Bernshtam A.N., 1950, 1952; Kibirov A.K., 1959; Akishev K.A., Kushaev G.A., 1963.

specify and more clearly present the history and culture of the Usuns. It may however be noted that the information, in written sources about the arrival of the Usuns from the East, is not to be understood literally. Perhaps a relatively small tribe had come to Central Asia and the main part of the tribal union known in history under the name of "Usuns" represents the further transformation of the local Saks population.

Of course, the Usuns were engaged not only in cattle-breeding they also knew the crafts and agriculture. It can be said that the Usuns, as well as the Saks, occupied considerable territories of Eastern Turkestan.

PARTHIA — THE VICTORY OVER ROME

The might of Parthia grew unprecedentedly under Mitridat II. After his death (88/87 B.C.) Parthia suffered failures initially. At this time, Rome pursued an extremely aggressive policy in the East. As border between Parthia and Rome, both sides accepted the river Euphrates. However, the aggressive actions of the Romans inevitably led to clashes with the Parthians who also were not of a peace-loving character. The first clashes occurred in 65 B.C. and the Romans won complete victory.

In 54 B.C., Rome started preparing for the big military campaign against Parthia. Famous military general Krass who, however, did not know anything about the theatre of military operations and was not acquainted with the Parthian tactics commanded the Roman troops. The main Parthian troops led by King Orod II (about 58-39 B.C.) penetrated Armenia where the Parthians were waiting for the troops of Krass to arrive. However, Krass proceeded along the valley towards Mesopotamia. He did not take into account that the Parthian cavalry was more dangerous in the valley. The Roman troops crossed the river Euphrates and lured by the Parthians took three to four days to march into the depth of the desert. Parthian general Surena was well prepared for the encounter. Besides the usual cavalry, contingents there were a thousand armored equestrians at his disposal. He made a stock of large number of arrows.

On 9 May 53 B.C. near the city of Karra the Parthians attacked the Roman intruders. Before the battle, the thunder of big Parthian war drums was heard. "Scaring the Romans with this sound", writes Plutarch, (Mark Krass, 24), "the Parthians suddenly threw away the covers of their armor and appeared in front of them like flames of fire in helmets and armours made from Margian blindingly glittering iron. Their horses were also covered with copper and iron armours. There appeared Surena himself, enormously tall and most handsome among others... The Parthians arranged in loose order started shooting arrows on all sides from a distance (the Romans were standing so close to each other that it was impossible to miss the target) and inflicted on them heavy and strong blows from their tightly stretched bows. In such circumstances, the condition of the Romans became miserable..."

Krass then threw into attack the best part of the Roman troops, putting his son at the helm of it. The Parthians started retreating. When chasing the

Parthians the Roman contingent had gone a long distance and it was surrounded by the Parthians and annihilated.

At night, the Roman troops started fleeing hastily. However, it did not save them and nearly all of them were killed or taken prisoners. Krass died, his severed head brought to Orod II as a war trophy.⁴⁸

The imprisoned Romans according to some sources were settled in the region of Merv. Here, the Roman legionaries acquired families and served in the Parthian army (Horacius, "Odes", III, 5, 5). Some of them probably went to the North-East into the Semirechiye.⁴⁹ In one of the Nisian documents there is an entry about receipt of wine from the chiefs of Tagms and their Parthian names are mentioned. "Tagma" is a Greek word which meant "legionary" in the Roman times.

I.M. Dyakonov and V.A. Livshits are of the opinion that the Nisian document refers to the receipt of wine from the Roman legionaries settled in Eastern Parthia.⁵⁰ This guess is extremely intelligent but it is not undisputed. The penetration into Parthian language of these terms, in the process of Roman-Parthian contacts, cannot be ruled out (and maybe it is a result of direct borrowing from the Greek language where this term meant "column", "a contingent of the army").

During the rule of King Pokora in 40 B.C., the Parthians annexed even Syria and Palestine, and Asia Minor came under their influence. It is true that soon after Rome took back these regions. However, this is not the main thing: Parthia in the I century B.C. was a dangerous rival of Rome, the Parthian troops more than once crushed the Roman legions.

3. THE KUSHAN KINGDOM

THE EARLY PERIOD OF KUSHAN KINGDOM

Among the coins which were in circulation on the territory of Bactria and Sogd there is a group of coins on the front side of which the bust of a man, with royal fillet in his hair, is depicted. On the reverse side is the king on horseback with the goddess Nika flying towards him from behind. On same side there is an inscription consisting of four words in the Greek script. The first word is "ruling"; it derived from the Greek term "tyrant" which at that time could mean dependent (not supreme) ruler. Then comes the name of the ruler — Gerai (this is a traditional reading and other ones are not excluded). There is also one more name or title the meaning of which is not clear so far. The fourth word is the word "Kushan" written in Greek letters. The famous numismatist, A.N. Zograf, who studied these coins showed that the type of these coins continues the pattern of the coins of Eukratid and could be dated to the middle of the I century B.C.⁵¹

⁴⁸ For details see: *Bokhschanin A.G.*, 1949.

⁴⁹ *Dubs H.H.*, 1957.

⁵⁰ *Dyakonov I.M., Livshits V.A.*, 1966, pp. 150-151.

⁵¹ *Zograf A.N.*, 1937.



Coin of Gerai (front face)

We do not have any information in the written sources about the identity of the person who minted these coins of "ruling Gerai" who is named as "Kushan". But the last name throws light on the lineage of this ruler. The Chinese historical chronicles contain an account about how the Yueh-Chihs having moved to Dahya-Bactria got divided into five vassal dominions one of which was called Guishuan. "After a little more than hundred years passed the Guishuan prince Kiotszyukyu conquered the other four princes and declared himself the king under the name Guishuan started fighting with Ansi, conquered Gaofa, destroyed Puda and Gibin and acquired their lands. Kiotszyukyu lived more than eighty years. After his death his son Yangaochdjen ascended the throne and conquered India leaving there one of his generals to rule. From this period, the Yueh-Chihs became the strongest and the richest house. The neighboring states called him the Guishuan ruler but the Chinese court reserved for him the previous title of the Great Yueh-Chih."⁵²

Guishuan (more exactly Kiwei-sian)⁵³ is the Chinese transcription of the term "Kushan", known from the inscriptions on the coins. Thus, Gerai was the first ruler of this Kushan dynasty probably at the time when this dynasty was just starting its ascent. He was probably the predecessor (father or grandfather) of the Kushan ruler Kiotszyukyu, mentioned on the coins.

The Kushan coins are found in a large number on the territories of Central Asia, Afghanistan and India. They are one of the main sources of the history of the Kushan kingdom. The Indian inscriptions are also of great importance in which the names of the Kushan kings are mentioned. Some information about the deeds of Kushan Kings is preserved besides the Chinese in the Indian and Tibetan historical traditions. All this however is, highly fragmentary, difficult to compare and contradict.

PROBLEM OF KUSHAN CHRONOLOGY

The problem of Kushan chronology remains an obstacle as scholars have been actively debating it for more than a hundred years. It seems that the starting point should be the inscriptions round in India and Pakistan carrying the names of the Kushan kings. Many of these inscriptions have dates but they do not mention the era they are related to. It cannot be ruled out that the chronology

⁵² Bichurin, II, pp. 227-228. The translation of E. Chavannes is practically identical with Bichurin (Chavannes E., 1907, pp. 190-192) as also the translation of Pulleyblank (Pulleyblank E.G., 1966, 1968, p. 1).

⁵³ Pulleyblank E.G., 1962, p. 118.

given in these inscriptions calculated in two or several eras. It is well-known that in India there existed several parallel eras: the era starting with the nirvana (death) of Buddha, the era of Vikram — the Vikramaditya samvat (57 B.C.), the era of the Saka — Saka Kala (78 B.C.) and other eras. Scholars have also surmised that in ancient India chronological calculations were made in foreign eras as well: the Seleucidian,⁵⁴ as also the Parthian and other eras. Besides there is an assumption that in the Kushan period the events could have been counted from other dates, for example, from the date of intrusion of the Yueh-Chihs into Bactria, the beginning of the rule of some kings, etc. The complication is that in ancient India there was a practice not to mention hundred or thousand years but just tens and ones.

British scholar E. Thomas suggested in 1874 to link the era of Kanishka, the most famous among the Kushan kings, with the Seleucidian era (312 B.C.), but in the inscriptions related to this era the number of hundreds, that is "three" (hundred) was omitted. Hence, Kanishka must have begun his reign (taking into consideration the recent discovery of inscriptions) in 9 B.C. The biggest expert of archaeology and numismatics of India, A. Cunningham vacillated between the Vikram era and the date according to the Seleucidian era, and the other scholar D. Fergusson in 1884 advanced the idea that the period of Kanishka starts from the era of the Saka 78 B.C. Cunningham accepted this idea also. This date then became widely circulated in the historical literature. One of the most knowledgeable epigraphists and researchers of Khotano-Saks language, S. Konov, having studied meticulously all the sources on this question could not come to a single viewpoint. He took as starting point of the rule of Kanishka 128/29, 130, 134, 138 B.C. taking into account the astronomical indications in the inscriptions; he tried to specify the date with the help of astronomers but could not reach a common conclusion. At last, he expressed his opinion that the rule of Kanishka started around 200 B.C. These hesitations and the searches of such a big scholar show by themselves how complicated this problem was. At the same time along with the above-mentioned data, many others were also advanced. For example, R. Ghirshman suggested 144 B.C.⁵⁵

In 1902, the articles of Indian scholar D.R. Bhandarkar were published. Analyzing the facts of history, of the Kushans against the backdrop of Indian history and using the Indian inscriptions related to the Kushans, he reached completely paradoxical conclusions. The crux of his arguments was as follows. In his opinion (and it reflected the level of the development of scholarship of that period) there was the following sequence of the reign of the Kushan Kings: Kujula Kadfiz, Kujula Kara Kadfiz, the Nameless King and Vima Kadfiz. The inscription in Panjtar, dated year 123 of the unknown era in which the Kushan ruler figures but without any name, is in Bhandarkar's opinion connected with Kujula Kadfiz. Roughly, he accepted that the latter started his reign three years

⁵⁴ Cunningham A., 1883; Sircar D.C., 1965, pp. 219-235; "The Age of Imperial Unity", 1951, pp. 154-158.

⁵⁵ For excellent summary see: Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw J.E. 1949; pp. 1-72; Ghirshman R., 1957, pp. 690-722; Rosenfield I.M., 1967, pp. 253-258; Narain A.K. 1968. For a more detailed account see also: Zeimal E.B., 1968 a.

earlier that is in the year 120 of the unknown era. Bhandarkar considered that each of the four mentioned kings ruled twenty years, all together, it came to 80 years and the reign of Vima Kadfiz should have ended in the year 200 of the unknown era. The inscriptions with the names of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva known in that period were dated from 5 to 98 year of the unknown era. The researcher thought that it was the same era, but with the omission of hundreds, which meant that the rule of this group of kings started in 205 and ended in the year 298 of the unknown era. As a starting point of this era he suggested the acceptance of the so-called Saka era (established according to other sources) that is 78 A.D. Simple recalculation gives for the year 205 of the unknown era (according to the then known inscriptions) 283 A.D. as the commencement of the reign of Kanishka. Bhandarkar tried to show that, just within such a chronological determination, the Kushan history more clearly "fits" into the frame of the history of India.⁵⁶



Coins of the Kushan Kings

It is not difficult to notice the weak point of this hypothesis. The list of the rulers, from which Bhandarkar proceeded, turned out to be inaccurate. Completely arbitrary is the assumption that every one of them ruled for twenty years (Kujula Kadfiz, according to the Chinese sources, might have ruled considerably longer).

Since lot of material has been collected. In the inscriptions, known at present there is a gap from 200 to 299 years of the unknown era. In the inscription of the year, 187 (or 184) Vima Kadfiz is mentioned.⁵⁷ According to numismatic data, following Kadfiz there ruled Kanishka, but the inscriptions with the name of Kanishka starts with the inscription dated from the first year (?), then follows another inscription dated from the second year, etc. — up to the 23 year; Vasishka — 24-28 years, Huvishka 28-60 years; Kanishka 11- 41 years; Vasudeva — 64 or 67-98 years of the unknown era.⁵⁸ The question is which era precisely the writers of inscriptions of Kanishka and the succeeding kings had in mind.

⁵⁶ Bhandarkar D.R., 1902, pp. 269-302, 385-386.

⁵⁷ However there is an opinion that the identification of the name in this inscription with that of the king is doubtful — it was not Vima Kadfiz but some Kushan satrap (Sircar D.C., 1963, p. 139); according to Rapson this is the name of the local ruler of the mountain region.

⁵⁸ Mariq A., 1958, pp. 386-393; Rosenfield I., 1967, 1968 a, pp. 264-273; Zeimal E.V., 1968 a, pp. 18-23, 47 (the full list of inscriptions).



Coins of the Kushan Kings

Thus, for example, one of the leading specialists of this problem, Dutch Professor Lohuizen-de Leeuw, having minutely studied all the available material came to the conclusion that "taking into account the present level of knowledge it must be admitted that the first year of the era of Kanishka should either coincide or be several years later than 200th year of the old era." Proceeding from the idea of "compatibility" of the era, she took 129 B.C. as the starting point. In this way the reign of Kanishka commenced in 78 B.C.⁵⁹

Some other scholars, also on the basis of this and other materials are of the view that the year 78 A.D. is the beginning of the reign of Kanishka.⁶⁰

A scrupulous paleographic analysis by Pakistani scholar A. Dani⁶¹ allows one to conclude that "compatibility" of the eras not contradicted but confirmed by the paleography of the inscriptions. It is a weighty but not decisive argument — Indian paleography not so developed as to assess the decades on this basis with certainty.

However, there are (as mentioned above) other systems for dating as well relating the beginning of the reign of Kanishka to 103 A.D. (Narain), 128-129 A.D. (D. Marshall), 144 A.D. (R. Ghirshman), around 200 A.D. (the latest view of S. Konov), 235-236 A.D. (R. Gobl), and 248 A.D. (R. Majumdar).

Recently Soviet scholar E.V. Zeimal came out with developed argumentation in favor of the hypothesis of Bhandarkar, according to which all the dates of the reigns of the Kushan kings are pushed back to a much later period.

Besides the inscriptions found in India and Pakistan he involved the numismatic data also. The scheme of relative chronology modified by E.V. Zeimal on the basis of the idea of Bhandarkar looks as follows (in the square brackets are given the reconstructed figures of hundreds, which are missing in the inscriptions).⁶²

It is not difficult to see that the date of commencement of the reign of Kujula Kadfiz is based on the date accepted by Bhandarkar. As for the date 160 A.D. — it is only relative, and for selection of this date perhaps the longevity of this king, as mentioned in the written sources, has played a role.

⁵⁹ Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw J.E., 1949, pp. 63-65, 1-72, 302-387, table A.B.

⁶⁰ Sircar D.C., 1960, pp. 181-188.

⁶¹ Dani A.N., 1968, pp. 1-3.

⁶² Zeimal E.V., 1964, pp. 40-46; 1965, pp. 4-6; 1968 b.

Name of the Kings	Years according to inscriptions	Years A.D.
Kujula Kadfiz	around 100-160	178-238
Vima Kadfiz	around 160-200	238-278
Kanishka I	around [2]00-[2]23	278-301
Vasishka	[2]24-[2]28	302-306
Huvishka	[2]28-[2]60	306-338
Kanishka II	[2]41	319
Vasudeva	[2]64-[2]98	342-376

The single starting point for the establishment of the relative dating of the reign of Vima Kadfiz is the reference to it in the inscription of 184-187 A.D. and the early limit (160 A.D.) is linked to the upper (completely relative) limit of his predecessor Kujula Kadfiz. The end of the reign of Vima Kadfiz as 200 A.D. comes out of the assumption that from 200 A.D. or 201 A.D. (that is from 278 A.D.) commences the reign of Kanishka I. The latter is solely based on the hypothesis of Bhandarkar about the "compatibility" (after inserting the deletion of hundreds) of all these dates.

Thus, although the scheme of Bhandarkar, as modified by E.V. Zeimal, looks more logical, the main weakness of it — failure to prove the "compatibility" of the dates — is not removed (inspite of the paleographic arguments of A. Dani).⁶³ The opinion that the starting point of Kushan chronology is 78 A.D. ("Sak era") remains disputable.

E.V. Zeimal put forward several additional important arguments in favor of the hypothesis of Bhandarkar. For some of the personalities and details by the Kushan coins he perceives the prototype in Roman minting. Particularly for the Kushan coins of Huvishka he finds the prototypes in Roman minting of the period; from the second quarter of the III century up to the first decade of the IV century. Since in the Kushan minting these peculiarities could have appeared only after they had been worked out in the Roman minting, the corresponding Kushan coins of Huvishka should relate to the first half of the fourth century or to a much later period. This exactly is the argument which E.V. Zeimal considers to be in favor of 78 A.D. as the date of beginning of the unknown era, because then Huvishka should have ruled $178+228) - (78+260)$ in 306-338 A.D. The second numismatic argument on which Zeimal relies is the dating suggested by V.G. Lukonin of the Kushan-Sasanid coins (minted on the pattern of the coins by Vasudeva and hence after him) and correspondingly the collapse of the Kushan

⁶³ One of the leading contemporary epigraphist D. Sircar (India) categorically denies the fact that in the dates of the inscriptions for the era of Kanishka hundreds are deleted as also the whole idea of the "compatibility" of the eras. (*Sircar D.C.*, 1960, pp. 249-250; see also *Mukherjee B.N.*, 1967, pp. 107, 110, 117).

kingdom in 70-80 years of the fourth century A.D. In this way, the Iranian, Chinese and Indian sources also drawn upon and interpreted.⁶⁴

The Bhandarkar-Zeimal hypothesis inspite of all its attractiveness remains so far just a hypothesis. The same numismatic material are interpreted by R. Gobl as evidence in favor of his chronological scheme the dates of which are "older" by almost half a century than the ones mentioned above.⁶⁵

Although the history of the Kushan state was unfolding on the vast territory and was connected with history of the Han China, Sasanid Iran and the states of India, we do not have undisputable synchronisms. Here is an example.

According to the Chinese historical chronicle on 5 January 230 A.D., a mission arrived in China from Po-t'iao, the king of the Yueh-Chihs. E. Chavannes considered this name as the possible Chinese version of the name of Vasudeva but thought that it was not proper to time it with that of Kushan king Vasudeva who ruled later after Kanishka and Huvishka.

In the opinion of Karlgren, this name should have sounded as "Pua-d'ieu". Usually the initial Chinese **p** corresponds in foreign words to sounds **p** or **b**; here it is used for the sound **v**. R. Pelliot found a way out by suggesting that a change be made in the text and it should read Bua-d'ieu. Nevertheless, he accepts the comparison with Vasudeva, though with a question mark. E.G. Pulleyblank considers this amendment possible. He is inclined to think that all the same, this is Vasudeva but he does not confirm it with certainty and raises the question again — which Vasudeva it is. This name could have been popular in the Kushan royal house and several persons could have had this name.⁶⁶

For the solution of this complicated problem many times scholars took to other materials and observations besides those mentioned above: the joint discoveries in the hoards or in archaeological layers of Kushan and Roman coins, data about local Indian (and Eastern Turkestan) mints, archaeological materials from the monuments where Kushan coins or the inscriptions are found, the art products, the unclear evidences of Indian and Tibetan traditions etc. However, all this does not allow simple interpretation.

In 1913 and in 1960 in London symposia on the date of the reign of Kanishka were organized. This problem was discussed at length in the International Conference on History, Archaeology and Culture of Central Asia in the Kushan period (Dushanbe, 1968). But again the scholars could not reach a single point of view.

It appears that the materials available to us are not yet enough even for the principal solution of the question about preferability of one or the other chronological scheme. It is possible to select arguments and pick up logical proofs for a scheme in which the beginning of the rule of Kanishka could be related to a year beginning with the second half of the first century A.D. and up to the second half of the third century A.D. In this connection, contemporary historians to the rule of one or the other king relate the evidences of some Indian inscriptions and Chinese and Western sources, about some or the other events taking place in the Kushan state. To

⁶⁴ Zeimal E.V., 1988 b; Lukonin V.G, 1967, pp. 16-40.

⁶⁵ See: Gobl R., 1964, p. 7; 1967.

⁶⁶ Pelliot R., 1934, p. 40; Harmatta J., 1965; Pulleyblank E.G., 1966-1968, p.121.

use the apt expression of Indian scholar B.N. Puri, "attempting to settle them on the wandering islands of Kushan chronology." The work of B.N. Puri "***India under the Kushanas***"⁶⁷ is a useful collection of material which shows that for the solution of many questions of Kushan history, science has no objective criteria.

TERRITORIAL ANNEXATIONS

"Guishuans prince Kiotswzyukyu" (in the ancient times this name according to P. Pelliot sounded as K'iaudz 'iau kiap) of the Chinese sources corresponds to the Kushan King Kujula Kadfiz of the coin legends (the first two parts of the Chinese name mean "Kudzula" and the latter one "Kadfiz")⁶⁸. Thus, we know that he fought with Ansi, i.e., Parthia. Further it is informed that this ruler subjugated Gaofa⁶⁹ (or Kaofa), i.e., Kabul. However, about this dominion we are told that earlier it was dependent upon Ansi and only after defeating Ansi the Yueh-Chihs (Kushans) captured Gaofa. (From this, we can assume that the Kushans at this stage clashed not with Parthia but with semi-independent Eastern Parthian rulers and defeated them). After that blow was struck on Pud, which in the ancient times sounded like b'uok-d'at and could reflect as E. Marqwart thought an ethnonym of Paktia. (Herodotus IV, 44; VII, 67; Hekatey f. 178).⁷⁰

The question of Gibinya is more complicated. For its location we go by Italian scholar L. Petech who thinks that it is the North-Western part of Hindustan — the province of Gandhara and Western Punjab.⁷¹

Thus, under Kujula Kadfiz who is often called Kadfiz I, the Kushan state had expanded considerably. It had crossed beyond the frontiers of Bactria and started embracing numerous regions and peoples.

Some information about the history of the Kushans during the reign of Kadfiz I can be obtained from the coins.⁷² There is a group of coins on the front side of which there is a portrait of one of the latest Greco-Bactrian ruler Germey and inscription with his name. On the reverse side, there is the figure of Heracle and an inscription: "Kujula Kadfiz, Yabgu Kushan, firm in his faith". Some scholars (for example, D. Sircar, A. Simonetta, V.M. Masson) think that these coins reflect the situation initially formed from Kadfiz I moving into the mountainous regions of Central Afghanistan where he was temporarily compelled to recognize the supremacy of the Greco-Bactrian King Germey; in the joint coins the Greco-Bactrian ruler figures on the front side.⁷³ However, there

⁶⁷ Puri B.N., 1965.

⁶⁸ Pelliot P., 1934, p. 39 (the analogical form is given by B. Karlgren (see: Konow S., 1933, pp. 27-28.)

⁶⁹ Bichurin, II, p. 228.

⁷⁰ Petech L., 1950, p. 69; compare: Masson V.M. and Romodin V.A., 1964, p. 68.

⁷¹ Petech L., pp. 69-70.

⁷² Cunningham A., 1892, pp. 6-8, 25-28 and subsequent information, publications and researches on Kushan coins.

⁷³ Sircar D.C., 1953, p. 138; Simonetta A.M., 1958, p. 171; Masson V.M., Romodin V.A., 1964, pp. 158-159.

exists a different opinion also, that it was not joint mintage but reproduction by Kadfiz I, of the earlier coins with change in his name in a new circulation. According to V.V. Tarn this had connection with Kadfiz's marriage with the daughter or sister of Germey, and the issue of coins with two names reflected the hereditary claims of Kadfiz I. However, these relational links have not been proved. Other scholars (Rapson, Bakhofer, and Narain) also proceed from a similar prerequisite but in a more realistic version, that Kadfiz I continued minting the coins of Germey inserting his name on them because these coins were in wide circulation in this region.⁷⁴

Thus, it is impossible to determine the circumstances in which these coins were minted.

The study of other coins minted by Kadfiz, only in his own name, shows the gradual change of title: from *yabgu* ("leader", "chief") to "Great King" and even "King of the Kings".⁷⁵

Perhaps the expansion of territories, the strengthening of power led to the growth of ambition: during his very long reign Kadfiz I from the ruler of a small region turned into a monarch to whom many countries and peoples paid obeisance.

About the annexation of a part of the territory of the North-Western Hindustan by Kadfiz I testifies, besides written sources the abundant discovery of his coins there. In the settlement of Taksila (Sirkap) were found 2500 of them. The number of coins discovered in Central Asia is not large. In Tajikistan, the coins of this king are found in Shahrinav, Dushanbe, Qubadian, Khorog and other places.⁷⁶

The coins with the name of Kadfiz I were minted only from copper. The earliest group of these coins consists of, according to E.V. Zeimal, which imitate the coins of Germey. Among the coins of Kadfiz I there are copies of the early Imperial Roman coins.⁷⁷

There is one larger group of coins without the name of the ruler but with the title of "King of Kings, the great savior" ("Soter megas"). Their discovery in Central Asia is relatively small; they are found in different places of Tajikistan. On the basis of some considerations some scholars (M.E. Masson, G.A. Pugachenkova, and A.K. Narain) assume that these nameless coins were minted by Kadfiz I.⁷⁸ Such a hypothesis is very attractive but there are insurmountable numismatic difficulties. A. Simonetta thinks that the king who minted these coins

⁷⁴ Tarn W., 1951, pp. 503-507; Narain A.K., 1968, pp. 160-162; Rosenfield J.M., 1967, pp. 12-13.

⁷⁵ Marquart J., 1901, pp. 208-209.

⁷⁶ Zeimal E.V., 1960, pp. 115-116.

⁷⁷ Gobl R., 1968; Zeimal E.V., 1965, pp. 6-7. Among the numismatists, there are various assumptions about the Roman prototype to which the depictions on some coins of Kadfiz belong: to Roman coins of August, Tiberi, Claudi and others. According to Rosenfield these depictions on the Kushan coins are given such a generalized interpretation that their exact identification with the Roman original is impossible (Rosenfield J.M., 1967, p. 13).

⁷⁸ Masson M.E., 1950, Pugachenkova G.A., 1966a. According to A.K. Narain (Narain A.K., 1968, p.8) these coins were issued by Kadfiz I in the second half of his rule.

ruled simultaneously with Kadfiz II but was removed by this king.⁷⁹ An opinion has been expressed many times that approximately several synchronic rulers minted the coins of the «nameless king». E.V. Zeimal is of the opinion that the earliest coins of this series are parallel in their time to the coins of Kadfiz I and the latest ones precede the coins of Kadfiz II⁸⁰ or are parallel to them. At last, here is a point of view that "Soter megas" did not belong to the supreme rulers of the Kushan kingdom but was a lower-ranking ruler.⁸¹

The Chinese annals, following Kiotszyukyu (Kadfiz I), call his son Yangaochzhenya (in ancient times Iam-kau-tien).⁸² According to the coin data, he was Vima Kadfiz. He assumed high-sounding title of "the King of Kings, the Lord of the world, the Savior". Going by the inscriptions and coin data the information in the annals about the conquest by this ruler of many regions of Northern India reflected the real state of affairs. In Mathura a stone statue was discovered in the inscription on which is seen the name of Vima Kadfiz,⁸³ and in Ladakh near Kalatse (Khalatse) — an inscription with his name and date 187 A.D. (the beginning of the era is not known). Some scholar's think that Kadfiz II seized the whole of Northern India including Kashmir (but the latter is under doubt).⁸⁴

THE COINAGE REFORM OF KADFIZ II

Kadfiz II undertook reform of the coinage system by introducing gold coins. By weight the gold coins of Kadfiz II usually followed the weight standard of Roman coins — "dinarus aureus". In the Kushan mint, there were double dinars, dinars, half dinars and quarter dinars (the weight of one dinar was about eight grams). From the end of XIX century the question of the closeness of this weight standard to the weight of Roman gold coins minted by Augustus also weighing around eight grams was discussed. In the foreign and Russian literature on this basis conclusion repeatedly drawn, that Kadfiz II copied the weight of his gold coins from the coins of Augustus and that they were minted in the epoch close to the time of Augustus. However, as known, Augustus died in 14 B.C. and his coins of standard weight were minted even earlier since 19 B.C. After Augustus, the weight of Roman gold coins gradually decreased and because of the reform of 64 A.D., it was established at 7.3 grams. Lohuizen-de Leeuw on this basis drew a conclusion that Kadfiz II started minting his coins before this reform, i.e., prior to 64 A.D.⁸⁵

However, as D. Mac Dowall recently showed the question was more complicated than it appears in the first brush with the issue. First, the

⁷⁹ Simonetta A., 1958, p. 171.

⁸⁰ Zeimal E.V., 1965, p. 7.

⁸¹ Gobl R., 1968, p. 56.

⁸² Pelliot P., 1934, p. 39.

⁸³ Vogel J., 1930, p. 22, 11. But this is disputed by several scholars (Rosenfield J.M., 1967, pp. 144-145).

⁸⁴ Ghirshman R., 1946, p. 142. Compare: Petech C, 1950, p. 75.

⁸⁵ Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw J.E., 1949, p. 365.

introduction of standard weight gold coins was renewed in Rome even after the period of Augustus until 97 A.D. Secondly, the gold coins weighing around eight grams were introduced in the epoch of Augustus only from 19 to 12 B.C. and afterwards they vanished from circulation and were not in the treasury in the first half of the I century A.D. At that time in Rome there were in circulation only those coins weighed less than the gold coins of Kadfiz II. Moreover, it is impossible (using any chronological scheme) to relate to time of the rule of Kadfiz II to the end of the I century B.C.

Not only this opinion of Mac Dowall is worthy of being taken note of but also his conclusion that new reforms of Kadfiz II in this sphere were and could not be a simple copy of what was going on in Rome. In Rome as well as in the Kushan Empire, such gold coins represented a considerably large amount. Because of the difference in weight, the coins were not mutually exchangeable, but the traders conducting big commercial transactions used them in international trade where the problem of exchange was not difficult. The Roman and Kushan gold coins according to this scholar were not meant for "side by side circulation on one and even neighboring territories."⁸⁶

Nevertheless, we cannot fully ignore the abundant evidences of large trade of the Roman Empire with India particularly with the Kushan Kingdom, as well as the numerous discoveries of Roman coins in India⁸⁷ and the undisputable influence of the Roman coins mint on that of the Kushans.⁸⁸ From all this it is evident that the stimulus for introduction of gold coins in the Kushan mint was the necessity of international trade and the establishment of weight standard of Kushan gold coins was not without influence of the Roman prototypes although, maybe there was no direct imitation.

KANISHKA AND PROSPERITY OF THE KUSHAN KINGDOM

The most famous among the Kushan rulers is Kanishka. The analysis of his name led to a discussion among scholars. H. Bailey suggested that the first part of his name originated from the word "Kan" ("small/young") and the word itself means "the youngest or "the smallest".⁸⁹ W.B. Henning followed the above-mentioned etymology of the word but he explained the suffix differently than H. Bailey.⁹⁰ V.V. Ivanov suggested consideration of this suffix as Tokharan and the word, as a whole, as hybrid Irano-Tokharan.⁹¹

If the name of Kanishka until date is not considered as fully explained, even more difficult situation is faced when we approach the question of the time of his rule. The absence of one or the other definite data does not make up for the abundant sharp hypotheses and conjectures. Different dates from 78 A.D. to 278

⁸⁶ Mac Dowall D.W., 1960, pp. 63-68.

⁸⁷ Wheeler M., 1955, pp. 141-202; Margabandho C, 1965, pp. 316-322.

⁸⁸ Gobl R., 1960, p. 76.

⁸⁹ Bailey H.W., 1968.

⁹⁰ Henning W.B., 1965, pp. 83-84.

⁹¹ Ivanov V.V., 1967.

A.D. were suggested. In recent times, some numismatists, both foreign and indigenous, give preference to later (or relatively late) dates of the beginning of the reign of Kanishka, which leads to sharp criticism of their opponents. Perhaps new discoveries, particularly archaeological, will lead to clarity in this question, but the current position is extremely far from clarity and certainty and along with the date of Kanishka the dates of the reign of other Kushan Kings are also lost in the conceptual determination of centuries.

The rule of Kanishka, according to the available data, continued for not less than 23 years. During his time, the further expansion and consolidation of the Indian dominions of the Kushans took place: Punjab, Kashmir, Sind and Uttar Pradesh (in the East up to Banaras) were under his rule. The capital was the city of Purushapura (modern Peshawar).⁹²

The territory of the Kushan state during Kanishka was not at all confined to Northern India: it included almost the entire Afghanistan, many regions of Central Asia and of Eastern Turkestan.

Suan-tsian wrote: "Previously when Kanishka ruled, his fame spread to the neighboring states and his military might was recognized by all. The princes to the west of China, paying tributes and recognizing the power of Kanishka, sent their hostages to this king."⁹³

In the inscriptions from 268 A.D. of the Sasanid King Shapur I on "Kaaba Zoroaster", it is indicated that Kushanshahr was spread up to Peshawar (Purushapura), Kash (Kashgar or Kesh-Shahrisabz), Sogd and the borders of Chach.⁹⁴ Archaeological monuments and discoveries of coins enable us to ascertain that the southern regions of modern Tajikistan (including Pamirs) and Uzbekistan, as also the Valley of Zerafshan were unquestionably included in the kingdom of Kanishka. It is not suggested that Fergana formed part of the Kushan state in the period of its largest expansion or was under its influence; the same can only be said about the regions on the middle current of Syr-Darya. We cannot say anything with certainty on this question about Khwarezm: there is so far no strong basis in the literature for assertion of "Kushan Khwarezm".⁹⁵

So far as Eastern Turkestan is concerned even the tendentious Chinese sources acknowledge that this country was included in the state of the Yueh-Chihs, i.e., the Kushan state for some time. In the beginning, the Kushans and Han China had friendly relations. However, afterwards, choosing a convenient moment, the Han Court turned to treachery and arrested the Kushan emissary. This led to a series of wars. Consequently, in the beginning of the II century A.D.

⁹² Sinha N.K., *Bannerji A.C.*, 1954, p. 81; *Sircar D.C.*, 1953, p. 141. On the basis of analysis of inscriptions of Kanishka some scholars have tried to outline the separate phases of conquests of Kanishka in India and of expansion of the territory of his state (*Puri B.N.*, 1965, p. 37 and map).

⁹³ *Si-Yu-Ki*, p. 173.

⁹⁴ *Sprengling M.*, 1953, p. 7, 14; *Lukonin V.G.*, 1967, p. 16, 1969a, pp. 30-31.

⁹⁵ Discussion on this question sees: *Tolstov S.P.* 1948 b, p. 151; *Stavisky B.Ya.*, 1961 a, pp. 111-112; *Masson V.M.*, 1966 b, etc.

the Kushans managed to place their satrap⁹⁶ at the helm of Sule (Kashgar). The rulers of this country were "afraid" of the Yueh-Chihs.⁹⁷

Due to the vagueness of Kushan chronology, it is not known as yet whether the Kushan-Chinese wars are related to Kanishka or his predecessors.⁹⁸ The Indian tradition attributes to Kanishka the possession of Tarim region in Eastern Turkestan as well as the conquest of Parthians in the west.⁹⁹

All this points to the fact that Kanishka was not only able to expand the size of his state but perhaps also to inflict heavy losses on the more powerful neighboring states.

The Buddhist tradition firmly links the name of Kanishka with Buddhism. According to this tradition, Kanishka turned to Buddhism and became an ardent follower of this religion. He built a large number of Buddhist religious shrines, stupas, vihars, etc. The convocation of the third Buddhist Council is also attributed to him.

Of course, there are evident exaggerations in the Buddhist tradition. However, this tradition has touched other sources as well. For example, Biruni informs about the construction by Kanishka of Buddhist shrine of Kanikchaitya in Peshawar.¹⁰⁰

At the root of the tradition, there are undoubtedly some real events and tendencies. The following fact is characteristic in this connection. The predecessor of Kanishka, the Kushan King Vima Kadfiz had on his coins the depiction of only one Hindu God-Shiva. However, on the coins of Kanishka and his successor Huvishka, this god though present, is relegated to a modest place among the thirty other gods.¹⁰¹ Among these gods, there are depictions of Buddha and inscriptions "Buddha" and "Buddha Shakyamuni."

On the coins of Kanishka there are other gods including the antique ones. Here we see Zoroastrian gods as well, such as Veretragna — the god of victory and wind, the famous Anahita, the Sun god and god of victory — Mithra, the symbol of wealth and royal power Ferro, etc. Among scholars there is no unanimity on questions whether this multiplicity of gods reflect the real situation in the Kushan pantheon or the reason for it were political goals — the appeal to different strata of population of the vast Kushan Empire.

It is only during the rule of Kanishka that on the coins there appear for the first time inscriptions in the Bactrian (not in the Greek) language written in the Kushan variety of Greek script.

This innovation of Kanishka turned out to be quite vital: such inscriptions in Kushan mint continued later also.

Thus, in the sphere of spiritual matters, during the reign of Kanishka, significant progress was taking place: against the backdrop of wide religious tolerance, the importance of Buddhism was growing and the king himself was

⁹⁶ For details see: *Vasilyev L.S.*, 1955.

⁹⁷ *Bichurin II*, p. 232; *Chavannes E.*, 1907, p. 205.

⁹⁸ *Pulleyblank E.G.*, 1966-1968, pp. 117-121.

⁹⁹ *Ghirshman R.*, 1946, pp. 145-146.

¹⁰⁰ *Biruni*, 1963, p. 360.

¹⁰¹ *Zeimal E.V.*, 1963, pp. 40-41.

inclined towards it; the importance of the Bactrian language was growing which perhaps became the official of one of the official languages.

The mint of Kanishka was quite rich. The handicrafts and trade were growing. The Kushan state reached the zenith of its power. But simultaneously the centrifugal forces had also come to the fore: the multiplicity of the territories included in the Kushan state, separatism of individual rulers and the offensive policy of the Sasanid kingdom (since 226 A.D.) which was formed in Iran on the ruins of the Parthian state and which had started gaining strength.

THE FALL OF THE KUSHAN KINGDOM. THE KUSHANS AND THE SASANIDS

After Kanishka, according to Indian inscriptions, there was a ruler by the name Vasishka. However, there are no coins in his name though there are coins in the name of Hoerko (i.e., Hoeshko, as in the Bactrian script the sound "sh" was pronounced as "r") who according to the sound in the inscriptions is called Huvishka.¹⁰² He ruled for more than three decades. Among other outstanding rulers who ruled for a long time the name of Vasudeva deserves to be mentioned. During his reign in the pantheon of coins there remained only god Shiva from among the great number of gods E.V. Zeimal draws attention to the depiction of Shiva on the coins of Vasudeva (as also on the coins of Vima Kadfiz) in a form which is closer to the variant of later depiction of Shiva and has the attributes of the different varieties of Shivaism characterizing the extreme form of intolerance of other religions.¹⁰³

Above, there has already been mentioned the strengthening of the Iranian Sasanid state. The Sasanid King Shapur I (242-272 A.D.) undertook a military campaign in the East in the forties of the III century A.D. In their inscriptions, he and his successors call themselves "the Kings of Sakastan, Turkestan and India up to the sea coast."¹⁰⁴



Kushan-Sasanid Coin
with the name of Varahran

¹⁰² The data about Huvishka's rule are very scarce and that is why the assertion of B.N. Puri that "the reign of Huvishka perhaps marks the most bright period of Kushan history" (*Puri B.N.*, 1965, p. 116) has no real basis.

¹⁰³ *Zeimal E.V.*, 1965, p. 14; About Shivaism in the Kushan period, see: *Puri B.N.*, 1965, pp. 138-139.

¹⁰⁴ *Lukonin V.G.*, 1969 a, pp. 34-37.

According to V.G. Lukonin actually Shapur I succeeded in conquering only the peripheral regions of the former Parthian state, particularly Merv and Sistan. Information of the inscription of 262 A.D. in "Kaaba Zoroastra" about Kushanshahr has mentioned above. In this inscription before enlisting, the regions (including Kushanshahr) Shapur I say: "I possess" and after enlisting he specifies: "all of them have paid tribute to us and are our subjects". There is an opinion that Kushanshahr might not have been incorporated into the Sasanid state and only paid tribute,¹⁰⁵ but usually it is considered that Kushanshahr was included in the Sasanid state.¹⁰⁶ How long this incorporation lasted (maybe it was dependence of the Kushan rulers on Sasanid kings) is not possible to determine. The information in the sources does not tally and is even contradictory. On one side Arab historian, Tabari informs that the first among the Sasanid, Artashir I, captured Merv, Balkh, and Khwarezm "up to the far-flung borders of Khorasan."¹⁰⁷ This information, as a rule, is taken as a proven fact and only individual scholars doubt it.¹⁰⁸ If we consider that Tabari and the direct meaning of the inscription in "Kaaba Zoroastra" are precise, one evidence which is derived from the Manichean sources, does not tally with this information.

During his lifetime, Mani – the founder of the Manichean religion – sent a preacher Mar Ammo to the East (in the middle of the seventies of the III century A.D.). Having gone through Khorasan, he reached the borders of the Kushans; later he mentioned in Zamba (Zemm city, crossing through the Amu-Darya in the region of modern Karki). Perhaps the last point of the travel of Mar Ammo – Varuchan city (in the region of Balkh) – which was under the rule of the Kushan Kings¹⁰⁹ but possibly under the supreme power of the Sasanid state or its protectorate. Thus, the Sasanids nevertheless succeeded in inflicting a blow and capturing considerable part of the Kushan dominions. However, when?

The problem of the time of the defeat of the Kushan state at the hands of the Sasanids cannot solved without relating it to the question of the date of the so-called Sasanid-Kushan and Kushan-Sasanid coins. Numismatists and historians, such as A. Cunningham, E. Herzfeld, A. Bivar and V.G. Lukonin, R. Gobl and others, have studied this problem. A part of these coins was minted in the Sasanid style. They carried inscription in the middle Persian language and brought out by the mints at Merv and Herat. Others minted in the style of the later Kushan coins with the name of Vasudeva. Here the inscription is also in the Middle Persian language but in the Kushan script, some of them carry the word "Bakhlo" (Balkh). E. Herzfeld suggested that all coins, which brought out in Kushan style, were minted in Balkh,¹¹⁰ even those on which the city was not

¹⁰⁵ Lukonin V.G., 1969 a, p. 31.

¹⁰⁶ ITN I, p. 367; Livshits V.A., 1969, p. 56.

¹⁰⁷ Noldeke Th., 1879, pp. 17-18.

¹⁰⁸ Lukonin V.G., 1969 a, pp. 22-27.

¹⁰⁹ The Manichean texts about this travel have been studied by V.B. Henning (1944, pp. 85-90; 1958, p. 94).

¹¹⁰ Herzfeld E., 1931, p. 11.

mentioned. However, Bivar expressed well-substantiated doubt and assumed that the main mint was located in the region of Kabul.¹¹¹

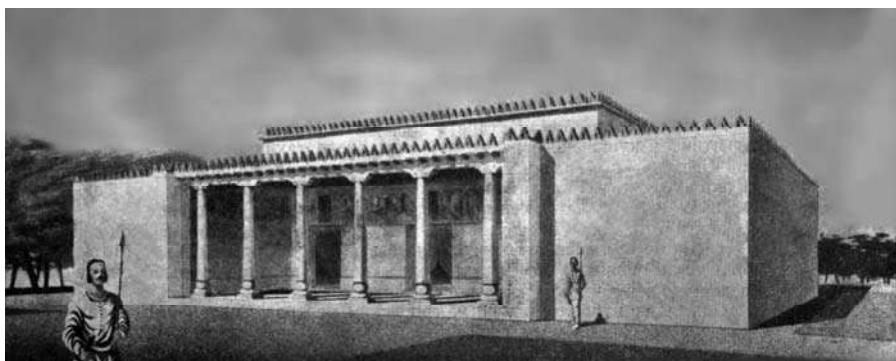


Kushan Warriors (on the basis of sculpture from Khalchayan)

¹¹¹ Bivar A.D.H., 1956, p. 17.



Kushan Kings in warrior dress
1 – from the coins of Kanishka III
2 – from the coins of Vasudeva



Khalchayan. Reconstruction of the palace

On one of these coins is a legend: "bowing before Mazda, the Lord Hormuzd, the great King of Kings" and the mint of Merv is mentioned. On other coins, the names of Artashir, Peroz and Varahran are mentioned. Earlier it was suggested, particularly by E. Herzfeld, that Hormuzd on Kushan-Sasanid coins was the Shahanshah of Iran Hormuzd II (302-309 A.D.). The beginning of the issue of these coins was generally dated to the middle of the III century A.D. A detailed historical analysis led V.G. Lukonin to the conclusion that such a direct identification was not correct. He proved that Sasanid princes (some of them never became the Shahanshah of Iran) minted the Kushan-Sasanid (and Sasanid-Kushan) coins from the middle of the IV up to the middle of the V century A.D.¹¹²

The acceptance of this point of view to some extent is an argument in favor of later dates of the Kushan rulers and the collapse of the Kushan state, not in the third but in the IV century A.D. However, there are arguments against the hypothesis of V.G. Lukonin and no conclusion can be drawn for present. The collapse of the Kushan state cannot be considered as a, one-act event: it continued over a long period, under the influence of internal and external factors.

We have examined the mutual relations of the Kushan and the Sasanid state. However, the Kushan state had to wage a struggle in several directions: there were regroupings among the Kushans – themselves. About this the Chinese chronicles inform us: the brave Yueh-Chih King Tsidolo crossed with his troops the high mountains, attacked Northern India and defeated five states from North of Gantolo (i.e., Gandhar).¹¹³ "King Tsidolo" is the Chinese name of Kidara – one of the Kushan rulers in the second or more likely in the end of the IV century A.D. who captured power in a considerable portion of the old Kushan state. Along with this, a part of Central Asia came under the rule of the Chionits tribes. At the end, the power went to the Hepthalites. The continuous wars of the IV and V centuries inflicted destructive blows to the situation in Central Asia.

4. CENTRAL ASIAN CITIES AND SETTLEMENTS IN KUSHAN TIMES

NORTHERN BACTRIA

On the territory of Afghanistan and Northern Hindustan many monuments of the Kushan period have been studied including those of large cities such as Bagram (not far away from Kabul) — ancient Kapisa.¹¹⁴ Taksila (near Rawalpindi) — ancient Takkasila or Takshashila,¹¹⁵ Charsada (to the North-East of Peshawar) — ancient Pushkalavati¹¹⁶ and others. Soviet archaeological expeditions dug out many cities and settlements of Kushan period in Central

¹¹² Lukonin V.G., 1967.

¹¹³ Bichurin, II, p. 264.

¹¹⁴ Hackin I, Hackin R., 1939; Ghirshman R., 1946; Karl J., Hamelin P., 1954.

¹¹⁵ Marshall I, 1956; Ilyin G.F., 1958.

¹¹⁶ Wheeler M., 1962.

Asia. The material is so large that we are giving only short and selective information about some of the studied monuments.

One of the largest urban centers of Northern Bactria in the Kushan period was Termez. The city in this place (near the modern city) existed over a period of one millennium. That is why later layers overlap the archaeological layers of the Kushan period. Termez in the Kushan period occupied a large area. On its territory were located large cult centers — Buddhist monasteries Kara-tepe and Fayaz-tepe. In the city, there were handicraft workshops, including pottery.

Kushan Termez was one of the centers of metallurgical (and perhaps metallic) production — here in the layers of the Kushan period have been found numerous, balls — palm-like pieces of melted iron, which were obtained in the process of primitive melting. On the basis of study of some fragments of stone architecture it can be assumed that in Termez there were a large number of monumental constructions.

A very large city existed near the settlement of Shahrinav. The length of the city wall extended up to seven kilometers and the entire area encircled by them was around 350 hectares.¹¹⁷ Here, besides coins, a magnificent stone capital with human depictions was discovered.

Emerging in the Greco-Bactrian period the city of Kei-Qobad-shah (Qubadian district) existed in the Kushan period also. It was protected by strong defensive walls, which surrounded its rectangular area (375 x 285 meters). On the long sides there were nine towers and on the short sides seven towers. Besides, there were towers on every corner. All the towers were rectangular. The excavated parts of the walls revealed that from the internal side they were encircled by a corridor divided into compartments. Rectangular rooms were adjacent to it. Here many articles have been discovered. Among them are ceramics, statues and jewellery.¹¹⁸

Eight kilometers from the modern city of Yavan there was another big city of the Kushan period. Its area was approximately forty hectares. Here there is an elevated square resembling a citadel. It is adjoined by a high hillock up to eight meters in height and 380 x 200 meters in size. All this area resembles surrounded by a city wall. Outside the wall, there were individual plots and burial places. The excavations were made mainly in the citadel and on other territories. The common construction sites dug out — small rooms form clusters situated on the sides of narrow lane or blind alley. In the later period, the constructions were generally two-storeyed. The remnants of constructions of the preceding period have also excavated. The ten meter thick foundation of the citadel, contains the ruins of die consecutive constructions of five periods, the lowest is dated from the I century B.C. to the threshold of our era, the uppermost from the IV to V centuries A.D. The evolution of material culture particularly ceramics can be traced. Here articles made of bones (for example, pinholes with fixed decoration), metallic jewellery and articles such as grain pounders; millstones,¹¹⁹ etc. have been found. The settlement on the site of Saksan-Okhur (Farkhor region) continued to exist in the Kushan period.

¹¹⁷ Davidovich E. A., 1956, pp. 76-77.

¹¹⁸ Kuzmina E.E. and Pevzner S.B., 1956; Mandelshtam A.M. and Pevzner S.B., 1958.

¹¹⁹ Litvinsky B.A., 1967 a.



Town of Toprak – kala,
III c. A.D., fragment of
male head. Alabaster

One of the most beautiful monuments of this period is the complex in Khalchayan (near Dehnay). Here in Khanaka-tepe is situated a palace (or temple) building. The front part of it is in the form of a four-column aiwan (gallery) 16.5 meter long. From it is three passages (one central and two side ones) one could enter the main elongated hall. Besides this, there were extra rooms and corridors. Splendid clay sculptures and wall paintings decorated the rooms of this building. In Khanaka-tepe, other constructions including two-tiered ones have discovered.

In Surkhan-Darya region, besides Khalchayan, a large number of monuments of the Kushan period have found, for example, Dalverzin-tepe,¹²⁰ Khairabad-tepe, Zar-tepe¹²¹ and others.



Document on wood from the palace archive in
Toprak- kala

¹²⁰ Pugachenkova G.A., 1966 b.

¹²¹ Albaum L.I., 1960.

SOGD, FERGANA, CHACH AND KHWAREZM

The cities and settlements of Sogd, Fergana and Chach in the Kushan period have been studied in lesser degree than those in the Northern Bactria. However, it is known that in these regions considerable growth of urban life had taken place. Samarkand was a large city. In Sogd there were a large number of small settlements. One of them was a fortified settlement Tali Barzu.¹²² On the territory of Fergana and Ustrushan, mention may be made of the settlements of Munchak-tepe near Bekobad, the settlement in the region of Leninabad fortress, the settlement near Asht, Shurabashat, Chun-tepe and others. The material culture of Fergana settlement was distinct in its originality. There were great differences inside Fer-gana itself.

Along the middle course of Syr-Darya — on the territory of the Fergana region and adjacent districts — the Kaunchin-Jun culture named after the settlement Kauchi-tepe and Jun sepulcher, the lower layers of the settlement was developing Kauchi go back to the II-I centuries B.C. It continued to exist until the middle of the I millennium A.D. To this time are related the settlements of Ming-Uryuk, Alimbai-tepe, Kugait-tepe, Ak-tobe, Shaushukum-tobe¹²³ and others.

There were a large number of cities and settlements in Khwarezm. The city bearing the name Toprak-kala has been studied in detail. This city was in the shape of a big rectangle (500 x 350 meters) which was encircled by a wall of raw bricks with loopholes and towers. A narrow street along the two sides of which stretched big residential areas divided by small lanes intersected the center of the city.

The main building of the city was a grand three-tower castle — the residence of the kings of the Khwarezmian dynasty. This inaccessible twenty-five meter high palace stood proudly over the city. Its central parts area was 80 x 80 meters. The constructions were double-storeyed and served different purposes. A cluster of gala halls has been discovered including the grand "hall of the kings" (280 sq. meters).

Along its walls extended the pedestals divided by partitions on small sections. Here were sculptures of Khwarezmian kings and queens, of nobility and gods. On the walls and niches, there were splendid murals. Sculpture reliefs and paintings also decorated the other portions of the palace. Among the auxiliary constructions, one may mention those, which represented "armory" (weapon store and workshop). The remnants of the archives have also been found.¹²⁴

¹²² See: Grigoriev G.V., 1940 a, 1940 b; Stavisky B.Ya. 1967;

¹²³ Levina L.M., 1967; Maksimova A.G. and others, 1968.

¹²⁴ Tolstov S.P., 1962, pp. 204-226; Rapoport Iu.A., 1968; Nerazik E.E., 1969.

5. ECONOMY OF CENTRAL ASIA IN THE KUSHAN PERIOD

AGRICULTURE, IRRIGATION

Detailed archaeological investigation of vast territory by archaeologists has shown that almost all the main regions of Central Asia were developed for agriculture. In the valleys, irrigated cultivation was prevailing and the cattle breeding was also developing. The irrigation works had acquired a grandiose range. An entire system of canals was built and functioned in Khwarezm, Zerafshan Valley, etc. Ancient canals of the Kushan period were discovered in Tajikistan also particularly in the Vakhsh Valley. For irrigation the water not only from the rivers but also from the springs was used which at that time undoubtedly were more numerous than now. Thus, for example, in the Northern part of the Vakhsh Valley where the bulk of lands were irrigated by the main canal drawn from the Vakhsh River a cluster of settlements, for example, the sight of Halqajar near Uyali was situated on the upper terrace where nowadays water is provided by pumps developed. In the Kushan times, such settlements and surrounding fields were supplied water from springs. Along with this, as in the Yavan Valley, dry land cultivation was also practiced. Such cultivation was widespread in the mountainous and foothill regions. During the Kushan period, the whole valley of upper Zerafshan up to contemporary Matcha was developed for agriculture.¹²⁵

The agriculture technique continued to remain highly primitive. Perhaps irrigation was more advanced. During excavation of Tali Barzu an iron cap of *omach* (wooden plough) was found.¹²⁶

In the I century A.D. millstones were beginning to spread. The oldest hand millstones were found in one of the sepulchers in the Karamazar Mountains. In the beginning, the millstones were very small. They increased considerably in size and in number also in the III and IV centuries A.D.

Written sources and archaeological discoveries testify to the fact that in the Kushan period Central Asian farmers cultivated almost everything known in medieval times: cereals, essential and forage crops, horticulture etc. A variety of grades is typical of the agriculture in this period. Thus, for example, in Khwarezm of III-IV centuries A.D. both types of grapes — wine as well as table grapes were cultivated. Selection work by people, which was conducted from one generation to the other, enabled the cultivation of high grade and locally adaptable crops. It is not accidental that the neighbors of Central Asia borrowed several agricultural crops from its people (for example, the Chinese borrowed the culture of lucerne and walnuts).

In the valleys surrounded by mountains particularly in the Fergana Valley, distant pasture cattle breeding was developing which was associated with semi-nomadic way of life of some part of population with its seasonal migrations. The high breed cattle of the inhabitants of Fergana, especially the Fergana horses, were the cause of envy of neighbors and were widely exported from Fergana.

¹²⁵ Stavisky B.Ya., 1961.

¹²⁶ ITN, I, pp. 360-370.

CONSTRUCTION WORKS AND HANDICRAFTS

Archaeological excavations have revealed the following types of construction: (1) Palace constructions, (2) Buildings for religious worship, (3) Residential houses, (4) Constructions for production, (5) Store houses, (6) Fortifications (7) Irrigation works, etc. Most of the types of these constructions were found not in isolation but in combination with each other. A distinctive functional identification of concrete monuments is not always possible: for example, it cannot deny that in Khalchayan there was a palace but not a temple.

Social buildings were often of the monumental character. The castles and palaces of the rulers were considerably large in size built on high platforms and were surrounded by strong fortifications. Large halls with high ceilings decorated with splendid works of art and beautiful murals. The walls were quite massive.

Among the religious worship buildings, some were small. Thus, for example, the central part of the Buddhist sanctuary in Airtam (near Termez) was very small but it was decorated with stone high reliefs (the famous Airtam frieze).

The residential constructions were not always of high quality. Usually these were small rooms the walls of which were covered by simple brick plastering. There were also large rooms with alabaster plastering of walls. Apparently, the character and planning of residential constructions reflect both local traditions as well as social and property differentiation of society. The Central Asian engineers and fortifications achieved notable success. The strong fort walls, strengthened by protruding towers, complicated structures in front of the gates, closely set up loopholes — all these were on the level of best developed fortifications of their times. In the valleys of Western Pamirs huge fortifications were constructed: Qahqaha, Yamchun and others, which were situated on the main communication line and formed the system of mutually linked long lasting fortifications.¹²⁷

In constructions, a variety of materials was used. For constructing the walls blocks and raw bricks were commonly used (the square-shaped brick in size on one side from 32 to 44 centimeters was widely used). Sometimes, especially in the mountains material stone blocks were used for walls. Baked bricks used scarcely. In Bactria the continuation of Hellenistic tradition, along with the existence of corresponding resources, led to the wide use of stone blocks for bearing constructions and for decoration: simple and more complicated in profile "attic" base of columns; the stone stems of columns; magnificent stone capitals, which modify and develop the type of Korinth capital (on the capital found in Shahrinav, the depictions of human figures, griffins); stone pedestals of pilaster etc. The stems of columns and ceilings were often wooden. In ceilings, the ceramic tiles were also used. The constructions of ceilings were done in the shape of vaults and arcs in which columns and beams were used. Vaults and arcs were used in comparatively small openings. Vaults were constructed by the technique of tilted cuts.

Handicraft production developed both in big cities as well as less populated places. We know about this due to numerous discoveries of the articles of material culture and whole handicraft workshops. Thus, for example, at many places remnants of pottery products have been found. It is known that potters

¹²⁷ About Vakhan fortresses see: Bernshtam A.N. 1952; Babaev A., 1965.

baked their products in the furnaces of several types. In the same furnaces, the terracotta's also were baked. The ceramic wares of this period were discovered in a large number during the excavations. The several of types and forms of vessels are very big; the vessels satisfy very high standards, particularly true is of dining and fancy crockery. Thus, goblets from the sepulcher in Tup-khana (in Hissar) are made of exquisitely thin porcelain, meticulously polished and smooth. Two thousand years have passed and still were yet they produce a sound as if they were made of crystal. The fancy chinaware is covered by different stamped decorations and has figured handles.

Metallic utensils and jewelry were also produced everywhere. Bronze vessels, candle stands, mirrors, bracelets, ear tops, rings and many other articles were used in everyday life of the people. The collection of these articles was very large and the quality of production high. Castings have been found in which molding of the articles was done.

Various articles also represent glassware's. Particularly, beads are plentiful among which mosaic beads glittering with all colors of the rainbow are distinguishable; mosaic beads with human depictions have been found. The two-layer gold-plated beads are very impressive: their central part is covered with a very thin gold foil and external layer is made of transparent colorless glass.

The weapon workshops' produce are found in abundance, the long-range weapon — bow — was perfected in this period. A special type of complex bow having a five-fold form and covered with bone and horn plates was in much use. The home of this powerful weapon is Central Asia. Later it spread to Sasanid Iran. That is why the widespread name "Sasanid" in Western literature is inaccurate. It should name "Kushan-Sasanid" as was suggested by Soviet scholars. From Central Asia, this type of bow penetrated among the Sarmats and further to the west up to Scotland, in the South to Iran and India and in the East to China.¹²⁸

During excavations in Central Asia bone and horn — plates were found which were covering the surface of the bow and in some cases the completely reconstructable complexly made bows. Arrows were made of wood or reed. The arrowheads made of iron and of several types. The most widespread were the arrowheads with cuttings and three angled blades. At the end of this period complex-profiled arrowheads appeared.¹²⁹

The warriors were armed with swords and daggers. In Central Asia of the I century A.D. there were in large use big (1,2 meter long) iron double-blade swords without cross and with a large handle. Among other types of weapons, mention may be made of spears, battle-axes and slings.

For construction and functioning of handicraft workshops, it was necessary to have raw material. The extraction of minerals increased sharply in the Kushan period. From the depth of the earth were extracted the metallic ores,¹³⁰ construction

¹²⁸ Litvinsky B.A., 1966, Compare Khazanov A.M., 1966.

¹²⁹ Litvinsky B.A., 1965.

¹³⁰ Undoubtedly, gold was extracted on a large scale. Perhaps the Central Asian mines were the main source of gold used by the Kushan mints; the rest of the metal was obtained from Afghanistan, India and through trade with other countries; apparently remelting of Roman gold coins also took place.

materials and semi-precious and precious stones, etc. A part of the produce of mining and metallic handicrafts exported.

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC TRADE

For the Kushan epoch, the existence of a developed coinage system of different denominations and abundant minting is characteristic. All this testifies to the existence, in the country of commodity production and exchange. In this connection, the significant fact is that the main part of the Kushan exchange consisted of copper coins. This speaks of introduction of monetary exchange in the sphere of everyday life.¹³¹ During the portrayal of historical canvas of the Kushan Kingdom, some important changes, in the Kushan minting in different periods, have already been mentioned. At the same time, it is to be noted that the numismatists so far have paid exceptional attention to the classification treatment of the Kushan coins and to the question of iconography etc. The social and economic side has thus far remained unelaborated.

Along with the internal trade, the external trade also attained a high development. Pliny (XII, 84) informs about the great bulk of imports (100 million sestertsiis) from India, the country of Sers (Eastern Turkestan) and Arabia to the Roman Empire. A certain part of this import made from the territories of the Kushan kingdom including Central Asia. Thus in the words of Pliny highly valuable iron was exported from Serika to the Roman Empire As M. Khvostov suggests the question is about the import into the Roman empire not of the iron itself but its products.¹³² One can also think that at least some of this iron, just like other products, came from Central Asia. For the later period — medieval times — the export of iron products from Central Asia many times noted by Arab geographers of IX-X centuries.

There are indications that the Bactrian traders came to the Roman Empire, to one of the largest trade centers — Alexandria, in Egypt. From the other side the Roman traders also, came to Central Asia.¹³³

In Central Asia, large number of Roman products has found along with the Roman coins.¹³⁴ All this clearly linked to die large scale of the Roman – Central Asian trade. The import into Central Asia of articles of Roman (to be precise Mediterranean) production enabled the production of similar goods in Central Asia itself.¹³⁵ The Roman art products considerably influenced the evolution of Central Asian art especially the formation of the Gandhar School of art, which was prevalent in North-West India, Afghanistan and perhaps in the Southern Central Asia.

¹³¹ Masson V.M., Romodin V.A., 1964, p. 183.

¹³² Khvostov M, 1907, p. 156.

¹³³ Stavisky B.Ya., 1964 v, p.180.

¹³⁴ For list of finds see: Stavisky B.Ya., 1964 v; Masson V. M, 1966 a.

¹³⁵ Litvinsky B.A., Tursunov N.O., 1971.

There was also trade with China. Through Central Asia passed the "Silk Route" along which the caravans with silk travelled to the West.¹³⁶ The silk products also got absorbed in Central Asia itself. Thus, for instance, if the information given by Flora (3, 11) is to be trusted the Parthians in the middle of the first century B.C. had silk banners. Besides silk there came to Central Asia from China bronze mirrors, and lacquered articles, etc. The Central Asian export to China was also large.¹³⁷

In the second book of "Mahabharata" — "Sabhaparva" which is dated to the IV century B.C. the gifts brought to the Pandava king Yudhishtir, residing in the region of modern Delhi by the representatives of different people including those of Central Asia are mentioned. These representatives brought the gifts, which obviously corresponded, to the usual articles of import from these regions. For example, from the country of Bahli (Bactria) were brought "woolen blankets — proportionate, smooth and of beautiful colors" — different textiles, sheep skins, weapons, precious stones; "Shakas" (Sakas), "Tukhars" (Tokhars) and "Kankas" (Kangyui) brought horses capable of undertaking long and arduous journeys" ("Mahabharata" 11, 47).

Archaeological data show that trade was conducted with the near – Ural, and Volga Sarmat tribes, also. Through their territories trade routes passed, which linked Central Asia with the Caucasus and the region near the Black Sea.

Mention has already made about the appearance of the Bactrians in Alexandria in Egypt. The Sogdians set up whole trade factories far away from the territory of Sogd. In Dunhuang (Eastern Turkestan), letters from the beginning of IV century B.C. in the Sogdian language have found. One of these letters recalls that in Druan (Dunhuang) 100 free (or noble) men from Samarkand were living. W.B. Henning rightly estimates that the total number of settlers from Samarkand in this city, along with the number of slaves and family members, must be running into thousands. Several of these letters contain information about trade and prices, etc. The Sogdians living in Eastern Turkestan maintained close contacts with their metropolis Samarkand where their relatives continued to reside.¹³⁸

6. CULTURE AND RELIGION OF KUSHAN CENTRAL ASIA

RELICS OF WRITTEN LANGUAGE

The Kushan period is characterized by serious progress in the sphere of spiritual culture of the peoples of Central Asia. It was a period of complex and contradictory phenomena, intertwined tendencies and influences.¹³⁹

In the IV-II centuries B.C. local written language on the basis of Arameic appears in Central Asia.

¹³⁶ For the best research of written sources on this topic, see: *Herrman A.*, 1938.

¹³⁷ *Vasilyev L.S.*, 1958.

¹³⁸ These letters have been published under the title "Old Sogdian Letters". See: *Reichelt H.*, 1931. See also: *Rozenberg F.A.*, 1932; the most significant research on this subject is: *Henning W.B.*, 1948.

¹³⁹ *Ghofurov B.G.*, 1968.

The oldest relics of Sogdian script are the inscriptions on Sogdian coins from the beginning of our era. Further follows the "Old Sogdian scripts". In them signs are different from each other and mostly unconnected with each other. This script had not yet too far from its Arameic prototype. At the same time, according to Livshits, these scripts show that in that period the main norms of the Sogdian written language were already formed, which were preserved until at least the X century A.D. "Sogdian Old Letters", which as W.B. Henning showed, are dated 312-313 A.D.¹⁴⁰, and are not only important historical documents but also examples, of epistolary prose. In them, the events of human life are reflected in simple truthfulness. The onslaught of the Hunns, the alarming days of the Sogdian colony, fears, indignation and love — the whole gamut of human feelings and sufferings have been engraved in these documents without any literary ornamentation. Bitterness and resentment penetrate in the letter written by young Sogdian Mevancha (this name meant "tiger nib" or "cat") addressed to her mother in Samarkand. Her guardian, who is called Nanidat, wants to marry her against her wishes and she dictates to the scribe: "I would better be the wife of a dog or a swine than the wife of Nanidat" (translation by V.A. Livshits). After the lapse of sometime Mevancha again writes to her mother. She not only became the wife of Nanidat but also wrote about her husband and of his love and respect. Such contradictions are not rare in the world literature.

In Surkh-Kotal (to the South of Kunduz) several inscriptions, written in Kushan variety of Greek alphabets, have been found. The language of the inscriptions happened to be East Iranian, which was not known earlier. This caused difficulty in its decipherment by A. Marik, E. Benveniste, W. Henning, I. Gershevich, Ya. Harmatta, H. Humbach and others. One inscription consisted of 25 lines. So far no commonly agreed translation of it exists as the researchers have disagreement over many points, particularly over who in the inscription is implied as (or named) the builder of the temple. One of the likely variant of the translation has been offered by V.A. Livshits: "This acropolis temple [named], Kanishka the Victorious, was built by the lord king in honor of Kanishka and when the initial construction of the acropolis was finished, all the reservoirs of water inside the temple went dry as a result of which the acropolis was left without water and when as a result of scorching heat drought came, the gods were taken away from their nest [temple] their sculptures and paintings and the acropolis became deserted till the time when in the thirty first year of the rule in the month of Nisan came here to the temple satrap Nokonzok loved by the king, most friendly to the king, shining ["son of the god"] doing good, full of virtues, pure in thoughts towards everyone. Afterwards he built a wall around the acropolis, dug out a well, brought water, inlaid it with stone so that the people in the acropolis did not feel scarcity of water [or "so that the acropolis did not feel the scarcity of pure water"] and in the case of drought arising from the scorching summer heat, the gods were not taken away from their nest and so that the acropolis did not stand empty. In addition, above the well water-lifting device was installed, the water reservoir was also built and thanks to this well and water-lifting device the whole acropolis became prosperous. And this well and this [further a word appears which

¹⁴⁰ Henning W.B., 1958, pp. 52-56; Livshits V.A., 1962a, pp. 135-136.

can be approximately interpreted as "window", or "tower"] were made by Hirgoman, Burzmihr, son of Kuzgashka, Astilgantsig and Nokonzok, satraps, obedient to the order of the king as also wrote Evman with Mihraman, Burzmihr-puhrom and Amihraman."¹⁴¹

The language of this inscription occupies a middle position between Pushto and the Pamirs languages — Munjan and Yidga from one side and Sogdian, Khwarezmian and Parthian from the other. We are indebted to the insight of the leading Iranist W.B. Henning for identification of the language of the inscription as Bactrian¹⁴² was till recently which practically unknown (inscriptions on Kushan coins, gems, and ceramics did not make it possible because of its conciseness to characterize it). By its grammatical structure the Bactrian language moved away from the ancient type much farther than the East Iranian languages.¹⁴³

In the opinion of the linguists, in the Surkh-Kotal inscriptions as also in the Indian inscriptions of the Kushan times only few terms of the original Saka dialect "Kushan" are found. It can be imagined that the Kushans, on the territory of Bactria, got mixed up with the Bactrians and were to some extent assimilated by them and for written language used the Bactrian language; though with many borrowed elements from other Iranian and Indian languages. In the inscriptions on Kushan coins the same Bactrian language and script was used.

From the times of Kanishka the Greek script was used. To the 24 letters of the Greek alphabet one more was added. However, in practice fewer letters were used. The Kushan or to be more exact Bactrian script is a combination of sharp-angled rectangular and round form of majority of letters. Later semi-italic type was developed.¹⁴⁴

Following the Sogdian, Parthian and Khwarezmian languages the Bactrian language also appeared. The long Surkh-Kotal inscription is the first literary monument in the Bactrian language. In its genre, it resembles Achaemenid and Sasanid inscriptions. However in contrast to the royal inscriptions in the Surkh-Kotal inscription glorification is almost completely absent. This becomes clearly obvious if it is compared with the inscription of Darius in Suza (DSI)¹⁴⁵ which is also related to construction. However, one-third of it is covered by glorification of Ahura-Mazda and the king. The Surkh-Kotal inscription has a strictly business - like form. It gives a consecutive summary of events and their motivation. Before us, there is a short narration of events, a sample of business prose.

In the Southern part of Central Asia, several (true, not large) Bactrian inscriptions have been found. Thus in Dushanbe itself a sepulchral inscription has found with just one word; in Dashti-Jum a bronze bell has been discovered carrying 17 letters (may be these are just letters written by an illiterate artisan). In Termez, in the monastery of Kara-tepe, several Bactrian inscriptions have found on crocks including bilingual ones; there are also inscriptions on the walls. In

¹⁴¹ Translation published in the book: *Masson V.M., Romodin V.A.*, 1964, 1, pp. 192-193.

¹⁴² *Henning W.B.*, 1960, pp. 47-48.

¹⁴³ *Livshits V.A.*, 1962 a; pp. 142-143.

¹⁴⁴ *Livshits V.A.*, 1967, pp. 162-163; 1969.

¹⁴⁵ For text see: *Kent R.G.*, 1953, pp. 142-144; translation by *Abaev V.A.*, 1945.

Khwarezm, at Toprak-kala, monuments have been found with Khwarezmian script, work on deciphering them is in progress.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

Religious beliefs in the Kushan times were marked by considerable complications. The main part of the Central Asian population as before continued to follow Zoroastrianism. Thus among the Sogdians, as is evident from their personal names (more than 20) found in the "Old Sogdian Letters" the population on the whole followed Zoroastrianism. These names go back to the names of Old Iranian gods, which entered the Central Asian — Zoroastrian pantheon. At the same time, "Sogdian" Zoroastrianism had its own specific character. It deserves to mention that the goddess Nana [i] occupies one of the highest places in the Sogdian pantheon.¹⁴⁶ The author of letter living in Samarkand bear names in the composition of which the word "nana [i]" is there. It was the female goddess of Mesopotamian origin where she was already famous in the Sumerian epoch. Thereafter she appeared in Assyria, later in Iran and was in the Roman period popular from Egypt and Greece in the West to Parthia, Kushan and Sogd in the East. Perhaps in Central Asia the cult of Nana [i] intertwined with the cult of Anahita.¹⁴⁷



Sanctuary of the temple in Surkh - Kotal

¹⁴⁶ Henning W.B., 1948, pp. 602-603; Henning W.B., Pt. II, 1965a, pp. 250-252.

¹⁴⁷ Ingholt H., 1954, pp. 12-13; Dyakonova N.V., Smirnova O.I., 1967.



Main staircase of the temple in Surkh - Kotal

The Sogdians of Eastern Turkestan and Sogd had temples — "Vagn".¹⁴⁸ The priests "vagnpats" played a big role in the life of the Sogdian society.

For Bactrian Zoroastrianism data can also be obtained from the analysis of the depiction of gods on the Kushan coins. Here in a specific Bactrian script the following names are written: Oromozdo — Ahura-Mazda, Mihro-Mithra, Mao-Maha (god of moon) Farro-Faria-Veretragna (god of victory), Nana-Nanai (goddess of fertility) and others.¹⁴⁹ One can see local specific Bactrian designation for example, Okhsho or Oakhsho. Undoubtedly, this word originated from Old Iranian "Vakhshu". In the Avestan language, "Vakhsh" means "the said word" (technical term). In the Sogdian language, it is linked to the meaning "logos", in the Middle Iranian languages it was used as meaning spirit "dukh" which is sometimes linked with "flowing water".¹⁵⁰ In the Indian source, the word "Vakhshu" meant the Amu-Darya, which the Greeks knew under the name of Oxus.¹⁵¹ In the inscription on the hard stone preserved in the Calcutta Museum one can see the religious formula "Vakhsh, the only God".¹⁵²

The image of "Vakhsh" as a god remained preserved in Central Asia until the medieval period. In the beginning of the XI century Biruni informed that, the Khwarezmians had the festival "vakhshangam" and added: "Vakhsh" as the name of the angel who was to look after the waters, in particular, after the River

¹⁴⁸ For complete Sogdian terminology connected with this temple, see: *Widengren G.*, 1965, p. 326.

¹⁴⁹ *Stein A.*, 1887, pp. 155-166, *Widengren G.*, 1965, pp. 333-338.

¹⁵⁰ *Bailey H.W.*, 1931a, p. 281. Some linguists think that this word is derived from "obmyvat" (washing), others think that it means "iskryashchiysya" (glittering) *Harmatta I.*, 1960, p. 198.

¹⁵¹ *Marquart J.*, 1938.

¹⁵² *Livshits V.A.*, 1969, p. 65.

Jaihun.¹⁵³ In the medieval and our times the old name of the Amu-Darya was preserved only for one of the tributaries of the Amu-Darya — the Panj — i.e., for the River Vakhsh. But it testifies to the fact that it was here in the Southern Tajikistan that the belief in the spirit — the protector of river waters, Oashkho, became deep rooted.

The temple at Surkh-Kotal in Afghanistan, excavated by a French expedition, provides the picture of the temple of the Bactrians. On the high hillock, to which led a three-step main staircase on a pedestal made of bricks and strengthened on the sides by stone tiles with pilasters, the main temple was situated. It was rectangular (35x27 meters) more wide in the facade than in depth, consisting of square shaped central room surrounded by corridor on sides and in the back. From the front side three passages led to the temple — wide one to the central part and narrow on the sides of it — to the corridor. In the middle of the central room, the stone platform stood with columns on the corners. Three steps (from the backside) led to the platform. The walls of this room were decorated with pilasters.



Airtam fresco

The space around the temple was surrounded by the wall of fortified type — from outside it had right-angled towers. Inside along the walls laid a columned portico and there were niches in the walls where once upon a time stood big bright colored clay sculptures (most of them have crumbled). Later, between the bases of the pedestal and wall of the yard and also outside close to the wall two small temples were built which also had central square-shaped room and surrounding it corridors (but from four sides). In the central room of one of these temples was situated a pedestal made of raw brick with steps. Its walls decorated in the corners and in the middle with pilasters. Between them, there were clay reliefs (depictions of birds). On the upper surface of the pedestal there is a heavily burnt depression filled with pure ashes. It is the altar of fire. Strictly speaking, it cannot be the proof of the main temple as also being the temple of fire. An opinion was expressed that it was a dynastic temple. A researcher of this temple D. Schlumberger thinks that the temple could combine two functions of a

¹⁵³ Biruni, 1957, p. 258.

dynastic temple as well as a temple of fire. He calls the Surkh-Kotal temple as the "royal Kushan temple of fire".¹⁵⁴



Harp-player in Airtam
fresco

In one of the Surkh-Kotal inscriptions, there is a word "Bagolaggo" — "sanctuary", — perhaps it was the name of the temple; the adjoining district and the settlement (Baglan) was named after it.¹⁵⁵

Along with Zoroastrianism other religions were also developing. As is known, in Kushan Central Asia Buddhism was prevalent. It is quite possible that the information about Buddhism penetrated into Central Asia several centuries before, during Achaemenid period but concrete information about it spread in Central Asia in the relatively later period. Buddhism came to Central Asia through Afghanistan. According to all available sources, its dissemination was going on in several ways (at least two): Westward — towards Merv (to the Eastern regions of Parthia) and Eastward — towards Termez (in Bactria).

¹⁵⁴ Schlumberger D., 1961, pp. 77-88.

¹⁵⁵ Henning W.B., 1956, pp. 366-367.



Heads of terracotta figures of the Kushan period



Silver medal depicting Goddess of hunting

The Ceylonese chronicle informs about the arrival in Ceylon, in the first quarter of the I century B.C., of one sage named Mahadeva for the Buddhist festival. This sage came most likely not from Parthia itself but from some neighboring dominion. Shortly afterwards Buddhism spread to Merv. There is also information that in 148 one An Shi-gao came to Loyan and started translating Buddhist text into the Chinese language. According to his name, he came from the country called An-Parthia. It is to him and his disciples that China owes its information about Buddhism. Moreover, a Shi-gao was an eminent

scholar and through him, the Chinese received information about the scientific ideas of the peoples of Central Asia.¹⁵⁶

For Bactria, we have considerable information. The name of eminent Buddhist preacher Ghoshak, a native of Tokharistan, is well-known. Buddhist theologian Dharmamithra belonged to Termez. Buddhist preachers reached the region of Chach where Buddhist constructions were building up.

In Central Asia the Buddhist school Vaibhashika, in the teachings of which there were many materialist elements, was well – known; in their theory of knowledge, there were many features of dialectics. As F. Engels pointed out: "...dialectical thinking — because it has as its pre-requisite the research of the nature of comprehension itself, — is possible only for the human and for the latter only in a relatively high stage of development (Buddhist and Greek), and it reaches its full development only much later in the current philosophy...".¹⁵⁷



Sculpture from Khalbayan

A whole series of Buddhist constructions is now well known. Thus in Airtam, not far away from Termez, the Buddhist monastery complex of the I-II centuries A.D. which was partly excavated. Its nucleus was the sanctuary. It consisted of a square-shaped room in the center of which stood a rectangular platform for placing relics, and an entrance hall, the walls of which were decorated with beautiful stone frescos. The monastery included some residential and service rooms.¹⁵⁸ In Termez itself, on the hill of Kara-tepe, is being excavated the Buddhist cave monastery (in India such monasteries are found in a large number). Here some complexes are being excavated; each of which consists of cave sanctuary surrounded by four roundabout vaulted corridors and of a yard with ground worship constructions. The traces of murals, fragments of stone and

¹⁵⁶ Litvinsky B.A., 1967 v: Litvinsky B.A., 1968.

¹⁵⁷ K. Marx and F. Engels, Works. V. 20, pp. 537-538.

¹⁵⁸ Vyazmitina M.L, 1945.

alabaster statues are also found.¹⁵⁹ Not far away from Kara-tepe archaeologist L.I. Albaum is excavating the other Buddhist complex with splendid paintings and sculptures — Fayaz-tepe. It consists of open rectangular type corridors, cells, sanctuaries and stupa. In Termez it there is a Buddhist stupa — it is nowadays called the "Tower of Zurmal". Near Dalverzin-tepe (Surkhan-Darya province), a Buddhist complex of the Kushan period has been discovered. Of particular interest, is a sculpture discovered here depicting the worship of the Buddhist and secular characters?

Christianity entered Central Asia in the II-III centuries B.C. Biruni provides the information that one priest brought Christianity to Merv about two hundred years after the death of the founder of that religion.¹⁶⁰ This information would have looked like a legend if we had not possessed information provided by the Syrian (beginning of III century A.D.) and the Armenian (IV century A.D.) sources about the spread of Christianity in the "Kushan Country".

In Central Asia the adherents of one more religion — Manichean — appeared which played an important part in the history of Central Asian ideological life. Let us dwell on it in some details. The founder of this religion Mani was born in 216 in a noble family of Babylon near Ctesiphon. The Sasanid king allowed the preaching of the new religion but ultimately Mani imprisoned and died there (in 276-277) and Manichean teachings and Manichean themselves was subjected to severe repressions.



Harp player on a wall painting
in the palace of Toprak – kala

¹⁵⁹ Grek T.E. and others, 1967; Stavisky B.Ya., 1967a, 1969.

¹⁶⁰ Biruni, 1957, p. 130.

According to the Manichean doctrine, in the beginning when there was no earth and sky yet there existed two principles: light (the good) and darkness (the evil). In real life, the elements of both are mixed up and the human beings should help to achieve perfection, assisting the origin of light in the struggle against the evil. The teaching of Mani included and united in itself many important elements of Zoroastrianism from one side and early Christian agnosticism on the other, and also to some extent of Buddhism. It was not monolithic: in some schools of Manichaeism, the current of social protest was clearly visible — the Manichean slogan is well-known — "one who is wealthy, will be poor and beg, and will suffer eternally". This slogan and also the preaching of highly moral ideal of the promise to lead to the "heaven of light" attracted the toiling masses and the middle strata of society to Manichaeism. Manichaeism established a powerful organization, which could not but scare the Sasanid court and the Zoroastrian priesthood to Manichaeism.

Already during Mani's life and directly after his death Manichaeism travelled far away from the borders of Iran. The preaching of Manichaeism in Central Asia was done inspired of the above-mentioned slogan in the first place among the nobility, but gradually embraced wide circle of the population. One of the most outstanding preachers of Manichaeism in Central Asia was Mar Ammo. Later Manichaeism penetrated into Eastern Turkestan and subsequently into China. In Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan Manichaeism absorbed in itself many features of Buddhism, having adopted some of its ideas and partly terminology. In their religious propaganda, the Manicheans used art, particularly the art of painting — their religious books were splendidly illustrated. That is why in the Tajik-Persian literature and the old dictionaries the name of Mani was a synonym of the great painter.¹⁶¹



Statues of ossuary in the form of sitting human figures I century A.D., Koi-Krylgan-Kala

¹⁶¹ About Manichaeism in Central Asia see: *Belenitsky A.M.*, 1954; *Assmussen J.P.*, 1965, *Litvinsky B.A.*, 1968, pp. 14-17, 37-41. For the general characteristics of Manichaeism see: *Lukonin V.G.*, 1969 b, pp. 74-81.

During the Kushan period, different peoples had different burial rites.

Of great interest are the burial grounds related to the Kushan period (the so-called type IIIB), in the Hissar sepulcher Tup-khana discovered by M.M. Dyakonov. These are sub-soil graves laid out and covered by raw bricks, sometimes raw vaults. Over the heads, there are vessels with food. All the vessels are beautifully made on the potter's wheel. These vessels are in the form of goblets with strict proportion. Their characteristic feature is the complete absence of weapons in the graves. Sometimes in the mouth or on the chest of the corpse coins were put which were similar in mint with the coins of King Eukratid (the imitation of his coins) — of the time after the fall of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. In women's graves, jewelry made of gold (earrings); iron (rings and buckles), stone and glass (beads), bronze (mirrors, bracelets, and rings) are found. This jewellery contains many similarities with Sarmat culture of the region near the Caspian and the Black Sea. It is interesting that among the discoveries there is amber, which was found only, in the Baltic Sea, shell kauri from the Indian Ocean.

Outside the graves, many coins found among them one is of king Kanishka, and those grain-pounders, fragment of hand millstone, and the store of iron knives were found.¹⁶²

During the excavations, by M.M. Dyakonov and subsequently by B.A. Litvinsky, other burial grounds were also found in big clay coffins of baked clay (this kind of burial was widely spread among the Parthians and apparently was borrowed from them). On the territory of Dushanbe the burial ground of Stone tombs have been found. On the site of Kuhna- Qala (Vakhsh Valley), the dead were buried in room-cells. Since the II century B.C. (or even earlier) in Khwarezm and later in other regions of Central Asia *ossuaries* start spreading — ceramic (rarely stone) bone stores where the bones of the dead were placed.¹⁶³ The nomadic, semi-nomadic and a part of settled population buried their dead in *kurgans* (mounds). A large number of burial mounds have excavated in the lower parts of Kafernigan and in the Isfara region as well as on the territory of Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan.

ART

The Kushan period is the period of apogee of the ancient art of Central Asia. We know about the development of art of monumental forms (paintings, sculptures, and reliefs), the small plastic art (terracotta), applied art (jewelry production), etc. Even now, we have a vast material but the collection of it, in connection with archaeological works, goes on at such an intensified pace that, any characterization can become outdated even before it is, brought to light. It is in the sphere of art that the genius of Central Asian masters manifested itself vividly; at the same time, the links with the neighboring countries are traced distinctly.

¹⁶² Dyakonov M.M., 1950.

¹⁶³ Rapoport Iu.A., 1967.

The importance of the monuments of Central Asian art goes far beyond its frontiers because it allows examining and explaining the most important phenomena of the art culture in a new light. Such is a case, for example, of the Gandhara art. Gandhara is the ancient name of the country, the nucleus of which was the Peshawar Valley and included the neighboring regions also. It is here that many original art monuments have been discovered; predominantly stone (and alabaster) sculptures and reliefs. According to the ancient name of the country, they were named Gandhara, although the production in this style was more widely spread. These could be seen on the territories of the entire North-West India, Afghanistan and in Southern Central Asia. The Gandhara art in itself represents an astonishingly bright fusion of the local and the Hellenistic - Roman traditions. However, the problem of the genesis of the Gandhara art, its evolution and chronology until now is the cause of them most different and sometimes diametrically opposite opinions, numerous theories and hypotheses. One scholar wittily compared the historical research of the Gandhara art with a "battlefield on which so many points of view of archaeologists were defeated, a battlefield — the soil of which is littered with shattered armours-outdated theories, fragments of weapons and rejected hypotheses. At the same time the problems awaiting their solution are numerous and literally hinder the efforts of scholars to solve the problems which appear as insoluble."¹⁶⁴

The basis for the study of the Gandhara art was laid in the works of A. Foucher, a French scholar, who contributed a great deal to the research of art and archaeology of India and Afghanistan. Referring to his works¹⁶⁵ as well as to the works of D. Marshall, R. Rowland, A.K. Kumaraswami, I. Lohuizen-de-Leeuw, G. Ingholt and others the author would like to note that French scholar D. Schlumberger came out with a highly interesting hypothesis. Guided by the results of the newest archaeological discoveries in the non-Soviet parts of Asia he insisted upon the role of the "Greco-Iranian" elements (in particular Greco-Bactrian) in the formation of the Gandhara art.¹⁶⁶ The discoveries in Central Asia have provided excellent material for discussion about the Bactrian art itself. The magnificent sculptures and paintings of Kharostan, the beautiful bark-plastic art of Bactria cannot ignore in the study of the genesis of the Gandhara art.

Along with the art of Bactria, in the Sogd, Khwarezm and Parthia their own art schools appeared.

¹⁶⁴ Cited by Ingholt H., 1957, p. 22.

¹⁶⁵ See in particular: Foucher A., 1905; 1918; 1922; 1951.

¹⁶⁶ Schlumberger D., 1960.

CHAPTER V

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM OF ANCIENT CENTRAL ASIA

1. HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE PROBLEM OF SLAVE-OWNING SOCIO-ECONOMIC FORMATION STRUCTURE OF ANCIENT CENTRAL ASIA

Soviet historians at the end of the twenties and the beginning of the thirties started discussing the socio-economic structures in the East from the deeply scientific position of Marxism-Leninism.

A great role in the working out of the Marxist socio-economic history was played by the extraordinarily intellectual work of Lenin published in 1929 — "About the State". It was stated in it: "The development of all human societies during the millennia in all countries without exception shows us the common regularity, correctness, consistency of this development in such a way that in the beginning we have the society without classes — Early Patriarchal, Primitive Society in which there were no aristocrats; afterwards — the Society based on Slavery, the Slave-owning Society. The completely modern civilization of Europe has gone through it — the Slave-owning system was fully predominant two thousand years ago. The large number of peoples of the rest of the world has gone through it."¹

The Marxist study of the problem of history of socio-economic structures in the East had just started in the 20s and 30s. The difficulty, in particular, laid in the fact that majority of the Orientalists — the old generation — better equipped with the knowledge of concrete facts — was not quite prepared in the sphere of Marxist ideology. In these circumstances, the address of academician S.F. Oldenburg, one of the leading representatives of the "old generation", in the extraordinary session of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in 1931, was very timely. He declared: "For us there is no division of the peoples and countries by the East and the West opposed to each other and to be studied differently: the East has entered our union with equal rights with the West and we study it with same Marxist methodology with which we study the West. The class struggle was and is going on in (he East in the same way as in the West. The history of the East provided the same structures as the history of the West. These are the main principles of our science of Oriental studies."² In this way 2 general line of the development of the Soviet oriental studies, which had as its firm base, the theory of Marxism-Leninism formulated. Thus the Marxist view on the

¹ V.I. Lenin, Complete Works, Vol. 39, p. 70 (in Russian).

² Oldenburg S.F., 1931, p. 9.

history of the peoples of the East appeared as a direct contrast to that reactionary direction of the bourgeois science the leitmotif of which was the words of the bard of British imperialism, Kipling: "O, the East is East and the West is West and the twain shall never meet till the earth and sky do not come to the great court of law."

Proceeding from the Marxist interpretation of the sources of history of the ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, studied by him very meticulously, V.V. Struve in the beginning of the thirties concluded that the ancient Eastern states were the slave-owning societies of the primitive type.³ In 1933 he formulated his own concept of the history of material culture in his special report at the Academy of Material Culture which was published shortly afterwards.⁴ The boldness of this address, the novelty of the concrete formulation of the question about the existence of the slave-owning socio-economic structure in the East and at the same time under-estimation of the role of the slaves and over-estimation of the role of the members of the commune led to the disagreement of some eminent scholars with the interpretation of this problem by V.V. Struve. Other scholars accepted and started developing the thesis about the existence of the slave-owning structure in the East.⁵

Shortly in the same year (1933), S.P. Tolstov addressed the plenum of the Academy of Material Culture devoted to the problem of the genesis and development of feudalism with the report "The Genesis of Feudalism in the Nomadic, Cattle-breeding Societies".⁶ He substantiated some important propositions, which afterwards got firmly included in the arsenal of Soviet historical science, for example, about the closest links of nomads and settled agriculturists etc. Along with this he came out with the hypothesis that the nomads of Central Asia, (beginning with the Hunns) from II century B.C. up to VIII-IX centuries, went through the slave-owning stage of development, "The Slave-owning stage of development of societies with predominance of nomadic cattle-breeding, corresponding to the ancient structure of the Mediterranean, developed in its peculiarly original form of military slave-owning democracy."⁷ No detailed grounds and concrete analysis were given. Argument of S.P. Tolstov was weakened by the fact that some of its starting points were mistaken (for example, the statement that the Turkmens in XIX century preserved the slave-owning system, etc.). However, overall the idea presented by S.P. Tolstov concretizing the Marxist theory of socio-economic structures, as applied to the East, was exceptionally productive. Logically it was evident that not only the nomadic people of Central Asia, but closely linked with them settled societies went through the slave-owning stage of development.

The new formulation of the problem was met with objections of some scholars. For example A.N. Bernshtam, in the plenum of 1933, defended the opinion about the transition of the "most part of Asia (where he included Central Asia also) from the primitive communism to the feudal society, bypassing the slave-owning structure."⁸

³ V.V. Struve, 1932.

⁴ V.V. Struve, 1934 b; 1934 a.

⁵ For details about the discussions of the early 30s, see: Postovskaya N.M., 1961, pp. 79-82, 98-100.

⁶ Tolstov S.P., 1934.

⁷ Tolstov S.P., 1934, pp. 179-185.

⁸ Bernshtam A.M., 1934, p. 343.

Two years later in 1935 M.E. Masson stated that in the epoch after VIII century A.D. in Central Asia started the process of "disintegration of the old feudal relations."⁹

However, gradually the notion that the peoples of Central Asia went through the epoch of the slave-owning system appeared on the pages of popular scientific¹⁰ and special editions.¹¹

In 1938, S.P. Tolstov for the first time gave a detailed formulation of the thesis about the slave-owning system of ancient Central Asia. The main theses were as follows:

The Sogdian aristocracy of the period preceding the Arab conquest combined in itself the features of "slave-owning and tribal-clan leaders".

Its power was based on "the troops of armed slaves — *chakirs*... and privileged cavalry militia of aristocratic young men" about whom the Arab, Persian and Chinese sources give information. This type of organization of militia is characteristic for the Parthian period, also.

The ancient civilization of the Central Asia oases had a specific "urban" appearance.

The nomads and agriculturists were closely linked with each other.

Slave-owning was widely prevalent among the settled and nomadic population. This is directly reflected in the data provided by the Chinese sources and "The Old Sogdian Letters". The fact of inclusion of Central Asia in the Achaemenid State and the indirect information about slavery contained in the Sasanid code of law testify to this fact. The mass burial ground in rows of those *usun* mounds, sepulchers where there is no chain of mounds are probably the burials of slaves owned by *usuns* (in the other version — "the graves of both of slaves and *usun* aristocracy").

"The archaeological sources make us assume that in the creation of the irrigational network in Central Asia considerable slave labor was used... the implementation of the construction of this network by peasants using available technical means at the disposal of ancient Sogdians and Khwarezmians must have drawn away from agriculture such an amount of labor force which could have affected the normal functioning of agriculture...paraphrasing the famous words of Engels we can say that if there were no slavery the rich irrigational culture of the East could not have appeared".

Although the "remnants of the primitive social structure continued to exist during centuries after Central Asia entered into the limelight of written monuments, starting with the first centuries of the I millennium B.C. we can feel the first signs, of big progress in the social structure of the peoples of Central Asia gradually entering the slave-owning system of the East of classes."

"The common crisis of the slave-owning world which toppled the Roman Empire and destroyed the state of ancient China did not bypass Central Asia. In the fifth century the Kushan kingdom fell under the blows of the barbarian tribes

⁹Masson M.E., 1935, p. 217, further (p. 227) he wrote about the "disintegration of the feudal system" of Central Asia in the X century.

¹⁰ See, for example, Bazhenov L.V., 1937.

¹¹ Masson M.E., 1938, p. 83.

appearing under the same name of Hunns as in the IV century China and IV and V centuries Europe."¹²

These theories of S.P. Tolstov, (with the exception of the first two coming out of incorrect assumptions that the epoch of slave-owning structure in Central Asia supposedly continued until VII-VIII centuries) were basically¹³ accepted by an absolute majority of Soviet scholars and played an important role in the Marxist elaboration of the ancient history of Central Asia.¹⁴ They tried to substantiate the idea of predominance in this region of the slave-owning system largely by drawing attention to new observations on the history of the irrigation network in Khwarezm. The use of slave labor in agriculture, particularly in the irrigation work cannot be ruled out. However S.P. Tolstov's statement that the free population did not take part in irrigational construction and that ancient canals were dug by a "large number of slaves not engaged in other types of agricultural works"¹⁵ in our opinion cannot be viewed as indisputable.¹⁶ In the calculation of S.P. Tolstov on the construction of 25 kilometer long Janbaskalin canal the main population of the Canal Zone should have taken 15-25 years, working 20 days a year. This according to S.P. Tolstov is incredible and thus it is evident that a large number of slaves built these canals. These arguments are based on two presumptions: the big canals were built quickly; the agricultural population of the oasis could take part in the irrigation works on an average during 20 days a year.

However, big canals could build also during some years (in some cases decades) and the entire irrigation network should have built during the centuries. On the other side, the peculiarities of the Central Asian (including Khwarezmian) agricultural year allow to take away the agricultural population for the construction and cleaning of the irrigational works at least for two and even three months a year.¹⁷ Thus the same Janbaskalin canal (if one goes by the numbers given by S.P. Tolstov and B.V. Andrianov who calculated the number of adult male workers approximately as one thousand) could have been built by the population of the canal zone in four or five years.¹⁸

Lastly, the primitive character of the agricultural technique made it less effective and unprofitable to take "a large number" of workers away from agricultural work for specialization of their-labor only in the sphere of irrigational

¹² Tolstov S.P., 1938 b, pp. 24-32, 47-49; 1938 a, pp. 182-187.

¹³ Some private notions for example about the burials in a 185 row, as in the graves of the slaves of usuns, were also not confirmed further.

¹⁴ See particularly: Tolstov S.P., 1948a; 1148b and others.

¹⁵ Tolstov S.P., 1958, p. 115. About doubts about the correctness of this assumption, see: Belenitsky A.M., 1955, p. 507.

¹⁶ ITNI, pp. 475-476.

¹⁷ At the end of the XIX century, there were cases when the people worked on cleaning of canals around two months a year (*Shkapsky O.*, 1909, pp. 49-50; *Dingelshtedt M.*, 1895, p. 65).

¹⁸ In fact evaluating the scale of land work needed for construction of the canal of 750 thousand cubic meters (*Andrianov B.V.*, 1969, p. 128) and the daily size of the soil dug by one person, 2.5 cubic meters, it is easy to calculate that this scale of land work could be completed in five years. However, if productivity of labor was higher and was approaching the figure of 3.5 cubic meters as given in the papyrus documents for Hellenistic Egypt (*Kruger E.V.*, 1935, p. 28) the same number of workers could have constructed such a canal in three years.

constructions. Providing them even the minimal means of existence would have been a heavy burden on the agricultural population. Given the level of the agricultural technique, existing in Khwarezm at the end of the XIX century, one worker could cultivate during the year (with availability of corresponding work animals) a very small area of land.¹⁹ In ancient times, the level of agricultural technique was even lower. Thus, the possibility and the necessity of increasing the sown areas were strictly limited by the number of people directly taking part in field works.²⁰

It is known that in XIX – beginning of XX centuries the yield of the wheat crop on irrigated land was approximately 15-20 centners for one hectare.²¹ It was necessary to leave 1.5 to 2 centners for seed purposes. A part of the crop (in no case less than 1/3, if one goes by the norms in the medieval times) had to be given by the peasant in the form of tax or tribute.²² At his disposal, there remained only 8-11 centners. For the ancient times these figures should be much lower. Correcting (of course, in speculation) these figures by 50 per cent we get the figure 4-5.5 centners; this is just sufficient for feeding two, maximum 3 persons for a year. Taking into account the fact that in the fieldwork the other members of the family were also helping the main worker, the ancient Khwarezmian agricultural family could hardly feed itself and pay taxes.

Preceding from this it will be more proper to presume that in the irrigation construction and also in the seasonal cleaning of canal, as a rule (there is exception also) the entire population of the oases took part including of course the slaves as well. B.A. Litvinsky is correct when he wrote: "In the construction of new canals the state power was interested which took corresponding taxes for the use of water and of the irrigational land. That is why; the agricultural population was forced to dig canals. These works perhaps were implemented under the guidance and control of the representatives of the state power."²³

The same scholar pointed to Assyria, as an analogy, where the notion about the construction of canal as a common public task existed. There even the King himself (of course symbolically) took part in it as the representative of the commune.²⁴ The remnants of (his ancient tradition were preserved in the Khanate of Khiva until the XIX century. Before the annual cleaning of the canals and after a big ceremony the Khan himself descended on the canal and pretended as if he was about to start working.²⁵

The social importance, so to say, of the "rank" of the builders of the canal in the ancient East was so high that in the Sumer mythology even the gods themselves

¹⁹ Shkapsky O., 1900, p. 191.

²⁰ According to the calculations of S.P. Tolstov in the zone of Janbaskalin canal there lived not more than 4-5 thousand people, among them 1-1.5 thousand adult males (the number may be exaggerated to some extent – Andrianov B.V., 1969, p.127). Even if we assume that all of them took part in agricultural production, they could relatively cultivate a small area.

²¹ Masalsky V.I. 1913, p. 442.

²² Brodovsky M., 1872, p. 240; Davidovich E.A., 1970, pp. 124-125.

²³ ITN, I, p. 476.

²⁴ Dyakanov I.M., 1949, p. 27.

²⁵ Gulyamov Ya.G., 1957, p. 262.

took part in the irrigational works — dug the land with spades, took out the soil in baskets.²⁶

In the Egypt of Ptolemy, the work of digging canals and construction of dams was done with the help of the indigenous population, which was forced to work by the state. Generally, it was considered that, in these works, the whole population must take part but the representatives of the strata kept away by paying the corresponding tax. The people at work were supplied spades and baskets by the state; the implements were to be returned after the work was over.²⁷

In the East, the elementary economic expediency demanded the participation of the completely rural population in the digging of canals. Such vast scale works could not be carried out without the directing and regulating activity of the state power, as Karl Marx wrote in his work "The British Rule in India": "The climatic conditions and peculiarity of the surface... have made the system of artificial irrigation with the help of canals and irrigational constructions the basis of Eastern agriculture...from this comes out the economic function which all the Asian governments were forced to perform, that is the function of organizing the public works. Such a system of artificially increasing the fertility of land depending on the central government and immediately falling into decay if the government was irresponsible towards the irrigational and drainage works, explains the otherwise inexplicable fact that we see now-a-days entire vast deserted and barren territories which were once upon a time fully cultivated..."²⁸

Specifying and deepening the proposition of the development, in the history of Central Asia of the slave-owning system in the 40s-60s, Soviet scholars elaborated in detail the questions of political history, development of productive forces, money circulation, culture and other aspects of this system. Besides, attempts were made to determine the specific character of the Central Asian slave-owning system and identify the stages of its development.²⁹ Thus in the Soviet science the viewpoint that in the ancient Central Asia the slave-owning system was dominant is affirmed.³⁰

A study of the collected materials leads to the conclusion that the Central Asian slave-owning system differed in its major peculiarities. In the first edition of the "History of the Tajik People" (Moscow 1949), the principal peculiarities of the social system of ancient Central Asia were underscored. These views were developed and specified in the subsequent editions of the book.

In the first volume of the collectively authored "History of the Tajik People" (Moscow, 1963) B.A. Litvinsky analyzed the materials which were available in the beginning of the 60s about ancient Central Asia and compared them with the data on socio-economic history of the adjacent countries of the East. Thus a more complete and systematic research was a definite step forward in elaboration of the problem.

²⁶ "The Emergence and Development of Agriculture", Moscow, 1967, pp. 37-38.

²⁷ Kruger E.V., 1935, pp. 27-30; Zelyin K.K., Trofimova M.K., 1969, pp. 74-75.

²⁸ K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, V. 9, p. 132 (in Russian).

²⁹ About this see: Bernshtam A.N., 1949; Tolstov S.P., 1938 b, pp. 417-419.

³⁰ Several Soviet scholars who take another stand on this question (I.I. Umnyakov, A.M. Belenitsky) are compelled to making observations of a negative character and cannot offer any credible alternative concept about the existence of slave-owning system in the ancient Central Asia.

It is necessary to dwell at greater length on the "Asiatic mode of production".

At the end of the 20s — beginning of the 30s in the Soviet historical science — a big discussion about the "Asiatic mode of production" was going on. It again resurfaced in the middle of the 60s; the research papers of foreign Marxist scholars started the second discussion.³¹ The numerous articles on this theme were published in scientific journals. Collections of articles and separate research papers were brought out.³²

The term "Asiatic mode of production" can be seen in the works of the founders of Marxism. However, by the 80s of the XIX century when K. Marx and F. Engels closely started studying the questions of the ancient history their views were changed. In the work of F. Engels: "The Origin of Family, Private Property and State" (1884) the place of "Asiatic mode of production" is occupied by the primitive system followed by slave-owning system. In 1887, F. Engels wrote: "In the Asiatic and classical antiquity the prevalent form of class oppression was slavery, i.e., not so much the expropriation of land from the masses as the appropriation of their personality... In the medieval times not the freedom of the people from lands but on the contrary, their attachment to the land was the source of feudal exploitation."³³ V.I. Lenin in his special work "About the State"³⁴ devoted to the socio-economic structures gives a detailed characterization of each of the structures and a picture of their successive change; but he does not name the "Asiatic mode of production" mentioning it only while quoting the corresponding works of K. Marx. We share the point of view of those Soviet scholars who assume that K. Marx and F. Engels, with the passage of time, rejected the idea about any special "Asiatic mode of production." The attempt to attach the name V.I. Lenin to the list of supporters of the "Asiatic mode of production" is a case of clearly strained interpretation. At the same time, in the process of the last discussion, the need for more all-sided and wide determination of the content of the slave-owning structure was revealed. The concept of the slave-owning structure of the society, where the prevalent (even the main) part of the direct producers had to be slaves, is completely incorrect and dogmatic. In fact, history does not know of such societies and in many cases, the slaves consisted of the lesser part of the toiling population. The condition of the slaves itself also could be very different. Lastly, the society which we call slave-owning was in fact a multi-structural one.³⁵

While examining the social system of ancient Central Asia all this has to be borne in mind.

³¹ Some of their works are published in our press ("Narody Azii i Afriki" 1965, No. 1).

³² The Common and the Specific in the History of the Development of the Countries of the East. The materials of the discussion about the social structures in the East. (The Asiatic Mode of Production), Moscow, 1966;

Kachanovsky U.V., 1971; "Problemy", 1971.

³³ K. Marx and F. Engels, Works V. 21, pp. 348-349 (in Russian).

³⁴ V.I. Lenin, Pol. Sob. Soch. V. 39.

³⁵ Dyakonov I.M., 1966, pp. 47-52.

2. CONTEMPORARY VIEW ABOUT THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM OF ANCIENT CENTRAL ASIA

SOCIAL AND PROPERTY DIFFERENTIATION

At the end of III and beginning of II millennium B.C. in Southern Turkmenistan distinct differentiation can be clearly traced. In Iranian monument Tepe Hissar very rich, burial grounds for the chiefs are found. In Southern Turkmenistan, there are no such rich burial grounds, but along with the usual graves, there are some, which are markedly different. There, for example, is a grave a priest woman with golden earrings and beautiful beads (Altyn-tepe). Development of property and social differentiation is testified by the dispersion of seals. The excavation of treasures speaks of the process of amassing of riches in the hands of the representatives of separate families.³⁶ The raising of buildings of the type of palace and temple is the visual proof of society already divided into classes. The process of property and social differentiation in South Central Asia, to be precise in Southern Turkmenistan, had started before the first signs of this phenomenon began to appear on other territories. The reasons for such outstripping development in Southern Turkmenistan are manifold. It may be specially mentioned that in Southern Turkmenistan existed a more optimal (in Central Asia) set of conditions for the development of primitive irrigated agriculture. On the other side, it was Turkmenistan, which was in a more favorable condition in relation to the links and contacts with urban civilizations of the East.

The process of development of class society in Southern Turkmenistan was in the beginning going on ascending and later in the middle and the second half of the II millennium B.C. it was lading out. Here arises, though involuntarily, the association with Northern India. About the character of social changes in that period in Southern Turkmenistan society one can only guess. Undoubtedly, at this time there already existed considerable social and property differentiation. It is also characteristic that the existence of fortified settlements with citadels are known until the end of II and the beginning of I millennium B.C. not only in Turkmenistan but in Bactria as well. To them the following words of F. Engels fully apply: "It is not for nothing that forbidding walls around new fortified cities are standing: in their moats the grave of the clan society can be seen and their towers are already touching civilization."³⁷

In the first half of the I millennium B.C. the processes of property and social differentiation and class formation were going on with a new force.

The principally new fact is that these processes had now started enveloping the main territories of Central Asia. Their reflection can be seen in "Avesta"; even in the oldest parts of it. In the comprehension of the authors of "Avesta", the wealth is first, cattle. The powerful hero Yima possesses "good herds" of cattle; houses "rich in cattle wealth" are also mentioned. To Zarathustra himself one person had promised a gift

³⁶ Masson V.M., 1967 b, p. 187.

³⁷ K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, V. 21, p. 164 (in Russian).

often mares with colts and one camel. As V.A. Livshits rightly observes such a gift "could hardly be given by a common member of the commune."³⁸

About the social system of Central Asia, in the middle and second half of the I millennium B.C., the data is extremely scarce. In our possession, there are only some hints about social stratification. Thus among the Bactrians and Sogdians there are "the most noble (nobilissimi) distinguished by their "nobility" (Kwint Kurtsiy, VII, 10, 4; Arrian VII, 6, 3). Central Asia was also familiar with slavery. In the sources available, there is information about "turning into slavery of the inhabitants of the western regions of the Achaemenid kingdom and their settlements in Central Asia. Thus in Bactria the inhabitants of the Greek city Barka (North Africa) (Herodotus, IV, 204) were settled. The rebel Greco-Ionians — was threatened by Persians of slavery and exile of their daughters to Bactria (Herodotus VI, 9). Perhaps Bactria was a common place for settlement of slaves in the Western regions of the Achaemenid kingdom. However, these were royal slaves. About the private slaves of this epoch, we have little data. Thus, only one information is known and that too is not very trustworthy about the slaves (*servus*) of the Sogdian Spitamen (Kwint Kurtsiy VIII, 3, 9). Along with this in the sources available, there is a mention about traces of the clan-tribal society in social organization of the Central Asian population of the times. Perhaps the population of one city in the North Sogdiana was named as the tribe or clan (*gens*) of Memakens (Kwint Kurtsiy, VII, 6, 17).

The Sogdian and Bactrian nobility, in the epoch of Alexander of Macedonia, possessed great riches. About this indirectly testifies the episode with Horien who could provide the Macedonian army with food for two months (Arrian, IV, 21, 10). The noble Parthian, from the clan of Suren, who defeated Krass according to Plutarch, ("The Life of Krass", 21), "was not an ordinary man: by his wealth, nobility of the clan and fame he stood at second place after the king... he started his campaign bringing with him eatables on one thousand camels and two hundred carriages with concubines; one thousand cuirassiers and a larger number of lightly armed men accompanied him; and all in all, the horsemen and cavalrymen and slaves were not less than ten thousand". In Dawan a foreign observer noted the existence of "wealthy house-owners and chiefs"; the wealthy people had big stores of wine. Among the nomads tribe of usuns the rich possessed 4-5 thousand horses.

STRUCTURE OF CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY AT THE END OF I MILLENNIUM B.C. EARLY I MILLENNIUM A.D.

On the Greco-Bactrian and later coins and also on the coins of the Kushan mint there are Greek or East-Iranian designations of the head of the state—"ruler", "king", "king of the kings". On one of the seal-gem, originating from India, an inscription in the Kushan script engraved — with the name, title "vazork-fromalar".³⁹ In Sasanid Iran there was "vazurg framadar" — the head of the whole administration, so to say, the Prime Minister. This post occupied by persons from the royal clan or by the representatives of the noblest families.⁴⁰ But it should be kept in mind that in Central Asia the meaning of this title could have been different: in early

³⁸ ITN, I, pp. 145-146.

³⁹ Bivar A.D.H., 1961, pp. 320-322.

⁴⁰ Dyakonov I.M., 1961, p. 299.

medieval Sogdian texts from Central Asia framandar (literally "keeping the order") was "manager of the royal household."⁴¹ However, in the Kushan period it was used for perhaps high (or one of the highest) state official.

In the State Hermitage⁴² and the British Museum⁴³ there are seals with the title of the owner — "Hazarukht" which corresponds to the Sasanid Hazarpat.⁴⁴ The chronological order of these seals is not clear; perhaps they relate to the post-Kushan period. It cannot be said with certainty about the place of their production. However, they can use as an additional proof of existence in Bactria of III-V centuries A.D. of a developed state apparatus. In Surkh-Kotal inscriptions, the title of Nokonzok is designated as "Karalrag". As W.B. Henning has shown it is identical to the Sasanid title "Kanarang" ("guarding the frontier or strengthening the frontier"), which was carried by the ruler of Eastern (bordering with Central Asia) part of the Sasanid state; his duties were more military than civil. This title became widespread in Central Asia — the representatives of the Samarkand ruling house carried it in the early medieval times.⁴⁵

On the seal preserved in the State Hermitage W.B. Henning read the word "asbarobid". The first part of the word corresponds to the Middle-Persian "asbar" — "horse-rider", "knight" (in the Tajik language this word is known in the form of "savor"), and the second part goes back to the ancient Iranian "pati" — "master", "lord"). Thus this word, rather a title than a name, means the "chief of the cavalry".⁴⁶

On one of the Kushan gems, the name of its owner "Kharbalan" — "seated on an ass" — designated. The same name as Livshits noted can be seen on two Indian inscriptions in Brahmi from Sarnath, (near Banaras), one of them is dated from the third year of Kanishka's rule. This inscription informs about the layout of the Buddhist building and among the donors, two "satraps" named: Vanaspara and Kharapallano. The latter name is the Indian version of the same name, which is engraved on the gem; Vanaspara comes from the Bactrian Wanaspas — "appealing for victory". In the second of the above-mentioned inscriptions, Kharapallano is named as a "great satrap".⁴⁷

The regional and local administrative apparatus, as it is known from Parthia, was a highly ramified system and was aimed at suppression of the direct producers.

Thus, there were two poles. On one side, there was the nobility in whose hands was concentrated great power and huge wealth. On the other side stood those who produced it (wealth) with their labor. About the composition of the toiling population of Central Asia, very little is known. Who erected the palaces and strengthened the fortifications, who worked in the cities in their handicraft workshops, of whom the agricultural population consisted — the preserved sources

⁴¹ *Livshits V.A.*, 1962 b, pp. 134-135.

⁴² *Stavisky B.J.*, 1960, p. 107.

⁴³ *Bivar A.D.H.*, 1965, pp. 209-210.

⁴⁴ *Henning W.B.*, 1965 b, p. 81.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

⁴⁶ *Henning W.B.*, 1962.

⁴⁷ *Livshits V.A.*, 1967, pp. 168-170. About the administrative structure of the Kushan state interesting data has been collected by Indian scholar B.N. Puri (*Puri B.N.*, 1965, pp. 80-87; here there are observations about the existence of the royal council).

say almost nothing. Undoubtedly, in Central Asia there were slaves⁴⁸ and dependent people also.

The linguists have proved that the term for the designation of patriarchal slave existed among the Indo-Europeans in the Bronze epoch and hence they knew the patriarchal slavery of the times. In the epoch of "Avesta" there existed slaves and dependent people. In later times there is information about slaves in Parthia, in Sogd slaves who came from Bactria and perhaps from Fergana are mentioned, in the "Old Sogdian Letters" and other Sogdian written relics the terms "vandak" ("slave") and "daya" ("slave woman") can be found. In the Sogdian marriage contract (the beginning of the VIII century A.D.), four types of dependent persons are mentioned. Among them there are the above-mentioned slaves "vandaks", indebted "nipaks" and slaves — war prisoners "vanaks". In the Sasanid law code framed in the VI century A.D. there were slaves "bandaks" (this is a common designation for slaves) and slaves anashahriks (initially drawn from prisoners of war).⁴⁹ In nearby synchronic inscriptions on "ossuaries" (containers for bones) in Tok-kala (Khwarezm) the term "Hunanik" ("slave") mentioned. According to some data, before the Arab conquest, the term "Hun" meant slaves from other countries.

The documents from Toprak-kala (I-II centuries A.D.) have a special significance for solving the problem of the socio-economic system. There are lists of family houses, to be precise of their male members, i.e., the agnatic group. Thus in document No. 8 it is stated that the group consisted of 21 persons among whom four were free (house-owners), two adult sons and one son-in-law. Among slaves (or domestic servants) 17, of whom 12 were slaves (or domestic servants) of the house-owner, 2-his wives, 2-his children and 1-son of his concubine.⁵⁰ About the historical interpretation of these documents, it is better not to write until they are published in full.

However, we would like to reiterate that slavery was not the only or the predominant form of labor. Particularly this relates to agriculture. Well-known Marxist Indologist Walter Ruben (GDR) is of the view that in ancient India even though the number of slaves was very large, their role in production (in both agriculture and crafts) was not quite significant as their labor was not profitable.⁵¹ This was not true of India alone but, as Soviet researchers have shown, in most of the countries of the ancient world it was the same because commodity production had not reached a high level. I.M. Dyakonov writes: "...Only such societies as Corinth, Athens or Rome — late republics and early empires — i.e. only some societies of the ancient world, societies with basically predominant commodity production, provided the examples of intensive development of non-state slave-owning on a large scale."⁵²

In our view, in Central Asia, slave labor particularly in agricultural production played only a subsidiary if not a secondary role.

In this, connection it must also emphasized that some direct and bulk of indirect data testify that in ancient Central Asia, as in the ancient east as a whole;⁵³

⁴⁸ The information in the sources about slaves in Central Asia is collected and analyzed in the first volume of "History of the Tajik People" (Moscow, 1963).

⁴⁹ ITN, I, 1963, pp. 468-476.

⁵⁰ Gudkova A.V., Livshits V.A., 1967, pp. 13-14; Bentovich I.B., 1969, pp. 304-305.

⁵¹ Ruben W., 1957, p. 101.

⁵² Dyakonov I.M., 1963, p. 18.

⁵³ Tyumenev A.I., 1956; Dyakonov I.M., 1959; 1963 and others.

the commune occupied a large place. Patriarchal household communes and uniting them their neighboring communes — this is the basis on which the ancient society stood. It was, to use I.M. Dyakonov's words, in the first place a civil organization of free persons with full rights and slave-owners.⁵⁴

In the early medieval Sogd (and perhaps earlier) the commune (*naf*) consisted of the nobility (*azatkar*), traders (*khrakar*) and free peasants — commune members and artisans (*karikar*).⁵⁵ In general, from the times of "Avesta" we come across in the Iranian languages contra positioning of the high in social status and the low. The first were called *azata* ("free" "nobleman").⁵⁶ The Opposite of them were the dependent people, in the first place slaves.

In the words of F. Engels, "Eastern despotism was established on the basis of common property."⁵⁷

Although slave-owning relations played an important role in the socio-economic system and in the society as a whole, as was in the case of most of the ancient countries of the East, in Central Asia leading role belonged to the commune members particularly in agriculture. In the village, it was the time of domination of the rural commune.

The communal character of land cultivation slowed down the process of transition from the natural to the commodity economy, for it is known that "conversion of product into commodity becomes prominent commensurate with the further decline of communal structure of life."⁵⁸

As was shown in the previous chapters, in Central Asia although urban life emerged quite early and trade with many countries began, natural character of economy continued to be predominant. Though on account of it, internal trade and money circulation could not enter sufficiently deep, these factors (early emergence of urban life and trade with adjoining countries) had their influence on the "transformation of the patriarchal system of slavery, turning to production of the direct means of existence, into slave-owning system, directed, to production of the surplus value".⁵⁹ In the mountainous and steppe areas of Central Asia there continued, as before, the unbroken unity of town and the village. Here craft had not become finally separate from agriculture.

The co-existence and close interaction of the agricultural regions with the world of nomadic tribes over many centuries and millennia was a characteristic phenomenon for the historical development of Central Asia and many other countries of the East.⁶⁰

One of the functions of Eastern despotism was the permanent waging of wars with the aim of looting others' countries and seizure of vast territories.

It is also necessary to underline the large uneven economic development and on account of it the development of slave-owning relations in the different regions of

⁵⁴ Dyakonov I.M., 1963, p. 33.

⁵⁵ ITN, I, p. 472.

⁵⁶ For history of this term see: Bailey H.W., 1932, pp. 952-954. About the "azats" in the Khotano-Saka texts see: Bailey H.W., 1960, p. 95. For use of this term in Indian documents, written in Kharoshti script (Eastern Turkestan) see: Burrow T., 1934, p. 509.

⁵⁷ K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, V. 20, p. 647 (in Russian).

⁵⁸ K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, V. 23, p. 89 (in Russian).

⁵⁹ K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, V. 25, Pt. I, pp. 364-365 (in Russian).

⁶⁰ For more details about this see: Ghafurov B.G., 1968, pp. 7-8.

Central Asia. The oases districts of Sogd, Khwarezm, Bactria (Tokharistan), Fergana and Khorasan were leading in the economic sphere. The isolated mountainous regions of the Pamirs, Badakhshan, Kuhistan and others were more backward. The steppe regions, Semirechiye, the regions near the Aral and the Caspian, the present day Kazakhstan, formed the periphery. The Chach oasis and Ustrushan formed buffer regions of their own kind. In the cattle-breeding economies of the steppe and the isolated mountain regions, the tribal-clan system showed its great vitality. In the oases districts, the slave-owning relations developed intensively.

Overall, it may note that in Central Asia the slave-owning relations had not become as deep as in the world of antiquity.

Basically an increasingly sharp conflict was going on here between the growing military-slave-owning nobility and priesthood, possessing slaves, large landed estates, trade caravans, on the one side, and on the other, the common commune members falling into different forms of dependence on them.

The state power was concentrated into the hands of the nobility and priesthood with the despot-king at their head and his army standing over the people. With the help of strong central power, the dominant ruling clique exploited the slaves and the commune members.

Even about such classical countries of the world of antiquity as Rome, K. Marx wrote: "...In the ancient Rome class struggle went on only among the privileged minority, between the free rich and the free poor, at a time when the great productive mass of the population, the slaves, only served as the passive pedestal for these lighters".⁶¹ It was all the more like that in Central Asia. There the main productive mass were the free members of the commune and the main class conflicts, of which only silent echoes are met in the ancient sources, were taking place between the aristocrats and the free poor members of the commune.

In short, such is the general picture of the social processes going on from VII century B.C. to III-IV centuries A.D.

The rural communes had at a known stage, territorial links and along with them, the local links were being strengthened.

Concerning the processes of formation of the peoples of Central Asia, it is necessary to note that in this period clan ties were replaced. Besides simple unions of tribes living side by side, we notice the processes of their fusion, formation of «narodnosti», i.e. peoples.

However, in those historical conditions such processes of formation of peoples as Engels noted for the Greeks of the antiquity did not proceed further than creation of tribal unions only partly connected with one another. The pre-requisites for formation of a large people were not there then.⁶² This statement of Engels is confirmed by the example of Central Asia. To speak of a united Sogdian or Khwarezmian people in this period is not possible. Only local centers were being formed, different small local peoples of Sogd, Khwarezm, Bactria, Khorasan and other regions with the rising tendency of their subsequent coming together to form the Sogdian, Khwarezmian and other peoples.

⁶¹ See: *K. Marx and F. Engels*, Works, V. 16, p. 375.

⁶² See: *K. Marx and F. Engels*, Works, V. 22, pp. 482-483 (in Russian).

PART III

EMERGENCE OF FEUDAL RELATIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA

CHAPTER I

TRIBES AND PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA IN IV – VI CENTURIES A.D.

1. POLITICAL HISTORY

THE SASANID KINGDOM

By the III century A.D. under the influence of exhausting wars with the Romans, internal disturbance, the collapse of the Parthian kingdom was taking place. The class antagonism between the slave-owning nobility, commune members and slaves had sharpened; in the hands of the nobility were concentrated the cultivable land.

In the struggle for strong state apparatus which could have kept in obedience the direct producers and help the further growth of wealth and power of the nobility, the aristocracy of Fars (Pars) came forward in close collaboration with the Zoroastrian priesthood.

By 220 A.D. the lord of the Kingdom of Istakhr (in Fars) Ardashir I Papakan Sasanid¹ became the ruler of the entire Fars. By 224 A.D., having crushed the troops of Artaban V, the last representative of the Arshakid dynasty, Ardashir I seized power and organized the state rule, occupying the whole territory of Iran.

The advent of the Sasanids in place of the Parthians cannot be seen as the succession of dynasties. The Parthian dynasty, "weakened by the struggle with Rome, entangled in complex social contradictions, vacillating between the slave-owning West and the commune-clan East, could not give a decisive push to the development of new social relations. This was done by the state of the Sasanids."²

The Sasanid state lasted more than four hundred years (224 or 226-651 A.D.). For the period of Sasanid rule, the following facts are most characteristic. First, from around IV century A.D. in the Sasanid state feudal relations were developing intensively. Secondly, in contrast to centrifugal attempts of the sovereign rulers and the rulers of the separate provinces the role of the central power in Iran was getting strengthened considerably. That is why, F. Engels

¹ The grandfather of Ardashir I Papakan was Sasan-priest of the temple of the goddess Anahita. From here comes the name of the dynasty of Sasanids.

² Dyakonov I.M., 1961, p.260. For an attempt towards a Marxist understanding of the social processes in the Early Sasanid state see: Pigulevskaya N.B., 1956a, pp. 150-152. For date on the history of accession of Ardashir see: Lukonin V.G., 1961, pp. 9-24.

called the Sasanid Empire "orderly... kingdom".³ Thirdly, the influence of Zoroastrian priesthood was growing immensely: Zoroastrianism became state religion and the saying: "The throne is the support of the altar and the altar of the throne" attributed to Ardashir I.

During the rule of the son and successor of Ardashir — Shapur I (242-272 A.D.) — the Sasanids crushed the Roman troops, in one of the battles the Roman Emperor got killed and in the other one more Roman Emperor was taken prisoner. The Sasanid state became strong during the reign of Shapur II (309-379 A.D.) — he waged successful wars in the East and the West and founded several cities. The king Yezdigord I (399-420 A.D.) tried to curb the nobility and the Zoroastrian priesthood, taking support of the Christians who were in great number in the Sasanid state.

The harsh regime set up by the Sasanids evoked great resentment among the people of the conquered regions of Central Asia and Transcaucasia. The uprisings in these regions, the intrusions of nomads were shaking the Sasanid state, and the Sasanid kings and princes were taken prisoners or held as hostages by the Central Asian nomads, as it happened with King Peroz (459-484 A.D.) In Iran the social movements, in particular, the Mazdakit movement arose when under pressure from the popular masses the Sasanid kingdom narrowly escaped destruction.

The Sasanid state reached the zenith of its power during the rule of Khusrav I Anushirvan (531-579 A.D.). Besides the big conquering expeditions, in the process of which even Yemen in Arabia was conquered, Khusrav I undertook some military reforms, which strengthened the emerging feudal relations and helped in their further development. A very important role was played by the taxation, military and administrative reforms. These reforms strengthened the central power.

The Sasanid kings tried — and not without success — to merge the Central Asian region. In the middle of V century, they lost control over the Central Asian region, which came under the power of the nomadic tribes. However, later the region of Southern Turkmenistan again came under the power of the Sasanids. The Sasanid state fell in the middle of 7th century under the attack of the Arabs.

KIDARITS

The main information about the Kidarits is contained in the following data of the sources. In the chronicle of Bai-shi it is written that the ruler of the Yueh-Chihs has moved his court to the city of Bolo because of the attacks of the Jujans. "After this the bold Yueh-Chih king Tsidolo crossed with his troops the big mountains, attacked the Northern India and conquered five states lying to the North of Gantolo". Further, the chronicle informs about the events of 424 A.D. From another information of Bai-shi it is evident that Tsidolo ruled over the

³ K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, V. 28, p. 222 (in Russian).

district of the small Yueh-Chih also, but afterwards, "driven out by the Hunns, went to the West", and handed over the power to his son.⁴

There are several groups of coins with inscriptions "Kidara-kushana sha" in Brahmi. Going by the script of the inscriptions, they were minted somewhere in the South behind the Hindukush, according to numismatic data, sometime around 390-430 A.D.

The analysis of the coins led A. Bivar to the conclusion that the coins with such a legend were minted continuously at least by two rulers.⁵ As K. Enoki proved Kidarits united under their power Tokharistan and Gandhara around 412-437 A.D.⁶



Kidarit coin

The Western sources (Prisk Paniyskiy) contain an information about the struggle of the "Guns called Kidarits" with the Sasanid Iran in 456 and later years. By the year 456 Prisk Paniyskiy (19) holds the view that the "Pars" (i.e., Sasanid) king waged the war with the "Guns — Kidarits". The same source under the year 464 A.D. writes that the Sasanid government asserted: "The Romans, (Byzantium-B.G.) ought to help the Pars by money in the war against the so-called Unns-kidarits, that if, the Pars win then the Romans will have the advantage, that the Unns (Kidarits) will not be allowed to cross into the Roman dominions" (Prisk Paniyskiy, 25).

It is clear that Tsidolo (old pronunciation ki-o-ta-la)⁷ of the Chinese sources and the Kidar of the coin inscriptions give the same name. All the rest cannot be convincingly interpreted. We can assume, if the Chinese sources are to be believed that the Kidarits were related to Kushans or even were a part of them, but this is not confirmed by other sources. The question of the relations of the Kidarits, who went to India and those who according to Prisk fought with the Sasanids, is absolutely not clear. Several intelligent hypotheses were presented, particularly about the close link of the Kidarits and the Chionits because of which the latter being the nominal subjects of the Kidarit kings were called "Kidarits".⁸

⁴ Bichurin, II, pp. 264-266.

⁵ Ghirshman R., 1948, pp. 78-79; Bivar A.D.H., 1956, pp. 26-27; Lukonin V.G., 1967, pp. 32-33.

⁶ Enoki K., 1959, p. 11.

⁷ Pelliot P., 1934, p. 43.

⁸ Mandelshtam A.M., 1958.

There is information available that in 477 A.D. Kidarits from the region of Gandhara had sent a mission to China.⁹

CHIONITS

In 346/47 A.D. Sasanid Shah Shapur II was on the Eastern border of his state because from there, according to Ammian Martsellin, (16, 9, 4), there was a threat from "Chionits and Yevsens", in fact "Yeusens". Taking the first letter as a slip of the pen, Marquart¹⁰ suggested reading the latter name as "kusens" — Kushans. If this correction is to be accepted (many scholars think that it is possible), then Chionits appear together with the Kushans (kidarits?). Further (17, 5, 1) Ammian Martsellin narrates that Shapur succeeded in signing the union agreement with the "most distant peoples" — "Chionits and Gelans".

In 359 because of the obligations of the union, Chionits took part in the battle of the troops of Shapur II near the Syrian city Amida. The leader of the Chionits was Grumbat, "the new king of the Chionits a middle-aged person already with wrinkles, a ruler with outstanding intelligence and famous for many victories. With him was his son a handsome youngman, who fell in the battle" (Ammian Martsellin, 18, 6, 20; 19, 1, 7-11).

At the end of the 60s and in the middle of the 70s, Shapur II fought twice with the "Kushans", whose capital was Balkh. Armenian historian Favst Buzand narrates the events of these battles. The "king of the Kushans" started the first war. Shapur II personally led the Sasanid army but this did not help the Pars. "The Kushan troops defeated the Persian troops. Many of the Persian troops were killed and many were taken prisoners and others were forced to flee" — writes the Armenian historian. The second war in which Shapur II wanted to take revenge ended in the same sad way for the Pars.¹¹

Of course, here under the name of the "Kushans" figure some other ethnic formation — Kidarits, Chionits or perhaps both.

In the inscription of Samudragupta on the Allahabad column are listed "daivaputra-shahi-shahanushahi-shaka-marunda" and the inhabitants of the islands, like Ceylon which speak of the vassal dependence on Samudragupta, present him daughters as wives and petition for receiving the royal deed to rule over their own territory, recognizing the suzerain power of Samudragupta.

The above-cited title in inverted commas has differently interpreted by researchers working on this inscription dividing it into several parts (every researcher in his own way). The interpretation given by Indian scholar Buddha Prakash appears to be quite attractive. He singles out as one term "daivaputra-shahi-shahanushahi" and thinks that it was related to some outstanding Kushan ruler in the middle of the IV century (the inscription on the column belongs to this period). The viewpoint of the other historian A.S. Altekar, that the reference

⁹ Enoki K., 1959, p. 27. In his opinion in Gandhara, the Hepthalites between 477-520 A.D. (Enoki K., 1955 b, p. 236; 1958, p. 1) defeated the Kidarits.

¹⁰ Marquart I., 1901, p. 36.

¹¹ Trever K.V., 1954, pp. 133-134.

in the Allahabad inscription meant Kidar¹², is also interesting. Here the fact that between the information of Favst Buzand who tells about "the great king of the Kushans"¹³ and the title in the Indian inscription which mentions the heavenly "king of kings", there is something in common is noteworthy. However, the inclusion of this inscription in the circle of sources also does not at all clear the situation, in particular about the mutual relations between the Kidarits and the Chionits.

However, it is necessary to turn to the Chinese sources, perhaps. Until recently, it was considered that they do not contain information about the Chionits. However, now Japanese scholar K. Enoki has proved that the information of Chinese chronicle about the conquest by the "Hunns" of Sude and that they "having murdered the ruler of Sudes seized his lands" (the lord of Hunns constituted the fourth generation after this), relates to Sogd and in fact under the name of "Hunns" appear the Chionits.¹⁴ All that we can extract from this information is limited to the statement that Sogd at some stage was conquered by the Chionits and chronological calculations (the information is related to 437 A.D.) show that they might have conquered Sogd before their appearance in the South of Central Asia, i.e., they passed through Sogd.

It is necessary to note that if in the sources the Chionits are mixed with the Kidarits; it is also no less complicated to draw a line between the information about the Chionits and Hepthalites. This relates to the events of the first half and the middle of the V century. Soon after the accession on the Sasanid throne of Varahran V Bahrami Gur (420 – 437 A.D.) as the Arab authors Tabari and Dinaveri inform, the Kagan "Turks" invaded Khorasan and started looting the country. Pretending that he was going to Azerbaijan Bahrami Gur covertly taking all the precautions came close to the unsuspecting "Turks" who pitched up their camp in the region of Merv. Then the warriors raised a great clamor and the "Turks" fled. Bahrami Gur killed the Kagan of the "Turks", seized his wife, chased the "Turks" up to the Amu-Darya, crossed the river in the region of Amul and "when he approached them, the Turks showed their obedience and asked him that he demarcate a definite border between them and him which they pledged never to cross. Bahram chose the place as the border which deeply penetrated into their country, ordered to build a tower there marking it as the border" — thus narrates Dinaveri.

Tabari informs that the border had been set up between the Turks and the regions bordering with the "country of the Turks".

He also gives details about the booty captured by Bahrami Gur. More importantly, he appointed the satrap of Khorasan with residence in Balkh.¹⁵ Thus, notwithstanding the victory, the situation on the Eastern border demanded a constant control. Perhaps about the same episode it is necessary to relate the

¹²Buddha Prakash, 1957; 1954, p. 135. J. Allan, on the contrary, thinks that the question is about the representatives of the different "Saks and Kushan peoples" whose area extended from the borders of India up to the Amu-Darya River (*Allan J.*, 1914, pp. XX-XXVIII).

¹³Trevor K.V., 1954, p. 134.

¹⁴Bichurin, II, p. 260; Enoki K., 1955 a; 1959, pp. 24-25.

¹⁵Noldeke Th., 1879, pp. 98-102; Shmidt A.E., 1958, pp. 445-446, 474-475.

information given by Firdausi that after the defeat of the "Turks" the nobility of Chaganian, Khuttalan, Balkh and Bukhara forced to pay tribute to Iran.

The name "Turks" itself is a clear anachronism. I. Marquart draws attention to two circumstances. First, in one Pahlavian work ("Yadgari Zariran") is narrated the battle of the king of Iran Vishtasp with the king of the Chionits, Arjasp, perhaps in the steppes of the region of Merv. After the victory, Vishtasp comes back to Balkh. All this very closely reminds the main events of the war of Bahrami Gur. Secondly, the satrap of Khorasan receives the title "marzban-i-kushan", i.e., "the protector of the border with Kushans".¹⁶ From this I. Marquart draws quite a convincing conclusion, that Bahrami Gur in fact waged a war with the Chionits.¹⁷

Why the satrap of Balkh carried the title "marzban-i-kushan"? Here two explanations are possible. First, according to Tabari Bahrami Gur was going to annex a part of the territory of India, where there were some Kushan dominions, and such a title could be political manifestation of its kind. But the other explanation is also possible: in Iran it was thought (or known) that there was some kind of link between the newly emerged Chionits and the long known Kushans. The latter assumption is supported by the following circumstance. Under Yezdigord II (438-457 A.D.) continued the wars with the northern nomads. A participant and contemporary of this war, Armenian historian Yegishe Vardapet informs that Sasanid king "suddenly attacked the lands of K h o n o s w h o a r e a l s o c a l l e d K u s h a n s and waged war with them for two years but could not subdue them."¹⁸ Thus two completely independent sources, about the Chionits, mention the Kushans. This supports the view that the Chionits cannot be separated from the Kushans.

Yezdigord II was compelled to move his residence to the Northern border. The tense situation there lasted more than decades. Armenian historian Yegishe Vardapet wrote that in 450 A.D. "Yezdigord collected large troops and with them reached the land of the Hepthalites. Seeing this king of the Kushans decided not to fight. He fled with troops into the inaccessible parts of the desert." After this Yezdigord II devastated the Kushan country, seizing many castles and cities taking many prisoners and booty. We cannot agree with K.V. Trever who saw the phrase "the land of Hepthalites" in this text and reached the conclusion that the Hepthalites in these years "perhaps as yet did not rule over the Kushans."¹⁹ We on the contrary think that this text testifies to the fact that the hegemony over the Chionits had already shifted to the Hepthalites; the whole territory ("land") considered as belonging to the Hepthalites but they did not take part in the battles with Iran until then.

¹⁶ Noldeke Th., 1879, pp. 101-102.

¹⁷ Marquart I., 1901, pp. 50-52.

¹⁸ Trever K.V., 1954, p. 136. (Italics B.G.)

¹⁹ Trever K.V., 1954, pp. 136-137.

HEPTHALITES

Thus, in the information of Armenian historian about the events of 450 A.D., was named "the country of the Hepthalites". Yegishe Vardapet informs that in 453-454 A.D., Yezdigord II again decided to attack the King of the Kushans but he came to know about this in time and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pars; several regions of Iran were devastated.²⁰

E.E. Nerazik, on the basic of the text, expressed opinion, with which we can agree, that this military campaign directed more towards eastern regions than the earlier one and that possibly the battle took place not with the Chionits but with the Hepthalites.²¹ It can be assumed that this was the first military clash of the Sasanid Iran with the Hepthalites and in it, the Sasanids must have felt that a new and more powerful enemy was advancing. However, this was only the beginning.

The new confederation in the 50s of the V century A.D. had become so strong mat it sent its missions; the first mission of the Hepthalites²² in China arrived 456 A.D. In the light of the strengthening of the Hepthalite confederation it becomes clear that the pressure put by the "Hunns-Kidarit", at the end of the 50s, and 60s of the V century, was not accidental.

The struggle with the Hepthalites reached its zenith during ruling of Peroz (459-484). From the information of the Arab authors, it follows that Peroz came to power with the support of the population of "Tokharistan and the adjoining areas". He "strengthened the power of the Hepthalites and as a gratitude for their help promised not to violate their borders". However, as Tabari informs "afterwards Peroz undertook a military campaign against the people who possessed Tokharistan and were called Hepthalites". Peroz with his army reached the tower built on the border by Bahrami Gur. Then Tabari narrates a fairy tale story as to how Peroz tried to hide his broken promise, which he had given to the king of the Hepthalites, Akhshunvar, to honor the border. Having reached the tower "Firus (Peroz) ordered to tie 50 elephants and 300 men to it; the tower was pulled before him and he followed it closely, assuming that he was thus not breaking the agreement with Akhshunvar". In the battle with the Hepthalites Peroz and a sizeable part of his troops fell into a booby trap and were killed. The Hepthalites seized the whole of Khorasan.²³ Dinaveri calls the king of "Turks", i.e., the Hepthalites Akhshunvar.

Like Tabari he narrates about the laying of the deep trap, carefully camouflaged. The king and his troops fell into the trap; they, as the historian writer states, "vanished into a dark night." In the trap he was killed by stones and the whole of his camp along with his daughter, priest, women and property fell into the hands of the Hepthalites.²⁴ A Byzantine source (Prokopiy Kesariyskiy, 1, 4) also gives information about this water-filled pit.

²⁰ *Yegishe Vardapet*, 1853, pp. 256-257.

²¹ ITN, I., p. 410.

²² *Enoki K.*, 1955 b, p. 234.

²³ *Shmidt A.E.*, 1958, pp. 448-449; *Noldeke Th.*, 1879, pp. 115-132.

²⁴ *Altheim R.*, 1960, pp. 51-52; Arab and Persian speaking authors give the name of this king as Khushnawaz (Firdavsi) or Akhshunvar (Tabari). (*Marquart J.*, 1901, p.60; *Livshits V.A.* 1969,

These events are described not only in the Arab but also in the Syrian, Byzantine and Armenian sources. Peroz fought with the Hepthalites thrice. The first war ended with his defeat and imprisonment by the Hepthalites. The Byzantine Emperor freed him on ransom. After sometime Peroz again started the war and was imprisoned again. That is when he gave the promise not to violate the border of the Hepthalites and was to pay them a huge contribution: 30 mules laden with coins. While in prison, he ordered this treasure to be supplied to the Hepthalites but the depleted treasury could only give a part of it. Peroz nevertheless got himself freed by leaving behind his son as a hostage. The reason for the third war, if one were to accept the information of Prisk Paniyskiy (1, 27), was the deceit practiced by Peroz on the Hepthalites. He offered the "Hunns" conclusion of peace and as a guarantee for his peaceful intentions, he sent to the "Hunn" ruler a woman as a wife saying that she was his sister. The woman who came to the "Hunns" disclosed the deception — she was not Peroz's sister but his slave. The offended "Hunn" ruler Kunha giving the pretext that he had a big army but no experienced military leaders asked him to send Persians as military instructors. When they arrived (Peroz sent three hundred noble Persians), the Hepthalites disfigured some of them and killed the rest.²⁵ The third war was resumed which led to the inglorious end of Peroz.²⁶

The terrible defeat had a depressing effect on the population of Iran. According to a source in Iran, "even during peaceful time nobody could look at the Hepthalite and hear about him without fear".

One Persian nobleman characterized the situation in Iran, after the defeat of Peroz by the Hepthalites, in such words: "Peroz gave away to the Hepthalites [our] such a large and independent state and did it in such a manner that as long as the country of the Aryas (Iran — B.G.) would exist it will never be able to get rid of such a sorrowful disservice".²⁷

In Middle Persian "Bahman-yasht", there is an excerpt evoked by the events of the 80s of the IV century: "Thus these people, the descendants of Yarost, killed hundreds, thousands, tens of thousand times. The vast army of these demons with disheveled hair burst upon them. They entered the lands of my Iran created by

p. 67). This name, etymologically, means as iranian ("possessing power") or Akhsonwar ("carrier of power") (Maenchen-Helfen O.J., 1959, p. 230). May be it is not a name but a title.

²⁵ About these events see, *Pigulevskaya N.V.*, 1941, pp. 56-59. Prisk Paniyskiy calls Kunha — the King of Hunns-Kidarits. In one of the manuscripts, the name of the king is written as Gunhaz (*Altheim F.*, 1959, I, p. 32). Different interpretations of this source are possible. It cannot be excluded that this information of Prisk Paniyskiy is related to the Kidarits who with the Hepthalites simultaneously attacked Iran. In 468 A.D. from the Byzantine, information was received through the Persian embassy that the Persians have defeated Hunns-Kidarits and are storming their city Valaam (Prisk Paniyskiy 35). It may be assumed that Valaam was the headquarters of the nomads somewhere in the region of South-West Turkmenistan. Paniysky called all Central Asians Hunns-Kidarits and Valaam as Balkh; in his stories about Kidarits, information about different Central Asian nomads is mixed up.

²⁶ Theophany Byzantine writes: "After the king of Hepthalites, Eftalan, from whom the people got their name, defeated Peroz, the Persians lost these places" (For Russian translation of the whole text see: "Byzantinian Historians", 1860, p. 493). It is quite likely that the name given by Theophany is the outcome of popular etymology.

²⁷ *Trever K.V.*, 1954, p. 138.

Ormuzd. Their contingents entered in a broad front — the hostile Turks and the red Chions whose flags flew half-mast."²⁸

Sasanid Iran, before whom the proud Roman emperors bowed their head many times, was now at the end of V century trembling out of fear before the fierce Central Asian nomads — the Hepthalites — and paid them tribute.²⁹

We have already mentioned about the seizure of Sogd by the Hepthalites (between 467-470 and 480 A.D.). Then they started subjugating the lands of Eastern Turkestan. They subjugated the region of Turfan in 479 A.D., Urumchi in 490-497 A.D., and Karashahr between 497 and 507 A.D.³⁰ The mighty and prestige of the Hepthalites in Eastern Turkestan may be judged from the following fact. In 522 A.D. Dzuan-Dzuan, ruler of one of the districts of the Khara-khoto region, rebelled against the Chinese and fled to the side of the Hepthalites to seek their help against his enemies.³¹ If taken into account that Khotan and Kashgar also joined the Hepthalite state (probably at the end of V century), it can be presumed that in the beginning of VI century they possessed the entire Eastern Turkestan.

The Chinese chronicles list the possessions, which formed the Hepthalite state. Comparing this information with the latest Arab-Persian sources enables to draw the conclusion that the main part of Central Asia was included in their state and an impression is formed (even I. Marquart noted this) that Tokharistan was the most important part of their state. The Hepthalites, besides this, also made some conquests in the South. In the second half of the V century, they seized Gandhara³² and later on some territory in Northern India.

The Indian part of the history of the Hepthalites is also as distant from clarity as the Central Asian one. In the Indian sources, the Hepthalites are called the Hunns. There exists data that the last great ruler of the Indian Gupta dynasty — Skandgupta — (according to some sources ruled approximately in 435-467 A.D.³³ and according to others from 455-456 approximately to 470 A.D.)³⁴ was compelled to defend himself and was able to defeat them.³⁵ It can be presumed that these were the first invasions of the I Hepthalites who by that time had seized Gandhara.

For the subsequent period we have the data from different sources including Indian chronicles and inscriptions, information by Chinese and other travelers, which contain extremely contradictory facts; consequently these have appeared in various versions of their interpretation offered by different scholars. At the very end of the V — I decade of the VI century at the head of the Indian Hunns stood the ruler Toraman who is called in one of the Indian inscriptions "the famous Toraman, highly glorious ruler of the land". His successor was his

²⁸ From the translation by H. Bailey: *Bailey H.W.*, 1954, pp. 13-14.

²⁹ On the basis of numismatic data (*Masson V.M., Romodin V.A.*, 1964, p. 204).

³⁰ *Enoki K.*, 1955 b, p. 235.

³¹ *Enoki K.*, 1959, pp. 25-26.

³² According to K. Enoki, it happened between 477 and 520 A.D. (*Enoki K.*, 1959, p. 27) but more probably at the beginning of this period.

³³ *Sinha N.K., Bannerji A.C.*, 1954, p. 89.

³⁴ "The Yakataka Gupta age", 1954, p. 161, 169, *Majumdar R.C.*, 1954, p. 25, 28.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 1954, pp. 163-164; *Majumdar R.C.*, 1954, p. 26.

son Mihirakul about whom much later Hsuan-Tszang wrote that he ruled over the whole of India and "subjugated the entire neighboring provinces without any exception". Perhaps during the rule of Mihirakul the territories of the Hepthalites, in Northern India, were really maximum.

However, many measures adopted by him, particularly the persecution of Buddhism turned the Indian population against him. He lost the war against the Gupta ruler Yashodharman but afterwards captured Kashmir.

The main part of Northern India freed from the yoke of "Hunns" – Hepthalites by the middle of VI century. The reasons for this — Indian historian R.C. Majumdar is quite correct in this regard — are not the defeats which were suffered by the chiefs of Indian Hunns but the crushing defeat of the Central Asian Hepthalites in the beginning of the sixties of VI century.³⁶ As a result of this defeat the Indian Hepthalites were deprived of their Central Asian rear, fresh flow of forces and support which led to their fall — this is one more example of the close interaction between the history of India and Central Asia. Although in India the existence of Hepthalite communes and even small kingdoms known for a long time, the "Hunns" – Hepthalites did not play a serious role in Indian history anymore.³⁷



Hepthalite coin

In the narration of the above-mentioned political events, the numismatic material not practically used and it was done deliberately. The more detailed publication of the coins of the Kidarits-Hepthalite circle is the four-volume work of R. Gobl "Documents of the History of Iranian Hunns in Bactria and India".³⁸ This excellently documented book forms the foundation of scientific study of Hepthalite numismatics. Vast material (but the collections in the Soviet museums were not used) was divided by R. Gobl into 297 emissions — issues. He also changed the whole scheme of division of the Hepthalite mint. In ways different than before, many legends on coins have been read and serious historical conclusions drawn. Giving due appreciation to the meticulous work of the author who, however, was unaware of the main part of the Soviet historical and numismatic literature we will refrain from using his general historical conclusions as they are based mainly on his readings, in many cases disputable and requiring

³⁶ Majumdar R.C., 1954, p. 39.

³⁷ "The Yakataka — Gupta age", 1954, pp. 174-185; Majumdar R.C., 1954, p. 26; Mc Govern W.M., 1939, pp. 414-417.

³⁸ Gobl R., 1967.

substantiation by linguists — Iranists. Unfortunately, even after the appearance of the work of R. Gobl (as well as the preceding monograph of R. Ghirshman and others), the problem of using the Hepthalite coins as a full-fledged historical source remains unresolved; this remains as the work for the future.

Thus, the Hepthalites formed a huge state formation, which surpassed in its size the Kushan state but at the same time was loose and fragile. Nevertheless, the Hepthalites played an important role in the history of Central Asia and many countries of the East. Exactly they who succeeded, not only in checkmating the armies of the Sasanid Iran in the East but to inflict a crushing defeat on the Sasanid kings. The standards of the Hepthalite contingents fluttered over the Valleys of Iran; the Hepthalite rulers solved the question of "to be or not to be the Shahanshah of Iran" by the various claimants and the regular payment to them of the tribute was the main concern of many Iranian governments.

The peoples of Caucasus who had subjugated by the Sasanids raised their heads. They intensified their struggle against the Sasanid yoke. In 483-484 A.D. in Iberia, Armenia and Caucasian Alania rebellion against Sasanid rule started. The rebels took advantage of the defeats of Peroz, which he suffered at the hands of the Hepthalites, and of the weakening of the Sasanid power.³⁹ Thus, the struggle of the enslaved peoples of Transcaucasia got intertwined with the onslaught of the Central Asian people — the Hepthalites. Lastly, the Hepthalites played an important role in the ethnogenesis of India, Afghanistan and particularly Central Asia.

2. PROBLEMS OF ETHNIC HISTORY. CLASS STRUGGLE

PROBLEM OF ORIGIN OF THE CHIONITS AND THE HEPTHALITES

A Syrian writer of the VI century Ieshu Stilit wrote: "Chionits are the Hunns".⁴⁰ However, it will not be proper to accept this statement unconditionally. For the Western authors of that period all the Central Asian nomads were "Hunns" or "White Hunns", irrespective of their real name.

Several contemporary researchers compared Chionits with the "Hiyaona" mentioned in "Avesta".⁴¹ They are the enemies of Zoroastrians, enemies of the truthful king Vishtasp, patron of Zarathustra. According to the text of the "Avesta", they were "bad" and "infidels" and perhaps could be considered as nomads. F. Altheim even compared one expression of "Avesta" with "pointed helmet and sharp shield" ("Yasht" XIX, 30), which was used in not very clear context with Saks-tigrakhauda whose ethnonym also etymologized as "pointed helmet" and drew the following conclusion: "Hiyaona thus appear along with one Saks tribe between Oxus and Yaxart".⁴² This question became the subject of

³⁹ Dyakonov I.M., 1961, p. 277.

⁴⁰ Marquart I., 1901, p. 5; Pigulevskaya N.V., 1941, p. 36.

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 50; Herzfeld E., 1930, p. 19.

⁴² Altheim F., 1959, 1, pp. 52-53.

detailed study by the famous Iranist H. Bailey⁴³ who developed the idea that they were really the tribes who preserved the name already found in "Avesta". It is true that H. Bailey fully recognizes the complexity of the problem. He is of the view that initially ("during the times of Vishtasp") they were located in the region of Oxus. However, what happened with them later, whether they went away towards the North-East and later came back again to the South or whether they remained at the same place, how they interacted with the "Hunns", whether the "Hunns" preserved their old name "Hiyaona" — Bailey sees no answer to this.⁴⁴

Really in view of the contemporary level of knowledge, we cannot either answer these questions or come to some definite conclusion regarding the problem of correlation of the term "Hiyaona" with the historical "Chionits". To follow the idea, which clearly expressed by Bailey, it is necessary to accept that some very powerful confederation of the tribes — enemies of the Zoroastrians — mentioned in "Yashts" later disappeared completely in the historical sources. As Maenchen-Helfen writes, "where they were hiding all these times remains a mystery"; the hypothesis about their going away to the North-East is "completely improbable" and as Morgenstern asserts "they did not even exist".⁴⁵

Thus, there are two mutually contradictory views. Whether there really existed "during the times of Vishtasp" in VI century B.C. the tribes of "Hiyaona"? Marquart expressed convincing views on this question. Even at the beginning of XX century, describing the heavy defeats inflicted by Chionits and Hepthalites on Sasanid Iran, he wrote: "The influence which these people had on Iranians was so strong that even their name entered "Avesta" and drove away completely the initial name of the enemies of Kavi Vishtasp who was the patron of Zarathustra".⁴⁶ This point of view accepted by E. Herzfeld⁴⁷ and R. Ghirshman.⁴⁸

Thus it could have been tempting to search for the beginning of Chionits in pre-Achaemenid, Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid period (depending on how one dated the ninth "Yasht"), as no basis. Perhaps those scholars are right who insist on the later inclusion of this name in the "Avesta". However, even in this case it is of interest, not as evidence of early origin but as reflection of political situation, in a considerably later period. At the same time it once again shows how complicated is the problem of the origin of the Chionits overall.

The name of Chionite king Grumbat can be translated from Iranian as "one who is patronized by Bahram".⁴⁹ The son of Grumbat is described by Ammian Martsellin as a youngman "who surpassed his peers in height and beauty" (Ammian Martsellin, 19, I, 7). As the same author calls the Hunns "ugly", "monstrous" and

⁴³ See for his initial views on this question: *Bailey H.W.*, 1932, p. 946.

⁴⁴ *Bailey H.W.*, 1954, pp. 20-21.

⁴⁵ *Maenchen-Helfen O.J.*, 1959, pp. 227-228. See also the works Ghirshman: *Ghirshman R.*, 1948, p. 116.

⁴⁶ *Marquart I.*, 1901, p. 50.

⁴⁷ *Herzfeld E.*, 1947, pp. 771-774.

⁴⁸ *Ghirshman R.*, 1948, p. 116.

⁴⁹ F. Andreas offer this etymology (see: *Ghirshman R.*, 1948, p. 117; *Maenchen-Helfen O.J.* 1959, p. 230). Turkish etymologies (Altheim F. and Stiehl R., 1954, p. 277) cannot be accepted.

"awful" we may share the view of those scholars who believe that what was said by the Western authors about the appearance of this youngman — a representative of the Chionite tribes — that he was handsome, it could hardly be possible to express in these words if he had resemblance with the Hunns."⁵⁰

Even more important is the description of the burial rites of the Chionits. According to Ammian Martsellin (19, 1, 10-11; 19, 2, 1) the body of the dead prince "in military uniform was taken out and placed on the large high pedestal; around there were placed ten boxes with depiction of the dead in a way resembling the real persons. During ten days, all people feasted in groups in tents and contingents, singing special burial songs and bemoaning the dead youngman, and women were groaning in their own way bemoaning the hopes of the people..." Thereafter "the body was cremated and bones collected in a silver urn in order to be taken for burial on the native land according to the will of the dead youngman."

In literature, it is noted that the elements of analogical rites were found during excavations at the sites of Kanga-kala and Kunya-uaz on the left bank of Khwarezm. Here "around the place for large fire there were parts of skeletons and skulls. Besides there were found pieces of colored clay carrying depiction of human face (Kanga-kala) and details of human figure (the hand in its natural size which was made by wrapping the cloth soaked in alabaster around the iron frame found in the burial room of Kunya-uaz)."⁵¹ These and some other observations made some Soviet scholars think that the native land of the Chionits was near the Aral region;⁵² this hypothesis is quite likely. However, one should not forget the existence of the separate elements of burial rites, similar to Chionits in other regions of Central Asia also. According to the testimony of the Chinese chronicles, in Shi (Tashkent oasis) there existed a building inside which was a pedestal. Every year the burial rite performed: on this pedestal, "...a golden urn is placed containing the ashes of the burnt bones of the late parents of the owner. Then people go round the pedestal with this urn showering flowers and fruits. The owner along with the noblemen provides the sacrificial meat."⁵³

In Fergana on the middle Syr-Darya and in the Near-Aral region the alabaster depiction-idols were put in graves.⁵⁴

Although the viewpoint of the Syrian author of VI century about the similarity of Chionits with Hunns can be convincingly rejected, but we cannot put forward any final theory about the origin of Chionits to counter balance it. It can only be said that the Chionits were probably Iranian-speaking tribes of Central Asian origin.

There is a lot of information about the origin and ethnic status of the Hepthalites but alas, it does not help, as this information is contradictory. Prokopiy Kesariyskiy who called Hepthalites "White Hunns" wrote: "Although the Hepthalites are a Hunn people and they are called so, however, they do not mix up and communicate with those Hunns whom we know as they do not have a common border with them and do not live near them..., they are not nomads as the other

⁵⁰ Pigulevskaya N.V., 1941, p. 36.

⁵¹ Rapoport Iu.A., 1958, p. 61.

⁵² ITN, I, pp. 413-414.

⁵³ Bichurin, II, pp. 272-282.

⁵⁴ About they see: Davidovich E.A. and Litvinsky B.A., 1955, pp. 51-62; Levina L.M., 1968.

Hunn peoples and from the ancient times they are settled on a fertile land... They are one of the Hunns with white skin and they are not ugly. They do not lead a way of life similar to them and they do not live like animals but they are ruled by one king and have a full-fledged statehood observing among themselves and neighbors justice no less than the Romans and the Persians.⁵⁵

Thus, Prokopiy Kesarivskiy clearly distinguishes Hepthalites from Hunns. He not only asserts the fact that they are different people but also gives a comprehensive proof for this. Surely, such a kind of detailed and well-argued point of view of a well-informed source cannot be underestimated. At the same time, he says nothing about the origin of the Hepthalites.

The Chinese sources contain many versions of the origin of the Hepthalites. However, they do not have any unanimity. The Chinese information can be divided into the following groups: (a) the Hepthalites are a kind of Yueh-Chihs; (b) the Hepthalites are a branch of the Turkic tribe Gaogyui; (c) the Hepthalites originates from the tribe Cheshi (Turfan); (d) they are the inheritors of Kangyui. One of the ancient Chinese authors narrating the origin of the Hepthalites stated: "The information received from the far-flung countries and from the peoples speaking foreign languages is subjected to distortion and wrong understanding and this relates to very ancient times. Thus, we do not exactly know as to how it happened. In this way it is impossible to solve the question about the origin of the Hepthalites."⁵⁶ A contemporary Japanese scholar K. Enoki, who has studied all these versions in detail and with full knowledge in the field, was obliged to come to a completely analogical conclusion: the Chinese authors did not know the real origin of the Hepthalites and their versions are of a bookish and as a rule completely arbitrary character.⁵⁷

Taking into account various variants of the Chinese versions, the Western scholars put forward many theories about the ethnic origin of the Hepthalites. Some of them considered the Hepthalites as the descendants of the Yueh-Chihs. According to others, they originated from the Hunns and belong to the number of ancient Turks and Mongols. There are theories about their Iranian-speaking origin. In the opinion of some researchers, they are very different people than the Chionits; and some others prove their identity or even consider the Hepthalites as the "ruling class" of the Chionits.⁵⁸

Let us turn to the existing material. Since long linguists are engaged in, analyzing the different names and terminologies related to the Hepthalites.

In different sources, the Hepthalites besides the "White Hunns" are called differently (which itself causes many important difficulties). In the Syrian sources they are called *abdel* and *eptalit*; in the Greek sources *abdel* and *eftalit*; in the Armenian — *heptal*, *idal* and *tetal*; in the Middle Persian — *eftal* and *heftal*; in the Arabian — *haital* and *yaftal*; in the Tajik-Persian — *hetal* and *haital*; in the Chinese — *e-da*⁵⁹ (in ancient times it sounded like *iep-tat* and *e-dien* (in ancient

⁵⁵ The other Byzantine historian Agafiy briefly writes: "The Hepthalites are the Hunn people." (Prisk Paniyskiy, 91-92 note 116.)

⁵⁶ Enoki K., 1959, p. 7.

⁵⁷ Enoki K., 1959, pp. 1-14; 1955, pp. 232-235.

⁵⁸ Ghirshman R., 1948, pp. 10-21, 115; Enoki K., 1959, pp. 15-23; ITN, I, pp. 415-416.

⁵⁹ Altheim F. and Stehl R., 1953, p. 276; Altheim F., 1959, 1, pp. 41-42.

times sounded like *i-eptien*).⁶⁰ It is necessary to add that in Pahlavi-Zoroastrian sources, they are sometimes called **Hions** in Indian as **Hunns**, Arabs often mistakenly call them Turks and ancient Armenian sources mix them up with Kushans.

F. Altheim tries to derive this ethnonym from the Turkic root which means "to do", "to make".⁶¹ This etymology, which is connected with over-stretching, seems to be doubtful. The other explanation is also offered — from Iranian **hapta** ("seven").⁶²

In the X century, Bal'ami wrote: "The name **hayatila** is the plural from of **haital** which in the Bukharan language means the "strong man". In the Bukharan language power means **haital** and this word in the Arabic language is changed to **hayatila**".⁶³ In the Eastern Iranian Khotan-Saks language, a similar word means "brave" and "glorious".⁶⁴

From the inscriptions on the Hepthalite coins, we can come to the following conclusion: the very name of the Hepthalites was Chion (on the coins — OIONO), thus, the Hepthalites are one of the branches of the Chionits. Judging by the coins the official language of the Hepthalites, in their Tokharistan lands, was Bactrian. In the legends on the coins, the Bactrian titles cannot be disputed.⁶⁵

It is also imperative to dwell upon the division of the Hepthalites into two parts. H. Bailey studied this question in contemporary literature comprehensively and meticulously. The starting point for this discussion is the Pahlavian texts. In "Jamasp-name" (96), there is data about the battle of Iran with the "White Chions". Thereafter (104) there is a victorious announcement: "the carriers of evil — divas and Chions were annihilated like the wind carrying away the leaves from the trees in winter".⁶⁶ In "Bahman-Yasht" (II, 49) on the contrary it is informed about the defeat of the Sasanids: "The kingdom and the supreme power was transferred to the slaves who were not Iranians but like Chions, Turks, Haftal, Tibetans, people living in hills, Chinese, Sogdians, Byzantines, Red and White Chions. They became the kings in Iran — my fatherland."⁶⁷ Thus, in the first of the above-mentioned texts there was reference only to White Chions, in the second can be found only Chions (standing beside the Turks), and also Red Chions (Karmir Chions) and White Chions (Spet Chions). The name Red Chions according to the commentator of "Bahman-Yasht" was given to them because of their red headgear, red armour and the red banners. In the Indian sources are mentioned the red (or "dark") Hunns or White Hunns (it may be recalled that Hunns of Indian sources are the Hepthalites). Lastly, in a poem of VII century, in Khotan-Saks language, there are mentioned people whose names are deciphered as redcap wearers. H. Bailey identified them as red Chions. In this

⁶⁰ Enoki K., 1959, p. 7.

⁶¹ Altheim F., 1959, 1, p. 44.

⁶² Maenchen-Helfen O.J., 1959, p. 231.

⁶³ Bal'ami, p. 128.

⁶⁴ Livshits V.A., 1969, p. 67, footnote 103.

⁶⁵ Ghirshman R., 1948; Henning W.B., 1960, p. 51; Livshits V.A., 1969, pp. 67-71.

⁶⁶ Bailey H.W., 1931, pp. 585-586.

⁶⁷ Bailey H.W., 1932, pp. 945-946.

connection, it is necessary to look at the Western sources, which often mention about White Hunns (see, for example, Prokopyi Kesariyskiy, I, 3). At the same time, the Byzantine authors mention also some Kermichion. As H. Bailey showed, the same people called Karmir Chion.⁶⁸

We really almost know nothing about these two groups of Hepthalites: whether they were different tribes who were part of a common confederation or whether they were some ethno-anthropological types within a single tribal massif. It is quite an indicative fact that at the recently found, at Afrasiab (in Samarkand), wall painting where the arrival of a diplomatic mission is depicted, there are figures of two envoys who are in the first place differentiated by the color of their skin ("red-faced" and "white-faced"). According to V.A. Livshits, there is reason to compare these depictions with "Red Chions" and "White Chions".⁶⁹

The Hepthalite script is a direct continuation of the Kushan (Bactrian), but it varies from the Kushan script by its developed italics. It is about the Hepthalite script that Hsuan-Tszang wrote: "Their language is somewhat different from the languages of other countries. The number of main letters is 25 combining which they express all meanings. Their script written across the page and they read from the left to the right. Their literary works have gradually grown and surpass the number among the Su-li people (Sogd)."⁷⁰

However, these literary works have been preserved in a very small number. The fragments of manuscript from the Eastern Turkestan are in particular Hepthalite.⁷¹ Some of them belong perhaps to VII-VIII centuries but related texts have not been deciphered. Some linguists think that they are in Saks language while others consider them Bactrian.

In North-Western Pakistan in the Valley of river Tochi three inscriptions are found engraved on stones: on one stone there are Arabic and Sanskrit texts, on the other Bactrian and Sanskrit, on the third, which consists of two pieces there, are Bactrian texts and two lines of Arabic. The Bactrian inscriptions are in italics script. There exists a version of their transliteration and translation.⁷² The published translation of these inscriptions is quite problematic. This was only an attempt. Their dating is quite late. It is perhaps IX century A.D.

In Central Asia to the number of monuments of Hepthalite script belongs the inscription on a broken piece from Zang-tepe where only one part of six lines⁷³ has been preserved. The inscriptions-graffiti from Kara-tepe and also two lines of italics Bactrian script found at Afrasiab are as just it follows from the

⁶⁸ Bailey H.W., 1954, pp. 13-20. Writing about "Kermihion" Theophany Byzantine (excerpt 2) informs that to the East of the Tanais there are Turks who in ancient times called Massagetae; in the Persian language the name of these Turks is Kermihion. E. Chavannes who has exhaustively studied this and other Byzantine sources thinks that the question is about Juan-Juans (*Chavannes E.*, 1903, pp. 229-233). This hypothesis now cannot be accepted.

⁶⁹ Livshits V.A., 1965 a, p. 6.

⁷⁰ Beal S., 1906, 1, p. 38; Pelliot P., 1934, p. 50.

⁷¹ Hansen O., 1951; Gershevitch I., 1967; Livshits V.A., 1967, p. 163.

⁷² Dani A.H., Humbach H., Gobl R., 1964, pp. 125-135.

⁷³ Livshits V.A., 1969, pp. 73-74.

nearby Sogdian inscription samples of the official script of the Hepthalites⁷⁴; the badly preserved inscription on the wall painting at Kolkhozabad site of Kafir-Qala.

The reading of inscriptions on Hepthalite coins remains disputable in many aspects. The interpretation of this material is usually possible with the help of Iranian etymologies and indicates to the fact that the language was East Iranian.⁷⁵ Keeping this in mind the supporters of Hunn-Turkic origin of the Hepthalites, at present time, explain the presence of indisputably Iranian words by the fact that into the language of the Hepthalites, which was originally Turkic (or Mongolian), the elements of the language of the Iranian people subjugated by them had penetrated. This point of view supported among the contemporary scholars, for example by F. Altheim and E. Pulleyblank.⁷⁶ Brief mention of the language of the Hepthalite in the Chinese sources also suggests different interpretations.

There is practically no serious reason to consider the language of the Hepthalite as Turkic or Mongolian; undoubtedly, it is almost East Iranian. Only further excavations of its monuments, hard work of the linguists alone will enable to answer the main questions related to its which remain unclear so far and to give a characteristic of the monuments of the Hepthalite script and to determine their mutual relations with the language of the Hepthalite people.

It is also necessary to dwell upon the question about the place of formation of the Hepthalites. From where these mysterious people originate who played such an important role in the history of Central Asia, Iran, Afghanistan, India and Eastern Turkestan. In addition, here there are more theories than strictly documented facts. Following one or the other version of the Chinese sources, the scholars put the place of origin of the Hepthalites sometimes in Altay and sometimes in Eastern Turkestan, etc.

The theory of the origin of the Hepthalites from Badakhshan is highly interesting. In 1959, A.N. Bernshtam spoke of the ethnogenesis and formation of statehood among the Hepthalites and indicated two centers: middle and lower Syr-Darya from one side and the upper basin of Amu-Darya from the other.⁷⁷

In 1955-1959, the idea of A.N. Bernshtam got a comprehensive mention in the works of Japanese scholar K. Enoki who not only subjected to critical re-examination the present material in its totality but also provided new data from the Chinese sources. The conclusions of K. Enoki were: (a) the original motherland of the Hepthalites situated near the Eastern outskirt of Badakhshan; (b) their culture contained some Iranian elements.⁷⁸ A similar idea about the origin of the Hepthalites from Badakhshan is developed by L.N. Gumilev⁷⁹ who did not add any new argument to the conception of K. Enoki. It is necessary to add that this hypothesis is finally derived from the Chinese sources, exactly from

⁷⁴ Livshits V.A., 1967, p. 164. At Afrasiab there found several more Hepthalite inscriptions.

⁷⁵ Bailey H.W., 1937, pp. 892-893 (titles of coin legends are Iranian); Enoki K., 1959, pp. 39-45; Ghirshman R., 1948, pp. 67, 117-118; Maenchen-Helfen O.J., 1959, pp. 227-231.

⁷⁶ Altheim F., 1959, 1, pp. 41-54; Pulleyblank E.G., 1962, pp. 259-260.

⁷⁷ Bernshtam A.N., 1951, p. 197.

⁷⁸ Enoki K., 1955, 1959 a.

⁷⁹ Gumilev L.N., 1959.

the tradition which Hsuan-Tszang preserved in his narration about the Badakhshan country Gimotalo (Sanskritised form of the word Hepthalite or it is some other variant), whose king conquered many countries.⁸⁰ However, this tradition as E.E. Nerazik mentioned could also be traced to the tradition about the Yueh-Chihs conquests and in that case, it cannot be used as a proof of the expansion of the power of the Hepthalites from Badakhshan. E.E. Nerazik also pointed to the other weak places of the theory of K. Enoki. One can agree with her critical observations.⁸¹ However, this does not belittle the importance of the work of K. Enoki particularly at the level of sources. For confirmation of the Badakhshan hypothesis more additional facts⁸² are required, possibly these will be provided by archaeology.⁸³

In pre-revolutionary Russian literature K.I. Inostrantsev drew attention to similarity of the stone vaults — "mugkhona"—with the burial sites which according to written sources were found among the Hepthalites.⁸⁴ B.A. Litvinsky while studying "mugkhona" and other types of burial sites particularly the burials in wooden coffins at the Kurgan foothills (according to Chinese sources these were also spread among the Hepthalites) and taking into account some other facts came to the conclusion that in the formation of the Hepthalite tribes the tribes of the foothill regions of Fergana among whom these types of burials were spread played an important role.

In Soviet historical literature one more viewpoint regarding the origin of the Hepthalites was represented S.P. Tolstov thinks that the Hepthalites are from the Near-Aral region. In the last narration of this theory he wrote, "It may be presumed that in the IV-V centuries the deltas of the Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya were the centers of the barbarian state of the Chionite Hepthalites which was formed on the basis of the ancient Saks-Massagetae sub-stratum with the strong mixture of the Hunn-Turkic element to which we have referred earlier."⁸⁵ As mentioned above facts show, that the Near-Aral region had never been in contrary to the statement of S.P. Tolstov regarding the center of the state of Chionits and Hepthalites. The data in favor of the Near-Aral region as origin of the Hepthalites is also scant.

A critical study of the existing hypotheses compels us to regard the possibility of solving the problem about the place of the formation of the Hepthalites with doubt. As regards their ethnic belonging here, the picture is clearer: the Hepthalites formed on the basis of the Central Asian Eastern Iranian-speaking tribes with certain mixture of Turkic ethnic elements.

⁸⁰ Enoki K., 1959, p. 35.

⁸¹ ITN, I, pp. 553-554.

⁸² See: Gumilev L.N., 1967 b.

⁸³ Babaev A.D., 1965, pp. 16-18.

⁸⁴ Inostrantsev K.I., 1909, pp. 116-120.

⁸⁵ Tolstov S.P., 1962, p. 244.

THE HEPTHALITE SOCIETY

Prokopyi Kesariyskiy wrote about the "White Hunns" — Hepthalites that since the "olden times" they lived a settled life "are ruled by one king" and "have a legal statehood?" Menandr preserved the information of a Turkic mission that the Hepthalites are an "urban tribe"; according to him Turks who defeated the Hepthalites became the "lords of their cities" (Menandr fr. 18)⁸⁶ Theophany Byzantine (fr. 3) says that after defeating the Persians the Hepthalites became the lords of those cities and harbors which were earlier possessed by the Persians. However, the Chinese sources give completely different information. Ye-da-Hepthalites – "do not have cities and live in places where grass and water is in plenty in felt tents". Traveler Son-Yun writes that the Ye-da (Hepthalites) do not have fortified cities; they live a nomadic life.⁸⁷ Both these mutually contradictory information's are joined in the narration of Hsuan-Tszang about Gimotalo. The inhabitants of these regions, i.e., the Hepthalites lived in tents of animal skins and lead a nomadic life. At the same time, there is information that in the past they conquered many countries where they "ruled over many highly fortified cities and settlements."⁸⁸ Thus, it cannot rule out that Western authors took Hepthalites as urban population because they possessed cities and in the later period, the Hepthalite elite perhaps settled in cities.



Silver bowl from Chilek

In the Hepthalite society there existed a distinctly manifested differentiation of property. We learn about it particularly from a description of

⁸⁶ See for translation of the whole fragment: "Byzantine Historians", 1860, p. 374; *Bichurin*, II, p. 268.

⁸⁷ *Beal S.*, 1906, p. XC-XCI; *Enoki K.*, 1959, p. 50.

⁸⁸ *Enoki K.*, 1959, p. 35.

their burial rites. Along with burials in wooden coffins about which Lyan-shu⁸⁹ informs and the chronicles of Bey-shi (and Vey-shu) tell the following: "The dead from the rich homes are buried in stone tombs and the poor are buried in graves."⁹⁰ The aristocracy wore rich clothes. Son-Yun describing the clothes of aristocratic women notes: "The clothes of the poor and rich are quite different".⁹¹ The punishment for crimes against property was extremely strict: "for burglary, without ascertaining the amount, the punishment was beheading; for pilferage fine of ten times the value was imposed."⁹² From the above-mentioned data a conclusion can be drawn: the Hepthalite society was a class society with property differentiation. Among the Hepthalites their own statehood had been formed. The army of the Hepthalites was very powerful. They were armed with clubs⁹³, the Chinese considered them as expert arrow shooters. Later authors thought that their main weapon was sword.⁹⁴

The character of their military actions makes us think that cavalry was their main fighting force. In this respect, we agree with F. Altheim⁹⁵ and disagree with L.N. Gumilev.⁹⁶

Among the Hepthalites, polyandry was common: "the brothers have one wife, the wife of a husband without brothers, i.e., one husband-wife wears a hat with one angle; multi-husband-wife multiplies the number of angles according to number of brothers; while wearing a dress the number of knots signified the same."⁹⁷ About the tradition of polygamy among the rulers, we informed by different Chinese sources.⁹⁸ Polyandry — a remnant of group marriage — has been preserved until recently in Tibet and some adjoining areas.⁹⁹

According to some sources, the Hepthalites did not follow the Buddhist religion but they worshipped their own gods, particularly the god of fire. Every morning they used to come out of their tents and worship their gods. Perhaps they worshipped the sun.¹⁰⁰ However, gradually the faiths of the people conquered by them, particularly Buddhism, started entering their circle. There is also information about the spread of Christianity among the Hepthalites.

THE MAZDAK MOVEMENT

In Iran, on the threshold of V-VI centuries during the rule of Qubad (488-531 A.D.), a big uprising of the popular masses against rising feudal relations

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 49.

⁹⁰ Bichurin, II, p.269.

⁹¹ Beal S., 1906, p. XC II.

⁹² Bichurin, II, p.269.

⁹³ Pigulevskaya N.V., 1941, p. 64; Altheim F., 1960, II, pp. 17-18.

⁹⁴ ITN, I, p. 419.

⁹⁵ Altheim F., 1960, II, p. 269.

⁹⁶ Gumilev L.N., 1967 b, p. 94.

⁹⁷ Bichurin, II, p. 268.

⁹⁸ Miller R.A., 1959, p. 12.

⁹⁹ Ghirshman R., 1948, pp. 125-128; Enoki K., 1959, pp. 51-56.

¹⁰⁰ Enoki K., 1959, pp. 45-49, sees, also: Ghirshman R., 1948, pp. 120-124.

took place.¹⁰¹ This movement led by a person who has gone down in history under the name of Mazdak.¹⁰² Like all other popular movements of that period, the protest of the peasants-communards against serfdom took the form of a religious movement. The founder of this religious movement was Zardusht ben Khurrai. Some scholars think that he lived at the end of the III and beginning of IV century but it is more likely that he lived in the second half of the V century. After his name, the religious teaching received the name "Zardushtakan". Mazdak was his pupil and follower.¹⁰³

Mazdak preached that all people are equal and it is necessary to end inequality and to take away the lands and property from the rich people. According to Tabari who relied upon the translations of Middle Persian chronicle Mazdak and his followers announced that the God "created all the wealth on the earth in order to be divided among the people equally. However, people in doing so wronged each other. The followers of Mazdak state that they take away what is possessed by the rich people and give back to the poor because if somebody has an excess of money, wives and other property, it does not mean that he has a superior right on all this."¹⁰⁴ Or as an Arabic author informs Mazdak taught: "It is necessary to take away from the rich for the poor in order to make them equal in property."¹⁰⁵

Murder, including killing of animals, considered as the greatest evil by the Mazdakits. The Mazdak teaching justified bloodshed and murder only as means to provide victory of the good against the evil. The demands of just distribution of earthly goods and destruction of inequality helped to spread the Mazdak teaching among the peasants in the commune.

The great poet Firdausi in his poem "Shahnama" conveys the words of Mazdak thus:

*He who is wealthy and powerful
Is not above the one born destitute
In luxury and riches lies a pledge
The poor is the basis — the rich only a layer*

¹⁰¹ For detailed source-related research: Christensen A., 1925. A meticulous study of the sources and the revision of the existing viewpoints are contained in the excellent work of Czechoslovakian orientalist O. Klima (Klima O., 1957) with detailed list of the literature. Among Soviet scholars most important are the works of Pigulevskaya N.V. (1948, 1956). A valuable brief sketch: Dyakonov I.M., 1961, pp. 303-309, 410-412.

¹⁰² F. Altheim and R. Steihl have proved that Mazdak belonged to Khwarezm or to the neighboring country (Altheim F. and Steihl R., 1953). But this as it was shown by O. Klima (Klima O., 1957, pp. 159-165), cannot be accepted. The information given in some sources, that Mazdak belonged to Nisa or some other city of Khorasan, is also not trustworthy. The exact place of origin of Mazdak is not known. Perhaps it is Mesopotamia, the left bank of the River Tigris. Moreover, it is also believed that Mazdak is not the name of a person but a title of the head of the sect or a follower ("Mazdak" or "Mazdkik").

¹⁰³ Klima O., 1957. A detailed summary of the history and ideology of the Mazdakite movement is outside our theme. We shall touch upon some moments referring to special researches and works on the history of Sasanid Iran.

¹⁰⁴ Shmidt A.E., 1958, pp. 450-451.

¹⁰⁵ Cited by Pigulevskaya N.V., 1956 a, p. 296.

*And equality must prevail on earth
Living in excess is sinful, not commendable.*¹⁰⁶

The preaching's of Mazdak had a big success. According to Tabari, "The common people used this convenient moment and joined Mazdak and his followers and united around them". As Biruni writes, "large number of people followed him".¹⁰⁷ The movement of Mazdakits in the capital of Iran resulted in the looting of grain storage of the rich people and aristocrats by the hungry masses. For a short period, the uprising spread all over the country. Mazdak expropriated the property of the rich and distributed it among the poor. Many big landowners of Iran were killed; a large number of them fled to the neighboring states.

Shah Qubad I, fearing for his life and also trying to strengthen the central power by means of weakening of local rulers and the biggest representatives of the aristocracy, declared himself a follower of the teachings of Mazdak. Historians explain the motives of this action of Qubad differently. A. Shmidt and T.H. Noldeke, following the medieval authors, thought that Qubad decided not to oppose the Mazdakit movement, hoping to direct it into a channel serving his self-interest — for struggle against the aristocracy and the clergy closely linked with it.¹⁰⁸ Many contemporary scholars share this view.¹⁰⁹ A. Christensen, on the contrary, thinks that Qubad himself had candidly joined Mazdak becoming a faithful follower of his teachings. Most of the Soviet scholars thought that A. Christensen was not right. Political calculation, and not sympathy for the Mazdakits and common people, was the real motive force for Qubad.¹¹⁰

Shah Qubad removed by the aristocracy and put in prison (496 A.D.). His brother who was to implement the will of the aristocracy placed on the throne. However, Qubad succeeded in fleeing and going over to the Hepthalites. The king of the Hepthalites was married to his sister. There he married the daughter of the Hepthalite King. Ieshu Stilit (§ 24) narrates the following incident: "He [Qubad] got emboldened by his becoming related to the king and crying before him every day for helping him with troops to remove the aristocracy and regain his power in his state. His father-in-law provided him with sufficient troops at his request. When he reached the Persian border, his brother fled on hearing this news and

¹⁰⁶ For Russian translation see "Vostok" II, p. 152.

¹⁰⁷ Shmidt A.E, 1958, p. 451, 490; Biruni, 1957, p. 213.

¹⁰⁸ Noldeke T.H., 1879, pp. 142-143,461.

¹⁰⁹ See for example: Frye R.N., 1963, p. 212

¹¹⁰ S.P. Tolstov put forth the following concept: Qubad in his youth was left by his father Peroz as a hostage with the Hepthalites. From this fact, which is confirmed by the sources, he draws the conclusion that the agreement of Qubad with Mazdakits was motivated "by his acquaintance with the Hepthalite orders: the commune — clan traditions of the Hepthalite social structure are close to the slogans of the Mazdakit movement, and Qubad in realization of these slogans could see the way to the strengthening of the weakening unity of the Sasanid empire on the model of the young barbarian power of the "White Hunns" (Tolstov S.P., 1948 b, p. 216). But the Hepthalites were not at all at the level of the primitive commune society. They had a long-standing property and social differentiation.

Qubad fulfilled his wish by executing the nobility".¹¹¹ Thus in 499 A.D. Qubad I with the help of the Hepthalite troops again ascended the throne and repressed the aristocrats who had opposed him.

After coming again to power and with the help of the Hepthalites and regaining his authority, his relations with the Mazdakits gradually changed, first covertly and later overtly, he started fighting the followers of Mazdak as they were now his sworn enemies. In 528 and 529 A.D. treacherously murdering Mazdak, Qubad also eliminated other leaders of the movement. Then began a barbaric all-round annihilation of the followers of Mazdak.

The most important reason for the defeat of the Mazdakits was the fact that feudal relations, against which the Mazdakits fought, presented at that time a historically necessary stage of development whereas the slogan of the restoration of the commune equality under those circumstances meant a return to the decadent and outdated form of the commune-clan society.

However, the Mazdak uprising had an objectively progressive character as it roused the people for struggle against exploitation and oppression. The ideas of Mazdak greatly influenced the impoverished strata of the people and became widespread in Central Asia where at this time the process of feudalization had also started.

Soon after the collapse of the Mazdakit movement the feudal relations in Iran were strengthened by several reforms introduced by the son of Qubad I — Khusrav I Anushirvan (531-579 A.D.) who was an irreconcilable opponent of Mazdak and the Mazdakits.

¹¹¹ *Pigulevskaya N.V.*, 1940, p. 136.

CHAPTER II

PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA IN VI- BEGINNING OF VIII CENTURY

1. THE MAIN EVENTS OF POLITICAL HISTORY. CLASS STRUGGLE

THE TURK KAGANATE AND THE EXPANSION OF ITS POWER OVER CENTRAL ASIA

In the VI century, far away from the borders of Central Asia, on the Altay — a state formation — the Turkic Kaganate (551-744 A.D.) was taking place, which later was to play a significant role in the history of Central Asia. The Turks are known in the written sources, under different though similar names. The Chinese called them *Tutsziuye* (presumably ancient sound *t'u t kiwat*), which must have reflected the name Turks in the language of the Mongol-speaking Jujan — *Tiurkiut*. The Turks, judging by their inscriptions, called themselves *Tiurk*, the Sogdians and Persian called them *Turk*. Different scholars interpret the meaning of this ethnonym differently.¹

The Turk ruler Bumin first subjugated the tribes of Tele and later having become stronger, started war with the tribal union of Jujans who earlier dominated the Turks. Having conquered the Jujans the Turks formed a mighty state in Mongolia and the Altay. The further territorial expansion of the state took place during the rule of one of the successors of Bumin — Kagan Mukhan (553-572 A.D.). His brother Istemı headed the military campaign to the West. In 555 A.D., he reached the "Western Sea" (perhaps the Aral Sea). The large inscription of Kul-tegin informs that "up to Temir-Kapig they (Mukhan and Istemı – B.G.) settled their people".² Temir-Kapig ("The Iron Gate"), the name which was used in medieval times for the mountain pass leading from Sogd to Tokharistan was located in Baisun Mountains. The Turk contingents reached the borders of Iran, on the West they came up to the Black Sea and captured Bospor Kimmeriyskiy. A huge nomadic empire was formed which stretched from Korea to the Black Sea. China became a factual vassal of the Turks and paid them a colossal annual tribute. Iran and Byzantium — two other largest world powers of their times also trembled before this superpower".

¹ Kononov A.N., 1949, pp. 40-47, Klyashtornyi S.G., 1964, pp. 18-19.

² Malov S. E., 1951, p. 36.

However, this huge Turk empire was not destined to remain united. The internecine wars began and at the very beginning of the VII century (in 600 – 603 A.D.) the Kaganate disintegrated into two parts — the Eastern Turk and Western Turk (the latter included Central Asia also). In 630-682 A.D. the Eastern Turk Kaganate extremely weakened, it actually ceased to exist. At the end of VII century, after the struggle with China, the second Eastern Turk Kaganate came into existence. It quickly gained strength. This state particularly became powerful during Mochzho otherwise called Kapagankagan (691-716 A.D.). Again, the Turk banners flew over the walls of Peking. The armies of Kapagankagan crossed over the river Huanhe. The Turks ruled over Northern China, killing and taking away to the steppes, dozens and hundreds of thousands of its inhabitants and huge riches, Military campaigns to the West in Central Asia were undertaken.

The Arabs at the end of the VII and middle of the VIII century who subjugated the main territories of Central Asia ended the political domination of the Turks in Central Asia.

TURKS AND HEPTHALITES

During their first intrusions into Central Asia, the Turks had to clash with the Hepthalites. This clash became inevitable when the intentions of the Turk Kaganate to gain hegemony over Central Asia became clear. The position of the Hepthalites was even more difficult as they found themselves between two fires — the Turks and Sasanid Iran. It was at this time, during the rule of Khusrav I Anushirvan (531-579 A.D.), that Iran consolidated itself and strengthened its military power. It stopped paying tribute to the Hepthalites.³

In the 50s of the VI century, the Turks clashed with the Hepthalites in the Northern part of Central Asia. The Hepthalites perhaps did not suspect that they were going to face a powerful enemy. The leader of the Hepthalite tried to launch an offensive against the Turks but his adviser Katulf stopped him who told him that the Hepthalites are more powerful within the border of their homeland than on the alien territory (Menandr fr. 10). The war dragged on for a long period, perhaps with intervals. The leader of the Turks, Silzibul, threatened Avars that he would crush his other enemies after the end of the war with the Hepthalites (Menandr fr. 10).

Khusrav I and the Turks entered into diplomatic relations with each other. An alliance was planned. Its aim was to crush the Hepthalites. Firdausi gives a more detailed description of the event. The Kagan of Turks sent envoys to Khusrav I Anushirvan. The envoys had to cross the territory of Sogd towards the bank of Jeihun (Amu-Darya).

However, Haital, i.e., the Hepthalite troops, seized all these regions. The king of Haital, Gatifar, in order not to let the friendship and alliance between Kagan and the Shah of Iran materialize, ordered the murder of the envoys. Only one of them escaped and brought information to the Kagan. "His heart (Kagan's) was full of pain and his mind was full of revenge." He collected a large army and

³ Dyakonov I.M., 1961, pp. 309-315, 321.

advanced towards Hepthalites. First, he seized Chach, the province of Parak (Chirchik) and then came up to the river (Gulzarriyun (Syr-Darya).

Meanwhile Gatifar was amassing troops. The troops from Balkh, Shugnan, Khuttalan, Vashgird (the region of Southern Tajikistan), Termez, Amul and Zemm brought to the region of Bukhara. A decisive battle took place in the region of Bukhara.

Bukhara was full of clubs and maces.

Because it was the camp of the army of the Shah of Hailals,

Lo! Here Gatifar starts moving with troops like mountain,

Having gathered around the hordes of Hailals,

From all corners the troops rush to battle,

So overcrowded it was that even wind could not pass.

The battle continued for eight days. The Hepthalites were defeated. Their troops fled to the South where the new king Faganish, the ruler of Chaganian was selected. But at this time Khusrav I attacked. Faganish recognized his power, the Shah of Iran, and the Kagan of Turks started negotiations.⁴

The account by Tabari is extremely brief. "The most powerful, brave and strong among the Turks was Kagan Sinjibu, and he had more troops than others; it was he who started battle with V.r.z., the king of the Hepthalites, not fearing their large numbers and strength, killed their king V.r.z. and all his army, seized their riches and country with the exception of that part which was earlier conquered by Khusrav I."

According to Dinaveri in the beginning Khusrav I "sent his troops to the country of the Hepthalites and conquered Tokharistan, Zabulistan, Kabulistan and Chaganian. Then the king of the Turks, Kagan Sinjibu collected his people and marched against the land of Khorasan; he seized Chach, Fergana, Samarkand, Kesh and Nasaf and reached up to Bukhara itself."⁵ Thus, each of the allies wanted to inflict the blow first. Perhaps, the Hepthalites had to fight two mighty enemies simultaneously. So far as the names are concerned, Sinjibu of Arab authors is undoubtedly identical to Silzibul of the Byzantine sources⁶ and the name of the king of the Hepthalites, T. Noldeke suggests to read it as Varz;⁷ a name of Iranian origin meaning "wild boar". Such a title ("Varaz") was borne by the Eastern Iranian rulers, for example, of Merv, Herat, Garchistan, Nisa.⁸ Not excluded is the other interpretation of this name — "high" (see Sogdian βrz – Varz).

⁴ Mohl J., 1866, VI, pp. 308-316; *Firdausi*, 1966, pp. 220-227. For Russian translation and interpretation of geographical names of this excerpt, see, *Ptizin G.V.*, 1947, pp. 297-309.

⁵ Noldeke T., 1879, pp. 158-159; Shmidt E.A., 1958, p. 453.

⁶ Noldeke T., 1879, p. 158, Anm. 2; Chavannes E., 1903, p. 226. About the Initial Turk form of this name sees, Moravcsik G., 1958, pp. 275-276.

⁷ Noldeke T., 1879, p. 159.

⁸ Maenchen-Helfen O., 1959.



Costumes of the Turk tribes X – XI centuries

1 – on the wall painting from Khodzho, 2 – from the painting of Li Lui – myan

Having studied the sources in detail E. Chavannes thinks that the defeat of the Hepthalites by the Turks took place somewhere in between 563 and 567 A.D.⁹ according to A.M. Mandelshtam nearer to the beginning of this stretch of time may be in 563 A.D.¹⁰; G. Moravcsik prefers it "around 560 A.D."¹¹

As a result of these military actions which spread perhaps over a considerable part of Central Asia, the inhabitants of cities and settlements suffered. Firdausi writes about it: "In Chach, Terek (i.e., Parak — Chirchik —

⁹ Chavannes E., 1903, p. 226.

¹⁰ ITN, II, p. 43.

¹¹ Moravcsik G., 1958, 1, p. 76.

B.G.), Samarkand and Sogd many places were ruined and became like the place inhabited by owls. For the inhabitants of Chaganyan, Bami (i.e. Bamian — B.G.), Khutlan and Balkh — for all of them the dark and bitter days have come."¹²

Misunderstandings began between the allies which resulted in a rift; each side perhaps wanted to take more advantage from the prevailing situation. According to Tabari the Turks manifested aggressive intentions and demanded that Iran pay them the tribute which it once paid to the Hepthalites. On the contrary, Dinaveri informs that Khusrav I came to know that the Turks had reached up to Bukhara, Kesh and Nasaf. He sent the troops against them, which led by his inheritor, but the Turks did not fight and retreated. All these regions came into the hands of the Sasanids. This information of Dinaveri, as T. Noldeke noted, did not correspond with other sources and in fact, these regions in the center of Maverannahr remained in the hands of the Turks,¹³ but between the newfound allies friction started immediately.

The tension in the relations of Turks with Iran was to the advantage of the Hepthalites. The Southern-most regions of Central Asia, of contemporary Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan happened to be in the sphere of influence of the Sasanid Iran, the more Northern regions remained under the supreme power of the Turks. There were of course no strictly established borders and the adjacent regions (districts) had to send tributes simultaneously to the two addresses. The Hepthalites who remained in the Valley of Zerafshan paid tribute to the Turks (Menandr fr. 18). The Southern part of Central Asian Hepthalites continued, perhaps for some time to form a semi-independent kingdom. However, as Mas'udi informs, Khusrav I apparently under some pretext intruded into regions lying beyond the "River Balkh", i.e., Amu-Darya and reached Khuttalan. The Hepthalite king (he is called Akhshunvar, but perhaps it is a title and not a personal name), was murdered and his kingdom was annexed by Khusrav I.¹⁴

Thus, the Hepthalite state ceased to exist. It has been said that: "After this Tukuestsy (Turks — B.G.) ruined the kingdom of Ye – da (Hepthalites — B.G.) and the generations dissipated..."¹⁵

TURK-SASANID CONFLICT. ECONOMY AND POLITICS

Directly after the defeat of the Hepthalite state the conflict between the former allies took place. Soon it intensified not as a result of political ambitions of the conflicting sides but as a result of contradictions in their economic interests.

¹² Mohl J., 1866, VI, p. 354; *Firdausi*, 1966, pp. 264-265. For the Russian translation of this excerpt, see: Belenitsky A.M., 1950 a, p. 112.

¹³ Noldeke T., 1879, p. 159, Anm. I.

¹⁴ Altheim F., 1960, pp. 57-58.

¹⁵ Bichurin, II, p. 269; see also Miller R.A., 1959, p. 12.

As is known already, in the Kushan period the trade routes, particularly the "Silk Route", passed through Middle Asia, which linked Central Asia with Rome. Later the sericulture and the production of silk began in Middle Asia itself. The West had no silk production of its own and the Byzantine as well as the Roman Empire were dependent on the import of silk from Middle and Central Asia, the Persian traders playing the role of the intermediary. Attempts of the Byzantines to get silk from India, bypassing the Persians, met with opposition from Iran and overall proved ineffective. The Persians who earned large profits from their intermediary trade tried from one side not to allow direct link of the Byzantine with the suppliers of raw silk and from the other they inflated its price. The policy of the Byzantine government, which controlled the price of silk, did not yield results. In the middle of the VI century, the eggs of silk-spinning worms¹⁶ for the development of its own silk production were required.

The Sogdians who themselves started producing silk fabrics and who had direct contact with the suppliers of raw silk were more interested in normalizing the Middle Asian — Byzantine silk trade. The most suitable was the route through Iran. However, it was here that the interests of the Persian and Middle Asian traders crushed.

During the normal or may be alliance-like relations between the Turks and Iran on the initiative of Sogdians it was decided to send a mission to Iran, with the purpose of reaching an agreement about the possibility of transiting silk into the Byzantium or at least selling to the Persians. At the head of the mission was Maniah — "the head" of Sogdians. Menandr (fr. 18) also informs that the Turk Kagan allowed the Sogdians themselves to "send the mission". This proves that the Turks did not liquidate Sogd as a state but only subjugated it. Such an action undoubtedly reflected the real political situation in the Middle Asia — here we fully agree with N.V. Pigulevskaya,¹⁷ who criticized by L.N. Gumilev without any ground.¹⁸ However, he and other scholars also are right in other aspects:¹⁹ it is wrong to project as if the Turks were "indifferent to large exchange of trade" as N.V. Pigulevskaya writes. Factually, speaking, Turk aristocracy had become "mature" to understand the benefits, which development of large international, particularly silk trade was to bring. That is why the initiative of the Sogdians met with a warm welcome from the Turk Kagan.

The mission of Maniah failed completely: after long delays on the pretext of the undesirability of the Turks to allow in Persia. Khusrav I rejected the request of the mission. An adviser of the Shah, Hepthalite Katulf, who had fled to Iran

¹⁶ Pigulevskaya N.V., 1947, pp. 184-196, 1951, pp. 83-95, 184.

¹⁷ Pigulevskaya N.V., 1951, p. 203.

¹⁸ L.N. Gumilev (1967 a, p. 46) thinks that the dispatch of the mission in the name of the Sogdians explained by the fact that "they took upon themselves the conducting of negotiations hoping to tackle a deal better than the Turkyuat Begs who were not adept at diplomacy." However, if the Kagan did not trust the diplomatic skills of his co-tribesmen he could have found some other way out, for example, to include in the mission skillful Sogdian diplomats and send the mission in his name. In reality, the Sogdians sent the mission with his consent, themselves.

¹⁹ ITN, II, I, p. 46.

after the defeat suffered by the Hepthalites at the hands of the Turks, was one who in particular, strongly opposed the Sogdians. On his advice, the Shah bought the silk brought by the Sogdians and then ordered to burn it in their presence. As N.V. Pigulevskaya rightly emphasizes, by this action the Persians gave them to understand that they do not need the Sogdian goods because the silk belonged to the Turks.²⁰

When the Kagan came to know about this, he decided to send another mission, this time from his side and included only the Turks in the mission. This sort of persistence in sending a second mission notwithstanding complete failure of the first shows that "higher political" interests were present. Perhaps the Turks wanted to know whether the Sasanid Iran desired to have peace and friendship with them or else they were to prepare for war. The rejection of the first mission by the Persians could have interpreted also as their unwillingness to conduct negotiations with a vassal states. Whether or not the Shah of Iran will decline the request of his recent ally the powerful. The answer was quite clear: from the entire mission, only a few persons returned, the rest perished in Persia; although the Persian justified themselves it was clear that the envoys were poisoned all this made relations tense between Iran and the Turks. It had become clear to both sides that it was necessary to prepare for the war because it was inevitable.

Thereafter the government of the Kaganate intended establish political contacts with longstanding enemy of the Sasanid State — Byzantine Empire. This way the question of selling silk could be solved, which so much agitated the Turk and Sogdian aristocracy, and which had not moved away from a stalemate. Again, at the head of the mission to Byzantine was the Sogdian Maniah. He had with him the requisite letters and many gifts "made from silk of great value". Naturally, the mission could not move through Iran. Hence, another route was chosen; along the Northern coast of the Caspian and through Caucasus.

Having arrived in Byzantine, the mission handed over to the Emperor the gifts and the letter written as the Byzantines thought in the "Scythian script" (more likely Sogdian script). A treaty was signed which had a military character and was aimed at Iran. The mission returned in the same year (568 A.D.). The Byzantines sent a return mission headed by Zemarh. The military-political alliance of the Turks and the Byzantines became an accomplished fact. After the first, other missions followed.²¹

The available sources inform that in 581 A.D. Khotan, Persia and Hepthalites rebelled against the Turks.²² There is no clarity about the kind of Hepthalites they were. It is unlikely that mentioning Khotan and Persia, the source would indicate to some small rebellion; probably it was even on a large scale, this time soon after the death of Khusrav I Anushirvan (579 A.D.). The Turks keeping in mind the unstable situation in Iran decided to annex the buffer Hepthalite state that had survived in Tokharistan and possibly at the end of the

²⁰ Pigulevskaya N.V., 1951, p. 203.

²¹ A more detailed and competent analysis of Byzantine-Turk's mutual relation is contained in the works of N.V. Pigulevskaya; among the latest work (with analysis of Byzantine sources and detailed bibliography) see: Moravcsik G., Vols. I-II, 1958.

²² ITN, II, p. 43.

70s and beginning of the 80s of the VI century became independent.²³ However, in the war in the South the Turks had to clash with the Hepthalite as well as Iranian troops. Judging by the later information the victory of the Turks was only partial: their supreme power was compelled to recognize the Hepthalites of the right bank of Tokharistan; as to the Hepthalites of the left bank, they remained independent.

Several years passed and in 588 A.D. the Turks led by Saave (or Shaba) intruded into the territory of the Sasanid state. Against them was the talented military commander Bahrami Chubin. His popularity in his lifetime and after his death was very high. There was a novel in the Pahlavian literature glorifying his deeds. He mentioned many times in the different sources of the period. All these references are now lost, their information was reflected in the works of Firdausi and Arab historians. However, the main chain of events is beyond doubt. The army of the Turks forced attack across the Amu-Darya, seizing the entire Tokharistan (Northern and Southern) it advanced to the West and reached Herat. During the battle Bahrami Chubin along with select troops forced his way into the headquarter of the Turk military commander. According to Dinaveri "On seeing this the king of the Turks ordered to bring his horse and stood before Bahram; Bahram shot an arrow towards him which pierced through him, he fell down on the ground and the Turks took to heels."²⁴ Later Barmuda (according to other sources) Yeltegin the son of the killed Turk ruler gathered a new army including in it also the contingents of earlier defeated troops. The following events are known in two versions. According to one version, the Persians crossed the Amu-Darya and for the second time crushed the Turks; according to the other version, on the bank of Amu-Darya in the region of Termez a peace treaty signed.²⁵

Along with this, there exists one more version, which belongs to the Armenian priest Sebeos, author of a valuable historical work. This version deserves greater attention and trust because Sebeos in his young age had served in the Sasanid court and heard there the stories about these events. According to him Bahrami Chubin "defeated the Tetals (Hepthalites — B.G.), forcibly seized Balkh and the entire country of the Kushans up to the other side of the great river under the name Vehrod (Amu-Darya — B.G.), Bahram at that time was at war with the great king of Maskuts who lived on the other side of the great river. He defeated his large troops, killed the king in the battle, seized and took away the entire treasury of this kingdom."²⁶ This information, which was many times disputed in the special literature (particularly in detail by I. Marquart), is extremely important in so far as it clearly shows that the Turks fought against the Sasanid Iran in alliance with the Hepthalites living in Northern Afghanistan.

In the beginning of the VII century in 616-617 A.D. Iran once again attempted to crush the Hepthalites and their suzerains – Turks. The Iranian military commander Smbat Bagratuni undertook two military marches on the right bank of

²³ Mandelshtam A.M., 1957, p. 133.

²⁴ Schmidt A.E., 1958, p. 480. For Tabari's account, see: Noldeke T., 1879, pp. 270-272.

²⁵ About the sources see: Noldeke T., 1879, pp. 272, 474-478; Altheim F., 1962, p. 234. For a detailed account of events see: Gumilev L.N., 1967 a, pp. 126-132; 1960a, pp. 64-74.

²⁶ Trever K.V., 1954, p. 140.

Tokharistan where there were several Hepthalite Kingdoms, which subordinated to the Balkh ruler and were under the supreme power of the Turks. According to Sebeos the Hepthalites lived at that time in the region of Herat, Badgis, Taliqan and Balkh. Although the Iranian military commander won the battle and seized a large booty²⁷, these regions were not under the Sasanid government. Soon the Turks succeeded in driving away the Sasanid troops from here.

MUTUAL RELATIONS OF TURK KAGANATE WITH LOCAL RULERS. CENTRAL ASIAN-TURK SYNTHESIS

The initial policy of the Turks who seized Central Asia was no different from the policy of the Hepthalites²⁸ — they levied tribute on local rulers, the former dynasties were preserved, the rules and laws existing in these kingdoms also did not change. Of course, they had to support their suzerain in case of military threat. However, the situation changed gradually. The Turks worked out a system of administration in the Central Asian states. From outside, they grew into active participant in the Central Asian life. The greedy Turk aristocracy started asking a question: why only a part and not the whole riches taken out of their population come to them? In 605 A.D., the Turks killed the ruler of the Chach province and put in his place Turk Dele.²⁹

During the rule of Western Turk Kagan Tun-shehu a reform was announced: in 618 A.D., he decided to make the local rulers his vice-regents giving them corresponding titles. For control over them, he appointed his representatives who were also to collect the taxes.³⁰ Could he really implement his reform? In any case, it was an attempt to organize in the place of scattered independent states a sort of single state formation. Tun-shehu (618-630 A.D.) had a serious and extremely real argument with the mighty military power. He was himself, as a source informs, "Brave and had the ability to comprehend, his every battle ended in victory."³¹ As a result, during his rule the Turks subjugated some of the stubborn Central Asian rulers. Along with force, he also used diplomacy. He married his daughter off to the most powerful ruler of Samarkand.³² Tun-shehu came to help the Hepthalite during the military campaigns against them by Iranian military commander Smbat Bagratuni. Later, when the military commander himself retreated to Iran with his main troops. The Turk troops crossed Amu-Darya and drove away the Iranian garrisons. The entire Tokharistan freed from the yoke of the Sasanids. By this, the phrase that Tun-

²⁷ Ibid, pp. 142-143.

²⁸ It is difficult to agree with S.P. Tolstov who contrasts the policy of Turk rulers in Central Asia against the policy of the Hepthalites. He bases his view on the fact that the Hepthalite depended on the support of the popular masses struggling against growing feudal elements." (Tolstov S.P., 1948 d, p. 278) However, there is no serious basis for such a statement.

²⁹ Bichurin, II, p. 313.

³⁰ Ibid, I, p. 283.

³¹ Bichurin, I, p. 283.

³² Bichurin, II, p. 311; Chavannes E., 1903, p. 24, 135.

shehu "defeated Persia" explained. It is also said that he "subdued Gibin"³³, i.e., Southern Afghanistan and North-Western part of contemporary Pakistan happened to be under the power of the Turks or in any case in some way dependent on them.³⁴

After the death of Tun-shehu (630 A.D.), the situation in the Western Turk Kaganate became shaky. Disturbances and infighting between the representatives of higher aristocracy had their impact on the agricultural regions of Central Asia. Raids and pillaging expeditions became quite frequent. For example, the ruler of Fergana was killed and in Northern Fergana, the Turk vice-regents established them.

Internal and external political causes led first to the disintegration of the Western Turk Kaganate followed by its complete collapse. At the same time, it is necessary to note that the groups of Turk population penetrated into the oases; a part of them settled, others were engaged in cattle breeding on the outskirts of the oases; the Turk population appeared in cities also; many kingdoms continued to rule by dynasties of Turks or of mixed origin. In history, mixed marriages recorded in the source material.

The Turk contribution to the character of the Central Asian crafts was quite significant. As archaeological material shows, Turks had highly developed craft production even before coming to the Central Asia. Their metallic craft and particularly jewelry, weaponry and ornaments were of a high quality and marked by great peculiarity. Under the influence of the links on the basis of local prototypes, the formation of some specific forms of Sogdian and Fergana ceramics took place as splendid clay mugs,³⁵ etc.

Turkish element firmly entered the composition of the Central Asian society of the VII-VIII centuries. As a result, the Central Asian military sphere received a great impetus through enrichment of weaponry and tactical uses introduced by the Turks. The Turk influence on various sides of life was quite significant: in works of art of that period, the Turks' influence deeply reflected; often the mutual interaction of the Turk folk poetry and epics and literature of the allied Central Asian peoples took place.³⁶

The Turks, who came to Central Asia, took an active part in the religious life and in the generation of cultural values and were along with the original inhabitants the creators of the cultural fund which is the common property of the Central Asian peoples. During the period under a synthesis of traditions, religions, rites and cultures of the Iranian-speaking and Turkic-speaking peoples of Central Asia not only started but also continued further.

³³ Ibid, I, p. 283.

³⁴ This derived from the translation of E. Chavannes, which slightly differs from that by Bichurin (*Chavannes E.*, 1903, p. 24).

³⁵ Marshak B.I., 1961.

³⁶ Bertels E., 1960, pp. 84-87; Stebleva I.V., 1965, pp. 65-68.

THE ABRUI MOVEMENT

The condition of the toiling population was very difficult.³⁷ In this connection, the data about the movement led by Abrui is of extraordinary interest. They are based on excerpts from the book authored by Abdarrahman Muhammad Nishapuri (XI century) titled "*Khazinatal-ulum*" ("The Treasure of Science") included in the "History of Bukhara" by Narshakhi in its later revision. According to Narshakhi, Nishapuri wrote that in the ancient times people settled in the Bukhara region. "People started coming from all sides and became happy here. Some people came from Turkestan because here there was plenty of water, many trees and plenty of hunting. They liked this region and they settled here. In the beginning, they put up tents and yurtas living in them. However, later when more people gathered they constructed houses. When the population rose, they selected one whom they made an Amir. His name was Abrui". The king himself lived in Paikend and the city called Kalai Debusi. "After some time when the power of Abrui strengthened, he started ruling so harshly that the inhabitants of the region could not live here. The dehkans and the rich merchants went away from this region and moved to Turkestan and Taraz where they built a city. They called the city Khamukat because the leader of the group of the immigrants was called Khamuk..." Then those people who stayed back in Bukhara sent a man to their noblemen and asked for help against oppression of Abrui. These noblemen and dehkans appealed to the ruler of the Turks who was called Kara-Churin-Turk..." He sent his son Shiri-Kishvar along with a large army. He arrived in Bukhara and captured Abrui in Paikend. Shiri-Kishvar "ordered to fill up the big sack with red bees and put Abrui in it and kept him in it until he died." Afterwards Shiri-Kishvar became the ruler of the Bukhara region and invited the fugitives to come back as "the rich people and the great dehkans had fled and the poor and small were left. When this group [of fugitives] returned, the people who remained in Bukhara became their servants. Among the noblemen was a great dehkan who was called Bukhar-khudat. He belonged to the old dehkan clan and had more lands [than the other dehkans had]. The majority of the poor people were his servants."³⁸

Scholars studied this information many times. Initially there was a thinking that the entire account is nothing but a legend, possibly a reflection of the personification of the River Zerafshan or this is an echo of the ancient tales about the settlement of the Zerafshan Valley.

³⁷ L.N. Gumilev writes: " The Sogdian dehkans and merchants received so many good things from the Western Tiurkiut (western Turkic — B.G.) Khans that they became a strong support for the throne", describing further the economic and cultural progress of Central Asia in the VII century, he draws a conclusion: But all this well-being was the result of the subjugation of the Sogdians by Tiurkiut Khan". (*Gumilev L.N.*, 1967 a, p. 152). The paradox of this conclusion is their complete variance with facts. L.N. Gumilev deviates from the data provided by historical sources, forgetting at the same time about the need to take a class approach to the analysis of the historical phenomena.

³⁸ This translation takes into account the edition of Sh. Shefer 1892, the Tehran edition of 1939 and the new Bukharan lithography of 1904. There is a Russian translation (*Narshakhi*, 1897, pp. 12-13) and English ("The History of Bukhara", 1954, pp. 6-8).

E. Zahau and K.A. Inostrantsev, who were great specialists on ancient history of Central Asia, viewed the above-mentioned account exactly in this aspect. For the first time I. Marquart in several of his works³⁹ put forward the idea that real historical events are reflected in this account. Moreover, he proved that the question about the events related to the Turk-Heptalite struggle for Sogd, about the events of the 60's of the VI century. On the basis of several comparisons he reached the conclusion that Abrui (Abrazi) is identical with the last king of the Heptalites.

S.P. Tolstov has come out with an interesting hypothesis. According to him, these events took place at the end of the 80s of the VI century and connected with the crisis and strifes in the Turk Kaganate, which resulted in a massive influx of immigrants-Turks into the Bukharan oasis. He offers the comparison of the famous characters in the narration of Nishapuri with the synchronic events of the sources and the real persons of the Kaganate.⁴⁰ However, in the reconstructions by both S.P. Tolstov and I. Marquart there are vulnerable places and his (Tolstov's) hypothesis cannot be taken as proven, notwithstanding all its attraction. It cannot exclude that these events took place sometime later in the 90s.⁴¹

While we cannot share the interpretation of the events given by S.P. Tolstov, it is possible to agree with his conclusion that this movement had a clearly expressed social coloring. In this struggle, as it is always and everywhere, the main thing was not the ethnic origin. The common Turk immigrants, settling or already settled on the land, were in one camp with the Sogdian poor, and on the contrary, the Sogdian nobility acted unitedly with the aristocracy of the Kaganate. Thus judging by the information of Nishapuri and other data it can be said that Central Asia was then an arena of fierce class struggle, taking place because of the attempts of the dehkans to enslave the free communards.

2. TOKHARISTAN IN VI AND BEGINNING OF VIII CENTURY

DATA IN THE SOURCES ON THE CONDITION IN TOKHARISTAN IN VI AND BEGINNING OF VIII CENTURY

The name Tokharistan first time appeared in a translated-work completed in 383 A.D.⁴² The Chinese sources call this country Tukholo (T'ou-ho-lo, or Tou-ho-lo).⁴³

The territory of Tokharistan included the present Southern Tajikistan, Surkhan-Darya region of the Uzbek Republic and Northern regions of Afghanistan. Actually, the early medieval Tokharistan, to a significant extent, territory wise corresponded to ancient Bactria.

³⁹ Marquart I., 1901, p. 309; 1938, pp. 147-148.

⁴⁰ Tolstov S.P., 1948 a, p. 248 onwards.

⁴¹ Mandelshtam A.M., 1964, p. 48.

⁴² Muller T.W.K., 1918, p. 575.

⁴³ Chavannes E., 1903, p. 155.

The political history of Tokharistan, in the VI-VII centuries, was very stormy. The buffer state of the Hepthalites, struggle with the Turks and their subsequent domination, the intrusions of Sasanid troops, internal rebellions and wars — all these made the history of Tokharistan extremely complex. It is necessary to note that we know more or less in detail the external background of history of Tokharistan. However, this is actually only a chapter of the work on Tokharistan's history. Its internal content, events, which took place in separate regions, are almost unknown to us, because the sources highlight this history very scantily. Numismatic materials can add a lot: during excavations at Ajinatepe and Kafir-Qala found a large series of coins of the local Tokharistan mint. However, their deciphering is not complete yet.

Let us give several accounts of the sources regarding Tokharistan. The traveler Son-Yun (519 A.D.) had been to Bo-kho (Vakhan). He wrote, "the mountains here are extremely high, and gorges very deep. The king of this country lives in the city built by him. The dresses of the people are beautiful; parts of them were made of leather. The climate is extremely cold, the common people use caves as dwelling places. Snowstorms are particularly noticeable. To the South of this country there are great snow-clad mountains".

Passing further, he reached towards the West. He reached the country of Ye-da — the Hepthalites of the present Badakhshan. About the country of the Hepthalites, he informs that its provinces are abundant in mountain streams, which flow in front of all dwellings and make this country fertile (The reference is perhaps about the mountain streams as well as irrigational canals). The people wear dresses made of animal skins, the aristocracy wears taught and complexly designed dresses (for example, the dress of the Hepthalite queen had a long train which was carried by specially (mighty) servants). In this country (particularly in the court of the Hepthalite king), there are large carpets. Valuable stones were in abundance.⁴⁴ There were many horses and camels. The rendering was the city of Badian⁴⁵ — it was perhaps an inaccurate rendering of Badakhshan. In the source related to 590 A.D. there is a mention of the kingdom of Bodochan. This was indisputably the name of Badakhshan.⁴⁶

To the beginning of the VII century is related also the data of the dynastic chronicle of Suysu. It informs about Tukholo — Tokharistan — that its inhabitants are "mixed up" with the Hepthalites. It also says about "hundred thousand" infantrymen skillful in battles. It also contains information about polyandry.⁴⁷

A traveler of the VII century, Hsuan-Tszang (about 629-645 A.D.), describes Tokharistan on the whole and many kingdoms included in it, gives the sizes of these kingdoms and separate cities. He happened to visit Tokharistan, moving from the north and passing through the Iron Gate (in Baisun Mountains). According to his data, Tokharistan was three times bigger in length from the East to the West than from the North to the South. "The great river

⁴⁴ Beal S., 1906, p. XCII-XCIII.

⁴⁵ Bichurin, II, pp. 268-269.

⁴⁶ Mandelstam A.M., 1957, pp. 101-107.

⁴⁷ Bichurin, II, p. 286.

(here the Chinese name of the Amu-Darya of that time is given) crosses the country in the western direction". According to Hsuan-Tszang the king's clan of Tokharistan perished many years ago and several leaders forcibly established themselves in separate kingdoms. The country consists of 27 states in accordance with natural borders. All of them are dependent on the Turks. The climate is warm and moist. The inhabitants mostly wear clothes made from cotton, some made from wool. The language of the population to some extent is different than the languages of other countries. The main letters in their script are 25 in number (this Chinese traveler who was used to hieroglyphic script was surprised that all the subjects and ideas were expressed by a combination of these letters). Tokharistan people wrote across the page and read from left to right. Their literature has gradually increased and surpasses in volume what is in Sogd. In trade, they use gold and silver. The coins in their type are different from the coins of other countries.⁴⁸ Hsuan-Tszang very briefly further describes the separate estates included in Tokharistan. Among them Da-mi (Termez), *Chi-o-yan-na* (Chaganian region extended to the North-Eastern Surkhan-Darya Valley and the West of Hissar Valley). The size of the capital of Chaganian was two times less in circumference than the capital of Termez. There is a mention of the region *Shuman*, i.e., in medieval times as this was the Eastern and Central part of the Hissar Valley. In the VII century perhaps had larger territory, extending to the South, perhaps along Kafernigan. It specially mentioned that the king of Shuman was a Turk. Shuman had a border with Tszyui-khe-yan-na (Qubadian) the capital of which was (the name is not given) approximately equal in its size with the capital of Chaganian. From the East to Qubadian the region *Kho-sha* (Vakhsh) was adjoining. This region stretched from the North to the South and its area was more than two times than the area from the East to the West. The capital in its size was like the capital of Termez. To the East of Vakhsh was situated the estate of *Ke-do-lo* (Khuttalan)⁴⁹; on the East it bordered the mountains of Tsunlin (Pamirs); the country was quite bigger in size than all the previously mentioned estates. The size of the capital was the same as of Termez.⁵⁰ In connection with Khuttalan it is necessary to speak about two regions. One of them Hsuan-Tszang calls *O-li-na*. It situated on both sides of River Panj; the main city was quite big. The other region is *Po-li-ho*. As the previous one, it situated on the territory Tukholo. The main city is very big.⁵¹ S. Beal compares *Po-li-ho* with Farkhar. On the map of Wud (region of Kokcha).⁵² I. Marquart also considers this comparison indisputable.⁵³ A.M. Belenitsky pointed out the mistake of the latter and drew a correct conclusion that the reference is to Farkhar situated on the

⁴⁸ Beal S., 1906, 1. pp. 37-38; Chavannes E., 1903, p. 196. On the question about the script of Tokharistan we have dwelt upon in the previous chapter. We may only add that the author of XII century, Sam'ani, mentions about "letters which were there at the beginning of Islam, known and written in the books." (*Sam'ani*, 576 b; Barthold V.V., 1964, p. 469).

⁴⁹ Bailey H.W., 1937, p. 887.

⁵⁰ Beal S., 1906, 1, pp. 38-41.

⁵¹ Ibid., II, p. 289-290.

⁵² Ibid., I, p. 42, and n. 140; see also: Minaev I., 1879, p. 63.

⁵³ Marquart I., 1901, p. 234.

right bank of Panj the contemporary Farkhar region of Tajikistan. So far as **O-li-na** is concerned, it is, without any doubt, Arhen of the medieval authors at the time also situated on the right bank.⁵⁴ Besides this, are mentioned the estates of **Tszyui-mi-to** (Kumed, somewhere in the region of Qarategin, Darvaz and Vanj), **Shi-tsi-ni** (Shugnan), **Bobochuann** ancient sounding *puat-d'ak-tsitang-na* (Badakhshan) and **Damositedi** (Vakhan). The capital of the latter is given as Huntodo.⁵⁵ The tough nature of these regions is mentioned. Thus about Damositedi⁵⁶ it written that this region cuts across the mountains of different heights and its surface is covered with sand and scattered stones. The cold winds blow fiercely. According to Hsuan-Tszang, in Vakhan, a small quantity of wheat and lentils are sown. He particularly underlines the quality of the horses, not very large in size but quite hardy, easily bearing long journeys. The people wore woolen dresses.

In the description of Shugnan there is data about the harvest of wheat and lentils and a small quantity of rice. The dresses of Shugnanians were made of leather and wool. Here the same script as in Tokharistan used but the language was different.⁵⁷

Hsuan-Tszang also describes the capital of Tokharistan, **Po-ho**, (Balkh) which was a heavily fortified city with small population and also other regions that were completely on the left bank of Tokharistan (on the territory of present Northern Afghanistan).⁵⁸

According to Tan history, the source related to the second half of the VII beginning of VIII century, Tokharistanians lived together with the Hepthalites. They led a settled life.⁵⁹ In Shugnan the residence of the ruler was initially in the city of Kuhan, later on he started living in different mountainous valley. Thus, interpreted N.I. Bichurin.⁶⁰ E. Chavannes understood this text the same way. Initially the capital was situated in the Kuhan city, and then the residents settled in the mountainous gorges." In five big valleys, there are autonomous military commanders; altogether, they called "five Shins". According to this source, land cultivation was absent.

On Vakhan, the Tan history mainly repeats the information given by Hsuan-Tszang including about the blue eyes of its inhabitants, etc. However, the residence of the ruler is called differently than by the traveler. It is called Saigashen; to the north of this city was situated the river Uhu (Panj)⁶¹ I.

⁵⁴ Belenitsky A.M., 1950a, p. 110.

⁵⁵ About these identifications see: Mandelshtam A.M., 1957, p.109 onwards.

⁵⁶ The name Damositedi carries a Sanskrit appearance, noted by I. Marquart. He presumed that Damositedi pronunciation of the Sanskrit term Dharmasthiti — "the place of presence of [Buddhist] law". It is according to him not the real name of the country but its epithet. However, as I. Marquart continues, it is difficult to presume that the sparsely inhabited Buddhist monasteries of Vakhan were the reasons for naming it the citadel of Buddhism. More likely, it is a Sanskrit — Buddhist equivalent.

⁵⁷ Beal S., 1906, pp. 291-296.

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 42-48, II, pp. 285-292.

⁵⁹ Bichurin, II, p. 321.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 333.

⁶¹ Bichurin, II, pp. 323-324; Chavannes E. 1903, pp. 162-165.

Marquart in his times, taking into account the ancient name of this capital expressed an opinion that this was the name of Ishkashim⁶² and that the capital of Shugnan was at that time situated on the left bank. E. Chavannes,⁶³ and the subsequent scholars, accepted this assumption, which seems quite plausible.

There is also a description of Khuttalan, which described as a very large region. Its capital is called Sechu-kian. This was the residence of the ruler. In the country, there are many excellent horses and red leopards (perhaps tigers or snow leopards). At last, there is information that there are four big salt mountains there.⁶⁴ Indeed, not far away from the regional center Vose there is a huge salt mountain known now under the name of Khoja Mumin.

The other Buddhist pilgrim Hoi-Chao who had been in Central Asia in 726 A.D. informs about Tokharistan: "The country was under the Arabs. The king fled from there and lived in Badakhshan. The language of the people is different from the language of other countries, only to some extent reminding the language of Kapisa. For the dresses, they used furs and cotton material. In the country, there are many camels, sheep, mules, horses, cotton plants and grape orchards, the favorite dish dried up cookies. The men shave their heads and faces, the women on the contrary wear long hair. The king, nobility and the common people follow the Buddhist religion of the Hinyan sect. There are many monasteries and monks."⁶⁵ In Tokharistan ten, five, three or two brothers together have one wife,⁶⁶ in these words there is an indication of the prevalence of polyandry. This tradition is linked with the settling here of the Hepthalites".

In Khuttalan (its description given by Hoi-Chao in some parts repeats the general description of Tokharistan) the king came from the tribes of the Turks; the half population in the country is Hu, i.e., local and the other half are Turks. The country is under the rule of the Arabs. Some inhabitants speak the Tokharistan language, some of them Turkish and some local language. In Khuttalan there are camels, mules, sheep, horses, cattle and donkeys. Here cotton is grown. There are grape orchards and woolen fabrics produced. The inhabitants wear the dresses made of cotton and fur. The men cut the hair on the head and shave their faces, women wear long hair. The king, aristocracy and people follow the teaching of Buddha of the Hinyan sect. There are monasteries and monks.

In Vakhan, the king is weak, is subordinate to the Arabs, and annually pays them a tribute in silk. The Vakhanians live in mountainous valleys; their dwellings are small and congested. Some of them live in caves. There are many poor. They wear fur coats over which they wrap the felts, the king wears silk, and cotton dresses. The language of the inhabitants is different from the language of other countries. They eat only baked bread and cookies made from flour. The country is extremely cold, much more than other countries. There are no trees and no plantation in the mountains. There are sheep, cattle (of a very small

⁶² Marquart I., 1901, p. 224.

⁶³ Chavannes E., 1901, p. 165, N 1.

⁶⁴ Bichurin, I, p. 326.

⁶⁵ Fuchs W., 1938, p. 449.

⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 452.

breed), also horses, and mules. About their religion, the information is the same as in the section about Khuttalan.

The traveler also informs about "the nine estates of "Shikinan" (Shugnan). In each of them, a ruler stays there with his troops. The king of the whole Shikinan is subordinate to the king of Vakhan. The country is very cold, lies between the snow-clad mountains. There are sheep, horses, cattle and donkeys. The king and the nobility wear the clothes made of cotton and fur coats; the rest of the people wear the dresses made of fur and felt cloaks. The language of the inhabitants is different from the languages of other countries. In Shikinan the teachings of Buddha had not spread. There is also a saying that the king sends special troops to loot the caravans.⁶⁷

THE POLITICAL HISTORY

We have narrated the seizure of Tokharistan by the Western Turk Kaganate during the rule of Tun-shehu (died in 330 A.D.). Hsuan-Tszang who had been to Tokharistan, soon after this met here the Turk vice-regent.⁶⁸ Judging by the Arabic-Persian sources he carried the title Jabuy or Jabguy⁶⁹ i.e. Yabgu. The history of the estates included in Tokharistan briefly highlighted.

One of the most powerful estates of Tokharistan was Khuttalan.⁷⁰ In it, at the threshold of the VII-VIII century was a local dynasty. One of its representatives was the king of Khuttalan whom Tabari calls as-Sabal.⁷¹ Perhaps this Arabic pronunciation of the Turkish name, which known from other foreign language sources, as Shabolo.⁷² Hoi-Chao who had visited Central Asia during the rule of as-Sabal directly writes that the king of Khuttalan belonged to the Turkic tribes.⁷³ He, as-Sabal ruled from the end of the VII century up to the beginning of the 30s of the VIII century over Khuttalan. The Arabic sources call him a king. There existed a certain order of succession to the throne. Tabari puts in the mouth of as-Sabal the word about the necessity of following order of succession to the throne.⁷⁴

Although the dynasty itself was perhaps at that time of Turkic (or Turkicised) origin, its representatives carried the Iranian title of Khuttalan Shahs or Sheri-Khuttalan. In the Arabic sources, they usually called the kings (Maliks).⁷⁵ At the same time, they were in vassal dependence of the all-Tokharistan rulers. In the reception of the Arabic vice-regent of Quteiba ibn Muslim arrived the all-Tokharistan ruler and some rulers of lower rank, including as-Sabal. On seeing the Tokharistan ruler, they asked permission to kiss his hand

⁶⁷ Fuchs W., pp. 452-453.

⁶⁸ "The Life of Hsuan-Tszang", 1959, pp. 48-49.

⁶⁹ Marquart I., 1901, p. 69.

⁷⁰ Stavisky B.Ya., 1957b, p. 89.

⁷¹ Tabari II, p. 1040 onwards, 1152 onwards, 1583.

⁷² Marquart I., 1901, p. 303.

⁷³ Fuchs W., 1938, p. 452.

⁷⁴ Tabari, II, p. 1618. Russian translation Belenitsky A.M., 1950 a, p. 115.

⁷⁵ Marquart I., 1901, p. 301; Chavannes E (1903, p. 168, Belenitsky A.M., 1950 a, p. 117.

and to sit below him. One of the rulers declared: "although he is my enemy, yet he is senior to me. He is Malik king and I am like his slave."⁷⁶

The sources from the beginning of the VIII century inform that the king of Khuttalan can collect 50 thousand of infantry (as the rulers of such regions as Shuman, Qubadian, Shugnan and Vakhan).⁷⁷

I. Marquart has studied the history of the succeeding rulers of Khuttalan, particularly in detail by A.M. Belenitsky and O.I. Smirnova.⁷⁸ There is no sense in entering the details of the dynastic history of Khuttalan. More so, the agreement on the data of sources in different languages cannot be reached in full measure.

There is information on the history of other estates also. Extremely interesting is the inscription mentioned from Afrasiab about the arrival of the mission in Samarkand. The envoy announces that he has come from Turantash — "The ruler of Chaganian". V.A. Livshits who studied this inscription does not exclude the possibility of the Afrasiab wall paintings not being the documentary illustration the official history of the kings of Sogd, which has not been preserved but is the reproduction of a folklore theme. In this case, the inscription cannot take as a source, adequately narrating the events. However, even in this case, the inscription undoubtedly contains the reflection of real events, which could have taken place in the second half of the VII century.

The sources indicate that the Hepthalites possessed Chaganian.⁷⁹ At the beginning of the VIII century, to be precise, in 719 A.D. the ruler of Chaganian was Tish the one-eyed; from the Arabic sources it is known that he was also the Yabgu of Tokharistan.⁸⁰ It is characteristic that his name is undoubtedly an Iranian one — thus in the Bactrian language the star of Cyrus.⁸¹ The rulers of Chaganian carried the title of "Chagan — khudat".⁸²

Overall, Tokharistan not centralized at all, in every estate there was its own ruler, dynastic succession and it was by itself a confederation of almost independent states. The level of their independence is testified by the fact that they dispatched missions to neighboring and extremely distant countries. About the internal structure of these states, practically nothing is known. On the analogy of Sogd it may be assumed that in Tokharistan there was a developed administrative machine. The Chaganian envoy in the Sogdian inscription from Afrasiab carries the name "dapistirpat" (literally the "head of the scribes") the "chief of the office". However, it not excluded that in reality the envoy occupied a much higher post, for example, of the vazir.⁸³

⁷⁶ For more details see: *Belenitsky A.M.*, 1950 a, pp. 112-113.

⁷⁷ *Chavannes E.*, 1903, pp. 200-201; *O.I. Smirnova*, 1969, p. 218 wrongly writes "5,00,000".

⁷⁸ *Marquart I.*, 1901; *Belenitsky A.M.*, 1950 a; *Smirnova O. I.*, 1969.

⁷⁹ *Chavannes E.*, 1903, p. 223.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 226-227.

⁸¹ *Livshits V.A.*, 1962 b, p. 40, note 75.

⁸² *Marquart I.*, 1901, p. 226.

⁸³ *Livshits V.A.*, 1965 b.

IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE

The main part of the population of Tokharistan was engaged in agriculture. There is reference to the existence of artificial irrigation and contained in the information of Son Yun (see above). There is no doubt that an irrigation network — and a very developed one — existed in the valleys; in the higher regions (irrigated agriculture was developing. From the archaeological works, we can have an idea about the colossal volume of the irrigation network. In the Vakhsh Valley, as T.I. Zeimal confirmed, in the ancient and medieval times four main canals were constructed which drew water from the Vakhsh River. For the period under study, the canal Kafir had a particular importance.

The remnants of this canal are to be found on the left bank of the Vakhsh, 2,5 kilometers to the West of the town of Kalininabad (Sarband). Further, the canal reached the village Mardat (on the lands of the Kirov State Farm) from where it proceeded to the South along the Eastern terrace of the Valley. Here a large group of monuments (consisting of 16 objects) is situated. Its center was the site of Chorgul-tepe, an early medieval fortified settlement — not far from where there was a Buddhist monastery of Ajinatepe, further to the South the bed of the canal is going along the Akgazin plateau and even further to the South, following the relief the canal turns to the West towards the side of the hills Kizil-tumshuq. Here there are remnants of the early medieval settlements. The height of the barrage of the ancient canal is 1,5-2 meters; the width of the bed is up to 6 meters. Particularly impressive are the remnants of the canal, 4-5 kilometers towards South-West from Besh-kapa. Here the canal was required to be built on a low located site. The ancient builders raised a huge earthen dam and dug the canal over it. The general height of the dumps of the canal is around 8 meters. The width of the dam at the foot reaches 50 meters; the width of the canal bed itself is 13-15 meters. Even in our century, this gigantic construction looks highly impressive. Further, the canal again proceeded to the South irrigating many group of settlements and reached the contemporary Qumsangir region, thus cutting across the main part of the Vakhsh Valley.

It is necessary to underline, in particular two peculiarities of this canal. The canal was dug up near the footsteps of the hills and occupied a dominating position concerning the valley, which allowed of digging up the self-flowing canals in any direction. Secondly, it is an amazing art of the ancient irrigators in planning the channel of the canal. The newly built modern central canal, the route of which was dug up by highly qualified engineers — geodesists and irrigators using the materials of aerial photography and the most modern perfect geodesic instruments and equipments proceeds in the direction which happened to be approximately or completely the same as the ancient ones.⁸⁴

Thus in the very ancient times the rational methods of selecting the optimal route for such complex and large constructions as this canal now known under the name "Kafir" were worked out. Very primitive tools implemented agricultural

⁸⁴ For a detailed description of the canal "Kafir" and the monuments situated in its zone, see: *Zeimal T.I.*, 1962; *Litvinsky B.A.* and *Zeimal T.I.*, 1964; *Zeimal T.I.*, 1971, pp. 39-47.

works. Tillage was done with the help of wooden "omach" (a type of wooden plough) with an iron point at the end (found at Ajinatepe).

The other tools of the cultivator and the master-irrigator were iron spades. A fragment of iron sickle has been found at Munchantepe Shahritus region). The grinding of grain was done with the help of millstone of small and medium size and grain-graters (found during archaeological excavations in lower Kafernigan, valleys of Vakhsh and Surkhan-Darya. Perhaps, as in other regions of Central Asia there were water mills also.

So far as agriculture produce is concerned, we have a detailed list of them. The grains, pulses were sown. Specially underlined is the existence of good quality cotton (may be the quality related to the cotton fabric). In the country, there were many grape orchards and some paddy fields.⁸⁵ There is information that in 647 A.D. the Turk Yabgu sent (from Tokharistan) the grapes of special kind with elongated form.⁸⁶ From Tokharistan rare medicinal plants also exported.⁸⁷

The archaeological materials confirm this information from the written sources. The abundance of grain graters and millstones testifies to the larger relative proportion of grain harvest. At Balaliktepe dried up grapes have been found. Besides this, the seeds of grain, millet, pulses, peaches and apricots, grapes, watermelons, walnuts, pistachio, almonds, cotton buds were excavated.⁸⁸

Tokharistan horses were highly valued. Perhaps several breeds of horses existed including small but very hardy mountainous horse not scared of long journeys, and along with them, another breed of horses adapted to the valley conditions. About horse legends were made; there was a belief about the existence of mythical horses — ancestors of the horses which were of the narrators. Besides horses, camels are often mentioned. As transport animals mules, horses,⁸⁹ and donkeys were used. In the country there were large herds of cattle and sheep. About this, we know not only from the direct information given by Hoi-Chao but also from the frequent information in the sources about the woolen clothing's and woolen carpets.

HANDICRAFTS AND TRADE

In Tokharistan mining was quite developed. About the extraction of precious stones, first, obviously the famous Badakhshan Lals (benign spinels), lapis lazuli and other semi-precious and precious stones is known from the information provided by the travelers and from the data about the export of some of these products.⁹⁰ According to Son-Yun the precious stones in Tokharistan were in great abundance. The stone ma-nao was extracted, which is translated as

⁸⁵ The production of rice in Bactria has been already testified by Strabo (XV, 1, 8).

⁸⁶ Schafer E.H., 1963, p. 142. II.

⁸⁷ Bichurin, II, p. 321.

⁸⁸ Albaum L.I., 1960, pp. 67-68, 101.

⁸⁹ See the corresponding terminology: Schafer E.H., 1963, p. 76.

⁹⁰ Schafer E.H., 1963, pp. 222-230, 235.

agat⁹¹ but preferably as Schafer thinks carnelian and also the articles from it. Salt was also extracted.⁹² From rock salt, several articles made. Thus at Balaliktepe there was found a small statue of a camel made from a piece of pink salt. Salt possibly had a ritual meaning. In any case, it was known in the Sasanid Iran, where salt was used in the ritual of solemn oath taking by Sasanid kings as the symbol of faithfulness. L.I. Albaum noted that judging by the information of written sources salt could have a symbolic meaning in the attitudes of the Central Asian peoples particularly of the Hepthalites.⁹³

Although there is no direct data, from the whole complex of our knowledge about Tokharistan, it can be concluded that here were mined valuable minerals starting with gold which was used for making jewellery, ornaments and sculpture, etc;⁹⁴ up to iron ore used for production of tools, household articles, weapons and armours. Naturally, different metallic workshops were functioning. At that time of almost incessant wars, the production of weapons occupied one of the leading-most places in crafts. Their production of weapons occupied one of the leading places in the crafts; their production had a mass character. From the written sources, we know that in the V-VII centuries the inhabitants of Tokharistan were armed with bows, clubs, maces, and swords, and had excellent knitted "Balkh armours".

Archaeological and iconographical materials allow us to outline this picture in detail. Tokharistan warriors, along with simple bows, had at their disposal compound ones as well.⁹⁵ On the Tokharistan murals, male characters have daggers hanging from their belt.⁹⁶ The dagger covers sometimes decorated with golden plates. The representatives of the nobility were also armed with swords, the details of which are not clearly visible.

In the households of the nobility, the bowls and goblets of gold and silver were widely used. Elegantly made on thin and high stem; or on the even not very high base they had a body reservoir covered with closely placed vertical grooves (from here was derived the name "groove bowls"), their edges were decorated by a line of circles. Sometimes these vessels had a very complicated form with cuts, etc.

The necks of the characters of Balaliktepe decorated with ornaments of different types. On the hands there are gold bracelets and on the fingers signet rings. In the ears of the Balaliktepe and Ajinatepe figures are complex ear rings. Archaeologists have found during excavation signet rings (metallic with incrustation), also bracelets, and other ornaments.⁹⁷ They also found elegant items made of copper, like the copper rings from Balaliktepe on which there were realistic depictions of elephants.⁹⁸

⁹¹ Bichurin, II, p. 321.

⁹² Bichurin, II, p. 326; Chavannes E. 1903, p. 167.

⁹³ Albaum L.I., 1960, pp. 79-81.

⁹⁴ The mission from Tokharistan presented one "golden costume" to one foreign ruler (682 A.D.) — Schafer E.H., 1963, p. 197.

⁹⁵ About its evolution in Central Asia sees: Litvinsky B.A., 1966 v.

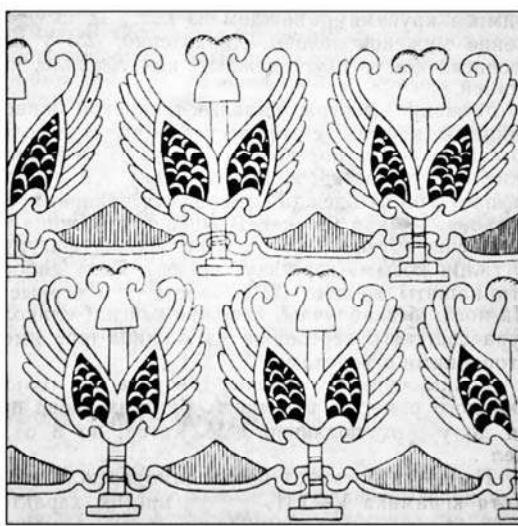
⁹⁶ Litvinsky B.A., 1965.

⁹⁷ For example on Munchaktepe see: Mandelshtam A.M. and Pevzner S.B., 1958, p. 313.

⁹⁸ Albaum L.I., 1960, Litvinsky B.A., and Zeimal T.I., 1968.

We also know about the highly skilled items of Tokharistan jewelers. In the second half of the VII century they made two agate (or carnelian) candelabrum in the shape of a tree three feet high.⁹⁹ High perfection was attained in Tokharistan in glass making. About this, the fact that the Central Asian masters taught the Chinese to make colored glass (although glass making in China known since ancient times, it remained extremely primitive). According to the Chinese chronicles in 424 A.D., in China arrived traders and artisans from the country of the big Yueh-Chihs i.e. from Tokharistan. They declared that they "can cast different colored glasses from stones, that is why; they extracted the ore in the mountains and in the capital made an experiment of casting. The experiment succeeded and glass by its brightness even surpassed the glasses coming from the Western countries", (here under the glass of Western countries they probably meant the glass brought from Syria and Alexandria, — the best glass in the ancient world). Further, the source narrates that the Chinese learnt the art of glass making from the masters coming from Central Asia. "The glasses were of bright colors and transparent. Everybody looking at them was astonished and thought that they were divine production."¹⁰⁰ However, much later, in the beginning of the VIII century, from Tokharistan were sent to China the glasses of red and green color, which created surprise.¹⁰¹

In Balaliktepe found a beautiful example of the artistic glass. It is a cast medallion from green glass. On its surface, a sitting woman is depicted who is feeding a baby. The medallion has a silver frame.¹⁰² More frequently glass vessels, usually small, of the type of narrow-necked bottles can be found. Plated wavy lines made from the glass of different colors sometimes decorated their body. Glass beads also produced.



A sample design of Tokharistan fabric (from murals of Balalik-tepe)

⁹⁹ *Bichurin, II*, p. 321. For details see: *Schafer E.H.*, 1963, p. 259.

¹⁰⁰ *Bichurin, II*, p. 265.

¹⁰¹ *Bichurin, II*, 1950 b, p. 322; see also: *Schafer E.H.*, 1963, pp. 235-236.

¹⁰² *Albaum L.I.*, 1960, pp. 76-78.

Weaving craft was highly developed. Written sources inform about the woolen and cotton materials, clothing of the nobles, which were distinguished by their special cut. From Khuttalan beautiful multicolored silk materials exported.¹⁰³ Archaeological and iconographical materials enable us to considerably expand this feature. In Balaliktepe three types of materials are found: woolen striped (stripes yellow and red), woolen with design (blue ornament on the yellow background) silk (blue or green)¹⁰⁴ the fact that woolen (and cotton) materials were produced in Tokharistan itself is beyond doubt. This confirmed by mass discoveries of spindles in the monuments. With the help of this simple tool, spinning was done (in the districts of Tajikistan spindles were widespread until recent times when home spun yarn was replaced by the factory made yarn).

As far as silk material is concerned, earlier in literature, it was automatically linked with the import from China. Latest archaeological discoveries show that silk production and undoubtedly silk spinning were until the early medieval period fully mastered in Central Asia. In the section on the crafts of Sogd, we will again return to this question. Now we will only note that in the castle of Jangtepe (in the Surkhan-Darya region) in the layers from VI-VIII centuries silkworm cocoons were found.¹⁰⁵

On the basis of depictions in the Balaliktepe murals it can be said that the Tokharistan aristocracy wore rich clothes made of bright multicolored designed material. Designs, which seldom repeated sometimes, covered the whole of the material. Among these designs are simple geometrical ones (entirely diamond-shaped) plants (three-petal flowers, rosette and others). On the cloth are depicted geometrical figures of fishes, schematic depictions of the horns of the "arkhar", etc. There is a distinguishing design on the material consisting of circles, inside which the head of a fantastic animal with protruding tongue and fangs is depicted. The other material entirely covered by closely drawn circles inside every one of which there is a profile depiction of a male head. It is characteristic that the depicted figures of servants on the same murals are shown wearing simple clothes without designs.

Male figures of Balaliktepe paintings are clad in narrow and long tunics with the right-sided triangle shaped flap-cuff. The tunic is tightly fitted on the body with waist belt. Female figures are dressed in cloak-cape without sleeves from under which protrudes the other dress with wide sleeves; the detail of the third dress-narrow cuff also seen. In the painting of Ajina-tepe the gift, bearing men are clad in narrow and tightly fitted costumes without flaps. In the waist, the costume is tightly laced with belt. The belt is a composed one, on its surface sown yellow (that is gold) and black (iron) plates. On the feet, they wear long boots without heels called *ichigi*. The magnificent sculpture figure of a temporal character from Ajinatepe is shown wearing narrow tunic with two-sided flaps.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Schafer E.H., 1963, p. 202.

¹⁰⁴ Albaum L.I., 1960, pp. 101-103.

¹⁰⁵ Albaum L.I., 1963, p. 81.

¹⁰⁶ Litvinsky B.A. and Zeimal T.I., 1968.

Thus one can speak not only about highly developed weaving craft in best samples of its production rising to the level of real art but also about achievements in sewing work.

Among other crafts, mention may be made of pottery. Although the ceramics of the V-VIII centuries is in many ways inferior to the best samples of the ceramics of the Kushan period but it would be risky to draw a conclusion about the regress in production in this field. Different types of ceramic products were made: starting with the tiny earthen lamps with extended nose, (only in Ajinatepe there were found more than 350 such lamps in huge storages). The quality of dining and fancy utensils was very high. Some of the forms were imitations of metallic prototypes. There also existed leather, woodworking and bone engraving,¹⁰⁷ pharmaceutical and other crafts.

About the large-volume of external trade the fact is that, the traders of Tokharistan used to travel to distant countries.¹⁰⁸ From Tokharistan, especially from Khuttalan, high breed horses exported. The arrival of herds of horses, for example, in China is mentioned in 681, 720, 748 A.D., (Tokharistan, 729, 733, 746, 750 AD. Khuttalan).¹⁰⁹ A large quantity of precious and semi-precious stones exported, which transported in both raw and finished forms. We will not give all the available details in the sources but say a few words about lazurite. In later times in China, it was known under the name of "Khotan stone" and from it, in the ancient and medieval times, many articles were made for the nobility. However, Khotan was only a transshipment point where probably processing of the stone done but its extraction carried out in Badakhshan.¹¹⁰

From Tokharistan medicines were exported: tablets consisting of aromatic medicinal drugs, made in the shape of some fruits, medicinal herbs and drugs, which looked funny for the aliens. In large quantity, a medicine called Citragandha was exported which consisted of several aromatic substances. It helped in curing of wounds and bleeding. The curing property of this medicine amazed the Chinese to such an extent that among them a legend appeared as if with the help of this medicine a cut off limb could be grown!¹¹¹

The trade exchange between Tokharistan and other Central Asian dominions was also quite large. In Ajinatepe Sogdian coins were found. It is interesting that the local mint of Tokharistan, in the second half of the VII and the first half of the VIII century, was following Sogdian prototypes.¹¹² The abundance of copper coins found in the monuments of Northern Tokharistan in the period indicates that internal trade was quite developed including not only big but also small transactions; money exchange was thus penetrating in the everyday life of the people.

¹⁰⁷ See for example dices of bones from Munchaktepe (*Mandelshtam A.M. and Pevzner S.B.*, 1958, pp. 313 picture 22).

¹⁰⁸ *Schafer E.H.*, 1963, p. 20.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 64, 296. About the bringing of horses from Tokharistan in 720 A.D. see: *Ibid*, p.76.

¹¹⁰ *Schafer E.H.*, 1963, pp. 230-234.

¹¹¹ *Schafer E.H.*, 1963, p. 159, 183, 184, 191.

¹¹² *Litvinsky B.A. and Zeimal T.I.*, 1971, p. 15.

CONSTRUCTION WORK. ARCHITECTURE

In Tokharistan urban settlements, rural castles, dwellings of peasants and cult-constructions excavated. Excavations at Termez (1936-1938 under the leadership of M.E. Masson) did not give a clear idea about the structure and separate elements of this largest city of Tokharistan at given period. More effective were the excavations of small structures, in particular the castles of Balaliktepe, Zangtepe and others and the settlement of Kafir-Qala.

Kafir-Qala is an early medieval center of Vakhsh Valley, which is mentioned by Hsuan-Tszang. The square shaped settlement situated in Kolkhozabad is of the size of 360x360 meters. It consists of shahristan where there are mounds covering the ruins of a structure. In the North-Eastern corner of the settlement there is a citadel. On its upper square place, (60x60) meters in 1968-1970 large excavations were made. Powerful walls protected the citadel with towers flanking it on the corners. The towers were made of *pakhsa* and bricks. The dome-shaped ceiling was made of rows of pakhsa and brick. The walls of the citadel, from outside were cut by the stepped niches, in their middle there is a tower-shaped projection. The surface of the walls had false slit-like loopholes. In the North-Eastern corner of the citadel there was a huge room (20x10) meters (apparently the audience hall). Along its walls, there were *sufas*. In the middle of one of the long sides sufa turned into an elevated area "stage". Here perhaps once upon a time there was a wooden Takht where the ruler and his close noblemen used to sit. On the opposite side, there was another "stage" (it was lower than sufa); on it, a huge ritual fireplace is preserved. In this hall, relics of script found. The citadel had other halls also-the square and rectangular ones decorated with clay half columns - linking their corridors, etc. The traces of wall paintings and clay reliefs have preserved. One of the corners of the square of the citadel housed a Buddhist chapel consisting of a small domed central room and a circular corridor. The walls of the central room were covered with paintings depicting Buddha. At least three times on the upper square of the citadel replanning was done.

Balaliktepe (near the village Angor of Surkhan-Darya region) is a small and not a very high castle. During excavations, history of its construction ascertained. The base of the structure has the appearance of a high platform (30x30 meters at a height of six meters). This square platform was encircled by massive outside walls rising above the upper surface of the platform. On the upper square of the platform, buildings erected. In the center there was a square yard encircled by narrow rectangular rooms on all sides. Passages linked them with each other and with the yard. The structure was adapted for defense: in the outer walls of every room were two or three narrow loopholes. Besides this, in one of the corners, there was a protruding rectangular tower, which also had loopholes. The entrance to the castle, according to scholars, was situated in this tower. One could enter it through a lifting bridge. After some time radical alterations were made. In the yard, a cluster of rooms built. Among them was a big rectangular festive hall with seating arrangements (*sufas*) along its walls. Near one of the walls was a round pedestal, apparently meant for burning fire. The ceiling of the hall was flat and its wooden parts were decorated with carvings. In the center, there was a hole for light and exit of smoke. No less interesting is the small square room with seating arrangements (*sufas*). The walls of this room decorated with beautiful paintings. Later this building, after remaining

desolate for some time, again reconstructed. L.I. Albaum thinks that the building erected in the V century and rebuilt and decorated with murals at the end of the V or beginning of the VI century. He attributes the complete destruction of Balaliktepe to the first quarter of the VII century.¹¹³

Not far away from Balaliktepe in the same Angor district of the Surkhan-Darya region where a settlement cum castle Zangtepe is situated. Outside defensive walls surrounded this small settlement. In the North-Western corner of it is a big castle. Square in the base (50 meters from one side) and even now after destruction, 20 meters in height. The castle erected on the place of the structure of the first century A.D., which was, after filling with rubble, changed into a platform for new structure. It was a heavily fortified castle. The corners were covered with strong rectangular towers. The even surface of the walls was slit with rectangular loopholes and niches, which also had loopholes. On the upper square were rooms. The rooms of the first period (V-VI centuries) were similar in their planning with the Balaliktepe rooms. Later (VI-VII centuries) there was a radical replanning after the dismantling of the walls of most of the structures of the first period. The new building was quite different from the Balaliktepe structure. Its composite scheme contains several clusters of separate rooms. Along with the festive rooms, there are living rooms, kitchens, etc. This is an intricate complex of structures linked with the life of the peasant-feudal (dehkan). This proved also by the various collections of household vessels. Here a unique discovery was made of the Buddhist manuscripts on birch barks.¹¹⁴

Peasant plots often elevated on the platform have also excavated. They consisted of small inaccurately built narrow rooms, each one of which was a living cell (Chayan-tepe, Tashtepe); it is an abode of a large family of rural commune of patriarchal family. There were also entire rural settlements, e.g. Yakshibaitepe.¹¹⁵ The Ajinatepe Buddhist monastery of VII - beginning of the VIII century situated in the Vakhsh Valley, 12 kilometers to the East of Kurgantepa, is an example of religious buildings. It is a relatively small monument (in size 100x50 meters) with preserved height of six meters. The monument consists of two square parts. One of them is a square yard surrounded from four sides by a complex of premises. In the center of each side is a premises with two parts—the square hall (in one of them are sculptures on the pedestals near the walls, in front of which there is a lobby — *aiwan* open towards the yard — aiwans were linked with each other by knee type corridors occupying the corners of the structures and having an exit to the yard. The back lane of the premises consisted of corridors and small square cells. Adjacent to this half was a second one equal to it in size. Here in the center of the yard there was a massive rising *stupa*, a monolith construction consists of the cube elevated on the stepped pedestal; at the top of the stupa once upon a time there was a celestial semi-sphere with canopies (now not preserved). On the stupa from all four sides, there were doubly reinforced steps. The planning of the premises surrounding the stupa was in principle not much different from the planning of the other part of the construction. These are the huge 16-17 meter high corridors and central aiwan premises consist of

¹¹³ Albaum L.I., 1960, pp. 114-125; Nilsen V.A., 1966, pp. 154-163.

¹¹⁴ Albaum L.I., 1963; Nilsen V.A., 1966, pp. 163-172.

¹¹⁵ Nilsen V.A., 1966, pp. 173-179.

two parts. They are smaller in size than the ones mentioned above. Along the outer narrow side, there are seven small cells. In some of these cells, miniature stupas have been placed and in others, sculptures are placed on pedestals. In the corridors and niches there are large (more than the natural size) sculptures of Buddha; the walls and domes are covered with the depictions of Buddha and murals with Buddhist themes. In one of the corridors, on a pedestal, there is a 12 meter long sculpture of lying Buddha in *nirvana*. The corridor — like premises covered with vaults and small square premises with domes. In one of the large halls, the ceiling was supported by four columns and was apparently made of wood.

The abundance of Buddhist sculptures and paintings, the planning scheme, the existence of central and additional stupas — all these do not raise any doubt that Ajinatepe was a Buddhist monastery which on the basis of the whole complex of materials including coins, is dated VII-beginning of VIII century. It consisted of two halves, which can be tentatively called "monastery" (here there were in particular cells for the monks, halls for religious meetings etc.), and the "temple" where there was a central stupa around which in the premises filled with religious sculptures and covered with Buddhist paintings the monks and the believers marched solemnly, as prescribed by religion.

Specific is the planning of Ajinatepe. It is not only strictly symmetrical but is also characterized by the composition and existence of the four aiwans. Four aiwans are characteristic of some Central Asian architectural monuments of the epoch of developed medieval times after the victory of Islam which testifies to the successional link of the Buddhist monastery *sangharama* and medieval Central Asian *madrasah*.¹¹⁶

The Tokharistan School of architecture in the period under study, in its basic features, used the same construction materials and methods as were used in other regions of Central Asia though there were some peculiarities. The main construction materials were the clay blocks — pakhsa — and half meter sized large rectangular bricks. Baked bricks were used but rarely and mainly for laying the floors and in the bases of the columns, etc. Narrow premises were covered with arches of box contours laid without use of curve piece by means of slanting segments. For arches, the same rectangular brick was used.

Domes covered small square premises. Along with the most primitive domes placed on the walls without any smooth projection (Munchaktepe in Shahritus), more perfect and complex methods of projection were also used. The vaults sometimes constructed in combination with pakhsa and brick (Kafir-Qala in Kolkhozabad).

Introduction of some methods of reducing the weight of the ceiling (Ajinatepe) was a big achievement. Several types of arches used. Thus, vault-arch constructions were distinguished by variety and perfection. Along with them there were in use several types of flat ceiling with support on walls or columns. Festive buildings richly decorated with murals, sculptures and wooden carvings.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Litvinsky B.A., 1968, pp. 57-63, 69-73; Litvinsky B.A. and Zeimal T.I., 1971.

¹¹⁷ Nilsen V.A., 1966; Litvinsky B.A. and Zeimal T.I., 1971.

PAINTING

Paintings fully represented in Balaliktepe and Ajina-tepe. In square premises (4.85 x 4.85 meters) of Balaliktepe on the walls against a dark blue, background which opens up a continuous stretch of pictures. Men and women are participating, sitting or reclining on small carpets in a festive scene. These figures are facing each other. On another plane standing servants are shown; they are twice less in number than the sitting figures. The feast is at its peak. L.I. Albaum who discovered this wonderful monument thought that this painting of Balaliktepe reproduced "a scene of religious feast. However, as in the ideology of early medieval society the cult was closely interwoven with everyday life, this scene can also be called as something out of daily life".¹¹⁸ L.I. Albaum offers some proofs in favor of his view but it cannot take as proved. G.A. Pugachenkova¹¹⁹ and B.A. Litvinsky¹²⁰ are right in thinking that this temporal painting — the depiction of a feast, was quite usual in the life of the nobility of that period. Of course, further specification of this mural is quite complicated. G.A. Pugachenkova tried to explain that it was a reproduction of one of the topics from "Shahnama". It seems that there is no basis for this. More likely, it is a quite generalized reproduction of a feast in the court of one of the local rulers or big feudals,¹²¹ or even a scene of the reception of the guests in the castle. Balaliktepe murals are executed in a highly artistic way. Bright and colorful as they are these murals are bubbling with life. There is a certain element of conditionality: the turns of the head and bodies of the figures are different and uncoordinated, faces are without psychological interpretation and passionless. The style of painting is characterized by superficiality. Every large figure, writes V.A. Nilsen is an idealized depiction of a nobleman. "There is an absence of realistic characterization and certain conditionality." At the same time the details of the clothes, different types of accessories are worked out in detail with care.



Schematic contours of the painting on the southern wall of the main building in the Balaliktepe (partly reconstructed)

¹¹⁸ Albaum L.I., 1960, p. 198. V.A. Nilsen without commenting on the purpose of the mural categorically concludes that this premises itself meant for religious banquets (Nilsen V.A., 1966, p. 162).

¹¹⁹ Pugachenkova G.A., Rempel L.L, 1965, pp. 137-138.

¹²⁰ Litvinsky B.A. and Zeimal T.I., 1971.

¹²¹ Or even the scene of receiving guests in the castle (Nilsen V.A., 1966, p.284

L.I. Albaum showed the links and importance of the paintings of Balaliktepe. It is necessary to emphasize that as one of the famous contemporary foreign specialists of the art of the East, M. Bussagli, thinks that the discovery of Balaliktepe "undoubtedly shows that already in the V century the western region of the Central Asian world (he thus calls Tokharistan – B.G.) honored the styles and tendencies of "Iranianised" type which are either alien to the Sasanid art or in any case are not documented clearly. Hence, we have to acknowledge that some tendencies developed in the centers of Serindi are in fact repeating the Eastern Iranian (Central Asian B.G.) art". The penetration of these tendencies in Serindi (Eastern Turkestan), M. Bussagli links with the development of trade and economic contacts. On the other hand, as this researcher points out, the art of Balaliktepe left an immense influence on the art of Central Afghanistan, in particular, Bamiyan.¹²² Besides this Balaliktepe is an example of the early medieval paintings in Central Asia. The tendencies founded by Balaliktepe paintings further developed in Panjakent, Varakhsha and other monuments of the VII — middle of the VIII century.



Aristocratic women in
Balaliktepe

¹²² Bussagli M. 1963, pp. 36, 39.

The paintings of Ajinatepe can divide according to topics into three parts: the depiction of Buddha and the Bodhisatvas, the temporal characters and decorative elements.



Buddha in nirvana. Ajinatepe

The inner surface of the vaults was covered entirely by rows of sitting Buddha. The Buddha is depicted in different poses symbolizing different "spiritual moods". On the walls of the corridors inside circles were depicted the Buddha (in big size) and the characters related with him (in a considerably smaller size). With the common theme and ideological orientation of the structure are linked the other depictions also, including the temporal characters as well. Thus on the walls of the entrance in one of the small cells was depicted a scene from which two characters have been preserved. These are the armed men sitting cross-legged. Each of them has in hand the vessel (one is golden and the other is silver filled with flowers). It is a reproduction of a Buddhist theme of pranidha found in the art extending from Ceylon to Eastern Turkestan — the presentation of gifts to the sacred place. These depictions are very close to the Balaliktepe paintings; undoubtedly, the artist more experienced in Buddhist iconography than in the reproduction of the temporal characters executes them.¹²³

¹²³ Litvinsky B.A. and Zeimal T.I., 1968.

SCULPTURE, WOOD CARVING AND OTHER ARTS

Separate works of sculpture found in different monuments. In Ajinatepe have been discovered a whole series of sculptures of Buddhist character. All the sculptures of Ajinatepe are made out of clay without an internal wooden frame. The large parts of the sculpture of clay and details molded. The heads of small and middle-size sculptures are also made by stamping. All the sculptures are painted. The dress of Buddha is painted in red color and hands and feet are white while the hair is blue or black.

The largest sculpture of the complex is the "Buddha in nirvana". It is a real colossus, however, not standing but lying, near the wall pedestal. It is lying on the right side. The left hand stretched and placed on one side. The right hand is bent in an elbow placed beneath the head, which is resting on a pillow having five parts. About the over-all size of the figure, you can judge it by the size of the foot, which is 1.7-1.9 meters. The figure as originally found measured 12 meters. The body of the Buddha is covered by pleated robe in red color. Only the hands and feet are uncovered. On the feet, the Buddha is wearing light sandals, which are tied with straps. The head is only partially preserved. The hair-do is very interesting: wavy hair divided by an intricate parting. As was usual in the Buddhist art, the figure of the Buddha in *nirvana* was made as prescribed in a standing form — the Buddhist sculptors did not try to reproduce the details of the lying body. The sculpture is characterized by absolute conventionality of the reproduction. The sculptor placed before himself the task of reproducing not the earthly preacher but the creation of a gigantic symbol of divine serenity. It is not difficult to imagine, what a great impact this sculpture must have made thirteen centuries ago, how it must have influenced the imagination of the Buddhist believers.



**Head of Bodhisattva.
Ajinatepe**

Among other figures of the Buddha the sculptures on the pedestals in the niches should also be mentioned. They are much smaller in size than the gigantic Buddha in *nirvana* but are still approximately 1.5 times larger than the human figure. The Buddha are depicted in the *padmasan* posture that is sitting in cross-legged position. Behind the head of every Buddha there is a relief and colored aura.

Many sculptures of three fourth and half of natural size have also been found which are artistically perfect. Here are heads of the Buddha with the characteristic projection on the head ("ushnisha"). Most of these sculptures are authentic masterpieces of art. The suppleness and the perfect beauty is what characterize them. The figures of the Bodhisattvas and other characters have also been discovered. Particularly beautiful are the figures of some divine characters devas. The nude body of the young man whose only hips are covered with clothes is standing in a complicated twisted posture: the chest is turned towards one side, pelvis and legs to the other, and one of the legs stretched backward. On the painted torso, there are many ornaments. Some of the figures are full of dynamism and are exquisite. In the depiction of the monks the sculptor is not tied with religious canons and it is here that he has achieved authentic realism. One of the sculptures—the head of an old and tired man, with wrinkles on his forehead and around the eyes, is reminiscent of the present day Tajik old man. No less characteristic is the head with turban. In the sculpture of Ajinatepe many other characters are also reflected.

Notwithstanding all similarity with the other monuments of the Buddhist art (particularly with the Afghan Buddhist monument of Fundukistan also related to the VII century), the sculpture of Ajinatepe is unique and original. Here several traditions are reflected: the late Gandhara tradition of Khadda, the tradition of the Gupta art of India, etc., which formed layers on the powerful tradition of the local original Bactrian-Tokharistan art.¹²⁴

The walls of many premises of Ajinatepe decorated with architectural stucco-moldings covering the projected parts, arches and niches.

In Balaliktepe and Jumalaktepe (Surkhan-Darya region) remnants of carved wood have been found. It particularly found in abundance in Jumalaktepe. Here bars of a rectangular section have been found on which a sprout with leaves or large discs, board-panels decorated with big ornamental circles, the circumference of which consisted of small circles with an intricate rosette in the center. Besides these, parts of an extremely interesting wooden frieze, consisting of arches are divided by ornamental stripes. Inside every arch, decorated by rosettes, there are depictions of human bodies up to the waist.¹²⁵

In Tokharistan dance and music were also quite developed. In Khuttalan and Kumed there were excellent female dancers. The rulers of these dominions used to send dancers as a present for the courts of foreign states. Some representatives of the musical art of Central Asia, who were sent outside their native country, did not receive recognition in the court circles but their art was popular among the ordinary people. This particularly happened with the

¹²⁴ Litvinsky B.A. and Zeimal T.I., 1971, pp. 76-109.

¹²⁵ Nilsen V.A., 1966, pp. 303-307.

musicians from Kumed¹²⁶, the precursors of contemporary Pamir musicians. The remnants of musical instruments-the wooden pin, head of griffins (fingerboards) etc., found in one of the premises of Balaliktepe.¹²⁷

RELIGION

The inhabitants of Tokharistan of the V-VII centuries professed several religions. In the light of historical sources and archaeological data, it can establish that a considerable part of the population of Tokharistan continued, as in ancient times, to profess Zoroastrianism. The concrete manifestation and forms of it are, however, almost completely unknown. The ossuary tradition of burial in contrast with Sogd, Chach and Khwarezm was not so widespread though individual discovery of ossuaries are known (Dangara, Hissar).

About the dissemination of faiths related to the inextinguishable fire is best known from the discovery in Balaliktepe of a big ceramic censer consisting of a pedestal in a conical form with openings on which bowls were placed. Such censers were found in Khairabadtepe¹²⁸ and in Southern Tajikistan. In Kafir-Qala in Kolkhozabad has been found a "stationary" holy hearth.

Buddhism occupied a very strong position. It is true that the Hepthalites initially were not Buddhists. "Perhaps the Hepthalite rulers of different regions in different times did not follow the same policy in relation to Buddhism. During military campaign at some places, the Buddhist religious establishments destroyed and looted. But overall, to all appearances in Central Asia, during the Hepthalite rule Buddhism was not persecuted. Some of the Hepthalite rulers supported Buddhism".¹²⁹ On the Turks, the Buddhist propaganda had an influence even before their arrival in Central Asia.¹³⁰

At the end of the VI beginning of the VII century some rulers of Western Turks became Buddhists, they started building and supporting Buddhist structures as in Southern Central Asia as well as in Afghanistan and Northern India. As a traveler from the VIII century wrote: "in Tokharistan the king, nobility and the people" professed Buddhism. The same information is given about Khuttalan. In the VII century, in Balkh – the capital of Tokharistan, there were a hundred monasteries, in Termez around ten, in Shuman two monasteries, in Qubadian three monasteries, etc. In each of the monasteries, there lived a certain number of monks usually two to fifty. The Buddhist religion penetrated into the Pamirs also; for example in Vakhan there were monasteries and monks. According to the available data, some of the monasteries possessed large wealth consisting of land and other property. The excavations at Ajinatepe and Kafir-Qala confirmed this information contained in written sources. The local names for geographical regions also provide some hints. In the Southern Tajikistan, in

¹²⁶ Schafer E.H., 1963, pp. 54-55.

¹²⁷ Albaum L.I., 1960, pp. 99-100.

¹²⁸ Ibid., pp. 71-76.

¹²⁹ Litvinsky B.A., 1968, pp. 33-34.

¹³⁰ Gabain A.V., 1961, and his other works.

the lower parts of the River Kizyl-Su, there is a district center called Farkhar. As linguists have shown that this name originates (through intermediary links) from the Sanskrit word "vihara" – "Buddhist monastery".

In Zangtepe, Buddhist manuscripts are written on birch bark. They wrote in the Central Asian Brahmi, a language of Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit. Here there is a full collection of Buddhist text, among them there is "Vinaya" — the rules of conduct for monks, nuns and the nonprofessionals who embraced Buddhism regulating all aspects of life and the statutes. The remnants of such manuscripts have also been found at Kafir-Qala.

All these as well as many other data provide the basis for concluding about the widespread profession of Buddhism in Tokharistan.¹³¹



Dresses of the people of Central Asia in the VI – VIII centuries

1 – tokharistanians (as in the murals of Balaliktepe)

2 – sogdians (as in the murals at Panjakent)

¹³¹ For details see: Litvinsky B.A., 1968, pp.55-57, the references on Literature and sources are given there.



The Sogdian warriors of the VI – VIII centuries

1 – on the basis of wall paintings in Panjakent

2 – on the basis of the depiction on the silver plate from the village of Kulagysh

The other religion, which acquired firm roots in Central Asia and particularly in Tokharistan, was Manichaeism. In the beginning of the VIII century, the head of the Manicheans resided in Tokharistan. In 719 as an emissary of the ruler of Chaganian sent to Manichei, who carried the title of "great teacher". Manichaeism, from the very beginning of its dissemination in Central Asia relied on support of the nobility and the rulers, which is vividly manifested in the information about this mission.¹³²

Ultimately, another religion — Christianity,¹³³ to be precise the sect which called itself Nestorianism, — also became widespread. The presence of Christianity in the country of the Hepthalites, the spread of Christianity among the Tokharian Turks, the dispatch from Tokharistan of an emissary whose object was to spread Nestorianism, etc., is well-known. Thus, in Tokharistan in the VI and the beginning of the VIII century we find a real conglomeration of religions fighting for the minds and "souls" of the peoples, influencing each other and sometimes mutually interwoven.

¹³² Belenitsky A.M., 1954; Litvinsky B.A. and Zeimal T.I., 1971, pp. 120-121.

¹³³ Barthold V.V., 1893; Litvinsky B.A. and Zeimal T.I., 1971, pp. 122-123.

3. SOGD IN VI-VII CENTURIES

GENERAL ACCOUNT

The name "Sogd" can be found in the sources of different languages¹³⁴ during a long period of time. Famous researcher W. Tomaschek suggested that the word "Sogd", as derived from a common Iranian root, meaning "to shine", "to glitter", "to burn" (from the same root Tajik word "sukhtan" meaning "to burn").¹³⁵ In Tajik-Persian dictionaries, it is usually given completely another interpretation — "depression in which water gets collected".¹³⁶ The Tajiks now use the word "sugud" for the low-lying marshy land or reclaimed land abundant with flowing water, but this interpretation is perhaps not the initial one.

What were the geographical limits of Sogd? According to seventh century traveler Hsuan-Tszang, Sogd is the country between the River Chu on the North-East and Baisun gate in the South-West. It is not difficult to understand that here the question is not of the politico-geographical frontier of Sogd but of the main territory where the Sogdians were settled. Arabic and Tajik language sources of the later period (mostly from X-XIII centuries), reflecting the understanding of this question in their period nevertheless preserved some echoes of more ancient times. From them we come to know that the term Sogd was used both in wide and narrow meaning. In a wider meaning Sogd are the entire Zerafshan Valley (sometimes excluding its upper-most part) and the valley of the River Qashqa-Darya. At the same time, there existed another notion of Sogd as a region predominantly linked with Samarkand. The medieval authors often speak about "Samarkand Sogd". There also existed a notion of "Bukhara-Sogd", Yaqut made a statement: "They say there are two Sogds — Sogd of Samarkand and Sogd of Bukhara".¹³⁷ The Valley of Qashqa-Darya was viewed as a part of Sogd, while some authors, for example, Ya'qubi call Kesh as the capital of Sogd.¹³⁸ All these data have been worked out in detail by the researchers.¹³⁹

HSUAN-TSZANG AND HOI-CHAO ABOUT SOGD

Hsuan-Tszang was in Sogd in 629. He writes that Samokien or Samotszyan (Samarkand) is a dominion stretched from the East to the West. The size of the capital is said to be the same as Termez. The dominion Samokien protected from all sides by natural barriers. The population is very large. In this dominion, valuable goods from foreign countries piled up. The land is fertile and provides abundant crops. The trees grow fast (he calls them forest trees). There are many flowers and fruits. This country has excellent horses. The residents excel the

¹³⁴ For summary see: *Tomaschek W.*, 1877, p. 74.

¹³⁵ *Tomaschek W.*, 1877, pp. 74-75.

¹³⁶ For summary of this information see: *Smirnova O.*, 1963, pp. 24-25.

¹³⁷ *Yaqut, III*, p. 394

¹³⁸ *Ya'qubi*, 1892, p. 299 (see also p. 293)

¹³⁹ See for example: *Barthold V.V.*, 1965 b, pp. 477-478.

inhabitants of other countries in art and handicrafts (according to another translation, in trade). The climate is soft and moderate. The people are energetic and courageous. This dominion is situated in the center of "barbaric" countries. All the neighboring people follow them in everything, in the norms of moral conduct and decency. The king is very courageous and all the neighboring regions follow his orders. He has a large army including cavalry. The warriors occupy a special position. The traveler calls them "Chi-Kia". They are brave enough to cheerfully face death. When they attack, no enemy can withstand.

Further Hsuan-Tszang writes about the dominions, Mimokha or Mimokhe (Maimurg), Tszebudan (Kabudan), Tsuishuannitszia (Kushania) Bukhe (Bukhara), Tszeshuann (Kesh) and others. Only their sizes are given and the same brief characteristics are repeated: "in traditions and food similar to Samokein (Samarkand)."¹⁴⁰

Hoi-Chao (726) gives a brief sketch of the "Hu countries" where he includes An' (Bukhara), Tsao (Ishtihan), Shi (Kesh), Shi-lo, Mi (Maimurg) and Kan (Samarkand). Although each of these dominions has its own ruler, all of them are subordinated to the Arabs. These dominions are not big. In each of them, there are small military detachments. Here are camels, mules, sheep and horses. Cotton is cultivated. People wear cotton clothes, fur trousers, and upper garments. Menfolk like to wear headgear of white cotton material and shave their head and face. The language is different from the language of other countries. Their traditions quite spoiled: men can marry any woman, mother or sister. In Iran, a man can also marry his mother. In these six dominions Zoroastrianism is professed, the teachings of Buddha are not known. Only in Samarkand, there is a Buddhist monastery with one monk.¹⁴¹

POLITICAL HISTORY

There are yet not sufficient sources to enable us to write the political history of Sogd, more so, of the dominions included in it. The information contained in the sources provides isolated facts only.

In the beginning of the VII century, according to the data in a historical chronicle, in Samarkand Sogd (in this chronicle it is named as "Kan") ruled a local dynasty going back (or may be extending itself) to the Yueh-Chih predecessors. It is believed that it was established on the throne and ruled without interval almost from the beginning of our era. The throne name (or title) of the ruler was Chzhaou.¹⁴² The ruler of Sogd lived in a densely populated city called

¹⁴⁰ Beal S., 1906, pp. 32-36.

¹⁴¹ Fuchs W., 1938, pp. 451-452.

¹⁴² There are two opinions about this title. Some scholars (particularly V. Radlov and I. Marquart) explain its origin from Turk language (one of the latest attempts at such explanation: Haussig H.W. 1956) while others from Iranian (from the period of Remyuz: Abel Remusat, 1829, p. 227, n.2). Among the supporters of Iranian origin of this title may be mentioned V. Tomaschek, S. Konov, Kh. Sheder and others.

Aludi. "Kan is considered to be a powerful state" — the chronicle informs.¹⁴³ Consequently, even the Western Turk Kagan Datoi (ruled from 575-576 to 603) thought it proper to become a relative of the ruler of Sogd, Taishepi (E. Chavannes and K. Shiratori give this name) by giving his daughter to him in marriage.

At that time such dominions as Mi (Maimurg), Tsao and Khe (Ishtihan and Kushania), Small An (on the Eastern border of Bukharan oasis), Nashebo (Nasaf) and others, in total eight dominions,¹⁴⁴ were under the power of Kan, i.e., Samarkand Sogd. Thus, under the Samarkand Sogd ruler were almost all the dominions of Zerafshan Valley (perhaps with the exception of its Western-most part) and as well as the Qashqa-Darya Valley (Nasaf). When this confederation was formed its character and the degree of dependence of separate dominions on the central power is particularly not known.

In the palace of the Samarkand Sogd ruler, "there was a temple of ancestors in which sacrifices were offered to the sixth moon. The other rulers came to help the offerings".¹⁴⁵

This information should view as an evidence of the existence of the ties of kinship between the rulers of Sogd, their origin from some common ancestors (there are definite indications to it in the sources). Of course, the other explanation cannot rule out: that is the vassals of the Samarkand ruling court were obliged to take part in the ritual of the festival in order to show their faithfulness to the suzerain. Perhaps, both these possibilities should take into account.

The composition and geographical borders of this confederation hardly remained unaltered. It is likely that at some stage the Bukharan oasis or a considerable part of it incorporated in it. This is mentioned in the information provided by Mas'udi; who writes that the wall surrounding the Bukharan oasis was built in ancient times by one of the kings of Sogd.¹⁴⁶

At some stage, the capital of Sogd was Kesh. This is reflected in later sources. Ya'qubi mentions this fact in a later work of IX century.¹⁴⁷ The strengthening of Kesh dominion starts in the first quarter of the VII century.¹⁴⁸ The ruler Ticho (could it be Iranian name Tish in this foreign source?) was considered very powerful. He sent an emissary to one foreign state; built the city of Ki-she, which generally identified with Kesh. There is also information about the dispatch of a mission with presents in 642 by another ruler named

¹⁴³ *Bichurin, II*, pp. 280-281.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, II, p. 281.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*.

¹⁴⁶ *Mas'udi*, 1894, p. 65.

¹⁴⁷ *Ya'qubi*, 1892, p. 299.

¹⁴⁸ Long before this, there was an independent dynasty there. In the V – VI centuries Kesh ruler's minted coins on the front size of which was a portrait and on the other the ruler is shown striking with sword the lion or lion-like creature standing on its hind legs. The Sogdian inscription on one of the coins of this series reads as "The King of Kesh" (*Kabanov S.K.*, 1961, p. 137; *Livshits V.A.*, *Lukonin V.G.* 1964, p. 110,170).

Shashepe.¹⁴⁹ In the historical sources, there is no other information about him. But this ruler issued coins. Among the coins discovered in Panjakent there is an inscription "Ikhshid Shishpir". On the coins there is an Arameic ideogram "king", which on the Sogdian coins signified the rulers of the entire Sogd-Ikhshids. Comparing all these facts it becomes evident that the more logical explanation of it is in the acceptance of the ruler of Kesh by name of Shishpir as a king of the entire Sogd.¹⁵⁰ Of course, it is only one of the many possible versions.

However, the hegemony of Kesh in the Sogdian confederation lasted not very long. Soon, as it is evident from the sources between 656-660 new ruler of Kesh — Chzhaou Shiagie (this is according to Bichurin; E. Chavannes reads this name as Che-a-ho) became dependent on the Samarkand king.¹⁵¹ The ruler of Samarkand Sogd became a supreme ruler a little earlier between 650-655. Apparently, it took some time to force Kesh to accept the supremacy of Samarkand. It can be guessed that during this five-year period, there was a struggle between Samarkand and Kesh as a result of which Shishpir was removed and Shiagie (Sheaho) took the place of the ruler.

The representative of the Samarkand ruling house who was called by aliens as Fukhuman now carried the title of Ikhshid Sogd.¹⁵² There is a large collection of Sogdian coins the legend on which O.I. Smirnova reads as "Ikhshid Varkhuman" (she thinks that Fukhuman is an alien version of the Sogdian king Varkhuman, more precisely Avarkhuman).¹⁵³ The name of this king is mentioned also in large Sogdian inscription on Afrasiab.

Along with the common Sogdian kings, the local kings also continued to exist. The rulers of Kesh, now under the Samarkand ruling house, had their own hereditary title of *Ikhrid*.¹⁵⁴

The Bukharan dominion in the Chinese sources was called as An, Neumi; they also knew the title of Bukho (Pou-ho) i.e. Bukhara and the title of the ruler Chzhaou. The rulers of Bukhara had an origin common with Samarkand rulers. In the beginning of the VII century the Bukharan ruler was a close kin of the Samarkand ruler. In the second quarter of the VII century, the ruler of Bukhara was one Alinga (this is according to Bichurin; E. Chavannes thinks it was Noling-kia). The Chinese source informs that the Bukharan ruling house "successively rules in the 22 generation",¹⁵⁵ i.e. for several centuries.

In the Bukharan region there were in circulation skifat (concave) copper coins with Sogdian inscription "King Asvar". According to paleographical data, these coins can date back to IV-V centuries. The Iranian name of the king means "horse rider" (among the Tajiks the word "asp" until now means "horse" and

¹⁴⁹ Bichurin, II, p. 316; Chavannes E., 1903, p. 146.

¹⁵⁰ Smirnova O.I., 1963, pp. 140-141, 62-63.

¹⁵¹ Bichurin, II, p. 316; Chavannes E., 1903, p. 146.

¹⁵² Ibid, p. 317; Ibid, p. 135.

¹⁵³ Smirnova O.I., 1963, p. 28.

¹⁵⁴ Smirnova O.I. has prepared a chronological table of the rulers of Kesh (1962, p. 68).

¹⁵⁵ Bichurin, II, p. 282.

"savor" is "horse-rider"). Going by the inscriptions, the Bukharan rulers had two titles, one of which meant the "king" and the other "ruler".¹⁵⁶

A separate and highly important dominion was Panjakent. It included, besides the region of Panjakent proper (at that time it was called "Panch") in the beginning of the VIII century, the localities of the upper Zerafshan. In the Sogdian documents, found during excavations of the castle on the mount Mug, are mentioned Magian ("moon-like"), Pargar ("hilly" [land], presently Falgar), Kshtut (at present Kshtut), Martushkat (at present Matcha). In these places, there were numerous settlements. There the settlements Madm and Kum are also mentioned (at present they carry the same names), Zerovadk (at present Zarovat), Eskotar ("upper-lying" [land] at present Iskodar), Khsikand (at present Khshikat) Varz "high" (at present Varzi-Manor), Kurut (at present Kurut), Fatmif (at present Fatmev), Pakhut (at present Pokhud), Eftmaut (at present Falmout), Shavkat ("black city", at present Shavatk). The Valley of Yagnob was also included in the Panjakent dominion. Obviously, the other localities of Petaman (medieval Butaman) were also included in it or were under it, in the present case, Hissar and Zerafshan mountain range. In the Mug documents are mentioned particularly the present-day settlement of Anzob.¹⁵⁷

The specialists are studying the abundant mint of Panjakent – Panch now. It established that in Panjakent – Panch ruled its own dynasty (the deciphering of the names of the representatives of this dynasty, with some exceptions, cannot be considered as final). In the difficult for Sogd period of the first quarter of the VIII century during the Arab invasion, the role of Panjakent dominion, which not subjected to the destructive raids of the Arabs, increased manifold. The ruler of Panjakent Devashtich who did not belong to the Sogdian king's dynasty (the name of his father Yodkhshetak is given in the Mug document V-4 without the title "king"), claimed the Samarkand throne and the title "Sogdian king of Samarkand ruler Devashtich" and for some time he occupied the Samarkand throne (for details see next chapter).

Along with the large dominions, there were numerous smaller ones and some of them also minted their own coins. In the Sogdian settlement Samitan (in the region of ancient Kushania. i.e., in the locality of present day settlements Mitan, Pai-Aryk and Chilek) was the center of a small dominion and its ruler minted bronze coins in his own name.¹⁵⁸

The strengthening of separate dominions, included in the Sogdian confederation, is a fact emanating from historical, archaeological and numismatic sources. The supreme power of the Sogdian king is weakened and the size of the confederation is considerably reduced. About the size of the confederation, we can judge by several informations provided by the available sources. In 712, the Arabs promised Gurek — the son of Ikhshid of Sogd — to make him the "king of Samarkand, its lands and boundaries and of Kesh and Nasaf and their cities and forts." In the Sogdian confederation were also included Mi (Maimurg) and Tsao

¹⁵⁶ Livshits V.A., Lukonin V.G., 1964, pp. 169-170.

¹⁵⁷ Smirnova O.I., 1960.

¹⁵⁸ Smirnova O.I., 1967, pp. 36-39.

(Kabudan or Ishtikhan)¹⁵⁹ and perhaps some other dominions. The largest among the constituent parts of the confederation, Bukhara, obtained independence. At the helm of the Bukharan dominion was the dynasty of Bukhar-khudats.¹⁶⁰ On the coins of the rulers of this dynasty the title "ruler, king of Bukhara", was inscribed.¹⁶¹

The Sogdian state had diplomatic relations with other Central Asian dominions and often exchanged envoys. In the paintings in Afrasiab depicted a scene of arrival of such emissaries (more precisely, the reception of diplomatic missions), and the Sogdian inscription accompanying it reads as follows:

"When Avarkhuman... king approached him [the envoy] the latter opened his mouth: I am the Chaganian dapirpat (head of the chancellery — B.G.) [By name] Bukarzate. From the Chaganian ruler Turantash here in Samarkand to the king for paying respect I came and I am now bowing my head before the [king] and [you] don't have the slightest doubt about me — about the Samarkand gods and also about [Samarkand] script (perhaps the "scriptures" — B.G.) with which I am very well acquainted and did not inflict [?] any harm on [Samarkand] king. [A] varkhuman... the king let him go. And [then] the Chach dapirpat opened his mouth..." The inscription interrupted here.¹⁶²

The documents of the Mug archives speak about the mutual diplomatic relations between the various Central Asian regions, especially with Chach, Ustrushana and Fergana. Many sources narrate about the emissaries dispatched from Sogd to distant places beyond Central Asia and about the arrival of the emissaries from various states.

IRRIGATION. AGRICULTURE

Three main irrigational canals irrigating the locality towards the South of Samarkand were dug out in the medieval times in the locality of Varagser ("the head of the dam" presently Rabati-Khoja). From the description of the events associated with the Arab conquest, as V.V. Barthold noticed, is evident that this system¹⁶³ existed even before the Arab conquest,¹⁶³ i.e., in VI-VII centuries. In the same period, the canal bringing water to Samarkand city was also functioning.¹⁶⁴

Among the large canals in the pre-Muslim period can be mentioned Narpay, irrigating the district of Kushania. Further below the Zerafshan River within the Bukharan oasis one of the canals in the medieval times carried the name of Shapurkam (later Shafirkam), and the legend existed that it was dug out by some Sasanid prince Shapur.¹⁶⁵ This canal irrigated the Northern most part of

¹⁵⁹ *Bichurin, II*, p. 311.

¹⁶⁰ More precise would be Bukhar-Khuda, see: *Narshakhi*, "The History of Bukhara", 1954, p. 108.

¹⁶¹ *Livshits V.A., Lukonin V.G.*, 1964, p. 170.

¹⁶² Translation by V.A. Livshits for the author.

¹⁶³ *Barthold V.V.*, 1965 a, pp.186-187.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 188.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 198-199.

the Bukharan oasis-the district of Vardan dominion, the rulers of which fought and competed with the Bukhar-khudats. In addition, some other large canals were functioning.¹⁶⁶ A well-developed irrigational system also existed in the Qashqa-Darya oasis.¹⁶⁷

The Samarkand region was well irrigated and cultivated. There were so many fields and greenery, that the first Arab Vice-regents called it "the garden of the Emir of the faithful's", i.e., the Caliph.¹⁶⁸

The agriculture in Sogd was irrigational but it is difficult to imagine that the dry lands were not used. Common characteristics of agriculture are contained in one of the chronicles of that time "The climate is warm, suitable for cultivation of the various cereals. The inhabitants are engaged in horticulture and vegetable production. The trees are very well grown. There are horses, camels and donkeys."¹⁶⁹

Excavations in the mount of Mug give a detailed picture of the composition of the crops. Here different seeds and grains the remnants of cotton plants found.¹⁷⁰ From the Mug documents, we come to know that the main crops in the region of upper Zerafshan were wheat and grapes. Barley, millet and pulses were also cultivated.¹⁷¹ The Sogdian term for grain is etymologically linked with the meaning of "winnowed".¹⁷²

Grinding of grain was done in mill. Document V-4 from the mount Mug is an agreement about the rent by one Makhian of three mills "with all canals, constructions and millstones", the rent was paid in kind by flour.¹⁷³ Although we do not have full information about the mills, some large millstones have found, for example, in Afrasiab. Along with the water mills in the household of city dwellers as earlier the hand millstones of middle and small sizes were used.

Documents contain the instructions about the supply of grains, fruits and wines. Vine-growing was one of the leading branches of agriculture.

In Panjakent one vine-press has been found. It was in the shape of a pit in the bottom of which there was a special depression. Besides the pit there was a shallow tank linked with a narrow channel. The walls of the pit and the tank carefully plastered. It can be guessed that the tank was covered with boards placed not very close to each other. Over them there spread a layer of raw "camel" thorns with grapes above them. When pressed the juice first trickled down into the tank and from there it flowed to the pit. From the pit, it was poured into khums, after it had settled. The present day common Tajik vine presses are made the same way.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁶ For a description of the ancient irrigational systems of Bukharan oasis see: *Shishkin V.A.*, 1963, pp. 22-25.

¹⁶⁷ *Kabanov S.K.*, 1956 a, p. 164.

¹⁶⁸ *Barthold V.V.*, 1965 a, p. 196.

¹⁶⁹ *Bichurin, II* p. 281.

¹⁷⁰ *Danilevsky V.V.* and others 1940.

¹⁷¹ *Smirnova O.I.*, 1963; pp.12-20; *Smirnova O.I.* and *Bogolyubov M.N.*, 1963.

¹⁷² *Livshits V.A.*, 1962 b, p. 136.

¹⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 57

¹⁷⁴ For this see: *Bolshakov O.G.* and *Negmatov N.N.*, 1958, pp. 187-188.

Historical chronicles contain data about abundance in Samarkand-Sogd of grape wine. We informed that large stocks of it preserved in the houses of the aristocracy for many years. That this is not an exaggeration is testified by archaeological materials and Mug documents. In one of them it is mentioned that so and so "is to be supplied without delay fragrant wine which servants drink and its [wine's] left over's should be sealed and in this form [sealed] it should be preserved". Such type of information looks like the illustration to the stories of chronicles. There was also a designation of the "chief wine scooper."¹⁷⁵

Along with the vineyards, there were many gardens. In the same Mug documents, "the chief of the park" is mentioned. The quality of the fruits was very high. For example, from Samarkand-Sogd peaches, which astonished aliens, were exported and "were as large as the eggs of a goose and their color was golden and they were also called golden peaches".¹⁷⁶ The white and yellow cherries were also an export item.¹⁷⁷ All this fully confirms the account of the agriculture of Sogd given by Hsuan-Tszang.

In the opinion of the foreigners importing pedigree Samarkand horses they had a common origin with the Fergana horses.¹⁷⁸ From Samarkand, Bukhara, Kesh and Maimurg in 624, 724, 726, 736, 744, 750 sent hordes of high pedigree Sogdian horses to China.¹⁷⁹

The Samarkand sheep with their large heavy "tail"¹⁸⁰ the famous kurdyuk sheep attracted the attention of foreign authors.

In Mug documents, large and small cattle and riding animals like horses, mules and donkeys are mentioned.¹⁸¹ In some valleys and plains, the camels were also used.¹⁸²

There is no doubt that in Sogd, seri-culture was also quite developed. Silk and cotton weaving as well as the production of woolen cloth were based on local and not on imported raw materials.

HANDICRAFTS AND TRADE

The mountains surrounding Sogd have different minerals in abundance. About the extraction of some of them is known from written sources. For example, there is direct indication about the extraction of gold and ammonium chloride¹⁸³ in these sources. Gold not only extracted but also exported from Sogd especially from Kesh and Maimurg¹⁸⁴, in a large quantity.

¹⁷⁵ *Livshits V.A.*, 1962 b, p. 140.

¹⁷⁶ *Schafer E.H.*, 1963, p. 1, 117.

¹⁷⁷ *Bichurin, II*, p. 311.

¹⁷⁸ *Schafer E.H.*, 1963, p. 147.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 61.

¹⁸⁰ *Schafer E.H.*, 1963, p. 64, 296.

¹⁸¹ *Smirnova O.I.* 1963, p. 20.

¹⁸² *Bichurin, II*, p. 281.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*.

¹⁸⁴ *Schafer E.H.* 1963, p. 754.

From Maimurg, metallic alloy exported — the term signifying this alloy is translated "brass" i.e. the alloy of copper and zinc.¹⁸⁵ Salt was also extracted. It used in food and other articles. The sources specially mention colored salt imported from Maimurg and Kesh.¹⁸⁶

Large-scale extraction of minerals determined first by the internal demand and was only partially stimulated by export. Archaeological materials related to metallic production are quite varied. Particularly a lot of such material was found during excavations at Panjakent. One of the metallic workshops discovered here in the third section.¹⁸⁷ It consists of two adjacent rooms. In one of them, a large earthen vessel khum was dug into a not high sufa with its neck inside. It acted as a furnace. A part from this there was other production equipment. A two-channel nozzle has found. Sogdian craftsmen, for obtaining high temperature, used two bellows which provided interrupted blowing, i.e., completeness of the cycle (this problem was faced also by engineers in West Europe in the medieval period).¹⁸⁸

In the other metallic workshop (also a two-room structure) in the main room, the working place is clearly seen. The bellow had a mouth and hole for the nozzle. Within the bellow, there is a collection of slags. On the floor of the workshop are many pieces of iron and slags.¹⁸⁹ Spades for the bellows, ironsmith's instruments beginning with the anvil and ending with the hammers and massive chisels.

The production by the metallic workers was of various types. Even if the objects of weaponry are excluded, the assortment was quite large. These are the production tools — spades, axes, sickles, etc.; objects relating to the joiner-carpenter's work: nails, spikes, hasps, staples, etc. Iron knives of various types, iron and bronze belts buckles, ornaments, iron scissors, door keys, intricate bronze-iron lamps represent the household articles.¹⁹⁰

Weapon production closely linked with metallic work. The metalworkers were often simultaneously weapon-makers also although there existed specialized armorers as well.

Offensive weapons of the Sogdians consisted of weapons for close and long range fighting. They had intricate and simple bows, swords and daggers, spears, maces and poleaxes. The defensive armor consisted of shields, chain armor, coat armor and helmet. Referring to the detailed description to publications of the excavations and special works,¹⁹¹ the following may be noted. The discovery of the articles in particular of shields and arrows in the castle on the mount Mug, the arrowheads and bow in Panjakent: etc. and also abundant iconographical materials, the written sources prove that production of weapons was one of the leading branches of crafts. A large quantity of weapons could be produced only by a whole army of specialist's craftsmen. Their work was extraordinarily difficult

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 257.

¹⁸⁶ Schafer E.H. p. 217.

¹⁸⁷ Belenitsky A.M., 1958, pp. 117-119.

¹⁸⁸ «A History of Technology», 1957, p. 643.

¹⁸⁹ Belenitsky A.M., 1961 a, p. 82.

¹⁹⁰ Belenitsky A.M., 1958, pp. 135-140; 1961 a, pp. 84-85; 1961 b pp. 88-90.

¹⁹¹ See in particular: Jalilov A., 1958, pp. 81-95 (a useful but not exhaustive summary).

and demanded long time and skills. For example, the intricate bow. The making of such a according to historical and ethnic data, took one to two years. The discovery of bone hasps of the intricate bow in the Panjakent settlement shows that they produced in Panjakent. The weapons of the aristocrats, especially swords and daggers, were also distinguished by highly artistic work. Judging by the availability specimens and iconographical material the Sogdian armourers successfully coped with the production of artistically design; weapons. The handles of the daggers, swords and sheaths represented the real work of art. They made from precious metals, decorated with incrustation and laps and designed in the shape of dragonheads, etc. The same can be said about some shields. The finish of the work did not exhaust all merits of the Sogdian weapons. More important is the fact that it was quite effective. The Sogdian defensive armours were famous in the distant East and the West. In 718, the Sogdians sent their chain armor to China as a gift. This resulted in the Chinese armourers taking it as a sample and in the Chinese army appeared chain armours.¹⁹²

From Samarkand-Sogd originated the excellent "artistic articles."¹⁹³ The names of some of them have carried to us by the written sources. These are the precious brazier-censers and small vessels for eye drops. From Samarkand, Maimurg and Kesh were sent the precious stones and articles made out of them as gifts to the foreign courts; especially from Samarkand, the vase from carnelian¹⁹⁴ was sent.

On the wall paintings are depicted many ornamental articles — plates, bowls, goblets. To the articles of Sogdian jewelry art, belong some articles found beyond the frontiers of Central Asia, for example, the silver plate with a scene of duel, which found in the village of Kulagish (former Perm province) and now preserved in the State Hermitage.¹⁹⁵ The other example of Sogdian jeweler's art is the plate depicting the horse-rider shooting at the lion attacking him.¹⁹⁶ However, there is no sufficient proof for this because the inscription on this vessel is not Sogdian and in it, the name of a person on whose order the plate was made is mentioned. Linguistic analysis leads to the conclusion that the plate was most likely made in Iran in the post-Sasanid period.¹⁹⁷

During the excavations different pieces of jewellery were found — magnificent golden ear-rings with oval pendant of red spinal, decorated with turquoise and small pearls; bronze, gold and silver signet rings decorated with precious and semi-precious stones; wonderful collection of beads glittering and shining with all colors of the rainbow as if they were drops of dew reflecting in the rays of the early morning sun.

The textile craft of Sogd attained a very high level of development. This conclusion can be drawn on the basis of archaeological findings and information

¹⁹² Schafer E.H., 1963, p. 261.

¹⁹³ Bichurin, II, 1950, p. 310.

¹⁹⁴ Schafer E.H., 1963, p. 259.

¹⁹⁵ Attributing this article to Sogd wrote I.M. Dyakonov and A.M. Belenitsky. The publication of the Sogdian articles was prepared by B.I. Marshak.

¹⁹⁶ Zabelina N.N. and Rempel L., 1948; Pugachenkova G.A., Rempel L., 1965, pp. 149-150.

¹⁹⁷ Livshits V.A., Lukonin V.G., 1964, pp. 162-163.

drawn from written sources. In the castle on the Mug hill, approximately about 150 samples of fabrics have found. Although ill-preserved found in fragments,¹⁹⁸ nevertheless they provide a possibility for technical evaluation. M.P. Vinokurova counted 90 fragments of cotton fabrics among the 135 samples from the Mug hill studied by her, 44 silken and only one woolen (I. Bentovich says that in this collection there are very few woolen fabrics). All the cotton fabrics are in a simple woven design on linen. The threads are slightly twisted and uneven in thickness. One of the fabrics is very rare : from 8 to 10 threads in the base and 10 to 12 threads of the woof in one square centimeter up to 10-14 threads in the base and 20-15 threads of the woof in a square centimeter, rough samples are like sack cloth. In all, according to thickness of thread, the quality of weaving and its thickness four groups of cotton fabrics can count. Not a single sample of ornamental cotton fabric has found.

Combined fabrics form a special group. Their base consists of alternating groups of silken and cotton threads. As for the woofs, it is made of cotton threads. Purely silk fabrics also divided into four groups. Most of them are made of more serge that is complicated and interwoven with reps threads only rarely with linen combined with serge. The thickness of most of these fabrics is considerably higher than of the cotton fabrics: up to 39-40 threads in the base and 39-40 threads of the woof in one square centimeter. In general, in order to make silken fabrics, the master should have known quite complicated methods. Some of the Mug silken fabrics show the inclination towards the techniques of cotton weaving, which indicates, along with the above-mentioned sample of combined cotton-silken fabric, the gradual transition of the weavers of cotton fabrics to the methods and techniques of silken fabric. With the threads of different colors, patterned fabrics made. The design consisted of diamond-shaped figures in the center of which there were floral rosettes (this type of ornament can be seen in the Panjakent paintings). Also found are jagged rosettes in the center of which there are peas and heart-shaped figures; four-petal palms; plant saplings with stylish flowers; complicated decorations, circles with rosettes in the center with combination of floral saplings etc. Some of the silk fabrics of the Mug hill collection could have brought from China and the Mediterranean countries but the main part undoubtedly made locally in Sogd.

The woolen fragment is large in size with narrow blue stripes.

Perhaps special looms were used for making these fabrics. One of the artifacts of textile production — comb for nailing the threads of the woof— has been found on the Mug hill (one whole piece and several fragments).¹⁹⁹

In the paintings from Varakhsha as well as from Panjakent the fabrics of rich robes have highly varied motifs and designs: from simple diamond-shaped chequers and rosettes up to complicated combinations of circles with the birds and boars, etc. depicted inside them.²⁰⁰ In Panjakent paintings there are fabrics which are decorated with lion, elephant, and bird in the frame of pearls. The

¹⁹⁸ Bentovich I.B., 1958, p. 362.

¹⁹⁹ Vinokurova M.P., 1957, pp. 17-32.

²⁰⁰ Shishkin V.A., 1963, pp. 158-159, 220-221.

dresses of the characters in the paintings from Afrasiab made from highly decorated fabrics.

In the collections of museums of West Europe, there are preserved samples of silken fabrics on which lions, lambs and rosettes are depicted. Now the colors have faded (except for the blue one) but initially they must have been brighter. It is established that once upon a time the fabrics were of bright green, grey-blue, bright pink, orange and white colors. Some of these fabrics completely preserved full pieces of goods of the size up to 1,16 x 2,41 meters, which allows us to determine the width of the loom. The complete painting consisted of as researchers have observed, repeated circles framed in designed border.

On one of the fabrics preserved in Yui (Belgium) on the reverse side is inscribed in black ink: "length 61 inches zandanechi..." V.B. Henning deciphered this. Famous specialist on fabrics D. Shepard found similar fabrics in other museums and determined their characteristic features. It was she who pointed out certain features distinguishing them from the Chinese silken fabrics and called this group of fabrics Sogdian. A.M. Belenitsky and I.B. Bentovich supported this view with additional arguments. The Chinese sources describing the events related to the Arab conquest give many details about silken fabrics (one variety was the fabric called "zandanechi").²⁰¹

We do not intend to give the details of the gents and women dresses of various types. We would only like to note that all this could ascertain in full from depictions in the paintings.²⁰²

"The tanning of leather", writes I.B. Bentovich "was very well known to Sogdians". Well-tanned thin white leather served as material for writing. "For example, on such leather was written a well-known Arabic document (from Mug hill, B.G.)". The wooden shield is covered by thin yellowish leather; the fragments; of a small box are covered by black leather with golden rosettes, the lid of a square basket is artistically covered by colored leather. The discovery of a leather boot is very interesting. Its style is repetition of those leather boots called "muki" which are worn by contemporary Tajiks in the mountainous regions".²⁰³ It is obvious that the leather craftsmen made other articles also which are not there in the Mug collection: the articles for harnessing horses, belts, knife covers, etc. In the written documents from the Mug hill are mentioned "ship skins", "lamb skin"; when there reference to leather further specification is made: "Ox skin", "dry cow skin"..."skin of mountain goat", the skin of young animals is mentioned especially, colored leather is also mentioned.²⁰⁴

There is no need to dwell, even briefly, on all crafts. It may note that the craft of bone cutting, carpentry, ceramic etc. were highly developed.

²⁰¹ Belenitsky A.M., Bentovich I.B., 1961; Belenitsky A.M. and others, 1963.

²⁰² Hsuan-Tszang wrote about Sogd, "The more wealthy a person, the more he is esteemed, but [from outside appearance] the wealthy and poor are not distinguished; even extremely wealthy people eat and dress modestly" (Beal S., 1906, I, p. 27). However, this "democratization" existed only in the imagination of Hsuan-Tszang – the archaeological data including iconographic material on dresses do not support this information.

²⁰³ Bentovich I.B., 1958, p. 362, 371-372. See also: Ivanov S.V., 1952, pp.49-52.

²⁰⁴ Smirnova O.I., and Bogolyubov M.N., 1963, p. 11.

The large-scale production of handicraft particularly in the cities, contributed to the wide development of internal and external trade. The "skill" of the Sogdian, in trade is mentioned in several sources. Education of children began from the age of five. They taught reading and writing and later when they reached a certain level of development; they switched over to learning of commercial business. Having reached twenty years of age youngsters were sent abroad for trade trips. As per information contained in the sources, "the majority of population valued profit highly."²⁰⁵

The external trade was conducted in many directions, with different countries of East and West and also with the population of the Northern steppes. Especially, a high turnover was achieved in the trade of Central Asia with the Byzantine. It partly carried through Iran but mainly through the Northern Caucasus. To Sogd, Byzantine silk fabrics were brought. According to their samples several Sogdian silken fabrics were woven, which in turn were exported, from Sogd to the West. A fragment of such Sogdian fabric made according to Byzantine samples but with clear Sogdian features found in a sepulcher of Moshcheyava Balka in the Northern Caucasus.²⁰⁶

Along the "Silk route" of northern Caucasia, not only silk but also many different goods were carried. In this connection, a Byzantine plate found in the region of Kungur is quite interesting. The depictions on it are the work of Byzantine masters. The stamps of the Byzantine masters testify its Byzantine origin. This plate indisputably made in Byzantium in the second quarter of the VI century. At the same time, the plate carries three carved words in the Sogdian - Bukharan script: "the ruler of Bukhara such and such". This inscription according to paleographic data belongs to the end of the VI and the beginning of the VII century. Thus this article, which was made in a Byzantine workshop after a short time, reached the Bukharan Sogd.²⁰⁷

Many Sogdian goods, from precious stones and articles made from them, to marvelous fabrics and medicinal remedies, were exported to Central Asia and China.

Thus, the level of external trade was very large. At the same time, internal trade was also growing. This is evident from the abundant emission of coins, especially bronze ones.

The monetary system of Sogd, in the V-VII centuries, has not studied adequately. Information about whole groups of coins found in Varakhsha has not been published as yet. Beginning with the V century in Central Asia silver coins were minted which were imitations of the Sasanid coins of Peroz I (459-484). In the Valley of Zerafshan large hoards consisting of the coins imitative of Peroz I was found (in each of them several hundreds of coins). At the same time copies of Sasanid coins of Varahran V (420 - 438) were in circulation. Later they became the main coins in circulation in the Bukharan Sogd they are usually called "Bukharkhudat drachmas" or "Bukharkhudat coins". Russian orientalist P.I.

²⁰⁵ *Bichurin, II*, p. 310; *Chavannes E.*, 1903, p. 133.

²⁰⁶ *Ierusalimskaya A.A.*, 1967 a, 1967 b.

²⁰⁷ *Livshits V.A., Lukonin V.G.*, 1964, pp. 165-167.

Lerkh²⁰⁸ devoted a special monograph to these coins. Subsequently they studied by many numismatists particularly by I. Walker²⁰⁹ and R.N. Frye.²¹⁰

Linguists have deciphered the legends on these coins. According to W.B. Henning, Sogdian inscription contains expression "Ruler Tsar-of Bukhara".²¹¹ Numismatists brought out the chronological groups of these coins; these hypotheses about their territorial character but no final solution have yet found.

In particular, in Samarkand-Sogd local bronze coins with Sogdian legends and two pictures on the front side were in circulation. However, the main circulation belonged not to them but to the bronze coins with central square whole, which began to be minted from the second quarter of the VII century. The abundant circulation of this type of coins is proved by the fact that several thousand of them were found during excavations in Panjakent. On the front side of these coins is two signs which form the emblem of the ruler and on the reverse side there is an inscription with the name and title of the ruler. Judged by the weight and size changing in different periods coins of several denominations issued.

The gold coin, according to written sources, was not really in circulation although in Sogdian inscriptions the term "dinar" can be found signifying the gold coin for serving as a measure of value for some or the other objects.

In the Mug hill documents — drahms — the silver coins are more frequently mentioned. The copper coins have been mentioned only once. It is in sharp contrast with the coins discovered in Panjakent where the bronze coins are in absolute prevalence. In the daily market transactions, perhaps the bronze coins were mainly in circulation, which testifies to the developed monetary circulation: the bigger deals in business usually made in silver coins — drahms.

An indication of the economic power of Sogd is the fact that the coins of Sogdian Ikhshids are found in areas far away from its domain.

THE COLONIAL ACTIVITIES OF THE SOGDIANS

The colonial activities of the Sogdians during this period connected from one side with their trade and economic life and from the other with the common socio-economic processes inside Sogdian society itself.

One of the directions of the Sogdian colonial activity was the Semirechiye. In the first half of the VII century for Hsuan-Tszang the Semirechiye was the country of Su-li i.e. Sogd.²¹² Some events related to the Sogdian colonization were reflected in the story of Narshakhi about the rebellion of Abrui. In the XI century, Mahmud Kashgari gave the-most valuable information about the Semirechiye. The people residing here are called by him "Sogdak". He writes that "these are the people settled in Balasagun; they are from Sogd which is situated

²⁰⁸ Lerkh P.I., 1875, 1909.

²⁰⁹ Walker I., 1941.

²¹⁰ Frye R.N., 1949, pp. 24-31.

²¹¹ Henning W.B., Frye R.N., 1949, pp. 28-29.

²¹² Beals S., 1906, p. 26.

between Bukhara and Samarkand. Only they have adopted the dress and customs of the Turks". In the local ethno-linguistic community of Semirechiye, in the X-XI centuries, there were many Sogdian elements.²¹³

A.N. Bernshtam compared the data in written sources with archaeological findings and put forward an idea that the Sogdian colonization of the Semirechiye was implemented by two waves: the first, in the III-V (or VI) centuries, the second from VII century, the second wave was carried out in several stages: the second stage was connected with the Arab conquest and military campaigns of the Samanids. He gave a special attention to the fusion of the culture of the Sogdian settlers with the culture of nomads.²¹⁴ In fact, as the further archaeological excavations showed in the Chu Valley from the V-VI centuries monuments of developed settled life started appearing.²¹⁵ Here undoubtedly the Sogdians who were engaged in handicrafts, trade and also agriculture played a key role. The nomads switching over to a settled life started living in cities.

As in the earlier period, the Sogdian colonies existed also beyond the borders of Central Asia. Studying this question E.G. Pulleyblank gives the following characteristics (with which we are in agreement in all respects): "Not only distinguished as traders but also as painters, craftsmen and the followers of new religion the Sogdians travelled and settled along the trade routes of Central Asia as well as in the deep regions of China and among the nomads of the steppes. Much of it, for example, the great civilizing impact of the Sogdians, on the Turks is already known". The same role as the researcher the Uigurs. After the conquest of Central Asia by the Turks the mutual relations between them and the Sogdians, which already existed earlier²¹⁶, became closer. Their relation was strengthening not only with the Western Turks. A large number of Sogdians lived in the court of the Kagan of the Eastern Turks, in contemporary Mongolia. Moreover, it is evident that the Sogdians established control over the region of Hami after the collapse of the Suy dynasty. Here they preserved their power even later in subordination to the Eastern Turks. In the second quarter of the VII century under the leadership of Kan-Yan-Tyan, a nobleman from Samarkand, the Sogdians acquired roots in the Lob Nor region having settled in one deserted town and having built here three settlements.²¹⁷ One of these settlements named after "grapes" (Putaochen) — there was a vineyard²¹⁸ in its center. According to the census in the middle of the VIII century in the region of Dunhuan, in the Sogdian settlements the immigrants from Samarkand were predominant, followed by the immigrants from Bukhara, Tashkent, Tsao (there were two Tsao—one corresponded with Kabudan and the other with Ustrushan), Tokharistan of Kushan, Maimurg, and Kesh.²¹⁹ Sogdians traders, craftsmen, preachers, warriors, military leaders, scholars, etc. — played an important role in

²¹³ Barthold V.V. 1964, pp. 466-467.

²¹⁴ Bernshtam A.N., 1940, pp. 34-43.

²¹⁵ Kozhemyako P.N., 1959, pp. 168-169.

²¹⁶ Klyashtornyi S.G., 1965, pp. 278-281; Klyashtornyi S.G., Livshits V.A., 1971, pp. 143-144.

²¹⁷ Pulleyblank E.G., 1952, pp. 317-354.

²¹⁸ Pelliot P., 1916, p. 122.

²¹⁹ Chuguevsky L.I., 1971.

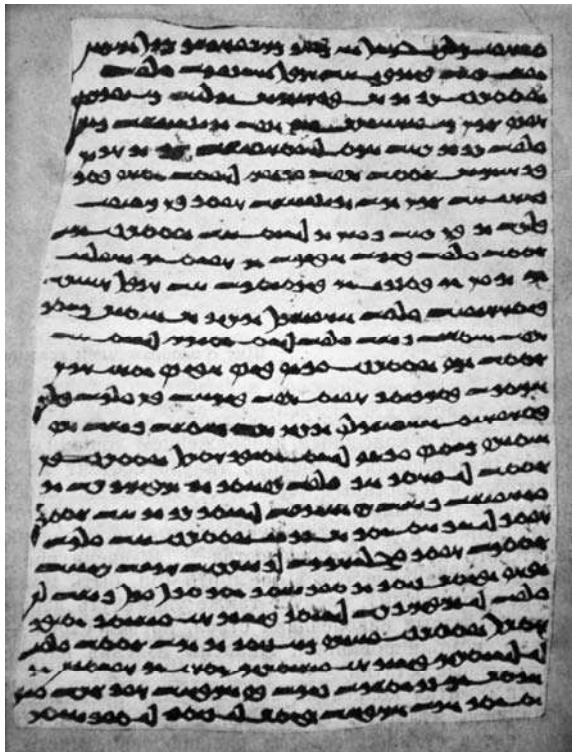
the history of Central Asia — from Tibet and Ladakh (inscription of a Samarkand Sogdian Noshfarn has been found there who as he writes, was travelling to Tibet) to Mongolia. As for Eastern Turkestan, many monuments of Sogdian script originate from here, which indisputably testify to the role of the Sogdians in the history of this country. The Sogdian element had greatly influenced all aspect of its culture, particularly art.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE CASTLE ON MUG HILL AND EXCAVATIONS OF ANCIENT PANJAKENT

The significance of archaeological findings and researches are nowhere as relevant as in the study of the early medieval history of Sogd. We have already referred more than once to the archaeological materials. Here we propose to dwell in detail on the materials discovered from the castle on the Mug hill and ancient Panjakent.

Local Tajik people from the settlement of Khairabad (presently Ayni district) knew from the old times the ancient place, which they called Qalai Mug, i.e., the castle of Mug or as it are, called in the scientific literature "the castle on the Mug hill". In the beginning of the thirties, the residents of this place used to visit this site quite often and in the spring of 1932, a shepherd Jura Ali accidentally found there a knitted basket and a page of silken paper with a script unknown to him. Neither the local nor the Ura-Teppe people could decipher as to what written there. In the autumn of that year the then district party secretary Abdulhamid Pulodi, who was a zealot of ancient history and culture, learnt about it. He immediately understood the significance of this discovery and sent this document to Dushanbe. It was in 1932, that on the recommendation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan and the Government of the Republic through a resolution of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the Tajik Center of the Academy of Sciences of USSR was established. Its first leader was the world-renowned orientalist, academician S.F. Oldenburg. Specialists of the Center established that the document was written in Uigur or in Sogdian language and in the spring of 1933, a photocopy of this manuscript was handed over to leading Soviet iranologist A.A. Freiman. He ascertained that this document was a letter written in Sogdian language in Sogdian italics script. The discovery made by a shepherd turned out to be the most significant scientific discovery. The manuscripts of Sogdian script were known considerably earlier (they were found in Eastern Turkestan). In 1932, they were discovered for the first time on the territory of Sogd itself. Sogdian letters from Sogdiana itself excited the scholars!²²⁰

²²⁰ I.Iu. Krachkovsky writes: "In 1932 Iranologists of Leningrad were excited very much. There was a rumor that in Tajikistan some Sogdian manuscripts were found. Until now, they were never discovered in Sogdiana itself but only in its colonies in Eastern Turkestan. Meanwhile rumors were becoming strong. They started speaking about traces of some archive discovered on Mug hill on the Southern bank of Zerafshan" Krachkovsky I.Iu., 1945, p. 94.



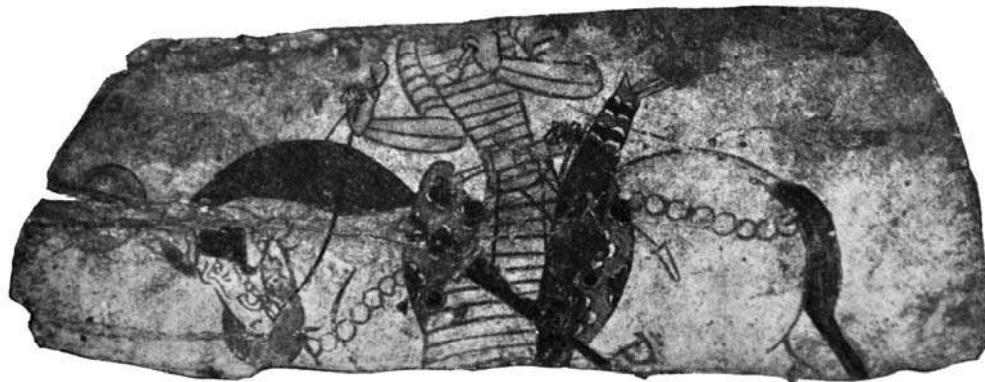
Sogdian document from the Mug hill. A marriage contract

A.A. Freiman arrived in Dushanbe to be acquainted with the document and ascertained the circumstances leading to this discovery. The idea appeared whether there were other manuscripts. On Freiman's advice, a group of scholars of the Tajik Center of the Academy of Sciences of USSR proceeded to the site. The public in Tajikistan impatiently waited for further discoveries. In such an atmosphere in the summer of 1933, A. Pulodi organized excavations. Of course, he was not a specialist in archaeology and might have missed something. But his energy and enthusiasm has to be admired. In July, more than 20 documents and also some artifacts of material culture were found. The Sovnarkom of the Tajik Republic adopted a special resolution and allocated the necessary funds for further research.

In the autumn, the Academic Secretary of the Tajik Center A.I. Vasilyev along with an expedition group went to the site. It was then that the scientific excavations of the castle started; A.I. Vasilyev found 21 more manuscripts. At the decision of the leading organs of Tajikistan, an entire expedition headed by A.A. Freiman was organized. As a member of this expedition, in November 1933, A.I. Vasilyev carried out excavations in the castle on Mug hill. Later (1947) the castle was fully excavated by V.L. Voronina.

The hill on which the ruins of the castle are located is 80 meter high and situated on the left bank of the River Zerafshan where a small river Kum falls into it. From three sides this hill is surrounded by river and from the fourth side a steep

ascent leads to it. The upper ground was surrounded by a stonewall which made the castle even more inaccessible. On the upper ground are the ruins of the building, which once upon a time had two storeys. At the time of excavations only ruins of the lower storey were preserved. The building had the shape of an irregular quadrangle with sides of 18,5 – 19,5 meters. In the lower storey, the planning was as follows: four long almost full lengths of the building narrow rooms and one shorter (the width of these rooms is 1,9 – 2,25 meters) opened towards even narrower corridor, which connected these rooms into a single structure. From the corridor, there was an outside exit. The bases of the wall were made of the stone and the upper parts and the domes were made of raw bricks. The castle is not very big. There are no decorations at all and it was meant for military observation and lookout purposes.



Shield with picture of a horse rider from the castle on the Mug hill

During excavations it was revealed that the documents (in all more than 80 and 74 of them are Sogdian) were lying 50-70 centimeter above the ground, in the debris of the collapsed dome. A.I. Vasilyev drew a correct conclusion that the building was initially a two-storied one and the documents were preserved on the second floor. During the excavations, not only the documents found but also numerous artifacts of material culture, in all up to 400. There are various items of pottery, highly interesting are knitted items: lids and baskets, etc. These made skillfully.

Their technique of knitting and shape is reminiscent of knitted items of Pamir Tajiks. Wooden items deserve separate attention: magnificently chiseled plates, buttons, spade, spoons, rings, etc. One wooden jewelry box having black thin leather covering is of special interest. On its lid, there are depictions of their rosettes in the shape of eight-cornered stars, which made in red color. The wooden shield covered with leather with colorful depiction of a horse and an armed rider is unique. A considerable collection of fabrics consists of cotton, silk and woolen samples. A special place belongs to the laced head nets knitted from cotton threads — magnificent and unique items of ancient Central Asian lace

art.²²¹ Among the weapons, besides the above-mentioned shield (perhaps it was not military but ceremonial item), there were wooden sheaths for daggers, iron arrowheads, wooden, cane and combined arrow sticks. Glass items, six coins and remnants of plants have also been found there.

This entire rich collection for the first time gave an idea about the material culture of Sogdians and the epoch-making discovery of written documents, which after their decipherment opened the prospects of valuable information about history, and spiritual culture. As a result of hard work of A.A. Freiman the decipherment of Sogdian manuscripts began; which was to be completed by his followers M.N. Bogolyubov, V.A. Livshits, O.I. Smirnova. The Arabic document read and commented upon by I.Iu. and V.A. Krachkovskys.

The study of materials helped in dating, exactly the castle of Mug hill made, there. A leading one was provided by the Arabic document in which V.A. and I.Iu. Krachkovskys immediately read the name "Divasti" (the Sogdians called it "Devashtich") which is mentioned in the historical sources on conquest of Central Asia by Arabs. I.Iu. Krachkovsky, ten years after this discovery. He in his book "*About the Arab Manuscripts*" gave a vivid document wise exact description as to how all this happened. He then makes the following conclusion: "In fact the name Divasti held the key to everything: it not only explained the Arab writing but gave a firm base for deciphering the Sogdian documents. Divasti appeared to be a Sogdian ruler whose archival remnants were found by the expedition to the Mug hill. The name of the Arab ruler to whom he addressed his letter and which was deciphered easily, suddenly gave completely exact date of the document the hundred year of Hijra around 718-719." In February 1934, in Leningrad at the session of the Academy of Sciences devoted to the report of the expedition to Mug hill the results of this expedition were reported, in particular the first attempts at deciphering the Sogdian manuscripts and the results of reading the Arabic document. These remarks of I.Iu. Krachkovsky are justified "... this was a triumph — triumph of expedition enriching science with unseen materials — and of science itself demonstratively speaking of its power which in the eyes of all raised the level of our knowledge to a higher stage".²²² We wish to add that in this triumph the humble shepherd, the Secretary of the District Party, and the leaders of the Republic's organization and the leading figures of the Soviet oriental science also contributed their mite. All this drew the attention of scholars to the basin of the Upper Zerafshan. At that time in Tajikistan, there were no archaeological institutions but there were persons interested in the study of the past of the Republic. One of such enthusiast was an archaeologist V.R. Cheilytko — a man with great energy. In 1934-1937, he studied the basin of Upper Zerafshan and in particular carried out small excavations in the settlement of the ancient "Rustemiad" Panjakent. From the scarce newspaper information, we cannot get a full idea of these excavations although they have undoubtedly provided interesting results. The existing accounts are lacking exactness. At the

²²¹ In the Chinese sources there are references to the astonishing textile items brought from Samarkand, translated by E.H. Schafer as "hair brocade" (Schafer E.H., 1963, p. 202) He however, could not specify it exactly. May be these were similar to Mug lace nets for the hair?

²²² Krachkovsky I.Iu., 1945, pp. 97-98.

same time it may be noted that V.R. Cheilytko correctly determined the significance of the settlement of ancient Panjakent and those perspectives which could be opened during its study: he wrote, "it will bring to light the whole city before the Arab conquest without the traces whatsoever of the later "influences" because the city, after its destruction in the beginning of the VIII century, was not populated. During the excavations, the artifacts of art, coin, and ceramics were found.



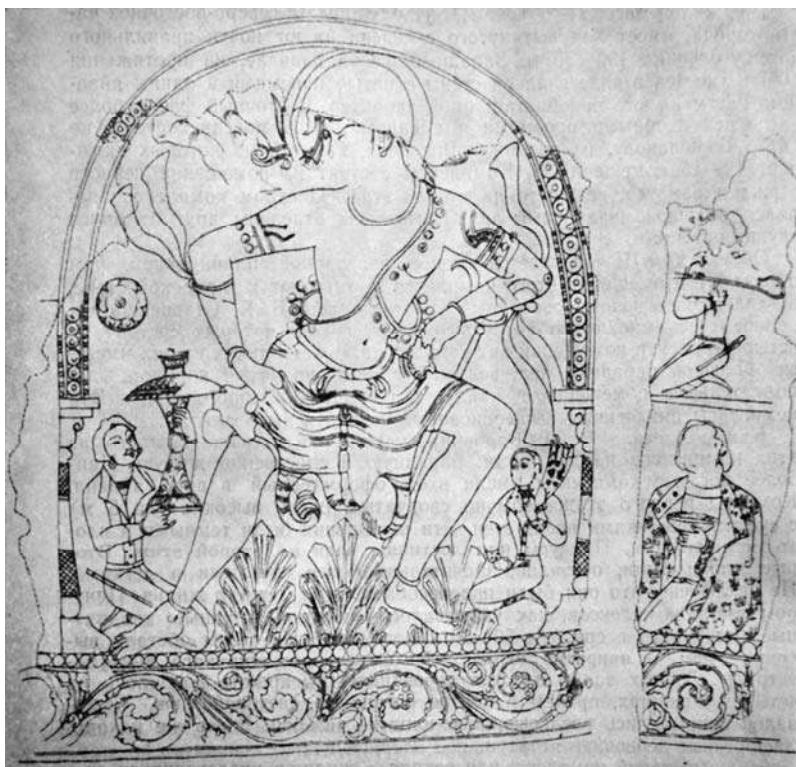
Part of the painting from the series "Rustemiad". Panjakent

However, a scientific study of Panjakent started only ten years later. In 1946 a large Sogdian – Tajik Archaeological Expedition was organized. Three institutions took part in it: the Institute of History of Material Culture of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the Tajik Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the State Hermitage. A follower of V.V. Barthold, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of USSR Yakubovsky was appointed as the Chief of this expedition. He was one of the famous Soviet orientalists and archaeologists. He visited Panjakent in 1946 along with a group of co-workers. A detailed examination of the settlement, in the light of information provided in the works of V.R. Cheilytko, led A.Iu. Yakubovsky to the conclusion about the need to carry out a big excavation here. The scholar proceeded from the viewpoint that "the ancient Panjakent did not know life during the Muslim period." A.Iu. Yakubovsky hoped to get materials on the conditions prevailing in Central Asian cities before the Arab conquest. He brought the study of ancient Panjakent out of the narrow streets and deadens on to the highway of Soviet scholarship. Until his death (1953) A.Iu. Yakubovsky headed the archaeological excavations in Panjakent. Afterwards these excavations were carried out under the leadership of M.M. Dyakonov (died in 1954), and since 1954 they were conducted by A.M. Belenitsky.

The ruins of ancient Panjakent are situated 60 km to the East of Samarkand on the outskirts of the contemporary city of Panjakent. Here on the high river terrace of Zerafshan the ancient settlement is situated. Here before excavations there were agricultural dry lands. On the terrace, there was a city wall

with towers. Climbing on it one could see an uneven surface of the settlement: mounds, hillocks alternating with depression of different orientation and size. This is the main territory of the city, which called in the terminology of the later sources "shahristan". Its area is 19 hectares with a circumference of 1750 meters. Only in the North and the East, the walls are straight. In other places, according to relief of the locality, they have an uneven contour. To the West of "shahristan" there is a citadel – the residence of ruler on a raised ground, which once upon a time was a part of a single fortification system. It is situated on the hill 30 meters high and is separated from "shahristan". To the East and South-East of "shahristan" there were suburban lands - the cradle of cities of trade and crafts of the medieval times. To the South of "shahristan" there were small hills where excavate revealed a Zoroastrian graveyard.

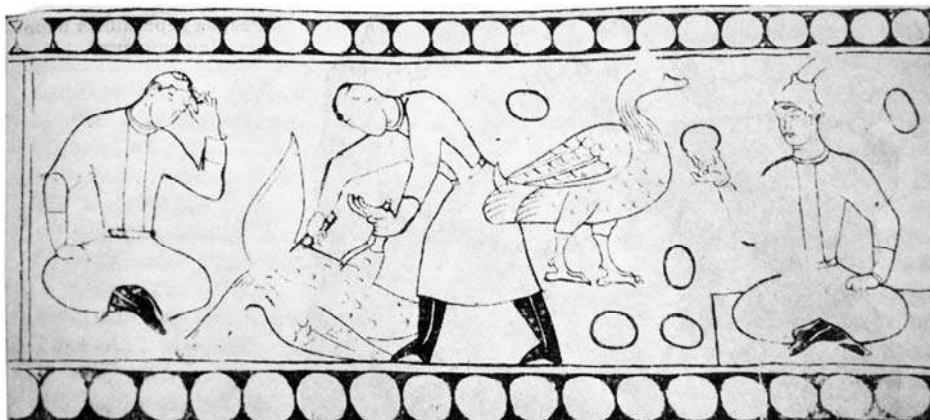
Streets divided Shahristan. The width of these city streets is 3-5 meters. They are either parallel to each other or merge. On the sides of the streets were residential, commercial and trade and handicraft buildings. Thus along one of such streets, which was named as № 1 and extended up to 100 meters, there were on one side residential blocks XIII and VI and on the other side III, XX, VII and XVI blocks. Each of the blocks consisted of tens of complexes and over hundreds of apartments.



The Panjakent Shiva

For example, the residential block — III, situated in the North-Eastern part of the city has the shape of a regular rectangle 190 x 35 meters which is spread

from North to South. The Western facade in the beginning extends up to 100 meters in the shape of a smooth wall with five openings and one "aiwan". The whole block according to O.G. Bolshakov consists of eight complexes each one of which includes 10 – 15 apartments.²²³ The complexes consist of the apartments on the first floor and sliding pathway leading to the second floor. The center of the complexes was a large square hall. Blank walls separated the complexes from each other.



Painting illustrating the fable with the bird, which laid the golden eggs. Panjakent

Object VI-XIII is distinguished by less regular planning than the object III. The apartments of this complex touch the city wall leaving some free space for courtyard. B.Ya. Stavisky distinguishes many complexes here; each one consists of 4-10 apartments on the lower floor. In some of them, there is a large hall of festivity, leading to a domed corridor, extra rooms and a sliding pathway in the apartment on the second floor. These complexes are similar to the complexes mentioned above in the object III.

As V.L. Voronina has observed each of these complexes are divided into two parts, one for festivities and the other for residential purposes. The richer complexes had an entrance designed in the shape of "aiwan". The rooms of the first floor are usually with domes and are very high up to five meters with sufa – couches along the walls. These rooms were dark and badly lit. Staircases or sliding pathways led to the second floor. The second floors were considerably better lit and bright. It appears they were meant for summer residence. As already mentioned the center of such complexes was large square shaped halls (with an area average 50-80 square meter). Along the walls, there were high sufas and opposite the entrance, the sufa had the shape of a broad stage. In these halls, there were flat wooden ceilings supported by four columns, but in the center, there was a hole for light. The walls of the halls covered with paintings and columns with carvings. Here there were carved wooden statues.

²²³ V.L. Voronina speaks about 14 sections.



A carved wooden panel from Panjakent

Each such section or complex had the residence of a nobleman where there were apartments for residence of the owner and his family members, separate apartments or rooms (sometimes isolated) for servants and for storage and housekeeping, as also a hall for festivities which possibly sometimes served as a guest room "mehmonkhona" of rich Tajik residents of XIX — beginning of XX centuries.

Along with such complexes in these blocks, there were others, smaller in area and without halls of festivities blocks for more modest and even poor residents. These were the residences of ordinary urban citizens.

One of the complexes of the object VI has a special planning. It has four festivity rooms including a rectangular hall of festivities (12,7 x 7,9 meters). A hundred dices were found there. Among the paintings in the hall there is a scene depicting play with board and dices. Although it is impossible to fully confirm the guess of V.L. Voronina is that this was some kind of "gambling hall", but the social purpose of the hall is beyond doubt.

The residential blocks were not constructed in the same period. They expanded and reconstructed many times.

During the later years, it became possible to ascertain the purpose of the isolated apartments (sometimes consisting of two parts) with direct exit to the city streets. On the excavated territory of four streets, the number of such apartments was more than forty. In some of the rooms, furnaces and pieces of iron fireplaces with slagged walls and other traces of productive activity have been found. Many

coins have discovered from these rooms. A.M. Belenitsky considers them as workshops, shops, or both at the same time.

One of such complexes is built close to the rich residence and consists of the square facing rooms with exits to it. Along them, there is a shed. Bazaars were sprawling along the city streets. As in the developed medieval period, they united trade and production.

In the words of A.M. Belenitsky, "the later excavations radically changed the ideas about the city's street network. Before us, there is a regular network of straight streets dividing construction into comparatively limited blocks. Undoubtedly there were areas different in size".²²⁴ In the Northern part of the settlement there is a large depression — a square. To the west of it, there are two hills, which happened to be the constructions of the adjacent to each other, public buildings which are called temples: the Southern (№ 1) and Northern (№ 2). The temple complexes consisted of two parts: the temple itself and the fence including many auxiliary residential and household premises. The temple building of the complex № 2 is situated in the center of the courtyard surrounded on all sides by the fence of the apartments (the size of the courtyard 75-80 meters from East to the West, 60 meters from North to the South), and in the complex number 1 the courtyard is situated on Eastern side.

The temple rooms are on a platform and are at a raised level in comparison to the courtyard. Entering inside, the visitor could see a portico terrace with six columns in a single axis with the gate, (its length on the front is approximately 21 meters). Beyond it in the depth, there is a four-column square room like an "aiwan" with opening to the courtyard, that is, to the east (7.85 x 8.1 meters in one temple and 8.1 x 10.3 meters in the other). From there one could enter a small rectangular sanctuary. On the sides and from behind the main building was surrounded by a roundabout gallery, which was linked with the portico-terrace. The walls of the central four columned halls and "aiwan" terraces were covered with murals, perhaps, with clay sculptures also. The entrance to the complex number 2 decorated with clay bas-relief. A.M. Belenitsky proved that a part of the paintings of these complexes had a ritual meaning and he explained the history of the complexes.

Even in ruins, the buildings of the temples leave a great impression. The architect having put before him a certain task implemented it with great skill. Overlooking the square the rich portico opens the view of the central building of the temple.

"The temple raised on the platform dominates over the space of the courtyard, completely open to the sight of the visitor by the broad sliding pathway, light colonnade and splendidous hall, one can imagine the festive grandeur of the construction — the shapeliness of the columns, the delicate design

²²⁴ Belenitsky A.M., 1956, pp. 179-106; 194-195. For the above mentioned characterization of excavations in shahristan besides this the materials published by the leaders and participants of the excavations (Belenitsky A.M., 1958; Bolshakov O.G. 1964; Voronina V.L. 1958, 1964; Stavisky B.Ya., 1964 b; Raspopova V.I., 1971 and others have been used).

of the carving and sculpture in the symphony of the colors, playing in the depth of the "aiwans", widely open to the rising sun.²²⁵

All these excavations opened the upper layer of shahristan, which belongs to the VII-VIII centuries (the earlier periods not fully studied yet).

This was the period of golden age of the city. It was disrupted by the Arab invasion. In some parts there are traces of big fire—most probably 722 but it is not excluded that, it happened a little later (before 738-739).

Approximately, in 738-740 the city started recovering. But afterwards in the seventies of the VIII century possibly because of the revolt of Muqanna', Panjakent was again destroyed by Arab troops and this time life in shahristan and rabad ceased completely.²²⁶

In some parts, the lower layers have also been studied. It appears that both the citadel and shahristan surrounded by the wall came into existence in V beginning of the VI centuries. It was the period when the city grew and prospered.²²⁷

Simultaneously A.I. Terenozhkin started excavations of the citadel. Later young archaeologist A. Isakov successfully worked here.

They established that the citadel consists of donjon with the square adjacent to it and the lower tier of construction facing shahristan. It was here that the complex of festive houses found including huge halls with sufas and stages for performance. The central place is occupied by a huge hall of festivity (10 x 12,5 meters) with balconies. A distinguishing feature of its planning is the three-tiered square, which rises up to the entrance of the balcony. The wooden parts of the base of the throne have found. The building is decorated with exquisite wall paintings, which have been damaged by fire. It is quite likely that these are the ruins of the palace of Devashtich.²²⁸

The suburban territory occupies 20-25 hectares. Here there were no dense constructions but only individual country estates were located. In 1951-1953, 9 farmhouses were excavated before the excavation of the hillocks. One of such hillocks, standing isolated, is of the size 22 x 16 meters with height of 2,5 meters.

The excavations explained the planning. The house included, besides the entrance lobby, three other rooms, corridor and a slanting pathway. The rooms are well preserved. In the remote room, wine pressing equipment has been found from which one can draw the conclusion that the family residing in this farmhouse was engaged in wine making. In other houses lived the owners of the farmhouses: in one such house, cattle kept. In some places, several meters from the residential house "nauses" — tombs are found where the residents of the suburbs buried their dead.²²⁹

The city necropolis was located less than half a kilometer from the walls of shahristan. Here one can count up to 70 hillocks (initially there were two-three

²²⁵ Voronina V.L. 1957, p. 131. For a detailed description of the excavations of the temples and discoveries made there see: Belenitsky A.M., 1950 b, 1958, pp. 105, 113 and others.

²²⁶ Bolshakov O.G., 1964, pp. 118-120.

²²⁷ Belenitsky A.M., 1967, pp. 8-9; Marshak B.I. 1964.

²²⁸ Terenozhkin A.I., 1950 a; Stavisky B.Ya., 1950; Isakov A., 1971.

²²⁹ Bolshakov O.G. and Negmatov N.N. p.195; Voronina V.L. 1958, pp. 203-209.

times more). Thirty of them excavated. These were "nauses" where the vessels with the bones of the dead were kept. These are small cells with arch-shaped entrance (after the burial the entrance was closed). The inner area of the cell is usually 4-5 square meters but it goes up to 10 square meters. Along the walls, there are "sufas" on which the vessels with the bones of the dead were placed.²³⁰

In the process of excavation, rich materials on the art of construction and architecture, art and various aspects of handicrafts discovered.²³¹

SAMARKAND, VARAKHSHA AND OTHER URBAN SETTLEMENTS

The capital of Sogd was Samarkand. The city situated on the site of the settlement of Afrasiab.²³² The territory of this settlement is 219 hectares. N.I. Veselovsky, V.V. Barthold, and V.L. Vyatkin carried out archaeological excavations in Afrasiab. The excavations of A.I. Terenozhkin laid the basis of contemporary knowledge of Afrasiab. The broad archaeological studies of Afrasiab, conducted since 1958 with Uzbek archaeologists under the leadership of V.A. Shishkin and Ya.G. Gulyamov, led to first-rate discoveries. However, many questions related to the history of Samarkand of the VI-VIII centuries have remained unclear until now.

A. I. Terenozhkin is of the opinion that it was the golden age of Samarkand.²³³ In the Northern part of the city the citadel was situated and in the South — shahristan. In that period a grown up city surrounded in the South by two rows of walls, (the perimeter of the wall was about two kilometers); in the North the precipice of the Siab River served as the border. The walls were parallel to each other at a distance of 8-10 meters, the inner wall was stronger and the towers were situated in chessboard order. This two-row wall (it is also called second) included in the protected city — territory the suburbs of the preceding period that is IV-V centuries. But in the VI-VII centuries, after the two-row wall, was built the city-territory again spread far beyond its fortification. The city was growing towards the South in the direction of the main canal.

Thus Samarkand of VI-VIII centuries was strongly fortified. It is clear that the existence of a two-row wall raised the effectiveness of the city's fortification considerably. The Southern gate of the two-row wall built at a great distance between the two walls. At this place both, semi-circled straight arches connected the lines so that the enemy entering from the outside gate trapped in a semi-circular space and which could shoot through from all sides. The Eastern gates

²³⁰ Voronina V.L., 1957, pp. 133-135; Stavisky B.Ya and others 1953.

²³¹ Detailed description of the excavations and discovered materials are available in the published works of A.Iu. Yakubovsky, M.M. Dyakonov, A.M. Belenitsky and others.

²³² V.A. Livshits is of the opinion that the initial Sogdian name of Afrasiab was "Parshavap" (literally meaning "on the black river"), which afterwards began to be pronounced in the Tajik as Parsiab, and in subsequent centuries got changed to "Afrasiab" — Livshits V.A., 1965, p. 5.

²³³ Terenozhkin A.I., 1950 b, p. 161. See also: Masson M.E., 1950, pp. 160-161. (In Samarkand "one can notice the achievement of well-being").

were even more strongly fortified: here from outside there were two towers and from inside there was a wall with camouflaged passage.²³⁴

In 1965, approximately in the center of the settlement of Afrasiab beyond the limits of the second city wall one big architectural complex dug out. In some places, the fragments of paintings were preserved. In one of the halls, burnt-down beams were found with traces of carved ornaments and badly preserved figures. Particularly interesting are the halls of festivities with paintings.²³⁵

One of the biggest centers of Bukharan Sogd was the Varakhsha settlement. V.A. Shishkin conducted its excavations in 1938-39 and 1949-54 periods. The main part of the Varakhsha settlement is a hillock, which is like a triangle. Its area is about 9 hectares, height around 10 meters. The citadel rises 9,5 meters (initially it was rising 30 meters above the surrounding locality). It was a huge construction (with the sides 31 meters high), raised on a brick platform. To the West of the citadel there was the palace of Bukhar-Khudats. This palace consisted of a whole series of buildings of different sizes enclosed in the West by a huge open throne hall. The festive rooms were located in a row. Some of them were quite large. Magnificent carved stucco ornaments and beautiful theme paintings covered the walls of many of the rooms in the palace. Opposite the palace rose the temple buildings. In Northern, Eastern and Western parts of Varakhsha were houses of residents of the city.²³⁶

Among the other cities of the Bukharan oasis, Paikend may be noted. Its area was 20 hectares. It had strong city fortifications, including a citadel.²³⁷ The cities of Kafir-Qala²³⁸ and upper horizon of Tali-Barzu²³⁹ were among the settlements of the Samarkand region.

In the valley of the upper Zerafshan, thanks to the excavations lasting several years conducted by B.Ya. Stavisky, many settlements and castles have studied. For example, 12 kilometers from the castle on the Mug hill, near the village of Madm B.Ya. Stavisky and Yu. Yakubov studied in the settlement of Gardani-Hisor the big palace type building situated on the top of the hill. It was destroyed by fire. The main palace building included more than ten different rooms including a large festive hall, home sanctuary, etc. Here excellent samples of carving on wood were found. Many monuments studied in the Valley of Magian. In all, in the region of upper Zerafshan more than 50 early medieval monuments have excavated.²⁴⁰

As the works of S.K. Kabanov have revealed many large urban settlements existed in the early medieval times in the Southern Sogd — the basin of the Qashqa – Darya River.

²³⁴ Pachos M.K., 1967; see also 1966.

²³⁵ Shishkin V.A., 1966; Albaum L.I., 1971.

²³⁶ Shishkin V.A., 1963; Nilsen V.A., 1966, pp. 35-36.

²³⁷ Yakubovsky A.Iu., 1940, pp. 51-64; Nilsen V.A., 1966, p. 17.

²³⁸ Shishkina G.V., 1961; Nilsen V.A., 1966; pp. 23-25

²³⁹ Grigoriev B.Ya., 1940 a.

²⁴⁰ Stavisky B.Ya., 1957 a; 1961 b; 1961 c; 1964 a.

CONSTRUCTION WORKS

In the preceding section, we have already dealt with many questions related to the construction of buildings. The main material for construction of walls in the medieval Sogd as well as in the entire Central Asia was pakhsa (mud blocks) and rectangular raw bricks of large size (often 50-52 x 25-26 x 10-12 centimeters). Burnt bricks used rarely, mostly in the making of floors, etc. For supporting construction, wooden columns were used. Wood was widely used in flat ceilings also.

The walls were so thick that there was hardly any need for foundation. Only few examples of foundation have been found. In Varakhsha, under the columns of the throne hall, a foundation of burnt and raw bricks (approximately two meter deep) was built. In Panjakent sanctuary, also a foundation was discovered. Floors were made of mud adobe and were thickly plastered. Sometimes the floor built of raw and burnt bricks (for example in Panjakent and Varakhsha). In mountainous localities, for making floors, stone was used.

In constructions, four types of walls can be seen: mud, bricks, combination of mud and brick, and combined brick-mud work. The average thickness of brick walls was 1-1.6 meters.

The rooms were connected with each other by passages, which usually had overhead arches of several types. Arches were made of raw bricks. There were wooden doors, sometimes double. They made the same way as the pre-revolution Tajik dwelling: on the two corners of the doors, there were wooden angles revolving in the holes of the upper and lower straight-arches. Narrow rectangular rooms with a length of about 3 meters were covered by domes of raw bricks usually made according to the technique of "slanted pieces" used in the ancient East. Small square rooms covered with domes. For example, one room of the size 4.3 x 4.3 meters with a dome ceiling was found in Afrasiab. Larger rooms had wooden ceilings supported by columns and pillars. Thus in the square residential halls of the Panjakent complexes four central columns were used. Well – shafts connected them and girders were laid on the walls. As for the central square, it made the same way as the present day Pamir dwellings "Ruzan". It is made from the gradually narrowing row of logs, which are laid at the angle of 45 degrees to each other. At the center, there was a hole for light.

In the rooms, judged by the burnt ruins, there were perhaps spacious wooden seats reminding the ethnic Tajik "cot" and others seats similar to "takhta"²⁴¹. The furniture pieces are known from the depictions in the wall paintings.

PAINTINGS

The monuments of Sogdian paintings found in Panjakent, Varakhsha and Samarkand.

In Panjakent wall paintings were found in sixty buildings. This large number shows how widely spread the monumental art was in the life of the

²⁴¹ Voronina V.L., 1964, pp. 78-87.

Sogdians. It should be kept in mind that what have come down to us are only the bare crumbs of the past riches.

The first publications on the discoveries of Panjakent paintings were by A.Iu. Yakubovsky, M.M. Dyakonov, and A.M. Belenitsky. A.Iu. Yakubovsky paid main attention to the general historical significance of the discovery of these paintings. M.M. Dyakonov concentrated on their stylistic peculiarities and A.M. Belenitsky dealt with the interpretation of their subject. A.M. Belenitsky has published the paintings discovered during the last 15 years (though not in full yet).

Many of the gala halls had walls up to 100 sq. meters and more in area, which were covered by paintings in several tiers. Their subjects are extremely varied. Very frequently, the depictions reproduce some epic tales. Thus in the hall number 41 of the object 6 approximately 40 square meters of paintings which were preserved on the full height of the walls were discovered. Horizontal tiers separated from each other by borders divided the walls. In one of the parts there are four tiers and the second tier from below has preserved better than the others. On the blue background changing from one wall to another a single composition is spread. Its length is around 15 meters (half of the perimeter of the walls). This is how A.M. Belenitsky describes it: "the composition consists of six separate scenes, the main hero of which is one and the same person — the warrior horse rider on the dark red horse. In the first episode, we see him at the head of group in the robes of the horse riders proceeding on a military campaign. In the second episode, our hero is depicted as throwing the spear in the direction of the enemy at full speed who was also a horse rider. In the third episode he is shown now of fighting with a snake like monster — dragon. Then the horse rider is again going at the head of a group of warriors. The dragon is lying slain at the feet of the horses of his companions. The fifth episode depicts the hero fighting with the enemy, also a horse rider while his companions fight with a large group of demons. And the last episode depicts our hero fighting with another a warrior, a horse rider". The monster in the third and fourth episode has long spiral torso of a snake with the upper portion of a woman and head of a lioness. Perhaps it had wings also. The old Tajiks we have called this monster as "azhdahor". From the wounds monster the fire is raging. The demons - "devas" have human torsos and heads, furious faces, horns of goats and bull. Two demons are fighting on the chariot.

A.M. Belenitsky has found the depiction of this composition similar to the legend of the epic about Rustam. In the "Shahnama" in the series of stories about the deeds of Rustam, mentioned especially the fight of Rustam with dragon, his combat with the hero Avlad whom Rustam takes a prisoner with the help of a rope about his victory over two "devas". A.M. Belenitsky cites the Sogdian text, which also narrates the fight of Rustam with "devas", as an explanation.²⁴² A.M. Belenitsky also considers the depiction of battle scenes in which women warriors take part in an epic painting. Central Asian women warriors, in fact, took part in battles in the ancient times and authors of antiquity have excerpts in their writings about the astounding deeds of Tomiris, Zarina and other women. These

²⁴² Belenitsky A.M., Stavisky B.Ya. 1959, pp. 62-68; Belenitsky A.M., 1967, p. 23.

deeds became the basis of the Eastern Iranian legends and epics, which were later reproduced in the monuments of art. The echoes of such legends preserved in the "Shahnama" also.²⁴³

There are many depictions connected to cults and various cult rituals. Here there is a scene of bemoaning of a dead boy whom A.Iu. Yakubovsky suggested that he be compared with the legendary Central Asian hero Siyavush (there are some other interpretations also). We can also refer to the depiction of the four-armed goddess in which Belenitsky and other researchers see the depiction of Nana (Nanaia). It is typical that on the coins of Panjakent rulers her name is found: obviously, the ruling house of Panjakent revered this deity. The cult of heavenly bodies also found its reflection in Panjakent paintings.

Many wall paintings reflect different subjects of folklore and fables about the animal epics. Belenitsky writes about them as follows: "An example is served by the scene of the release by the hero of a girl from the tree in which she was imprisoned obviously by somebody's witchcraft. The same is the origin of the subject, known until present times, from the popular fairy tale about "The Bird of Happiness" which entered the world folklore. Of particular interest is the small painting in which a hare's wisdom is depicted in making the lion jump into a well saving other animals from his tyranny. This colorful painting is an exact illustration of one of the parables from the Indian collection "Panchatantra"".²⁴⁴

There are many different scenes and subjects taken by the artist from the life well-known to him. The battle scenes astonish with their complexity and variety. Often the feasts of the nobility are depicted. There are subjects from everyday life of other type also: the table play of the "nard" type, wrestling sport, etc.; architectural decor is also there.

Researchers differentiate the several styles of the Panjakent paintings and discover chronological layers.²⁴⁵ One cannot but feel the astonishing harmony of the Panjakent paintings, the captivating beauty of many depictions. The grace and inner poise of the harp player picking the strings of her instrument thoughtfully evokes admiration. Or the other scenes are male and female horse riders. We do not know where they are going and what the noble Sogdian and his female companion are talking about. However, this couple also leads us into the world of artistic characters so distant from us and at the same time close to us.

²⁴³ Belenitsky A.M., 1960.

²⁴⁴ Belenitsky A.M., 1967, pp. 24-25

²⁴⁵ Besides the above-mentioned works see some of the main works: "The Paintings of Ancient Panjakent", Collection of Articles, Moscow 1954; "Sculpture and Paintings of Ancient Panjakent", collection of Articles, Moscow 1959.



Painting on the wall of the palace of Varakhsha

The wall paintings of Varakhsha are also extremely interesting and significant. In the Red Hall of the Palace of Varakhsha, above the "sufas", there is a panel of paintings. It contains a single composition: on equal distance, there is a group of elephants with people sitting on them. Monsters (sometimes they are orange colored lions) or white-winged griffins with wings attack the elephants from different sides. In the eastern hall, the paintings are quite different. On one of the walls is depicted a cavalcade of horse riding warriors. The center of the other composition is the huge figure of the king on the throne, the legs of which decorated with the depictions of winged camels. To the left and right there are depictions of many figures and altar. Remnants of paintings have been found in the other rooms of the palace, also.²⁴⁶

As already mentioned a building dug out in Afrasiab with magnificent paintings. In one of the halls on the walls, there is the depiction of an arch with the sitting figures of a man and woman.

In the other gala hall (11x11 meters) is one of the central rooms on its Eastern wall a scene is painted which is connected with the water element (blue waves, people, birds and fishes etc. swimming). On the Southern wall there is a depiction of some procession going towards the castle where on its square people are standing. The procession itself is a big artistic composition showing riders on elephants, camels and horses. In the front, some important person is sitting on a palanquin on a white elephant: the princess or the queen and on the crupper of the elephant beyond the palanquin, her maid-servant is sitting. Three women on horseback are seen following the elephant. On the hand of the first woman, there is a brief inscription in the Sogdian language: "close to the Madam". Two armed men on camel back are following them. They are carrying batons in their hands.

²⁴⁶ Shishkin V.A., 1963, pp. 150-165.

Four white birds (geese) accompanied by two men with closed mouth and at last the huge figure of a rider two times bigger than the rest. Perhaps it is bringing of the bride (the figure on the elephant is bride; the huge figure of the horse rider is the head of the embassy). On the other wall is the scene of receiving the ambassador — men of different ethnic appearance.²⁴⁷ On the robe of one of the figures, there is a Sogdian inscription about Chaganian embassy (for its text see page 251-252). These Afrasiab paintings are the first rate production of the art of the masters of the capital. They have splendidly executed in an extremely bright range of colors.

The wall paintings of the early medieval times of Sogd are undoubtedly significant as the monuments of the art of their times. We have already mentioned about other aspects of their significance: in essence, this is the real though not complete encyclopedia of life and ideology of the Sogdians. It is not to be forgotten that the language of this encyclopedia in the art characters, cannot be interpreted in a simple and indisputable way.

Immediately after the first discovery of the Panjakent paintings M.M. Dyakonov pointed out that their significance is far beyond the culture of Sogd and Central Asia taken together. He rightly considered that now it would be possible to trace "the Central Asian current" in the art of Eastern Turkestan (its monuments were discovered at the end of the XIX and beginning of the XX century as a result of the excavations of Russian, German, French, British and Japanese expeditions), and also to determine chronologically its separate groups, till now not definitely dated in total.²⁴⁸

M.M. Dyakonov himself pointed to several Sogdian — Central Asian elements in the art of Eastern Turkestan. The observations of Italian scholar M. Bussagli are interesting and convincing who went further in the working out of the question about the influence of Central Asian art on the Eastern Turkestan (broader Central Asian).²⁴⁹

However, it should acknowledge that this the scholars have only touched upon most interesting and noble theme; here a vast field for research is opening up.

SCULPTURE, MUSIC AND DANCE

In Sogdian art along with painting, a considerable place was occupied by sculpture. For the material, it used clay, alabaster and wood. In Panjakent a monumental clay sculpture was found. It used for decoration of the aiwan in the second temple complex. Here along the walls there was a panel with length about 8 meters. This is a unique river view. On the relief background of the wavy water surface are depicted beautiful animals, fishes and human-like figures. At the center of one of the walls there is a human-like figure coming out from the water. The fishes and fantastic elements are moving in the direction of this figure. At the center of the panel, of the third wall, a human-like figure is painted, the torso of

²⁴⁷ Shishkin V.A., 1966, pp. 14-22; Albaum L.I., 1971.

²⁴⁸ Dyakonov M.M., 1954 a, pp. 89-90.

²⁴⁹ Bussagli M., 1963, pp. 42-51.

which is like two wavy tails. Here there is also a monster with open jaws. One may agree with A.M. Belenitsky that this relief and the creatures depicted on it personified the water element, concretely Zerafshan the Greek name of which "Politimet" meant "much revered" and Sogdian "Namik" was connected with the meaning "to glorify".

In Panjakent there was also a magnificent wooden sculpture. These are the figures of the dancing girls, the size of which is three-fourth of their natural size. Nude up to waist these figures are made in complex posture. The left hand is on the hip; the right leg bent in the knee and thrown over the straight left leg. The necklaces, laces with bells, complex robes of the lower part of the body — all these were in great harmony with the stretched slender figure.²⁵⁰ One recalls unwittingly the following verse of a poet who, captivated by Central Asian dancing girls, exclaimed:

*Dancer, O dancer!
The heart beats in consonance with strings
The hands are subdued to the drum!
The strings and drums are calling
And both the arms are raised in the air
Like the snowflakes spiraling in a blizzard, dancing.
Turning to the left, spinning to the right
Tirelessly, thousands of circles
Tens of thousands of rotations
There is no end to it.
Nothing to compare in the human and animal world,
The wheels of speeding carnage are slow
The blizzard lags behind.²⁵¹*

The Panjakent figures of dancers are a vivid representation of those charmers of the dance whom the foreigners called "girls circling like whirlwind". The dancers from Chach, Kumed, Kesh, Maimurg and particularly Samarkand were famous. Cover in crimson dresses with brocade sleeves, wearing green designed trousers and shoes made from red deer skin — they were extremely graceful in their swift dance movements sometimes performed on a ball. When the dance reached its culmination, the blouse thrown away and the audience could see the semi-nude body of the dancer. The rhythm of the dance was so swift that it appeared to the poet: "One more moment and the dancer will fly up in the sky like a cloud and reach the sun".²⁵² The Panjakent sculpture, it appears depicts the moment of the apogee of the dance.

The inhabitants of Sogd and the neighboring lands were famous not only for their high culture of dance but also for music. The names of ten Bukharan musical instruments are known. There existed melodies for songs and dance. Some dances and songs were performed individually and others collectively.

²⁵⁰ Belenitsky A.M., 1959, pp. 78-86.

²⁵¹ Riftin B.L., 1960, p. 128.

²⁵² Schafer E.H., 1963, pp. 55-56.

Bukhara was also famous for its stage actors. The puppet theatre came to China from Central Asia in the VII century.



Early medieval terracotta's from Samarkand

Let us come back to the carved wooden reliefs of Panjakent. Geometrical and botanical ornamental friezes, which decorated the walls of the buildings, the columns and girders of the ceilings, were covered with carvings.²⁵³ Many fragments of wood reliefs contained the complicated depictions in arch's and diamonds. The tradition ascending of the Kushan art in these reliefs is very strong.²⁵⁴

For the palace in Varakhsha, the presence of big wall surfaces covered with alabaster decor is characteristic. On the walls, a layer of alabaster was laid (from 1,5 to 20 cm in thickness). Carving then changed it into an ornamental panel. The motives of ornamentation varied. Sometimes it was simple geometrical design herringbone rows of simple triangle, squares etc. connected with each other in different ways. The squares with the rosettes inserted in them, star-like design, combination of botanical and geometrical designs all these compositions included big ornamental circles. There are many developed botanical elements and frequently can be seen in the grape plant particularly. In the compositions reflecting the scenic character were included two and three-meter high trees with thick trunks, branches and leaves, which modeled clearly, and in detail showing even the knots on the trunks. In these scenic compositions, some place was occupied by ponds with fishes swimming in it. On the background of the scenery are scenes where the people, animals and birds are depicted. The scenes of hunting of the goat "arkhar" with curled horns, wild boars and deers shown. The horse riders are seated on the horses, which are depicted in their natural size.

²⁵³ Voronina V.L., 1959. Carved wooden panels were discovered by B.Ya. Stavisky and Iu. Yakubovsky in Madm.

²⁵⁴ Belenitsky A.M., 1962.

Some of the horses are with wings. There are many mythological creatures; particularly interesting is the depiction of a woman-bird. The image of woman-bird is met in Central Asian artifacts even considerably later in medieval and also in our times (the image of the woman-bird was engraved even recently on the snuff boxes in Samarkand). Multi-planned carving, boldness and rich style are combined here with some kind of sketchiness and generalization, which corresponds with the monumental character of the whole decoration.²⁵⁵

SOGDIAN SCRIPT AND LITERATURE

As already mentioned the Sogdian script is of Arameian origin. During the period under study, the Sogdian script was italic type. In practice in all 18-19, signs of alphabet used and some words were expressed through ideograms. In 1965 in the citadel of Panjakent archaeologist A. Isakov, found the Sogdian script for the first time in history. On the walls of khum were written letters and exercises for writing words. The alphabet consists of 23 letters — this is the full set of signs of Arameian alphabet including those, which were not used in practice. Now it is clear why Hsuan-Tszang mentioned "20 odd" number of signs, but not 18-19, which were in fact in use: his information obtained from some literate Sogdian who told him about the theoretical number of signs which literate people used. In different regions of Central Asia Sogdian script was somewhat different; for example Bukharan and Samarkand Sogdian scripts were different from each other.²⁵⁶

The monuments of Sogdian script first found in East Turkestan. They wrote in Syrian, Manichean and in third alphabet, which was very close though not identical with Uigur alphabet. All these texts were written in one language. In some of them there were, calendar terms identical to those, which Biruni in his work, "The Monuments of the Past Generations" called Sogdian. It enabled to identify the language of the above-mentioned monuments with Sogdians and the third alphabet turned out to be Sogdian itself.²⁵⁷

The materials of Yagnob language²⁵⁸ helped in deciphering these texts.

For the first time information about Yagnob language was obtained in 1870 during the trip to Yagnob of Russian Orientalist A.L. Kuhn and Mirza Mulla Abdurrahman had accompanied him. Sh. Akimbetov, E.F. Kal, G. Mallitsky, K.G.

²⁵⁵ *Shishkin V.A.*, 1963.

²⁵⁶ For exact translation of this place see: *Pelliot P.*, 1934, p.48: see also: *Beal S.*, 1906, pp.26-27 ("30 or about 30").

²⁵⁷ *Gauthiot R.*, 1914-1923; *Benveniste E.*, 1929; *Livshits V.A.*, 1966.

²⁵⁸ The Yagnobans are a small people living in the mountains of Central Tajikistan mainly on the banks of River Yagnob (a tributary of Fan-Darya, which in turn falls into Zerafshan). The number of the Yagnobans was very small. In the last quarter of the XIX, beginning of XX century lived 1250-1400 people. According to more precise calculation, at the beginning of the thirties, the number of Yagnobans (in Yagnob) reached 2150 people. At present, there are more than 3000 Yagnobans. Besides Yagnob they lived in some other places, also in particular in the villages of upper Varzob. Nowadays some Yagnobans speak in Tajik language and others (about 2500) are bilingual.

Zaleman and others, gathered later information about this language. Among the Soviet scholars studying the language of the Yagnobans on the site may be mentioned the names of M.S. Andreev, E.M. Peshchereva, S.I. Klimchitsky and L.A. Khetagurov, M.N. Bogolyubov and A.L. Khromov. Foreign linguists also visited Yagnob; among them were R. Gauthiot and G. Unker. The names of German Iranologist V. Geiger and French scholar E. Benveniste may also be mentioned. The grammar of the Yagnob language was studied. This language turned out to be an East Iranian language, which was developed on the basis of one of the dialects of the Sogdian language. A considerable part of its vocabulary goes back to the Sogdian lexicon. The preservation of the relics of the New Sogdian language in the inaccessible mountainous valley of Yagnob rendered invaluable assistance in study of the monuments of the Sogdian script.²⁵⁹

We have written above about the Sogdian alphabet from Panjakent. It proves the existence of special exercises for those who learnt to read and write. The textbooks in Sogdian language found in Central Asia and in Merv also. In the citadel of Merv A.A. Marushchenko found two Arab alphabets, with both Arab texts and written exercises in Middle Persian (Pahlavian) and Sogdian languages.

Perhaps these are the remnants of dabiristan — the school o Iranian scribes of the VIII century where student studied Arab, Middle Persian and Sogdian scripts which continued to play a significant role in international interaction.²⁶⁰

As is evident from the Mug documents, in Sogd there were professional scribes of very high qualification, many of the documents were written in excellent italics. Sometimes, at the end of the document was written "so and so has written on the order of so and so". For example, a scribe by the name Aspanak Devgon is famous. One of the best scribes in Samarkand Sogd of the beginning of the VIII century was Ramtish, the son of Vgashfarn — a "marriage contract" written in his calligraphic handwriting.

The Mug documents have brought to us the business correspondence of the Sogdians: legal documents, letters and business correspondence.

Hsuan-Tszang has noted that in Sogd "there is some literature (several versions are possible: some historical chronicles" or else "they have books and historical chronicles").²⁶¹

In fact, the Sogdians had a vast literature: spiritual and secular. Thus, works of Sogdian Buddhist literature are written in Sogdian script. The most significant is the translation in Sogdian language of "Vessantara-Jatak". The existence of parallel texts of this Jatak in Pali, Tibetan and Chinese languages enabled E. Benveniste, one of the top most experts on Sogdian language, to fully read the Sogdian text of this Buddhist work. The Sogdian text contains 1513 lines (some pages at the beginning and some lines at the end are not preserved).

The contents of the Jatak are as follows: A long-awaited son was born to the king who named as Sudashan. When he grew up he was married to a beautiful girl

²⁵⁹ About the Yagnobans and their language in particular see: Zaleman K.G., 1888: *Geiger W.*, 1901, *Mallitsky N.G.*, 1924; *Andreyev M.S.*, 1928; *Klimchitsky S.I.*, 1940b; 1940a; *Bogolyubov M.N.*, 1956; *Andreev M.S.* and *Peshchereva E.M.*, 1957; *Khromov A.L.*, 1966b; 1966a; 1968.

²⁶⁰ *Pevzner, S.B.*, 1954; *Livshits V.A.*, 1962b, pp. 67-68.

²⁶¹ *Beal S.*, 1906, p. 27.

and they had two children. For one sin of the prince the father sent him into exile on a deserted mountain where wild animals and demons — cannibals lived. His wife with children joined him though the prince did not want it. They began their travel. On the way the prince, who was famous for his generosity (because of this all his problems began), gives away all his belongings. His wife and children travel on foot through the desert. The Supreme God, taking pity on them, created a fabulous palace for them. Having rested for some time the prince declined to stay there in order not to defy the order of his father and again started his journey. He reached the place of exile, built a hut there from branches of a tree, and began to reside there. Sudashan even gave away his children to a visitor and when in order to test the limit of his generosity for the people, the Supreme God sent an old man to him who asked him to give away his beautiful wife to him. He does this as well but the old man left his wife to him and said that he would be coming later to take her. His children presented to the visitor happened to reach the capital and the king redeemed them. They told the grandfather about the sufferings and noble character of their father. After insistent request prince, Sudashan returned to the capital and the king gave his throne to him. The ending of the Jatak consists of the appeal of Buddha who describes that prince Sudashan is he himself in his earlier birth.²⁶²

It is known that the Jatak series is one of the most significant parts of the Indo-Buddhist literature. There was Buddhist text of theological character. As E.E. Bertels writes, "The artistic value of the above-mentioned Sogdian text is of course not very high. But we should not forget that all of them are translations. It is important to note that these texts put before the Sogdian translator considerably complex his task and help him to develop his own language raising it up to the level of highly developed literary language of ancient India — Sanskrit".²⁶³ It may be noted that the translation was not literal and in some places, it deviated from the original. The Sogdian translator brought into the translation some details, which were, absent in the original text and were in accordance with the world outlook and the way of life of the Sogdians of that period.²⁶⁴

According to the narration by Narshakhi in Bukhara, there existed a series of legends about mythological king-hero Siyavush. They existed in verses and were also sung and recited. The part about the death of Siyavush carried special names, in particular, such as "Weeping of magicians". Obviously, Siyavush was revered by Samarkand Sogdians and also in other regions of Central Asia.²⁶⁵

The other part of the epoch relating to the hero Rustam and his horse Rakhsh has come down to us in the form of two fragments written in Sogdian language? They narrate how Rustam chased the devs (demons), many of them he killed and many saved themselves by hiding in the town. Happy over his victory Rustam stopped at a meadow unsaddled his horse and left it to graze and putting his weapons aside had his meal and lay to relax. Meanwhile the devs (demons) overcoming their

²⁶² The Sogdian text, French translation and dictionary: *Benveniste E.*, 1946. For detailed Russian summary see: *Bertels E.E.*, 1960, pp. 69-71.

²⁶³ *Bertels E.E.*, 1960, p. 72.

²⁶⁴ *Livshits V.A.*, 1962 b, p. 42.

²⁶⁵ For details see: *Dyakonov M.M.*, 1951 (there are references to the sources and literature also).

fear went out of the city to search for Rustam in order to kill him. Further there is a narration about the fight of the devs who were riding the chariots, elephants, different animals and snakes. Some of them were flying like hawks, others were moving upside down. "They brought rain, snow, hailstorm, and powerful lightening; they were wailing and throwing fire and smoke." Brave Rustam, unaware of this, was in sleep. His faithful horse Rakhsh saved him: he woke Rustam. He put on his panther skin, took up arms and rushed to fight. When the devs came closer, he pretended to be frightened and retreated. The devs chased him and then "Rustam turned back, pounced upon them as a furious lion on its prey".

The end of this fragment has not preserved. Extremely interesting are the Sogdian versions of the fables "Kalila and Dimna" particularly about the trader and the pearl driller, etc. There exist many other Sogdian literary works.²⁶⁶

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

Information about the religion of the population of Sogd is contained in different sources: Sogdian, Chinese, Arab and Tajik-Persian. However, this information is difficult to compare and that is why in literature until now there is no comprehensive account about the religious system of the Sogdians. Let us turn to the sources.

In Sogd they admire spirit of Desi which is worshipped in the entire region from the Western, i.e., (Caspian-Sea, B.G.) sea to the East. It is represented in the form of a golden idol of the size of 15 feet in height. Every day they sacrifice five camels, ten horses and hundred sheep before him. The number of persons offering sacrifices sometimes goes up to 1,000.²⁶⁷ In the biography of Hsuan-Tszang it is mentioned that in Samarkand "the king and the people do not believe in Buddha but worship fire".²⁶⁸ There is also information about the worship of the "earthly evil spirit",²⁶⁹ and reverence to a "celestial god". According to Hoi Chao in Sogd in the first half of the VIII century was the spirit of the Heaven revered by everybody.²⁷⁰ In the palace of the Sogdian ruler was "the temple of ancestors".²⁷¹

In the work of the great Central Asian scholar of the XI century, Biruni, "The Monuments of the Past Generations" there is a special section "About the Festivals in the Months of the Sogdians". On the 28th day of the first month the "festival of the magicians of Bukhara" called Ramush-Agam when people gather in the temple of fire in the village of Ramush. These Agams are the most sacred festivals [they are celebrated] in every village. "They gather in the house of every Rais, they eat and drink. It happens turn by turn". It is the festival of New Year connected with the ideas of dying and resurrecting nature. In one of the months, the Sogdians had a fast;

²⁶⁶ Benveniste E., 1946; Henning W.B., 1940; 1945; 1946; Braginsky I.S., 1955, pp. 129-131, 207-215, 413-415.

²⁶⁷ Bichurin, II, p. 313.

²⁶⁸ "The Life of Hsuan-Tszang", 1959; Chavannes E., 1903, p. 133.

²⁶⁹ Bichurin, II, p. 310.

²⁷⁰ Fuchs W., 1938, p. 452.

²⁷¹ Bichurin, II, p. 281.

they refrained from eating and drinking from all such meals, which were cooked on fire, only fruits and vegetables were allowed to be eaten. On the first day of other months, the Sogdians gathered at the temple of fire and ate some ritual dish prepared from millet flour, butter and sugar. At last there was a custom when once in a year "people of the Sogd" remembered their old dead. They cry and scratch their faces and put for the dead meals and drinks. Similar customs existed among the Khwarezmians and Persians, also. From the stories about these people, additional details brought out, that the meals put in nauses.²⁷²

Thus from the text of Biruni it is evident that the cult of the dead was quite widespread. We come to know about this also from the account of Narshakhi about Siyavush in Bukhara at the dawn of the first day of the new year everyone sacrificed a cock for Siyavush. Researchers compared the information of Vai-tsze about Samarkand with the story of Narshakhi. The essence of this is that the inhabitants believed that if the heavenly adolescent dies, in the seventh month then his bones are lost. When this month comes, the believers put on black clothes and walk bare-feet beating then-chest and weeping. They go to fields searching for the body of the heavenly adolescent. This custom ends on the seventh day.²⁷³ However, the image of Siyavush was connected not only with the cult of the dead — in it was preserved as the most ancient layer of beliefs connected with the dying and resurrecting god of vegetation.²⁷⁴



The sculptural depiction on the lid
of the ossuary

²⁷² *Biruni*, 1958, p. 258; see also pages 236, 255.

²⁷³ *Dyakonov M.M.*, 1951, pp. 36-37 (with references to the sources).

²⁷⁴ *Tolstov S.P.*, 1948 a, pp. 202-204.

Above we have mentioned the Panjakent nauses. They have also found at Kafir-Qala near Samarkand. In Samarkand itself, many ossuaries were discovered. An excellent collection of ossuaries with highly artistic reliefs originated from the village Biya-Nayman (near Kattakurgan).²⁷⁵

For the first time an ossuary was found, in 1871 during household chores, in Tashkent. During excavation by N.I. Veselovsky in Afrasiab in 1886, one more fragmented ossuary was found which said scholar considered as "clay coffin of the pre-Muslim period". In 1900, the same school introduced in scientific literature the term "ossuary" (from the Latin ossuaries "bone depository"). Research on ossuaries and the ossuaries burial customs was conducted in the pre-revolutionary period by scholars such as N.I. Veselovsky, V.V. Barthold, K.A. Inostrantsev and others; in the Soviet times by A.Ya. Borisov, Iu.A. Rapoport, B.Ya. Stavisky and others.

In the light of the researches of the scholars on Sogdian ossuary customs the following can be said: In "Avesta" and later Zoroastrian compositions it is said that the dead body of Zoroastrian is taken out to a place which is called **dakhma** where "there are always dogs and birds eating the dead bodies", (about this it is particularly mentioned in "Videvdat"). As known, this custom exists until now in almost unchanged form in India among the Parsis who migrated from Iran in medieval times and follow the Zoroastrian religion. Afterwards the bones were collected and taken to the special premises where they were preserved. This place called **astodan**. In Arab sources describing the Arab conquest such places, which were met by the Arabs in Central Asia, are named "naus".²⁷⁶

It is very significant (pre-revolutionary researchers pointed it out) that we have a direct proof of the written sources about the existence of such a custom in Sogd. The Chinese ambassador Vai-tsze, having been to Sogd in the beginning of the VII century writes: "outside the main city there lived separately more than 200 families specially performing the burial rites. They have built in secluded place a special construction where they rear dogs; when somebody dies they take the dead body to this place where it is eaten by the dogs; then they collect bones and bury them in a burial procession, but they do not put them into a coffin".²⁷⁷ From the information given by Tabari and Narshakhi it is evident that sometimes the people removed the flesh from the bones. In the opinion of K.A. Inostrantsev this was not the usual method for burial and was used in special cases.²⁷⁸ However, in Panjakent nauses the bones were not damaged, the part of spinal cord now of burial preserved their links - all this would not have been possible if the dogs had eaten the dead bodies. In Panjakent nauses generally the number of buried persons on an average is ten in one vault. In nauses besides ossuaries with bones also put ceramic vessels, copper coins and personal jewellery.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁵ Kastalsky B.E., 1909 (appendix); Borisov A.Ya., 1940 a; Stavisky B.Ya., 1961 b; Rapoport Iu.A., 1971.

²⁷⁶ Barthold V.V., 1966a, 1966b; Inostrantsev K.A., 1907b; 1907a; Borisov A.Ya., 1940b; Stavisky B.Ya., 1952; Rapoport Iu.A., 1971.

²⁷⁷ Chavannes E., 1903, p. 133.

²⁷⁸ Inostrantsev K.A., 1909, p. 115.

²⁷⁹ Stavisky B.Ya. and others, 1953.

The information about the custom of mourning among the Sogdian has been given above. In the document B8 from Mug hill (contract about sale of a plot of land), it is said that the buyers and their descendants can put the dead body and mourn.²⁸⁰ The mourning has reflected in the account of burial custom in "Shahnama".²⁸¹ These customs also reflected in the monuments of Sogdian paintings. They are contradictory to the instructions of the Zoroastrian religious works containing direct ban on the mourning of the dead. However, the ancient people's beliefs were stronger than such bans in Central Asia as well as, perhaps, in Iran.²⁸² Later Islam conducted a prolonged struggle against these customs, but everywhere in Mesopotamia, Iran and Central Asia, it had to retreat. These customs on death and other occasions were preserved until the recent past. The mourning of the dead and ritual mourning dances preserved among Tajiks almost until our times.

In the available sources, the "temples of fire" and the "temples of idols" are mentioned. This material has been fully collected and analyzed in detail by A.M. Belenitsky. Except for the proofs mentioned above it can be noted that in "Shahnama" there are references to the existence of the "temples of fire" in Bukhara and Paikand. The Pahlavian geographical work of the IX century "Shahristanhai Iran" informs about the establishment in Samarkand of the "magical fire" by the son of Siyavush. About putting there for preservation of golden (or gold plated) plates with the text of "Avesta", about the destruction by Alexander of Macedonia after which Tur Frasiak (Afrasiab) "turned the abode of god into the cult complex of devs". In Kushania according to the Chinese sources, there was a temple on the walls of which the ancient kings of different neighboring people were painted. The local rulers used to pray in this temple every day. Narshakhi mentions the "houses of fire" in Ramitan and Bukhara, not in a legendary but a historical context. In Samarkand, at the time of conquest by the Arabs, there were "houses of idols and fire". The same information is given about the village Tavavis (Tabari, Belazuri). The sources give many concrete details about these idols wooden — (decorated by gold), silver and golden. When the idols from the main Samarkand "house of fire" *butkhana* were burnt in, the ashes there were found about 50 thousand miskals of gold. One of the melted Samarkand idols gave 24 thousand zolotniks (one zolotnik = 4,25 grams) of silver. Narshakhi narrates about Paikand that in the temple of idols the Arabs found a silver idol weighing 4,000 dirhams, but there is information available that it was of gold and weighed 50,000 miskals. This cult existed in Bukhara and Samarkand even after the victory of Islam. The temples were very rich, there were many gold and silver household articles, precious stones e.g. pearls of the size of a hen's egg.

After examining this information in detail, A.M. Belenitsky concluded that the "temples of idols" existed separately from the "temples of fire".²⁸³ In our opinion, A.M. Belenitsky has not proved fully his thesis; although his conclusion

²⁸⁰ Livshits V.A., 1962b, pp. 47-48, 52-53.

²⁸¹ Belenitsky A.M., 1954, p. 82.

²⁸² Widengren G., 1965, pp. 329-330, 339-340.

²⁸³ Belenitsky A.M. 1954, pp. 52-62. See also: Smirnova O.I., 1971, pp. 103-106.

appears to be quite likely. The other main thesis of A.M. Belenitsky is that in Central Asia the priests of the cult of the fire, whom he considers to be Zoroastrians, struggled against the cult of idols as hostile to Zoroastrianism (in this struggle the latter had an upper hand). This thesis seems to us quite doubtful as he bases his definitions on the norms of "canonical" Zoroastrianism, which known from Sasanid Iran. However, the Central Asian beliefs were not identical to Iran. That is why it is necessary to deal with this question with great caution. V.V. Barthold was of the view that the beliefs and customs of the Central Asian Zoroastrians "substantially differed from the customs of the orthodox followers of Zoroaster". As A.Iu. Yakubovsky writes, "In the foundation of Persian Zoroastrianism, as well as the religion of Sogdians, Bactrians and Khwarezmians, there were some common ideas and cults. Among them, there were the dualistic ideas about struggle between the good and evil powers on one side and the cult of the fire on the other. In Persia Zoroastrianism grew into a state religion with strictly worked out dogmas and complex organization of priesthood which had great influence on the state affairs and first of all on the questions of ideology. In Central Asia, the fate of Zoroastrianism turned to be different. It did not work out strict dogmas and did not become state religion as there was no single state there and priesthood as a powerful organization was not formed. Zoroastrianism penetrated by local pagan cults, which obviously co-existed peacefully with the cult of fire.²⁸⁴ For the Sogdian religion of the given period even a special term "Mazdaism"²⁸⁵ was suggested the topmost Iranologist of contemporary times W.B. Henning stated that it is possible to speak about the influence of the teaching of Zoroaster on the natural paganism of Sogdiana."²⁸⁶

Although V.V. Barthold already raised the question of peculiarity of local pre-Muslim religion until now no reliable solution has found. Much remains unclear or otherwise leads to diametrically opposite interpretations. For example, two competent scholars A.M. Belenitsky and A.Iu. Yakubovsky completely differ in definition of mutual relation of local cults and Zoroastrianism. In the works of historians of culture and archaeologists, the linguistic material has not been fully used; the linguists use the archaeological and iconographical material scarcely, the research of which in turn has its specific and insurmountable difficulties.

The recent works of linguists has provided valuable material. In the Mug hill, wedding contract there is an oath in the name of gods Baga and Mithra. In "Rigveda" Baga god meets Mithra as a lower ranking god. But in Mug contract as W.B. Henning suggests Baga appears not only as double of Mithra but occupies even a higher position. So far Mithra is concerned, he as well as Baga in this context is put in the rank of god personifying the contract.²⁸⁷ This conclusion was disputed and quite rightly by the publisher of the contract V.A. Livshits. The

²⁸⁴ Yakubovsky A.Iu., 1954, pp. 21-22.

²⁸⁵ See: Stavisky B.Ya. and other, 1953, pp. 82-88. It is better to use this term with the definition "Central Asian".

²⁸⁶ Henning W.B., 1965a, p. 250 ("...impact of Zoroaster's teachings in the native paganism of Sogdiane").

²⁸⁷ Henning W.B. 1965; pp. 248-250 (about Mithra see: Gershevitch I., 1959); Klyashtorny S.G., Livshits V.A., 1971, pp. 133-134.

analysis of the context of all the Mug documents (and other Sogdian texts) led this scholar to the conclusion that under this name a superior god appears, i.e., *Ahura-Mazda*, (xwrmzt'þy—«God Ahura-Mazda») whose name the Sogdians preferred not to pronounce and write (in the written form it is met very rarely).

Among the superior gods of the Sogdian pantheon *Zarvana* may mentioned. His name is equivalent to the Indian superior god (Brahma) in the translated Sogdian Buddhist text where he appears with the epithet "great", "king of the gods". *Varatragna* (wsyn – Vashagn), *Nanaiya*, *Khvarenakh* (in form prn – Farn), *Tishtriya* (tys – the star of Sirius) and others. To this assembly of kind gods are opposed *Akhra Manu*— Ahriaman (who had specifically Sogdian sound Shimnu (smnu) with his divas (dyw). Among the Sogdians we find many notions which are found in early "Avesta". The temple named as *wagn* (þyn). Medieval authors of X-XIII centuries and also later sources pointed out that in Sogd there are many villages in the name of which is included the word "fagn" ("bagn", "wagn") which originates (it has been established for the first time by W.B. Henning) from the word "wagn". Such villages are Miyanbagna (in Vabkand), Vanufag (n) near Tavavis (in the vicinity of Bukhara), Astavagna and Khurbagna (in Ghizhdavan), Rustfagn and Krasvagn (near Samarkand), Khushufagn (near Kattakurgan or Samarkand possibly two villages), Kukshibagn (near Urgut), and others.

"Khushufagn" etymologizes "six temples". Thus in the toponymy of Sogd have been preserved a large number of names related to the Sogdian designation of the temple. However, it would be incorrect to imagine, as some contemporary authors do, that the network of complex composite toponymies with Sogdian designation of the temple directly corresponds to the network of placing on the territory of Sogd Zoroastrian sanctuaries. In fact, the regularity of forming this toponymical row is more complicated. The same is the case with the toponymical composites with the Sogdian þy – "god".

"Priest" the "head of the temple" was called *wagnpat*; this term is found since the times of "Old Sogdian letters". It also referred in the Mug documents. Priest Kurchi (document I, 1) took part in completion of a significant diplomatic task. Besides this is mentioned in one of the Mug documents (A-5) *mugupat* the "Chief priest".

Along with the local religion, which now called Mazdaist, there were other religions also. Buddhism at this time did not occupy a significant position — it was squeezed out by other religions. The number of its followers was not large. However, the role of Buddhism and other Indian religions in the life of Sogd was quite tangible. According to some information's Christianity was widely spread. In the beginning of the VI century in Samarkand there was a Christian (Nestorian) bishop and in the VIII century a Mitropolitan.²⁸⁸ The third religion Manichaeism had acquired stronger roots.

The question of the role of Manichaeism in the life of pre-Muslim Sogd was the subject of deep study by A.M. Belenitsky. In about 600 among Manicheans, a split occurred; in Central Asia the sect of Dinavaryans founded; the center of which was located in Samarkand. According to Belenitsky the contents of wall

²⁸⁸ Barthold V.V., 1964, p. 275.

paintings of Panjakent can be explained if we assume that they were Manicheans.²⁸⁹ This explanation calls for further study.

We would like to stress, that even thus, by no means complete material, shows how complex was the life in Sogd in the VI-VIII centuries. This multiformity of the religions existing in Sogd led to the creation of syncretic religious systems.

4. OTHER REGIONS OF CENTRAL ASIA

USTRUSHAN

In the Chinese sources, this region is narrated Tsao (Eastern Tsao) or Su-dui-sha-na (Suo-tuai-sa-na).²⁹⁰ The information in sources about this region is very scarce. "Tan-shu" informs that the town is located on the Northern side of the mountain Bosi (or Posi, perhaps the Turkestan range — B.G.). This place in ancient times belonged to the city of Ershi, i.e., Fergana. The distance to Shi (Tashkent) and Kan (Samarkand) was the same and the distance to Tukholo (Tokharistan) was longer. There was a city — Ye-Cha. In this city there was a strongly locked cave in which sacrifice was offered twice a year.

People came close to the cave and faced it. The smoke coming out of it kills those standing closest to it. In the period, 618-626 in Su-dui-sha-na there was a young ruler. Along with Kan (Samarkand), he sent a mission to China.²⁹¹ In the opinion of E. Chavannes the city, Su-dui belonged to this region.

Hsuan-Tszang who calls this region Sutulisen and informs that its territory is 1400 or 1500 li (1,5 times bigger than the Chach region and slightly smaller than Samarkand — B.G.). On the East its border is the river (here the Chinese name of Syr-Darya is given; Hsuan-Tszang is wrong for Syr-Darya is the border of Ustrushan in the North — B.G.). The food, habits, and customs of the people are similar to those in the Chach region. Since the time when the king started his rule in Sutulisen it is under the rule of Turks. To the North-West of this region there is a desert where there is no water and no grass.²⁹²

Thus, the territory of this region in the VI-VIII centuries very clearly described. Its nucleus was the Ura-Teppa — Shahristan depression. In the South, it included the upper part of Zerafshan reaching perhaps to the Northern slope of the Hissar range. In the North, the border was Syr-Darya; in the East (presumably) were the lands of Khujand. In the North-West Samarkand, lands (in a broad sense) formed its border. As for the name of the region, the Chinese transcription gives an approximate idea about its real name. The discord in writing of the name is seen among the medieval Arab-Persian geographers who

²⁸⁹ Belenitsky A.M., 1954; pp. 39-52, 62-81; Belenitsky A.M., 1959, pp. 61-64.

²⁹⁰ The last name has several variations. For these variations see: Chavannes E., 1903, p. 138.

²⁹¹ Bichurin, II, p. 138, Chavannes E., 1903, pp. 37, 99, 138-139 and 312.

²⁹² Beal S., 1906, 1, pp. 31-32. In the biography of Hsuan-Tszang ("The Life of Hsuan-Tszang", 1959, p. 47) there is no additional data.

have led to incorrect conclusions — some of the contemporary authors are of the opinion that the "more correct" form is "Usrushana".²⁹³

In this neither the Chinese tradition which has been mentioned above where sound "*t*" exists in the name nor the contemporary Tajik tradition Istravshan (or Ustaraushan) where sound "*t*" is there and has been taken into account. Mug documents have region was named Ustrushana,²⁹⁴ but later "*t*" disappeared. The Ustrushana rulers carried the title "afshin".²⁹⁵

On the territory, of Ustrushana large archaeological excavations have conducted. The residence of Ustrushan afshins was located not far away from the contemporary settlement of Shahristan. Here on the Western bank of the river Shahristan — Say on the high terrace the settlement of Qalai Qahqaha is situated with its walls clearly preserved. The territory of the settlement is approximately 5 hectares. It consists of two parts: on the West eight to ten meters above the territory of the settlement, the hill of citadel is rising. On the territory of Shahristan, a barrack type building was excavated. In the citadel, a palace has been uncovered. Its center was a big festive hall (18 x 12 meters) with the throne of the king. There is another "smaller hall", temple and also other rooms, (residential rooms, housekeeper's rooms, arsenals). The building was decorated with wall paintings. Its wooden pillars and ceilings carved. On the wall of the central corridor, was a six-meter long composition in which a female wolf depicted with two pups sucking its breast?

According to N.N. Negmatov this theme penetrated Central Asia in the V-VII centuries. He writes, "In Central Asia there existed a certain religious basis for adoption of mythological traditions of Western Christianity."²⁹⁶ Indeed among the different people of Middle (or broader Central Asia), legends, can be found which are similar to the famous Etruscan-Roman tradition. The fact of the appearance of this scene should view in connection with the very old propagation of the myth in the East about the King's offspring (offsprings) rose by the female wolf.²⁹⁷

The "small hall" is richly decorated with paintings. Here are a group of horse riders in warriors' robe carrying spears and banners in their hand on horses of different colors, and also a three headed and four-armed god, and a three-eyed demon, and fragments of animals. This painting is done in several tiers.

The collection of wooden sculpture and reliefs is also rich and varied. Several round sculptures of people and birds and different compositions have found. Particularly interesting is a unique, large, carved wooden tympanum where there are figures of different sizes. All of them have been executed skillfully. This tympanum as well as the art monuments of Shahristan in general is of

²⁹³ Negmatov N. 1957, p. 16.

²⁹⁴ Livshits V.A., 1962 b, p. 87.

²⁹⁵ Barthold V.V., 1964 a, p. 497.

²⁹⁶ Negmatov N. 1958, pp. 33-34.

²⁹⁷ For detailed study of this problem see Binder G., 1964; see also the review of this book: Assmussen J., 1967; Bivar A.D.H., 1957, p. 512. Valuable indications also exist in the reference book: Thompson S., 1955. The significance materials give the folklore of Tajiks and other peoples of Central Asia and Siberia.

significant interest for the study of art, culture, mythology and life of early medieval Central Asia.

Not far away from the settlement mentioned above there is another hill — Qalai Qahqaha II. Its planning is completely different. Walls surround the flat square area (210 X 230 meters). In one corner, there is a small hillock. It turned out to be the ruins of a three storeyed castle - type building. Here there were festive halls and living rooms. The ceilings were dome-shaped (of bricks) and flat (wooden) supported by columns. The building was a fortified castle of a palace type. Woodcarvings and wall paintings decorated it.²⁹⁸

It is astonishing as to how the other Shahristan monument Chilhujra has preserved which is situated near the confluence of the rivers Kulkutan and Shahristansay. This two-storeyed construction is also of the castle type. The building has a long and complex history as was re-built radically. Nevertheless, the buildings of the first and partly second floor preserved so well that even now they give a full idea about the look of the old architecture.²⁹⁹ Very interesting is the castle of Urtakurgan and other buildings, which are situated not far away from Chilhujra.

We have already mentioned about the paintings and wooden carvings of Ustrushan buildings. They are extremely interesting, as monuments of art culture as well as a source for understanding of the ideology including religion of the Ustrushan people. According to the available data particularly connected with the legal case of afshin Haidar (IX century) who was indicted for secretly practicing the religion of his ancestors in Ustrushan prevailed the Central Asian form of Zoroastrianism.³⁰⁰ Thus, there are data showing that the ossuary burial custom was prevalent.

The language of the Ustrushan people was one of the dialects of the Sogdian language. In Chilhujra documents were found which were written in Indian ink on the small wooden boards. V.A. Livshits read one of them, which were fully preserved. It is a receipt of the same type as Sogdian. Its contents are as follows: "I, Chiyus, requested on the 31st day [beginning] from the day of Vat [22nd day of Sogdian month] of the month of Vaganich [eighth month of Sogdian year] for asses. Farnarch drove them for me from the [village] of Atrepazmak [and] among them there was not a single bad one". On the backside "Wrote Gushnaspich on the order of Farnarch". The character of the script is very close to the documents from Mug hill.³⁰¹ It is also characteristic that in Ustrushan as well as in Sogd there were professional scribes. The name of one of them we already know. These names are of Zoroastrian character.

The data about development of handicrafts, agriculture etc. has also obtained. These materials testify to the high and quite original culture of early medieval Ustrushan, which is in its main aspects very close and sometimes identical with the culture of Sogd.

²⁹⁸ Negmatov N.N. and Khmelnitsky S.G., 1966.

²⁹⁹ Pulatov Iu.P., 1968.

³⁰⁰ Henning W.B., 1965 a, pp. 250, 253-254.

³⁰¹ Pulatov Iu.P. 1968, pp. 20-21.

FERGANA

Fergana of the VI-VIII centuries called, in foreign sources, as Feihan, Bohan and Pahanna.³⁰² Proceeding from these transcriptions and Sogdian designation of Fergana the ancient name is reconstructed as Far [a] gana or Fragana.³⁰³

According to Hsuan-Tszang, Fergana is surrounded by mountains from all sides.³⁰⁴ It shows that in the VII century Fergana meant Fergana Valley. The soil of Fergana, the traveler writes further, is rich and fertile. It produces many fruits. There are flowers and fruits in abundance in this valley. The Fergana horses and cattle are famous.³⁰⁵ Hoi Chao adds, "In Fergana there are camels, mules and sheep. Cotton cultivated. People eat food made from many grains. The dresses are made from the skin of animals, (that is, leather or fur – B.G.) and cotton material."³⁰⁶

The dynasty of the kings of Fergana overall did not break up during several centuries,³⁰⁷ though about 630, Fergana was without a supreme ruler for about 10 years. As the source mentions several strong rulers became more powerful and did not submit to each other.³⁰⁸ Around 720 in Fergana there was a very strong king who was called Alutar in the Arab sources.³⁰⁹ The Fergana ruler carried local title "Ikhshid" or "Ikhshad". Sometimes later in 726 in Fergana there were two kings: the king of the lands towards the South of the river submitted to the Arabs and lands to the North of the river were under the rule of the king dependent on the Turks.³¹⁰ In 739 and later Fergana was ruled by Turk Arslan Tarkhan.³¹¹ The capital of Fergana at that time according to one source was the city of Kasan, and according to the other source — Akhsiket.³¹²

According to the descriptions of events of the period of Arab conquest Fergana was a powerful state playing a significant role in the political life of Central Asia. This was conditioned by it; military potential which had a serious economic basis. The development of agriculture including cultivation and animal husbandry has already mentioned before. Handicrafts in Fergana also attained a high level. Significantly, external trade also grew. To the neighboring countries

³⁰² Chavannes E., 1903, p. 148.

³⁰³ Livshits V.A., 1962 b, p. 85.

³⁰⁴ Beal S., 1906, 1, p. 30.

³⁰⁵ Beal S., pp. 30-31.

³⁰⁶ Fuchs W., 1938, p. 452.

³⁰⁷ Bichurin, II, p. 319.

³⁰⁸ Fuchs W., 1938, p. 452.

³⁰⁹ Earlier the name of this ruler [the Arab graphic suggested the etymology] was read at Tar and V.A. Livshits even suggested the etymology of this name as "black" (Livshits V.A., 1962b, p. 85. The reading of Alutar is established by O.I. Smirnova (1969, pp. 213-214).

³¹⁰ Fuchs W., 1938, p. 452.

³¹¹ Chavannes E., 1903, p. 149.

³¹² For analysis of sources, (their information does not coincide) about earlier medieval capital of Fergana see: Barthold V.V., 1965 b, p. 529.

were exported hoists, medicines, paints, products of colored glass³¹³ made by the use of indigo and other goods.

The ruins of Kasan consist of two parts — city and castle — which are situated on the banks of Kasansay River. The city has the form of a trapezium with a size of 160, 180 and 80 meters. Its walls have a broken contour and are fortified in the corners by towers. On the South-West of the city, there is a fortified citadel. The defense was strengthened by the additional wall, which was at a distance of 15 meters from the main wall and covered the entrance to the fortress. Some distance from the city was a castle at an elevated position (this reminds on the whole of Qalai Qahqaha I and II in Shahristan). The castle is a powerful fence on a rocky square-shaped territory of 90x70 meters. The wall fortified by six towers. From the territory of the castle down to the city there were two walls perhaps surrounding the way; they joined two parts of this complex. The general perimeter of the ruins is about two kilometers. A.N. Bernshtam conducted small excavation works in Kasan in 1948. It was revealed that the settlement appeared here in the Kushan period. On this settlement, as on the platform, arose the early medieval Kasan with its numerous structures and a powerful system of fortification.³¹⁴

The other urban center of medieval Fergana was Kuva where excavations are conduct by Uzbek archaeologists.³¹⁵

The center of Isfara region — residence of the ruler — was the castle of Qalai Bolo ("A high fortress"). It is situated four kilometers to the south of the district center Isfara on the bank of river Isfara. The height of the castle is 11-12 meters. Its size is 16x65 meters. During the excavations of the castle, conducted by E.A. Davidovich, it revealed that in the VI-VII centuries during the construction of the high platform the walls of the earlier construction were incorporated. In the VI-VIII centuries, the fortress had a high platform with slanting facade and vertical wall with loopholes. Common for castle architecture — protruding towers — were absent. Instead of this, the external contour was made in steps, which enabled to carry out flanking fire. The living part of the complex consisted of an open small yard in the Northern part and living and household structures in the Southern yard. In construction, uniform clay bricks and rectangular raw bricks of the size of 52 x 26 x 10 centimeters were used; in inlaying of the walls, these materials and materials from earlier structures were used. The walls were plastered, colored from inside in black with brickwork from outside. The rectangular rooms were made of domed blocks, which laid in slanting pieces.³¹⁶

Besides the valley castle of Qalai Bolo in the Isfarian region there were mountain castles for the platform of which were used the rocks. Such for example is the castle Qalai Kafir on the left bank of river Isfara. Here the rock rises 50-60 meters above the-bank of the river. It is impossible to climb on it from this side. The access from the other sides is also difficult. On the upper territory of the rock (80x60 meters), there are the remnants of the old fortress. Its walls, with three towers, had an irregular configuration as if it was a ribbon going along the curves

³¹³ Schafer E.H., 1963, pp. 64-65, 212, 236.

³¹⁴ Bernshtam A.H., 1952, pp. 233-234.

³¹⁵ Bulatova-Levina V.A., 1961, pp. 41-43.

³¹⁶ Davidovich E.A., 1958.

of the rock. This three tower fortress was completely inaccessible. Such types of fortresses situated near the villages Surkh, Vorukh, etc. They formed a fortified skeleton for the Isfara Valley completely closing the access for the enemy. Along with this, these fortresses were strong points for the feudal rulers and created a possibility to have an upper hand in the irrigation system.³¹⁷

The mountain castles and fortified settlements in the valleys existed in the Asht region as well. In Southern Fergana in the valley of River Khoja-Bakirgan (the Lailak region of the Kyrgyz Republic), there existed a rich feudal estate. As a result of excavations by G.A. Brikina it was possible to unearth a big complex of rooms among which there were household and living ones (for example, the store with 16 khums for preserving food stuffs). In the home chapel decorated by wall paintings, there were pedestals. On one of them, there was sculptured alabaster idols depiction of people in a specific manner. Here three places for smoking were found. G.A. Brikina put forward an extremely convincing hypothesis. That here were performed worships for family-clan ancestors.³¹⁸

Along with the settled population, in the Fergana Valley there were a considerable number of nomad and semi-nomad populations. With this population the burial monuments situated in the Kurama range (Karamazar Mountains, North of Leninabad region) are connected. Here from the village Kuruksay to Asht and Pangaz there are many sepulchers consisting of stone structures made above the surface, which the local population called Kurums (meaning "the pile of stones") or Mugkhona ("the house of Mugs"). During archaeological excavations, it has revealed that these structures indeed had a cell towards inside which the entrance leads. However, this cell is not a living room; in it there are one or several skeletons and burial inventory — utensils, weapons, jewelry, etc. In one of the structures, a horse also buried. Stirrups have also found — Central Asian invention, which penetrated into Middle Asia in the V-VI centuries.³¹⁹

Some of the burials, including those in Mugkhona, could be connected with the Turks. It is not accidental that on the bronze signet rings found in Mugkhona there is an inscription consisting of four signs of ancient Turk Runic script with the name of the owner.³²⁰ Discoveries of monuments of the Middle Turk Runic script in Fergana are many.³²¹ Their number is rising. They also found in the Tajikistan part of Fergana in the Karamazar Mountains and in Isfara Valley. The monuments of Runic script, Turk burials along with information in the written sources point out to a big role of Turks not only in political but also in the ethnic history of Fergana in the early medieval period. This is truer in the case of the neighboring region of Chach and especially the Samirechiye. Unfortunately, we cannot dwell upon the history of these regions as well as the Khwarezm and Southern Turkmenistan and the interesting monuments existing there.

³¹⁷ Davidovich E.A. and Litvinsky B.A., 1955, pp. 144-147, 165-174.

³¹⁸ Brikina G.A., 1971 a; 1971 b.

³¹⁹ For Mugkhona (Kurums) see: Voronets M.A., 1957; Sprishevsky V.I., 1956; Litvinsky B.A., 1959 and others.

³²⁰ Klyashtornyi S.G., 1959.

³²¹ Zadneprovsky Yu.A., 1967.

5. SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FEUDAL RELATIONS

The written sources do not contain enough real information about socio-economic system of Central Asia of the V-VIII centuries to dwell in detail on its dynamics. Only recently the historians were compelled to limit themselves by obtaining scarce information, literally crumbs, from the later Arab-Persian sources. Even in the corresponding chapter of the volume II of the "History of the Tajik People" (Moscow 1964) in the section on the written sources there is only a summary of Arab-Persian tradition. Leaving aside details, let us concentrate on the importance of the documents from the Mug hill and other Khwarezmian documents.

In one of the Mug documents narrating about the event in Kuch, the entire society — people (*n'þ n'þw*) is divided into three strata nobility ("*ztk'r*"), traders (*yw'kry*) and toilers (*k'ryk'r*) i.e., peasants and craftsmen. Besides, there were slaves of several categories. I. Gershevich and V.A. Livshits, on the basis of analysis of terminology of the Mug documents, suggest the existence in Sogd of VII beginning of VIII centuries of several categories of slaves and dependent people. Here are only slaves (*þntk and ð'yh*), slaves hostages (*n'pk*), slaves-prisoners of war (*wn'k'*), and lastly those "who surrendered for protection" (*yypð*). The household chief could also sell members of his family as slaves.³²² In Khwarezmian inscriptions on ossuaries from Tok-kala there is a term "*khunanik*" (slave).³²³ In Arab sources of the period of Arab conquest of Central Asia there are direct indications that in Sogd in the beginning of VIII century, there were a large number of slaves.³²⁴

Nevertheless, not only slaves but also different categories of city and rural toilers formed the main force of production. The peasants who were sent for work are called in the documents (*n'þ* or *mrtymkt*) "people". There is another name *rkr'kt* which may mean according to linguists those "working under duress". There existed category of *mr'z* in which was included toilers who performed their work for payment.³²⁵ Among the cultivators, there were the *kishtichkars* (*kst'ckr'k*) and *kishavarzs* (*ks'wrzy mrtý, kswrz'k*) which according to Gershevich meant "cultivators" (correspondingly farmer and ploughman). The peasant cultivators carried the name *kadivers*. The village commune who in documents designated as «people» and «country» played an important role.

In the dominating class (*azats* — "free", "noble", "elite") were included *dihkans*.³²⁶ In the early, (partly developed) medieval times dihkan was a big landowner owning the whole region (for example, Bukhara or Chach) district or large locality. In the sources, they are designated correspondingly "great dihkans" or simply dihkans. These kind of dihkans possessed great powers, first, because at

³²² *Livshits V.A.* 1962 b, pp. 34-37.

³²³ *Gudkova A.V., Livshits V.A.*, 1967, p. 14.

³²⁴ For this material see: *Smirnova O.I.*, 1957; 1960.

³²⁵ For these terms, see also: *Bogolyubov M.N., Smirnova O.I.*, 1963, p. 9.

³²⁶ This word has undergone a long evolution. At present in the Tajik language, *dehkanin* (*dehqon*) means peasant-cultivator.

their disposal were large military units or detachments of armed workers who were called *chakirs* (*shakirs*). Hsuan-Tszang wrote about Samarkand: "Their army is powerful; it mainly consists of Chzhe-ge (chakirs). They are fierce and brave. They take death as homecoming. When they attack no enemy can withstand them". The other source describing An (Bukhara) speaks about Chzhe-ge as "brave and courageous people".³²⁷

There are many accounts related to chakirs in the Arab-Persian sources. Summing up the datas³²⁸ it can concluded that the rulers and dihkans had large military detachments the members of which were recruited from among the free people and carried the name chakirs. They were professional warriors and it was they who formed the nucleus of the army. The number of chakirs of big rulers exceeded several thousands. From the Mug documents as well as the information in the Arab sources, the existence of a complex hierarchy among the dominating class and the vassal relationship is clearly brought out. The highest position in this hierarchy belongs to the *ikhshid*. Already in "Old Sogdian letters" (the beginning of IV century) is mentioned the ikhshid of the village of Tamarkhush (in the valley of Isfara it is known already in the IX-X centuries). In the Mug documents the term ikhshid is expressed by the ideogram MLK' ("King"). The Arab, Persian speaking medieval authors revealed the meaning of this term as "a king of kings"; its real meaning in early medieval Central Asia corresponded to "supreme ruler".

Narshakhi has brought to us the information that the dihkans were dressed in special robes and carried a golden belt (this confirmed by the iconographical material not only from Sogd but also from Tokharistan). He also writes that the Bukharan queen who ruled (to be precise former regent) in the period preceding the Arab conquest usually came out of the citadel of Bukhara every day and ascending on the throne performed her state business: gave orders including rewards and punishments. Every day, 200 young dihkans came to her to pay their respects; they stood in two rows and after the sunset came back to their villages. The next day another group of dihkans replaced them. This paying of respects was seen as a duty and every group had to come for this duty four times a year.³²⁹

Thanks to the Mug documents, we have some idea of the administrative system of Sogd.

The central administration of the big Central Asian states consisted of *tudun* — one of the superior ranks, possibly the chief of civil administration, and also *tarkhan*. One of the higher ranks was *n'ztyryw*, *n'ztyr'yw* "close", "helper". An important role was played by *dp'yrpt* – *dapirpat* ("main scribe" "the head of the office"). The manager of the palace household — *framandar* supervised the revenue and expenditure of the agriculture and handicraft production, and military outfit; gave orders for distribution of goods, maintained the register and official records. In the service hierarchy a very high position belonged to him,

³²⁷ Beal S. 1906; Pulleyblank E.G., 1952, pp. 348-349.

³²⁸ Mandelshtam A.M., 1954.

³²⁹ The Russian translation Narshakhi 1897, pp. 15-16. A simple counting show that the number of people who came for this service exceeded 18 thousand, but perhaps this number is exaggerated.

subordinates addressed him as "master, ruler, great patron, framandar". "Chief wine scooper", "chief doctor", "chief of the stable", and "chief of the park" performed special functions. There also existed the post of en executioner (document A-5). Some police functions were performed by an official named in document V-4 as *'wrnyk'm*. There were tax collectors also. The command of troops was given big significance. In the Mug documents, there is mention of "military commander" (*s'ykn*).

Along with the central there existed local administration also. It consisted of the heads of villages and adjacent vicinity (they called "masters"), of "rural head" *arspan* and "head".³³⁰

The main role of all this network of administrative system was to collect taxes, obligations, dues, tributes, etc. from the toiling people. The "apparatus of coercion" of early medieval Sogd worked as a well regulated clock-like mechanism. All the entries and movements of material values were meticulously registered; the documents, registers and bills made in two copies, were signed and sealed.

There existed offices, for performing the functions of administration. The sources inform, "(for) giving punishment they follow a code kept in the temple".³³¹ In the marriage contract found on the Mug hill written that, it performed "at a legal place" and the name of its "head" (possibly religious) was given.³³²

The poverty of the oppressed classes was in sharp contrast with the riches and luxuries of the aristocracy. The classic example of this is the narration of Narshakhi about Bukhar-khudat who returned to his motherland after the revolt of Abrui. Vast riches were concentrated in the hands of this Bukhar-khudat. Another example is of one Sogdian named Makhyan who rented, from Devashtich "three watermills with all canals, structures and millstones". The leaser had to pay, as rent, 460 kafchas, i.e., more than 3,5 tons of flour in a year.³³³

Archaeological materials (mentioned in the previous chapters) clearly indicate the existence of deep social and property differentiation. Inside the cities, we see luxurious mansions of the aristocracy, the beautiful palaces of the rulers alongside the slums of ordinary citizens.

The life of the aristocracy with its unlimited luxury clearly reflected in the art monuments. The carefree aristocrats, indulging in revelries, get up only to fight knightly duels with their peers and against this backdrop, there are the gloomy figures of the humiliated servants.

The excavations in the Berkutkalin oasis, in Khwarezm, conducted by S.P. Tolstov and his colleagues E.E. Nerazik and B.V. Andrianov³³⁴ provided highly significant material characteristic of the rural life of that period. Thanks to the specific conditions, the monuments of Berkutkalin oasis have nicely preserved until our times, not only individual monuments but also the entire system of settlements and irrigation network. A narrow line (length around 40 kilometers, width about 4-

³³⁰ *Livshits V.A.*, 1962 b, pp.62, 69, 134-135, 164, 176-178.

³³¹ *Bichurin, II*, p. 281.

³³² *Livshits V.A.*, 1962 b, pp. 24-26, 38-39.

³³³ *Livshits V.A.*, 1962 b, pp. 57-60.

³³⁴ *Tolstov S.P.*, 1948; *Nerazik E.E.*, 1966; *Andrianov B.V.*, 1969.

5 kilometers) along a big main canal stretches the oasis. At a distance of 200-300 meters, from each other there, were situated fortified estates, the main type of rural settlements of early medieval period of Berkutkalin oasis. In these estates, there were large residential complexes, sometimes concentrated around a yard. Besides these, there were strongly fortified castles. All the settlements consisted of 8-13 groups inside every one of which, there was a main castle of this group. The estates differed sharply from each other in size. Only one-third of them were big and the rest were considerably small. The property and social differentiation of the communes is indirectly proved by the differences in the size of the cultivated land, which has been established in some cases. It is also characteristic that some castles were built precisely during this time. At the foothill of the biggest castle of Berkutkala there arose a small city — one of the centers of handicraft in the oasis. The process of concentration of the estates in groups was going on intensively in the central part of the oasis. In the VII-VIII centuries the castles appeared, and around them estates, as the old centers fell into decay.

S.P. Tolstov expressed the view that the topography of Berkutkalin oasis reflects the establishment of feudal relations this view confirmed and concretized in the process of further archaeological works of E.E. Nerazik. Perhaps, on the territory of the oasis there several large rural communes situated including 7-8 thousand people. In the estates, there lived agnatic groups of various sizes-large families owning the common property and acting as a single collective in productive as well as social life and isolated small families, possibly playing less significant role.

Other observations indicate a similar picture existing in other regions of Central Asia also. The castles — residences of dihkans — were built strictly and regularly at the heads of the irrigation systems. Because of this, the owners of these castles could control distribution of water, which in Central Asian conditions was adequate to have a right to be in command over the life and death of the rural population.

In the historical literature of the forties and fifties there dominated the view of S.P. Tolstov that in the early medieval period urban life fell into decay. This point of view is now fully contrary to the facts. Even the selective material given in this book testifies to a considerable development of cities and urban life. The cities were the centers of handicraft and trade (in Panjakent it is evident from the excavations), and of highly developed culture. For rural landscape, the castles became a characteristic feature, which sometimes were situated very close to the cities. In these castles as well as in shahristans and citadels of the cities lived the aristocrats and the nobility about which the written sources inform.

The structure of the city and abundance of castles, the character of art and tradition of the "life of the knights", the existence of armed bodyguards of the aristocrats, the political fragmentation and signs of vassalage — all this is the indication of deepest changes in the social and economic life. The slave owning formation is replaced by the other — feudal. In the V-VIII centuries, its institutions were in the initial and immature form. About many of them, we can only guess on the basis of indirect data. However, all this does not change the essence of the matter — the settled regions of Central Asia in the V-VIII centuries embarked on the path of feudal development.

In those historical conditions, the emergence of feudal society was a significant progressive phenomenon. The emergence of feudalism in Central Asia (as well as in other countries) became possible only on the basis of considerable development of forces of production which already did not correspond with the slave-owning formation. The emerging feudal formation in Central Asia was characterized by many essential changes in the life of the society. Although the village continues to occupy the dominating status, in the early stages of medieval feudalism, the feudal cities, which were the main centers of historical progress, were developing. All these developments were going in the background of stormy class struggle, the rebellions of the oppressed (for example, the movement of Abrui). F. Engels wrote about the state: "The main purpose of this organization has always been to provide with the help of armed forces economic oppression of the toiling majority by the privileged minority".³³⁵ This characteristic fully applies also to the early medieval Central Asia.

³³⁵ K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, V.19, p. 359.

PART IV

CENTRAL ASIA IN THE PERIOD OF DEVELOPMENT AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

CHAPTER I

THE PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA IN THE ARAB CALIPHATE

1. THE FALL OF THE SASANID STATE

ARABIA ON THE EVE OF ISLAM

The historical works often emphasize the backwardness of Arabs on the eve of emergence of Islam. However, this assumption is one-sided and mistaken. In 1853, F. Engels wrote: "On the southwest where the Arabs lived a settled life they were obviously the same civilized people as the Egyptians, Assyrians, etc. were; their architectural structures are the proof of it."¹ The archaeological and epigraphically materials² obtained from those times fully confirm the correctness of F. Engels statement: the Southern Arab tribes in the ancient times established a powerful state and a high original culture.

The level of socio-economic development of different parts of Arabia was extremely uneven. If on the territory of Yemen and some other regions in the second half of the VI— beginning of the VII century — agriculture and urban life was developing, the vast deserts and steppes were the abode of the nomad – Bedouins whose main wealth was the camels. Although the tribal organization among the Arabs was still very strong, nevertheless the feudal relations were beginning to appear. The process of historical development led to the formation of the single state from the scattered tribes and unions of tribes. In the beginning of the VII century there emerges a new religious system — Islam.

In order to analyze the historical reasons, which caused the emergence of a new religion Islam and the swift conquest by the Arabs of the vast territories, it is necessary, first to dwell upon the class composition of the society in that period and the changes, which were taking place there. The fact that Islam appeared in the period of formation of a class society among the Arabs cannot be doubted. More complex is the problem of defining the character of the new class society prevailing then among the Arabs and on the territories conquered by them, of the mode of production, the study of the process of complex social synthesis which was taking place in that epoch. The solution of these problems is especially significant because

¹K. Marx and F. Engels, Works., V.28, p. 210.

²Pigulevskaya A.G., 1951, p. 260; Lundin A.G., 1961, 1971; Bauer G.M., 1966; Lundin A.G., 1971; Nielsen D., 1927; Bawen R. le Baron and Albright W.F., 1958; Ryskmans J., 1954.

they not only throw light on one of the most significant period of the history of peoples of the East, but they also show whose ideological demands the new religion satisfied in the first place. The solution of the latter problem should provide a basis for Marxist analysis of the ideological side of the early Islam.

The scarcity of the sources containing information on social system in the pre-Islamic Northern Arabia, where Islam emerged, peculiarities of the medieval historiography giving attention almost exclusively to dynastic "sacred" history and constantly confusing the information about facts with the legends and the different folklore motives, made it difficult to solve the problems indicated above. The bourgeois Islamic studies have collected a large number of facts about the given period, created many idealistic hypotheses about the reasons for the emergence of Islam. However, in methodological approach, in the field of analysis of social roots of Islam, it turned out to be ineffective.

In Soviet historical science, there are two main trends in characterizing established class society. According to the first of them, in Southern Arabia the slave-owning system existed in any case already in the VI century, and at the end of the VI and beginning of the VII century there already starts the establishment of the slave-owning structure in the Northern Arabia, Hejaz, Mecca and Medina lying on the main caravan route. In the inner Arabia inhabited by the Bedouins and cattle-breeding nomads, started the decay of the patriarchal commune system, but it was taking place here considerably slowly. Among the Bedouins also there appeared from one side the wealthy people — the owners of big herds, sometimes lands and a large number of slave-prisoners engaged in caravan trade — and from the other side — poor people about whom the pre-Islam Arab poet ash-Shanfar said the following: "The day [poor man] spends at one halt, the night at the other, always alone and in danger".³ These poor people nevertheless preserved their freedom for the time being.

However, in the Northern Arabia the slave-owning structure had not developed into the dominant formation because during the period of crisis caused by the transition to the class society there emerged Islam and Mohammad appeared, who turned out to be an outstanding military leader, the dogmas of Islam about holy war were adopted, the followers of Mohammad started searching for the way out of the social crisis in the campaigns of conquest, and the Arab masses — "warriors of Islam" — gushed out to the territories where the process of feudalization was going on at a rapid pace, or else feudalism had been already established. But in these countries the slave — owning structure had not yet vanished, therefore it got preserved among the Arabs as well and during the period of conquest as a result of seizure of large number of prisoners received additional development. Overall and all together, the feudal relations established in the Caliphate after the big conquests towards the very end of the VII century, but slavery was preserved for a long time in the form of a structure.

In accordance with the same point of view, Islam initially emerged on the basis of established slave-owning society and only after the conquests developed into the religion of the feudal society. This point of view was worked out in the country by E.A. Belyaev and also by A.Iu. Yakubovsky, S.P. Tolstov, and I.P. Petrushevsky.

³Fil'shtinsky I.I., 1965, p. 29.

According to another point of view already before the emergence of Islam in the Southern and Northern Arabia were being established not slave-owning but early feudal relations which became dominant there, already before VII century prior to the great conquests. Thus, Islam from the very beginning was a religion of the top strata of the feudal society, which was being formed. This second point of view was put forward by N.V. Pigulevskaya, A.G. Lundin, N.A. Smirnov and L.I. Nadiradze. The latter pays attention to the prevalence in Arabia of VII century of the metayage system — the pre-requisites for the feudal relations in those historical conditions.

Both points of view on the circumstances in Arabia in the VII century and on the social nature of the emergence of Islam have so far the significance of a working hypothesis and the final solution of the problem rests with the future.⁴

There is no doubt, however, that the Caliphate society of the VII century was already, to a significant extent, feudalized while preserving a slave-owning structure. The conquest by the Arabs of Central Asia, East of Khorasan and Maverannahr was carried out by the military-feudal nobility which preserved the elements of nomadic life and thus superimposed the relations inherent in such type of societies on the relations of local settled feudalized society, changing and speeding up by this the process of feudalization.

THE EMERGENCE OF ISLAM DESTRUCTION OF SASANID STATE

Mohammad, a resident of the biggest center of Arabia — Mecca — appeared as the "Prophet" of the supreme and sole God — Allah. Not being successful in his native town, he along with his followers, in 622 A.D., moved to Madina; from this year the Muslim era — Hijra begins. Having subdued the Medina tribes Mohammad subsequently admitted to his "commune of believers" Mecca also, conquered several other tribes who accepted Allah as well as his earthly messenger — Mohammad. The established name of the new religion "Islam" means "submissiveness" and "subordination". After the death of Mohammad (632 A.D.) as Caliph (literally "successor" or "deputy") Abu Bakr (632-634) was announced; after him Omar (634-644) became Caliph during whose rule the subjection of Arab tribes and their conversion to Islam was completed. A highly centralized theocratic state was established and a large and highly efficient army formed.⁵ The Arab aristocracy dreamt of big conquest, looting and seizure of riches in neighboring and distant countries. The discontent of the lower strata of Arab society could be directed against non-Muslims and followers of other religions, thus diverting their attention from class struggle against "their" exploiters. The ordinary Arab warriors received a part of the booty which motivated them to fighting, no less than the faith in Allah. For Arab aristocrats

⁴Petrushevsky I.P., 1966, p. 7.

⁵ The literature relating to Mohammad, early Islam and Arab conquest is very large (See: Belyaev E.A., 1965 and Petrushevsky I.P., 1966 where there are references to the sources and literature; Sauvaget I., 1955, pp.115-129 contains useful bibliographical data).

the Islamic teaching of holy war, for the faith, served as a convenient cover for the real aims of their conquest campaigns.

The conquerors moved their troops simultaneously against the Byzantium and Iran. The actions of the military chiefs of Yezdigord III (632-651 A.D.) — the last representative of the Sasanids — taken to halt the movement of the Arabs proved futile. In the battles of Kadisya and Nehavend (636 and 642 A.D.), the Arab army defeated the united forces of the Persians and put an end to the almost five-century long existence of the Sasanid state. During ten years, the Arabs captured the territory of Iran, delivered a crushing blow to Byzantium and seized Palestine, Egypt, Syria and Iraq.

Retreating under the onslaught of the Arabs, from one place to another, Yezdigord III was wandering during the ten years along different cities and countries trying to stir up the population against Arab conquerors. But he did not succeed in it.

The main masses of population of Sasanid state — peasants and craftsmen — were ruthlessly exploited by Sasanid administration, feudals and Zoroastrian priests, and besides this suffered because of caste estates' limitations. Long wars of the Sasanids against Hepthalites, Turks and Byzantinians further worsened the already poor conditions of the toilers. All this led to the popular discontent and the masses stopped supporting the Sasanids in their struggle against the Arabs.

The uninterrupted wars weakened the Sasanid state, depriving it of its former political and military power because of the strengthening of the provincial feudal nobility; the former role of the central state sharply declined, the periphery did not submit to the center. The local rulers, in separate regions and provinces during the invasion of the Arabs, did not render any help to the central state.

The masses of oppressed population in some cases placed their hopes for improvement in their harsh conditions on the Arabs and their faith, which promised equality to all Muslim people. Life soon showed the futility of the hopes of the people but initially it had some effect and was at times mistakenly seen as the revival of the Mazdakit movement.

All this resulted in the failure of the Sasanids to resist the powerful onslaught of the Arabs and the Sasanid state collapsed.⁶

2. THE CONQUEST OF MAVERANNAHR (THE FIRST PERIOD)

THE POLITICAL PARCELLING UP OF MAVERANNAHR IN THE MIDDLE OF VII CENTURY

From the beginning of the invasion in Iran the Arabs set as their goal subjugation of the regions of Central Asia beyond Amu-Darya — the so-called Maverannahr (meaning in Arabic "on the other side of the river"). In the "History of Bukhara" by Narshakhi (X century) and in the work of Arab geographer

⁶For details about the conditions in Iran on the eve of the Arab conquest and the course of this conquest see: Pigulevskaya N.V. and others, 1958, pp. 69-89; Kolesnikov 1970.

Yaqut (XIII century) is given the narration of Arabs as if the founder of Islam — Mohammad — stated that the subjugation of Maverannahr is the sacred and honorable duty of the followers of his faith.

Maverannahr, in this period, was suffering from political split, which occurred in the IV-V centuries and grew by the end of the rule of the Hepthalites and the Turk Kaganate.

The large number of independent and semi-independent Kingdoms, which existed on the territory of present Tajikistan at the time of Arab invasion, characterized this split.

In Fergana, *Northern and Southern Fergana kingdoms* situated in the region of Ura-Teppa — with Ustrushana as capital in Bunjikat (near present Shahristan). The upper parts of the river Zerafshan, along with slopes and valleys of Turkestan and Zerafshan ranges, were included in *Buttam*. On the North of this region, there were the kingdoms of *Matcha* and *Pargar* (present Matcha and Falgar). To the West there was a kingdom and *Panch* City (present Panjakent).

In the region of the Hissar Valley — *Chaganian* — were located the entire valley of river *Surkhan* (Chaganrud) and Western end of the Hissar Valley with its main city Chaganian (near Denau; *Aharun* and *Shuman* — to the East of Chaganian; *Vashgird* — between Kafernigan and Vakhsh in its middle current — with the capital Vashgird (Faizabad); *Kumed* — the upper part of Kafernigan (river Ramit and Vakhsh).

In the district of Kurgantepa was located — region *Vakhsh* in the valley of *Qubadian* — in the lower part of river Kafernigan with the main city of Qubadian.

In the district of Kulab, *Khuttalan* was situated — between Panj and Vakhsh valley from the side of *Hulbuk* and the city of *Munk* (Baljuan). In Khuttalan different kingdoms in different times were included, for example, Vashgird, Qubadian and others.

In the district of Garm were located Rasht with capital *Rasht* (Garm) *Darvaz* — with the capital Karran. In the Badakhshan region were located *Vakhan*, *Shugnan* and *Rushan*, closely linked with Badakhshan.

The ruler of every region considered him completely independent and had a special title. The absence of unity among the rulers of Maverannahr made it difficult for the people of Central Asia to unite to repel the Arabs.

THE ARRIVAL OF ARAB FORCES ON THE FRONTIERS OF CENTRAL ASIA. THE FIRST RAID ON MAVERANNAHR

According to Arab legends Muslim troops chasing after the battle near Nehavend (642 A.D.) defeated the Sasanid army and came into contact with the Turks of Tokharistan before the death of Caliph Omar, i.e., before 644 A.D.⁷ In fact, the Arab conquests in Central Asia started ten years later. In 651 A.D. the last Sasanid king Yezdigord III who chased by Arab troops, came to Merv. Here he was compelled to hide and was killed (according to one version by the miller in

⁷Gibb N.A., 1923, p. 15.

whose house he tried to hide himself) on the instigation of his own vassal — the ruler of Merv. The same year Merv was seized by the Arabs.

Three years later, the Arabs began their first raids on Maverannahr; in particular, the raid of 654 A.D. on Maimurg in Sogd may mention. In 667 A.D., the first raid on Chaganian was made and a heavy blow was inflicted on the Hepthalites. The Arabs were preparing a military action on a large scale. One of the military-political preparatory measures was shifting from Basra and Kufa to Khorasan of 50 thousand Arab families. They were put up at five points in the form of garrisons.

One may agree with Gibb who considers that these measures had two goals: to strengthen the security of the regions already conquered and to accumulate strength for further conquests.⁸

Narshakhi informs that the Arab conquerors then crossed the Amu-Darya many times and conducted raids on Maverannahr. The Bukharan Queen paid them tribute every time and presented them gifts in order to buy peace and thus save herself from their invasion.

At the end of 673 A.D. in the beginning of 674 A.D., ruler of Khorasan Obeidullah ibn Ziyad, after a raid on Maverannahr captured and destroyed Ramitan near Bukhara but on being repulsed by the united troops of the Turks and the Bukharans made peace.

Having received from the Bukharan Queen a ransom and having taken as slaves 2,000 of local people skillful bowmen (from them he formed a detachment of personal guards) — and Obeidullah ibn Ziyad temporarily left Maverannahr.⁹

In 676 A.D., the new ruler of Khorasan Said ibn Osman crossed the Amu-Darya with his big army and reached Bukhara. The Bukharan Queen, as usual, paid a ransom; this time of 300,000 dirhams and gave a group of young Bukharan nobles as hostages. Said moved towards Samarkand. The Sogdians offered a courageous resistance. The fighting continued for more than a month. At last Said was compelled to conclude peace and retreat; taking with him prisoners and a small booty. On his way back he captured Termez.

Narshakhi and Balazuri narrate about the courageous deeds of Sogdian hostages who were taken as slaves by Said. "They (hostages — B.G.) told: whether there is any other humiliation which this man (Said — B.G.) would like us to suffer? He took us as slaves and forces us to work hard. If we will perish in this humiliation then it will be good for us. They entered the palace of Said, closed the doors and killed him and then committed suicide."¹⁰

Tabari narrates a highly interesting episode, characterizing the attitude of the population of the mountainous regions of Maverannahr towards the Arab conquerors. To the Arab ruler who was camping at Kesh came the nephew of Khuttalan malik. He betrayed his people and offered the Arabs to march against Khuttalan. The ruler gave his consent and sent his son Yazid ibn al-Muhallab.

⁸Ibid, p. 17.

⁹ The local tradition about this event is reflected in the works of Balazuri, Ya'qubi and Narshakhi. Tabari gives a slightly different narration. For analysis of these versions see: *Gibb N.A.*, 1923, pp. 17-18.

¹⁰Jalilov A., pp. 114-115. For analysis of versions of the sources, see: *Gibb N.A.*, 1923, pp. 18-19.

Tabari writes, "He stopped on the border of Khuttalan in a separate camp and malik's nephew — malik's name was then Sabal — put up a separate camp and Sabal attacked the nephew's camp at night time. His warriors raised a war cry in Arabic language. The nephew of malik thought that the Arabs had betrayed him and the Arabs, when he left their camp, feared that he would betray them. Then Sabal captured his nephew, brought him to his fortress and killed him...after the execution of malik's nephew his mother sent a message to the mother of Sabal saying how she hoped to preserve the life of Sabal after he murdered his nephew! The nephew was survived by seven brothers and all of them felt deeply hurt and she (Sabal's mother) was the mother of a single son". Sabal's mother sent a reply: "Lionesses have only a few pubs and pigs have many".¹¹

After the raid of Said, the Arab troops did not attack Maverannahr during the next five years. The Arabs made the third raid on Maverannahr during the reign of the Khorasan ruler Salm ibn Ziyad in the period of the Caliph Yazid ibn Muavia in 683 A.D. According to Balazuri, the Arab troops reached Khujand but were defeated there.¹² However, Samarkandians and the Bukharans defeated by the Arabs and were forced to pay ransom to the invaders.

In 689 A.D., the son of one rebellious Khorasan ruler Musa ibn Abdullah captured Termez and for 15 years remained in possession of this strong fortress. He did not acknowledge anyone is power and used to raid and loot the neighboring lands. Only in 704 A.D., the troops of the central Arab state, with the active support of the Sogdian and Turk army, succeeded in crushing this rebellion.¹³ A. Jalilov is correct when he writes: "...this victory over Musa had a double meaning. From one side, the fact that the local rulers along with the troops of Arab Caliphate liquidated the power of Musa was positive. But from the other side, by doing this they helped the Arab central power to get rid of a rebel who to some extent served as an obstacle to penetration into Central Asia".¹⁴

All the military campaigns of the Arabs in Maverannahr, before the appointment of Qutaiba ibn Muslim (705 A.D.) as the ruler of Khorasan, were of an uncoordinated character and served only the purpose of enrichment of one or the other Arab military leader through looting of the captured regions. After crushing and devastating the occupied regions, the Arab troops used to return to Merv.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE SOGDIANS, TOKHARISTANIANS AND OTHER PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA AGAINST THE CONQUERORS

The Arab aristocracy decided to implement the seizure of Maverannahr only after the end of internecine war for power inside the Caliphate and the

¹¹ Tabari, II., pp. 1040-1041.

¹² Balazuri, p. 413.

¹³ Barthold V.V., 1963, p. 242.

¹⁴ Jalilov A., 1961, p. 118.

rebellions in the already conquered countries suppressed during the reign of Caliph Abdulmalik ibn Marvan (685-705 A.D.)¹⁵

Taking advantage of the disunity in the country and infighting among the local aristocrats — dihkans, Qutaiba could gradually strengthen the position of the Caliphate in Central Asia. He subdued, in 705 A.D., separate districts of the Balkh region. Except proper Balkh, Chaganian (whose ruler Tish joined the Arabs at this time and instigated them against neighboring lands), Shuman and others submitted to him. In 706 A.D., he entered Maverannahr with a large army. As Tabari writes, Qutaiba, after crossing Amu-Darya, moved towards Paikend. In his army were the dihkans of Balkh, Chagan-khudat, traitors who supported the conquerors for the sake of their vested interests.

Paikend was at that time one of the most flourishing cities of Maverannahr. It was called "the city of traders" and also a "copper armoured city" as it had a strongly fortified citadel. Here the army of Qutaiba met with the stubborn resistance of the people. In the defense of the city took part not only the Paikendis but also other Sogdians to whom the former had turned for help. In the beginning they had an edge and the Arabs found themselves in a difficult situation. The Arab army was for a long time encircled by the Sogdians, the communication lines of Qutaiba were cut. Prayers held in all the mosques of Iran and Iraq, but Qutaiba saved not by prayers but by the absence of unity among the local rulers. Gradually some of them withdrew their troops. The ranks of the defenders of Paikend receded. Qutaiba took advantage of this: he captured the city, looted it and moved towards Bukhara. The siege of Paikend lasted, according to some sources, for 50 days and according to others 10 months.

Qutaiba hardly moved away from Paikend around thirty kilometers when the inhabitants of the city rebelled and killed the Arab garrison. Seizing Paikend second time, Qutaiba completely destroyed it, killed all men and took away women and children as slaves. The conquerors got hold of such a big booty, as they had never seized anywhere else. Perhaps the most important part of this booty was a large number of weapons and armours — a whole arsenal. The quality of this military hardware was so high that from that period in Arab poetry as an epithet for incomparable skill was used the term "Sogdian". According to some information, before the capture of Paikend in the army of Qutaiba, there were only 350 sets of armours and hence he insisted that the armours should not be a part of the divisible booty and he took them to equip his troops, which considerably strengthened the fighting power of the Arab forces.¹⁶

The tragedy of Paikend showed to the residents of Maverannahr as to how cruel and dangerous enemies they had encountered. Some rulers of Sogd, having called the Turks for help gathered near Ramitan (near Bukhara) and with the united forces challenged the Arab invaders. There a fierce battle took place. The Arab troops were encircled.

Then Qutaiba instigated the king of Sogd against the Turks and vice versa through secret agents and thus drove a wedge in their ranks. By this time, reinforcement troops arrived and Qutaiba broke the encirclement with their help.

¹⁵ For a summary of these events see: *Belyaev E.A.*, 1965, p. 180 onwards.

¹⁶ *Gibb H.A.R.*, 1923, pp. 33-34.

However, the heavy losses incurred by the Arabs forced Qutaiba to abandon temporarily the plan of conquering Maverannahr and return to Merv.

In 708 A.D., Qutaiba with new forces moved towards Maverannahr. Notwithstanding the stubborn resistance of the people of Sogd, he succeeded in reaching the lands of Bukhara and captured Ramitan. Having suffered big losses in autumn Qutaiba was again compelled to return to Khorasan. On coming to know about this failure, the ruler of Iraq Hajjaj, to whom Qutaiba owed allegiance as his chief, ordered Qutaiba to crush Bukhar-Khudat at any cost.

In 709 A.D. Qutaiba, with a large army, again crossed Amu-Darya and reached the vicinity of Bukhara. The people of Bukhara, as before, called the help of Sogdians and Turks. A bloody lighting ensued.

Qutaiba announced that any one bringing the head of the enemy would get one hundred dirhams. In the headquarters of the Arabs a large pyramid of the heads of the warriors of Maverannahr was raised. But this could not break the resistance of the defenders of Bukhara. They inflicted heavy blows on the Arab troops, fearing defeat Qutaiba again resorted to his usual tactics of treachery and deceit. As Narshakhi narrates he sent his agent to the king of Sogd Tarkhun, who told him that the Arabs would leave after sometime and then the Turks would attack him (Tarkhun) because Sogd was so rich and beautiful that they would like to capture it. Scared and deceived by these lies the Sogdian king sought advice as to what he should do. The advice was given to him, which was a very treacherous one: to conclude peace with Qutaiba by telling the Turks that a big reinforcement was coming to the Arabs. The Turks would also leave.

Tarkhun followed this advice, anti-Arab coalition collapsed and the Arab troops were able to capture Bukhara.

Qutaiba in order to strengthen his position concluded an agreement with the Sogdian ikhshid Tarkhun took as hostages the close retinues of the King and fixed a sum as tribute.

Taking advantage of the favorable situation, during the failures of the Arabs in the Bukharan oasis, the rulers of some Tokharistan land, including the ruler of Shuman, announced the rejection of recognition of the power of Qutaiba.

In 710 A.D., having collected new troops, Qutaiba began a military campaign against Shuman. The residents of Shuman rejected the ultimatum of the Arabs. Bravely and courageously they fought against the superior troops of the enemy. In one of the fiercely fought battles the ruler of Shuman was killed. Qutaiba, after crushing the city, moved towards Nasaf (near present-day Qarshi) and Kesh (present Shahrisabz) and captured Samarkand.

DEFENCE OF SAMARKAND

As mentioned above, the Samarkand ruler, Sogdian king Tarkhun concluded a peace agreement with the Arabs. He undertook to pay tribute. Next year Qutaiba sent his brother Abdurrahman to Samarkand to receive tribute. Tarkhun was compelled to pay it, which resulted in discontent among the

aristocracy of Samarkand (and undoubtedly among common Sogdians), Tarkhun was removed from power by his retinues and he committed suicide in despair.¹⁷

In 710, Gurak became the new Sogdian King. As H.A.R. Gibb, a specialist on events related to the epoch of Arab conquest, writes, he was a "statesman and patriot".¹⁸

The events of this period were unfolding in the following way: In Khwarezm a popular movement began which the brother of the Khwarezmshah Khurzad headed. Qutaiba under the pretext of helping the Khwarezmshah intervened in the affairs of Khwarezm and advanced towards Khwarezm with troops. In 710-712 A.D., Khwarezmshah concluded a peace treaty with Qutaiba and gifted him 10,000 cattle for bloody suppression of rebels. This implied recognition by the Khwarezmshah the power of the Arabs.

To disorient the Sogdians, Qutaiba spread rumors that he was going to Merv taking with him the looted booty, but instead of it, he moved to Samarkand with the troops of Khwarezmshah and Bukhar-Khudat.

The situation shaping at that time was characteristic of not only absence of a single front of struggle against the Arabs, but what is worse, the treachery of the rulers of Bukhara and Khwarezm. The Khwarezm and Bukhara troops actively fought against Samarkand on the side of the Arabs while the Samarkandians had to defend themselves, individually. At the same time, inside Samarkand unanimity was absent. After the death of Tarkhun in Sogd, there was a strong group of aristocrats who had pro-Arab feelings. One of its representatives was perhaps the Panjakent king Devashtich. After the suicide of Tarkhun, he was the guardian of his minor sons and took the title of "Sogdian king, Samarkand ruler" (this title known from Sogdian documents of Mug hill).

I.U. Krachkovsky thinks, "perhaps the matter went deeper and in Arab and Arabophil circles there was an assumption to project the sons of Tarkhun as the successors of the "legitimate" dynasty of the Sogdian kings as against Gurak".¹⁹ This assumption can be made in connection with Devashtich also, although it is quite possible that the adoption by him of the title "Sogdian king, Samarkand ruler" took place considerably later, in 719 A.D. calculatingly and treacherously Qutaiba announced that he came to avenge the death of Tarkhun.²⁰

By this announcement he activated the followers of the dethroned Sogdian King and gave him the opportunity to unite with the openly Arabophil elements. A significant role in the camp of Arab followers was played by Devashtich. All this complicated the situation extremely for Gurak and for the defenders of Samarkand, who led by him.

V.V. Barthold has made a detailed analysis of the written sources about the process of conquest of Samarkand.

The main source — Tabari — contains three versions and a summary written on the basis of several sources.²¹ During the stubborn fight, in which the

¹⁷Tabari, II, 1229; Ibn-al-Asir, IV, 437-438.

¹⁸Gibb, H.A.R., 1923, p. 42.

¹⁹V.A. and I.Yu. Krachkovsky, 1934, p. 70.

²⁰Tabari, II, 1249.

²¹Barthold V.V., 1964, pp. 382-384.

Arabs suffered big losses, the defenders of the town displayed wonders of heroism. As King Gurak informed, in one of his letters, "Many of our warriors perished and were wounded, infantry and cavalry of Dashi (Arabs-B.G.) were considerably large in number and we could not resist them, I retreated towards the cover of the fortress walls in order to defend ourselves".²²

The Sogdians sought help from the King of Chach, Turk Kagan and the Ikhshid of Fergana, writing to them "If the Arabs captured Sogd then their turn will also come". It was decided to help Sogd by sending cavalry forces from the "sons of the King and the most brave from the King's young warriors". The son of the Kagan was made the chief.²³ The Turk troops were on the borders of Sogd at that time and could have given help to the anti-Arab struggle. That is why the younger son of the Turk Kagan — Inel — Kagan was made the head of the troops who was the Chief of the Turk troops in the West.²⁴ However, because of good intelligence work, Qutaiba came to know about the movement of these troops beforehand and sent select forces under his brother to meet them. The Arabs laid an ambush, in which the allies of the Sogdians who knew nothing about it were trapped. The contingent, which was coming to help Gurak, was destroyed in this battle. The Arabs came to know that the troops destroyed in this ambush consisted of noble warriors. After cutting their heads they wrote their names on their ears, fixed these heads on their belts and returned to the camp. An Arab participant of this event narrates: "There was none of us who did not have on his belt the head of an eminent enemy...and we took away excellent weapons, rich clothes, golden belts, wonderful horses, and Qutaiba presented all this to us. In addition, the Sogdians broken by this; Qutaiba aimed catapults at them and started firing, all the time fighting them. The Bukharans and Khwarezmians, who were on his side and fought with cruelty [against the Sogdians — B.G.], were an example for them". Then Gurak hurled angry words at them (Arabs) which infuriated Qutaiba and his companions: "You are fighting against me with the hands of my brothers and the people of my land but you put against me the Arabs!"²⁵ This and also several other skirmishes in which the balance was tilted on the side of the Arabs (Ya'qubi writes about several "stubborn battles"), compelled the Sogdians to take cover behind the walls of Samarkand (in the last big battle near Samarkand the victory in the beginning seemed to be on the side of the Sogdians, but then the Arabs succeeded in getting an upper hand).

The siege started. Gurak himself wrote about this as follows: "Then the Arabs besieged the city. They put against the walls 300 wall breaking machines, in three places they dug out deep trenches. They wanted to destroy our city and our kingdom".²⁶

The wall-breaking machines pounded day and night the walls of Samarkand. The Arabs could succeed in making a hole, but the Sogdians mended it. Shooting from the arrows, making sorties, the Sogdians inflicted big losses on

²²*Chavannes E.*, p. 205.

²³*Tabari, II*, pp. 1247-1249.

²⁴*Klyashtorny S.G.*, 1964, pp. 146-153.

²⁵*Tabari, II*, pp. 1242-1248.

²⁶*Chavannes E.*, 1903, p. 205.

the besieging Arabs. But at last the city fell. Gurak was forced to sign a treaty which was extremely harsh for Samarkand by which he undertook to pay two million dirhams, at once, and hand over three thousand adult slaves, give away treasure of idols from the temples of fire and also pay annually 200 thousand dirhams. Besides, according to tentative conditions, the Samarkandians were to construct in their city a mosque for the Muslims and also not to keep Sogdian troops in Samarkand. As a reward for this Qutaiba confirmed Gurak as a ruler "of Samarkand its lands and outside territory of Kesh and Nakhshab and of the cities and fortresses", Gurak became Qutaibas vassal. Fearing uprising of Sogdians, Qutaiba left his forces in the city.²⁷

However, the freedom-loving spirit of the Samarkandians was not broken. Already in the autumn of 712 A.D. as Ya'qubi²⁸ informs, "the people of Samarkand rebelled against him (Arab ruler — B.G.) and the King of the Turks, Kagan, attacked him". Only after the arrival of Qutaiba (in the spring of 713 A.D.) with the main Arab forces, the Arab garrison was saved from destruction. Interesting information about these events exist also in old Turkic sources. According to them, the Sogdian mission headed by Suk²⁹ arrived in the Turk headquarters. In response a large inscription, in honor of Kultegin, informs, "in order to comfort the Sogdians" Turks went up to "the Iron gate", (present Baisuntau)³⁰ As G. Gibb rightly noted, the conquest of Samarkand did not lead automatically to subjugation of Sogd and Sogdians — a considerable part of them did not accept the Arab power and remained free.³¹ Nevertheless, the uprising of the people of Samarkand crushed with cruelty.

Notwithstanding the fact that even after ten years of incessant bloody wars, Maverannahr subjugated by the super power of the Caliphate. The people of Maverannahr did not consider themselves finally subdued. Every year in autumn, fearing the freedom-loving inhabitant of this country, Qutaiba used to dispatch his troops across the Amu-Darya and station them in Merv and other cities of Khorasan, and in spring after collecting troops again attacked Maverannahr. However, every time he used to go on his military campaigns against Maverannahr with fresh forces because his losses in these campaigns were very heavy.

THE COALITION OF SOGD, CHACH, FERGANA AND THE TURKS

In 712-713 A.D., a coalition of the Turk Kaganate and three big states — then not subjugated by the Arabs — Sogd, Chach and Fergana — came out against the Arabs.

²⁷ For details of these events see: *Kurat A.N.* 1948, pp. 387-430; *Smirnova O.I.*, 1957, pp. 119-134; *Smirnova O.I.*, 1960, pp. 69-79; *Klyashtornyi S.G.*, 1959, pp. 151-152.

²⁸ *Ya'qubi*, II, p. 334.

²⁹"The monument in honor of Tunyukuk", 46-47., *Malov. S.E.*, 1951, p. 69.

³⁰"The monument in honor of Kultegin", large inscription, 39-40., *Malov S.E.*, 1951, p. 41.

³¹ *Gibb, H.A.R.*, 1923, p. 47.

The internal struggle among the Sogdian aristocrats, the capitulation of Gurak and his recognition by Arabs, as king of Sogd, led Devashtich to join the anti-Arab struggle. He sent to Chach and neighboring regions, his emissary named Fatufarn. In the castle on Mug hill the report sent by this emissary from Chach is preserved. It is a wonderful document buoyantly and directly describing the complex and dramatic situation of that period. Fatufarn, addressing Devashtich as "master", writes: "And, my master, I arrived here to the Chach king. And, my master, I handed over the letters, and what had to be said orally, I fully told, without omitting anything to Tudun (ruler of Chach — B.G.) and to the "assistant". And, my master, the letter to Kagan and the letter to Fergana King I sent through the Fergana Tutuk (title — B.G.). And, my master, I cannot go further, because, my master, according to rumors, the Kagan is not accessible. And, my master, from Tudun and from his "assistant" I got a letter and replies..., and the whole of the Ustrushan province has been given away. And, my master, I am all alone, without any companion, and, my master, I do not dare to go further. And, my master, hence I returned again to Chach. And, my master, because of this I am greatly afraid of you. And, my master, Tudun has retreated in accordance with truce with Arabs. And, my master, according to the truce Zhamravaz and the Persian military commander have gone down — it is rumored — in order to get ransom and to take away troops from the Arabs... And, my master, Tudun has concluded peace with Tarband, and, my master, in this way he got all the lands. And, my master, the rumor goes that the "assistant" is worried by the "truce" and he is also afraid of you because he did not come to meet you." In the concluding part there is information how this report was sent to Devashtich — through Kand (present Kanibadam) and perhaps further through Isfara — to Matcha and further along the Valley of Zerafshan to the residence of Devashtich.³²

The name of Tudun — the ruler of Chach — is known from other written sources. It is Mohedu - tutun (Bagatur-tudun).³³

V.A. Livshits assumes that along with tudun whose residence was Tarband (now Otrar) there existed a local ruler also — the ruler of Chach, with his residence in Chach — Binket.³⁴ S.G. Klyashtornyi who rightly insists on the similarity of "tudun" and the "ruler of Chach" does not share this point of view.³⁵ Kagan is a Turk Inel-Kagan.³⁶

The King of Fergana was also a participant in this coalition. To these three participants of coalition, Devashtich himself should also be added. In addition, although Sogd, particularly its mountainous regions and Samarkand, not yet fully subjugated, Qutaiba ibn Muslim decided to deliver a blow to more powerful participants of the anti-Arab coalition of Fergana, Chach and Turks. Gathering a large army, he divided it into two columns — one consisting mostly of "allies" the troops formed from the residents of Kesh, Nasaf and

³²*Livshits V.A.*, 1962b, pp. 77-91.

³³*Bichurin, II*, 1950, p. 313.

³⁴*Livshits V.A.* 1962 b, pp. 82-83.

³⁵*Klyashtornyi S.G.*, 1959, p. 159-161.

³⁶*Klyashtornyi S.G.*, 1960, p. 134; *Klyashtornyi S.G.*, 1959, p. 154.

Khwarezm — was sent by him to Chach, and the other moved towards Khujand and Fergana. The information about the military actions of the Northern column is in fragments. It captured Chach and burnt down most of its settlements. The Southern column led by Qutaiba himself, after several battles, captured Khujand and reached Kasan. Here both columns united. From the information of Ibn Haukal³⁷ and Istakhri³⁸ in which unfortunately there are many anachronisms, it is clear that Qutaiba conducted the military campaign in Ustrushan not only in the valley but also in its foothills as well.³⁹ There is information about the appointment of an Arab ruler by Qutaiba in Fergana and also about setting up of Arab colonies in Chach and Fergana, but there are reasons to doubt the credibility of this information. Qutaiba won but the resistance of the people of Fergana and Chach could not be broken at all. In this historical context the information, which is contained in the report of Fatufarn, who was sent at the peak of military actions in 713 A.D., can be understood.

Next year (714 A.D.) Qutaiba once again attacked Chach. He made it his headquarter and undertook a military campaign towards Isfijab (present Sairam not far away from Chimkent). Qutaiba was interested not only in the importance of this center for trade, but its strategic role. Having captured Isfijab, Qutaiba hoped to cut through the main routes along which the Turk troops who were moving for the help of their Central Asian allies.

In the beginning of 715 A.D., Qutaiba once again delivered a blow on Fergana. The Fergana King had to flee. At this time Suleiman, the enemy of Qutaiba became the Caliph. Qutaiba started a rebellion, which ended in his defeat and death in 715 A.D.

Having finished the conquest of Central Asia, the Arabs made Merv the center of their Vice-regency, which included Khorasan and Maverannahr — far away from the "turbulent" Bukhara and Samarkand.

What helped the success of the Caliphate in conquering Central Asia? The main reason for this success was the political disunity of the country, which was skillfully used by the Arabs to their own interest. From the first days of their entry into Maverannahr, they took all measures to ensure that the separate regions of Central Asia did not unite. They succeeded in it. Qutaiba helped it first one by the warring rulers, crushed his enemy, and then subjugated the others. Sometimes it so happened that the certain rulers of Maverannahr fought with each other in the interests of the Caliphate. For capturing Sogd, Qutaiba used, in addition to the Arab troops the military forces of Khwarezm, Bukhara and Nasaf and later he also used the Sogdian troops in military actions on his side.

The other reason for the success of the troops of the Caliphate was that sometimes they were able to divide and instigate the Central Asians exploiting the differences between Turk nomads and the inhabitants of agricultural oases of Central Asia.

³⁷*Ibn Haukal, BGA., II, 1873, p. 328.*

³⁸*Istakhri, BGA., I, 1870, p. 383.*

³⁹*Negmatov N.N., 1954, p. 120.*

Lastly, the Caliphate had a large military superiority. After conquering of many countries the Caliphate tried to use the local population and material resources of the conquered territories for undertaking further operations.

The popular masses of Central Asia put up a tough resistance against the Arab conquerors. But many times they were betrayed by their petty rulers as it happened, for example, in Khwarezm and Sogd. Many of the local rulers, trusting the promises of the Arabs, preferred to give in to the conqueror and not to lead the struggle of the masses for independence.

3. THE CONQUEST OF MAVERANNAHR BY THE ARABS (SECOND PERIOD)

CONDITION OF PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA

In all the cities and large settlements of Central Asia, the Arabs stationed their garrisons with the support of which they kept the local population in subjugation and conducted collection of taxes. The domination of the Arab Caliphate in Central Asia was a heavy burden on its people. For example, leaving Samarkand, after its conquest Qutaiba gave the following order to his brother, who headed the Arab garrison: "Do not allow any polytheist to enter any of the gates of the Samarkand before a [mud] seal was put on his hand and if the mud dries up before his leaving the city then kill him, and if you find in his possession an iron knife, kill him. And if after the closure of the gate for the night you find anyone in the city, and then kill him".⁴⁰ The newcomers looted the conquered country, forced its people to accept the new religion, and persecuted the culture and traditions of the people subjugated by them. Not contented with the riches grabbed during their conquest of the cities, the conquerors took from the local population numerous taxes forcing them to provide their new masters slaves, women slaves, cattle and bread, textiles and various other goods and also the supplies everything required by the Arab garrison.

In the conquered regions, the Arab aristocracy occupied the best lands and irrigational structures. It imposed tributes on the cities. Some of the Arab warriors settled on the irrigated land, taken away from the local population.

Taxes were imposed according to the Sasanid model: land tax (kharaj up to half of the produce), poll tax (jizya) initially taxes levied on persons who did not convert to Islam. Besides these, peasants and craftsmen paid other taxes also. They were forced to work in construction of buildings, bridges and fortress walls, digging of canals, etc. For non-payment of taxes people were subjected to punishment and land was taken away from them in some cities — Merv, Samarkand, Bukhara and others. Arab garrisons and administration occupied half of the houses of local people for their use. Although some times, for example as in Bukhara, such confiscation was made under the pretext of constantly watching how local people follow the directives of Islam. However, it was just one

⁴⁰Tabari, II, pp. 1250, 1252.

more form of exploiting the local population because the conquerors, having become the owners of the houses, often forced the former owners to toil for them.

Arab Caliphs conducted the policy of inculcating Islam in the conquered regions. In Central Asia they also tried to strengthen their domination through such means. At the beginning of Arab penetration into Central Asia there was no single religion there. Along with the widely spread Zoroastrianism there were the followers of Buddhism, Christianity, Manichaeism and Judaism. The Arabs declared all these religions as false; they fought particularly against Zoroastrianism, which was the religion of the majority of the population of Central Asia. In order to completely liquidate the influence of other religions, the Caliph's vice-regents destroyed the religious literature of the peoples of Central Asia; especially Zoroastrian. Consequently, not only religious but also secular literature of the people of Maverannahr including the works in Sogdian script almost completely vanished.

The local people accepting Islam were in the beginning given various concessions. Those who followed the instructions of the new religion were paid money. Those who refused to follow Islam made to pay poll tax—jizya. These measures helped in spreading Islam in Central Asia. However, the majority of people, who converted to Islam for a long time, continued to practice their former religion though secretly.

THE STRUGGLE OF SOGDIANS, FERGANIANS AND TURKS IN 720-722 A.D.

In historical literature sometimes, there are references to the Chinese participation in the anti-Arab struggle. This is, however, based on a misunderstanding. In fact, as the written sources show, the Tang emperors instigated the Central Asian rulers against the Arabs. They expressed their gratitude to them and bestowed on them high ranks. While instigating the Central Asians against the Arabs by promising them help in the future, they demanded, as a condition for their help, the acceptance of vassalage relation with China. Yet in reality the Chinese state did not even raise a finger to help the peoples of Central Asia.

As L.N. Gumilev⁴¹ noted, the Tang state did not even remove a single regiment from the other borders and did not send any military detachment to help the Ferganians and Sogdians. As this scholar writes, "The Emperors hoped that the fear of plunder by Arabs and Tibetans would push the whole population of Central Asia into their arms and they only need to begin organizing them".⁴²

⁴¹Gumilev L.N., 1967 a, p.355.

⁴²Along with valuable observations about Central Asian-Chinese relations in that period, L.N. Gumilev; expressed an idea, which seems to be mistaken. The Central Asian rulers, writes L.N. Gumilev, "desired that troops be sent to them [from China – B.G.] and in China they were waiting for the possibility of getting reinforcement from them. As soon as they understood it in Sogdiana, its resistance to the Arabs stooped as hopeless". (L.N. Gumilev, 1967a, p.355). Thus, L.N. Gumilev puts the continuation of resistance to Arabs by Central Asian peoples as totally

Not receiving help from the Chinese, the Sogdians tried to renew their coalition with Fergana and the Turks. In 720 A.D. in Sogd again explodes a powerful struggle for independence.

The preceding events developed as follows: The Caliph Omar ibn Abdulaziz (717-719 A.D.) did not announce the introduction of financial reforms, according to which neither khiraj nor jizya was to not taken from the newly converted Muslims or form the Muslim Arabs. He also prohibited Arabs to acquire or capture land in future as it decreased the khiraj revenues in the central treasury. But the vice-regent of Khorasan evaded the order of the Caliph on one or the other pretext. The Central Asian aristocracy, many representatives of which declared themselves as Muslims, did not wish to pay the tax, keeping this amount to themselves. Between the aristocracy and the local representative of the Caliphate administration arose a conflict. On the side of the Central Asian aristocracy were the people who experienced the terror and unlimited exploitation by the Arabs. Rumors were spreading fast that in 100 A.D. of Hijra, i.e., in 718-719 A.D., the power of the Arabs would end.⁴³

The military campaign of Gurak against the Arabs, possibly led to Devashtich, declaring himself the ruler of Samarkand, the king of Sogd, at the instigation of the Arabs.

Against the Arabs came out the groups of Sogdian aristocracy, which were earlier, quarrelling with each other and having different orientations. The Turks were called for help.

The Sogdians rose in rebellion in the beginning of 720 A.D. The help from Turks came — the Kagan sent an army headed by Kursul. The allies inflicted on Arabs a heavy defeat. In Sogd there were hardly any region or ruler who did not rise against the Arab invaders. Only in separate districts, Arab garrisons remained but they also had to pay ransom to the rebels and hand over the hostages. The roles changed. Caught in a mouse-trap like situation the invaders trembled before the sea of people's anger. The efforts of the ruler of Khorasan to suppress the uprising were in vain. Said-al-Kharashi was appointed ruler of Khorasan. He became "famous" by his ruthless suppression of people's uprising in Iraq. The new ruler started negotiations with the rebels. And, instantly, a part of the aristocracy betrayed the cause of uprising. Among these betrayers was the King of Sogd — Gurak who not only switched over to the side of the Arabs but

dependent on the Chinese help. We may note that this conclusion, so categorically expressed by Gumilev, contradicts the information provided by him further when he speaks of the struggle against Arab invaders which the Sogdians continued in alliance with the Turks by stating that the Sogdian mountainous people "did not want even to hear of Islam and taxes related to it". (L.N. Gumilev, 1967a, p.357). In fact, in the end of 718 or in the beginning of 719 A.D., the Sogdian King Gurak sent a letter to the Chinese emperor. It stated in this letter that the Sogdians, every year, collect a large army for struggle against the Arabs, but not even once the Emperor had sent military assistance. At the end of the letter, Gurak requested to send some Chinese soldiers (*Chavannes E.*, 1903, p.205). As it is known, the Chinese again did not help. But contrary to L.N. Gumilev the Sogdians did not stop the resistance to Arabs at all.

⁴³Barthold V.V., 1964, pp.382, 384-387.

also committed himself to go along with them against his own people.⁴⁴ However, a considerable part of the rebels decided not to give up to the Arabs and to go to the regions, which were, then beyond the Arab power.

One such region was Fergana. Its king, Alutar, promised Sogdians asylum and patronage. Taking advantage of this, a large group of Sogdians, from different parts of Sogd, decided to go to Fergana. This group was led by Karzanch — a man of great courage. He did not like the idea of taking shelter in Fergana and suggested his own plan — either to attack the vanguard of the Arab army and destroy it or to go beyond Syr-Darya to the Turks. However, Sogdian traders and dihkans did not agree to this and insisted on going to Fergana.

When the rebel groups started moving towards Fergana, Alutar treacherously began negotiations with the Arabs promising them to hand over the rebels. He informed the Sogdians that his commitment towards them would come into force during 20 or 40 days after they had taken shelter in one of the gorges of Isfara. While these negotiations were going on, the Arab troops approached Khujand, where Sogdians were camping temporarily; the Arab protege Alutar, of course, refused to help the people deceived by him.

The seizure of Khujand (spring or summer of 722 A.D.) was not easy for the Arabs. The Sogdians fought to death. They dug out a moat near the city gate, camouflaged it and then pretending to flee they trapped the Arabs and took dozens of them as prisoners. But when the Arab reinforcement arrived with wall-breaking equipment, the situation of the besieged became critical. They accepted the conditions of Arabs to return to Sogd, to pay khiraj and to free the Arab prisoners. The Sogdians were disarmed.

Accusing one of them for crime, the Arabs started killing all of them. However, even in the last moments of their life the Sogdian warriors behaved like heroes: Tabari writes in astonishment that disarmed Sogdians put up resistance and fought with sticks.⁴⁵ All of them were killed and only 400 traders survived, who paid off a large ransom. The ordinary people of Khujand also suffered: the Arab commander ordered the peasants of Khujand to wear lead seals on their necks and those who did not obey this order killed.

Devashtich led the other group of rebels. The group led by him moved from Panjakent up along the Zerafshan River. A.Iu. Yakubovsky thinks that Devashtich intended to take his people through the Shahristan pass to Khujand and then to Fergana.⁴⁶ But his plan was destined not to be implemented. Near village Kum there was a castle, Abgar (or Abargar), which is identified (although it is disputable) with the castle on Mug hill.⁴⁷ The Arab army included the troops of some Central Asian rulers. The effort of Devashtich to stop the advance of the enemy in an open battle did not succeed. After some time the besieged, felt the shortage of food supplies. Devashtich was compelled to start negotiations. To one hundred families of the besieged including Devashtich himself, life was guaranteed. But here also the

⁴⁴ Perhaps he adopted this course fearing that the Arabs would confirm Devashtich on the Sogdian throne.

⁴⁵ *Tabari, II*, 1445.

⁴⁶ *Yakubovsky A.Iu.*, 1950, p.39.

⁴⁷ *Volin S.*, 1940.

conquerors showed their usual treachery: Devashtich was brutally killed. He crucified and his severed head sent to the ruler of Ifraq.⁴⁸

This anti-Arab movement suppressed with unprecedented cruelty. Many local rulers and dihkans killed, Arab military commanders seized their lands and the exploitation of peasants was intensified.

Some rulers of Central Asian territory, even after the defeat of the anti-Arab movement of 720-722 A.D., did not lay down their arms. Among them were even those who had earlier bowed their heads before the conquerors. In particular, in 723 A.D. the Fergana king Alutar moved his troops against the Arabs. Along with the Turks and the Chachans, the army of Fergana defeated the conquerors, chasing them all the way from Khujand to Samarkand. Then an uprising again took place in Sogd. Struggle laded out for some time only to flare up again. Military actions proceeded with alternate success.⁴⁹

KHUTTALAN IN STRUGGLE WITH CONQUERORS

Courageous and freedom-loving people of Khuttalan offered serious resistance to the Arabs. At that time, Khuttalan covered the territory of the Kulab group of districts and the Vakhsh Valley. Politically, other districts of Southern Tajikistan were under it. The King of Khuttalan had at his disposal 50 thousand troops.⁵⁰

The Arabs decided to launch serious military action against Khuttalan in 725 A.D. only. The Arab vice-regent Asad ibn Abdallah after restoring Balkh undertook a military campaign against Khuttalan. The united forces of the King of Khuttalan and the Kagan of the Turks met Arabs. The Arab troops started fleeing. Tabari informs that when Asad ibn Abdallah after shameful failure of his military campaign against Khuttalan returned to Balkh, the residents of Balkh composed a funny song about him — the first preserved work in Tajik language: "you came from Khuttalan dishonored, defeated, exhausted and confused".⁵¹

The defeat was so crushing that for more than ten years the Arabs did not dare to seize Khuttalan. Only in 737 A.D. Asad ibn Abdallah invaded Khuttalan. In the beginning he had an upper hand, but the Kagan of the Turks came to know about his incursion. With a large army, the Kagan advanced to help Khuttalanians. Asad ibn Abdallah retreated. He crossed the river Panj, in the region of Salt Mountain (at present called Khoja Mumin). In this process, the Arabs lost all their supplies. The Turk troops and the Khuttalanians chased the Arabs along the left bank of the river as well. The anti-Arab coalition had opportunity to completely destroy the Arab forces, demoralized by chaotic retreat and to capture Balkh. But instead of delivering a concentrated and immediate blow on the Arab army the allies waited for long and were engaged in less important points, dispersing their troops all over the country and when the

⁴⁸ *Tabari, II*, 1447-1448; *Ibn-al Asir*, V. 82.

⁴⁹ For details see: *Kadirova T.*, 1965, pp.80-85.

⁵⁰ *Chavannes E.*, 1903 pp. 200-201.

⁵¹ *Tabari, II*, pp. 492, 494, 1602-1603.

fighting took place near Kharistan between the troops of the allies and Asad, the Arabs not only succeeded in evading defeat but also in destroying the Kagan and the Khuttalanians. Badr-Tarkhan⁵² was the ruler of Khuttalan at that time. On being encircled, Badr-Tarkhan and his troops fought against the Arabs. But at last the Khuttalanians were forced to start negotiations. Badr-Tarkhan was promised safety of life but it was a deceit: as in the case of Devashtich, the promise was broken and Badr-Tarkhan was brutally killed. Only after this, the Arabs seized Khuttalan.

One of the descendants of the ruler of Khuttalan was compelled to move to Fergana. Followed by the Arabs he fled from there to Ustrushana. He and his companions took with them many idols and installed them in Ustrushana.⁵³

At the helm of affairs in Ustrushana stood Afshin. Supported by the small landowners (dihkans) and the sympathy and active struggle of freedom-loving agriculturist communards, the Ustrushan Afshin did not allow Arab invaders to enter their land until the end of the VIII century.⁵⁴

In 728 and 736-737 A.D., the population of Tokharistan and Sogd rose against the Arabs, supported by the forces of the Turk Kagan. The condition of the Arabs was very critical, especially in 737 A.D.

The details of these uprisings are as follows: During the reign of Caliph Hisham (724-743 A.D.), the majority of the population of Sogd accepted Islam only outwardly and did not pay the poll tax (jizya). The treasury of the Caliphate, at that time, grew scanty and in order to replenish it, the Caliph ordered that all people accepting Islam should pay additional tax. Indignant population made an appeal to the center of the Caliphate in which it was said that introduction of additional tax was illegal because it contradicts the promise of exemption of the faithful from payment of jizya. As was expected the demand to abolish the tax was rejected. Then the Sogdians disowned Islam and again returned to their ancient faith. They called for the help of the Turks and rose against the authority of the Caliph. The uprising became widespread and the whole territory of Maverannahr, except Samarkand and Dabusiya, came under the rebels.

The complexity of the situation in Khorasan and Maverannahr compelled the Caliph to change some vice-regents in a very short time. In 738 A.D. Nasr ibn Saiar became the vice-regent of Khorasan and Maverannahr. For a long time he was dealing with state affairs in Khorasan. In 738-739 A.D. a new vice-regent undertook three military campaigns to Maverannahr (in Samarkand, Chach and Farab) for suppression of the uprisings of the local population. Nasr ibn Saiar tried to establish close relations with local aristocracy in order to keep the country in control, with its help. He entered into a matrimonial alliance with the aristocracy of Maverannahr by marrying the daughter of Bukhar-Khudat.

Notwithstanding all this, the struggle of the people against the invaders continued. Central Asia considered one of the most undependable outskirts of the Caliphate.

⁵² About him see: *Smirnova O.L.*, 1969, pp. 217-220.

⁵³ *Tabari, II*, 1694. For a detailed account of the struggle of Khuttalan against the Arabs, see: *Belenitsky A.M.*, 1950a, pp.113-120.

⁵⁴ *Negmatov N.N.*, 1954.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE INCORPORATION OF CENTRAL ASIA IN THE ARAB CALIPHATE

While evaluating the historical significance of the Arab conquest one should not run to extremes, which can be found often in a disguised form in some research works. Analyzing such a complex phenomenon, as the Arab conquest of Central Asia, it is necessary first of all to go by the class positions, taking into account extraordinary variegated class and tribal composition of the feudal society.⁵⁵

There is no doubt that the Sasanid administration and local secular and religious aristocracy heavily exploited the peasants and artisans in Iran and Central Asia, that is why the masses initially refused to support the government in its struggle against the Arabs. The slogan of Arab rulers about equality and freedom were sometimes mistakenly understood by people as the resurrection of the traditions of the Mazdakit movement. All this helped the victorious advance of the Arabs along the territory of Iran and Khorasan in the first period of conquest.

At the same time, the Arab conquest of Central Asia was first an annexationist war in the interests of the Arab ruling clique, which brought destruction and violence, the loss of land and homes and the perspective of double oppression to the conquered people.

The local rulers, having become free from Sasanid Iran, particularly in the second half of the VII century, fell under the power of more brutal Arab administration. The conquerors conducted a policy of plunder and oppression. As a result of this, especially in the subsequent stage of conquest in many places the people of Central Asia came out against the conquerors and staunchly offered armed resistance.

It is also necessary to take into account that the situation was changing in relation to place and time. The initial efforts to "pacify" the Arabs by presenting them tributes and ransom gave way to armed resistance. The Arab onslaught grew, the politics of the feudalized top clique of the Caliphate changed, which became more and more brutal in relation to the conquered people, as this vast state grew more strong. And then, the relatively peacefully annexed districts, rose to put up strong resistance to them often anticipating the help from the eastern allies, especially the Turks. Such was the historical situation in Central Asia of VII-VIII centuries in general.

The ethnogenesis, linguistic and cultural processes on the territories incorporated into the Caliphate were very complex and contradictory. In the Near East and North Africa the large ethnic territories were being "Arabised". But in those regions also, where the population preserved the native language, Islamisation took place and Arab language spread which was considered sacred: only those who knew it could read Koran and religious literature. Like the Latin language in medieval Western Europe, the Arab language, on the territory of the Caliphate, became an almost universal scientific language (only later the scientific literature in the local languages developed again). The culture of the peoples of the Caliphate or as it was sometimes incorrectly called Muslim culture (and completely incorrect as Arab culture), — is the result of the synthesis of creative achievements of many peoples

⁵⁵ Ghafurov B.G., 1963 a.

including Central Asians. The existence of a single religious world outlook (Islam) and common (at least in the initial stages) language, close and continuous interaction shaped many specific features of this culture. However, let us stress again: each of the peoples incorporated into the Caliphate had a considerable cultural specificity, originality defined by its own cultural traditions and socio-economic factors, which especially from the end of the IX-X century led to the gradual cultural disintegration.

The culture of the peoples of the Caliphate, of the IX-XII centuries, was incomparably higher than the synchronous European culture. The greatest historical achievement of the peoples incorporated into the Caliphate was retransmission for the whole humankind of the many antique traditions, especially, in the realm of natural sciences and philosophy, which creatively processed by the scientists and scholars of the Caliphate. Their activities and works helped, in acquainting the Europeans with the achievements of the peoples of the East. The works of such Central Asian scholars as Farabi, Biruni, Ibn Sina and many others made a great contribution to the science and culture of not only the Caliphate but of the whole mankind. Medical works and mathematical treatises, astronomical tables and Arabic translations from different languages, penetrated the West and remained for centuries the most dependable manual. In the development of Western European literature, the role of the East is quite significant; there is an assumption that the rhyme came to Roman poetry from the Arabic.⁵⁶

Thus from the point of view of the historical perspective the incorporation of Central Asia into the Caliphate helped in the long run in increasing the pace of development of feudalism, consolidation of the Central Asian ethnic groups, weakening of the disunity and in the establishment of a centralized state on the basis of which the local Central Asian and Iranian states were formed. Besides, at first having caused a considerable damage to local economy and culture it helped in wide development of contacts between different peoples on the basis of which the magnificent cultural synthesis in Central Asia and Near East of IX-XI centuries took place.

4. ROLE OF CENTRAL ASIAN PEOPLES IN THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE OMEIYADS AND THE ABBASIDS

OPPOSITION GROUPS IN THE CALIPHATE

The animosity towards the power of the Caliphate was strong in Central Asia and other countries, subjugated to the Caliphate. Not only the toiling masses but also the local landed aristocracy was dissatisfied with the regime, established by the administration of the Caliphate. Local aristocrats were, to a considerable extent deprived of political rights and the taxes from peasants for the Caliph and Arab aristocracy affected their incomes.

⁵⁶*Masse A., 1962; Mets A., 1966; Filshtinsky I.I., Shidfar B.Ya., 1971.*

Discontent arising from the policy of the Caliph, from the clan of the Omeiyad, seized not only the subjugated peoples but also the Arab population of the Caliphate. It was connected with the process of class stratification among the Arab tribes, collapse of the clan connections, and the growth of inequality in property, which was going on at that time.

Two main groups disputed the legality of the Omeiyads, being in power.

The first groups — Kharijits — consisted of the representatives of those layers, which were dissatisfied by the dominance of the Arab aristocracy. It opposed the principle of inheritance in the Caliphate and put forward the following formula: "There is no Caliph in way other than the wish of Allah and the people". The Kharijits thought that the Caliph selected by the commune can also be removed by it if he rules badly; that inside the Muslim commune there should be full equality. Subsequently it attracted to Kharijits the sympathy of wide circles of converts to Islam of non-Arab origin particularly peasants. In the VII-IX centuries the Kharijits took support of popular masses, expressed radical sociopolitical views.

The second group — party of Ali (Shias)⁵⁷ — initially expressed the interests of top clique of some old Mecca-Medina clans, recognizing the principle of inheritance in the Caliphate but considering as the legal heirs of the Prophets the descendants of Ali — cousin and son-in-law of Mohammad (the husband of his daughter Fatima). Ali and his younger son Hussain who killed in the internecine struggle were imparted the aura of the holy sufferer and became the banner of the struggle against the Omeiyads. Subsequently Shi'ism with its cult of Ali served as a banner of majority of opposition and sectarian currents in Islam. In particular, Shi'ism from the very beginning of its appearance was sympathized by the top clique of people subjugated by the Caliphate who saw in him the means of weakening of the alien yoke.⁵⁸

Besides, starting approximately from 718 A.D. the descendants of Abbas — the uncle of Mohammad from the father's side — was carrying out a secret propaganda against the domination of Omeiyads. The Abbasids stated that the right to Caliphate belongs to the clan of Hashim, that is, the clan to which Mohammad belonged. But they usually did not announce concretely who from this clan should be the Caliph. Hence, they could unite with the Shi'ites who thought that the Abbasids were acting in their interest.

The common dissatisfaction by the policy of the Omeiyads particularly became strong in the forties of the VII century during the rule of Marvan II (744-750 A.D.). It was caused by increase in the land tax (khiraj), and also by the wide use of forced labor of the local population during the large construction works started by this Caliph.

Caliph Marvan undertook several measures for providing security for the power of the Omeiyads: particularly shifted all the members of the Omeiyad family from Damascus to the city of Harran (new capital of the Caliphate), ordered to destroy all the fortresses except Antiochia, which served as the center of defense from the Byzantium, and to destroy all the city walls. But nothing

⁵⁷Shi'ite Ali — the "Party of Ali".

⁵⁸Petrushevsky I.P., 1966, pp. 38-57.

could stop the protest which already started developing. The common dissatisfaction with the Omeiyads went too far and for the first time in the history of the Caliphate, the court guards of the Caliph revolted.

One of the influential Abbasids Imam Ibrahim ibn Mohammad took over the leadership of the anti-Omeiyad propaganda and sent many emissaries — preachers to all the countries of the Caliphate. In particular, attention was given to the Eastern provinces.

The Abbasids announced that all the sufferings undergone by Muslims, during the century from the day of the birth of Islam, had occurred because of the Omeiyad Caliphate. In case the Omeiyads were overthrown, the Abbasids promised to people to decrease the khiraj and other taxes, to stop construction works in which the peasantry forced to work, to give the local population political rights and allow it to participate in the state affairs of the Caliphate.

Of course, the Abbasids and their emissaries were worried very little about the real interests of the popular masses, as were the Omeiyad Caliphs. These promises were given to attract the masses to their side in a dynastic struggle against the Omeiyads.

In Maverannahr and Khorasan, the Abbasids in their struggle against the Omeiyads, took the support of the local landed aristocracy, which hoped to gain an access to the governance of the country in case of success of the Abbasid coup d'etat. The emissaries of the Abbasids appeared in Khorasan during the period of Caliph Hisham's rule (724-743 A.D.). The sources contain information that during the period of vice-regency of Asad ibn Abdallah (735-738 A.D.) in Khorasan the legs and hands of some of the emissaries of the Abbasids cut off. The other vice-regent of Khorasan — Nasr ibn Sa'ar (738-748 A.D.)⁵⁹ also stubbornly persecuted the Shi'ites and the followers of the Abbasids.

In the second half of the forties of the VIII century, Abu Muslim, the initiator of the Abbasid coup d'etat, who gained a wide popularity, subsequently, took over the leadership of the struggle against the Omeiyads.

THE MOVEMENT OF ABU MUSLIM

Abu Muslim originated from peasants and according to some information was a slave in his adolescence. Near the largest city of Khorasan — Merv — Abu Muslim started secretly recruiting of Shi'ite and other discontented elements, acting as "confidential agent of the family of the prophet". This title was given to him by the Abbasids, in whose interests he was conducting this propaganda. When the base was ready on 9 July 747 A.D. Abu Muslim appealed to the people to start an open struggle by hoisting the black banner — the Abbasids had selected this color.

The appeal of Abu Muslim had a big success among Arabs as well as among the people subjugated to the Caliphate.

The Arabic-speaking author Dinaveri very colorfully narrates how the army of Abu Muslim grew: "The people from Herat, Busheng, Merverud,

⁵⁹Barthold V.V., 1963 b, pp. 246-250.

Taliquan, Merv, Nisa, Abiverd, Tus, Nishapur, Serakhs, Balkh, Chaganian, Tokharistan, Khuttalan, Kesh and Nasaf were hurrying to Abu Muslim. All the people dyed their dresses in black. They also painted half portion of their wooden clubs with black. These people came on horses, donkeys or on foot driving on their donkeys and shouting "Harro Marvan!", calling the donkeys Marvan — making mockery of the Caliph Marvan ibn Mohammad. They were 100 thousand in number.⁶⁰

Under the black banners, Yemen Arabs also marched. Their uprising was suppressed not long before this. The troops of Abu Muslim were also joined by slaves with the hopes for improvement of their conditions.

The vice-regent of Khorasan, Nasr ibn Saiar, on who lay the burden of fighting Abu Muslim tried in vain to unite the Arabs against him. The aristocracy of separate tribes was constantly fighting for power, which now got intensified. Inside the Arab tribes, a process of class stratification was going on. The class stratification among many Arabs, particularly those who belonged to the less well-to-do strata, was proceeding under the banner of Abu Muslim.

In the beginning of 748 A.D. Nasr ibn Saiar was compelled to give up to the rebels, Merv, the capital of Khorasan, and retreat towards Nishapur where one of the military commanders of Abu Muslim, who was entrusted the task of chasing Nasr, inflicted heavy defeat on him. It can be said that this battle decided the fate of the Omeiyads. Notwithstanding the fact that Caliph Marvan II had mobilized all the forces that were at his disposal and crushed the rebels and publicly executed Imam Ibrahim Abbasid, all this did not save the Omeiyads. The rebels delivered several deadly blows to their troops in Iraq and occupied Damascus, the largest center of the Omeiyads.

Thus, the troops mobilized by Abu Muslim in the Eastern provinces of the Caliphate, mostly from among the population of Central Asia and from Arabs discontented with the policy of the Omeiyads, crushed the military forces of the last representative of the Omeiyad dynasty in 750 A.D. Thus, the Abbasids came to power.

However, as was expected, after coming to power they did nothing for the masses, which were the main participants of the uprising. The promises given by them to the people remained unfulfilled. Abu Muslim who was appointed vice-regent of Khorasan also did not keep his promise.

Convinced that Abu Muslim and the Abbasids were not going to keep their promises, the Sogdians rose in rebellion in Bukhara, which headed by Shariq Ibn Sheikh under the Shi'it slogans. Abu Muslim sent a ten thousand-strong detachment against the rebels. However, the uprising acquired such a big scale that it could be suppressed only with the help of Bukhar-Khudat Qutaiba ibn Takhshad who sent against the toiling population of Bukhara a force equal in number to the troops sent by Abu Muslim.

Abu Muslim played a significant role in the struggle against the Chinese Emperor who, taking advantage of the internal fighting in the Caliphate, decided to establish his dominance in Central Asia, but failed in 751 A.D. during a fierce battle on the bank of river Talas near the present city of Jambul. The Arab army

⁶⁰Dinaveri, 1888, pp. 359-360.

under the leadership of one of the military commander of Abu Muslim succeeded in destroying the troops of the Chinese Emperor.

Notwithstanding the fact that Abu Muslim fought against the external enemies as well as with the anti-Abbasid movement inside the country and was an ardent supporter of the Abbasids, the latter did not trust him fully, suspecting him to be having a claim on the throne of the Caliph. In 755 A.D., Caliph Abu Jafar al – Mansur (754-775 A.D.) invited Abu Muslim to his palace and treacherously killed him.⁶¹

THE UPRISING OF SUMBAD MAG AND THE MOVEMENT OF MUQANNA'

Under the Abbasid Caliphate, the condition of popular masses was even harder than under the Omeiyads. Rent had a predominantly natural form. From the unirrigated lands, half of the crop was taken as rent, from the irrigated lands — from one-fourth to one-third of the crop. Sometimes taking advantage of the lack of convergence between the Muslim lunar calendar and the agricultural solar calendar, taxes were charged twice a year. To this added the false measurement and extortions during collection of taxes.

Because of intensification of the process of development of feudal relations, the land, which was nominally considered the property of the Caliph but in fact, was in the possession of the local landed aristocracy was divided in small plots and distributed on the basis of crop-sharing lease among the small cultivators. The former free communards lost their independence and became crop-sharers *kadivers*, that is, the freed slaves or the slaves settled on land. The Abbasid Caliphs adopted the Sasanid traditions and their palace luxuries. The local aristocrats also did not like to lag behind.

Many buildings — palaces, fortresses, etc. were erected. All the burdens related to these constructions were borne by the peasantry. The city artisans also were not in good conditions. They subjected to semi-feudal exploitation and completely ruined by heavy taxes, arbitrariness of the officials; natural rent's heavy burden lay on the nomadic Turks.

All this resulted in increased popular indignation. One of the biggest uprisings was the one led by Sumbad Mag. Sumbad was considered a close follower of Abu Muslim. He rose in revolt in 755 A.D. under the slogan "we should avenge the blood of Abu Muslim". He could attract to his side a large number of supporters from different strata of population. He was joined by the groups of Zoroastrians as well as by the followers of Mazdakism — Khurramits.⁶²"Surkhalem"⁶³ people also called Khurramits. The uprising covered a wide territory, including Khorasan and Tabaristan. The Abbasids could

⁶¹Barthold V.V., 1963 b, pp. 252-255; Yakubovsky A.Iu., 1954a, pp.19-26; Moscati S., 1949-1950; Spuler W., 1952, S. 34-50.

⁶²This name is derived from the name of Mazdak's wife *Khurrama*, who as the legend goes survived the rout of the Mazdakits and continued to preach the ideas of Mazdakism.

⁶³*Surkhalem*— Arab-Persian term literally means "red-banner carrier".

suppress this uprising with great difficulty. Sumbad suffered defeat. He executed in Rey and his wife and children were made slaves. After the defeat of Sumbad the secret activities of his followers — sect of Muslimiya preaching that Abu Muslim would return, "to rule the world with justice", continued.

The Arab troops had hardly suppressed the uprising of Sumbad when a new rebellion broke out near Herat, which led by one Ostad Sis. In this uprising, thousands of people took part.

The ever-rising anger of the toiling people led to a broad popular movement against the Abbasids, during the reign of Caliph al-Mahdi (775-785 A.D.) which covered the whole of Maverannahr in the seventies of the VIII century.

The leader of the uprising was Muqanna⁶⁴ an artisan from the Merv district. Some historical sources⁶⁵ inform that he was one of the military commanders of Abu Muslim and had participated in the movement against the Omeiyad Caliphs. He was a highly educated person. There is reason to believe that the ideas of Mazdakism highly influenced him. Coming to know about the preaching of Muqanna', the vice-regent captured him as an important state offender and sent him for trial to Bagdad, the center of the Caliphate. However, Muqanna' fled from the Bagdad dungeon and reached Merv. He collected his followers and in 776 A.D. sent them to all the districts of Central Asia with an appeal to rise for struggle against alien rule. This appeal had a particular success in Nasaf and Kesh — the cities populated predominantly by Sogdians.

The officials of the Caliph were hunting Muqanna'. They placed, on the bank of Amu-Darya, a strong cavalry force which was patrolling day and night in order not to let Muqanna' enter Sogd from Merv, where (in Sogd) the number of his followers grew day by day. The local rulers knew very well that if Muqanna' reached Maverannahr their position would become critical. However, Muqanna' succeeded in crossing the Amu-Darya to hide in Sogd with dozens of his followers.

At this time, as Narshakhi informs, "in Sogd, the majority of settlements converted themselves to the faith of Muqanna' and from the settlements of Bukhara many people became unfaithful and openly demonstrated their unbelief, and this sedition became a calamity for the Muslims."

Speaking about the movement of Muqanna', Narshakhi openly declared his animosity towards the leader of the rebels. Such an attitude towards Muqanna' is characteristic of all feudal historians.

The main reason for recognition by the masses of the teaching of Muqanna' was its demand for abolition of inequality of property and its opposition to Arab domination. The movement of Muqanna' soon grew into an open rebellion, engulfing, for a short time, the whole of Maverannahr.

The headquarter of the rebels was located in the settlement of Narshakh near Bukhara. The ruler of Bukhara, Hussain ibn Muaz, after collecting his military forces consisting mainly of Arabs, combined them with the troops of

⁶⁴ *Muqanna'* in Arabic means, "covered by the veil". This sobriquet was given to him because he was said to wear green veil. His real name was Hashim ibn Hakim.

⁶⁵ For details see: *Ayni S.*, 1944; 1966; *Yakubovsky A.Iu.*, 1948.

Bukharan aristocracy and advanced against the rebels. In 776 A.D. near the walls of Narshakh, a fierce battle between the Arab troops and the rebels took place. Muqanna' was defeated. He lost 700 of his warriors. But this victory did not radically change the situation. Soon the rebels again captured the outskirts of Bukhara.

Seeing the uprising grow, the Caliph al-Mahdi hurriedly left Baghdad for Nishapur to take measures for strengthening the struggle against the movement of Muqanna' and ordered the Khorasan Amir to immediately send reinforcement for the Bukharan ruler.

Jabrail ibn Yahya, who was sent from Khorasan with additional Arab troops, was stuck up for long with the unsuccessful siege of Narshakh. The rebels by their incessant attacks exhausted the troops of Jabrail to the extent that he could not continue military action without reinforcement. At that time from Balkh a seven thousand-strong army of the Caliph arrived but the military commander, seeing the success of the rebels did not even try to launch an attack on them. At last the reserves of Amir of Khorasan arrived which would have doubled the strength of the Arab troops sent by the Caliph to Maverannahr. However, this also did not help. The rebels, already on their way to Maverannahr, defeated the Arab troops. Jabrail ibn Yahya found himself in a critical situation. Communication between Balkh and was cut off. Jabrail brought to Narshakh, where the main forces of rebels were concentrated, all troops and military hardware at his disposal. For four months, the Arab troops besieged Narshakh without any success. Exhausted by continuous skirmishes both sides started peace negotiations.

During negotiations the Arab military commanders treacherously killed one of the leaders of the rebels hoping thus to make the movement leaderless. But this murder only increased the resistance of the rebels manifold.

The sources contain information that at last, the rebels crushed in Narshakh, but the uprising by that time had spread to new districts of Central Asia. The second phase of the struggle began.

If in the first stage the movement of Muqanna' was supported by a part of Sogdian aristocracy, in the second stage these aristocrats, who were scared away by the scale of the movement fully switched over to the side of the Caliphate and the wide strata of Sogdian peasantry, continued to join the movement in larger numbers.

"The people clad in white dress" (the followers of Muqanna') were becoming the masters of Maverannahr and "the garden of the Lord of the true believers" as Maverannahr and Khorasan were called, started becoming independent from the Arab Caliphate.

The Caliph al-Mahdi changed the vice-regent of Khorasan. He blamed him for incapability to cope with the uprising, and appointed in his place Muaz ibn Muslim. Collecting a large army in the region between Bukhara and Merv, Muaz proceeded to help the Arab troops, which were in an extremely critical situation near Samarkand, captured by the rebels. However, the military campaign of Muaz also ended in failure despite considerable support by the local aristocracy. The rebels met the army of Muaz near the valley of Paikend and inflicted deadly

blows because of which Muaz could not continue his campaign to Samarkand and turned back towards Bukhara.

Only the next year the troops of the Caliph could succeed in taking Samarkand. The third and the last stage of the struggle started.

The main forces of the rebels were concentrated in the mountainous fortress of Sanam near Kesh. Muaz besieged this fortress but soon lifted the siege. The Arab historians maintain that he was compelled to do this because of a cold winter, but the reason was obviously the defeat which Muaz suffered at the hands of forces of Muqanna'. This was confirmed by the subsequent removal of Muaz shortly afterwards from the post of vice-regent of Khorasan and appointment by the Caliph of another vice-regent.

Muaz ibn Muslim, as Narshakhi writes, fought against Muqanna' for full two years. The new Khorasan vice-regent Musaiyab ibn Zuhair also spent many years in bloody fighting with him. Taking advantage of his vast superiority, in both number of troops and weaponry, he could, after a prolonged and stubborn struggle crush the resistance of the popular masses led by Muqanna'. In 780 A.D. the Arab troops captured the fortress where Muqanna' was stationed. All the defenders of the fortress were executed and Muqanna', unwilling to surrender committed suicide. However, even after his death separate outbreaks of uprising of "the people clad in white dress" continued for several years in different parts of Central Asia.

During the years when the people of Maverannahr were engaged in the struggle for independence, the Arab Caliphate considered one of the most powerful states of that time. The struggle which was led under the banner of Muqanna' for several years by popular masses is one brighter example of the courage of freedom-loving people of Central Asia.

The prolonged duration of this struggle, its organized character, testifies to the military and political talent of Muqanna' inspiring the people for struggle with alien and local exploiters.

In conclusion, it is necessary to note that the popular uprisings during the reign of the Abbasids are essentially different from uprisings during the Omeiyad period. The uprisings during the Omeiyad period were directed mainly against the domination of alien invaders and the local aristocracy usually led them. During the Abbasid period, the people rose not only against the ruling dynasty but also against the local aristocrats supporting them.

The movement of Muqanna' was the movement of the toiling strata of population, first, peasants, directed against increasingly growing feudal enslavement. That is why, the uprising of Muqanna' played a significant role in the history of the peoples of Central Asia. Notwithstanding the defeat, the popular uprisings developed the class-consciousness of the toiling people, brought up the spirit of anger and freethinking among the popular masses and restrained to some extent the exploiting urges of the feudals beginning to strengthen them.

CHAPTER II

COMPLETION OF THE PROCESS OF FORMATION OF THE TAJIK PEOPLE AND ITS STATEHOOD. THE STATES OF TAHIRIDS, SAFFARIDS AND SAMANIDS (IX-X CENTURIES)

1. POLITICAL HISTORY OF IX-X CENTURIES

THE STRENGTHENING OF LOCAL FEUDAL ARISTOCRACY

Continuous uprisings of the peoples of Maverannahr, against Arab domination, which started during the period of conquest by the Caliphate of Central Asia, did not stop even after the suppression of the uprising of Muqanna'.

A big uprising broke out in 806 A.D., under the leadership of Rafi ibn Leis. The vice-regent of the Caliph in Samarkand was killed and the city was in the hands of the rebels for some time. The settled population of Fergana, Khujand, Bukhara, Ustrushana, Khwarezm, Chaghanian and Khuttalan took an active part in this uprising. The nomadic Turks also came to the assistance of the rebels.

This wide people's uprising suppressed only in 810 A.D. when its leader Rafi ibn Leis, in a critical moment switched over to the side of the enemy.

In subsequent years in Sogd, Ustrushana and Fergana new rebellions broke out.¹ They proved that the vice-regents of the Caliph could not keep Maverannahr and Khorasan in control by armed force only. They were able to rule the country only when the vice-regents took the help of the local aristocracy on a wider scale. It was in this way that the Abbasids wanted to paralyze the wish of the aristocracy for independence and at the same time take its help in suppressing the popular uprising. That is why, starting from the period of the rule of Caliph Mansur (754-775 A.D.) and during the rule of his successors — Caliphs Mahdi (775-785 A.D.) and Haroon ar-Rashid (786-809 A.D.) — the vazirs from local feudal aristocracy ruled the different regions of Maverannahr, mainly from the families of Barmakids and Samanids. However, it did not lead to strengthening of the power of the Caliphate in Central Asia but on the contrary gave impetus to the development of conditions, which helped in freeing Central Asia from Arab domination.

¹Kadirova T., 1965, pp. 138-147.

At this time in Iran and Central Asia, the Shu'ubit (anti-Arab Iranophil) movement² became widespread. From the middle of IX century Shu'ubism became the ideological basis of the anti-Caliphate popular movements (it was spread predominantly in rural areas). Shu'ubism spread also among the educated circles of local population also who, in all possible ways, emphasized their cultural superiority over the Arabs. At the same time, among the local aristocracy the aspiration to capture power in their hands and not to be dependent on the Arab Caliphate grew day by day.

Fearing the growing economic and political influence of the non-Arab aristocracy of the Barmakids, Haroon ar-Rashid ordered to kill all the representatives of the family of Barmakids.³

Haroon ar-Rashid greatly increased the role of the Muslim clergy, trying to receive support from it. He distributed lot of land among them. Simultaneously the policy of attracting the local aristocracy to the side of the Caliphate continued. The liquidation of the family of Barmakids, who during fifty years had a large influence in the court of the Caliph as well as among the local residents, however, did not change the policy of the Caliphate in connection with the rule over Eastern region. These regions as before ruled with the help of the representatives of the landowning aristocracy. The role of this aristocracy particularly grew from 821, i.e., since the coming to power in Khorasan and Maverannahr of the local dynasties — at first the Tahirids and then Samanids.

THE TAHIRIDS (821-873 A.D.)

The ancestors of the Tahirids possessed the city of Busheng in the Herat region. The founder of this dynasty was Tahir ibn Hussain — the master of Busheng. When Ma'mun, who later became the Caliph, was the vice-regent of Khorasan, Tahir gained great authority in his court. In 811 A.D., in the war of two brothers, the heirs of Haroon ar-Rashid — Amin and Ma'mun — for power in the Caliphate, Tahir was the commander of the troops of Ma'mun. In 813, he seized Baghdad and actively helped Ma'mun to ascend the Caliph's throne. Later, for some time, he was the Chief of all the military forces of the Caliph and in 821 A.D., he was appointed vice-regent of Khorasan.⁴

Tahir ruled over Khorasan and the regions of Central Asia as an independent ruler. In 822 A.D., he even gave an order not to mention the name of the Caliph in the Friday khutba,⁵ which amounted to break with Baghdad. After a short period Tahir died. It believed that the agents of the Caliph poisoned him.

Notwithstanding the clearly obvious separatist tendency of Tahir, the Caliph Ma'mun appointed his son Talha (822-828 A.D.) as the vice-regent of

²Petrushevsky L.P., 1966, pp. 248-250.

³Barthold V.V., 1913; Barthold V.V., 1966 b, see also Bouvat L., 1912; Sourd D., 1959, 1, pp. 127-182.

⁴ For political events during the Tahirids and Saffarids, see details: Barthold V.V., 1963b, p.265; also Spuler B., 1952, p.59.

⁵Khutba — the prayer in honor of the ruling king.

Khorasan. The other son of Tahir, Abdallah (830-844 A.D.), considering he not subordinate to the Caliphate, ruled Khorasan fully independently. During his time, Nishapur became the residency of the Tahirids. Caliph Mu'tasim (833-842 A.D.) hated Abdallah but he was not able to bring him to subjugation. The attempts to poison Abdallah failed.

The Tahirids took strict measures to establish a strong power and put agriculture in order. To regulate the use of water they constructed new canals. On the order of Abdallah the highest lawmakers of the country, worked out norms for using water for irrigation. The code framed by them served for two centuries as guide for solving disputes related to the use of water.

A letter of Tahir ibn Hussain to Abdallah has preserved.⁶ In it the questions of the governance of the state, relations with subjects and the principles for levying just taxes, etc. are discussed in a didactic form. Tahir advises his son to levy taxes on his subjects in a just manner, exempting neither the rich nor people close to him. The real motive of this "care" is clearly expressed in the letter: "Remember that the wealth does not bring any profit when it is multiplied and kept in treasury, on the contrary, it grows and multiplies more when it is spent on the needs of the subjects, on the payment due to them and on freeing them from anxiety; by this, the well-being of popular masses is achieved, it serves as a decoration for the rulers, it brings the flourishing of the epoch, glory and power..., with this, thanks to it, you will get an opportunity to collect the due land revenue..., the land tax received by you will multiply and your wealth will grow, and by this you will be able to attract the army to your side and satisfy the popular masses flooding them with your generosity".⁷ Here Tahir acts as representative for the interests of his class, however, understanding that indiscriminate exploitation of the people does not pay. It will ruin the people and destroy their paying capacity. It is the interests of his class that brings him to appeal for "reasonable" exploitation. In addition, Abdallah, to some extent, implemented in practice the advice of his father.

Abdallah tried to restrain, as far as possible, the arbitrariness, which reigned in the places towards the peasants from the side of big landowners and state officials. He issued special instruction, which brought to order the conditions of the peasantry to some extent. "God feeds us by their hands, welcomes us through their mouths and prohibits wronging them" — said Abdallah in his instruction. Of course, Abdallah was not the man who defended the interests of the peasantry; he only cared for the interests of big landowners and traders. He demanded not "to wrong" the peasants because without this a normal flow of taxes into the treasury of the state was impossible.

The conditions of population, particularly the peasantry remained hard during the period of the Tahirids, also. Peasants were subjected to increased exploitation from the side of big landowners and simultaneously they were made to pay large taxes to the state. This can be judged from the fact that the sum of taxes in 844 A.D. was extremely high; 48 million *dirhams*. Peasant uprisings in Sistan almost never ceased.

⁶Shmidt A.E., 1925, pp. 127-137.

⁷Ibid, pp. 132-135.

The Tahirids spread Islam intensively trying to find support for their centralized policy in the Muslim clergy. During the reign of the Talha Tahirid, Islam took root in Ushtrushana also where Zoroastrianism survived longer than anywhere else did. Abdallah helped in opening the trial in 840 A.D. of the former Afshin of Ushtrushana, Haidar, who after embracing Islam became one of the more famous military commanders of Caliph Mu'tasim. In the trial, he accused of concealing his real intentions behind conversion to Islam and in reality preparing for a coup d'etat in Ustrushana in order to restore its independence and ancient religion. In the trial, it was established that the people of Ustrushana embraced Islam only formally and in reality, they continued to practice the local religion.⁸

The state needed a large number of literate officials and Abdallah saw to it that education became available to wider groups of population than earlier. As his father, he was a poet. His nephew Mansur who ruled Merv, Amul and Khwarezm was famous for his philosophical writings. The son of Abdallah — Tahir II — (844-862 A.D.) tried to imitate his father in everything. In general, the period of Abdallah and Tahir II was the beginning of the rebirth of local culture.⁹ However, this process was difficult and contradictory. The fact is that the representatives of the Tahirid dynasty themselves, particularly Abdallah ibn Tahir, insistently underlined their allegiance to the Arab culture.¹⁰

In the IX and beginning of the X centuries in Iran, the Zoroastrian communes were flourishing and exactly at this time such Zoroastrian writings as "Bundahishn" and "Denkart" and also many secular works were composed.¹¹ The Tahirids could not ignore all this. More so, politically their main rival was the Abbasid Caliphate. However, the Tahirids were taking support from the regions of the majority of the Iranian-speaking population. That is why, the Tahirids, allowed poets, particularly sympathizing with Shu'ubits to glorify them, comparing them with the kings and heroes of pre-Muslim Iran. In the court of the Tahirids along with the Arabic language, Persian was also used. In Merv, there was a library where books in Middle Persian language were preserved.¹²

It has to acknowledge that an important role in elevation of the local culture played not by the Tahirids but by the Saffarids who replaced them.

THE SAFFARIDS (873-903 A.D.)

In the IX-X centuries, as in the preceding epoch, one of the tasks of the state power in the agricultural oases of Central Asia was the organization of defense from the raids of the nomads. With this purpose, in the above period, the

⁸For this important trial see: *Barthold V.V.*, 1963b, p.269; *Sadighi G.H.*, 1938, pp.287-305; *Herzfeld E.*, 1948, pp.138-152; *Wright E.M.*, 1948, pp. 124-131; *Spuler W.*, 1952, pp.62-67; *Negmatov N.*, 1957, pp.140-150. For some important ideas on this trial see: *Henning W.B.*, 1965a.

⁹*Spuler W.*, 1952, pp. 68-69; 231-235.

¹⁰*Bosworth S.E.*, 1969a.

¹¹*Petrushevsky I.P.*, 1960, pp.36-37; *Frye R.N.*, 1963, pp.238-241.

¹²*Bosworth S.E.*, 1969b.

special troops of armed volunteers were raised which were called *ghazi* — fighters for the faith. The ghazi consisted mostly of bankrupt landowners and artisans. These people, who selected war as their profession, were sent to those places where skirmishes with the "infidels" were taking place.

The local rulers used the troops of ghazis to serve in the fortresses on the border of agricultural oases with the nomads' steppe. The ghazis, as Arab geographer Maqdisi writes, were the "main support and at the same time subject of worry" for the local ruler: from one side they repelled the raids of nomads' and guarded the agricultural oases from the attack of the enemies but from the other side, they were often active participants in the popular movements against local aristocracy.

At the end of the IX century, the armed troops of ghazis became the nucleus of large popular movements on the border of Central Asia and Iran. This movement was used by brothers Ya'qub ibn Leis and Amr ibn Leis.¹³ At first, they organized a bandit group, which shortly joined the detachment of the ghazis in Sistan. Bravery and fighting capabilities of Ya'qub enabled him to take in his hand the command of the detachment. The detachment took an active part in the political life of the region and, using popular uprisings in the agricultural oases in 861 A.D., drove away the Tahirid ruler and captured the center of Sistan — the city of Zerenj.

Ya'qub became the ruler of the region and within ten years, he captured several Eastern regions of the Caliphate, which ruled by the last representative of the Tahirid dynasty Mohammad ibn Tahir (862-873 A.D.).¹⁴ In 873 A.D., Ya'qub crushed the army of the Tahirids and captured the capital of Khorasan, the city of Nishapur. The power of the Tahirids, in Central Asia and in Eastern regions of present Iran, was thrown overboard.

Although the Baghdad government, which extremely worried by successes of Ya'qub, undertook some measures in order to cut off the further spread of his influence but these did not yield any results. In 874 A.D., the Caliph, recognizing an accomplished fact, handed over to Ya'qub the rule of the entire Khorasan.

Until the end of his life, Ya'qub remained a modest warrior. He wore a simple dress of cotton and did not use carpets, sat on the ground, slept on old horse cloth, putting under his head the shield and the folded banner. At the same time, the ideas, which fed the popular movements of Central Asia, were completely alien to him.

In his army strict discipline prevailed. He demanded much from the soldiers and commanders at the same time displaying himself an astonishing bravery. In one of the battles, his face was disfigured by sword to the extent that for twenty days he could eat only through the pipe put in his mouth. After convalescing, he fought with the same courage.

¹³ According to some information, Ya'qub was a coppersmith (Arabic-Saffar). From this the name of the dynasty "Saffarids". Amr was a carpenter. For detailed research see: *Barthold W.*, 1906.

¹⁴ Mohammad Tahirid was one of the biggest feudals. It is said that his lands in Mazanderan gave him an income of about one million dirhams (the total revenue of Mazanderan was 13,630 thousand dirhams. See: *Ibn Isfendiyar*, V.I., 1320/1941, p.74.

One of the composite parts of his army was *al-mutatavvia* (literally "volunteers") who contemptuously called *aiyars* (one of the meanings is "swindlers, bandits"). Landless and fugitive peasants supplemented this separate stratum of the "fighters for faith". Aiyars played a significant role in the political life, particularly of Sistan where they actively fought the invaders. Perhaps those aiyars who showed special courage in the battle were moved higher into status strata — *sarhangs*. Along with the aiyars there were also in the army *azadagan* ("free") — the sons of dihkans, landowners, and the troops of *gulams*— slaves. Initially at the disposal of the Saffarids were only two or three thousand troops but already in 874/75 A.D. Ya'qub was able to push into the battle 15 thousand of cavalry. The Saffarid army had war machinery; the fighting elephants also used in the battle. During military campaign, the battle outposts and scouts were given special importance. Every three months the warriors gave salary. Periodically during Navruz, inspection review of the troops was held. Every warrior beginning with the amir himself demonstrated to a special official his horse, weapons, etc. and then received money.¹⁵

The successes of Ya'qub ibn Leis did not improve the hard conditions of the simple toilers with whose help he came to power. Ya'qub mainly took support from the small and middle feudal landowners. In the regions captured by him, he left without any change in the earlier regime existing there and did not decrease the size of the tax, the heavy burden of which fell on the cultivators.

In 876 A.D., Ya'qub decides to capture the power in the Caliphate and move his troops towards Baghdad, but was defeat by the troops of the Caliph at Dar al-Akul and retreated when Baghdad was just 100 kilometers away. According to historical sources one of the reasons of defeat of Ya'qub ibn Leis was his refusal to accept help from Ali ibn Mohammad Burkai who was the leader of the uprising of slaves — Negroes (Zinjis) in Iraq which lasted about 14 years (869-883 A.D.). Ya'qub ibn Leis did not consider it worthwhile to enter into an alliance with the slaves as he himself stood for the preservation of slavery. Three years later, after the unsuccessful military campaign against Baghdad, Ya'qub ibn Leis, founder of the Saffarid dynasty died. The troops installed his brother Amr ibn Leis on the throne.

Taking the place of his brother Amr ibn Leis (879-900 A.D.) hastened to appeal to the Caliph expressing his allegiance as a result of which he got the vice-regency of Khorasan and some Eastern regions of Iran. However, in fact Amr (as well as the Tahirids) was independent of the Caliphate. According to sources, Amr was a good administrator and possessed military talent.

According to some data, the Saffarids used the Shia sectarian movement to a considerable extent, which was successful among peasants and artisans (to Ya'qub attributed a statement: "Instead of Kaaba we will establish the cult of the sun").

¹⁵Barthold V.V., 1963b, pp. 272-280; Bosworth C.E., 1968.

FORMATION OF THE SAMANID STATE

The ancestor of the Samanids, Saman, belonged either to Balkh or the outskirts of Samarkand or from Termez.¹⁶ He accepted Islam and patronized by the Khorasan vice-regent. His grandsons — Nuh, Ahmad, Yahya and Ilyas — were in the service of the Caliph himself on whose instruction the Khorasan vice-regent appointed them as the rulers of four regions: Nuh got Samarkand, Ahmad — Fergana, Yahya — Chach and Ustrushana and Ilyas — Herat. From the outside, it looked as if all the brothers were the favorite lords of their regions and was directly subordinate to the Khorasan vice-regent. However, in reality it was just the opposite.

Nuh, the eldest among the four brothers, occupied a special position. He acted as the head of the family in all the external relations. Historians have not paid enough attention to this fact. However, numismatic materials show that in this early period the brothers considered themselves not as separate rulers but only as a dynasty, at the helm of which stood Nuh.¹⁷ It is not accidental that the earliest Samanid coins were minted in his name. One of them is particularly interesting. It was minted in Binaket — the state of Yahya — and carried not the name of Yahya but of Nuh. That is why, this conclusion is convincing that from the very beginning in the minds of the grandsons of Saman the idea of dynastic unity matured, as one of the conditions for making the family a powerful dynasty, capable of transforming Central Asia into a region independent from the Arab Caliphate and the Tahirids.

After the death of Nuh, the head of this small, already not fully formed dynasty became his brother Ahmad. Distinguished by his energy and talents Ahmad purposefully started "collecting" the lands of his brothers and establishing his dynastic priorities. In particular, already in his lifetime he was able to hand over Samarkand to his son, Nasr, who became the head of the dynasty, after the death of his father in 864 A.D. In 875 A.D., the Caliph recognized him as the head of the dynasty and sent to him a "document" for ruling over the state.

The position of Nasr was not easy. His elder relatives demanded separate states and sometimes even refused to acknowledge him as the head of the dynasty in external forms. The struggle of Nasr with the separatist urges of his brothers was neither persistent nor successful. For example, as long as the uncle of Nasr — Mohammad ibn Nuh — ruled Chach, he recognized his nephew as the head of the dynasty and minted copper coins in his name, while mentioning himself as a vassal ruler. However, when the brother of Nasr inherited Chach — Ya'qub — he started minting coins in his own name. The brother of Nasr ruled Fergana — Asad: Nasr and Asad were allies in the struggle against other brothers. But Asad minted in Akhsiket, the capital of Fergana, coins in his name. Nasr not mentioned as a suzerain and he reconciled with it. Particularly complicated were Nasr's relations with his other brother Ismail. Ismail only got in 874 A.D. the large state of Bukhara. Before this Bukhara did not belong to the Samanids. When the inhabitants of this city rose against the wrong doings of the vice-regent

¹⁶Semenov A.A., 1954, p. 3 and on words.

¹⁷Davidovich E.A., 1954, pp. 78-79.

of Bukhara and drove him away, the aristocracy of the city appealed to Nasr and he appointed Ismail as the vice-regent.¹⁸ However, Ismail had to use all his brains, treachery and resilience in order to effectively strengthen his power in Bukhara.

Bukhara was a state gifted to Ismail for his services. An analysis of the text of Narshakhi leads to the conclusion¹⁹ that Ismail had to pay a larger part of his revenue from the Bukhara region to the treasury of Nasr (about 700 thousand dirhams gitrifi) and only a lesser part (500 thousand dirhams gitrifi) were left to himself as reward for the service as a vice-regent. Having strengthened his power in the city, Ismail stopped caring for Nasr and appropriated all the revenue of this rich region.

Between the brothers, there ensued a long struggle. Until then it was customary to think that this was a political struggle for power, but such a conclusion is not supported by the sources. A detailed description of the mutual relations of the brothers shows that this was, to a considerable extent, a



Bronze weight with the name of Ismail Samani

struggle on the economic grounds that Ismail only wanted to keep Bukhara for himself with all rights and privileges. Both the military clashes between the two brothers took place only on account of Ismail appropriating to himself that part of the revenue from Bukhara which was to be paid to Nasr's treasury: the first clash (886 A.D.) ended in a temporary removal of Ismail from the post of vice-regent of Bukhara, the second (888 A.D.) ended in the victory of Ismail but the latter did not take away the throne from Nasr as at this stage he did not claim it. He was struggling for economic and political independence of Bukhara, for converting it into his principality and finally succeeded in 888 A.D. In 892 A.D. after the death of Nasr he became the head of the state and his principality Bukhara — his new capital.

After the end of internecine wars and pacification of rebellions, one more task faced Ismail: to ensure the external security for the state. The external

¹⁸ Barthold V.V., 1963 b. p. 281.

¹⁹ Davidovich E.A., 1954, pp. 71-77.

situation of the country was alarming. The growing power of the Samanid state under Ismail, which grew day by day, caused concern to the center under the Caliphate and the incessant raids by the neighboring nomad tribes inflicted heavy blows on the agricultural economy of the oases.

In the struggle against Ismail, the Caliph used the ruler of Khorasan — Amr ibn Leis Saffarid. In 898 A.D., the Caliph invited the pilgrims arriving in Baghdad from Central Asia to his palace and in their presence read out the letter (order) about removing Ismail and appointing Amr Saffarid, as the ruler of Maverannahr. This letter he sent afterwards along with valuable presents to Amr. Instigating Amr against Ismail the Caliph desired to weaken them both in the interest of strengthening the power of the Caliphate over Central Asia. On receiving the letter, Amr set out against Ismail. Ismail, writes Narshakhi, armed the "artisans and ordinary people" with large forces started advancing towards Balkh and blocked his way.

Ismail defeated Amr ibn Leis near the walls of Bukhara in 900 A.D. as the popular masses, ordinary people and artisans supported him.²⁰ It is testified by Tabari,²¹ Ibn Miskaveih,²² and Narshakhi in particular, narrating how Ismail provided foodstuffs and weapons to aristocrats and ordinary people, weaver-artisans. Amr, who underestimated the formidable power of the popular forces, was defeated.²³ "Ta'rikhi Sistan" confirms the statement of Narshakhi about the arming by Ismail of ordinary people and weavers: "Ismail ibn Ahmad in Maverannahr ordered the messengers to announce that Amr has come to capture Maverannahr, to kill people, to rob the property and enslave children and women". As it was really so, all the artisans in Maverannahr took his side and started the battle against Amr with the words "better glorious death than slavery".

In 900 A.D., because of skillful maneuvering, Ismail succeeded in surrounding the army of Amr to destroy it and establish his power in Khorasan.

The successes of Ismail in war against the nomads were no less significant than in his victory over Amr. Nomads, for a long time abandoned the idea of making raids on the agricultural oases of Maverannahr. In order to secure the oases of Bukhara, from intrusions of nomads, a high wall running dozens of kilometers between the agricultural oases and nomad steppe was built much before Ismail. The annual repair of this wall was a charge on the people. As historians of X century write this was a very heavy burden. When Ismail defeated the nomads, he freed the population of Bukhara and its outskirts of this obligation. "As long as I am alive, I am the wall of Bukhara" — said Ismail. Narshakhi writes that Ismail himself took part in battles not giving a chance to the enemy to capture the Bukhara region.

Using the struggle of the popular masses for independence, Ismail, for the first time, after the Arab conquest, united the country split by internecine wars

²⁰Ghafurov B.G. 1958, pp. 53-54.

²¹Tabari, III, 21-94.

²²Ibn Miskaveih, p. 10.

²³Narshakhi, Teheran edition, p. 105.

and established a strong and independent state. Putting end to the power of the Saffarids, Ismail not only established his power over Maverannahr and Khorasan but also became the ruler of several Eastern and Northern regions of Iran and secured a real independence of the state established by him from the Arab Caliphate.

Being a big feudal aristocrat, Ismail defended the interests of local feudal aristocrat and traders. It was in their interests that he tried to strengthen the external security of the country and bring order in the internal rule. These measures and also, first of all, the union of Khorasan and Maverannahr around one center, ensuring of factual independence of the country and regulation of relations with nomads, created the necessary conditions for the development of agriculture, crafts and trade in Maverannahr and Khorasan.

THE STATE SYSTEM AND ORGANIZATION OF THE RULING APPARATUS

The founder of the Samanid state Ismail Samanid understood very well that to ensure the independence of Maverannahr, from the Arab Caliphate, it is necessary to create a strong centralized power.

With this objective, he undertook certain measures. One of them was the introduction of a harmonious system of state rule.²⁴ During the Samanid rule, the state apparatus consisted of the King's Court (*Dargah*) and *Diwans* (Military – Civil Central Office).²⁵ In the conditions of feudal life, this division followed not very strictly: the influential court nobles often interfered in the affairs, which were in the competence of one, or the other Diwan.

As Narshakhi notes, during the reign of Nasr II Samanid (914-943 A.D.) around Bukhara's Registan (the square situated near the arch-citadel) built ten large buildings for ten diwans whose functions were as follows: *diwani vazir* considered the main official who controlled all administrative, political and economic institutions of the state. The heads of other diwans were subordinate to him. For the post of the diwani vazir usually one of the representatives of the three families — Jeihani, Bal'ami or Otbi — was appointed.

Diwani Mustavfi — state treasury.²⁶

Diwani amid al – mulk was in charge of all important state documents and also managed diplomatic relations with the other states.

²⁴ Barthold V.V., 1963b, pp. 285 and onwards.

²⁵ The system of Diwans already existed in Sasanid Iran. In the Arab Caliphate it was introduced with the advent to power of the Abbasids, when the representatives of the local landed aristocracy were drawn into the state affairs (*Mets A.*, 1966, pp.70-73; *Spuler V.*, 1952, p.337; *Sourdel D.*, II, 1960, pp. 589-605).

²⁶ V.V. Barthold assumed that this diwan perhaps corresponded to the "diwan kharaj" of the Abbasids (Barthold V.V., 1963 b, p.289). There is information that "diwan al-Kharaj" was there during the Samanids also (Bosworth C.E., 1963, p. 28).

Diwani sahib ash-shurat had under him the guards of the Samanids. He supervised the distribution of foodstuffs and salary to the army and its maintenance.²⁷

Diwani sahib al-barid (the head of post office) was in charge of the state correspondence. But the local workers of this diwan were preoccupied not only with post office affairs, but also provided the center secret information about rulers and local state officials, about their conduct, discharging the functions of officials of the "dark rooms". The Diwan of the post office was distinguished from others by the fact that his local institutions were subordinate not to the rulers of the regions (hakims) but directly to his central office. The post office of that period served only the needs of the state and was not accessible to the population.

Diwani muhtasib watched the market, checked the accuracy of the weights and measurements, sale of goods to the peasants and artisans. He could stop the trade in spurious and bad quality goods; ban the sale of products for higher prices. This Diwan started gradually to supervise the morals of the people, going to mosques and abstinence from drinking wine. There was no city, which did not have its own muhtasib.

Diwani mushhrif²⁸ controlled the state affairs especially revenue and expenditure of the treasury.

Besides these Diwans there were also **Diwan of state lands**, **Diwan of law suits**, which was headed by the main *qazi* (judge), and **Diwan vakuf**. Al-Khwarezmi mentions, the **Diwan of military affairs** as well as whatever is not mentioned in the account by Narshakhi.²⁹ The absence of Diwan of military affairs, in the list of Narshakhi, can explained by the fact that he did not have a permanent place of stay and used to move with the main forces of the army. The local institutions of all the above-mentioned Diwans, except the Diwan of post office, had double subordination: from one side they were subordinate to the rulers of the regions, from the other — to the corresponding Central Diwan.

The rulers of the regions were mostly appointed from among the members of the dynasty and influential feudal aristocracy including former local rulers. Along with these rulers, in every city, there was a city ruler — *rais*, to this post and appointed from among the local city aristocracy.

In X century, during the rule of the Samanids, the Muslim clergy played a big role. In Maverannahr, the so-called Hanafi school of Islam was in vogue. The head of the clergy — *ustad* (Subsequently **Sheikh al-Islam**) had great importance in the Samanid state.

However, the harmonious system of state rule does not at all testify that the Samanid state can be considered as a strictly centralized one.

During the entire period of rule by the Samanids the struggle of the central power with the centrifugal tendencies of separate feudal rulers did not stop.

²⁷It cannot exclude that the most important functions of this Diwan were related to police (*Spuler V.*, 1952, pp. 335-336; *Bosworth C.E.*, 1963, p. 29.).

²⁸From the Arabic, *ishraf* ("observation from the high place"). Hence the view that this Diwan was preoccupied with domestic espionage (*Bosworth C.E.*, 1963, p. 29).

²⁹*Bosworth C.E.*, 1963, p. 29, 270.

Neither Ismail Samanid nor his successors, notwithstanding the fierce struggle they conducted for the strengthening of centralized power, were not able to conduct this struggle in many localities and outskirts of Central Asia. Khwarezm, Chaganian, Khuttalan and other regions incorporated in the state of the Samanids though only nominally. However, in fact the rulers of these regions ruled there independently. For example, in Khuttalan, for well over two centuries (IX - X centuries) ruled the representatives of the local dynasty of Banjurids.³⁰ To them belonged all the revenues of this rich region and they sent only gifts to the Samanids. Thus trying to stop, the resistance of local feudals and drawing them to their side by appointing them rulers of the regions, the Samanids in most of the cases suffered failure.

The institution of feudal land grants, which was quite developed during the Samanid period, literally "exploded" the state from within so that even its main territory appeared to be split to some extent. The members of the dynasty and high dignitaries, who owned on the basis of grant the regions and cities, aspired for complete independence and often achieved the status quite independent of the Central power.

The practice of appointment by the rulers of the region, of famous chiefs of the guards of the Samanid court, used initially for the suppression of the resistance of local feudals and popular uprisings, also did not give the expected results. The Turk military commanders, taking advantage of the discontent of the local feudals and of the internal class struggle, themselves rose sometimes against the Central power and declared their regions independent.

FEUDAL INTERNECINE WARS AND WEAKENING OF THE STATE OF THE SAMANIDS.

QARAKHANID CONQUEST

After the death of Ismail (907 A.D.) in the beginning of the reign of Ahmad ibn Ismail (907-914 A.D.), rebellion broke out in some regions. The rulers of Samarkand, Rey and Sistan rose in rebellion. Sometime after the suppression of these rebellions, a popular uprising in Sistan began which was the result of increase in taxes and drastic worsening of conditions of the peasants. The Samanids quelled this uprising with great difficulty.

Ahmad ibn Ismail evoked animosity of the Turk guards and killed during hunting by his slaves. During the reign of his son, Nasr II (914-943 A.D.) the rule of the state was taken over by the vazir Abuabdallah Mohammad ibn Ahmad Jeihani.

Jeihani was one of the most enlightened persons of that time. As Gardizi writes, during his period as vazir, he put in order the rule of the country. However, the internecine wars continued. For example, according to Arab writer Ibn al-Asir, at the end of 914 and beginning of 915 A.D. in Samarkand, the

³⁰See for details: *Fasmer R.*, 1925; *Belenitsky A.M.*, 1950 a, pp. 124-126.

relatives of Nasr II, Ishaq ibn Ahmad raised a rebellion. After sometime, first in Herat and then in Nishapur, the so-called Qarmat (Ismailite) movement started, which was headed by big military commander Husain ibn Ali Mervezi.³¹ Ahmad ibn Sahl, a big landowner, who defeated the forces of Husain Mervezi and took him prisoner, soon after rose against Samanids, and only after a year, this rebellion was suppressed.

After the death of Husain Mervezi, the leadership of Qarmat movement in Maverannahr came into the hands of Mohammad ibn Ahmad Nakhshabi. Nakhshabi won great successes. He persuaded many big dignitaries of Samanid government to accept Qarmatism. Among them, there were chief Hajib, the private secretary of the Samanid Amir; chief of Diwani mustavfi and the ruler of Ilak. Through these people, Nakhshabi was able to enter the court of Nasr II Samanid.

At the end of the reign of Nasr II the Qarmat, movement became considerably stronger. Nasr II himself accepted Qarmat's teachings and at the request of Nakhshabi gave his consent to pay to the Egypt Caliph 119 thousand dinars as a "vira" — punishment for the death of Husain Ali Mervezi who died in Bukhara prison and was a secret emissary of the Fatimids. All this caused serious discontentment among the Muslim clergy. In collusion with the representatives of Turk palace guards, the clergy organized a conspiracy against Nasr II. For implementation of this conspiracy, it decided to organize a night feast for the military commanders in honor of impending campaign of the Samanid Amir against the nomads, in this feast murder Nasr II, and crush all the Qarmat followers.

However, the son of Nasr II, Nuh, came to know about the planned assassination. On his demand, Nasr II called, before himself, the Chief of conspirators, executed him, and then along with Nuh came to the night feast organized for military commanders. At the peak of the festivities, Nasr II

³¹Husain ibn Ali Mervezi connected with the Caliphate of Fatimids, at the head of which stood Ismailites. However, historical sources usually call him Qarmat. The contradictory use of the terms "Ismailite" and "Qarmat" in the sources is explained by the following reasons: during the war of Zinijes and a Qarmat uprising at the end of the IX century, the two inimical to the Abbasid Caliphate states — Qarmat in Bahrain and Fatimid (in the name of Fatima the daughter of Mohammad from whom the Fatimids originated) Caliphate in Magrib were formed, which afterwards conquered Egypt. The social system and ideology of these two states were different in particular on the question of power, etc. Qarmats during the uprising and later when they, in 930 A.D., after a raid from Bahrain, captured Mecca and took away its main holy relic — the "black stone", became famous in the entire East for being the most brave and militant heretics. In X-XI centuries when the Fatimids and the Qarmat state were simultaneously waging a struggle against the Abbasid Caliphate, orthodox Muslim sources often called Ismailite preachers, the messengers of Egypt, as Qarmats. These words meant "heretic", "struggling against orthodox Sunni Islam" and also the meaning of "Shi'ite", "Rafizit", because the Ismailites considered themselves as supporters of Ali and his successors and Qarmats had the same views in form as the Shi'ites (for details see: *Zakhoder B.N.*, 1940; *Bertels E.*, 1959, p.52 and onwards; *Petrushevsky I.P.*, 1966, p.280 and onwards).

announced that he knew about the conspiracy and ordered to throw the head of the executed chief at the feet of feasting military commanders. Immediately he declared his abdication of the throne in favor of his son Nuh whom nobody could blame for sympathy with the Qarmat movement.

As the historical chronicles record, after officially ascending the throne, Nuh Ibn Nasr invited Nakhshabi and ordered him to participate in the debate with Muslim *fakih*s (theologizes) and publicly prove the correctness of his faith. Of course, the Muslim theologizes declared the winners in the debate. Nakhshabi was blamed for allegedly stealing 40 thousand dinars from the sum allocated for payment to the Fatimids as vira for murdering Husain Mervezi and he was hanged on the square in Bukhara on the order of Nuh. Interestingly, the next day after the execution of Nakhshabi, his body vanished from the gallows.

Thereafter, mass liquidation of the Qarmats in all places and confiscation of their property started. Since then the Qarmat movement continued to exist in Maverannahr, only as an underground movement. But even this secret organization of the followers of this heresy was very active in Bukhara for a long time. Qarmat preachers were captured and executed in Bukhara in 1045 A.D. during the reign of the Qarakhanids, i.e., after hundred years of the events described above.

During the reign of Nuh ibn Nasr (943-954 A.D.), the symptoms of the fall of the Samanid state clearly seen. In the first years of the rule of Nuh serious financial difficulties appeared. In 942 A.D., taxes from the population collected twice. The financial difficulties were so acute that the army and the guards of the Amir were not paid their salaries for long, which caused serious discontent in the army. In order to pacify the discontented, even though briefly, Nuh ibn Nasr blamed his Vazir for all the financial problems and ordered to execute him. Of course, this step did not lead to improvement of the financial situation in the country.

Taking advantage of the difficult situation of Nuh, his uncle Ibrahim ibn Ahmad, in January 947 A.D., with the help of big Chaganian feudal Abu Ali Chagani seized power. The palace guards of Nuh who after the death of Nasr did not receive their salaries supported Ibrahim. Nuh was compelled to retreat to Samarkand. However, when Abu Ali left for Chaganian, Nuh again seized the throne, and his uncle and he blinded two brothers, who had participated in the rebellion.

In the last years of his reign, Nuh pre-occupied with the struggle mainly against the rebellious Abu Ali Chagani. After unsuccessful attempts to suppress the rebellion by military means, Nuh forced to appoint Abu Ali, first as the ruler of Chaganian and then the ruler of Khorasan in 952 A.D.

The reign of the eldest son of Nuh, Abd al-Malik I (954-961 A.D.) is characterized by increase in the political influence of the military chiefs of the Turk guards to whom the entire governance of the state had shifted.

At this time, the head of the Turk guards and big feudal Alptegin emerged as a "*great hajib*". His influence was so great that without his consent Abd al-Malik could not appoint anybody as Vazir. During the brief period from 954 to 959 A.D., the post of Vazir changed hands four times until a friend of Alptegin, Abu Ali Bal'ami, appointed to this post. Alptegin and Abu Ali agreed to be

Deputies of each other and Abu Ali Bal'ami was not to act without the concurrence of Alptegin.

The death of Abd al-Malik caused turbulence in Bukhara. The rebellious residents of the capital burnt and looted the palace of the Amir. At the instance of Alptegin, a minor son of Abd al-Malik was declared Amir. However, he ruled only for a day because other military chiefs and big feudals did not support the efforts of Alptegin to strengthen his power, and they installed Mansur ibn Nuh Samanid (961-976 A.D.) on the throne.

After several skirmishes with Samanid military commanders in the regions of Merv and Balkh, Alptegin proceeded to Ghazna and in 962 A.D., he seized the power. Mansur ibn Nuh could restore the power of the Samanids in Ghazna only after the death of Alptegin in 963 A.D.

After the death of Mansur, during the reign of his son Nuh II (976-997 A.D.), the wars and rebellions of local feudals and rulers increased even further in whose hands the separate regions of the Samanid state including many localities of Khorasan had fallen.

The state had weakened to such an extent that it could not withstand outside attacks. In such a situation, the Samanid state, in 992 A.D., suffered the first raid of the Turk nomad tribes headed by the Khans, whose dynasty received the name of Qarakhanids in the historical literature. By the time of their intrusion in Maverannahr, the Qarakhanids already possessed the valley of Hafrud and part of Eastern Turkestan — Kashgar. The largest and most cultured tribes among the Qarakhanid Turks were the Karlukhs.

All attempts of Nuh II to mobilize military forces of the country did not give positive results. It was impossible to raise the population against the Turk invasion under the banner of a religious war because the Qarakhanid Turks were followers of Islam, which spread among them because of trade connections with the cities, and agricultural oases of Maverannahr. The powerful military commanders did not support Nuh II. The vice-regent of Khorasan, Abu Ali Simjuri concluded a secret pact with Qarakhanid Bogra — khan and did not send Khorasan troops for defense of the Maverannahr. The army, sent against Bogra — khan, was defeated because of betrayal of the chief of troops Faiq, who joined Bogra — khan and advanced towards Bukhara. As a result of this betrayal the Qarakhanid troops did not face any resistance and without any difficulty captured the capital of the Samanid state — Bukhara. Nuh II was forced to flee to Amul.

The sudden death of Bogra — khan changed the situation. The Qarakhanid troops, after grabbing rich booty, returned to the steppe.

The events of 992 A.D. showed the weakness of the Samanid state. Abu Ali Simjuri and Faiq rebelled against Nuh II — one in Khorasan and the other in the region of Balkh.

Returning the Bukhara, Nuh II, not relying on his own forces appealed Sebuktegin, for help to the ruler of Ghazna. Sebuktegin in outstanding military commander, who came from the Turk guards of the Samanid court. He became a relative of Alptegin and after his death fortified his power in Ghazna by incorporating into it several more regions. Sebuktegin on the request of Nuh II immediately proceeded to Maverannahr. With a 20 thousand strong army, he

crossed the Amu-Darya, first entered Kesh (Shahrisabz) and then Nakhshab (Qarshi), and from there along with Nuh moved against Abu Ali and Faiq. After several battles, the troops of Abu Ali and Faiq were defeated and they themselves lied to Gurgan. For this service, Nuh II rewarded Sebuktegin with the title of "Nasir-addin-v-ad-daula" ("defender of religion and state"). A son of Sebuktegin, Mahmud, who also distinguished himself in the battle against the rebels, received the title of "Saif-ad-daula" (the "sword of the state") and appointed vice-regent of Khorasan in place of Abu Ali Simjuri.

In 995-996 A.D., a new uprising of the rulers of separate Samanid regions took place. The Qarakhanid Turks renewed their attempt to capture the territory of the Samanid state. But this time Nuh II with the help of Sebuktegin suppressed the uprising and averted the attack of the Qarakhanids on Bukhara. However, he was compelled to surrender to them the North-Eastern regions of the Samanid state, situated in the basin of the Syr-Darya. The influence of the Ghaznavids in Maverannahr after this increased to the extent that Nuh II actually ceased to be an independent ruler.

In 997 A.D. both Nuh II and Sebuktegin died. The Amir, Mansur ibn Nuh (997-999 A.D.) son of Nuh II, was under the strong influence of Mahmud Ghaznavid. The rulers of Nishapur, Begtuzun and Faiq, who were in league with the Qarakhanids, fearing further rapprochement of Mansur ibn Nuh with Mahmud, blinded Mansur after which he soon died (999 A.D.). The throne was ascended by the brother of Mansur — Abd al-Malik II ibn Nuh, on the insistence of Begtuzun and Faiq.

Under the pretext of bloody revenge for Mansur, Mahmud Ghaznavid, moved his troops against the Samanid court and compelled the Samanid Amir to surrender the Northern part of present Afghanistan. After sometime, Mahmud Ghaznavid captured the entire Khorasan. Only Maverannahr remained under the rule of the Samanid Abd al-Malik II ibn Nuh.

However, in 999 A.D. this last stronghold also fell under the new attack of the Qarakhanids. Qarakhanid ruler Nasr-ilek seized Bukhara, the capital of the Samanids, and Abd al-Malik and other members of the family were imprisoned in the dungeon.

About these events, Hilal as-Sabi narrates briefly but expressively. His narration first discovered in a manuscript form and published by V.R. Rozen, at the end of the XIX century. This is what the eyewitness of the event writes: "I was in Bukhara when the Khan troops arrived. Then *khatibs* (preachers) of the Samanids mounted the platforms of the cathedral mosques and incited people to fight. They were speaking in the name of the Samanids: "you know how well we treated you and how softly we behaved with you. Now this enemy is threatening us and you now must help us and fight for us: Pray God to bless you in the cause of helping us". The residents of Bukhara, as the residents of Maverannahr, mostly carry arms, when people heard this they went to fakihs (jurists) and asked for fatwa whether to fight or not: but they prohibited them saying: "if the Khanids had squabbled with the Samanids because of religion, then it would have been necessary to fight them. However, when the fight is for the common good of the whole world then it is not advisable for Muslims to destroy themselves. The way of life of these people (Khanids - B.G.) is excellent and their faith is

unexceptionable, and [hence]it is better to obtain [from any interference]and it was one of the main reasons for the seizure of power by the Khanids and the fleeing and fall of the Samanids".³²

V.V. Barthold in his times rightly noted: "... in the sources there is no mention of the resistance whatsoever to Bogra – khan during his movement from Isfijab to Samarkand and Bukhara and during the seizure by him of the capital of the Samanids. It is very likely that the people who suffered a lot from constant disturbances took the change of the dynasty quite indifferently."³³The Samanid state ceased to exist.

The class antagonism and also the struggle between the feudals and the central government, quarrels between the Samanids and their military commanders — Turks — unending intrigues between representatives of the court and the officials of Diwans — all this shook the state of the Samanids and at the end of the X century its power was only left as a memory.

In conditions when the local feudal fighting with each other with weapons in hand, struggled against measures of the central government and refused to subordinate themselves to it, the Samanids surely could not withstand the raids from outside. The popular masses of Maverannahr, who bore the heavy burden of taxes and many times rose against the Samanids in rebellion, also did not come for their defense. In addition, the Turk guards, which were the single most powerful support of the throne, did not have a secure and were not in a position to repel the attack of the enemy. That is why the Samanids could not withstand the foreign onslaught and disappeared from the political scene.

2. ECONOMY, MATERIAL CULTURE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATIONS

AGRICULTURE

The main part of the toiling population was engaged in agriculture and cattle breeding. The culture of irrigated cultivation in Central Asia and Khorasan had reached a high level of development. The network of canals and complex irrigation structures ensured intensification of land cultivation. For characterizing the economy, it is quite important to identify, whether in the IX-X centuries, substantial changes in the size of irrigated land and the irrigation system had taken place in comparison with the preceding period. In the IX-X, centuries, in the framework of big state formations, there existed undoubtedly objective pre-requisites for large irrigation work, which were difficult to implement in the period preceding the Arab conquest when Central Asia was divided in a large number of independent principalities, sometimes very small. That is why it could be expected that the IX-X centuries would be a new and higher stage for development of irrigated agriculture in comparison to the VI-VII

³²Rozen V.R., 1888, p. 275.

³³Barthold V.V., 1963 b., pp. 319-320.

centuries. But there is little concrete material for drawing such a conclusion.³⁴ For example, it is known that a new canal was built in Chach, with sources provided by Caliph Mu'tasim (833-842 A.D.). The organization of the administration of large irrigation system was changed. It became centralized. It is known that in the basin of Murghab, as well as basin of Zerafshan, only one person managed the irrigation system. During the reign of Abdallah ibn Tahir, (830-844 A.D.) measures were taken for legal regulation of the use of irrigation channels.

However, separate facts do not give the basis for a comparative analysis of the level of development of irrigated agriculture of the two mentioned periods and for ascertaining the progress, which undoubtedly took place in the IX-X centuries. It hoped that a wide development of archaeological works on history of irrigation and intensive research of the legal documents would enable to date the construction and large repairs of many canals. For the time being we are obliged to limit ourselves to the stated characteristics of irrigated economy in Central Asia and Khorasan in the IX-X centuries on the basis of written information meticulously collected by V.V. Barthold for the entire Central Asia and replenished by the observations by other scholars on separate regions.

Two largest rivers of Central Asia: — Amu-Darya (except the lower parts in the Khwarezm oasis) and the Syr-Darya — almost not used directly as a source of irrigation: the canals were mainly taken out from their tributaries. The large territories of irrigated land situated in the valleys of Northern tributaries of Amu-Darya and Panj (Surkhan, Kafernigan, Vakhsh, etc.). Maqdisi informs that the water of Surkhan River was used in such a big quantity for irrigation that sometimes it did not reach Amu-Darya. Lower down the flow of Amu-Darya, between Termez and Amul, the sources mention only small scattered oasis near the cities intersected by canals from the Amu-Darya itself. In general, according to Istakhri the entire benefit from the waters of Amu-Darya went to Khwarezm.

The waters of Syr-Darya used even less for irrigation. Its tributaries fed the fertile lands of Fergana. Here also some of the tributaries were entirely used for irrigation and did not reach Syr-Darya. Arab geographers describe in detail the water supply of cities and settlements of Fergana, every time mentioning the canals and ponds and the abundance of gardens. However, the most nourishing localities in the basin of Syr-Darya, in the X century, considered the valleys of rivers Ilak (Angren) and Parak (Chirchik). Nowhere in Maverannahr, there were many cities and settlements on a small territory. It was here that in the first half of the IX century a new canal was constructed.

The system of irrigation in the basin of Zerafshan was so developed and perfect, even in Pre-Arab times, that subsequently it was not subjected to radical changes. It was enough to maintain the functional canals, to restore the temporarily neglected ones, sometimes to change their heads because of their deepening, etc. During restoration of canals, often their names were changed.

The basis of the irrigation system of Zerafshan, in the X century, as earlier, was the dam near Varagger. From here, three main canals originated which

³⁴For data in written sources about irrigation in Central Asia of IX-X centuries, see: Moscow: Zhukovsky V.A., 1894 pp. 12-13; Barthold V.V. 1965 a, pp. 99-100; Gulyamov Ya.G., 1957, pp. 95-97, etc.

irrigated the entire territory to the South of Samarkand. Three Northern canals originated from the other side of Zerafshan — opposite Varagser. In fertility, the region of Samarkand considered unique. One of the Arab vice-regents in 720-721 A.D. prohibited his army to pursue the enemy in Sogd, in order not to harm "the garden of Amir of the Faithful", i.e., the Caliph. The same type of numerous big canals supplied water to the region of Bukhara.

One cannot but mention the irrigation system in the basin of Murghab, which was perfect for those times. The number of people serving the different constructions of this complex who were managing distribution of water, etc. was reportedly ten thousand.

Artificial irrigation through surface canals drawn from rivers was the basis of irrigation in Central Asia and Khorasan. However, other means also used. In many places, *karizs* (underground canals) also dugout only if the relief of the locality did not allow bringing water by surface means. The high-lying lands irrigated by *chigirs-dulabs*; which were operated sometimes by camels. In the foothills, waters of spring rivulets preserved with the help of dams for use in summer.

It needs to add that unirrigated lands were also used for cultivation quite widely. Even in the regions of highly developed irrigated cultivation, for example, in the basins of the Murghab and Zerafshan, there were large tracts of unirrigated land, which yielded crops enough to meet the requirements of an entire city and district.

In some cases, increase in the size of unirrigated cultivation was due to the inadequacy of water for irrigation. Such was the case, for example, in the lower part of the river Harirud as a result of which cattle breeding was prevalent there. In those places, where the river water was inadequate for irrigation of orchards and fields particularly in summer, water from wells was used.

The IX-X century's sources describe in detail the state of agriculture in different districts and regions and often note the peculiarities of one or the other locality. As earlier, cereal cultivation stood in the first place. Cotton cultivation was highly developed. In this respect, Central Asia had a special place in the entire Near and Middle East. It is not accidental that from Central Asia to the other regions and districts of the Arab Caliphate, textile exported in a large quantity. Cotton was cultivated in a large quantity in the region of Merv (the sources note the high quality of this cotton served a sort of standard of its kind), around Samarkand and Bukhara and in the region of Chach and other places. Orchards, vineyards and fields for growing melons and vegetables occupied large areas, particularly around cities. Some of the varieties of fruits, grapes and melons were famous far beyond the frontiers of the Samanid state. In certain areas such rare technical crops, as madder and saffron, etc. were cultivated.

The cultivators obviously had cattle also. Nice pastures are mentioned even around large cities. But cattle breeding was also developed as a specialized occupation. It was particularly prevalent in the economy of the steppe and mountainous regions. However, it must be stated that cattle breeding did not fully meet the requirements of the population and that is why trade contacts with nomad-cattle breeders, residing towards the North-East of the borders of the Samanid state, had a big importance.

MINING AND METALLURGY

The mining industry continued to develop. In Fergana were extracted iron ore, tin, silver, mercury, copper, zinc as well as tar, asbestos, turquoise and ammonium chloride, in Karamazar in the Khujand region, silver extraction increased; these deposits called Kuhi-sim ("the silver mountain"). Arab geographer, Ibn Haukal, writes that in Ustrushana, near the city of Marsmanda and in the village, Mink iron ore was extracted. The ore of these mines not only met the demand of Fergana but also exported to Khorasan and Iraq.³⁵ In a geographical work Hudud al-Alam ("the Limits of the World") it is written that in Marsmanda every year fairs were organized, from where the products of iron ore extracted were supplied to other parts in the neighborhood.³⁶ Arab writer Al Istakhri, mentioning the existence in Asbara (Isfara) of big coalmines writes, "there is a mountain of black stones there which burns like coal".³⁷ The same author notes that in the X century, in Central Asia, in military affairs oil was widely used: during siege of the cities, firebombs filled with oil were used. As centers of mining industry, regions along the upper stream of Zerafshan were distinguished for extraction of iron ore, gold, silver and vitriol and the regions of Darwaz, Rushan, Shugnan and Badakhshan were known for silver and gold mines, rubies and lazurites. In the locality Hajistan (present village "Solprom" of Asht district) the best salt was produced which was supplied to the population of Chach, Khujand and other places.³⁸

The entire territory of Central Asia was investigated in detail. In this, no natural hardships came in the way. Extraction of iron ore took place even in the Eastern Pamir in the range of Bazar-Dara. Here there was a large iron ore-trading village: perhaps this mentioned in the written sources as the village of Samarkandak. From written documents found here it is proved that in medieval as well as in ancient times the Eastern Pamir was inhabited by the Central Asian peoples.

Thanks to the archaeological and geological works, a clearly real picture of the state of the mining industry in the IX-X century is appearing. The great experience acquired at that time by the Tajik specialists, practical knowledge of many searching methods, which helped them achieve success in highly complicated cases of exploration of the mining places, evokes the astonishment of modern geologists. Depending on the character of the mines, small or large extraction work planned. Sometimes extractions were of colossal size. Such were the mines of Kani Mansur, Kani Gut and several others. For extraction of ores, shafts were constructed — vertical or reclining, galleries, cells and open quarries, etc. Extractions were sometimes quite deep. In Tajikistan, there are mines over

³⁵ *Ibn Haukal*, BGA, p. 384.

³⁶ Hudud al-Alam, 1930, sh. 23 b.

³⁷ *Istakhri*, BGA. I, p. 334.

³⁸ Information from written sources about extraction of minerals in Central Asia is collected in the works of V.V. Barthold (especially in the historical and geographical chapter in "Turkestan in the Epoch of Mongol Invasion") and M.E. Masson (1934b; 1947; 1953). See also: *Belenitsky A.M.*, 1953 a.

150 meters deep. For carrying out extractions, "fire method" was widely used. Near the wall of the coalface, a bonfire burnt for a long time and when its flames made it red hot water was poured on it. Because of this, particularly after several repetitions, the coal rock started cracking and it was easier to extract it. Depending on the firmness of the rock one or the other types of instruments were used — iron wedges, picks with or without a handle, hacks, spades and mattocks; hammers and sledge-hammers, stone-hammers, and also wooden wedges are well-known.

The ore miners of medieval times, trying to minimize their labor chose only as much of the dirt surrounding the lode as was required to proceed further. As a result, these shafts, galleries, etc. do not have the regular form. In some places, one can only crawl. At the same time, extremely meticulous work can be noticed — the ore has fully extracted.

In most of the cases mine working not propped up. However, ancient props have been discovered. Timber props, for example, used in the ore mines of the Kani Mansur group, which functioned in the IX-X centuries. Absence of the timber props in many mines was not an indication of technical backwardness of the ore miners of that time but a result of socio-economic conditions of the epoch: life in those days was valued so little that the props constructed only in those cases when further work was impossible without it. For the technical level, the other thing is indicative: even in those times of the "elastic" props were used which contemporary technology recommends in some cases in order to avoid the destructive influence of the initial pressure of the rocks.

The flame of the lamps — *chiraghs* provided light. Ventilation was ensured by several methods. Natural ventilation was used more frequently: the phenomenon of natural traction of air in the underground works, which was for the first time explained by M.V. Lomonosov was well-known to medieval Tajik ore extractors. Different methods for strengthening of natural traction of air were used as, for example, installation of shields for reflection of air downwards when the winds were blowing. Perhaps even in those times artificial ventilation was also used.

Draining of water also practiced. Here 1500-year old experience of building of underground channels used — water was diverted through underground galleries.

Broken rocks taken up in the baskets and leather sacks. In passages sometimes with sharp bends, steps were made. In vertical shafts, logs with crafted steps or real stairs put. During the last years, equipment consisting of horizontal rollers to lift weight has been discovered. In one of the mines in Kani Mansur, a drum of complex timber lifting equipment found; at the end of the rope, there was a hook to fasten the basket or sack.

On the surface the final sorting out of the ore done, thereafter it was crushed into small pieces for which various complicated methods existed. It crushed and washed thoroughly. Only after this melting would start. There existed large ore melting centers, for example, in the region of ancient mines of Kanjola.

The level of metallurgical knowledge and methods was quite high. A comparison of written sources, the remnants of the smelting furnaces, an analysis

of slag and metallic articles shows that such complicated metallurgical process as smelting of sulphide copper ores and extraction of silver through various methods fully mastered.³⁹

PRODUCTION OF GLASS AND CERAMICS

During study of the medieval cities and settlements, directly on the surface and during archaeological works, in the cultural strata, in the buildings and rubbish heaps, one comes across a large quantity of "pre-Mongol" glass pieces dating back to IX-X centuries. Many of such glass pieces, from different parts of Central Asia, can be found in the museums of the USSR.

Notwithstanding the existence of a considerably large number of articles and research monographs,⁴⁰ the stages of development of glass production in Central Asia, from IX to XVIII centuries, have not been studied chronologically. Discovery of complex glass articles, even during the excavations, dated very generally, for example, X-XII centuries, X-XI centuries. That is why they cannot be used to a full extent for characterizing of the condition and peculiarities of glass production in the IX-X centuries. Undoubtedly, in all large and even middle-sized cities from the IX-X century's glass articles were produced and used but they have not been demarcated clearly from the general mass of glass articles of the IX-XII centuries.

At several places glass articles discovered by archaeologists were undoubtedly made in the IX-X centuries: the settlement of Kuldortepe (in the region of Samarkand),⁴¹ on the territory of the medieval town of Nisa⁴², in the residential area of the X century on the territory of medieval town Varakhsha⁴³, etc.

Among the glass pieces from these places, household and cosmetic vessels are also found. The favorite forms were different goblets with high stems, wide and narrow-necked jugs with or without handles, bowls of different shapes, mugs with loop form handles, narrow-necked pear-shaped perfume bottles, sometimes with two small handles, small vessels in the form of test tubes, etc.

Vessels were often made of colorless glass but there are also articles made from multi-colored glasses. Multi-colored glass was also used for decoration of crockery.

In the IX-X centuries, the master glass blowers of the medieval times were very skillful in using different technical methods of making thin vessels by the method of blowing. The glass blowers used the method of blowing also for the decoration of the crockery: in such cases, vessels blew with relief ornaments inside.

³⁹*Litvinsky B.A., 1950 a, 1952 a, 1954 b, 1956 a; Litvinsky B.A. and Islamov O.I. 1953; Islamov O.I., 1955; Bubnova M.A., 1961; Bubnova M.A., 1962; Buryakov E.F., 1965.*

⁴⁰*Abdurazakov A.A. and others 1963; Abdurazakov A.A., Bezborodov M.A., 1966.*

⁴¹*Stavisky B. Ya., 1960.*

⁴²*Davidovich E.A., 1949.*

⁴³*Kabanov S.K., 1956.*

Repetition of the forms of kitchen wares in complexes of glass from different places, absence of decoration on most of the articles or else, the use of such forms of decoration as did not demand extra work, rareness of such "individual" methods of vessel decoration as engraving, etc., — all this is indicative of the fact that the production of household glass wares in the IX-X centuries was already on a mass scale intended for wide consumption. In this context it may be noted that some forms of glass wares were clear imitation of the ceramic forms of the IX-X centuries which indicates that the process of standardization of the kitchen wares had gone deep even in cases when these articles were made of different materials.

It is necessary to observe that, in the IX-X centuries in Central Asia; window glass made and used. The available fragments (for example from Nisa, from the settlement of Afrasiab — pre-Mongol Samarkand) are made from colorless glass by the same technique of blowing as kitchen glass vessels. Having improved this technique, the Central Asia glass blowers learnt to make flat discs; the fault of which was thickening in the center. However, this fault was not of such importance as these flat discs were cut into figured pieces, which were inserted into alabaster window grills.

The discoveries of glass articles are not connected with construction of palace buildings or other monumental structures. Obviously, they used in residential houses of well-to-do city dwellers. It was quite a progressive invention, which considerably improved the living conditions of that period.



Glazed bowl IX – X centuries. Samarkand

The ceramic production in Central Asia of the IX-X centuries has studied completely and from many sides,⁴⁴ although there are no general works yet. Large-scale archaeological works resulted in the discovery of entire localities of ceramic makers, many different types of pottery furnaces, workshops of craftsmen with a variety of instruments and semi-produced articles and spoiled

⁴⁴Ahrarov I., 1966; Bolshakov O.G., 1958, 1963, 1966; Vakturskaya N.N., 1959; Lunina S.B., 1962, Saiko E.B., 1963; Tashkhojaev Sh.S., 1967 and others.

articles etc. All this gave an opportunity to recreate the picture of the technique of pottery craft of the IX-X centuries starting from the moment of procuring the clay until the production of the ready-made articles. The ceramic production of the IX-X centuries has also been studied from the other technological angle. It has been established as to which kind of clay was used for the production of vessels, how and by which methods it was made, which kind of colors were used for decoration, what was the composition of the glaze and many such other things.

In the IX-X centuries, different types of vessels were produced. From large khums for keeping reserve stocks to the toy-like cups and saucers. The highest achievement of the craft of pottery, at this time, was glazed ceramics. It was in great demand and produced in correspondingly large quantity.

The ceramic makers of the IX-X centuries could produce different types of glazes. They also used alkaline glazes; however, more high quality zinc glazes were prevalent. Zinc glazes were transparent, which gave a wide opportunity to decorate vessels under glazed paintings. Adding a certain amount of tin, the ceramic makers made non-transparent glazes, mostly of green or brown color. In the IX-X centuries, the ceramic covered with transparent glaze and under glaze paintings was of different varieties. Its production demanded large skill and art. The vessel made on the legged pottery wheel. Afterwards its surface was prepared for the paintings. With this purpose, the vessel was covered with angob – watery clay of special quality and making, which was often colored. It covered the pores of the vessel and created even polished single color background for painting. Thereafter the vessel was dried and painted with colors and burnt. Only after this, it was covered with glaze and burnt for the second time. For the making of such vessels and for preserving the clearness of the drawing and its gamut of colors, a deep and skillful knowledge of interaction of the entire components during the double baking was required.

Among the vessels, with glazed paintings in the IX-X centuries, bowls of different sizes and dishes were prevalent. Their forms were standardized. They varied in details and were differentiated from each other mainly by their size. Apart from these forms, jugs, lamps and some other articles in the same technique made.

One of the favorite methods of decoration of these vessels was inscriptions. The inscriptions were made on the edges of the bowls and on their bottom; these can be seen also on jugs and lamps. The handwriting is very refined and standardized. The contents were different. Sometimes it was an expression of good wishes for the owner: "blessings and well-being to the owner of this", "blessings", "well-being", "eat for your health", etc. In other cases just a maxim was made: "learning is initially bitter in taste, but the end of it is sweeter than honey", "large-heartedness is the quality of the righteous one", "large-heartedness is the guard of the honor and property", etc.

Very often, such vessels were decorated with floral and geometrical designs; even the depictions of living creatures can be seen particularly of the birds.

Completely of different type is the so-called marble-like ceramics. Here different colors put in such a way that they do not form a certain picture. The main thing is color, its variations, patches and tones.

As an additional method of decoration of marble-like ceramic and of ceramic with non-transparent glaze scratched contour, drawings were used which were covered with glaze. The thick plaits overall background distinguished them. Skillful and firm hands made these "engraved" drawings. Here we see again the geometrical and floral ornaments, depictions of birds, etc.

Ceramic production of the IX-X centuries is an undoubted testimony to the development of productivity of labor in the handicrafts of the period, of the successful mastery of many processes, improvement of the components of glaze, inventiveness in decorating the vessels simultaneously with increase in the scale of its production.

OTHER FORMS OF HANDICRAFT PRODUCTION

Other crafts and their production cannot characterize as thoroughly as glass-making and ceramic production. Here we should mainly depend on written sources, which inform that in the IX-X centuries, most different productions were developed and products of many crafts were of very high quality and were famous far beyond the borders of Central Asia. It is not accidental that Istakhri observed that the inhabitants of Maverannahr did not need the products of other countries as they themselves made everything needed by them.

Weaving was highly developed. It characterized by large scale of production as well as by varieties of types of textiles and by their high quality. Fabric was made from silk, cotton and flax. Central Asia was the home of many kinds of beautiful textiles. Central Asian masters also assimilated some kinds of foreign textiles.

Among the local kinds of textiles one of the leading places belonged to vedari cotton fabric. Its name was derived from the settlement Vedar, located not far away from Samarkand. However, this fabric produced in many other places of Central Asia as well. It was in great demand, not only in Central Asia but also beyond its borders. In the words of Ibn Haukal it was "worn in full pieces without being cut; and in Khorasan there was no Amir, no Vazir, no Qazi, no rich person, no common man, no warrior who was not clad in vedari fabric over those clothes which were worn in winter; they considered it the sign of elegance and smartness because the color of the fabric is close to yellow and they have softness and pleasantness; these fabrics were thick and tender and the price of one piece of fabric varied from two to twenty dinars; I also wore such fabric for five years. They were in demand in Iraq (Babylonia) exported there and people were proud to wear them."⁴⁵

The red, green and white fabrics were very famous — specialized production of special workshops was situated near the Bukhara citadel. The settlement of Zandan, near Bukhara, gave the name to the beautiful fabric zandanichi, which produced in many places and widely exported. Once upon a time zandanichi fabric was silken. The fabric of zandanichi from an earlier period is preserved in several museums of the world. On the backside of one of the

⁴⁵Ibn Haukal, B.G.A. II, p. 403. For Russian translation see: Barthold V.V., 1965, p. 441.

fragments, there is a Sogdian inscription (mark in black ink, the size and name of the fabric). The technique, colors and drawings of zandanichi of the VII-VIII centuries have studied.⁴⁶

What this fabric was like in the IX-X centuries is not yet quite clear, although it is assumed that not later than the end of the X century it was made from cotton. Narshakhi also testifies to this.⁴⁷

The sources also mention several other kinds of fabrics (linen, silken, brocade type, etc.). The fabrics from Merv occupied a prominent place⁴⁸ Merv fabrics, particularly silken, were even imitated in other places and they were widely exported.

Some fragments of Central Asian fabrics of IX-X centuries preserved even today. In the medieval sepulchers of Egypt, among the ancient fabrics preserved there, several fragments of linen fabrics of Merv production of the IX century were discovered. There are inscriptions on these fragments and in one of them, also ornamentation.

The fragment of the fabric from the middle of the X century with the name of its owner, one of the Samanid military commanders is very interesting. In the center, two elephants depicted and between the legs of each of them, there are small winged griffins. On the border, there are inscriptions and moving camels between several ornamental stripes. The entire theme and details of ornamentation repeat in a modified way of the themes and ornamentations of an earlier period.⁴⁹

The production of different articles made from metal occupied a leading place. Some of them met the local needs while others acquired a wider market. Maqdisi mentions Bukharan copper lamps, tin vessels from Rebinjan, Samarkand copper cauldrons and stir ups, Chach scissors and needles, the swords and weapons from Fergana and Isfijab, etc. The weapons of Fergana were so famous that they were exported to many countries as far as up to Baghdad.

On the instructions of Caliph Haroon ar – Rashid (786-809 A.D.), only paper was to be used for writing. Consequently, papyrus and other material for writing went out of use. During a long period, the only supplier of paper for the countries of the Arab Caliphate was Samarkand (second half of VIII-beginning of X century). The workshops of this city produced rag paper, which called Samarkandi (sometimes Khorasani). The names of six types of this paper known. In the X century, the method of production of paper became known beyond the borders of Central Asia — in the West up to Syria. However, even in the X century Samarkand remained the main supplier of paper. Al-Khwarezmi jokingly remarked, "One of his friends does not write to him because he lives far away from Samarkand and hence paper for him is very expensive."⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Belenitsky A.M., Bentovich I.B., pp. 61-78.

⁴⁷ Narshakhi, Tehran edition, p. 17.

⁴⁸ Krachkovskaya V.A., 1949, p. 4, 1958 p. 615.

⁴⁹ For a general research on the history of weaving in the "Muslim" East see, Serjeant R., 1946, Vol. IX-XVI (about the fabrics of Khorasan and Central Asia, vol. IX-XII).

⁵⁰ Grohmann A., 1954, pp. 74-76; Mets A., 1966, pp. 363-364.

In many places, the processing of leather and wool was done and different woolen and leather products were made.

There is no need to name the other types of crafts. Not all of them are mentioned in the sources. Did the corporate organizations of craftsmen exist? There are no direct indications in the sources on this subject.⁵¹ However, indirect, including historic-topographical indications, make it possible to think so.

It is important to stress that the evidence of written sources about export of many types of handicraft products and those samples of handicraft of the IX-X centuries (ceramic, glass, textiles), which are known to testify to us the large scale pottery production at this time and to such a level of development of productive forces which ensured a high quality of not only the luxury goods but also of goods of common consumption.

BUILDING AND ARCHITECTURE

In the written sources, there are numerous information's about the buildings of the IX-X centuries but only a few of them have been preserved until our times.⁵²

Palaces and castles, caravan – sarais, trading complexes, mosques, madrasas and mausoleums built. Mainly constructions were made from earth: mud blocks and raw bricks. Timber occupied a considerable place in construction: wooden columns and flat roofs were typical of the IX-X centuries. Baked bricks in these raw wooden constructions occupied a secondary place. Monumental constructions, entirely made from baked bricks, appeared in this period. It was a new, important and progressive achievement of this epoch.

Among the different categories of monumental structures of the IX-X centuries, mausoleums are the best studied ones. Now there exist four well-known mausoleums: The mausoleum of the Samanids in Bukhara, the mausoleum of Arab-Ata in Tima, the mausoleum of Mir-Sa'id Bahrom in Kermina, and the mausoleum of Ak-Astana Baba near Uzun.

The mausoleum of the Samanids generally recognized as the masterpiece of medieval Central Asian architecture. Its composition is simple — cube-like form with a dome at the top. The structure is not large but it creates an impression of massiveness. At the same time, the harmonious blending of parts marked by decorative finishing make the monument elegant and light.

All the facades designed alike. At the top of the mausoleum, there is a continuous arch gallery. Three vertical lines divide the walls below the gallery: the corners of the structure are in the shape of massive attached columns; at the center there are arched entrances contained in rectangular frames. The entrances have confined their own divisions: they are made in the shape of perspective

⁵¹Lewiss B., 1937; Spuler B., 1952, p. 398.

⁵²A large literature is devoted to the architectural monuments of this period. See, for example: Bulatov M.S., 1953, 1962; Voronina V.L. 1954, 1950; Denike B.P., 1939; Litvinsky B.A., 1953, Nilsen V.A., 1950; Pisarchik A.K., 1944; Pugachenkova G.A., 1960, 1963b; Pugachenkova G.A. and Rempel L.E., 1965 and others.

decreasing arches resting on the corner columns, which increases the impression about their depth.

Inside, the passage from the square room towards the dome, is made with the help of complicated arched sails, thrown over the corners, thus changing the square into octahedron. On the whole, the inside division corresponds to the outside one: the even surface of the walls cut by the arched entrances is contained in rectangular frames; the horizontal girdle consisting of eight arches form the dome. The girdle of arched sails from inside and arched gallery from outside corresponds to the narrow passage inside the walls covering the whole mausoleum at this height.

The basic material for decoration is the same; namely, construction bricks. The main method of ornamentation is different types of design layouts. The ornamentation is strict and at the same time extremely varied.

Almost all the methods of construction, planning, details of construction and its decorations are analogous to the earlier architecture of Sogd; it looks as if the mausoleum of the Samanids has absorbed in itself all the achievements of the architecture of the previous times and summed it up. At the same time, the use of baked bricks, as the main construction and decorative material, opened before the architects new possibilities, which were used in a masterly way.

The mausoleum of the Samanids was built at the end of the IX or the beginning of the X century and the mausoleum of Arab-Ata in 977/978 A.D. (the date is given in the inscription on it). Approximately three-fourth of a century separates them. The search of the architectural concept led to the creation of a principally new type of mausoleum — portal domed.

The mausoleum of Arab-Ata is cube covered by a dome but its entrance is from one side and it is designed in the form of monumental portal, which is raised higher than the walls and covers a considerable part of the dome. The portal flanked at the corners by cut abutments, which give it the look of smartness and massiveness. Above the lancet entrance bay, there is a decorative arch. Inside, the division is a three-fold (the surface of the walls; the girdle of sails, forming the passage leading from the square to the octahedron and the dome). However, the system of sails is diverse consisting of two tiers. In the decoration of the mausoleum, structure different materials and methods are used. Here are designed brick layout and ornaments cut in ganch, inscription in the background of floral drawings and designs made from trimmed and polished bricks. In some constructions and decorative details, one can see the link with the Sogdian architecture but these traits are more visible, which in complete and developed form and are represented in the monuments of XI-XII centuries.

An analysis of the proportions of these two monuments shows that they constructed according to a previously worked out project, all sizes correspond to each other as the side of the square corresponds to its diagonal. This mathematical regularity, talented executed in real structures, was the basis of harmony and perfection of the mausoleum of Arab-Ata and particularly the mausoleum of the Samanids.

In this period, the feudal estates are changing. Not defense but the comfort of residential premises comes to the forefront. There is no more the old inaccessible prowess and isolation of the outer fortress walls. On all sides there

are unsecured entrances, the surface of the walls is cut by windows, in corner towers there are no loopholes.

In the Afrasiab settlement were discovered the remnants of the palace of the Samanids which was also built mainly from the raw bricks. In one of the halls of the palace preserved the decorative finishes: panel and frieze made from cut plaster (frieze is colored), remnants of the paintings. The panel further divided into small rectangular panels, each one of them includes large geometrical designs inside which there is a small stylish floral ornament. The cut plaster of the Samanid palace testifies to big skills, inventiveness and fantasy of the cutters on alabaster.

Magnificent are the samples of carved wood from the Samanid period: mehrab from Iskodar, wooden columns from the upper Zerafshan. The Iskodar mehrab, which skillfully assembled without glue and nails, is entirely covered by carvings: here are the lines of Kufi inscriptions, the large geometrical designs and the thinnest net of unending stylish floral ornaments.

The columns from the villages of Kurut, Oburdon, and Fatmev are made in strict proportions. They have still preserved the traditions of Sogdian architecture, but there are many new elements in them. The carving on these columns, particularly on the capitals, is in high reliefs and deep; the floral designs in highly funny forms match with zoomorphic depictions. The Oburdon column is rich of zoomorphic motifs (fishes, bird heads etc.).

TRADE AND MONEY CIRCULATION

The large cities of Central Asia of the IX-X centuries were centers of intra-regional, inter-regional and some of them even of international trade. However, lively trade conducted not only in these trade and craft centers but also in many settlements, particularly in the case of these settlements where some kinds of crafts developed. In this connection, the account of Narshakhi about the settlement situated near Bukhara is interesting. Market days were held here once in a week and on those days, a large number of people collected there. In some settlements annual fairs also held, which lasted from 10 to 20 days. In these fairs, traders came from various far-flung regions. The visitors purchased goods not only for themselves but also mainly for re-sale as some of the products of the crafts of the settlements, particularly fabrics, were in demand even beyond the borders of Central Asia. Big traders of the settlements themselves conducted large trade transactions.⁵³

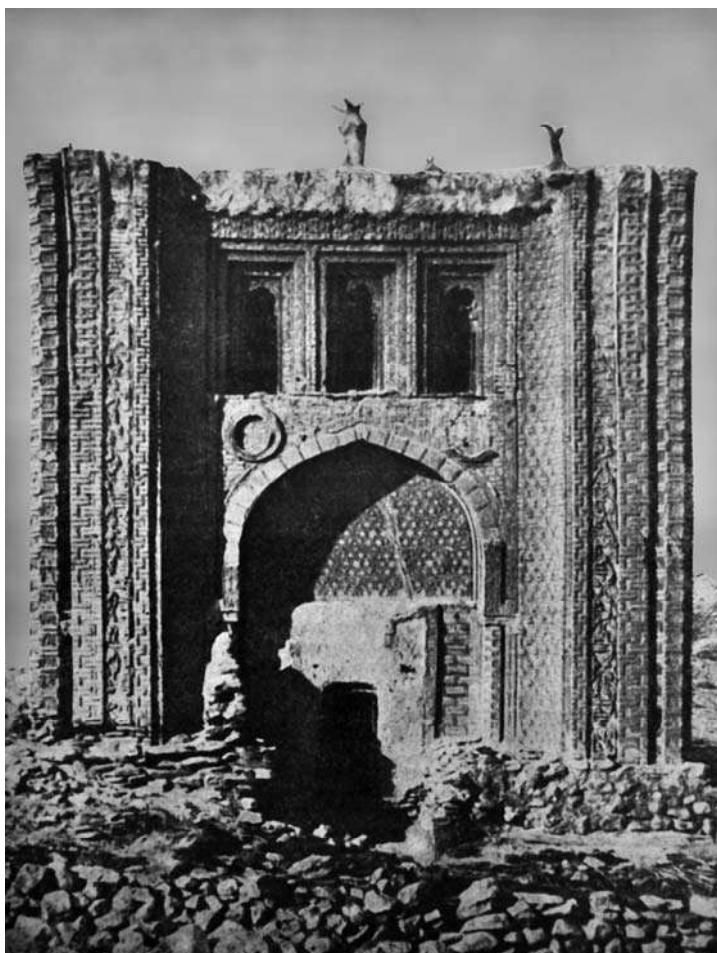
The coins of that period, the developed money-commodity economy and concrete historical specification of money circulation testify about the conditions and level of development and some peculiarities of domestic trade.⁵⁴

Gold coins (*dinars*) minted during Samanid period in of considerably large quantity, but mostly beyond the borders of Central Asia. Central Asian mints issued dinars only occasionally. But the main fact was that the gold dinars,

⁵³ *Narshakhi*, Tehran edition p. 13 onwards.

⁵⁴ Davidovich E.A., 1966, pp. 103-134.

according to reliable sources, were used as commodity, i.e., they circulated not as monetary units but by their weight. This testimony of the sources confirms the real weight of the dinars themselves: its variations were such that circulation as monetary unit is excluded. However, gold coins in the later centuries, for example, in the XI – XIII centuries were also accepted by weight and not as monetary unit. However, in this period they circulated in real trade. In the IX-X centuries, they practically did not fulfill the functions of the mode of circulation. By the way, describing the money of Bukhara, Istakhri writes, "They do not trade among themselves by dinars" Ibn Fadlan who was in Bukhara in 921 A.D. and took interest in Bukharan money and described it in detail, does not mention gold dinars at all. Above all, the gold dinars performed the function of treasure and they preferred to store them. At the level of prices and scale of the trade of that period, even in large deals, the silver coins, dirhams, were used.



Mausoleum of Arab-Ata in Tima. 977/78 A.D.

In the IX-X centuries in the states of the Tahirids and the Samanids different types of dirhams were minted. Each type had its name and purpose. In the IX and particularly in the X century the minting of the state silver dirhams became a regular affair. On these dirhams there are no depictions. Only there are inscriptions in Arab script *kufī*. In the X century, these coins came to be called "Ismaili" after the name of Ismail Samanid. It is interesting that on the territory of Central Asia one can see only a few of Ismaili dirhams whereas in Eastern Europe and the Baltic region hundreds of hordes of Ismaili dirhams have been found. Thus, they performed the function of international money in the first place, although in the domestic economic life they also played a certain role. Their weight and standard was in full accord with this. Initially their standard was very high and weight very accurate and as such, their circulation in the state could be and was as monetary unit. When it became clear that after all the main mass of these coins flowed abroad and beyond the borders of the state, as it is known, the coins go by their weight, the Samanid government decided to decrease their standard of minting. In fact, hardly three decades had gone by that the weight of the Ismaili dirhams changed and weight fluctuations became considerably high. In the same manner, their standard had also changed. Such coins could not circulate as separate monetary units and this was an indirect important indication of the fact that the role of Ismaili dirhams in internal trade had decreased. Perhaps only in rare cases they served in the internal state markets, as was the case with gold.

The main means of circulation in Central Asia, in the IX-X centuries, were dirhams called in the sources as Khwarezmian, Museiyabi, Muhammadi and Gitrifi. Particularly interesting are the last three types. On them contrary to the Ismaili dirhams Arab inscriptions occupy very small place. Main thing is the depictions: the bust of the ruler on one side, holy alters with fire and guards on the other. It is nothing else but the schematic repetition of the depictions on the Sasanid coins of one of the rulers of the V century A.D. The main peculiarity of the economy of this period was the fact that the taxes were calculated only in this type of coins with depictions, but each region paid taxes not in any coins but only in certain type of coins. For example, the Chach region with its ore mines and the Khujand city paid the tax only in high standard dirhams Museiyabi, Sogd with its center in Samarkand and Fergana paid in Muhammadi dirhams; Bukhara only in Gitrifi dirhams, etc. The region of Ustrushana paid 48 thousand dirhams in Muhammadi and 2 thousand dirhams in Museiyabi.

Obviously, these three types of dirhams were different from each other substantially; otherwise, every region could have paid the fixed amount of tax in any type of these dirhams. There are two views on this question: the first one is that these dirhams with the depictions differed on the basis of Arab inscriptions.⁵⁵ The second view is that they differed in metal.⁵⁶ The second view finds its confirmation in the sources. Museiyabi were of high standard silver. It is not for nothing that Ibn Haukal noted that Museiyabi are "from their treasure". About the Muhammadi dirhams Istakhri writes that they minted from iron, copper,

⁵⁵ Markoff A., 1891; Lerh P.I., 1909; Walker J., 1941; Masson M.E. 1965a and others.

⁵⁶ Davidovich E.A. 1966.

silver and other metals, that is, they were of low standard silver and "Gitrifi" were minted from bronze. Accordingly, their purchasing power also differed: one could buy more commodities with Museiyabi dirhams and less with the Gitrifi dirhams. However, one of the peculiarities of the money economy of the IX-X centuries was the fact that all the three types of these coins were higher in exchange value than the silver dirhams — Ismaili. That is in the bronze Gitrifi dirhams one could buy more things than in the Ismaili dirhams.

For small trade copper coins — *fels* were used. They circulated in certain ratio with the silver coins. For example in the year 921 in Bukhara, one silver dirham was equal to 24 copper fels. The copper coins were meant for intra-regional circulation but in practice, they circulated beyond the borders of the region although there they carried lower exchange value. For example, in the year 921 in Bukhara one could buy with Samarkand copper coins only two-thirds of the commodities which could be bought with the local Bukhara fels.

The peculiarities of the circulation of dirhams Museiyabi, Muhammadi, Gitrifi and copper coins are an indication that even in the X century, in the confines of a considerably centralized Samanid state, Central Asia, economically no one was a single united entity in the economic regions with their markets were clearly demarcated. These regional markets, notwithstanding the growing trade links, preserved some kind of isolation to the extent of special composition of coinage. Government was compelled to take into account these peculiarities and traditions.

The trade of Maverannahr with the East and the West, particularly, with the countries of the Near East, and with the nomads of the steppe on its North-Eastern borders developed considerably in this period. The assortment of goods, which traded by Maverannahr with other countries, also changed. Now the goods meant for personal use of a wide strata of population and for the need of crafts were traded more and more. The caravan route, between the Near East and China, passed through Maverannahr. This route started from the coastal Mediterranean countries, passing through Baghdad, Hamadan, Nishapur, Merv, and Amul to Bukhara and from there through Samarkand, Chach, Taraz, Balasagun, Suyab and the Southern coast of the Lake Issyqkul led to Mongolia and China.

The caravans were sometimes very large. For example, Ibn Fadlan who as secretary participated in the mission of Caliph Muqtadir to the Kingdom of the Volga Bulgars confirms that the caravan of the ambassador consisted of five thousand people and three thousand horses without counting the camels.⁵⁷ However, the usual trade caravans were small. In caravans travelled not only traders but also craftsmen, masters, scholars, painters and travelers. Ambassadors also travelled with them. In such cases, the caravans were very large and were escorted by armed detachments.

The trade of Maverannahr and Khorasan with the Bulgar Kingdom was highly developed.⁵⁸ Ibn Fadlan described in detail the trade route linking Central Asia and the South East Europe. Earlier the trade route from Baghdad and Iran

⁵⁷ Kovalevsky A.P. 1956, p. 128.

⁵⁸ Yakubovsky A.Iu., 1932, pp. 12-15.

to the Bulgar Kingdom passed through Caucasia and the Khazar Kingdom. However, in the beginning of the 10th century that is during the rule of Caliph Muqtadir the relations between the Baghdad Caliph, the Khazar Kingdom worsened, and trade routes started passing through Maverannahr. Ibn Fadlan writes that from Bukhara the trade route went to Amu – Darya, then along the Amu – Darya to Kyat — the center of southern Khwarezm, then to Orgench and from there through Emba to the Bulgar Kingdom. Thus the trade route skirted the territory of the Khazar Kingdom and went along the left bank of the Volga River. On the way, there were guesthouses where traders rested. The intensity of the trade links of Central Asia with Russia indicated by the discovery of large number of Samanid dirhams Ismaili found in the different localities of Russia right up to the Baltic Sea.⁵⁹ From the Bulgar Kingdom through Khwarezm there were exported fur, leather, tan (the latter was essential because of the developed leather industry in Central Asia), cattle, slaves, honey, walnuts and several other commodities. From Central Asia to Eastern Europe were exported rice, dry fruits, various fabrics but most of all the silver — dirhams Ismaili.

BUKHARA– THE CAPITAL OF THE SAMANID STATE

The VIII century was a period of great hardship for the urban population of Maverannahr. Narshakhi, in his "History of Bukhara", narrates that after the seizure of Bukhara, in 709 A.D., the Arab conquerors not only took away from the local population half of their homes but also cleared for themselves a large part of the city where the representatives of the Arab tribes were lodged.⁶⁰ Most of the Arabs resided near the Kuhandiz gates of Bukharan shahristan because this place considered in Bukhara as the most fortified one.

As a result of widening of trade relations between the Near East and Maverannahr transformation of the cities of Central Asia into cities of developed feudal type was accelerated. Externally this change was taking place in various ways: sometimes the internal structure of shahristan changed, in other cases the former shahristan lost its importance and outside it developed new center of crafts and trade.

Bukhara represented the example of the first way of development of a feudal city. Economic and political life more and more concentrated inside shahristan of Bukhara. There appeared markets and localities of craftsmen, caravan-sarais were also constructed. According to Narshakhi, during the rule of the Tahirids in Bukhara there was a big weaving manufactory where perhaps slave labor was used. The goods manufactured here exported to the center of the Caliphate and to the far-flung cities of the Near East. In the premises of the former shahristan large houses of nobility appeared and many new buildings came up in which the government bureaucracy was put up. Simultaneously with internal changes in Bukharan shahristan there took place, from the beginning of the VIII century, an expansion of the city in three directions. From the South

⁵⁹For information about the hordes of Eastern, coins in Eastern Europe see: *Yanin V.L.*, 1956.

⁶⁰*Narshakhi*, Tehran edition, p. 63 onwards.

beyond the gates of Attars (grocers), markets and rabats⁶¹ appeared; in South-West and South-East directions markets and special localities of craftsmen grew. By the middle of the IX century Bukhara grew intensively in its territory and in 849-850 A.D. a wall, which had 11 gates, surrounded it again.⁶²

The transformation of the Registan of Bukhara into a center of political life of the Samanid state, the construction in the Northern part of the city of the Amir's palace and of the houses of the diwans considerably changed the face of the city.

Concentration of the economic life in the center of the city played a big role in the change of Bukhara into a city of the feudal type: in it special streets of different craftsmen appeared who worked and traded in their workshops. That is why in the X century the entire central part of the city looked like a market and the city itself completely changed its former looks.

THE INSTITUTIONS OF FEUDAL GRANTS AND CONDITIONAL LAND OWNERSHIP

The X century was the period of developed feudalism. Samanid state was a feudal state, which safeguarded the interests of big landowners and traders. Hence, all that mentioned above, about the growth of economy, development of agriculture, crafts and money transactions does not in the least give the basis to think that this growth was accompanied by improvement in the living conditions of the toiling people.

The main owners of land and water were the state and the big feudals. Accordingly, the most widespread categories of land were state, feudal, "milk" and "waqf". The materials of the preceding period show how intensively the small owners were pauperized and how they "voluntarily" gave away their lands to big feudals.⁶³ This process, of course, continued in the X century.

Along with the unconditional ownership during the rule of the Samanids there also existed conditional land ownership of feudals based on the land grants for the services rendered. The level of development of the institution by feudal grant for services and of conditional land ownership is one of the most important indicators of the level of feudalization of society "from above". A point of view was expressed as if during the rule of the Samanids both of these did not play a significant role in the socio-economic life of the society and in the XI-XIII centuries, during the rule of the Qarakhanids and Seljukids, it developed quickly.⁶⁴ Such a viewpoint appeared perhaps under the influence of some

⁶¹Rabat – Guest houses and border fortresses.

⁶²Sukhareva O.A., 1954, p. 28 and onwards.

⁶³In the Arab Caliphate, the landowners on the conquered territories were often compelled to give back their own land not in possession but in ownership on some conditions (*Lokkegaard F.*, 1950, pp. 68-70); (*Lambton A.K.S.*, 1969, p. 21, 25-26).

⁶⁴A.Iu. Yakubovsky (1949, pp. 37-38; op.cit. in the book: *Trever K.B.* and others 1950) did not at all mention the institution of feudal grants and conditional landownership in the chapter dedicated to the IX-X centuries.

notions in the written sources about the fact that during the Samanid rule almost the half of the budget was spent on the salary for the services and also the direct statement in the later source — "Siyasatnama" that in Khorasan during the Samanid rule the iqta⁶⁵ was not distributed. The absence of direct records in the sources of the cases of grant for the services in the Samanid state also played its role.

Thus appeared the contrast of two periods in the history of Central Asia — the IX-X centuries and XI-XII centuries: the development of the institution of feudal grants was fully linked with the conquest of Central Asia by the Qarakhanids and the Seljukids.

The historic-numismatic studies permitted radical revision of this question on the basis of concrete Central Asian material.⁶⁶ They brought out 18 more cases of feudal grants for services not counting those, which already mentioned in literature as Simjurids in Kuhistan and others. Not even in a single case the grantees were the representatives of the grassroots service and military ranks. It is noteworthy that in the IX century the grants were very large (entire regions, district and cities) were given to the members of the dynasty. In the X century, especially in its second half, more grantees were not members of the dynasty but different dignitaries sometimes even not very famous. The sizes of the grants were sometimes very large and sometimes visibly smaller.

The grants in the IX-X centuries meant giving to the grantee the right over the whole or part of the revenue from the granted estate, but these grants were neither life-long nor hereditary. Grants conditioned by service; more often, this service was vice-regency in the granted region or city and hence it gave big rights and privileges in the internal affairs. Sometimes the grantees were even given the right to inscribe their names on the coins. In these cases, it is particularly apparent that the mutual relations between the central power and the grantees, the level of independence of the latter were different. For example, some copper coins minted in the name of the head of the dynasty but the name of the grantee — vice-regent is humbly put on the secondary place as the vassal (Samarkand and Chach in the third quarter of the IX century, Isfijab in the beginning of the X century). Often it was the opposite case: the copper coins were minted in the name of the grantee and the head of the Samanid dynasty was mentioned only as honorary suzerain (Fergana cities Akhsiket, Nasrabad and Kuva or else the whole Fergana during the different periods in the X century). But one more variant is also known, when on the copper coins there is no mention at the entire name of the head of the dynasty and there are only the names of the grantees (Akhsiket and Chach in the second half of the IX and beginning of the X century). Here there is an attempt to break even the formal relations of vassalage. Only the members of the dynasty, which owned large regions, made such attempts according to now known examples.

The grant estates were often changed into independent principalities inside the Samanid state. Their owners (be they the members of the dynasty or big

⁶⁵About the origin of the institution, iqta in the medieval East see: *Lokkegaard F.*, 1950, p. 58; *Cahen C.*, 1953; *Lambton A.K.S.*, 1967, 1969, pp. 28-30, 53.

⁶⁶*Davidovich E.A.*, 1954, pp. 69-117; 1960b pp. 254-257.

dignitaries) often appropriated the same titles of "Amirs" and the "clients of the sovereign of the faithful" which the heads of the Samanid dynasty carried.

During the Samanid period, typical feudal relations of "multistage" vassalage formed and developed: it was feudal hierarchy.

Such cases are recorded when the head of the Samanid dynasty granted a city or region to a big dignitary and the latter yielded a part of the rights granted to him to the other person, etc. For Fergana, for example even a "four-stage" vassalage case known.

It is necessary to note that the grant owners tried to expand their rights and the central power wanted to stall these attempts. A struggle waged with intermittent success. For example, it already been mentioned that Nasr ibn Ahmad granted to his brother Ismail a part of kharaj of the Bukharan region for service as a vice-regent. However, Ismail tried to appropriate all the revenues of the region. His first attempts in this direction were not successful but finally he achieved his goal. It was a defeat of the central power.

In another case, the central power won in the struggle. The Fergana region cities Kuva and Nasrabad were granted to big dignitaries. The attempts of the grantees to extend their rights ended in taking away of these possessions forever. Even earlier, an attempt was known to convert Akhsiket into a life-long and hereditary estate, which was at that time in the possession of the members of the dynasty. In the beginning, it succeeded: for many years, Ishaq ibn Ahmad possessed Akhsiket, and then his son got the city. Only after the open uprising of Ishaq ibn Ahmad who claimed the throne, and his defeat, the central power took away Fergana from his family and granted Akhsiket to another person though with considerably less rights. The region of Kuhistan during the Samanid period was a granted estate for generations of one family — Simjurids.

Thus, the institution of feudal grants for service in the socio-economic life of the Samanid state played a considerable role. Even the central and most important regions of the state (Samarkand, Bukhara, Chach, Fergana, etc.) and separate cities during the different periods were the object of grants and often converted into independent principalities inside the Samanid state.

Some concrete indications of the sources, analogies with, Western Iran and Iraq, particularly the testimony of Al-Khwarezmi lead us to the conclusion that in Central Asia such types of grants, during the Samanid period, were designated by the terms *iqta* and *tuma*. Al-Khwarezmi was the official of the Samanid Vazir and his work written between 976-991 A.D. "His task was mainly to compose the directory for the offices which he contemplated in the form of terminology defining dictionary, encompassing a whole gamut of knowledge."⁶⁷ He designated the feudal land grants of his times in two terms.⁶⁸ **Tuma** (literally "feeding") — was the life-long grant but from the granted land the rent also taken — the tax of a particular amount. In other words the grantee, in this case, got the right not to the entire revenue but only to a part of it. **Iqta** was hereditary land grant. The person to whom this land granted was considered its owner. Although theoretically iqta at this and the subsequent times was considered the grant of

⁶⁷ Krachkovsky I.U., 1957, p. 240.

⁶⁸ Kadirova T., 1965, pp. 38-42.

only land revenue, but in practice, as Al-Khwarezmi testifies, the owner of iqta already in the X century enjoyed big rights and the iqta type grant was converted even into a hereditary one. The different variants of grants, which were brought to light for Central Asia of the IX-X centuries mainly on the basis of numismatic data, fully correspond to the essence of the iqta and tuma grants as they have been described by Al-Khwarezmi.

At the same time, one cannot ignore the fact that almost half of the state budget of the Samanids spent on salaries for troops and state officials. In the Samanid state two trends were visibly contrasting: from one side the institution of feudal land grants was rapidly developing; and from the other, the central power was trying to fight the development of this institution by spending large sums on paying the salaries for service.

From some sources, it is evident that harmful consequences of the development of the institution of the feudal land grants for the economy of the country and for the central power itself fully understood by the contemporaries. If some circumstances created conducive conditions allowing doing away without land grants, the central power tried not to distribute land for maintenance and possession (for example, this was the case during the first Ghaznavids).

The state of the Samanids in this respect was undergoing a transition period of its kind. The existence of two contradictory trends resulted in the discontinuation of the practice of granting land to the common representatives of services and the military — here the central power retained its position. So far as the top strata of the ruling class was concerned, the central power was compelled to distribute lands widely only trying (not always successfully) to prevent them from becoming hereditary estates. It is beyond doubt that in the Western regions of the Caliphate (particularly in the second half of the X century in the state of Buids) the process of feudalization of society had gone deep. However, in the Samanid state also the relative weight of typical feudal, that conditional (on the basis of grants) land ownership was clearly very high.

FEUDAL RENT, CONDITION OF THE PEASANTRY AND THE PEOPLE'S MOVEMENTS

During the Tahirid and Samanid period the practice of "stamping" of peasants, reducing them to the level of slaves stopped. The decisive role in cancelling of this harsh and humiliating custom was played by the uprising of Muqanna' in Maverannahr and also by the uprising powerful movement in Azerbaijan. A.Iu. Yakubovsky thinks the size of the labor rent (corvee) had decreased to some extent; as during the Samanid rule peasants did not have to build and repair the walls to repel the nomads.⁶⁹ But this does not mean the entire general norm of feudal land rent, norm of feudal exploitation had come down. The development of the institution of iqta undoubtedly led to feudal exploitation of peasantry. On the other hand, the state also regularly collected the fixed norm of kharaj sometimes even twice a year under the pretext of loan for the next year.

⁶⁹Yakubovsky A.Iu. 1949, pp. 35-36.

At last, it can be assumed that the rapid growth of the trade-money relations in the IX-X centuries was bound to influence significantly the land rent, leading to its actual rise. In the first glance, this assumption does not find its confirmation by the facts available. Really, according to the sources of the IX-X centuries, the rent-tax from the different regions of Central Asia was calculated in money, its size expressed in certain sum, and the same remained unchanged. However, facts testify that this immutability was simply outwardly, and, in reality, during the IX-X centuries, there took place a continuous rise in the actual size of the rent-tax.⁷⁰ This is clear from the following. According to the information of Narshakhi⁷¹ the kharaj of Bukhara was a little less than 200 thousand silver dirhams. When the issue of "gitrifi" dirhams started, an exchange rate of 1 silver dirham to 6 "gitrifi" dirhams was established. Thus, the kharaj of Bukhara worked out to less than 1200 thousand "gitrifi" dirhams.⁷² Later the exchange value of "gitrifi" dirhams rose and finally silver dirhams and "gitrifi" dirhams became equal in their purchasing power. However, the government, as before, took kharaj only in "gitrifi" dirhams. This meant that the actual size of kharaj rose six-fold over a certain period. But that is not all. By 835 A.D., the exchange rate between silver dirhams and "gitrifi" dirhams even grew more: now 10 silver dirhams were equal not to 10 but only to 8.5 "gitrifi" dirhams. In 921 A.D. 10 silver dirhams were equal to only 7 "gitrifi" dirhams. If the initial size of kharaj calculated at 100% then by 921 A.D. it rose to 857%. These figures are of course conditional as it is impossible to take into account many other factors (change in the prices of consumer goods and foodstuffs). But one thing is beyond doubt: during the IX-X centuries the size of the kharaj of Bukhara which had remained unchanged outwardly, actually increased. It is obvious that such was the case for other regions of Bukhara as well.

In which form the land rent collected is not clear. Sources of later period show that in Central Asia the feudal land rent, as usual, was collected in mixed form (in kind, in work and in money), though payment in kind was more prevalent. Sources of the IX-X centuries mention the kharaj paid in money. However, it is important to find out whether the kharaj in practice was collected from the direct producer in money only, or else it was only calculated in money but collected in kind. Only in the first case, a firm conclusion could draw about the prevalence of monetary form of the rent-tax.

A.Iu. Yakubovsky was of the view that "monetary portion of kharaj in the IX-X centuries had become the main form."⁷³ He based his conclusion on the well-known account of Narshakhi that in 874 A.D. Bukhara was owned by Husain ibn Tahir who collected the kharaj from Bukhara in "gitrifi" dirhams and wanted to exchange them in pure silver.⁷⁴ Thus, the land rent-tax in Bukhara at that time was really collected in the form of money. The fact that this case was

⁷⁰Our attention was drawn to these facts by E.A. Davidovich.

⁷¹Narshakhi, Tehran edition, pp. 43-44; in the translation of N. Lykoshin there are serious distortions.

⁷²1168567 — Narshakhi, 1189200 — Ibn Khordadbeh, 1166897 — Maqdisi.

⁷³Yakubovsky A.Iu., 1932, p. 16.

⁷⁴Narshakhi, Tehran edition, p. 92.

not the only one is confirmed by the above-mentioned facts about the kharaj in Bukhara, particularly in that part of the text, where it is narrated as to how the government after "increase in the value" of the "gitrifi" dirhams declined to accept kharaj in silver and demanded just the "gitrifi" dirhams. The collection of kharaj in monetary form in the IX-X centuries is known in many regions of Iraq also.⁷⁵

Bukhara was one of the big centers of crafts and trade. The completely Bukharan region had drawn into money-commodity relations. It has been noted above that in many settlements, near Bukhara, there had already developed a money-commodity production. However, in all regions of Central Asia trade and production was not equally developed. Everywhere money-commodity relations had not reached the same level. For many regions, particularly the far-flung ones it is difficult to imagine the real possibility of the domination of monetary form of rent. Concrete facts, which we have at our disposal, are connected with the highly developed Bukharan region. It would be premature to draw general conclusions for the whole of Central Asia on the basis of these few facts: perhaps the nature of collecting kharaj was not the same in different regions, in some regions it could be monetary, in others in kind, and in still others mixed.

In the IX-X centuries, the main section of direct producers was divided into two groups: peasant communards and peasant tenants. Sometimes the difference between them got obliterated as not only landless but even some peasants with small lands became tenant-sharecroppers.

In historical literature, there was a notion that in the East metayage (sharecroppers' system) was the main form of exploitation of peasants; the peasant-metayer (sharecropper) was the central figure in agriculture.⁷⁶ However, on the basis of facts one has to admit that the question of place and relative weight of the commune and metayage system has not yet been studied concretely for Central Asia of the IX-X centuries.

The established feudal exploitation during the Samanid period (the actual increase of feudal land-rent; cases when the annual norm was collected twice; development of conditional landownership on the basis of grants; metayage system etc.) led to a large number of people becoming fully deprived of land and entirely dependent on large landowners. Simple people — peasants and craftsman lived in dire poverty and became more and more pauperized.

The Samanids constructed majestic palaces, built madrassas and mosques at the expense of the toiling people, who were made to bear the heavy burden of it. All this was the cause of several mass uprisings of peasants against feudal oppression.

Already during the first year of his rule, Ismail Samanid suppressed the big peasant uprising. About this uprising, Narshakhi wrote: "One of the bandits collected people around him. Around four thousand vagabonds and rural idlers collected and all of them engaged in looting and pillaging on the road between Ramitan and Barkad. They wanted to raid the city (Bukhara — B.G.)."⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Lambton A.K.S., 1969, pp. 31-49.

⁷⁶ A.Iu. Yakubovsky, 1934, pp. 61-62.

⁷⁷ Narshakhi, Tehran edition, p. 95.

Undoubtedly, he was referring to the uprising of the peasants. But being a representative of the feudals Narshakhi had a negative approach towards popular uprising calling the rebels and their leaders "vagabonds" and "bandits".

No less hard was the condition of the craftsmen. The Tajik Arabic-speaking poet Abu Khatim al-Varraq, a paper-maker by profession, at the end of his life after spending fifty years in his craft, came to the following conclusion:

"Truly speaking paper-making is a contemptible, ill-fated business; my life is hard with it. If I am alive, I do not have food, and if I die I do not have cerements".

The main internal contradiction in the Samanid state was the struggle between the toiling classes, peasants and craftsmen from one side and the dominant feudal class and its ruling clique from the other.

In most cases the class struggle, arising on the economic basis (the increase of kharaj, etc.) found its ideological expression in the collision between the official religion and religious heresies under the banner of which the toiling people rose. Such a struggle took place in Bukhara, Sistan and Chaganian.

By the way, Qarmatism was also a religious form of protest of the popular masses against the exploitation and oppression. The early Qarmatism absorbed in itself many pre-Islamic religious ideas, including several elements of Mazdakism. The Qarmats called for return to the agricultural commune with equality for its free members alongside preservation of slavery. The preaching of equality attracted to the Qarmats considerable groups of peasants enslaved by the feudals. This was the reason for rapid expansion of Qarmatism to the entire Near East.

In Central Asia, many popular movements of IX-X centuries were drawn to the Qarmat sect. Many progressive people of that period understood Qarmatism as opposition to the prevailing oppression and as a call to social equality.

The Qarmat movement was deeply contradictory from the very moment of its birth. It was from one side a movement of popular masses against the new feudal order and from the other, a movement of the elite against the central feudal power.

THE COMPLETION OF THE PROCESS OF FORMATION OF THE TAJIK PEOPLE

During the period when the power over Maverannahr and Khorasan was concentrated in the hands of the Samanids, the process of formation of the Tajik people was completed. In the new conditions of state independence, many cultural traditions were revived and at the same time new cultural values were created, particularly classical poetry which got world-wide recognition.

Even long before the Arab penetration of Central Asia on the basis of increasing economic and cultural links between the different regions, and state formations of Central Asia, the growth of urban life in conditions of development of feudal relations, the tendency towards unification and fusion of some predominantly settled Central Asian people into one nationality emerged clearly.

The ethnic processes, which had been going on the territory of Central Asia, since the ancient times, resulted in the formation of different nationalities

such as the Sogdians, Khwarezmians, Ferganians and Tokharistanians etc. Each of them had its own culture. The specific character of these local ethnic cultures should not be exaggerated, as also the level of their unity, because each one of them consisted of a mosaic of sub-cultures. The languages of these nationalities belonged to the Eastern Iranian group. However, for Tokharistan the sources indicate three languages: "local", perhaps Eastern Iranian, a kind of "Tokharistan" language and the Turkic language.

The ethnic massif consisted of settled and nomadic people; the latter before the new era were almost exclusively Eastern Iranian, particularly the nomads who entered the Saks group. Starting with the last centuries B.C. and the beginning of our era, along with the influx of the Iranian-speaking groups, the invasions of the alien language groups, particularly the Turkic speaking groups, started. The large groups of the latter migrated to Central Asia only during the period of the Turk Kaganate; and beginning with the VI-VIII centuries the Turks started playing a significant role in the Central Asian ethnic history.

The boundaries of ethnic formations were not at all impenetrable, ethnic diffusion was going on constantly and uninterruptedly. This process was going on not only between homogenous in culture massifs but also between heterogeneous ones, so to say, between settled peoples and nomads. The settling down of nomads, their transition to land cultivation, inclusion into the composition of population residing in settlements including cities — all these processes had been going on the territory of Central Asia during thousands of years. It is also important that ethnic massifs speaking different languages in the case of territorial nearness entered into closest cultural, economic and inter-group ethnic contacts. It resulted in the emergence of partial or full bilingualism, loss of native language, different forms of mutual assimilation of the elements of culture and economy and the entire cultural-economic complex, creation of the forms of mutually linked economic structure, etc. Linguists and ethnographers for the entire Central Asia have studied mechanism and variations of such mutual relations in detail as well. As a result, one can witness such extreme poles, as for example, Tajik-speaking Harduri who assimilated the way of life and culture of the nomadic Uzbeks and just the other way round, initially nomadic and Turkic-language speaking tribe "Turk" at present time in the Kulab group of districts fully adopting the land tilling work and mastering the Tajik language. Very interesting are the different forms of bilingualism spread, for examples, between the Chust or Mukhar Tajiks.⁷⁸

Of course, mixed marriages, crossbreeding of the population took place as is mentioned in the written sources. The main massif of Central Asian population belonged to the race of Central Asian territory, lying between the two rivers, also called the Pamir-Fergana race. This is one of the racial types of large Europeoid race. It earmarked, described and analyzed by Soviet anthropologists, particularly by L.V. Oshanin and A.I. Yarkho. This anthropological type is

⁷⁸ Karmisheva B.Kh., 1957; 1960; 1960 a; 1964; Pisarchik A.K. and Karmisheva B.Kh., 1953; Sukhareva O.A., 1958; 1966; Eshniyazov M. 1956; 1967. Among the works of linguists; Borovkov A.K., 1952; Rastorgueva V.S., and others, 1964, and also materials in the collection "Vzaimodeistvie i Vzaimo-obogashchenie Yazikov Narodov SSSR", (M. 1969).

characterized by the following traits: the face is not flat but slightly protruding ahead, with abundant hair, cheek bones weakly developed, the face is not wide and not long, the nose is of average length and straight (the Pamirians have an "eagle"-like nose). The color of the eyes is dark with tinge, the hair are black. The skull if seen from above is round, from here the name Brakhitsefali ("round-headed"). The height is average 166-167 cm.

To the race of Central Asian territory, lying between the two rivers (Amu and Syr), belong the Tajiks (this race in its purest form is represented by the Tajiks living in mountains and in areas near the Pamirs) and the Uzbeks, but the latter have many Mongoloid features.

There are several hypotheses about the origin of this race. According to one of them it emerged on the basis of mixing of more ancient Europeoid racial types which were spread in Central Asia: according to the other as a result of transformation of one of these types, approximately in the beginning of the first millennium A.D. Some anthropologists extend this date to much older times. In the middle of the first millennium A.D., the influx of Turk tribes increased and along with them the Mongoloid racial type. However, in the first stages Mongolisation of the racial type lagged behind the process of Turkicisation on the language basis.

In the subsequent historical epoch, the development of the race of the Central Asian territory, lying between the rivers, continued and by the present times it underwent considerable changes distinguished in different regions of its settlement (under the influence of the processes of centuries-long transformation which were going on mixing up and the phenomenon of isolation).⁷⁹

In Central Asia, by the time of the Arab conquest, such Eastern Iranian languages as Sogdian, Ferganian, Khwarezmian and Hepthalite were spread. The Parthian language, which belonged to the family of Western Iranian languages, by the V-VI centuries A.D., completely vanished from the territory of Southern Turkmenistan and Khorasan.

The Tajik language (Porsi-i Dari) formed historically and entered the wide arena of political and cultural life in Khorasan, Sistan and Maverannahr, where from first independent the Caliphate state formations of Eastern Iranian nationalities formed. It is here that the local feudal elite and the circles supporting it started promoting their native language Porsi-i Dari.

The discoveries in Merv of Persian (Middle Persian) inscriptions, which relate to the VII-VIII centuries, lead us to the assumption that by this time the Persian language was already used here. According to the important testimony of al-Jakhshiari Khorasan up to 742 A.D.⁸⁰, Persian script was used (perhaps on the basis of Pahlavian alphabet), and the script writers were called magicians. On the basis of information given by al-Muqaffa and Muqaddasi one can assume that in the first half of the VIII century Persian language (Tajik) was spreading in Balkh.

⁷⁹ Oshanin L.V., 1937, 1957, 1957a, 1958, 1959; Oshanin L.V. and Zezenkova V.Ya., 1953; Ginzburg V.V., 1949, 1959, 1964; Debets G.F., 1948; Rychkov U.G., 1969 and others.

⁸⁰ Since 742 A.D. Arabic language and script became compulsory for the administrative apparatus of Khorasan and hence Maverannahr which administratively was a part of the Khorasan vice-regency.

In the VII-VIII centuries, this language occupied a firm position in the North-Eastern Iran, Northern Afghanistan and in the South of Central Asia, including Southern Tajikistan. It is testified, apart from the above-mentioned information of al-Muqaffa by the account of Hoi-Chao about the existence of special "Tokharistan" language, the information of Tabari about the derisive poem, which the inhabitants of Tokharistan were reciting after the defeat of the Arabs, and by the data of ancient topographical linguistics. In the writings of the authors of VIII – X century's Tajik language (it was called **Zaban-i Farsi-i Dari or Zaban-i Farsi**) linked with Khorasan, especially with Balkh. It is quite possible that just during the period preceding the Arab conquest many of its important peculiarities were formed. Political reasons, persecutions against local cultures — all this created unfavorable conditions for the further development of Sogdian, Khwarezmian and other Eastern Iranian languages.

From Merv, Balkh and other administrative, economic and cultural centers of northern Khorasan, Farsi spread on the territory of Maverannahr ousting gradually local Eastern Iranian languages of Central Asia — Sogdian and Bactrian dialects. History does not know in detail about this process and the concrete historical conditions in which it was going on. It is quite likely that several centuries before the Arab conquest the Persian language had penetrated Central Asia along with Manichaeism. It is known that in the large cities of Central Asia, for example, in Samarkand in VI-VII centuries considerably large Manichean communes existed. There are reasons to think that there, as also in the Manichean communes of Eastern Turkestan, the Persian language was used.

It may note that among the troops of the Arab Caliphate, which seized Maverannahr, there were a considerable number of persons of non-Arab origin. These were the so-called *mavali* that is the representatives of the peoples conquered by the Arabs, which embraced Islam and were under the patronage of separate Arab tribes. It is known that among the troops of the Arab vice-regents of Khorasan, which were leading the conquest of Maverannahr, the number of such *mavali*, mainly Khorasanians was quite large. These Persian speaking converts to Islam — *mavali* who were attracted by the lust for rich booty, actively participated in the conquest of Maverannahr and in implanting Islam in the conquered regions. (Of course, the spread of the language in a corresponding situation can be far wider, considerably surpassing the scale of ethnic shifts — the history of Latin language in Western Europe gives the textbook example of this). The preserved Hadis (the holy legends of the Muslims) testify to the fact that the Persian language was in that period, as also later, one of the significant instruments of Islamic propaganda. From the narration of Narshakhi (X century) about the construction in the 74th year of *hijra*, i.e., in 712-713 A.D. of the big mosque in the citadel of Bukhara, is evident that for the propaganda of Islam and in the Islamic ritual the local language (or languages) of the residents of Bukhara was used.

It is also known that one of the Muslim missionaries (in 728 A.D.) declined to propagate Islam in Samarkand because he was not proficient in the Persian language.

The process of the transition of the Sogdian-speaking population of Maverannahr to the Persian language was of course a very long one. According

to the notes of the Chinese pilgrim, Hsuan – Tszang who travelled across Central Asia in 629 A.D., the name Su-li (Sogd) was applied to the entire territory from Suyab (the valley of Chu river) up to Kesh (present-day Shahrисабз to the South of Samarkand) and accordingly to the language of the population and to the script of this whole region. As is evident, in the beginning of the VII century Sogdian language was widely spread not only in Sogd itself (the valley of Zerafshan and adjacent districts, Qashqa-Darya oases, etc.) but in Hafrtrud — the region of intensive Sogdian colonization also. The proof of the fact that in the first quarter of the VIII century the population of the valley of Zerafshan still spoke the Sogdian language has already been mentioned in the archives of the Sogdian documents discovered from the Mug-hill. As a study of these archives show, the entire internal correspondence of Devashtich and other Sogdian feudals conducted in the Sogdian language. The Narshakhi narrates sent by him and to him by his correspondents were written in the Sogdian language. Narshakhi narrates an interesting fact, relating to the period of Arab conquest of Bukhara. The conquerors forced the Bukharans to attend the prayers in the above-mentioned mosque. But as the Bukharans (or some sections of them) did not know at that time neither the Persian nor the Arabic language, behind the people offering prayer stood a special person who would tell them in the Sogdian language when to kneel or to perform some other act of ritual.

Apparently, only in the IX-X century, the bulk of the population of the large cities of Maverannahr (Samarkand, Bukhara) switched over to the Persian language.

In the X century in Bukhara, as is known, there existed quite a developed literature in the Persian language. However, in the areas and the mountainous districts situated far away from the large cities and from the main means of communication the Sogdian language was still preserved. According to the Arabic-speaking geographer Muqaddasi at the end of the X century in Bukharan "rustaks" (villages) dependent on Bukhara, the Sogdian language was spoken: "...the Sogdians have their own language; similar to the various dialects of the Bukharan "rustaks". They are understood there; I saw the illustrious Imam Mohammad ibn-Fadl who spoke these dialects very well."

As already mentioned, in the upper parts of Zerafshan along its upper tributaries, Sogdian dialects preserved during the entire medieval period and one of them exists even now in the Valley of Yagnob (the left tributary of river Zerafshan).

Changing over to the Persian language, the Sogdian population brought into it some elements of the Sogdian language, mainly lexical.⁸¹ The ousting by the Persian language of the local Eastern Iranian dialects of the mountainous districts of ancient Tokharistan was going on the same way.

Thus, "Zaban-i Farsi" spread first in the cities and only then, in the rural areas where still in the X-XI centuries there were large groups speaking Sogdian and Khwarezmian languages. As travelers of X century inform and as is evident from the texts closer to that period, the Farsi language, i.e., Tajik, was divided into several dialects and the residents of every large city and district had their own dialect. There

⁸¹ Livshits V.A., 1957, p. 31 onwards.

is information about dialects of Samarkand, Herat, Nishapur, Merv, Balkh, etc. At the same time, these Eastern dialects, thanks to the isolation, peculiarity of pronunciation, induction of many words from Eastern Iranian languages, greatly differed from the Western. The dialects of the East called "Farsi", the dialects of the West "Ajami" and only later, the name "Farsi" began to be applied to the Western dialects also.

In the opinion of the linguists already in the X-XI centuries, we observe some significant peculiarities characteristic of present day Tajik language distinguishing it from the present Persian language. However, these distinctions were fully formed approximately half a millennium later.

Many significant questions of the formation and development of Tajik language have not yet received final interpretation in the works of linguists; the place and time of the formation of this language⁸² is under discussion.

A vast literature in Tajik language developed in the IX-X centuries. At the base of the library language were the Khorasan — Central Asian dialects. The literary Tajik language was emerging, in which excellent pieces of Tajik-Persian literature written.

The development of literature was only one side of the picture, though a very important and bright side was appearance and the establishment of the Tajik culture the IX-X centuries characterized by brightly expressed processes in the sphere of development of science, spiritual and material culture, processes of prominent creation of Central Asian schools and trends.

Thus, by the IX-X centuries, in the Central Asian territory lying between the rivers (Maverannahr) and Khorasan, a large ethno-cultural community had been formed, almost entirely insisting of the state of the Tahirids, Saffarids and especially Samanids. This community got its name during the IX-X centuries or in the first half of the XI century. As Abulfazl Beihaqi narrates in 435/1043-1044 A.D. one of the retinue of the Sultan said: "Among us, the Taziks."⁸³

Before that in the X century, the term "Tazi" was applied to Arabs as well. Beihaqi, while narrating about one clash after the battle near Dandenakan (1040 A.D.), writes that Indians, Arabs and Kurds fled, and Tazik warriors bravely fought the enemy.⁸⁴ Thus in the first half of the XI century the term "Tajik" became the "self-designation" of the people who developed into a nationality in Central Asia and Khorasan.⁸⁵

Although the formation of the Tajik nationality had completed in the IX-X centuries, it did not remain unchanged in subsequent centuries. From one side the process of consolidation of the Tajik people, the strengthening of the commonality of its spiritual and material culture was going on. However, the alien intrusions and feudal fragmentation resulted in the process leading in the reverse side. Increasing role in the history of the Tajiks played by close contacts with the Turkic language tribes and the peoples of Central Asia, whose role

⁸² Behar M.T., I-II, 1942; Mirzoev A., 1949, Bertels E.E., 1950; Fazilov M.F., 1954; Boldirev A.N., 1955; Semenov A.A., 1960; Lazard, 1961; Livshits V.A., 1968a; Kapranov V.A., 1964.

⁸³ Beihaqi, 1969, p. 725.

⁸⁴ Ibid, pp. 758-759.

⁸⁵ Mandelstam A.M., 1954 a, p. 58.

considerably rose in rapid leaps in the second millennium A.D. The rapprochement between these peoples took place and they jointly conducted a struggle against alien conquerors and class enemies. In all popular uprisings in the later centuries, in the heroic struggles against foreign invaders, one can see the ancestors of all the peoples of Central Asia and especially the neighboring peoples — the Tajiks and the Uzbeks. Studying the distinctive contribution made by each of these peoples to the treasure house of world culture, we only affirm their mutual links and influence on each other.

3. SCIENCE AND LITERATURE IN THE IX-X CENTURIES. FIRST WRITTEN WORKS IN THE TAJIK LANGUAGE (DARI, FARSI DARI)

The conquest of Maverannahr and its incorporation in the Arab Caliphate meant the spread here of not only Islam but the Arabic language also. In Maverannahr, as in other parts of the Caliphate, the Arabic language was considered the language of religion and state, both. The local aristocracy, which was trying to come closer to the Arab rulers, tried hard to learn the Arabic language. Among them appeared people who completely forgot their native language and spoke only Arabic. At the same time, the scholars of Central Asian origin used the Arabic language as the language of science. The works of such local scholars, written in the Arabic language, as Khwarezmian Mohammad ibn Musa al-Khwarezmi (780-863 A.D.)⁸⁶, Ferganian astronomist al-Fergani (IX century), Ahmad ibn Abdallah al-Mervezi (from Merv, died around 870 A.D.), linguist Sebaveihi (died around 800 A.D.) and others.

The period of the rule of the Tahirids, which was the first step towards independence from the power of the Caliphate, changed this status to some extent. The first Tahirids looked contemptuously at the literature of the native language. However, at the end of this period local aristocrats, who earlier considered study and use of the Arabic language as one of the means of strengthening their position, could not ignore the languages of the popular masses any longer. For consolidation of the power in the country, it was necessary to lean upon the local population. The attempts to introduce the literature of the local language, which was the language of the indigenous population along with the Arabic language, were a sort of political demonstration. By this action, the local aristocracy underscored its independence from the Arabic Caliphate once again. It was the reason why since this period of the Tahirids in the court circles and among the ruling classes they began to write in the local language. Ya'qub ibn Leis, the representative of the dynasty of Saffarids, which replaced the Tahirids openly, refused to hear the poems in his honor in the Arabic language.

Under the Samanids, the Tajik language of that time, which called Dari, or Farsi Dari, in written works, was accepted as state language mainly. The official

⁸⁶The famous historian of science Sarton writes about him that "he was the greatest mathematician of his times and if to take into accounts all the circumstances then one of the greatest of all times".

correspondence on questions, which not related to religion, began to be conducted predominantly in this language.

For the Dari language entry into the sphere of poetry and prose literature opened up. Along with the works in the Arabic language, more and more works in the Dari language started appearing.

Unfortunately, many of the earlier relics of the written works of the Samanid period have not preserved. But on the basis of whatever has been preserved it can be stated that the achievements of that time, in the sphere of language, both in prose and poetry, were not very high.

One of the relics of the prose of the Samanid period written in Dari language and preserved right up to our times is the introduction to the "Shahnama" in prose which was written in the Tus city in 957 A.D. on the order and under the supervision of one of the big figures of that time, Abu Mansur Mohammad ibn Abdurrazzaq who during the Samanids was the ruler of Tus and Nishapur (in Khorasan), and in 960-962 A.D. was twice the chief military commander in Khorasan. With the help of (Mobeds — Zoroastrian priests) and scholars, the information was collected about the past of the Iranian people, written later in the form of the book which served as one of the sources for the "Shahnama" of Firdausi.

The introduction by Abu Mansur to "Shahnama" is a work of prose in the Dari language in which no more than two percent of Arabic words can be seen; not counting personal names.

The other work written in Dari language is the translation of the work "History of Tabari" by Bal'ami.

Abu Ali Mohammad Bal'ami, who was the vazir during the rule of Mansur ibn Nuh Samanid, completed the translation of this book in 963 A.D. on the order of the latter. Bal'ami added to the translation the description of many episodes from the life of the Iranian people, e.g., dastani "Bahrami Chubin" which did not figure in the history of Tabari. In comparison to the language of "Introduction" to "Shahnama" by Abu Mansur in the translation by Bal'ami more Arabic words are to be found but in grammatical structure and in the construction of the phrases and separate expressions there was no difference.

To the relics of that period also belongs the translation of the Arabic book "Tafsiri Tabari" (Commentary of Tabari on Koran). This commentary consisted of 14 volumes and was translated by scholars of Maverannahr in 962 A.D., i.e., simultaneously with the "History of Tabari". One of the famous scholars of the Samanid period, a great specialist on poetry and history of Abulmuaiad Balkhi wrote in the Dari language a book "Ajaib al-Buldan" (wonders of the cities). As the author of "History of Sistan" informs, Abulmuaiad also wrote both "Shahnama" and "Garshaspnama" from which only small excerpts have been preserved.

Besides the above-named works, the list of prose works written in the Dari language of that period also includes several scientific works including the geographical work "Hudud al-Alam" (The frontiers of the World) which was written by an unknown author at the end of the X century and is one of the most important sources for the study of socio-economic system in Central Asia and

other countries in the X century. In 950 A.D., the collection of stories, "Sindbadnama", was translated from the Middle Persian language into Dari.

DEVELOPMENT OF FICTION LITERATURE

The political situation in Central Asia in the beginning of the IX century had already paved the way for the development of new written literature in the Tajik language (Dari) which was linked with the oral popular art and which had absorbed the high poetic culture in the Arabic language; these conditions in the Samanid period brought their results. That is why the Samanid is considered the period of emergence of the classic Tajik-Persian literature.

It is necessary to clarify that the "Samanid period" is actually not the period of the birth of new Tajik-Persian literature. This is only the period of its official recognition and acquisition of written form, the period of boom.

Long before the formation of the Samanid state, the Tajiks recited artistic works orally in their own language. The preservation of the pre-Islamic traditions during the whole period of Arab domination, ancient themes and artistic characters are one of the proofs of the fact that the sources of the Tajik-Persian literature related to more ancient period than the IX century.

Along with the literature in the Tajik language (Dari) during the Samanid rule the literature in the Arabic language also developed. The creators of this literature in Khorasan and Maverannahr, in most cases, were the representatives of the Iranian nationalities of Iran and Central Asia, the ancestors of the contemporary Tajiks and Persians who were close to official circles and apart from their own native language were fluent in the Arabic language.

A native of Central Asia, Sa'alibi, in his work in the Arabic language "*Yatimat ad-dahr*" ("Rare Pearl") gave a detailed information about the poets of the Samanid period who lived in Bukhara, Khwarezm and Khorasan and wrote in the Arabic language. Among 119 poets mentioned by him most of them were Amirs, Vazirs, clerks and military commanders, once more indicated the links of the poets, writing in Arabic, with the official circles.

This period in the development of the classical Tajik-Persian literature of the medieval times is the most important one.

The Samanids attracted to the court poets with the aim of spreading their glory. On the other hand, the aspirations to be popular and the strained financial situation compelled the poets and writers to join the court of one or the other ruler.

In the literature of the Samanid period, as well as in the literature of the subsequent feudal period, two trends can be noted: Popular and feudal (clerical-aristocratic)⁸⁷. In the subsequent narration, the main attention naturally was paid to the writers in whose creative works the popular tendency dominated.

The recognized ancestor of classical Tajik-Persian poetry is Rudaki who in his adolescence was a popular poet-musician.

⁸⁷For details see: Braginsky I.S., 1956.

Abuabdallah Ja'far Rudaki was born in the middle of the IX century in the village of Panjrud (near Panjakent) in a peasant family. Unfortunately, about the life of this brilliant poet and particularly about his childhood very little is known.

For understanding the life of Rudaki an important and decisive role was played by the discovery of the founder of Tajik Soviet literature, S. Ayni. After careful research of the original sources and local enquiries, Ayni concluded that Rudaki's grave was located in his native village, which not hitherto known to anybody. This fact threw light on the whole life of Rudaki and confirmed that this brilliant poet, who enjoyed the special patronage of the Samanids, led last days of his life, as the legend goes, out of favor, and was buried after his death in an unknown mountainous village. Such was the lot of the poet in the feudal times.⁸⁸

Rudaki became popular in his adolescence thanks to his melodious voice, poetical talent and skillful performance over his musical instrument rud. He was invited by Nasr II ibn Ahmad Samanid (914-943 A.D.) to his court where for the most part of his life was spent. As Abulfazl Bal'ami wrote, "Rudaki in his time was the first among his contemporaries in the sphere of poetry and neither among the Arabs nor among the Persians there do anybody like him." He was not only the master poet but also skillful performer, musician and singer. Rudaki trained the budding poets and helped them, which further enhanced his authority.

However, in his old age he had to suffer great hardship. In 937 A.D. his close friend and patron vazir of Nasr II, Bal'ami removed from his post. The old and blind poet, and may be forcibly blinded, as some sources state, was turned out of the court may be because of his friendship with Bal'ami, or may be because of his participation in the Qarmat movement. He returned to his unlivable place.

After this Rudaki did not live long. As Sam'ani writes in the book "Al-Ansab" the poet died in 941 A.D. (according to other sources 952 A.D.) in his native village.⁸⁹ Hardly two thousand lines of the works of Rudaki have preserved. The preserved poems of Rudaki testify to the high skill of the poet in the entire genres of poetry of that epoch. He wrote solemn odes (Qasidas) lyrical ghazals, large didactic poems (collection of famous fables from the series "*Kalila and Dimna*" and others), satirical poems and mourning dedications.

Rudaki was not an ordinary court ode composer. His odes begin with vivid descriptions of nature, glorification of the joys of life and love; the introduction to the ode is its main beauty. Religious motives are almost completely absent in the works of Rudaki. In many poems, there is an imprint of deep philosophical thought. In the poem dedicated to the advent of old age Rudaki asks, "Who is the culprit of the onset of old age?", and gives an answer:

"The world is such its lot is rotation and whirling, time is moving like a spring as the streams of water. What is medicine today tomorrow may turn into poison, so what? The sick will consider this poison as medicine you see: time ages

⁸⁸Ayni S., 1959, pp. 30-36.

⁸⁹About the life and work of the poet, many books have been written among which some are in Russian language: Mirzoev A.M., 1968, where a detailed bibliography is given. See also the work of Iranian scholar Nafisi (Tehran, V.I.-III, 1309-1313 A.D.) and new (enlarged edition): Tehran 1341.

everything that looked new but time also makes young the past deeds. Yes, flower gardens turn into desolate desert as deserts too blossom into thick flower gardens."⁹⁰

In his poems Rudaki glorifies reason and knowledge, nobleness and overcoming of adversities of life, humane attitude towards men, respect for labor; he gives preference to experience of life and calls it as the best teacher. Rudaki expresses the opinions formed among the popular masses. By his creative work, he laid the basis of the whole Tajik-Persian poetry. He worked out the main genres and their forms; in his poems almost all poetical measurements and character systems were crystallized.

The poems of Rudaki became a model for the coming generations of Tajik poets. He is the recognized founder of classical poetry, which having spread in the X-XV centuries among the Tajiks and Persians, gave birth to such celebrities as Firdausi and Khayyam, Saadi and Hafiz, Jami and others. The lovers of this poetry remember Rudaki with love and consider him as their teacher.

Abulhasan Shahid Balkhi was born in the village of Jakhudonak in Balkh. Very little is known about his life also. From the early sources, it learnt that Shahid was one of the best court poets of Nasr II ibn Ahmad Samanid and a close disciple of Rudaki.

Shahid Balkhi is considered to be not only a poet but also one of the progressive scientists of his times. Ibn an-Nadim writes about him in his work "Fihrist": "There was a man known under the name of Shahid ibn al-Husain and his son named Abulhasan during the period of Ar-Razi.⁹¹ He followed the path of Ar-Razi philosophy in science.... This person had books written by him. Between him and Ar-Razi there were disputes...."

Shahid died before Rudaki. The old poet wrote a touching elegy on the death of his favorite disciple.

Abu Shakur Balkhi was born in 915 A.D. and invited to the court of Samanid Nuh ibn Nasr (943-954 A.D.). He became famous because of the poem "*Afarin - nama*" ("The Book of Creation" or "The Book of Blessings") written in 947-948 A.D. which unfortunately has not been preserved (only small excerpts are available). Perhaps it was one of the first in classical Tajik-Persian literature didactical poems. Apart from this, Abu Shakur had two more poems - *masnavi* which also not been preserved. He also wrote four line poems (quatrains) called *rubai*, very close to popular form. In some fragments of his lyrical poems, there are visible attempts to embellish the style to make it more refined. His embellished poems were so successful that they were translated into Arabic language, which was the literary language in Central Asia and Iran.

Rabia was the first woman poetess (known to us) who wrote poems in Dari language. In several *tazkiras* (anthologies) her lyrical poems preserved, which are full of warm human feeling and are distinguished by high literary skill. Her name is associated with poetic legend — the story about the tragic love of Rabia with a simple young slave narrated in the poetry of Faridaddin Attar. We do not have

⁹⁰Rudaki, 1958.

⁹¹In refers to physician and scholar Abubakr Mohammad ibn Zakaria Razi (around 875-925 A.D.)

real information about her life. Going by separate information's of the legend, Rabia was a contemporary of Rudaki and the famous poet highly appreciated her poems. The emergence of this woman poetess testifies to the high level of culture of that period.

Abu Mansur Muhammad ibn Ahmad Daqiqi (died around 997 A D.). The birthplace of this poet is not known. Some think that he belonged to Tus (Khorasan). Others are of the opinion that he hailed from Samarkand or Bukhara; in any case, whole of his life spent in Maverannahr. Daqiqi started his career in the court of the ruler of the region of Chaganian, which was at that time considered one of the flourishing areas of the Samanid state. The fame of the talent of Daqiqi was so widespread that he was soon invited to Bukhara to the court of the Samanids.

At this time in the ruling circles, collection of ancient legends was quite popular.

The compiling of the codes of the heroic legends of the past had a key importance for the unification of the people in the struggle for the independent state. That is why the Samanids paid particular attention to the collection of the ancient heroic mythological legends from the Pahlavian as well as the Arabic sources, but especially from the oral sources current among the peasants and mobeds. It was this that gave rise to the prosaic "*Shahnama*" of Abu Mansur.

Amir Nuh II Samanid (976-997 A.D.) entrusted Daqiqi to versify this "*Shahnama*". However, he could not complete this task as his slave, while feasting killed him. It is quite likely that he was a victim of the intrigues of the supporters of the Muslim orthodoxy who were hostile towards his work of reviving the heroic traditions.

Firdausi in his "*Shahnama*" included thousands of verses of Daqiqi, in which he described the struggle of Gushtasp (Vishtasp) with Arjasp.

About the number of the verses of the "*Shahnama*" written by Daqiqi there exist other views as well: for example, the author of the first anthology of XIII century Muhammad Aufi mentions in twenty thousand verses.

The greatest poet of this period **Abulgasim Firdausi** was born between 934 and 941 A.D. in the village of Bazh, not far away from Tus, in an aristocratic family of average affluence and got good education. Besides his native language Dari, he was also fluent in Arabic and perhaps Pahlavi (Middle Persian) languages, which enabled him to use the literature in these languages during the composition of the "*Shahnama*".

When he was thirty-five years old, having travelled to Bukhara and other places and having collected in addition to "*Shahnama*" of Abu Mansur the detailed information about the past of the Iranian people, Firdausi started writing the "*Shahnama*" in verses. At this time, the state of the Samanids was still at the zenith of its power.

The main task of this epic was seen by Firdausi in the strengthening the patriotic feelings of the people on the basis of literary comprehension of its heroic past. Firdausi devoted the best years of his life to this work. As he writes, he became aged while working on this project but did not put aside his pen:

*In the sixty – sixth year of life, I became weak as a drunk,
In place of the leash in my hand, there appeared a walking stick.
My face, which glowed like a tulip, now grew pale like moon,
My hair grew grey like camphor and back stooped under the weight of age,
Vision became blurred.*

The main source of epic was a series of Saks-Sogdian legends about a hero Rustam that formed more than one-third of the entire epic; Sogdian-Khwarezmian legends about Siyavush; and Bactrian legends about Isfandiyar. Many myths in the first chapters of the epic, which have something in common with the legends, traces of which are to be found in the "Avesta" also originate from the Central Asian source. So far as the legends about the Sasanid period are concerned (the lesser part of the epic) they are mainly taken from the written sources of the Pahlavi literature. The entire epic consists of three large periods — mythological, heroic and historical.

Firdausi constructed his work on the basis of the idea of struggle between good and evil originating in ancient Iranian legends. In the entire epic, the Iranian people as the supporters of the good struggled against the evil forces of foreign invaders. In the legendary path of the epic in the face of the dragon, King Zahhak the poet depicts the tyranny of the foreign oppressors and skillfully shows the overthrow of this tyranny because of the heroic struggle of the blacksmith Kava and of the people who rose on his call.

In the person of Rustam and other heroes of the poem, the poet shows the selfless struggle of the next generation for the independence of their motherland. Having included in his poem the historical events starting from the campaign of Alexander of Macedonia up to the Arab conquest and that of Yezdigord III, the poet glorifies the idea of the people's struggle for independence of the motherland during its whole history. Besides this, he embellishes his poem with the romantic episodes (like the legend about the love of Zal and Rudaba) sayings and utterances of a didactic character.

This entire epic of Firdausi is full of sympathy towards toilers, peasants and artisans who are depicted by him as noble and large-hearted persons. Firdausi greatly surpasses all his contemporaries in the evaluation of the movement of the Mazdakits about whom he writes with sympathy viewing them as "hungry and sufferers".

Only as a very old man, after many years of uninterrupted work, the poet completed his outstanding work by 994 A.D. consisting of more than 100 thousand lines of verses.

Many years have passed since the beginning of his work over the poem by Firdausi. The Samanid state disintegrated during the period and none of his patrons was alive. Then Firdausi, on the advice of one of his well-wishers, dedicated "Shahnama" to Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavid who had come to power.

However, Mahmud rejected his poetical gift, and according to a legend, even ordered to throw the poet to be trampled under the feet of the elephant for his blasphemy — the description of pre-Islamic heroes and kings. A representative of the new Turk dynasty, who replaced the Samanids, Mahmud Ghaznavid naturally saw a political danger in the poem, which glorified the

struggle of the ancestors of the Tajik people against the Turanians who perceived as ancestors of the Turks in Mahmud's times.⁹²

Besides this, Sultan Mahmud who was seeking support from the Arab Caliphate and the Muslim clergy stood against the glorification of the ancient pre-Islamic tradition in the "Shahnama" and its anti-Arab orientation. But the most important reason for the negative approach of Mahmud towards "Shahnama" of Firdausi was the fact that Mahmud who considered his main task the suppression of the popular movement could not approve the creation of a genius poet which was popular in its essence.

The artistic excellence of this epic created by Firdausi places it on par with the most distinguished epic works of world literature.⁹³

The great poet spent rest of his life in poverty and deprivation and died in Tus in 1020 A.D. (according to another information 1025 A.D.). The Muslim clergy, who considered Firdausi a heretic, banned his burial in a Muslim cemetery. He buried in his own garden.⁹⁴ The name of Firdausi became immortal. His words addressed to Mahmud Ghaznavid came out true:

*Fate has bestowed on me immortality,
Grandeur of words and nobility of deeds
Everything is dust and ash
Days pass by, but the work,
Word of eternity is akin.
O King! I glorified you – an obscure leader – by my eloquent words.
Your palaces will ruined with the passage of time from wind, sun, hail and rain....
And I from my verses built such an edifice which like an element enters the universe.
Ages will pass by over the majestic book, which I am entrusted to create.
I am down with oppression
People will start worshipping me
On whom oppression weighs on.
Men, young and old, and women will turn to my songs for happiness
Even after my death I will not die
I will be alive eternally.⁹⁵*

SCIENCE

Achievements of science during the Samanid period were not less than those of fiction. However, the difference here was that scientific works mostly written, as before, in the Arabic language. In the countries of the Muslim East,

⁹²The ancient name of the nomadic Eastern Iranian tribes.

⁹³In the Soviet Union a full scientific edition of the text of the "Shahnama" was published which was based on the most ancient manuscript compiled by the scientific workers of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (Vol. I-IX, 1960-1971). The full Russian translation of "Shahnama" being published in the series "Literary Monuments": Firdausi, Vol. I, 1958; Vol. II, 1960; Vol. III, 1965.

⁹⁴About Firdausi see: Osmanov M.N., 1959.

⁹⁵"Tajikskaya Poeziya", 1949, p. 54.

the Arabic language, during several centuries, played the role of international scientific language. The use of local language while composing scientific works limited the dissemination of the author's work. In addition, it may be mentioned that the Arabic language possessed already worked out scientific terminology while the local languages did not have it. That is why in order to make their works available to the entire scientific circles of the countries of the East authors tried to write them in the Arabic language.

The number of scientists of this period, in every sphere of knowledge is a very large and one has to limit to the mentioning of only the most distinguished ones.

Ibn Qutaiba (828-889) occupied a distinguished place in both history and literature. His work on history — "*Kitab al-maarif*" ("The book of Knowledge") has a great importance. No less significant is his literary work ("The Book about Poems and Poets") in which the author expressed his just opinion that old as well as new poets have equal significance in the history of literature.

Abumashar Ja'far ibn Muhammad Balkhi — one of the famous scholars of the IX century — was engaged in the collection of the *hadis* (religious legends) and at the age of 47 he started studying mathematics in Baghdad; subsequently, he switched over to astronomy, writing about 40 works in this sphere. Abumashar died when he was nearly 100 years old in 886.

Abubakr Narshakhi (died in 959) was one of the most famous historians of the Samanid period. The book "*Ta'rikh Bukhara*" ("The History of Bukhara") which was written by him in the Arabic language and translated in 1128 in the Tajik language is one of the best historical sources giving the account of the life of separate regions of Maverannahr, particularly Bukhara.

Abunasr Farabi (around 870-950) hailed from the ancient Farabi which was situated on the bank of Syr-Darya and was the son of a Turk military commander.

In his adolescence, he went to Damascus, to continue his education, and then moved to Baghdad where he spent a considerable part of his life. All his works are written in the Arabic language. To Farabi belongs an outstanding role in the sphere of mastering the heritage of Aristotle and other ancient Greek philosophers and its transmission to the peoples of the Near East. Many Tajik thinkers called him the "second teacher" after Aristotle and considered him as their teacher in the sphere of Greek philosophy. Farabi wrote a large number of original works. His treatise, "*About the Attitudes of the Inhabitants of a Perfect city*", which was written not without the influence of antique works on state but contained many independent thoughts is of great interest. Farabi tries to answer some important questions in it: about the origin of the state, about the causes of social inequality. His socio-utopian views had a great progressive significance for its times.

Abuali ibn Sina (Avicenna) was born approximately in 980 in the village Afshana (in the region of Bukhara) in the family of the one of the official of Diwans of the Samanid state. For his times he received a very comprehensive education. Having cured Amir Nuh ibn Mansur Samanid, Ibn Sina got access to the famous bookstore house of the Samanids, where he spent most of his time studying the literature on different questions. When the Samanid state threatened by the

Qarakhanids and raided by Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavid, Abuali was forced to leave Bukhara. From this moment began his long period of wandering, imposed on him by Sultan Mahmud's persecution. Khwarezm and Abiverd, Gurgan and Rey, Qazvin and Hamadan, Isfahan and again Hamadan, where the "king of scholars", as his contemporaries called him, had not been.

These years were they ears of hard work for Ibn Sina. He was busy treating people and delivering lectures, was the Vazir of the ruler of Hamadan and simultaneously he wrote a lot. His activities were varied and versatile: he was a philosopher, physician, poet and a political figure.

There was no sphere of science, which not studied by this excellent Tajik encyclopaedist of the X-XI centuries.

His work, "*Al-Qanun fi-t-tib*" ("Canon of Medicine"), was the best work on medicine which served for six centuries (from XI to XVII century) as a guide for the physician-practitioner and as a text book for the physicians of entire Europe. "*Al-Qanun*" was published in Europe in Latin and other languages many times.

Ibn Sina became famous in the East and West as the greatest philosopher of his times.

The encyclopedically work of Ibn Sina "*Kitab ash-shifa*" ("The Book of Convalescence") which discusses logic, natural science, metaphysics and mathematics. "*Danishnama*" ("The Book of Knowledge") which was written in the Farsi Dari language and dealt with the questions of logic, natural sciences, philosophy, mathematics and astronomy and are considered the best relic of the advanced medieval thought of the X-XI century as "*Al-Qanun*" and others.

In mastering the heritage of antique philosophers, particularly Aristotle, Ibn Sina was not a simple follower, he tried to develop the ideas creatively. Although Ibn Sina tried to or was compelled to bring into some accord his rational views with the dogmas of Islam, which resulted in a sort of inconsistency and duality, yet the main kernel of his philosophical system was the most progressive word of the Eastern peripatetic. He developed the teachings of the causative regularity in nature in counterbalance with the dogma of divine pre-destination. At the same time, Ibn Sina remained a dualist who recognized as the beginning of existence two substances, material and ideal, and an idealist, who recognized the existence of God and took cognizance of the prejudices of his times, and symbolic of numbers. However, this inevitable historical limitation does not decrease the importance of



A page of the manuscript of
the "History of Bukhara"
by Narshakhi

Ibn Sina in the history of Tajik and world science. Such progressive views of Ibn Sina as the right of the people to overthrow the tyrant through armed struggle are worth mentioning. In this respect, the views of the great Tajik scholar are in consonance with the ideas of the "Shahnama" of Firdausi.

Summing up the results of development of culture in the IX-X centuries, it may note that the Tajik people achieved considerable successes in all spheres of science and literature. This was helped by the historically formed circumstances: the creation of own statehood and liberation of the country from the oppression of the Arab Caliphate; the unification of the Tajik people and the formation of a literary language; the centralization of state administration; and finally the wide mutual economic and cultural relations between the peoples of Central Asia and all the countries of the Near East.

CHAPTER 3

THE TAJIK PEOPLE IN XI-EARLY XIII CENTURIES. STATES OF THE GHAZNAVIDS, QARAKHANIDS, GURIDS AND THE KHWAREZMSHAHS

1. POLITICAL HISTORY

UNSUCCESSFUL STRUGGLE OF ABU IBRAHIM MUNTASIR FOR RESTORATION OF THE POWER OF THE SAMANIDS

In the first years of the XI century, after the seizure of Maverannahr by the Qarakhanids, a stubborn struggle against them conducted by the brother of Abdulmalik Abuibrahim Ismail ibn Nuh who became famous for it under the name of Muntasir ("the victor"). Muntasir fled from Uzgend where the Qarakhanids held him in prison of Khwarezm and having collected there the troops from the supporters of the Samanid dynasty moved to Bukhara, drove away the Qarakhanid vice-regent and seized the city. The remnants of the defeated army of the Qarakhanids took shelter in Samarkand.

The brother of the Qarakhanid Khan Ja'far-tegin who was at that time the ruler of Samarkand confronted Muntasir with the united forces of Samarkand and Bukhara but was badly defeated and it was taken prisoner along with a large number of his military commanders. Later Muntasir returned to Bukhara and took power in his hands.

However, when the Qarakhanid ruler Nasr-ilek sent his main forces against him, Muntasir could not face them, moved to Khorasan, and left Bukhara without a fight. There Abulqasim Simjuri joined him and along with him, he began a struggle against Mahmud Ghaznavid. Notwithstanding partial success, this struggle ended in failure.

In 1003, Muntasir returned to Maverannahr and with the help of the Guzs stirred up a rebellion against the Qarakhanids for the second time.

The Guzs (Oguzs) in Central Asia were the Turkish-speaking tribes, predominantly nomadic. In the X century, the territory where the nomads roamed was scattered in the wide steppe from the area near South Balkhash to the Lower Volga. However, they lived more compactly in the Near-Caspian region, lower Syr-Darya and in the Near-Ural area.¹ A small and most poor

¹For a detailed analysis of information about the habitat of the Guzs see: Agajanov S.G., 1969,

section of the Guzs had settled by that time in cities and settlements and was engaged in cultivation of land. At the end of the IX and the beginning of the X century, the state of the Guzs formed near the Aral Sea. Their capital and winter residence was the city of Yangikent on the lower Syr-Darya. Feudalized elite of the Guzs intensively exploited the ordinary nomads and cultivators. Development of class contradictions among the Oguzs led to the downfall of the Syr-Darya state of the Oguzs in the X-XI centuries.

Wars with the neighboring settled people were a constant source of enrichment for the tribal-clan elite of the Guzs. Against their raids, a large number of fortifications, along the borders of the oases, were constructed. On the other hand, the need for food and mutually advantageous exchange of products of nomadic and settled economy increased the contacts between the Guzs and the settled population of the oases.

Initially the situation was very favorable for Muntasir. He defeated the troops of Nasr-ilek and imprisoned 18 Qarakhanid military commanders. However, soon after this between Muntasir and his military commanders quarrels started over the distribution of war booty. Muntasir who did not have the support of the population of Maverannahr, fearing collaboration of the commanders with the Qarakhanids and their betrayal, decided to look for other allies. Late in the autumn of 1003, along with 700 infantrymen and equestrians, he crossed the Amu-Darya to set up a camp in Abiverd or Nisa. However, he was confronted here by a military detachment of the Shah of Khwarezm and was defeated and with the remnants of his forces, he turned back to Maverannahr.

In subsequent fight against the Qarakhanids, Muntasir defeated the troops of the vice-regent who left by Nasr in Bukhara. As a result of these successes of Muntasir, in some localities of Maverannahr, a movement for restoration of the power of the Samanids started. The leader of Samarkand detachment, Haris who was known as Ibn Alamdar, joined Muntasir with his 3000-strong troops. Besides this, city Sheikhs armed hundreds of slaves. Finally, the Guzs again expressed their wish to be under the command of Muntasir. Having thus strengthened his troops Muntasir in the fight near Burnemed (on the border of Sogd and Ustrushana) defeated the main forces of Nasr-ilek.

Notwithstanding this great success, Muntasir could not hold Maverannahr because Nasr-ilek rapidly collected fresh forces and attacked him in the valley, between Jizak and Khavas. The Guzs who captured in the fight near Burnemed, a large booty, did not want to take part in this fight and returned to their nomadic territory. Besides, at the most critical moment, one of the leading military commanders of Muntasir betrayed him by crossing over to the side of Nasr-ilek with his four thousand strong troops. Muntasir was unable to repel the attack of the Qarakhanids and forced to flee to Khorasan. But even after this, Muntasir did not give up the idea of restoring the Samanid state. He rapidly collected fresh troops and for the fourth time marched upon Maverannahr. However, this time also he was defeated because of the betrayal of his military commanders. In the beginning of 1005, Muntasir killed by one of his military leaders from a nomadic tribe.

Muntasir was the sole representative of the dynasty of the Samanids who continuously struggled for restoration of its power in Maverannahr. But as the Samanids, politically as well as economically, lost the ground under their feet and the main groups of population did not support them, all the attempts of Muntasir did not succeed.

After the death of Muntasir the struggle for the division of the Samanid inheritance continued between Mahmud Ghaznavid and the Qarakhanids.

THE TAJIKS IN THE STATE OF THE GHAZNAVIDS

The rise of Ghazna as a political center had begun in the second half of the X century.²

In the historical sources, the direct founder of the state of the Ghaznavids, in the X century is known as Sebuktegin³ who ensured the independence of Ghazna and added to it the lands of the basin of the Kabul River. For the help, which he gave to the Samanid Amir Nuh II, Khorasan also gifted to him. Sebuktegin died in 997.

Mahmud Ghaznavid was the elder son of Sebuktegin and his lawful successor. However, during his illness Sebuktegin declared his younger son Ismail as his successor. The rule of Ismail continued for not more than seven months. In the country, the rebellions of the local feudals against the Central power became more frequent. Mahmud took advantage of this. He proceeded with his troops towards Ghazna and captured power.

In 999, the Samanid state invaded by the Qarakhanids from the North, Mahmud came out against the Samanids from the South and seized the entire Khorasan.

The status of Mahmud was greatly raised by the fact that the Caliph of Baghdad recognized his power and granted him the honorific titles. In 1002, Mahmud captured Sistan.

The Amu-Darya initially recognized as the border between the Qarakhanids and the Ghaznavids. Soon the Qarakhanid forces started violating this border. In 1008, in the region of Balkh, a battle fought between the Qarakhanid and the Ghaznavid troops. Complete victory of Mahmud consolidated his status in Khorasan. Under his sway also fell Chaganian and

² The political history of Ghaznavids is given in detail in *Barthold V.V.*, 1963b p. 332 onwards; *Bosworth S.E.*, 1963, pp. 35-37; 227-268; For short summary see: *Masson V.M., Romodin V.A.*, 1964, p. 242 onwards; *Spuler V.*, 1952, pp. 111-124.

³The information about the origin and early biography of Sebuktegin, contained in "Pand-nama", has come down to us (in the form of excerpts) in some medieval sources, especially in the work of Mohammad Shabangarai (XIV century), "Majma' al-ansab", in which it is stated that Sebuktegin hailed from a Turkish tribe Barskhan, inhabiting Turkestan. In his adolescence, Sebuktegin was taken prisoner and for four years, he was grazing cattle with a Turkish tribe Tukhsı, then he was sold to a trader from Maverannahr (LO IVAN SSSR, C-372, pp. 144-145). "Pand-nama", as the source of early history of the Ghaznavids, see: *Bosworth S.E.*, 1965.

Khuttalan where he left (as his Vice Regents) the representatives of old local dynasties.

Under Mahmud (998-1030), the Ghaznavid state reached the zenith of its power.⁴

During the period from 1002 to 1026, Mahmud Ghaznavid undertook more than 15 campaigns against India. The basic aim of these campaigns, which undertaken under the slogan of "holy war", was to plunder India and seizure of its wealth.

The campaigns of Mahmud Ghaznavid brought to the people of India incalculable misery. His soldier looted the people, destroyed the religious and historical monuments. Mahmud not only looted and destroyed cities but also perpetrated unbelievable brutality against the people. Having captured in 1019 the fortress of Mahovan (or Mohaban) Mahmud assassinated all its inhabitants in revenge for the ruler of the fortress having fled on his arrival.

From the Indian campaign of 1019 Sultan Mahmud took away to Ghazna a lot of precious stones and other valuables, 350 elephants and 57 thousand slaves. As historical sources record, the number of prisoners taken away by Mahmud was so large that for lodging them there were not enough buildings in the cities and new constructions had to be erected.

In 1010-1011, Mahmud occupied a part of the Gur country (the region in present Afghanistan) by inflicting big losses. In 1017, taking advantage of the murder of Khwarezmshah Mamun, Mahmud captured Khwarezm and annexed it to his state. In 1024, he came to Balkh with large forces under the pretext that he wanted to liberate the people of Maverannahr from the tyranny of Qarakhanid Alitegin. He crossed Amu-Darya and reached Samarkand. Under the sphere of his influence came such regions as Chaganian, Qubadian, Khuttalan and others. In 1029 having captured Rey, Mahmud imprisoned its rulers and sent all riches seized by him to Ghazna. Thus in the State of Mahmud Ghaznavid were incorporated large number of regions beginning with the North and North-West of India up to Chaganian and Khwarezm and on the territory of present Iran—up to Isfahan and Rey.

The predatory campaigns of Sultan Mahmud, particularly his wars with India that were the main source of enrichment of the Sultan, his guards and troops, led to the impoverishment of the toiling people. Before every military campaign, large taxes were realized from the people and after paying, they were left with no means for living. That is why the economy of the country declined, many agricultural oases were depopulated and the irrigation system in some places became fully non-operational.

Because of such a decline of agriculture in Khorasan in 1011, there started a famine. Early autumn and dry spring led to crop failure. In Nishapur and its neighborhood according to information provided by historical chronicles, thousands of people died of starvation. Although there were cases when in the bazaars of Nishapur up to 400 maunds of grain remained unsold as the population had become so poor that it could not buy it. People ate cats and dogs and cases of cannibalism were also reported.

⁴For more details see: *Yakubovsky A.Iu.*, 1934; *Nazim M.*, 1931.

Mahmud Ghaznavid, although he had all the possibility to free the people from starvation death, did not take any serious measures in this respect and ordered that the rulers of Khorasan to give insignificant sums of money as help to the poor. In the intervals between military campaigns, Sultan Mahmud was busy decorating his capital. During his rule, the famous mosque and madrasa in Ghazna built. This construction cost a lot to the population. According to sources, the construction workers from far off places carried the marble tiles and other expensive types of stones, which lay in the courtyard of the mosque complex in Ghazna, by hand. Even annual expenses on the maintenance of the famous garden of Mahmud in Balkh were completely borne by the population of this town.

Mahmud divided the people of the country into two categories: the armed forces and the civilian population. He paid salaries to the troops and demanded of them strict execution of every order. From the civilian population he demanded unconditional implementation of his order besides payment of state taxes.

The Sultan was a big miser and extortionist. He preserved all the riches that were extorted by him, through all possible means in India and different regions of the country, in the treasury. Historian Mirkhond (XV c) gives an interesting account testifying to the miserliness and greed of Mahmud Ghaznavid: "They say, two days before his death the Sultan ordered to bring from the treasury sacks full of silver dirhams and bags of gold dinars, beautiful precious stones of different kinds and various rare and precious things which were collected by him during his rule and to arrange them on a wide square which looked like flower bed to the viewers decorated with different colors—red, yellow, violet and others. The Sultan looked at them with pity and loudly sobbed, and after a long sob ordered them to be taken back to the treasury and from these riches he did not give even a penny to those who deserved it..."⁵

Mahmud Ghaznavid camouflaged his marauding wars by the slogan of *ghazavat* (holy war), to which he had the support of the Caliph, and recruited to his army a large number of fanatic Muslims — "the fighters for the Faith"; having declared himself as a follower of Sunnism, he fought against all manifestations of discontent and against all movements directed against the feudal regime which were mainly expressed in the forms of heretic ideas of the Qarmats, Ismailites, Shi'ites and other religious schools. He confiscated the property of the supporters of these movements and in this manner concentrated in his hands even more riches. Thus, his faithfulness to Muslim orthodoxy was nothing more than the means for consolidation of his power and increase of his riches.

Mahmud Ghaznavid gave big importance to state intelligence. Apart from the secret agents, who were appointed to look after each ruler, under Mahmud there was a special officer whose duty was to provide information about the internal situation, movements and moods of the local rulers. Sultan Mahmud appointed secret agents even to spy upon his own, children including the successor to the throne, Mas'ud. However, Mas'ud also had his secret informers in the court of his father.

⁵Rauzat-as-Safa, p. 38.

Mahmud Ghaznavid relied on a large army, well-organized and well equipped. He had many battle elephants, stone throwing machines were used during siege of fortresses and during crossing of rivers, and floating bridges were built. Large contingent of troops of Sultan consisted of the slaves —ghulams — who were bought and specially taught military skills. The detachments of slaves consisted of Turks and soldiers from other nationalities, among whom were many Tajiks.⁶

Undoubtedly, he was a great military commander of his time and was quite an energetic and tough ruler. Taking care of the external grandeur of his state, Mahmud constructed magnificent buildings and patronized court poets and scholars. But he did nothing for the development of agriculture. During his rule, agriculture fell into decline. The economic links between separate regions weakened. After the death of Mahmud (1030), instability of the state created by him became particularly apparent.

SELJUKS AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE STATE OF THE GHAZNAVIDS

In accordance with Mahmud's will, a group of state dignitaries headed by Hajib declared his son Mohammad as the king. His elder son Mas'ud opposed this. Having blinded Mohammad and imprisoning him and his children in the fortress, Mas'ud took power in his hands.

During Mas'ud's reign (1030-1041) who in his greed and extortion surpassed his father, the looting of the population reached its peak. The rulers of the different regions looted the people, extorted bribes and imposed illegal taxes. Mas'ud not only did not fight with the abuse of power but himself also got through it large revenues.

Continuing the policy of his father, Mas'ud tried to keep good-neighborly relations with the Qarakhanids. The following letter of the Khwarezmshah Altuntash, which he wrote to Mas'ud in 1030, clearly shows the essence of these relations: "The late Amir Mahmud Ghaznavid tried hard to make Qadirkhan the ruler and to consolidate his power. And now it should be strengthened to make this friendship unbreakable. They are not real friends but friendship for display would be preserved and they would not resort to any instigation."⁷

Khwarezm, which nominally was dependent on the Ghaznavids but actually existed as an independent state, played a significant role in the fate of the state of the Ghaznavids. After the death of Altuntash, Mas'ud, though he took measures to limit the rights of the king of Khwarezm, left the country in the hands of his successors. Mas'ud conferred the title of Khwarezmshah on his own son and the son of Altuntash-Harun made the ruler of Khwarezm with the title of vice-regent. However, Harun, having established friendly relationship with the Qarakhanid Alitegin and with the Seljuks, declared Khwarezm independent in

⁶For information about arming and organization of the troops of Mahmud Ghaznavid and his successors see: *Bosworth C.E.*, 1960; 1963, pp. 98-128.

⁷*Beihaqi*, 1962, p. 108.

1034 and banned the mention of the name of the Ghaznavid Sultan during the prayers, in the spring of 1035 Harun moved his troops to Khorasan. The sons of Alitegin (he himself died in 1034), supporting actions of Harun, also intruded the territory of the Ghaznavids. However, when at the very beginning of the campaign, Harun was killed by his slaves bought over by Mas'ud, the sons of Alitegin returned to Samarkand. Mas'ud started peaceful negotiations with the Qarakhanids. Because of this friendly and kinship, relations were established. Thus, the threat to the state of the Ghaznavid from the side of Khwarezm and the Qarakhanids averted through diplomatic means.

In the same year (1035), Mas'ud had to attack the Turk Seljuks who were coming to Khorasan. During the struggle of Mahmud with the Qarakhanids for Maverannahr, one of the groups of Seljuks got his permission to settle in northern Khorasan. Longing of the Seljuks for freeing themselves from oppressive taxation and obtaining new lands and pastures compelled them many times to rise in rebellions. The struggle between the Seljuks of Khorasan and the Ghaznavid government initially continued in success alternately. In 1035 a new attack of the Seljuks on Khorasan started. Mas'ud sent a large force against the Seljuks from Nishapur to Nisa. In the beginning of the battle, the Ghaznavid troops won, but at nighttime, the Seljuks attacked their camp and inflicted a heavy defeat.

Subsequently, the Seljuks delivered several more forceful blows on the Ghaznavids and seized a considerable part of Khorasan, including Nishapur. After that, Mas'ud collected a large army and led the campaign himself. A decisive battle was fought in the spring of 1040 near Dandenakan.

As a result of this battle (according to sources one of the bloodiest battles in the history of the peoples of Central Asia) the domination of the Ghaznavids over Khorasan ended, forever. After the battle was over the leader of the Seljuks, Togrul, put the throne on the field, ascended it and declared himself the supreme ruler of Khorasan.⁸

It is noteworthy to mention that the city elite of Merv and Nishapur, whose interests had suffered at the hands of the Ghaznavids, gave the Seljuks considerable support.

Sultan Mas'ud crossed the river Merverud and reached Ghazna. However, he did not risk recruiting soldiers here to fight against the Seljuks. It was clear to him that he would not find wide support in Maverannahr and Khorasan. Neither the elite, who were against centralization nor the population of Khorasan nor Tokharistan, which became impoverished due to the tax burden, nor the people of the neighboring Ghazna, Sistan and the mountainous country Gur, did have a desire to defend the state of the Ghaznavids. Vivid confirmation of this fact was the flight of the crowds of soldiers, which Mas'ud saw with his own eyes in the battle near Dandenakan. That is why he decided to go to India quickly and to collect there a strong army in order to halt the advance of the Seljuks with its help.

Beihaqi informs that Mas'ud, prior to his departure for India, wrote a letter to Arslan-khan with the request for help against the Seljuks. Later he ordered to

⁸About this battle, there is a special article: *Zakhoder B.N.*, 1943.

free from imprisonment his brother Mohammad with whom he wanted to go to India. The supporters of Mohammad having come to an agreement among them attacked Mas'ud, arrested him, declared Mohammad sultan and executed Mas'ud several days later (1041).

The son of Sultan Mas'ud, Mavdud, on coming to know about the execution of his father reached Ghazna in April of the same year and declared himself sultan. In the battle near Dinur (Fathabad) he defeated the troops of Mohammad and executed him and all his children.

Mavdud succeeded not only in suppressing the opposition of his brothers, who tried to possess power, but also to keep Ghazna in his hands and also Termez and Balkh. Soon after this, he collected a strong army in India and dispatched it against the Seljuks in Khorasan. But the Seljuks defeated this force of Sultan of Ghaznavid as well. At last, Mavdud entered into an alliance with the kings of India, Turkestan and other neighboring countries and in 1049-1050 proceeded to Khorasan with a large force. However, on the way he got sick, was forced to go back to Ghazna and he died there.

In 1059, the Seljuks captured Balkh and by this act severed the links between Maverannahr and the Ghaznavid state. After this, the Ghaznavid dynasty started losing its might, day by day. At the end of the XII century the last Ghaznavid sultan was taken prisoner by the troops of the Gur—the new state in Afghanistan, which emerged at the end of XI and beginning of XII century.

THE STATE OF THE GURIDS

In medieval times, Gur was the name of the mountainous country on the upper parts of the river Harirud, which spread from Herat to Bamian and the borders of Kabul and Ghazna. From the West, North and East, the Gur bordered with the lands inhabited predominantly by the Tajiks. The bulk of the population of Gur consisted of mountainous Tajik tribes.

In Gur, land cultivation and cattle breeding was widely developed for which the climatic conditions, particularly abundance of water, were favorable.

Authors from the X-XII centuries, describing the country of Gur, relate about cultivated fields surrounding settlements, about the abundance of vineyards and fruit orchards, about large of cattle grazing in mountains and foothills.

Mining and metallurgy work attained a high level of development for its times. The weapons and military armor from Gur were widely known and exported.

The author of the XIII century, Juzjani, hailing from Gur writes in his chronicle of history about the division of the population of Gur of the IX-X centuries in tribes hostile to one another. He writes that one Koushk⁹ was in a state of war with another one and people lived in constant hostility with each

⁹Koushk - The fortifications and towers in the clan-commune settlement.

other.¹⁰ In Gur, slavery also existed. About this, the information of the author of the X century indirectly testifies on the export of slaves from Gur.¹¹

During a long period in Gur, the remnants of military democracy were preserved.

By the end of X century, the separate, independent from each other, regions of Gur were governed by small rulers (Arabic-speaking authors call them "malik", that is king). These "maliks" remained mainly clan-tribal leaders and only sometimes, their power extended to several tribes. Among the Gurs a tradition, going back into distant past, was prevalent, when at the helm of the region there were two leaders having equal powers—one of them was the ruler (king) and the other a military leader.¹²

The feudal relations started forming later than in Maverannahr and Khorasan. Semi-patriarchal and semi-feudal relations were characteristic of Gur of the X-XI centuries. The rulers of separate regions becoming feudals had their own title in every region. In the region of Mandesh they were called "*malik*" or "*mehtar*" (later *gurshah*), in the regions of Tamran and Tamazan — "*varanda*"; in Varmishan — "*varmishpat*", etc.

Islam was penetrating Gur extremely slowly, the same way as in other mountainous Tajik regions. Arab Caliphs could not subdue this mountainous country. Its freedom loving population defended for long their ancient faiths and even in the middle of the XI century was tribes not accepting Islam were existing.

As in the entire Central Asia, the establishment of feudalism in Gur followed by a fierce class struggle.

In 907, the popular uprisings of the Qarmats and the Mazdakits near Herat and Gur took place. Nizam ul-Mulk (XI century) writes the following about it: "In the foothills of Gur and Garjistan a person called Bu-Bilal came to the fore. Around him gathered people of different strata... A large number of people from the region of Herat and its vicinity gather around him and offer allegiance to him; their number is more than tens of thousands...the rebels appear in the foothills of Herat, they openly declare their allegiance to the faith of the heretics and the Qarmats, mostly they are shepherds and cultivators".¹³ The uprising was ruthlessly suppressed by the troops of Ismail Samanids. According to the sources, such uprisings occurred in various places of Gur many times.

By the end of the XI century, the feudal relations were established in Gur. In the second half of the XI and first half of the XII century the "maliks" of the region of Mandesh, from the house of Suri, had spread their power over the entire Gur. By the middle of the XII century the feudal state of the Gurids was formed.¹⁴

¹⁰Juzjani, translation by Raverti, p. 318.

¹¹Hudud al-Alam, 1930, p. 216.

¹²See F. Engels, About two leaders among Irokezs under influence of military democracy, (*K. Marx and F. Engels, Works*, V. 21, pp. 96-129.)

¹³Nizam ul-Mulk, 1949, pp. 218-219.

¹⁴Bosworth C.E., 1961; 1968a pp. 159-166; Masson V.M., Romodin V.A., 1964, pp. 255-265.

The rulers of Gur were sometimes compelled to nominally recognize the supreme-power of the Ghaznavids but during many decades, they had been fighting them.

Taking advantage of the weakening of the Ghaznavid state the rulers of Gur restored their independence. During the rule of Qutbaddin Mahmud, the Gurids were powerful. That is why Bahramshah (one of the last Ghaznavid Sultans) fearing the attempts of the Gurids and popularity of Qutbad-din Mahmud lured him to Ghazna by deceit put him in prison and then poisoned him.

However, Bahramshah could not succeed in subduing Gur. Between Bahramshah Ghaznavid and brothers of Qutb-addin, several fierce battles took place in which Bahramshah was always invariably defeated. In the last battle Sultan Ala-addin Gurid crushed the troops of Bahramshah and forced him to flee. Alaaddin (1150-1151) destroyed Ghazna.

However, the struggle between Ghaznavids and Gurids did not end here. In 1186/1187, in one of the battles Gurid Giyasaddin Mohammad, the nephew of Alaaddin took the last Ghaznavid, the ruler of Lahore, Khusrov-Malik as prisoner and sent him to the capital of Gur, Firuzkuh. In this manner, the domination of the Ghaznavids was completely smashed. Having defeated Ghaznavids the Gurids became the rulers of a large state, the frontiers of which they soon considerably extended by their further conquests. The nucleus of their state was Gur.

The Gurids sultans represented in themselves large power. They had at their disposal a considerably large army, which incorporated in itself tribal detachments. Besides this, they had the support of the Tajik feudal elites of the mountainous regions of Badakhshan and the basin of the Amu-Darya. By the end of XII century, the Gurids annexed to their possessions the Southern regions of present Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, especially the regions of Vakhsh, Chaganyan, Shugnan and Vakhan.

The 1152-1206 periods are the brightest period of the history of the state of the Gurids. At this time, a great economic and cultural upsurge could notice. But this did not last long. The backwardness of Gur in comparison with the other regions of Central Asia had its adverse effect.

SELJUKIDS AND NIZAM UL-MULK

The battle near Dandenakan, which took place in 1040 and which decided the fate of state of Ghaznavids, led to full possession of Khorasan by the Seljukids.¹⁵

After this victory, Togrulbek Seljukid (1040-1063) declared himself Sultan and after leaving his brother in Khorasan proceeded with his troops towards Gurgan. During a short span of time, he seized not only Gurgan, Tabaristan, Khwarezm and Azerbaijan but also a part of the Western regions of present Iran.

¹⁵Barthold V.V., 1963b, pp. 569-583; Zakhoder B.N., 1945. The subsequent history of the Seljukids is given in detail in the work: Bosworth C.E.1968a.

In 1055, he also captured the capital of the Abbasid Caliphs, Baghdad, and officially declared the state of the Seljukids as Sultanate. After this Togrul captured Kerman and Fars and crushed the Byzantine troops in the Caucasus.

After the death of Togrul his nephew, Alp-Arslan (1063-1072) ascended the throne and considerably extended the frontiers of the state of the Seljukids. Alp-Arslan possessed several localities of Maverannahr. He completely defeated the Byzantine Emperor, Roman IV Diogen.

During the rule of Jalaladdin Malik-shah (1072-1092), the state of the Seljukids occupied the territory from the coast of the Mediterranean Sea up to the borders of the Chinese Empire in the East. However, after the death of Malik-shah the Seljukid state disintegrated into actually independent kingdoms and states.

In the XII century the capital of the state of the Seljukids, which was ruled by Sanjar (1118-1157), was Merv—a large trading and industrial state, the territories of which were served by a developed system of irrigation. Merv was also one of the largest cultural centers of that time. Thus wrote Yaqut: "When I was leaving Merv there were in it ten storehouses for books relating to waqfs, I have never seen anything like them in the world—in abundance and perfect upkeep of the books preserved there."¹⁶

In their cultural growth, the nomadic Seljuks were lower than the people of Maverannahr and Khorasan and were defeated by them. Such Seljuk rulers, as Togrul and Alp-Arslan, were even illiterate. As a result, a big role in the government apparatus of the Seljukids played by political figures from among Persians, Tajiks, settled Turks, etc. As always happens in such cases the conquerors were influenced by the defeated, but more cultured people.

The outstanding state figure of the Seljukid period was the native of Khorasan — Abu Ali Hasan ibn Ali ibn Ishaq. During almost thirty years (1063-1092) that he served as vazir under Alp-Arslan and Malik-shah, he had unlimited authority in the court of these rulers, particularly Malik-shah, and obtained the title of "Nizam ul-Mulk" ("the order of the state"). Nizam ul-Mulk was an intelligent and educated man. In organizing the rule of the country, he took help of the practice of the Samanid period and tried to revive its cultural traditions.

Thanks mainly to the activity of Nizam ul-Mulk, the system of the state of the Seljukids brought to order. All historical sources unanimously confirm that the period of the rule of the Seljukids was to some extent a period of peaceful development and upsurge of feudal economy and trade. The cities grew and in them, the number of craftsmen organized in workshops also grew.

However, the condition of the toiling masses during the rule of Nizam ul-Mulk remained quite hard. With the aim of fighting the unlimited exploitation of peasants by the feudals from which revenues of the state suffered ultimately, Nizam ul-Mulk was compelled to suggest to the Seljuk rulers some measures which curbed the arbitrariness of the military commanders and the iqtadars in order to prevent the complete pauperization of the people leading to the undermining of domination of the feudals themselves.

¹⁶Yaqut, V. IV, p. 509.

Nizam ul-Mulk took energetic measures to achieve the centralization of power. It was impossible without creation of a bureaucratic apparatus and the presence of literate people. Nizam ul-Mulk was an ardent supporter of higher theological educational institutions — madrasas. Such educational institutions got the name of "*Nizamiya*", in honor of this state leader; they were opened in many cities including Baghdad, Nishapur, Herat, Balkh, Merv, etc. The syllabus of the Baghdad "Nizamiya" included along with the study of Koran, Hadis and other scholastic disciplines as also jurisprudence, Arabic language and literature and mathematics, etc. The task of the madrasas was to bring up the representatives of bureaucratic strata in the spirit of Muslim orthodoxy and to bring its unity and merger with the Muslim clergy. Besides, the graduates of the madrasas used to implement the religious control over the masses diverting them from Ismailism.¹⁷

Nizam ul-Mulk also took measures for the development of external trade, trying to abolish high taxes, which hampered its development.

Some historians project Nizam ul-Mulk as a sort of fighter for well-being of the people. Of course, he never was such a person. If of his measures restricted to some extent arbitrariness of the military commanders and feudals, if he bothered to establish madrasas, this all done with a view to strengthening the power of the Seljukids and increasing the flow of revenue into the state treasury.

The strengthening of the system of iqta, first took care of the interests of the aristocracy of the Seljuk Turks. Because of this system, the main state revenue fell into the hands of the members of the Seljukid family every one of whom owned the city or region with a developed agriculture and used their revenues for personal needs. The rest of the relatives of the Seljukid Sultans and military commanders also owned the entire settlements and even regions. All this naturally caused resentment among local feudals who lost a considerable part of their revenues with the coming to power of the Seljukids.

THE ISMAILITE MOVEMENT

The movement of the Ismailites¹⁸, almost for four hundred years, played a significant role in the history of Central Asia and Iran. F. Engels wrote: "The revolutionary opposition to feudalism runs through the entire medieval times. It appears depending on the conditions of the time either in the form of mysticism or as an open heresy or as armed uprising."¹⁹ All these three forms are characteristic of the Ismailite movement in its different stages.

In the VIII century, the Ismailites were a small mystic Shia sect, the followers of the seventh descendent of Ali and Fatima—of Imam Ismail who disowned by his father, Ja'far Sadiq.

At the end of the IX century, during the Qarmat uprising²⁰, the Ismailites succeeded in capturing political power in Magrib and the leadership of the sect

¹⁷ Tritton A.S., 1957 p. 102 et seq.; Makdisi C., 1961; Tibawi A.L. 1962.

¹⁸ On Ismailism see for details: Belyaev E.A., 1957; Bertels A.E., 1959; Petrushevsky I.P., 1966.

¹⁹ K. Marx and F. Engels, Works. Vol. 7, p. 361.

²⁰ On the Ismailites and the Qarmats see: Stern S.M., 1961-1962.

stood at the helm of the strong feudal state with capital in Cairo (since 974)—the Fatimid Caliphate during two hundred years.

In the X-XI centuries, Ismailism in the form of heresy, opposing the orthodox Sunni Islam, became widespread in the entire Middle East particularly in Central Asia and Iran. The Ismailites, using Greek philosophy, developed the entire system of rationalistic teachings attracting to their side the intelligentsia, many outstanding state figures and thinkers. In Khorasan and Maverannahr, which were distant from Egypt by months of caravan routes, the Fatimid Caliphs were declared the rulers "who will fill up the land with justice", and many people believed this trick of the Ismailite preachers.

At the end of the XI century, the Ismailites of Central Asia and Iran broke up with the Fatimid Caliphate, which was heading for its downfall. At their head stood Hasan ibn Sabbah (1054/1055-1124 A.D.). In Isfahan in the district of Qazvin and other regions, popular uprisings broke out. A small Ismailite state was created with center in the fortress of Alamut (Deilem region). With the help of several fortresses, captured by them, the Ismailites created a strong secret terrorist organization, which directed against the Seljuk rulers. They got the fame as being smart and brave terrorists. The aristocrats were so fearful of the Ismailite daggers that they constantly wore chain armor under their clothes.

In October 1092, the Ismailites killed Nizam ul-Mulk. Later they succeeded in scaring Sultan Sanjar who gave up the idea of a military campaign against Ismailite fortresses.²¹

Naturally, the Ismailite movement, which continued in the X-XIII centuries in a feudal society with its mixed interlacing of state and classes, could not be homogenous in class terms. The main force of the "war of Zinjas" and Qarmat uprising was first of all the Negro slaves and the peasant sharecropper sand the Bedouin tribes. However, the elite used the achievements of this period—the slave-owners in the Qarmat state of Bahrain and feudals in Egypt, under the power of the Fatimids. In the entire Ismailite movement of the IX-XI centuries, it is necessary to differentiate the spontaneity of peasants and lower strata of the city from the political intrigues of top aristocracy who constantly deceived people.

There were different trends in the Ismailite movement. During the uprisings, in which broad popular masses of peasants and the urban poor participated, there appeared Mazdakit slogans of equality of property, justice and protest against oppression. In the period of existence of Ismailite organization, as a secret society with several stages of initiation into the theory of Ismailism, rational philosophy was skillfully interwoven.

The Ismailite teaching overall was a form of protest against Muslim orthodoxy, which had forbidden during the period of Seljuk dominance, not only

²¹The Mongol invasion delivered a deadly blow to the Ismailite state. In 1256 Alamut was overthrown and the head of Ismailites — Khurshah — was killed. After this, the Ismailites could not attain political dominance anywhere. Until present times in India and other countries, a secluded Ismailite religious sect has preserved. (On the history of medieval Ismailite movement and its state there are many research works. See, particularly, *Hodgson M.G.S.*, 1955; *Lewis B.*, 1966; *Hodgson M.G.S.*, 1968).

the free interpretation of Koran in the theological questions, but also in scientific research in the sphere of mathematics, astronomy and medicine.

The progressive features of Ismailite ideology of the X-XI centuries is necessary to define in a concrete historical manner in the background of harsh reality of that period. The courage of the Ismailite preachers is worthy of respect. They spread their "knowledge", including the rationalistic one and exact sciences, notwithstanding their fierce persecution.

The role of Ismailism of the IX-X centuries, in support of the tradition of freethinking, is beyond doubt. It is not accidental that many medieval Muslim orthodox authors (an-Nadim, Abdulqohir Bagdadi, Ibn Hazm, Nizam ul-Mulk) call Ismailies the most fierce enemies of Islam; its destroyers. However, the common Ismailies were naively thinking that they were "struggling for the purity of Islam". The attempt under the guise of "purification of religion" to usher in the leveling ideas is characteristic of many popular heresies of the medieval times.

QARAKHANIDS

The history of Central Asia during the Qarakhanid rule has not yet: adequately studied. Written sources inform only partially about the development of the political events and domestic administration of the Qarakhanid state. Historians always placed large hopes on the study of the Qarakhanid coins. But the Qarakhanid coins, as historical source, are very complicated and difficult for research and call for great caution. During the last decades, the Qarakhanid numismatics has made large progress, having resolved several disputable and at times even unexplored questions of history of Central Asia of the XI-XII centuries. However, not all the new results and hypotheses of historians and numismatists appear convincing and undisputed. In this field, a large work is still too done; many new discoveries and revision of some conceptions is awaited.

In presenting an account of the political history of the Qarakhanids, we have drawn upon the famous works of V.V. Barthold, which are an unprecedented example of critical analysis and synthesis of fragmentary and often contradictory information in written sources. We have also used some convincing results of numismatists enabling to clarify and make addition to the data in the written sources.

The origin of the dynasty itself is not clear; the names which are given to it in the literature (Qarakhanids and more seldom Ileks) are completely conditional, constructed by historians from two widely spread titles: Qarakhan and Ilek. Perhaps the nucleus of the state of the Qarakhanid was the Turkish tribes, Yagma and Chigli, which finds confirmation in the list of titles of the early Qarakhanids. The highest titles among them were first Arslan-Khan ("Arslan"—lion—is a totem of the Chigil) and Bogra-Khan ("Bogra"—camel—is a totem of Yagma).²² Around the middle of the X century Islam became the state religion of the Qarakhanids. By the time of conquest of Central Asia, Ali and Hasan Bogra-Khan occupied dominant position among the Qarakhanids; Hasan Bogra-Khan,

²² For information about the origin of the dynasty, see: *Pritsak O.*, 1953, pp. 21-22.

as was mentioned earlier, headed the campaign against Maverannahr in 992; Nasr ibn Ali conquered this region completely. These two families — descendants of Ali ("Alids") and of Hasan Bogra-Khan ("Hasanids") — were already, since the X century, most influential and powerful, possessing large territories.

The state of the Qarakhanids overall divided at this time in many territories, the borders of these territories did not remain unchanged, and their rulers had big rights even up to the minting of coins in their name. The small rulers changed territories and suzerains also. The relations of vassalage were sometimes multi-stage. The political history was full of complexities of internecine struggles.²³

"Alids", descendants of Ali, initially exercised the Political dominance. After the conquest of Maverannahr a large territory came into their hands: on the West and South, it bordered the state of the Ghaznavids along the Amu-Darya, on the East, Tugan-Khan, the elder brother of Nasr possessed Kashgar and the heads of the dynasty during this period of time were also different representatives of the family of "Alids".²⁴

However, very soon, the achievements of the second family, Hasanids came to the fore and they started pushing the Alids from the East. According to numismatic data the son of Hasan Bogra-Khan, Yusuf Qadir-Khan by 1005 was in possession of Kashgar, having driven away from there Tugan-Khan.²⁵

Gradually the family of the Hasanids had become so strong that after the death of the sons of Ali the honorific title and high ranks of the heads of the dynasty switched over to them. Since 1026/27, Yusuf Qadir-Khan appeared as the head of the dynasty. In diplomatic relations, too, he mentioned as such. After his death (1032) his son Suleiman succeeded him who took the title of Arslan-Khan and was considered the head of the Qarakhanids. The centers of his territory were the cities of Balasagun and Kashgar. His brother Mohammad, who took the second significant title of Bogra-Khan, possessed Isfijab and Taras.²⁶ Hence, the achievements of this family were reflected not only in formal recognition of their dynastic headship. Gradually they pushed "Alids" more and more and captured new regions. Even Fergana—the indigenous possession of the "Alids" (the capital of Nasr ibn Ali, the conqueror of Maverannahr, was the city of Uzgend in Fergana) — appeared in the sphere of influence of Yusuf Qadir-Khan and particularly his two sons — Suleiman Arslan-Khan and Mohammad Bogra-Khan.²⁷

²³Questions of titles and feudal hierarchy and also all other numismatic data for the early history of the Qarakhanids are examined in detail in the works: *Vasmer R.*, 1930; *Pritsak O.*, 1953; *Fyodorov M.N.*, 1965.

²⁴However, among the scholars there is no single view about who among the sons of Ali and during which period considered the head of the dynasty and was the carrier of the highest titles. The difficulty in resolving this question is undoubtedly also the fact that the formal place in feudal hierarchy and actual power and influence did not often coincide which is ignored by some researchers.

²⁵*Vasmer R.*, 1930, pp. 93-94; *Davidovich E.A.*, 1968 a, pp. 70-71. V.V. Barthold (1963 b p. 343) did not know about these coins. That is why he has completely different and later date.

²⁶*Barthold V.V.*, 1963 b, p. 357.

²⁷*Markov A.K.*, 1896, pp. 246, 256, 348, 401; *Vasmer R.*, 1930, p. 95; *Davidovich E.A.*, 1968b, pp. 69-74 and the table 1-2.

Maverannahr, which conquered by Nasr ibn Ali, now also, went back to the Hasanids. Bukhara and the whole of central Maverannahr were captured by Ali-tegin, the brother of Yusuf Qadir-Khan before 1025.²⁸ There was no peace and accord between the brothers. Perhaps Qadir-Khan was fearful of Ali-tegin becoming stronger. The Ghaznavid ruler Mahmud was also scared of it. That is why, they undertook a joint campaign against Maverannahr in 1025.²⁹ The meeting of the two famous rulers of their time, which was followed by grand receptions and exchange of rich presents, ended in the decision to take away Maverannahr from Ali-tegin (in favor of Qadir-Khan) and to become relatives. Both these decisions were not implemented. Mahmud considered it dangerous to strengthen Qadir-Khan to such an extent. Ali-tegin for a long time ruled over Maverannahr taking the big title "Tamgach Bogra-Khan"³⁰ and was completely independent from his relatives. Interestingly, the Ghaznavids later also were very fearful of Ali-tegin. In the Ghaznavid court, he was considered as dangerous, treacherous and shrewd opponent from whom it was necessary to guard the border region of the state very carefully. That is why, Mas'ud Ghaznavid decided to get rid of Ali-tegin for which purpose in 1032, on his order, Khwarezmshah Altuntash undertook the campaign against Maverannahr. Ali-tegin left Bukhara for tactical reasons. Although Altuntash captured the city, the main battle fought in other places. Altuntash was badly wounded, they were compelled to make an agreement with Ali-tegin, and the troops of Khwarezm left Maverannahr.

Ali-tegin did not give up the idea of winning over from the Ghaznavids the territory lying near Amu-Darya. He found his ally in the person of new Shah of Khwarezm Haroon who wronged by the Ghaznavids. His sons undertook the joint campaign after the death of Ali-tegin (1034). They captured the region of Chaganyan, besieged the city of Termez but forced to retreat, as the army of Khwarezm did not support them because the Shah of Khwarezm Haroon was killed.

Later the relations between the sons of Ali-tegin and Mas'ud Ghaznavid were adjusted outwardly.

During this considerably long period of large political achievements of the "Hasanids", when they possessed both the Western as well as Eastern regions of the Qarakhanid state, nothing is known about the "Alids" from the written sources. Coins show that Mohammad and Ibrahim, the two sons of Nasr (conqueror of Maverannahr), were only independent rulers of the small principalities, having the rights of vassals of whosoever was more significant member of the dynasty. In the beginning, Mohammad ibn Nasr (according to written sources known as Aynaddaula) was in a better situation. He possessed different cities and districts in Fergana, more often Uzgend (the former capital of his father), sometimes

²⁸O. Pritsak has established the affiliation of Ali-tegin to the family of Hasanids. (*Pritsak O.*, 1950, pp. 216-224).

²⁹For details of this, campaign and its political results see: *Barthold V.V.*, 1963b, p. 344 onwards.

³⁰R. Vasmer convincingly proved the belonging of this title to Ali-tegin (and not to his suzerain as V.V. Barthold thought) (see: *Vasmer R.*, 1939, pp. 96-97).

Akhsiket, Khujand and later Quba. However, almost always on his coins above his name the name of his suzerain was mentioned.³¹

In the forties of the XI century Ibrahim ibn Nasr occupied the most significant place in the political arena. In his youth, he carried the humble title of Buri-tegin, possessed a small territory and later was imprisoned by the sons of Ali-tegin. He fled from the prison to his brother in Uzgend, but did not get on well with him, collected the troops and in 1038 entered the regions of Khuttalan and Vakhsh and then Chaganyan. Although all these regions were within the sphere of influence of Ghaznavid Mas'ud, the latter preoccupied with struggle against the Seljuks was compelled to reconcile with the appearance of Buri-tegin in his territories. Besides this, he expected that the animosity between Buri-tegin and the Qarakhanids of Maverannahr (sons of Ali-tegin) would secure him from this side and he would not need to fight on two fronts.

However, the regions near the Amu-Darya River were just the springboard for Buri-tegin. From here, he started the conquest of Maverannahr and soon succeeded in it. It is not accidental that after the first successes in his struggle against the sons of Ali-tegin, he changed his title: instead of the humble title of Buri-tegin, he took the high title of Tamgach Bogra-Khan³² (which before him was taken by Ali-tegin in Maverannahr), and also another quite respectable title, Muaiyid al-Adl, which before him was carried by his father and brother. By 1041, he already possessed the entire Maverannahr. Ghaznavid Mas'ud who just before this in the battle near Dandenakan (1040) was defeated by the Seljuks and had reconciled with the elevation of Ibrahim ibn Nasr and even thought of encouraging him further in order to get in his person a good ally.

Ibrahim Tamgach Bogra-Khan pursued a fully independent foreign policy and did not recognize the Eastern Qarakhanids as his suzerain. During his rule in Maverannahr the independent state of the Qarakhanids, with its capital in Samarkand, was formed.³³ Soon after this in the beginning of second half of the XI century) Ibrahim ibn Nasr seized Fergana as well, which earlier was in the sphere of influence of the Eastern Qarakhanids.

The domestic policy of Ibrahim Tamgach-khan is also very interesting. To go by the stories given in the sources, Ibrahim Tamgach-khan, to some extent,

³¹Davidovich E.A., 1968 b, pp. 67-74.

³²The question of the belonging of the title of Tamgach Bogra-Khan in this period has a principal and not a formal significance: this is a question about the time and ways of formation of the independent state of the Qarakhanids in Maverannahr. V.V. Barthold (1963 b p. 367) and R. Vasmer (*Vasmer R.*, 1930, pp. 97-98) presumed that this title belonged to the suzerains of Buri-tegin (however, as suzerains they name two different persons). O. Pritsak (*Pritsak O.*, 1950, p. 222, 224) came out with an assumption and E.A. Davidovich (1970b) proved that this title belonged to Buri-tegin himself (that is, the latter did not consider himself as the vassal of the Eastern Qarakhanids) and was adopted by him not later than 1040, before the final conquest of Maverannahr.

³³The outwardly well-constructed concept of O. Pritsak (*Pritsak O.*, 1950, pp. 227-228) about an independent Fergana, headed by Mohammad ibn Nasr, about the time and ways of formation of the two Qarakhanid states — the Western state with center in Uzgend and the Eastern state with center in Balasagun is in complete contradiction with facts (see: *Davidovich E.A.*, 1958 b, pp. 67-75).

cared about the security, peace and needs of his subjects and was quite popular among the masses. Particularly harsh was his punishment for encroachments on property. The sources contain several accounts about this. The bandits once scribbled on the gates of the Samarkand citadel: "We are like onions. The more they cut us the more we grow." Ibrahim Tamgach-khan ordered to write: "I stand here like a gardener. However much you may grow, I would uproot you." He succeeded in uprooting theft in the state. He also took care of the rise in market prices. An interesting story narrated: Once the butchers asked for an increase in the price of meat offering one thousand dinars to the treasury. The Khan gave his consent, took money, but forbade people to buy meat. The butchers had to pay once more for restoring the old price.³⁴

According to numismatic data, it known³⁵ that he undertook other measures also for improving the conditions of trade. For example, in Fergana, before him the basis of the monetary circulation were the coins called *dirhams*. However, they did not contain silver at all and minted from melted lead and copper. Besides, they were of such different sizes and weights that they circulated not by piece but by weight which very much complicated the trade transactions. Ibrahim abolished these coins and introduced in Fergana a mint of dirhams of regular round form made from alloy of silver and copper: his coins circulated by pieces, which created more favorable conditions for monetary trade.

Although such measures did not decrease feudal oppression, they certainly obstructed its increase. Under conditions of a feudal state, even this was a considerably progressive phenomenon.

The same policy was to some extent pursued by Shems al-Mulk Nasr, Khizr and Ahmad, two sons, and grandson of Ibrahim Tamgach-khan.

The relations between these Qarakhanid rulers and the clergy are an interesting, but not yet adequately studied page of the history of Central Asia. But this question has to be examined as a part and link of their domestic policy. The sources call Ibrahim Tamgach-khan, as well as other rulers, ardent Muslims and pious persons who treated the clergy, particularly its individual representatives, with respect. Nevertheless, during the reign of almost each of these rulers, large conflicts took place with the clergy, followed even by executions and murders.

O.G. Bolshakov noted that the "subjects" who were persecuted by, for example, Ahmad, and whose property he confiscated, were the top of the feudal society. It is significant that along with the clergy, the feudal elite of the nomads were also among them.³⁶ There is no basis to consider it as a simple idealization, affirmation by the sources of the big popularity of some of these khans in the masses, and their fame as just rulers, etc.

Behind these scattered facts may be seen the purpose of the domestic policy. Obviously, these Qarakhanid Khans were trying to centralize the state of the Central Asia Qarakhanids. Naturally, the feudal nomads and the clergy, who were dissatisfied by increase in the power of the Khans, became their foes. The

³⁴Barthold V.V., 1963 b, pp. 374-376.

³⁵Davidovich E.A., 1968 b, p. 76.

³⁶ITN, V.II, 1, p. 239.

confiscation of the property in conditions of such a struggle was one of the methods of economic weakening of the political enemies.

If Ibrahim Tamgach-khan expanded the borders of his state by incorporating some of the regions, his descendants in the foreign political and military affairs appear to be less successful. From one side, during the rule of Shems al-Mulk Nasr, they were pushed by the Eastern Qarakhanids. They again took Fergana back and the border between the two Qarakhanid states passed through Khujand. From the other side, it was during the reign of these rulers that the Seljukids undertook raids and military campaigns first against the separate far-flung regions of the state of the Qarakhanids and then against the central Maverannahr.³⁷ At last, in 1089 Seljukid Malik-shah took Bukhara and then Samarkand also. However, the Seljukids did not destroy the dynasty of the Qarakhanids: they were contented with active intrusion in their affairs and appointment of the Khans from among the members of the Qarakhanid dynasty. The only serious conflict took place in 1130 between Qarakhanid Arslan-Khan and famous Seljukid Sultan Sanjar. About 30 years before in 1102, one of the Eastern Qarakhanids seized Maverannahr and even proceeded towards the territory of the Seljukids but he died in the battle with Sultan Sanjar. After this Sultan Sanjar placed on the throne the great grandson of Ibrahim Tamgach-khan, Mohammad II Arslan-Khan. The latter ruled for about 30 years and became famous for his building activities. He, like his predecessor, had to fight against the clergy. When because of the intrigues of the clergy, his son and co-ruler was killed, he appealed for help to Sultan Sanjar. Sanjar approached Samarkand with a big army, but Arslan-khan already did not need his help because he himself could crush the enemies. According to the sources, he even sent assassins to Sanjar. Sanjar seized Samarkand, overthrew Arslan-Khan, and appointed Khans in his place who were faithful to him while preserving their independence in domestic affairs.

QARAKHANIDS AND QARAKITAIS

In the beginning of the second quarter of the XII century, the numerous people of Kidans conquered Hafrud with the city of Balasagun and established a large empire extending in the North-East up to the river Yenisei. Subsequently they joined the remaining territories of the Eastern Qarakhanids and started posing a threat to the Western, i.e., Maverannahr Qarakhanids. Muslim authors, who wrote about the events of these years and about the political achievements of the Kidans, gave them the name of Qarakitais.³⁸

In 1137, the Qarakitais crushed Qarakhanid Mahmud near Khujand. Mahmud was the faithful subject of Sultan Sanjar. He mentioned the latter's name as his suzerain even on his coins. However, Sultan Sanjar this time was unable to help Mahmud as he was busy fighting against Khwarezm. Yet the Qarakitais could not take advantage of their victory.

³⁷ About details of these events see: *Barthold V.V.*, 1963 b., p. 379 onwards.

³⁸ About the Qarakitais and their relationship with the Qarakhanids see: *Barthold V.V.*, 1963 a, p. 48 onwards; 1963b, p. 386 onwards.

However, hardly a few years had gone by when, in a decisive battle, the Qarakitais inflicted such a defeat on the joint forces of Qarakhanid Mahmud and the Seljukid Sultan Sanjar that it became a landmark in the history of these three dynasties. This happened on 9 September 1141 in Katvan steppe near Samarkand. The Seljuk-Qarakhanid troops were completely defeated, Sultan Sanjar and Mahmud retreated. As for the Qarakitais, they captured Bukhara and the entire Central Maverannahr.

The alignment of political forces in Central Asia changed. The Qarakitais did not eliminate the Qarakhanid dynasty like the Seljukids. From now on the Qarakhanids became the vassals of the Qarakitais. The Qarakhanids had to pay tribute to gurkhan—the head of the Qarakitai state. Sultan Sanjar, who was busy with his struggle against the Khwarezmshah Atsyz (who became very active after the battle of Katvan and the defeat of Sanjar), did not even try to fight against the Qarakitais to restore his former influence in Maverannahr.

The Qarakitais did not interfere in the domestic affairs of the Qarakhanids whose capital remained in the city of Balasagun. In the state of the Qarakhanid the following situation was created. After the battle in Katvan steppe, in Samarkand for some time ruled the real brother of the fugitive Qarakhanid Mahmud. As for Fergana, it was in the hands of the "Hasanid" family, i.e., the Eastern Qarakhanids. However, beginning with the second half of the XII century (1156), the Fergana family of the Qarakhanids firmly held Samarkand as well. From now on, after a long interval, Maverannahr appeared to be in the hands of the Eastern branch of the Qarakhanids uniting under its powers the richest regions: Central Maverannahr and Fergana. However, it is necessary to note that Central Maverannahr and Fergana, in the second half of XII and the beginning of XIII century, remained as two large independent principalities in the hands of different members of a single family. Samarkand (center of the first territory) and Uzgend (center of the second) systematically and abundantly, independent of each other, minted coins. Each city issued coins in the name of the head of its principality, usually with big titles. Even then, Samarkand simultaneously considered as the capital of the entire state and the principal ruler of Samarkand was a nominal head of the dynasty. It was in fact manifested that the titles of the Samarkand ruler were higher than the titles of the Fergana rulers.³⁹

Besides this, at this time also existed smaller vassal rulers of independent principalities, but their political weight was not the same as in the XI century. The rarity of the coins of the XII and beginning of the XIII century, which minted as in the XI century with the names of small rulers of independent principalities, points to this fact. A special position was occupied by the sadrs of Bukhara, a dynasty of representatives of the elite clergy. They carried the title of "Sadri jahan"—"the pillar of the world" and initially held the posts of higher clergy in the city and subsequently started interfering actively in the affairs of administration. The more influential among them, not only actually ruled Bukhara but also formally occupied the post of the rulers of the city. Their

³⁹About Fergana and Maverannahr in the second half of XII century, chronology and genealogy of the heads of the dynasty (the rulers of independent Samarkand principality and the rulers of the Fergana principality) see: Davidovich E.A., 1957 b, pp. 108-119.

relations with the Samarkand Qarakhanids were quite complicated. Recognizing the higher power of the latter, the sadrs sometimes minted coins in their names. Sometimes the power in Bukhara completely passed on to the Qarakhanids, in other cases on the contrary, the sadrs were quite independent, themselves collected, the taxes for the Qarakaitais, became rich thanks to this, they widely used their power to increase their riches by all means.

KHWAREZM AND THE STATE OF THE SELJUKIDS

The victory of the Qarakaitais in 1141 weakened the Seljukids. The other key factor of this period, which witnessed the decline of the Seljukids, was the rise of Khwarezm as a political center.

The head of the dynasty of the Khwarezmshahs, Anush-tegin, appointed a ruler of Khwarezm during the reign of Seljukid Malik-shah. After the death of Anush-tegin, his son Qutbiddin Mohammad (1097-1127), who took the title of Khwarezmshah and was considered a faithful vassal of Sultan Sanjar, started ruling Khwarezm.

The real founder of the great state of the Khwarezm-shahs can be considered the son of Qutbiddin Mohammad—Atsyz (1127-1156). He and his successors, taking advantage of every convenient opportunity, undertook all attempts in order to attain the independence of Khwarezm from the state of the Seljukids. In the first years of his reign, Atsyz was a subordinate of Sultan Sanjar and took part in his campaigns but at the same time, he through subordination to Khwarezm of the neighboring tribes, became more and more powerful. He succeeded in capturing localities, which had big importance for the nomads including the territories on the lower Syr-Darya and the peninsula of Mangyshlak. Having strengthened his position, Atsyz, (1138, 1141-1142 and 1147-1148) rose thrice against Sanjar but was unsuccessful. At last, in June 1148 Atsyz was compelled to declare to Sanjar his full subordination to the Seljukids. Nevertheless, he was able to prepare the ground for the independence of Khwarezm and for the creation of the future state of the Khwarezmshahs (the power of the Seljukids in Khwarezm, the future state of the Khwarezmshahs, from the middle of the XII century, was actually nominal).⁴⁰

In the beginning of second half of the XII century, in Maverannahr, and on the territory of the Northern regions of present Afghanistan, certain events took place, which led to the downfall of the state of the Seljukids. In 1153, Sultan Sanjar rose against the Turk Guzs (Oguzs) who roamed in the Balkh region. The cause of uprising was extreme extortions by tax collectors. After this, the nomad Guzs started raiding the settled agricultural regions. In order to punish them Sultan Sanjar moved his troops against them. However, he was defeated and imprisoned. After this, the nomads began to undertake raids on the agricultural oases of Khorasan and on the South-Eastern part of Maverannahr, without any obstruction.

⁴⁰V.V. Barthold gives a detailed summary of the history of the state of Khwarezmshahs (1963 b; see also *Kajesoglu I.*, 1956).

In 1156, after three years of imprisonment Sultan Sanjar succeeded in freeing himself and returned to his capital Merv. A year later, he died and along with him, the outward appearance of existence of the centralized state of the Seljukids also vanished. The Asia Minor and Kerman succeeded in achieving independence during the rule of Sultan Sanjar. After his death, independent principalities appeared in Fars and Azerbaijan. Khorasan also came out from under the power of the Seljukids. In the center of the Caliphate in Baghdad, the Caliph restored his status.

This situation strengthened the independence of Khwarezm even more than the son and successor of Atsyz Il-Arslan (1156-1172) could utilize to his advantage. Il-Arslan intervened in the struggle between the Qarakhanid Khans of Maverannahr who were subordinate to the Qarakitais and the troops of the Turk tribe Karlukhs.

Il-Arslan supported the Karlukhs. In 1158, he entered the territory of Maverannahr along with the troops of Khwarezm and took part in the battles of the Karlukhs for Samarkand and Bukhara. Later he fought against the Khorasan Guzs and achieved some success. In 1155, he moved his troops against Nishapur trying to subordinate the city to him. However, he did not succeed and returned to Khorasan. However, under conditions of constant domestic feuds, it was not worthwhile even thinking about expulsion of the Qarakitais from Maverannahr. Moreover, Il-Arslan had to undertake measures for defense of his own territory. In 1171-1172 the Qarakitais under the pretext that Il-Arslan was not paying them tribute timely marched their troops on Khwarezm. Il-Arslan succeeded in saving his capital from the attack of the Qarakitais only at the cost of destruction of the dam on Syr-Darya.

After the death of Il-Arslan (1172), his younger son Sultan-shah ascended the throne of the Shahs of Khwarezm, seizing power with the help of his mother. The older son of Il-Arslan, Alaaddin Tekesh, and the ruler of one of the regions of Khwarezm appealed to the Qarakitais for help in capturing Khwarezm; for this, he promised to pay them annual tribute. The same year with the help of the Qarakitais he seized Khwarezm. Sultan-shah fled in order to save himself.

On becoming, the ruler of Khwarezm and after strengthening his position Alaaddin Tekesh (1172-1200) declined to pay tribute to the Qarakitais and executed their envoy that came to Khwarezm for collecting tribute. Having come to know about it, Sultan-shah in turn hurried to the Qarakitais asking them to help him in removing Tekesh.

The Qarakitais desiring to receive tribute from Khwarezm undertook a campaign against Tekesh. But he after flooding the roads made the advance of the Qarakitai troops extremely difficult. Besides this, the hopes of Sultan-shah and the Qarakitais, to stir the population of Khwarezm against Tekesh did not succeed. The Qarakitais were compelled to return to their capital leaving one detachment at the disposal of Sultan-shah. With this detachment, he proceeded to Khorasan, and after defeating the forces of local nomadic Guzs, seized Merv, and a little later, he captured Serakhs and Tus.

Following the unsuccessful attack of the Qarakitais, Tekesh considerably strengthened his power. Carrying out several successful campaigns against Maverannahr and Khorasan he seized several large cities and settlements. In June

1187, he entered Nishapur and in 1193 after the death of Sultan-shah took Merv. Almost simultaneously, Tekesh got an opportunity to intervene in the domestic political life of some of the districts of Iran. Seljukid Sultan Togrul II wanted to take the reins of the state in his hands, leaving for the Caliph, management of the religious affairs only. However, the Abbasid Caliph Nasir (1180-1225) did not agree. In the ensuing struggle, he appealed to Tekesh for help. Tekesh without letting go the convenient opportunity advanced his troops against Togrul in March 1194, defeated him and captured Hamadan. However, the Abbasids quickly realized that the Khwarezmshah was more dangerous for the Arab Caliphate than the Seljuk Sultan. That is why, Caliph Nasir suggested to Tekesh, through his vazir, performing the court ceremony prescribed by the Caliphate. This meant that Tekesh would have to agree to subordination to the Abbasid Caliph in religious as well as administrative affairs. Tekesh sent back the envoy of the Caliph with a curt reply.

In June 1196, between the troops of Khwarezmshah and the Caliph, a fierce battle took place, which ended in victory of the Khwarezmians. Notwithstanding this, the Caliph demanded Tekesh withdrawal of his troops from the Western provinces of Iran and retreat to Khwarezm. Tekesh replied that the revenues, of the countries occupied by him, were not adequate for supporting his large military forces and hence the Caliph must cede in addition to these countries some more territory. Not content with this he also demanded that his name mentioned in the khutba in Baghdad. The struggle between the Khwarezmshah and the Caliph prolonged.

Although during the rule of Tekesh the state of Khwarezmshahs grew strong, the struggle with the Caliphate wore out Khwarezm more and more. The Caliph was able to take advantage of the influence of the Muslim clergy while Tekesh tried to take the support of the troops. For the success of his military organization, Tekesh divided the military commanders into various ranks and created a powerful group of military aristocracy. However, in the end, Tekesh could not find a firm support inside the country though he tried for this through all possible means. The work of the personal secretary (munshi) of Tekesh Mohammad Bagdadi "*At-tavassul ila-t-tarassul*" ("The search for access to business correspondence") which is available to us, depicts the picture of social and ethnic composition of the Syr-Darya region at the beginning of XIII century and contains among some other official documents containing the instructions of the Khwarezmshah Tekesh to the vice-regent of Jend. In these instructions, the Khwarezmshah ordered the vice-regent to establish correct relations with the different strata of population, which listed in details:

1. **Sayids** (people who were considered the descendants of Prophet Mohammad) — "Care for their interests according to just level of their holiness, he (vice-regent) should consider his most valuable duty...and may well do everything to ensure their needs."

2. **Imams and scholars (ulema)**—"May he make them happy by giving them gifts and doing well" in state affairs based on law (*fatwa*).

3. **Judges and rulers**—from them just decisions should be demanded, "But, of course, they should not diminish the dignity of the Judge".

4. *Sufis and their followers*—they should give gifts, "in order to enable them to pray for our victorious state with peaceful hearts".

5. *Influential elders*—they should be patronized.

6. *Group of officials and military personnel subordinate to the vice-regent*—to govern them without taking part in "their internal discussions and feuds", to look to the accurate distribution of salary, "in order that they need not take to extortions from the population."

7. *The fighters for faith (ghazis)*— to support them in every possible manner giving them the task of watching the population.

This list shows the kind of exploiting groups the Khwarezmshah tried to depend upon.

In this work there are also indications about the land cultivators and landowners and about the craftsmen and "people of the market" who are recommended for needful attention because "by their labor the troops are provided the material means".

Further, the need to patronize the traders mentioned, "who are unpaid messengers and eulogizers of the king."

Particularly recommended is the equal treatment of the Turks and Tajiks.

In conclusion there is an appeal to the population to meet the new vice-regent with joy: "May they give him completely the taxes for the coming year of the size of one-third of the collection, and may they restrain themselves from baseless complaints against him as if the complainants are exploited and may they be loyal to our command and his—vice-regent's—orders".

This document testifies, apart from other things, to the fact that in the XIII century, even in the far-flung areas of Khwarezm, a considerable part of population consisted of the Tajiks (with a predominant Turkish-speaking part). Its main significance is that in it is given a vivid picture of the feudal hierarchy.⁴¹

His son Mohammad (1200-1220) succeeded Tekesh. In 1203, with the support of the Qarakitais, Mohammad conquered Khorasan. Having taken Herat, also with its vicinity, he in 1207 returned to his capital and started preparing for seizing Maverannahr. The same year (1207) Mohammad made a beginning of the conquest of Maverannahr, by proceeding with large troops for suppressing the population of Bukhara, which rose in rebellion against the rulers of the city—sadrs.

THE UPRIISING OF SANJAR.

THE CONQUEST OF THE STATE OF THE QARAKHANIDS BY MOHAMMAD KHWAREZMSHAH

As noted earlier, in Bukhara, in the first half of XII century the blue-blooded family and the representatives of high and rich clergy, who held the title of "Sadri jahan"—"the pillar of the world", had gained big influence.

⁴¹For a detailed discussion of this source (with partial summary of its contents), see: Semenov A.A., 1952, p. 17.

Concentration in their hands of large waqf lands and also the collection of taxes from the craftsmen and traders and from the lands around the city, revenues from trade around the city, revenues from trade and markets—all these gave the sadrs big riches. About the size of these riches, one can judge from one such fact: one of the sadrs (Mohammad ibn Ahmad) maintained on his revenues up to 600 faqihs. When he undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca, he needed more than 100 camels for carrying foodstuff for the journey. For his greed and unworthy conduct he was nicknamed, "Sadri jahannam" ("the pillar of hell"). The riches of the sadrs of Bukhara had also other origin. Under the pretext of collecting large sums for paying annual tribute to the Qarakitais the sadrs ruthlessly looted the masses. The sadrs kept a major part of the collected amount for themselves.

All this of course could not but evoke indignation among the large masses. In 1206 the population of Bukhara under the leadership of an artisan Sanjar, who was a master of making shields, rose against the domination of the sadrs.

The main force of the uprising of Sanjar was the city artisans. Historical sources give very little information on how this uprising started and developed. We do not know also as to how long the rebels held the city in their hands after their victory and how they governed it. It is only known that having captured the city, Sanjar, as the court chroniclers write, greatly "humiliated" the eminent people, i.e., the aristocrats and feudals. The sadrs driven out of the city with disgrace and their property was placed at the disposal of the rebels. The expelled sadrs appealed for help to the Qarakitais.

The Khwarezmshah Mohammad, who for long had been looking for an opportune moment to take back Maverannahr from the Qarakitais considered the Bukhara events as the most convenient occasion for this and proceeded to Bukhara as the head of large forces. The rebels who had not taken the required measures for defense of the city and even did not unite with the peasants of the nearby places could not repel the attack of the military forces of the Khwarezmshah. In 1207 Mohammad overtaking the Qarakitais, captured Bukhara. The Bukharan sadrs restored their domination and became the vassals of the Khwarezmshah Mohammad. However, for the complete subjugation of the entire territory of Maverannahr, Mohammad needed an ally, from amongst the rulers of Maverannahr itself.

About the events of this time, there is a lot of information in the written sources and there are many contradictions.⁴² For clarifying many circumstances and chronology of the events, numismatic data is helpful.⁴³

The ruler of Samarkand and nominal head of the Qarakhanids at this time was Osman ibn Ibrahim and the ruler of Fergana, his real brother Qadir. Osman ascended the throne of his father at the threshold of the XII-XIII centuries and soon after took the high-sounding title of the "Great Sultan of Sultans". His position between the "two flames", i.e., between Mohammad Khwarezmshah and the Qarakitais, was very complicated, but for some time he maneuvered quite shrewdly. An impression is created that Mohammad Khwarezmshah did not think of eliminating the dynasty of the Qarakhanids and only during the struggle

⁴²Barthold V.V., 1963 a, p. 420 onwards.

⁴³Davidovich E.A., 1957 b, pp. 93-108.

with the Qarakitais his policy on this question changed. The relations between Qarakhanids and Mohammad Khwarezmshah can divide into three stages: initially there were alliance—like relations, afterwards relations of vassalage, and at the end exile and annihilation of the Qarakhanid rulers.

After capturing Bukhara Mohammad Khwarezmshah entered into alliance with Osman of Samarkand without claiming his territories. Osman continued to mint coins in his own name with the above-mentioned title, which was even higher and more resplendent than the title of Mohammad Khwarezmshah himself.

At this time, the Qarakitais defeated the allies. Khwarezmshah was compelled to return to his kingdom and Osman again became close to the Qarakitais and sought the hand of the daughter of gurkhan. On rejected, he again turned to Mohammad Khwarezmshah not as an equal ally but only as a vassal, in 1209/1210 he minted coins in two names: on one side, was the name and title of Mohammad Khwarezmshah and on the other, his own name.

This betrayal by Osman led to the campaign of gurkhan against Samarkand. However, the Qarakitais after seizing Samarkand and collecting small tribute left the city because in the East a serious trouble started in their domain.

The success of the war which Khwarezmshah Mohammad, was waging against the Qarakitais in the later years, was to some extent conditioned by the fact that the Mongol tribe, Naimans, raided the state of Qarakitai. The latter even plundered the treasury of gurkhan. Osman, because of such failures of the Qarakitais again switched over to the side of Mohammad Khwarezmshah and again confirmed his vassalage by minting of coins in two names. Mohammad Khwarezmshah, after giving order to strengthen Samarkand and leaving his representative with Osman, proceeded to the East and defeated the Qarakitai troops in the valley of Talas, imprisoning their military commander. Although this battle did not completely decide the destiny of Qarakitais, it raised the authority of Mohammad Khwarezmshah. His name began to be mentioned in the official documents with the title "Iskandari duyum" ("second Alexander") or "Sultan Sanjar".⁴⁴

The conquest of Maverannahr by Mohammad also facilitated by the fact that the population of Maverannahr hoped for betterment of their condition after the expulsion of the "heathens" Qarakitais and establishment of the power of the co-religionist Khwarezmshah. Mohammad intended to take advantage of these hopes of the population to achieve his goals. After taking Bukhara in 1207, he perhaps gave an order to his troops not to use brute force. Even the life of the head of the rebels, Sanjar, was spared in the beginning and it was only later that he was drowned in the Amu-Darya.

Nevertheless, the population of Maverannahr very soon felt all the burden of the power of the "faithful" Khwarezmshah, Mohammad. Osman, who after the victory of Mohammad against the Qarakitais, got married to the daughter of Mohammad and lived in Khwarezm for full one year and after coming back to

⁴⁴The meant of Alexander of Macedonia and the last among the famous Seljukids-Sultan Sanjar.

Samarkand was not happy with the tutelage of the Khwarezmians and the loss of independence restored his relations with the Qarakitais, changing this time his policy of siding with the most powerful. New interests of the Qarakhanid ruler and his people appeared to coincide: the oppression of the Khwarezmians united them in a common struggle.

The persecution and coercion by the vice-regent of the Khwarezmshah in Samarkand was unbearable to such an extent that in 1212 the population of the city rose against their new oppressors. Not relying on their own strength, it appealed to the Qarakitais for help. Mohammad reached Samarkand immediately and brutally suppressed the uprising. The murder and pillaging in the city lasted for three days because of which thousands of innocent people killed. Osman was executed.

Having suppressed the defiant population of Samarkand, the Khwarezmshah made the city his residence and started constructing the mosque and the royal palace.

In order to strengthen his position in Maverannahr, Mohammad ordered the execution of the Qarakhanid rulers of other regions of Central Asia. He captured Fergana, taking it away from Qadir, the brother of Osman. In Uzgend, the capital of the largest principality of the Qarakhanids and in Samarkand, the capital of the Qarakhanid state was minted coins in 1213 with the name of Mohammad Khwarezmshah. This confirmed the complete annihilation of the dynasty of the Qarakhanids. So far as the dynasty of the Qarakitais is concerned it was liquidated by Kuchluk, the leader of the nomadic Naimans.

Kuchluk of Naiman was a strong opponent. As far as Mohammad Khwarezmshah was concerned, his ambitions were directed towards the South and the West.

He was longing to seize the territory of Afghanistan and Iran and challenge the Caliph himself. Not confident of the possibility of fighting on two fronts and fearing that Kuchluk of Naiman would try to capture the North-Eastern regions of his state, he transferred the population of Chach, Isfijab and part of Fergana to new places and ordered this region to be deserted.

By that time, Iran and Afghanistan seized and Mohammad Khwarezmshah initially demanded from the Caliph to give up in his favor the temporal power even in Baghdad and then declared him dethroned. Mohammad declared sayid of Termez Ala al-Mulk the Caliph and in 1217 undertook a military campaign against Baghdad. This campaign ended in failure. Further information in the written sources about the relations between the Caliph and the Sultan is contradictory: one of them says that Mohammad declared Caliph dead and cancelled his name in the khutba in almost all cities of his state, according to the other; he on the contrary, sought reconciliation with the Caliph. Historians have preferred the second version⁴⁵, but according to the data of numismatics, the first version is closer to reality: before and after the Baghdad campaign on the coins of some cities the name of the Caliph mentioned but not on the coins of other cities.⁴⁶ In this connection the mintage of Termez coins, the motherland of Ala al-Mulk, who was declared by Mohammad as the Caliph, is interesting: here after the declaration of the latter and after the Baghdad campaign there was no name of the deposed Caliph on the coins (earlier it was) but the name of

⁴⁵Barthold V.V., 1963 a, p. 437-440.

⁴⁶Davidovich E.A., 1953 b, pp. 51-53.

Ala al-Mulk Termezi also was absent. The authority of the Bagdad Caliph, among the Muslims, was very great. Mohammad could not remain consistent until the end in his policy of deposing the Caliph. He did not gain anything but lost much. V.V. Barthold rightly noted that there was not a single class of society, which could be supportive of Mohammad. Feudals, clergy, and common people, all of them were discontented though for different reasons. Even the mercenary army, which ensured him military successes, ultimately became defiant. The large state of Mohammad Khwarezmshah did not possess the internal strength and that is why it fell easily under the blows of the Mongols.

2. ECONOMY AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATIONS

IQTA AND CONDITIONAL LAND OWNERSHIP IN THE XI-XII CENTURIES

The development of the institution of feudal land grant for service (*iqta*) in the XI-XII centuries, in the states of the Ghaznavids, Qarakhanids, Seljukids and Khwarezmshahs not to seen as a parallel and of common process. In concrete historical research of the place of iqta, in social and economic life of each of these four state formations, it is necessary to keep in mind that the more farsighted state persons and rulers of that time understood well that the development of iqta weakened the central power economically as well as politically. In relation to this, the story about Altuntash, the vice-regent of Khwarezm, during the reign of Mahmud Ghaznavid, is interesting. The *khiraj* of Khwarezm was two times less than the salary of Altuntash as vice-regent. Altuntash approached Vazir Mahmud with a suggestion that he keep himself by the khiraj of Khwarezm and the remaining amount be paid in addition from the treasury. Altuntash not only got refusal but a sharp reprimand from the Vazir: "May this is known to Amir Altuntash that he cannot be Mahmud. In no case those revenues, for which he is responsible, will be granted to him. Collect the taxes, bring them to the treasury of the Sultan and get a receipt and then ask for maintenance...the great danger for the slave is to seek co-partnership in the kingdom with his lord."⁴⁷ However, the "great danger", of iqta (transfer of the right to collect khiraj in one's favor) this is the early form of iqta) was not for the "slave" but for the "Lord". That is why, when the government had adequate strength and economic possibilities to do without grant, it tried to pay for the service in cash, etc.

According to the information given by Nizam ul-Mulk, the Samanids and the Ghaznavids "...did not give iqta and paid everyone from the treasury in cash his salary four times a year and they were always contented and flourished. Amils collected taxes and deposited them in the treasury; from the treasury once in every three months the salary was paid."⁴⁸ Nizam ul-Mulk in this case tells only about the army, the chapter is also called "on clarity in property matters of the whole army". With some reservation, this assertion of Nizam ul-Mulk can treat as

⁴⁷ *Nizam ul -Mulk*, 1949, pp. 230-231.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.106.

trustworthy. Under the Samanids, iqta received considerable development but in all the known cases, the grantees were the members of the dynasty or big dignitaries and the troops were paid salary. But under the Ghaznavids the army initially received iqta. However, Sebuktegin (977-997) took steps towards cancellation of such a state of affairs and transferred troops to maintenance from the treasury in the form of regular payment in cash. This situation continued until late also at least for two or three generations of his successors.⁴⁹ At the same time, under the Ghaznavids separate cases of large grants are known; though such types of grants during their rule did not occupy such a large place in the social and economic life as during the Samanid rule. Thus under the Ghaznavids, at the time of the flourishing of this state, the feudal grants for service were spread less than during the Samanids; the Central Government obviously put its goal not to grant iqta and it had an economic possibility not to do this.

Completely different was the situation during the Seljukids although such farsighted people of that time as Nizam ul-Mulk understood very well the harmful results of a wide grant of iqta. Nevertheless, it took place. However, during the Seljukids the big grants to bureaucrats and elites, as well as large distribution of grants to the army, was widespread.⁵⁰ Iqta for army spread all over the country. *Iqtadars* had the right to collect rent in their favor. In practice, they tried to widen their rights. Nizam ul-Mulk repeatedly, and on different occasions tells that the *mukta*, the holders of iqta, should not extend the rights given to them and that central powers should control it: "Mukta who hold iqta may think that in relation to the people they are given nothing but the right to collect the legal tax with kind means that they are ordained; when they collect may the people be safe in their person, property and wives and children, their belongings and lands, let mukta not touch them."⁵¹

Although the conditions of the peasants, on lands given in iqta, were different from place to place but it was usually hard. The free movement of the peasants was restricted and there is information about forced labor of peasants. In iqta, the entire regions were given away presently situated in Southern Turkmenistan.⁵²

The question of iqta in the state of the Qarakhanids is less clear. V.V. Barthold and A.Iu. Yakubovsky thought that in the state of the Qarakhanids, the principality system was prevalent and iqta was so widespread that it became the dominant form of land ownership.⁵³ Both these outstanding scholars made their conclusions on the analogy of the state of the Seljukids.

O.G. Bolshakov⁵⁴ while agreeing that these conclusions are fully in accord with the general line of development of feudal relations in the Near and Middle

⁴⁹ *Bosworth S.E.*, 1963, pp. 124-125.

⁵⁰ *Bertels A.E.*, 1959, pp. 31-33; *Bosworth S.E.*, 1968a pp. 230-244; *Lambton A.K.S.*, 1969, pp. 53-67 (here is also given the co-relation of the Seljukid system of iqta with her which was developed in the state of Buids).

⁵¹ *Nizam ul-Mulk*, p. 34.

⁵² *Lambton A.K.S.*, 1969, pp. 66-69.

⁵³ *Barthold V.V.*, 1963b, pp. 330, 367 onwards; 1963 e, p. 284; *Yakubovsky A.Iu.*, 1949, pp. 39-40.

⁵⁴ ITN, Vol. II, 1, pp. 248-250.

East, at the same time expressed correct doubts about the competence of such constructions based only on analogies because this mechanically excludes the manifestation of the possible peculiarity.

In the part about the administration of the principalities of the state of the Qarakhanids, O.G. Bolshakov gives the following ideas. According to the data given by E.A. Davidovich in the Samanid state even in the period of its blossoming, besides vassal territories of the type of Khwarezm, Chaganyan and Khuttalan, there existed principalities and large territories on the basis of grant. Under the Qarakhanids in the first decades, Maverannahr was divided in a large number of principalities, but after the formation of the independent state, the situation appeared approximately the same as was during the Samanid rule. Hence there is no basis to compare (although with reservations) the administration of the principalities of the Qarakhanid state with the ones in the state of the Samanids.

Overall, we cannot but accept the correctness of this methodical approach and the conclusions, but it is necessary to make some corrections. If to divide the grants for service in two groups (according to the social criteria): grants — "to feed the troops" and large grants for the members of the dynasty and the dignitaries, there are so far no concrete historical data for discussion, about the first group of grants under the Qarakhanids. As for the second group, some material is provided by Qarakhanid coins. In the beginning of the XI century, the state of the Qarakhanid in fact divided in many big and small principalities with vividly expressed relations of vassalage and multi-stage feudal hierarchy, as vassals of the big owners were not the only members of the dynasty. Later the number of vassal owners in the inscriptions on the coins visibly decreased but still they were there. Under Ibrahim Tamgach-khan also, who was the real founder of the independent western Qarakhanid Kaganate with center in Samarkand, there are names and titles of small principality owners, his vassals on some of his coins.⁵⁵ Even in the second half of the XII century when the state of the Central Asian Qarakhanids came in the hands of the Fergana family, the independent minting of coins was done not only by the heads of the dynasty (who were in Samarkand) and not only the heads of the Fergana principality (who were in Uzgend)⁵⁶, but sometimes even by smaller owners of principalities, as in Marginan and Binaket.⁵⁷

An impression is created that the development of centralization tendencies, after the formation of the independent Qarakhanid state, with its center in Samarkand did not abolish the principality system which came into existence in the beginning of the XI century but only limited the right of the principality owners and also possibly the number of the principalities. In particular, small principality owners since then have, only in separate cases, put their names on the coins. Besides this, if the Samanids struggled against the attempts to convert the grant territories into hereditary (and struggled sometimes successfully), during the Qarakhanid rule as is seen from the minted coins, hereditary was already a

⁵⁵ Markov A.K., 1896, pp. 265-267, pp. 451-453, 457-460 onward.

⁵⁶ Davidovich E.A., 1957 b, pp. 108-119.

⁵⁷ Davidovich E.A., 1961, pp. 189-190.

frequent phenomenon, possibly a norm. O.G. Bolshakov is right in his observation that to speak about the comparison of the states of the Samanids and the Qarakhanids at present there are no basis and data. But about the further "progressive" development of iqta and principality system we can talk keeping in mind, however, that this development was not also a unilinear uninterrupted process.

When we speak about the situation in the state of the Khwarezmshahs we are in a more advantageous position. In the already mentioned work of Mohammad Bagdadi, the private secretary of the Khwarezmshah Tekesh (1172-1200), there are several documents relating to the reign of Nisa. At this time, a big role in the political life of the Southern outlying region of the slate of the Khwarezmshahs was played by the Guz feudals. To one of the leading Guz feudal, Tugan-shah, Tekesh gave away in iqta large parts of the region. From the grant deed, it is clear that to Tugan-shah belonged a whole range of rights of immunity. The clergy, judges, scholars, well-to-do people, "princes", "military commanders", land cultivators and people of other strata subjugated to him. In a state of subjugation to the iqtadar were also *shikhne*—the rulers of the settlements and the districts, *mutesarrifs*—financial taxation officials (in central government administration and in local places) who also controlled irrigation and *amils*—direct collectors of taxes. The deed contains the advice to the iqtadar."Let him instruct that appointed by him collectors of the taxes—mutesarrifs—were decorated with justice and trust so that they would be above sin and carelessness and that they defended the interests of the population, that they did not impose on the peasants whatever other taxes and tributes besides a definite tax and clear khiraj, that they did not levy on them something new which is not permitted by tradition and by which neither the people nor the Lord would be contented."

In this colorful sermon, an appeal is contained to uphold the honor of the women, property and life of the population, to guard the security of home, etc. From all this it becomes clear that the representatives of iqtadars in reality were notorious marauders and as noted in the deed: "they led the Muslims to flee their places." The part of the region of Nisa, which not incorporated in the iqta of Tugan-shah, was in the possession of the Khwarezmshah Tekesh himself who ruled his people through vice-regent. This vice-regent received salary and besides, some localities were given to him as iqta. In the deed transacted with him it was mentioned that he could collect tribute in his favor for the land given to him in iqta. He gave the "keys of permission and communication orders about execution and prohibition". "Let him tell his deputies that they while demanding the land tax did not levy on the peasants hard taxes beyond the agreed limit when they do not have strength to withstand their difficulties during the checking of financial accounts and their disorder..." From peasants and citizens they demanded that they paid their taxes and tributes fully without giving the pretext of lack of means. Persons avoiding taxes awaited harsh punishment.⁵⁸Thus, the picture of most ruthless oppression of the population presents itself from these authentic documents in all its concrete form.

⁵⁸Semenov A.A., 1955.

LAND OWNERSHIP AND THE PEASANTRY

One of the characteristic social processes of the given period is the change in the composition of the big and even middle landowners. Before the Arab conquest, the main landowners were the peasants. After the Arab conquest there began a systematic ruination of the peasantry. In the first place, the small and middle peasants suffered who ruined by the hard taxation and misuse of power by the officials. Some small landowners voluntarily preferred to give up their lands to the bigger landowners (the institution of talijat). The conquerors and the elite, close to them, willingly bought lands of the peasants. The latter sometimes were compelled under coercion to sell their hereditary lands. Confiscations and forcible seizures also took place. This process continued during the rule of the Samanids. The members of the dynasty, officials occupying high posts and affluent military commanders, etc., bought community lands. The development of the institution of the feudal grants in the IX-X centuries from one side multiplied the riches of the grantees and from the other side it opened before them even wider possibilities: purchase of the hereditary lands of the peasants because the grants of the IX-X centuries were large and included administrative power in the form of the posts of the vice-regents—rulers of the cities, districts and entire regions. As a result of this, by the XI century, peasants were not the only landowners.

Even then, by the XI century the peasantry was still a powerful estate. Big peasants owned entire districts and regions. Some of them willingly switched over to the side of the conquerors—the Qarakhanids,⁵⁹ and initially preserved not only their land but to some extent the political weight also. An example is provided by the peasants of Ilak. Their names with the title "*dehkan*" were mentioned on the copper coins (minted in Ilak in 997, 998, 1004/1005 and 1008/1009) as the vassals of the Qarakhanid rulers.⁶⁰ An impression created that under the Qarakhanids, at the end of the X beginning of the XI century peasants of Ilak rose higher, became more independent and gained more weight than it was in the X century under the Samanids.⁶¹

The position of the old landed aristocracy—the rulers of different border regions were strong until the beginning of the XI century. Under the Samanids, for example, as already mentioned, some territories did not pay khiraj, limiting themselves to gifts sometimes though symbolic. There the land remained the property of the local feudals. Mahmud Ghaznavid tried hard to capture these regions. He subjugated Garchistan and destroyed the palaces of the local elite. The complete subjugation of Gur was also followed by the destruction of castles.⁶²

He also conquered the regions lying near Amu-Darya although Chaganyan before 1038/1039 preserved its political autonomy. According to Beihaqi there

⁵⁹ In particular, the peasants themselves invited Qarakhanid Bogra – khan (*Barthold V.V.*, 1963b, p. 318).

⁶⁰ *Markov A.K.*, 1896, pp.218-219, N. 192-193; *Masson M.E.*, 1953, p. 81.

⁶¹ See: *Barthold V.V.*, 1963b, p. 292.

⁶² *Bertels A.E.*, 1959, pp. 25-26.

ruled the hereditary rulers and on the coins minted in Chaganyan Ghaznavids were not mentioned at all, even as suzerains.⁶³

In the conquered territories the khiraj system was introduced which was economically unsuitable for local landowners and it ruined the weak and small among them. Here perhaps with some delay the same process was repeated which in the central regions had started earlier and by the XI century deepened further.

During the XI-XII centuries in the states of the Qarakhanids, Ghaznavids and Seljukids an intensive process of acquiring public lands by members of these dynasties, military class of different origin and the top brass of the army was going on. The sources mention big owners of common lands from among the military aristocracy. They received large privileges. Their common lands often exempted from khiraj.

Thus in various ways the common lands of the peasants (*mulk lands*) were turned over into the hands of the new dynasties and new feudals. Researchers generally recognize that the peasants completely ceased to exist as the main estate of landowners by the time of Mongol conquest. Parallel to this the meaning of the word "*dehkan*" also evolved which with the gradual ruination of the peasantry more often used to signify the ordinary land cultivator, the peasant.⁶⁴

In the XI-XII centuries, a new social component of the landowners was formed in which the remnants of the peasantry were dissolved.

It is also necessary to stress this significant phenomenon of feudal economy as the sale-purchase of the landed property. The appearance of price of land, conversion of common land into object of sale-purchase undoubtedly hastened by the conquest of Central Asia and Khorasan, initially by the Arabs followed by the Qarakhanids and the Seljukids, by the formation of new states, by the change in the composition of the feudal ruling clique and other above-mentioned phenomena. In other words, the vanishing of the peasantry, as an independent and main estate of landowners and formation of the new composition of landowners, was based to a considerable extent just on the transformation of the common lands into object of sale and purchase which hastened this process.

THE CITIES OF CENTRAL ASIA IN XI-XII CENTURIES

One of the prominent phenomena of the given period was an intensive growth of cities, commodity production and trade through money.

The cities of Central Asia expanded and their population increased. The center of life in Samarkand, for example, concentrated on the territory of the outer city where numerous trade-handicraft residential complexes were located. Here the houses of city aristocrats, clergy, rich traders, etc. were situated.⁶⁵ The city fortifications of Bukhara also reconstructed inside, and the territory of the

⁶³Davidovich E.A., 1970b.

⁶⁴About the evolution of the word "dehkan" see: Barthold V.V. 1923; 1963b, pp. 238-239; Bertels A.E., 1959, p. 16-26 onwards.

⁶⁵Masson M.E., 1950, pp. 164-165.

city expanded. Many new monumental buildings were erected.⁶⁶ Termez of XI-XII centuries expanded a lot in comparison to the Samanid period. In XI century its fortifications strengthened, citadel reinforced with baked bricks. In the same century, the palace of the Termez ruler erected. Particular importance was reinforced by the trade-handicraft part of the city where one or the other handicraft productions were concentrated around certain points, probably bazars.⁶⁷ One of the largest cities of Southern Tajikistan was the capital of Khuttalan — Hulbuk. Its central part occupied an area of about 70 hectares. Here the citadel stood high, during excavations of which remnants of richly decorated palace of the rulers of Khuttalan were found. In the city there existed different handicraft productions — pottery, metallic, etc. The intensive development of the city was characteristic of the period. In places where there were earlier dumps or irrigated plantations, residential houses disappeared.⁶⁸ According to data of archaeological-topography observations in the XI-XII centuries, the large, middle and small cities of Southern Turkmenistan were growing considerably: Merv, Dandenakan, Amul, Zemm, Serakhs, Meikhene, Abiverd, Nisa, Yazyry, Dahistan and others.⁶⁹ In Chu Valley in the X-XII centuries, some settlements grew into large city centers.⁷⁰ Even mountainous regions were intensively drawn into money-commodity relations (for example, the district in the valley of river Obiniou, the tributary of Panj or the district of Isfara).

The main reasons for considerable, and in some cases, stormy rise of urban life, were the development of productive forces, the further separation of the crafts from agriculture. The other most important factor behind the growth of cities was the strengthening of the feudal dependence on the peasantry, which led to mass migration to cities (which, by the way, left its imprint on some forms of urban culture).⁷¹ Thus the concepts of Marx and Engels, about the role of the fugitive serfs in the formation of the European medieval cities,⁷² could apply to the medieval cities of Central Asia as well.

THE CRAFTS IN THE XI-XII CENTURIES

The main centers of crafts and trade were the cities. The city crafts of this period have been studied mainly on the basis of archaeological data. Most of the material collected by the archaeologists consists of ceramic and glass production.

First, a considerable increase in the production of ceramic under further standardization of forms was characteristic for the XI-XII centuries. The other characteristic is the large place occupied in the production of fancy "dinner"

⁶⁶Sukhareva O.A., 1958, p. 31 onwards.

⁶⁷Masson M.E., 1938, pp. 7-8.

⁶⁸Litvinsky B.A. and Davidovich E.A., 1954, p. 41 onwards.

⁶⁹Pugachenkova G.A., 1958, pp. 190-199.

⁷⁰Kozhemyako P.N., 1959, p. 183.

⁷¹For details, see: Litvinsky B.A., 1953b, p. 55 onwards.

⁷²K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, V.3, pp. 14-15, 50-51; V.4, p. 425.

crockery by unglazed but richly and diversely ornamented vessels. It is significant to note the wide territorial extent of the

glazed ceramic in the XI-XII centuries. It can be found in far-flung mountainous corners of Central Asia where in the IX-X centuries the glazed ceramic was a rare phenomenon or was very absent. The other changes also occurred, which allow to distinguish the ceramic of the XI-XII and of the beginning of the XIII century from the preceding period.

The production of ceramic of the XI-XII centuries has deeply studied from the point of view of technology and techniques and from the point of view of the forms and decorations⁷³ because the crockery of this period has been found in large quantity from the old medieval settlements. At some places, traces of production can be seen. The ceramic kilns have been excavated, different molds for ornamentation and instruments for furnace have found.

Glazed pottery occupies a prominent place in production. Transparent lead glaze predominates and the non-transparent glaze is also used as before. Among the non-transparent glazes particularly distinct is the turquoise glaze of beautiful color and good quality, which appeared in this period.

Forms of glazed ceramic are partially old but their modifications and new variations appeared. For example, if in the IX-X centuries the "chirag" – lamps had a round reservoir and a short nose, in the XI-XII centuries along with these form lamps with a long straight cut nose became widespread. Under the glazed paintings, as earlier, the inscriptions, geometrical and floral ornaments, depictions of live species (particularly birds) are included. As earlier, a light background frequently found but brick red and black colors are widely used; the colors of the pictures are most variable: black and white, brown of different shades and marshy green, yellow, blue and green. All achievements of the preceding period in ornamentation are used but they modified and considerably changed.

The long inscriptions and maxims wishing well-being vanished and now short one-word inscriptions predominated. This word could be repeated several times; epigraphic ornaments appeared, repeating combinations of letters which did not have any meaning and which could not be read or translated. In depicting living species, a process of schematization could notice. For example, birds as earlier were a favorite theme of the paintings, which made under the glaze. However, they are not only schematic but also often depicted not in full as the repeated picture of the bird's wing.

The geometrical and floral motifs are quite varied. The two principles worked out are: 1) when the ornament covers only a part of a surface freely unfolding in the background, the light background has as a rule, yellow or greenish shade; 2) when the ornament completely covers the whole surface of the vessel not leaving any free background. Many new ornamental motifs, new and very successful combinations of colors appear. For example, the pictures in

⁷³See the works of I. Ahrarov, O.G. Bolshakov, N.N. Vakturskaya, E.Gulyamova, E.A. Davidovich, B.A. Litvinsky, S.B. Lunina, E.B. Saiko, Sh. S. Tashkhojaev, G.V. Shishkina and others.

brown shade are really beautiful, delicately tinted by white, black and marshy green shades.

In the XI-XII centuries, a porridge ceramic bowl was made. Its shard is white or slightly pinkish, fragile and porous; it is covered with slightly blue or even navy blue glaze. The thin walls of the bowl are sometimes cut in small round, triangular and square holes, which covered by glaze, created a very specific and effective transparent ornament.

The thin-walled, non-glazed ornamented ceramic of the XI-XII century is extremely beautiful. These are mostly the thin-necked jugs of different forms and sizes with sometimes round or pear-like trunk or sometimes with trunk, the curvatures of which created a resemblance with a metal. For decoration of the jug, different technical methods were used. Ornamental forms used inside, which the upper and lower parts of the jugs were separately made, sometimes necks also made separately and then all these parts, with already readymade relief pictures, were put together. Stamp impressions were widely used, the pictures of which imprinted on the ready-made vessels. Other additional methods were also used.



Glazed ceramic of the XI – XII centuries from Afrasiab

Geometrical and floral ornaments, inscriptions, depictions of animals, birds and fishes, people and fantastic creatures decorate the most elegant non-glazed ceramics. The pictures on its surface are arranged differently. One of the favorite methods is horizontal belts. In one of them, an inscription written, in the other, a most complicated floral design, and in the third one, the chasing of the beasts is depicted.



Glass wares X – XII centuries from Afrasiab

Glass artifacts also present a bright picture of the development of crafts in the XI – XII centuries.⁷⁴ At this time, the window glass panes were in wide use. The fragments of flat window glass panes, made by blowing technique, found in many places: at the settlement of ancient Merv, in some places of Khwarezm and Fergana, at the settlement of medieval Taraz, etc. The glass was mostly colorless; that is putting the glass in frame in the first place served a utilitarian purpose. However, colored flat glass has also been found which was used for decoration. In this respect interesting material was found in the palace of the rulers of Termez where in the window grill pieces of broken colored glass vessels were fixed which did not let much of light through, but created a rich multi-colored "mosaic" design.

From the observations of archaeologists, it is evident that in the XI-XII centuries glass production grew considerably in comparison with the preceding times, glass entered the household of the population more widely. The discoveries pointing to the existence of glass-making workshops have traced on the territory of many medieval settlements related to this period. Glass itself has been discovered in a large quantity in Central Asia of the XI-XII century everywhere.

Mass production of household vessels is as prominent as earlier. Along with colorless and colored glass, slightly yellowish glass found also: green, navy blue and brown. Variety of vessels undoubtedly increased in comparison with the preceding period. Possibly, there existed regional specifics in ceramic production as well, but it is still too early to speak about it with any certainty. The other tendency does not create any doubt: some forms of vessels were found in large quantity everywhere. These are some kinds of bowls, jugs and some small vessels for perfumes and medicines. Most of the vessels are without decorations but there are a large number of ornamented glass pieces. The favorite method of decoration was making designs through blowing of glass and pasting of glass reliefs and threads. More labor intensive technical methods of ornamentation (for example engraving), of course, were also used. Particularly beautiful are the ornamented

⁷⁴ Abdurazakov A.A., Bezburodov M.A., Zadneprovsky Iu.A., 1953. Unfortunately in the Fifth chapter no attempt was made to show the features of something new in glass making of the XI-XII centuries; glass is taken in totality, in the frame of more than four centuries (IX beginning of the XIII century), although archaeological materials already open up certain possibilities for more concrete characteristics of development of this type of craft in the different chronological parts of the period. The discoveries of glass artifacts of the XI-XII centuries are numerous and described in many archaeological publications.

glass vessels from Hulbuk (Southern Tajikistan) and Kuva (Fergana). No less interesting are the glass lockets (especially from Termez) with depictions of birds, animals, horse riders with Arabic inscriptions, etc.

The use of glass artifacts was quite diverse: for example dinner crockery, cosmetic medicinal vessels as well as household wares (inkpots, etc.) and different types of jewelry (especially beads), window glass panes and perhaps chemical vessels (the latter unfortunately are in most cases not dated).⁷⁵

The mass scale and general production of glass wares and also of window glass panes, the rich variety and simultaneously standardization of many types of vessels, the use of effective and at the same time less labor intensive and cheaper methods of ornamentation on vessels are indicative of the fact that the glass makers of the XI-XII centuries worked for the needs of a larger mass of consumers than in the IX-X centuries.

A considerable place in urban crafts is occupied by metal production. In Termez, for example, the locality of metalworkers has an area of five hectares. Along with the mass production of household articles, the instruments of production and weapons, a lot of highly artistic goods—pots, pen stands, lamps, etc. which were decorated by inscriptions, depictions of different scenes, etc.—were produced. Such, for example, is the bronze kalamdan, writing set (of the type of pencil case) which is found in the Central Asia. It is in-laid with silver. It decorated with inscriptions, figures of birds and designs. In one of the inscriptions, it is stated that it was made on 12 April 1148 by a craftsman, Omar ibn Al-Fazl.⁷⁶ In Bukhara was found an excellent bronze pot encrusted with copper and silver and made in December 1163 by painter Mas'ud ibn Ahmad and minter Mohammad ibn Abdalwahid from Herat. On the pot, the king depicted sitting on the throne, playing, hunting, dancing and other such scenes.⁷⁷ The treasure of splendid bronze artifacts of the period has found in Lyagman (Vakhsh Valley).

The extraction of minerals was going on numerous mines were functioning.

MONEY CIRCULATION

The growth of productive forces, increased process of separation of crafts from agriculture, further development of commodity production, close links with the nomadic steppe, led to the development of exchange inside the states of Central Asia and more or less distant countries. Archaeological materials (especially in parts of China and Iran) testify this as well as in the written sources.

About money, circulation there is abundant numismatic material. During the period, XI to the beginning of the XIII century, on the territory of Central Asia, there circulated coins minted in different state formations (in accordance

⁷⁵See for example Zhukov V.D., 1940, 1945; Davidovich E.A., 1953; Trudnovskaya S.A., 1958; Merezhin L., 1956; Ahrarov I., 1960; Aminjanova M., 1960, 1961; Gulyamova E., 1961a and several others.

⁷⁶Gyuzalyan L., 1938, p. 217 onwards.

⁷⁷Veselovsky N.E., 1910.

with inclusion in them of the separate regions and districts of Central Asia). Ghaznavid and Seljukid coins usually found in the Southern regions of Central Asia: The first coins are found in Tajikistan and second in Southern Turkmenistan. Most of the Qarakhanid coins are found on the territory of Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Northern Tajikistan. On the territory of entire Central Asia found the coins of Khwarezmshah, Mohammad ibn Tekesh.

Two main features characterized money circulation of this period.⁷⁸ First, is the increased importance of gold and gold coins in comparison with the preceding period. It is true that they are accepted as earlier by weight. However, their role, as means of circulation, grew immeasurably. They issued in many cities of Central Asia. They actively invade the market, which was not the case earlier. The second peculiarity of the Central Asian mint of the given period is conditioned by the phenomenon, which got the name of silver coin crisis. From the XI century, in the states of the East, the standard content of silver coins starts decreasing. In some cases, their weight reduced. Damaged *dirhams* already not exported to Eastern Europe (unlike the preceding period). The territory of their circulation decreases: not being the coins of full value, they are circulated only inside the borders of the states that issued them.

The dynamics of damage to silver coins was different in various states. In the Ghaznavid state, this process was slower: Mahmud and Mas'ud Ghaznavid plundered so much wealth in India that they could to some extent delay the damage to coins; in the coins, there was still 70-76% of pure silver and such high standard dirhams, which contained 95% of silver, which did not completely vanish from circulation. At just the same time, in the Qarakhanid dirhams, which were minted in the South of Central Asia, there was about only 20% of silver. In Fergana, which in the middle of XI century was in the sphere of influence of the Eastern Qarakhanids, dirhams completely minted without silver: they were made from the alloy of copper and lead and did not have circulation by piece. True, later Ibrahim Tamgach-khan, the head of the Southern Qarakhanid state, after conquering Fergana, issued coins, which contained on an average 20% silver. But this improvement appears to be temporary. In the XII century, the Qarakhanids issued copper dirhams, which had only a thin coat of silver. Besides this, in Central Asia copper dirhams "gitrifi" continued to be in circulation—a heritage of the preceding period. All these different kinds of coins served the purpose of silver circulation. Their purchasing power, their face value, was much higher than their real cost. They, as if, substituted in trade the real silver coins.

Some scholars think that the reason for silver coin crisis was the pumping out of silver into Europe during the preceding period and scarcity of silver metal. This was a significant factor but by itself could not have led to damage to coins. In the earlier period, under the same condition of silver reserves, the high standard coins continued to be minted and simply their rate of exchange changed in relation to gold. In this case it was the rapid development of the cities, of commodity production and money trade that demanded such a large quantity of coins—the means of circulation which could not be given to the market on the basis of minting of high standard coins. The growing demand of the market from

⁷⁸ Davidovich E.A., 1968, pp. 92-117.

one side activated the gold, from the other side; it pushed the issue of lower standard coins in large quantity.

The above-mentioned characteristics of money circulation in the XI-XII and beginning of the XIII centuries itself speaks about highly developed money-commodity relations of that period. If to keep in mind, that in money-commodity relations were drawn the most far-flung including the mountainous regions of Central Asia, it becomes clear that this period occupied a special place in the history of the development of money commodity relations in medieval Central Asia.

3. CULTURE IN THE XI-XIII CENTURIES

CONSTRUCTION, ARCHITECTURE AND APPLIED CRAFTS

From the XI-XII and beginning of the XIII century until our days numerous monuments of architecture have preserved and this is not accidental. If we take into account the number of preserved monuments with the information about building of palaces, mosques, baths, etc., it becomes clear that this period under study was period of intensive constructions. It is the manifestation and evidence of the growth and development of cities, commodity production, and trade, development of productive forces and general growth of economy. This period, however, is distinguished not only by the number of erected constructions but also by further development of architectural ideas, by new constructive planning decisions and by development in the field of decorative works of the monuments.

In the monumental constructions of this period, the baked bricks occupied a larger place than before. However, old construction materials—*pakhsa*—raw bricks were used quite well, especially in the construction of fortresses, castles and palaces. Widely used was a combination of raw and baked bricks, for example, the walls from raw bricks and domes from baked bricks or the walls made from raw bricks lined with baked bricks from outside.

An interesting sample of fortress constructions is the castle—fortress Qalai Bolo in the Isfara region of Tajikistan.⁷⁹ Built in VI-VIII centuries, later destroyed and desolate for some time in the X century. In the XI-XII centuries, it considerably strengthened and rebuilt. During reconstruction in the XI-XII centuries, *pakhsa* and raw bricks were used but baked bricks in the alabaster solution did the lining. The system of defense created in the VI-VIII centuries was now strengthened by the construction of two rectangular towers in more significant places of the Eastern part of the fortress. Elbow-shaped corridor, ascending to the square, and inside the walls, elevation to the parapet of the Eastern fortress wall, inherited from the preceding period. However, the residential complex on platform completely rebuilt. In the XI-XII centuries, it was a banquet room, small yard and two rows of adjacent rectangular rooms leading to the common corridor. The rooms covered with domes made of raw

⁷⁹Davidovich E.A., 1958, pp. 83-90, 100-103 and illustration on p. 94.

bricks. This is a creative development of the planning scheme of the preceding period: the corridor played the role of lighting device; it solved the problem of providing light to residences and household rooms, because every room could get light through the doorway or from the window above it. It may note that in the fortress the windowpane glass of this period was also found. Other household devices were also envisaged: on the platform, deep pits of cylindrical form for dumping garbage and sewage water were dug out; the top of the pits was reinforced by baked bricks and covered by wooden lids plastered with mud.

Palace construction attained a high level in this period. An idea about this can formed from the palaces of Khuttalan ruler in Hulbuk (Southern Tajikistan), Termez ruler in Termez and the palaces of Ghaznavid Amirs in the suburbs of Ghazna in Lashkari bazar.

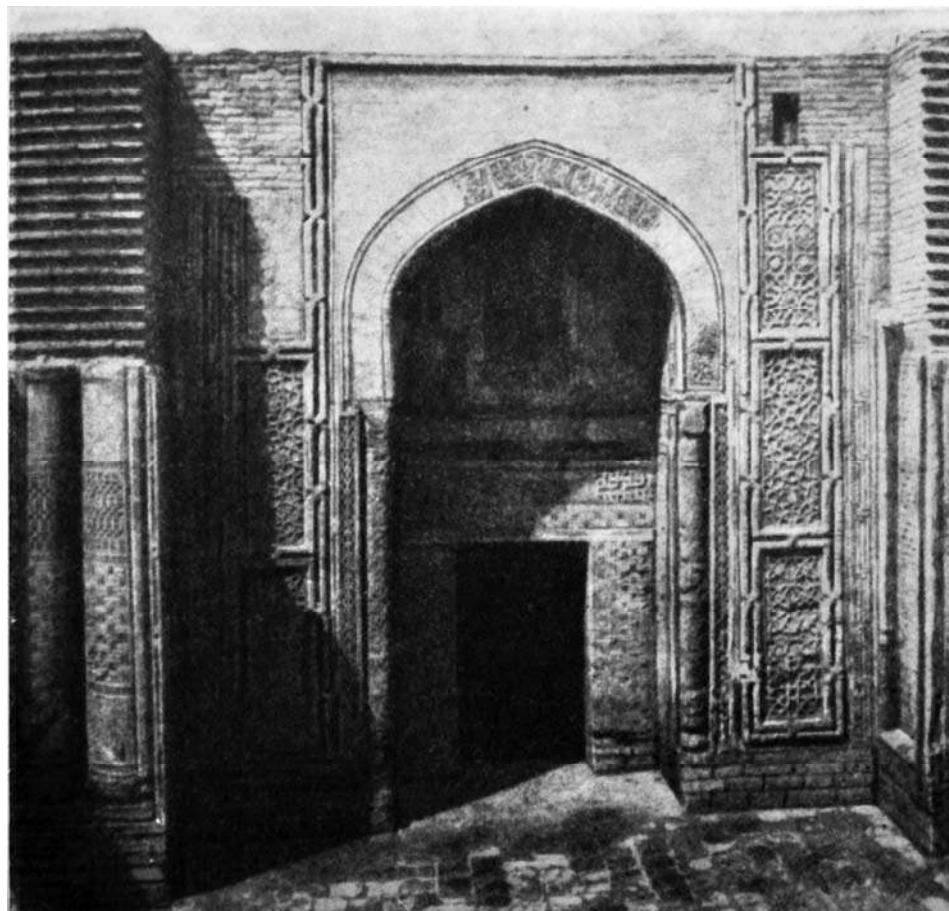
The palace in Hulbuk⁸⁰ is situated inside the citadel of the city, which defined its many peculiarities. It is elevated on a high artificial platform and is a complicated complex of the banquet rooms, household and residential rooms. It is built mainly from pakhsha and raw bricks. Baked bricks were used independently as well as for lining raw walls and domes. Among the household facilities may be noted the garbage pits (as in Qalai Bolo), in the shape of a deep cylindrical pipe fitted from above with fortified cupola made from baked bricks; the heating system in the shape of drains lined with bricks under the floors of the rooms. The palace richly decorated. Particularly magnificent is the carved stucco, which demonstrates an unusual variety of geometrical and floral design sand inscriptions. On some fragments, color has preserved, the deeper parts of the pictures are colored by blue and red, which intensifies the light and shade effect. Big skill and imagination was displayed by the masters in laying the floors in "parquet" designs with baked bricks. The palace last long and was repaired, reconstructed and completed several times. In the XI century, its Southern higher part presented the complex with two wide domed corridors intersecting each other and divided in four parts. The northern group of rooms situated somewhat lower. It intersected by a corridor-like ascent leading to one of the domed corridors of the southern part.

The defense system of Hulbuk citadel has not excavated. However, the Qalai Bolo and the palace in Hulbuk were simultaneously, both palaces and fortresses, defined their sizes and shapes.

Among the above-mentioned palaces, three others are of a completely different type. They are freely spread over a large area and had defensive functions. The suburban palace near Ghazna⁸¹ is splendid. It was the residence of Ghaznavid Mas'ud III (1099-1115) the construction of which as one of the inscriptions indicates, was completed in 1112. It is a large trapeze in form territory surrounded by a wall. The center of the palace itself is a large rectangular yard of 50,6 meters in length and 31,9 meters in width.

⁸⁰Davidovich E.A., Litvinsky B.A., 1954; Gulyamova E. 1961, 1962, 1964, 1968.

⁸¹Scerrato U., 1959; Bombaci A., 1966.

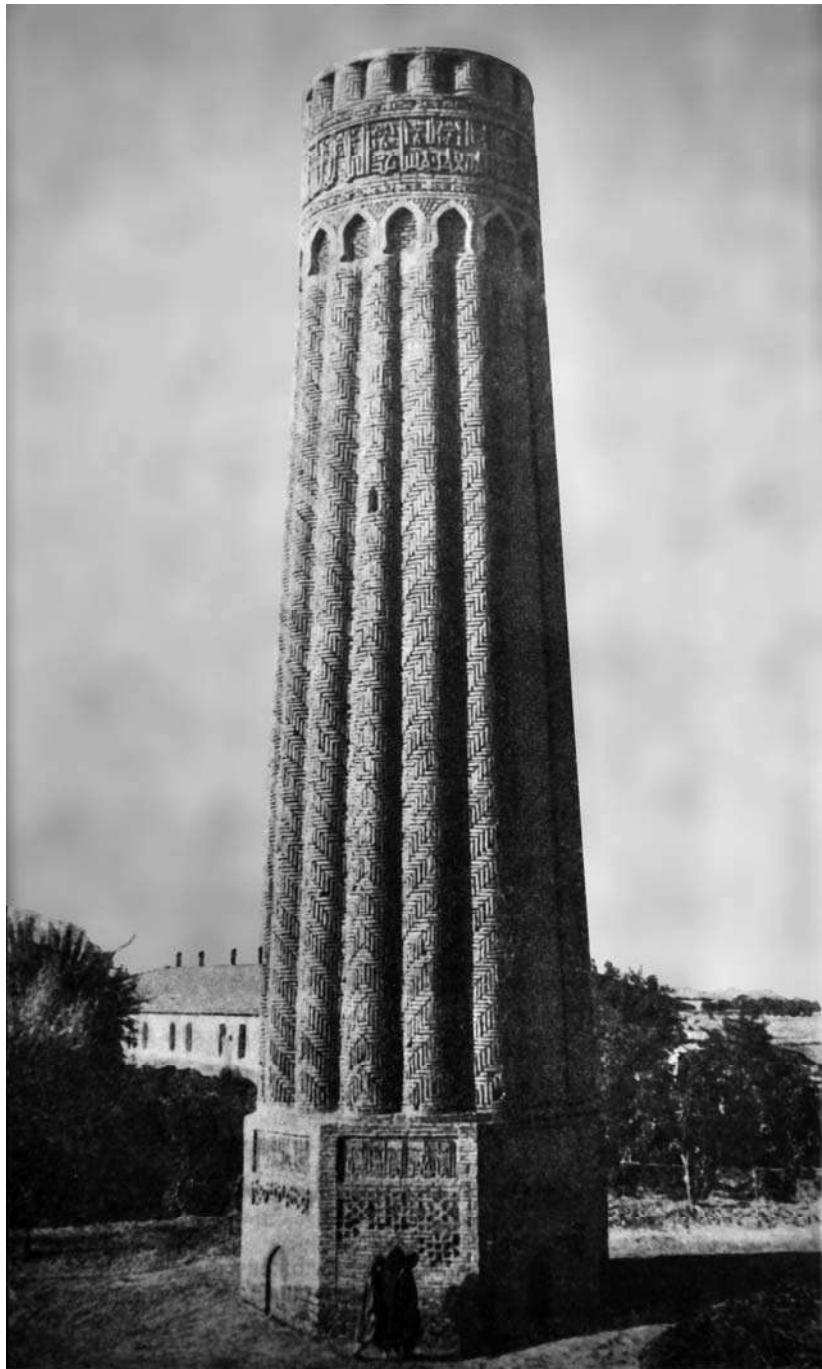


**The southern portal of the mosque Magoki Attari.
Second half of XII c. Bukhara**

The central part of this yard, the area of which is 40,4x 23,5 square meters, is laid with marble and surrounded by a wide pathway, which is also laid with marble tiles. In the center of the four sides of the courtyard, there are four aiwans: one of them is much deeper—it is the entry lobby, the opposite one leads to the throne hall. On the sides of the aiwans there are 32 entrance niches leading to other rooms of different sizes and meant for different purposes. The decorative design of the niches on the side of the palace is marvelous. In the lower part, they lined with marble panels covered with floral and geometrical carved ornaments and with a line of the kufi inscription. The writing of this inscription is extremely exquisite and in contents, it is the verses in the honor of the Ghaznavid rulers written in Tajik-Farsi language.



Minaret of Kalan 1127 A.D. Bukhara



Minaret of Jarkurgan 1108/09 A.D.

This is one of the oldest epigraphic monuments in Farsi. The walls above the panels and the domes of the entrances decorated with carved terracotta and carved stucco, colored in yellow, red and blue shades. Another suburban palace was excavated at the settlement of the old Termez.⁸² Here in the center of rectangular yard is a pond, opposite the entrance is the arc of the aiwan through which the people entered the hall of audience—a big rectangular room divided in three parts by two rows of massive rectangular columns to support it. These walls and supports were lined with figured and carved baked bricks in such a way that effective reliefs design was obtained. In the XII century, this entire brick décor covered by carved alabaster. The design is divided in wide stripes and rectangular panel. Here are geometrical and floral pictures, depictions of fantastic animals and inscriptions.

Not dwelling upon the planning of complicated complex in Lashkari bazar⁸³ let us pay attention to the richness and versatility of its decorative design among the methods of which paintings should mention specially. On the walls of the hall of audience of the Southern palace around 50 figures of armed warriors—the guards of the Ghaznavid king—were preserved. The paintings were preserved in the other hall as well which was meant for feasts: here are richly clad courtiers and on one column, there is the bent face of a youngman. The picture is plain. According to known written sources, this kind of painting became widespread. One of the marvelous monuments of architecture is Rabati Malik (the XI century). From inside, the yard is surrounded by rows of similar narrow rooms. The outer walls made from raw bricks and only the lining is of baked bricks; the entrance portal and the tops of the corner towers are of baked bricks. Slightly slanted in imitation of the fortress—the walls of the main facade carry embossed decorations, resembling from outside massive closed semi-columns. In decoration of the portal are used the relief brick designs, carved stucco and terracotta and even more ancient inscription than in the Ghazna palace in the Farsi language. In Rabati Malik the tradition and new traits are harmoniously blended, the embossings and the main portal do not look like a combination of two different elements.



Central Asian ceramics XI century.

⁸²Zhukov V.D., 1945; Pugachenkova G.A., Rempel L.S., 1965, pp. 190-192 (on pp. 406-407 is given the list of literature).

⁸³Arunova M.P., 1959, pp. 91-93; Pugachenkova G.A., 1963, pp. 114-121.



Carving on ganch in the XII
century. Palace of rulers of
Termez



Bronze jug
XI – XII centuries

Many more monuments, mosques, minarets and particularly mausoleums have survived till our times. The mosque Diggaron in the settlement of Hazra (not far away from Bukhara) is a cube with a central dome standing on four round pillars with side passages covered by special domes. The mosque in Termez initially had the looks of an open three-domed aiwan, and then the number of pillars and domes resting on them were added and open mosque changed into a closed one. The mosque Magoki Attari in Bukhara (XII century) has 6 pillar-supports, 12 domes and portal entrances. In the mosque Lashkari bazar the dome rests on four pillars and the side passages are covered with the rows of small domes.

Very different in form and proportion are the minarets of this period: massive and monumental as the round minaret in Bukhara, the minaret in Vabkand near Bukhara is completely different-well-proportioned and elongated. The surface of Jarkurgan minaret (Surkhan-Darya region of Uzbekistan) is decorated with embossings. Minaret of Mas'ud III near Gazni has the form of a star. The minarets in Jam have octahedral foundation and three circulars in plan narrowing upward links.



Central Asian bronze mortar XI – XII centuries

In this period, mausoleums of secular as well as religious persons constructed, either completely from baked bricks or from a combination of baked and raw bricks. These mausoleums are with domes, more frequently with portals and sometimes without them. But they do not repeat each other, each one is unique. In each, one the same idea has found its realization. The mausoleums of Sultan Sanjar in Merv and of Abusaid in Meikhene (Turkmenistan), Qarakhanid mausoleums in Uzgend (Kyrgyzstan), mausoleums in the settlement of Sayad near Shahritus and Khoja-Nakhshran near Regar, the architectural construction in Chorkuh (Tajikistan) and several others are bright and glorious pages added by the architects of the XI-XII centuries in the history of Central Asian architecture.

A high development and perfection was attained, in this period, applied arts. Splendid are the samples of carvings on alabaster, wood and marble and carved terracotta. The masters are inexhaustible in creation of floral and geometrical designs and fantastic living creatures. Particularly beautiful are the inscriptions, which written, in exquisite *kufi* or *naskh*. A big decorative effect was

sometimes achieved by very simple means: the designed bricklaying by the use in the decor of trimmed polished, designed and glazed small bricks. Many methods of decorative finishing of monumental structures repeat and develop traditions of the preceding period, but the masters also introduce something new. A combination of both of them creates an immutable unique beauty of decorative designing in architecture in the XI-XII and the beginning of the XIII century.

LITERATURE AND SCIENCES IN THE XI-XII AND BEGINNING OF THE XIII CENTURIES

The political changes, which were taking place at the end of the X century, that is, the collapse of the Samanid state, conquest of Maverannahr by the Qarakhanids and transfer of Khorasan to the Ghaznavids could not but leave their imprint on the sciences and the literature of the Tajiks. The growth of science and culture of peoples of Central Asia, which had just started, the development of the Dari language and Persian-Tajik literature hampered, to some extent, by wars and internecine conflicts.

The emergence of the empire of Mahmud Ghaznavid and the unification of the entire territory of Khorasan, Chaganyan, Khuttalan, Tokharistan, the main part of present Iran and Northern India around one center, created some conditions for further development of science and literature.

In this period the relations developed between Baghdad from one side and Central Asia, particularly Khorasan and Tokharistan, from the other. The ideological influence of Baghdad on the territory of the Ghaznavid state in Maverannahr and Khorasan grew immensely.

Under the Ghaznavids, the Arab language spread widely. The Diwan who managed the state correspondence in the beginning conducted all deals in the Dari language, but later he switched over to the Arabic language completely. In the administration of the Diwan, people fluent in Arabic language had given work. Starting with the Ghaznavid period, Arabic words and phrases began entering the Tajik language more and more.

The Tajik literature was concentrated in the Ghaznavid state predominantly in the court. Literary sources indicate that in the court Sultan Mahmud gathered dozens of poets. Mahmud patronized literature for the sake of imparting grandeur to the court and for his own glorification that is why the genre of panegyric ode (*qasids*) got such a wide development.

One of the most well-known poets-ode writers who was given the title of "king of poets" in the court of Sultan Mahmud was a native of Balkh—***Abulqasim Hasan ibn Ahmad Onsuri*** (born in the – 60s of the X century, died in 1039). After receiving education, he, through the brother of Sultan Mahmud, Amir Nasr, got into the court of the Ghaznavid Sultans. Onsuri took part in most of the campaigns of Mahmud and greater part of his qasids was dedicated to glorification of the victories of the Sultan. Contemporaries speak about Onsuri as a great master of words. To his pen belong (available only in excerpts) love poems (masnavi), particularly "***Vamik and Ozra***" based on the ancient Greek plot. Onsuri inculcated in the Tajik-Persian literature the new style of panegyric

(qasids) with complicated rhetorical figures and gave rationalistic approach to the figurative style.

Outstanding court poets were *Abulhasan Ali Farrukhi* (died 1038) and *Abunnajm Ahmad Manuchehri* (died 1041). Overall, for the poetry of Ghaznavid circles panegyric and hedonistic topics are characteristic. The poets of this period continue to develop genres, which existed during the Samanids. The Ghaznavid poets enriched the arsenal of means of portrayal in Persian-Tajik literature, worked out new stylistic methods and poetic figures. The growth of science, which started in X century in conditions of state independence, continued in the XI century as well. The outstanding scholar and scientist of this period was Abuali ibn Sina who has already mentioned above.

The other great scientist of this period was Khwarezmian *Aburaihan Mohammad ibn Ahmad Biruni* (973-1051). Biruni was born in the suburb of Khwarezm. According to the legend he devoted all the days, except annual festivals of Navruz (the spring festival of New Year on 21 March) and Mehrgan (the festival of harvest on 21 September), to his scientific work.

Biruni had great interest in travelling, which he undertook with a scientific purpose. One of the places where he lived for a comparatively long period was the region of Jurjan (Gurgan) which was situated on the territory near the Caspian Sea. During his stay there, the ruler of Jurjan was Qabus ibn Vushmagir (976-1012). Qabus considered an educated person, an expert on literature and patron of science. He himself wrote several books. In 1000-1003, Biruni completed his work under the title "*Al-asar al-baqiya an al-qurun al-khaliya*" ("Monuments of the past generations", abbreviated "Chronology"). In it, he described the calendars and system of chronology and the festivals of the Sogdians, ancient Khwarezmians, Persians, Greeks, Jews, Christians and Muslims. This work is the most significant source on the history of the peoples of Central Asia and the entire East. In the autumn of 1003 or the spring of 1004, Biruni returned to Khwarezm. Here he met many great scholars who had fled from Bukhara and other cities of Maverannahr and Khorasan and collected in Khwarezm after the political changes at the end of the X century. Sources note that Khwarezmshah Mamun II patronized the scientists including Biruni. However, in 1017 Mahmud Ghaznavid, after the seizure of Khwarezm, took Biruni with him to Ghazna. Thus, the subsequent scientific work of Biruni was done in Ghazna.

Biruni took part in the campaigns of Sultan Mahmud and being in India, he studied Sanskrit there and also the customs and traditions of the people of the country. On return from India, he wrote a book "*Tahrir ma li-l-Hind min maqala maqbula fi-l-aql av marzula*" ("Explanation of the teaching of the Hindus in accord with reason or rejected by it"), which is one of the important sources on the history of India.

Biruni left behind several works on astronomy, geometry and astrology. One of them written in Ghazna in 1030 for Khwarezmian woman, the daughter of al-Hasan about whom nothing is known. The second work, "*Al-Qanun al-Mas'udi fi-l-hay'a va-n-nujum*" ("Mas'ud's Laws on astronomy and stars"), was written between 1030 and 1036 and dedicated to Sultan Mas'ud. This work of Biruni is an authentic astronomical encyclopedia of the East in medieval times.

Biruni authored a large number of scientific works but many of them have not reached us. A medieval Arab scholar-traveler Yaqut wrote that in one of the mosques of Merv among other documents he came across a list of the work of Biruni running into 60 pages. During the last, few years, in some libraries of the world, found hitherto unknown works of Biruni.

Biruni made some discoveries, which overtook the level of the knowledge of his times to such an extent that sometimes they come close to some of the data of the present day science. Such, for example; are the theories of Biruni on the history of the landscape of North Indian depression and on the history of the change of the flow of the Amu-Darya.⁸⁴

Biruni was completely alien to the feelings of religious fanaticism and hostile attitude towards the culture of non-Muslim people. Thus, all his works on India are imbued with a spirit of the highest respect for the great Indian culture. That is why Biruni and his works are very popular in India and Pakistan.

During the first half of the XI century, historiography was quite developed. *Abunasr Otbi* (one of the courtiers of Mahmud Ghaznavid) composed in the Arabic language "*Ta'rikhi Yamini*"⁸⁵ dedicated to the Sultan in which he gave a lot of important information about the rule of Sebuktegin and Mahmud.

One of the greatest historians of the Ghaznavid period is *Abusaid Gardizi*.⁸⁶ In the period, between 1048-1052, Gardizi wrote a book in Tajik language with the title "*Zein al-akhbar*" ("The beauty of information").

An outstanding historian of Ghaznavid period is *Abulfazl Beihaki* (around 996-1077). Abulfazl worked as a secretary of the Department of Communications under the Ghaznavids for 19 years and was an eyewitness to almost all significant events of that period. He has left behind a historical chronicle in Tajik language consisting of 30 volumes.⁸⁷ However from this significant work of history only a few volumes have survived in incomplete form, narrating about the rule of Sultan Mas'ud and about the events of his epoch known under the name "*Ta'rikhi Mas'udi*" or else "*Ta'rikhi Beihaki*".⁸⁸

In the state of the Qarakhanids science and literature was in a state of decline in this period.

As Mohammad Aufi writes in his anthology of XIII century, from among the Qarakhanid khans perhaps, only one Qlych Tamgach-Khan gave some importance to the development of science and literature. However, some books can be mentioned which appeared in the XI century in Maverannahr, for example, "*Ta'rikhi mulki Turkistan*" ("The History of Turkestan") by *Majdaddin Mohammad ibn Adnan* and others from which only separate excerpts have reached us.

⁸⁴See: *Biruni*, 1950, 1957, 1963.

⁸⁵"*Ta'rikhi Yamini*" — "The History dedicated to Yamin" — from the word "yamin" — "right hand" because one of the titles of Mahmud was "Yamin-ad-daula" — "The right hand of the Empire".

⁸⁶*Gardiz* — the name of the locality situated at a distance of one passage from Ghazna on the road towards India.

⁸⁷It mentioned in sources under different names.

⁸⁸Russian translation *Abulfazl Beihaki*, 1962.

The Tajik literature in Maverannahr in this period also knows some of the talented poets, such as *Am'aq Bukharai* (died 1149), *Suzani Samarkandi* (died 1173), *Rashidi Samarkandi* and others who, however, cannot be compared, in significance and creativity, with their predecessors.

Am'aq and Suzani are like two opposite poets. The creative works of Am'aq who was a court poet are elegant, he takes the forms of poems to perfection, and his poems are mentioned in the manuals on rhetoric as a sample to be followed. On the contrary, Suzani, in his poetry, is a typical representative of the city. It is true that he had to write for his livelihood panegyrics for the elite, however, he became famous more for his satire and parodies written in very simple language close to the spoken one. Democratic motifs in his works were continued by the poets of the subsequent periods.

The second half of the XII and beginning of the XIII century occupies in the history of the culture of the peoples of Central Asia, a significant place. The union of Maverannahr, Khorasan and Tokharistan around one center, which took place during the Seljukid period, resurrected cultural activities in such cities as Nishapur, Merv, Balkh and partially Herat.

To this period, relate the creative works of such great representatives of Tajik literature as Asadi Tusi, Nasiri Khusrav, Omar Khayyam, Fakhraddin Gurgani, Anwari, Mas'ud Saad Salman, Muizzi, Sabir Termezi and others.

The creative works of these poets were different in their ideological contents. In the works of these poets questions of morals and upbringing, philosophical and humanitarian motives, sometimes-bold defense of the interests of the popular masses, appeal against authoritarianism and oppression of the feudals.

Among these poets, particularly distinguished, are Nasiri Khusrav, Omar Khayyam and Fakhraddin Gurgani, in whose poems the progressive popular tendencies dominated.

Nasiri Khusrav (1004-1088) was born in the city of Qubadian on the territory of present Tajikistan.⁸⁹ In his youth he started studying different subjects, he was particularly interested in literature and religious-philosophical questions.

In young age, Nasiri Khusrav was acquainted with the life in the court of Ghaznavid Sultans Mahmud and Mas'ud and for some time he was a big official in finance-taxation department in the court of the Seljukids after which he proceeded on travel. While still young, he travelled to India and some regions of Turkestan and Afghanistan.

Nasiri Khusrav travelled with the aim of studying the way of life and faiths of various peoples. For seven years, the poet had been to Hejaz, Asia Minor, Egypt and Syria. He was acquainted with the life, customs and traditions of the local people. After meeting in Egypt the followers of Fatimid Caliphs and heads of Ismailite sect, Nasiri Khusrav became an ardent follower of Ismailism.⁹⁰ On returning to Khorasan and residing in Balkh Nasiri Khusrav started openly preaching Ismailite teachings and recruiting its followers. By this, he invited the

⁸⁹ According to another assumption, a settlement called Qubadian was situated near Balkh.

⁹⁰ There is an assumption that Nasir proceeded to Egypt as a secret Ismailite.

persecution of the Muslim clergy and Seljukid rulers. Hiding from his persecutors, he started leading a wandering life, going from one city to another.⁹¹ As Nasiri Khusrav himself writes, it was a very hard period of his life.

*Scorpion of wandering afflicted my heart,
You would say there is no one more helpless than me.
When I look at my plight, bile of sadness strikes my head.
I ask: Why this high, unjust and ignorant sky has made me the
target of the arrows of time?
If the orbit of universe rotated proportionately, my abode would
only be moon.*

*Knowledge is better than light, spirit, and wealth,
The Great Mind told this to me.
In struggle against forces of time and the sharp dagger of universe
Faith and knowledge is my army and shield.*

As a result of his wanderings Nasiri Khusrav wrote a historic-geographical treatise "*Safarnama*" ("The book of wanderings").⁹²

Besides this Nasiri Khusrav also wrote several books on Ismailism: philosophical treatises "*Zad al-musafirin*" ("The provision for the traveler"), "*Vajh-i din*" ("Face of the Faith"), "*Jami'al-hikmatain*" ("The harmony of two wisdoms", that is, Muslim and antique) and others. However, his poems "*Rushnainama*" ("The book of the light") "*Saadatnama*" ("The book of happiness") and entire poetical diwan are of great value.⁹³

In his poems, Nasiri Khusrav touches upon not only religious and philosophical questions but also expresses many progressive educative and moralizing ideas; in his poems, humanistic and atheistic motifs also found. In one of his poems, addressing God Nasiri Khusrav writes:

*If thou hast created thy semblance
Then he is not the dice in game
Why Thee mock at Thine creation?
Why Thee created the Satan as well
I have many questions for Thee
But I fear to ask these riddles
If it needs to be speechless
Then Thou should create me an animal
I would argue with Thee on the Day of Judgment
Thou can pull out my tongue
Otherwise, Thou hast to answer
So that I can comprehend my ignorance*

⁹¹ About the life of Nasiri Khusrav see: *Bertels A.E.*, 1959; see also *Nasir Khisrau*, 1954, *Nosiri Khisrau*, 1957; *Nasiri Khisrau* 1935; *Nasiri Khusrav*, *Safarnama*, *Ashurov G.*, 1965.

⁹² See: *Nasiri Khusrav*, *Safarnama*.

⁹³ There is an assumption that "*Saadatnama*" written not by Nasir but by some other author who also carried the same name and lived in Isfahan in the XIV century.

*Order to hide me deep in the Hell
 What use it is to argue with Thee all the time
 When we sincerely pray before Thee
 Thou order the Satan "Lead them astray ".
 If Thou art pure and sinless.⁹⁴
 Then why did Thou create the Satan
 In short, so much darkness is there in this case
 That I give up divinity as hopeless...
 If Thee pays back evil with evil
 How Thou art better than I am?
 Let me be bad but I am creating by Thee...
 If Thee didn't like me Thou shouldn't have, created me!⁹⁵*

Nasiri Khusrav writes warmly about the toiling people, peasants and craftsmen, sharply criticizes kings, clergy, officials, particularly silver – loving poets—panegyrists.

Until the end of his life, Nasiri Khusrav could not be free from persecutions. After some years of illegal life in Khorasan, Tabaristan and Mazandaran he went to the Pamirs in Badakhshan where in one mountainous village he spent his last days in loneliness.

Omar Khayyam (1048-1131) was born in Nishapur where he completed his education and became one of the greatest scholars of the XI century. Khayyam left behind several scholarly works in the field of astronomy, mathematics, philosophy and other sciences. During the rule of Malik-shah Seljukid, he along with other astronomers supervised the preparations for the reform of the calendar.

The outstanding poet of the East, Omar Khayyam became famous for his rubais (quatrains). The number of Khayyam's rubais is not large but their importance from both literary point of view as well as philosophical contents is great. Great finesse in combination with materialistic and atheistic tendencies makes the rubais of Khayyam one of the gems of world literature.

Here is one of his rubais, which is characteristic of him:

*If I could have power over this evil sky
 I would have destroyed it and changed by other one
 In order to remove any obstacles to noble aspirations
 So that man could live without grief.⁹⁶*

In the rubais of Omar Khayyam is depicted a proud free man who recognizes neither the authority of the earthly power nor the religious dogmas about the other world.

⁹⁴The word used in Russian translation means perfect.

⁹⁵"Anthology" p. 261.

⁹⁶*Omar Khayyam*, 1955. See: the editions of texts of Rubais: *Omar Khayyam* 1959; *Umari Khayyom*. Ruboiyot, 1963.

Among the poets of the XI century a special place in sharpness of expression of the moods of the urban circles and their critique of the feudals belongs to *Fakhraddin Gurgani* and his poem "*Vis and Ramin*" written in 1055. In this romantic poem, the plot of the ancient Pahlavian Parthian love story used. In it, there is a hidden satire, biting mockery of the morals of the kings and the court servants.⁹⁷ In conclusion, the poem depicts a picture of social utopia as it was conceived by the city dwellers of that period.⁹⁸

Abunaser Asadi Tusi (died about 1070) composed "*Garshaspanama*" ("The book of Garshasp") on the lines of "Shahnama" of Firdausi. The legend about Garshasp is one of the oldest dastans of Eastern Iranian people.

Asadi Tusi, for the first time, introduced in Tajik literature the form *munazara* — the poetical dispute. By him were written five of such works in which narrate a dispute between the earth and the sky, day and night, spear and arrow, Zoroastrian magician and a Muslim, Arab and Persian. Besides this, he compiled a dictionary in which the sample of the works of almost eighty poets of that period is given. The historical significance of this dictionary is great: in it, one can find the excerpt from many works of poets of that epoch and of much earlier periods, for example, from "*Kalila and Dimna*" which was written in verse form by poet Rudaki and which is not available to us.

Mas'ud Saad Salman (1046 about 1121) was a court poet of the last Ghaznavid ruler. Greater part of his life spent in Northern India in Lahore, thus being one of the first representatives of medieval Tajik-Persian poetry in India, where subsequently the poetry of Persian language had spread widely. On calumnies of the foes, the poet was several times thrown into the dungeon and spent all more than 18 years in prison.

In his works Mas'ud Saad Salman tried to resurrect the traditions of glorifying the might of the Ghaznavids and even incorporated in his poems the citations from Onsuri—the "king of poets" of Sultan Mahmud. However, his eulogies are written in simple, clear poetical verses. He skillfully introduces in them the wise dictums, advices, philosophical broodings and splendid descriptions of the battle.

Being in prison, the poet creates deeply touching "prison elegies" in which he describes his unbearable plight and complains of injustice. The fate of this talented poet is deeply tragic. His life as well as his creative works entangled in the chains of feudal oppression.

Amir Mohammad Muizzi (died around 1140) was a native of Nishapur. Most part of his works is odes-panegyrics (qasids) in honor of the Seljukids Malik-shah and Sanjar in whose courts he worked. Under Sanjar, Muizzi received the title of "*malik ash-shuara*" ("the king of poets") and became the head of the court poets.

Adib Sabir Termezi was a lyricist poet. He was compelled to serve Sultan Sanjar Seljukid executing his different orders. The latter entrusted him with some work in Khwarezm. Here on the order of Khwarezmshah, Termezi was captured and was accused of espionage for the Seljukids. Around 1148 he drowned in the

⁹⁷Bertels E.E, I960, pp. 284-285.

⁹⁸*Fakhraddin Gurgani.*, 1963 (Preface).

Amu-Darya. The poems of Termezi form the whole divan of qasids and lyrical poems (ghazals).

Auhadaddin Anwari (1126-1190) was born in the village of Badna in the North of Khorasan. Like many other poets of his period Anwari in his youth studied all sciences of his time. He invited to the court of Seljukid Sultan Sanjar and wrote many qasids dedicated to this ruler. It commonly recognized that in the works of Anwari, qasids reached their zenith. Written with extraordinary poetic skill they contain beautiful lyrical love verses, philosophical broodings, excellent descriptions and the glorification of Sanjar. One of his well - known qasids describing the destruction of Khorasan by the Guzs is full of high patriotic feelings. The ghazals of Anwari are close to popular lyrics.

In the old age, having fully understood the hollowness and immorality of court poetry, Anwari isolated himself from the court. In his poems of this period, there is biting mockery of the poets who sold their talent to the powerful of this world.

*Try to understand what I am telling about court poets
Don't consider this group of boot-lickers as humans.
Beware that scavenger is needed in any state
The Lord will punish you if you forget it
If garbage piles up around your dwelling
Will you my brother remove it without scavenger?
And poet-slave is not needed by any one
The household of universe will not take his help.
If you have to seek job for livelihood
Give up poetry and carry garbage.⁹⁹*

Along with outstanding poetic works we come across in the Tajik-Persian classic literature of this period also the classic example of prose works. Such, for example are the political treatise of the Vazir of Seljukid Nizam ul-Mulk "*Siyasatnama*" ("The book on governance of state"), work on literary criticism by Nizami Aruzi Samarkandi "*Chahar maqala*" ("Four conversations"), manual of poetry by Rashidaddin Vatvat "*Hadaiq as-sihr*" ("The gardens of magic"), "*Sindbadnama*" by Zahiri Samarkandi and "*Maqamat Hamidi*" ("The maqams of Hamid"), by Hamidaddin from Balkh.

"*Siyasatnama*" is a highly valuable historical source containing criticism of the system of governance from position of the supporter of centralized feudal state under the Seljukids. After the death of Nizam ul-Mulk "*Siyasatnama*" edited and in the text, some additions made. However, even in the form in which we have received it, it represents a valuable monument of the prose of the XI century. The language of the book is simple and comprehensible.

"*Chahar maqala*" of *Nizami Aruzi* is the most important source for understanding literary and cultural life contemporaneous to the author and preceding his times. The conversations, which constitute this work, are dedicated to the professions of the court secretary, poet, astrologer and doctor. Each

⁹⁹"Anthology", p. 304.

conversation gives the characteristics of one of these professions, which is illustrated by ten educative stories about the outstanding persons of corresponding profession. The book gives more information about conditions of life of the cultural figures of this period than any other source. Particularly valuable, is the "conversation" dedicated to poets, which describe their hard conditions in the feudal state.

"*Hadaiq as-sihr*" by *Rashidaddin Vatvat* represents by itself a detailed analysis of the forms of the poems of the period, particularly of poetical figures and characters. It contains interesting aesthetic evaluations and judgments.

"*Sindbadnama*"¹⁰⁰ by *Zahiri Samarkandi* is written on the topics of didactical novel about treachery of women, which were popular in the East. The fascinating plot of the narration served the author as an opportunity to introduce many parables describing in a captivating form the situation of the "science of governance" in the country. Many parables, in a disguised form contain the criticism of the rulers and quite a biting irony aimed at them.

The book "*Maqamati Hamidi*" written in a rhythmic prose and contains twenty-four engaging maqoms representing themselves as an original combination of novel, parable, riddle and sayings on didactical topics.

The science of the period is also represented by many new names. *Imam Fakhraddin Mohammad ibn Omar Razi* (1150-1219) lived in Rey and Herat where he was engaged in a teaching job and preaching. He wrote many scientific works on medicine, astronomy and mathematics.

Abulqasim Mahmud Zamakhshari Khwarezmi (1074-1143) was one of the outstanding researchers of vocabulary and Arabic grammar. He compiled the Arabic-Persian dictionary.

Abubakr Abdalqahir ibn Abdarrahman Juzjani (died 1108) was a specialist in the field of grammar.

Zainaddin Ismail Jurjani (died between 1135-1137) came on the invitation of Khwarezmshah Qutbaddin Mohammad ibn Anushtegin to Khwarezm in 1110. He wrote in the Tajik language his work "*Zakhirai Khwarazmshahi*" ("The treasury of Khwarezmshah"). This work based on the "Cannons" of Ibn Sina consists of ten books discussing the sphere of use of medicine, the anatomy, reasons and symptoms of illnesses, hygiene, diagnostics and prognosis of the course of illness, methods of treatment, poisons and anti-venoms and pharmacology.

"Zakhirai Khwarazmshahi" translated in ancient Jewish, Turkish and Urdu languages.

THE SPREAD OF SUFISM AND ITS INFLUENCE ON TAJIK-PERSIAN LITERATURE

One of the most significant peculiarities of this period is the penetration of sufi ideas in literature. The word "*sufism*" in scientific literature in European languages and its equivalent "*tasavvuf*" in the literature in Arabic, Tajik and

¹⁰⁰*Zahiri Samarkandi*, 1960.

Farsi languages, combines on the basis of the existence of special form of mysticism a lot of extremely varied in class, nature, teachings and ideological theories which had and still have circulation on the vast territory of expansion of Islam.

Sufism grew on the stilts of Islam. It widely used Koran, Hadis and its other elements. However, many forms of sufism, particularly in the early stages of its development, because of the completely special interpretation in it of the elements of Islam, became the expression of opposition to the orthodox dogma. That is why, the feudal rulers and orthodox clergy persecuted many sufis (in 922 Husain ibn Mansur Hallaj was brutally executed, in 1191 Shihabaddin Suhrawardy was murdered in the prison).

Sufism came into existence in the VIII-IX centuries in Iraq. Initially it took the form of opposition by mysticism directed against luxury and hypocrisy of the aristocracy. In sufi preaching of denial of all the earthly joys, and the preaching of asceticism, found expression of the growing protest of the craftsmen and lower strata of cities and villages against the oppression by feudals and the unjust distribution of wealth.¹⁰¹ The first sufis taught that private property, wealth, luxury, pampering is root of all evil. They wore rough simple clothes made from sheep wool "khirkha", "suf" from where it supposed, the word "sufi" – "sufiy" came, and lived the life of a hermit.

In the XI century, sufism became widespread in Khorasan and Maverannahr. Sheikh Abusaid (died 1049) had built in Nishapur an abode of a dervish and conducted there the preachings and dispute with the theologians, and Sheikh Abulqasim Kusheiri (died 1073) created a theoretical work of sufism.

Under the influence of the clergy and feudals, there appeared a new form of sufism. Some of the sufis started appealing to people to be obedient to the rulers, to follow the Sheriat and piety. A more significant role in the fusion of sufism with orthodox Islam and in creation of special form of sufism that corresponded with the interests of the feudals was played by a great theologian and philosopher Mohammad Ghazali (1058-1111).

The essence of Pantheistic mystic teaching of sufism consisted in the fact that all varieties of the dead and live nature were finally the emanation of God ("*al-haqq*"—the truth) impregnated with His spirit. Everything in earthly material world looked as the reflection of the other spiritual world. Man, who is the last creation of God—the Absolute, has to strive for fusion with "truth". For this man should reject all the earthly things and suppress in himself all the desires and wishes except one—the wish for fusion with God. In order to pursue this path (*tariqat*) of fusion it is necessary to find a teacher to become an obedient tool of his and blindly fulfill his instruction and order. As it is indicated in sufi literature, the pupil should be like a corpse in the hands of bath giver to the corpse.

The sufi sheikhs and elder mentors gradually gained great authority and political power. In their hands were hundreds of obedient pupils—*murids*. The 'ruling classes quickly understood the advantage of attracting sheikhs to their side and many sheikhs became the retinue of the rulers. However, some of the sheikhs were still closely associated with craftsmen who created organizations on

¹⁰¹K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Vol. 7, p. 378.

the model of the sufis (futuvva). On the basis of these associations created by the Sufis there appeared a unique order of the knights engaged in jihad—wars against "infidels" (in Georgia, North Caucasus and India). After the XI century, many of the sufi sheikhs associated with the rulers themselves openly became big landowners. For example, Khoja Ahrar who lived in the XV century and buried in Samarkand possessed colossal riches and vast landed estates.

Other sheikhs on the contrary, with their organized military force, were on the side of the popular masses struggling against the feudals. They insisted on equality of property and even sometimes partially achieved it; as for example Sheikh Hasan Juri in the XIV century during the uprising of sarbedars. Thus in sufism during the whole medieval period there were at least two trends—feudal and popular. The latter was associated with the cities' circles of craftsmen who were expressing protest and serving the goal of self-defense of the masses against feudals. Along with asceticism, rejection of all earthly comforts; which was obligatory for many orders, passive contemplative direction that was necessary during initial apprenticeship under the elder mentor in all the orders, the sufis preached love for human beings and they did not stop before armed struggle for their goals. It would be wrong to think that all the sufis, who struggled with arms in hand against the feudals and foreign oppressors, had lost their links with the "authentic" ascetic sufism.

In the field of ideology, the protest of sufis, notwithstanding its many valuable features, was a limited one because of the religious mystic form of sufism which distortedly and unrealistically reflected the real social relations. Notwithstanding this fact, during many periods of history some trends of sufism which did not lose their live links with craftsmen and urban lower classes, appear to be more progressive for the given period of history albeit with historically limited social trends. This explains the close links with sufism of many outstanding poets and thinkers of the past (Baba Kuhi, Ansari Herati, Sanai, Attar, Nizami Ganjavi, Jalaladdin Rumi, Amir Khusrav Dehlawi and Jami). Some of them were associated with feudal sufism (Ansari), however, they were also influenced by the common sufi literary traditions: addressing the masses in simple, close to popular language, introducing in poems widely known popular parables, fables and sayings, following the popular ideals of nobleness and humanity. All these features enrich the poetry of the sufis.

It would be wrong to think that the outstanding poets of the medieval period used the sufi phraseology (it can be found even in the works of Ibn Sina) only because of the fear before fanatics and with the aim of hiding their free thinking. V.I. Lenin, mentioning the ancient philosophers, stood for "the strict historicity in the history of philosophy in order not to attribute to the ancients such "development" of their ideas which we understand but which were absent among the ancients."¹⁰² A complete separation of the thinkers of the past from the social movements of their time needs to consider non-historical. Not forgetting about historical limitation of each medieval thinker enmeshed in the net of the

¹⁰²V.I. Lenin, PSS, Vol. 29, p. 222.

then dominating religious ideas, it is necessary to differentiate in his creative work everything which was progressive for that epoch.

The spread of the ideology of sufism, in the social life of Central Asia, was so great that the reactionary feudal sufism gradually became, particularly in the late medieval times, the second leading trend of Muslim religion along with the orthodoxy.

From the above statement, it is clear that from the very beginning the teaching of sufism, concealed in itself the moments which hampered the development of secular science and rationalistic philosophy. Later during the period of the Timurids and the Bukharan Khanate, feudal sufism was at the helm of the struggle against any free thinking. At the same time, it cannot be ignored that in the sufi poetry of the different periods oppositional humanistic ideas were manifested. Idolization of the perfect man in sufi poetry, very often in mystic form, expressed a high understanding of human dignity. In the period under study there appeared such great theoreticians of sufism as philosopher Mohammad Ghazali and his brother Ahmad Ghazali, who propounded a special sufi theory of mystic love, and also the outstanding poets of sufi trend—Abdallah Ansari Herati (1005-1089), Abulmajd Sanai (1050-1131) and Faridaddin Attar (1119-1190).

Abuhamid Mohammad Ghazali (1058-1111) was born in Tus and while still in his youth were acquainted with the sufi teachings. However, he did not become a sufi at this time. He shifted to Jurjan and Nishapur where he studied theology and soon became an authority among the clergy in this field. The Vazir of the Seljukids Nizam ul-Mulk, who had heard about him, invited him in 1091 as a teacher in the madrasa "Nizamiya" in Baghdad. Here Ghazali entrusted with the task of conducting a discussion with the Ismailites who were the bitterest enemies of the Seljukids, and proving the incompatibility of their teachings with the true Islam. However Ghazali did not confine himself to this task and started studying philosophy vigorously, especially the works of Farabi and Ibn Sina. Living in conditions of acute class and political contradictions, which found their ideological expression (as it is characteristic of medieval times) in the struggle of the religious sects and being a follower of policy of centralization of Nizam ul-Mulk, he tried to reconcile theology with rationalistic philosophy; the significance of which was clear to him. Having failed completely in this endeavor, Ghazali suffered a deep moral crisis, in 1095 declined to teach in the madrasa, and joined the sufis.

Abandoning life, Ghazali thought that he had gained, as he wrote later, in asceticism "confidence and peace". In subsequent years, he travelled a lot, visiting Syria and Mecca where his mystic moods strengthened even more and wrote in the Arabic language. His main work—*"Ikhyya ulum ad – din"* ("Resurrection of the sciences of Faith") in which he recognized mystic sufi intuition as the basis of knowledge and love for God as the basis for religion.

At the end of his life, for some time he again taught in the madrasa in Nishapur, thereafter he went to Tus where he lived in a sufi abode surrounded by a few disciples. There he died.

It is customary to think that Ghazali in his work with the help of sufi ideas "destroyed the rationalistic philosophy in countries where Islam was spread",

skillfully combined the sufi mystical and theological principles of the religion of Islam and thus for a long time prevented the Muslim theology from philosophical deadlock and discredit. In fact Ghazali, from the positions of Islam, criticized the purely philosophical talks, declared the teachings of the Eastern peripatetic (Farabi and Ibn Sina who developed the ideas of Aristotle) incompatible with religion and gave a theological form to the mystical intuitionism of the sufis. He played a reactionary role in the history of social thought of peoples of the Near East. It is not accidental that his books, many centuries after his death, were very popular among sufis close to feudals and some feudal rulers inclined towards sufi fanaticism.

However, the works of Ghazali, because of his talent and deep knowledge of philosophy, also played another role. In the book "*Maqasid al-falasifa*" ("The goals of the philosophers") he explained, for example, for the sake of refutation, the main teachings of the peripatetic exactly and clearly and that this explanation was for a long time used as the best textbook on their teachings, independently of the task placed by the author and objectively helped in spreading rationalism. It translated in the Latin language and was at one time considered, in medieval Europe, the best and concise account of peripatetic ideas.

In his last work "*Al-Munkiz min ad-dalal*" ("The savior from delusion") Ghazali perhaps, having understood the danger of religious obscurantism and complete prohibition of all sciences in general, on which reactionary representatives of Muslim clergy insisted, expresses extremely contradictory opinions. For example, he declares Aristotle, Farabi and Ibn Sina as "infidels" from the point of Islam and at the same time points to their great services in the field of development of rationalistic logic; rejects the atheistic refutations of religion, which are based, from his point of view, on exaggeration of the role of exact scientific knowledge. However, at the same time criticizes the ignorant Muslim obscurantist's who declared that the purity of orthodox Islam ought to be guided by means of prohibition of all sciences related to philosophy as contradictory to revelations in the Koran. Ghazali defends, from the reactionaries, the right of the scientists to exactly calculate and predict the time of the solar and moon eclipses (sudden "divine signs", according to the clergy), and the right to develop mathematics, in use logic and to use practical medicine. It need not thought that Islam is based on ignorance declared Ghazali, ignorance being a crime against religion itself. By means of such casuistry, he tried, perhaps, to save branches of science near to his heart. At the end of the book, however, he says that nature does not act by itself and only according to the will of God alone. Thus, he capitulates before orthodoxy.

The entire creative path of Ghazali is the tragedy of a talented thinker who helplessly gave up his positions of rationalistic thought before the then rapidly growing pressure of the reactionary clergy.

In the creative works of *Ansari*, it is necessary to note the form of reasoning used by him for the first time (still in prose) which is alternated with interesting popular parables that played subsequently an important role in the development of the composition of didactical poems (the creative works of Attar, Nizami, Jami and other poets). Very interesting are his rubais, sometimes close to the popular ones.

Sanai, in general being a poet mystic, in some cases rose above his usual motifs and religious limitations and then in his contradictory poetry reflected in an original form the moods of the popular masses. As an example, we can give the appeal of an enraged old woman beggar to Sultan Mahmud in his poem "*Hadiqat al-haqaiq*" ("The garden of truth"). To the question of Sultan to whom she complains, the old woman answers:

*Poor is me, living in squalor—friends help
Two daughters and one small son—their father perished in hard times
Bend my back harvesting the fields, gathering wheat ear
Exhausted by everyday toil, can't say old woman lives in prosperity
Why do you drive me away like curse of God? After today will come
tomorrow, how long will you suppress your subjects!
How long will you plunder their property! I was happy to work
whole month in the garden of the rich.
For handful of grapes, yesterday on salary day I received grapes, a
handful of grapes earned by me with a joyful heart
Suddenly I saw five warriors waiting beside the road, Stop! My tired
legs gave way under me
One of them grabs my grapes, sobbing; I try to pull the basket back
The other threatening me hits me with a whip
So that I don't scream he said: "I'm the servant of Sultan Mahmud!
Submit and shut up if your life is dear to you
Go and try to move the heart of Sultan by your tears
Go your way, you beggar!" I had to keep silent for the sake of life
I learnt the way you go for hunt, stood for half a day waiting for you
My enraged heart didn't know peace
Now when you know about the wicked people
You be fearful of my hot prayer!
If you don't give justice to me, I will complain to God of might and glory.¹⁰³*

The same motifs we find in *Attar's* works who did not accept the reforms of sufism implemented by Ghazali. His early poem, "*Khusrav and Gul*" is a romantic love story, which goes back to a great novel. In it is visible only a slight hint of mysticism. "*Mantiq at-tair*", in spite of the existence in it of a sufi scheme set in a frame, is a brilliantly written didactical allegorical poem alternating with interesting parable and containing a criticism of feudal morals. The talent of Attar, as narrator manifested in his other poems, was higher than that of Sanai. The collection of Attar's poems (*diwan*) does not contain panegyrics at all because he himself was a pharmacist and did not present poems to the aristocracy for livelihood. These are lyrical, philosophical and mystic poems. To him belongs, written in marvelous prose, *tazkira* – the biography of outstanding sufis.

Leading role in the development of humanitarian ideas in this period was played by a great Azerbaijan poet *Nizami Ganjavi* (died 1209) who wrote in Persian language and created the famous "*Five poems*" ("*Khamsa*") in response to

¹⁰³"Anthology" pp. 298-299.

which dozens of poets in Persian, Uzbek, Turkish, Azerbaijan and other languages later wrote the poetic answers.

In this poetic competition, which was going on for many centuries, such illustrious poets took part as Amir Khusrav Dehlewi, Alisher Navai and Abdarrahman Jami.

In this period, a new literary style, often named as "Iraqi", came to substitute the "Khorasan" style. If "Khorasan" or "Turkestan" style was comparatively simple and close to the spoken language, the "Iraqi" style is characterized by considerable decoration, rhetorical figures and grandiloquence, which is typical of the poetry of the epoch of developed feudalism. These traits particularly manifested brightly in the court panegyric poetry.

CHAPTER 4

TAJIK PEOPLE IN THE CHENGEZID STATE

1. THE MONGOL CONQUEST. ECONOMY OF CENTRAL ASIA UNDER THE MONGOLS.

THE INVASION OF CENTRAL ASIA BY THE HORDES OF CHENGEZ KHAN

In the second decade of the XIII century, the state of the Khwarezmshah, which had greatly expanded by this time, included in it besides Khwarezm and Maverannahr the territory of present Afghanistan and most parts of Iran. However, the state was extremely weakly centralized. Some of the local rulers only formally recognized themselves as vassals of Khwarezmshahs but in reality they ruled over their regions almost independently.

The power of Mohammad Khwarezmshah was not strong: not only the toiling masses of the subjugated people did not support him who were under the double exploitation — that of the local ruler and the Khwarezmshah — but also military-feudal aristocracy and influential clergy tried to limit the power of the Shah and were hostile to him. To this, intra-family disputes added: the mother of Mohammad Khwarezmshah — Turkan — Khatun — an authoritarian and energetic woman was against Mohammad and instigated against the court, a group of Qipchak military commanders who were by themselves a serious military power.¹

In such circumstances, the martial Mongol tribes under the leadership of Chengez Khan invaded the state of the Khwarezmshahs.

The main occupation of the nomadic Mongols was cattle breeding; besides they were engaged in hunting as well. Between them and the ethnically close to them neighboring tribes, there was an active barter trade.

According to the account given by historian Juveini, the Mongol army divided in tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of hundreds, was highly disciplined and mobile. All the Mongol tribes were obliged to join a military campaign any time.

¹Among the Khwarezmshahs existed a tradition of taking as wife a daughter of whatsoever prominent military commander from among the tribal Qipchak leaders (from the tribe of Kangli). Around the queen (Khatun) usually formed her own court faction supported by the military co-tribes. From here arose the special role of some queens for example Turkan—Khatun, mother of Mohammad Khwarezmshah.

By the beginning of XIII century in the social system of the Mongols there appeared in an embryonic form feudal relations. Karl Marx characterizes this process as follows: "In *Yasa* (the common code of laws of ancient Mongols — B.G.) there is a mention of the higher estate — *tarkhans* — who were exempt from any taxes, "they did not have to share their booty with others, and had constant freedom from punishment nine times. (This form of *feudal rights* appears among all semi-civilized people as a result of war-like way of life.)"²

The grand conquering expeditions of Chengez Khan elevated the class of nomadic feudals not only above the conquered people but above their own co-tribesmen as well. The great Khan and the feudal aristocracy were getting enormously rich but the mass of toiling Mongols — *arats* — eventually became more dependent upon this top brass, impoverished and bankrupt.

The Mongol hordes under the leadership of Juchi — the elder son of Chengez Khan — conquered the "forest people" who lived on the banks of river Yenisei. The Uigurs also submitted to the power of Chengez Khan. Military commander Khubilai conquered the Northern part of Haftrud. Chengez Khan led a campaign against Northern China and seized Chzhundu (Peking) which was then the capital of the Tzin state.³

Afterwards in 1218-1219 A.D. the Mongol troops under the leadership of military commander of Chengez Khan Jebi, almost without any resistance conquered the territory of the Qarakitais (Haftrud and Eastern Turkestan) and closely approached the borders of the Khwarezmshahs. In the gradual aggravation and deterioration of the relations between these two states, the Central Asian traders played some role. Many rich Central Asian traders who held in their hands the trade between Mongolia and Central Asia even before the two states bordered upon each other, were considered along with the Uigurs main advisers of Chengez Khan in matters of organization and structure of the state, rule of Mongolia. Chengez Khan regularly got information about the internal situation in the state of Khwarezmshahs through these traders. Mohammad Khwarezmshah who had at this time at his disposal larger forces than Chengez Khan behaved arrogantly towards him. In 1218 with the knowledge of Mohammad in the border fortress of Otrar situated on the bank of Syr-Darya, the troops of Khwarezmshah plundered caravan of Central Asia traders sent by Chengez Khan who suspected of espionage. The caravan consisting of 500 camels was carrying gold, silver, Chinese silk, valuable furs and other valuable goods. In it were 450 people — traders, Mongol dignitaries, people enjoying the confidence of the Mongol Khan. The troops of the Khwarezmshah looted these traders, sold all their goods and sent the money received to the capital of the Khwarezmshah.

Having come to know about the events in Otrar (so-called "Otrar Catastrophe") Chengez Khan demanded from the Khwarezmshah to extradite the vice-regent of Otrar to him who was guilty for what had happened and compensation for the losses. However, the emissary of Chengez Khan who arrived in the capital of the Khwarezmshah with this demand was executed on the order of Mohammad and his companion's beard was shaved (according to

²"Archives of Marx and Engels", vol. V, p. 220.

³Vladimirtsov B.Ya., 1922; 1934; Grousset R., 1944; d'Ohsson C, p. 183.

another version all of them were murdered). This provocative behavior of Mohammad hastened the invasion of Central Asia by Chengez Khan.

Chengez Khan attached great importance to his campaign against Central Asia and made careful preparations for it. Before the beginning of military action, information obtained through Central Asian traders about the number and the level of preparedness of the military forces of the enemy was studied. That is why the invasion of Chengez Khan was not a disorderly and spontaneous move by nomadic Mongols as it is presented by many bourgeois historians, but a deeply pre-planned attack. The local traders served as guides.⁴

As stated earlier Khwarezm not prepared for defense. Notwithstanding the apparent might, Khwarezmshah was dependent largely on the military feudal aristocracy. Distrusting his military commanders and local population Mohammad scared of concentrating his troops at one place divided them into small detachments, which were deployed at different points. This scattered of his military forces facilitated the victory of Mongol troops. While preparing for the war, the Khwarezmshah during a year thrice collected taxes, which enraged the population.

In September 1219 having approached Otrar, Chengez Khan divided his troops in three parts. A part of the troops he placed at the disposal of his sons — Oktai (Ogedei) and Chagatai — for the siege of Otrar. The other part under the leadership of Juchi sent by him in the direction of Jend for capturing cities on the bank of Syr-Darya and himself with his son Tului at the head of the main forces advanced towards Bukhara.

The Mongol troops took Otrar by storm, but the citadel of Otrar continued to resist still for full one month (according to another version for six months).

Having captured Otrar the Mongol invaders butchered all the defenders of the city and the citadel.

The troops under the command of Juchi seized Sygnak and butchered all its population after which they quickly captured the cities situated on the lower Syr-Darya, looting and destroying residents. The detachment of Mongol troops advancing upstream along the bank of Syr-Darya captured the city of Binaket on the mouth of the Angren River and killed all the troops left for its defense.

In the beginning of 1220, Chengez Khan, with his main troops began an assault on Bukhara. Here he met fierce resistance troops although the troops defending Bukhara were much less in strength than the attacking Mongol forces. However, the resistance did not last long. On the third day of the battle the defenders of Bukhara, surrounded from all sides forced to stop fighting. Most of the forces, breaking the circle of Mongol troops crossed Amu-Darya. Several hundreds of brave fighters, unwilling to leave their native city, locked themselves in the citadel to fight with the invaders up to the end. Only after the moat surrounding the citadel was filled with corpses of men and horses, the Mongols succeeded in capturing it. After capturing, Bukhara, the Mongols murdered

⁴V.V. Barthold who gave a full account of events linked with this invasion analyzed the sources about the Mongol invasion of Central Asia in detail. (*Barthold V.V.*, 1963b). For sources and literature see also: *Spuler B.*, 1955, pp. 463-502.

thousands of peaceful inhabitants of the city and those left alive were taken as slaves.

After this, the troops of Chengez Khan proceeded to Samarkand. Khwarezmshah Mohammad gave special importance to the defense of Samarkand and concentrated here large troops. The city fortifications repaired. In the city, there was a big garrison (according to Rashidaddin of 110 thousand people, according to other sources of 50-60 thousand people). The entire country looked at Samarkand with hope: according to the opinion of the contemporaries, the city could withstand the siege for many years. On the third day, the besieged made a sortie in which a large detachment took part. Although they succeeded in crushing some Mongol force, in general this counter-attack was unsuccessful. Samarkand people remained entrapped in the siege and many of them perished. This undermined the martial spirit of the defenders, which used by the clergy and the aristocracy.

The Samarkand Qazi and Sheikh al-Islam went to headquarter of Chengez Khan to begin negotiations for capitulation. At dawn, they treacherously opened the city gates and the Mongols entered the city. There started a general butchery and plundering. The Mongols did not harm the betrayers who were under their patronage. Only the defenders of the citadel continued their stubborn resistance. However, they were not able, in spite of their bravery, to withstand the Mongol troops. When the fortifications fell one thousands of brave defenders took shelter in the cathedral mosque and did not allow the Mongols to come near its walls. But the Mongols managed to set fire to it and the defenders preferred to get burnt than to surrender before the enemy.

More than half of the population of Samarkand perished. Thirty thousand craftsmen were given away to the sons and relatives of Chengez Khan. An equal number was forced to accompany the troops.

The destroyed city left depopulated. Even after one and a half years, when some people had returned, there was only one-fourth of the former population residing in the city.⁵

During the siege of Samarkand, Mohammad Khwarezmshah was awaiting the end of the battle on the bank of the Amu-Darya. After the city was occupied by the troops of Chengez Khan, Mohammad fled to Iran — Tabaristan — where he was hiding on one of the islands in the Southern part of the Caspian Sea and did nothing to organize the struggle against the Mongol invasion.

THE HEROIC DEFENCE OF KHUJAND. TIMUR-MALIK

The Mongol troops, who entrusted with the task to take Khujand, unsuccessfully besieged this ancient Tajik city for a long time. That is why after the fall of Bukhara and Samarkand they gathered around Khujand tens of thousands of Mongol troops. The brave warrior Timur-Malik led the besieged people.⁶

⁵*Chan-chun*, 1966, p. 311.

⁶*Barthold V.V.*, 1963 b p. 485 onwards; *Ayni S.* 1944.

Only after it became clear that further resistance was meaningless, the defenders of the city crossed over to the island situated on Syr-Darya (about one kilometer below Khujand), fortified themselves and from there continued their struggle against the invaders.

This island had great advantage for the defense. The Mongols, with the help of prisoners, started constructing a dam across the Syr-Darya, which could use for passage to the island. However, the warriors of Timur-Malik, covering their boats with thick felts and plastering them with mud so that the arrows of the enemy did not harm them at night and dawn, reached the bank and attacked the invaders, destroying the already erected part of the dam.

The valor of the defenders of Khujand is one of the marvelous pages in the history of Tajik people. Notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy forces, the besieged did not stop their struggle. But when the food supplies were exhausted, Timur-Malik was compelled to leave the island in order to save his remaining warriors. He put them on the boats and at night, in the light of torches, the flotilla sailed down the river. The invaders, as a flock of hungry kites, pursued the sailing vessels on horses along the bank of the river showering their arrows. According to in exact in formation, the Mongol troops overtook them and stretched out a chain across the banks. However, Timur-Malik and his warriors opened the path for the vessels after breaking the extended chain.

Near the city of Jend, Timur-Malik met by forces of the invaders who constructed a floating bridge of vessels bound with each other and armed with catapults, which blocked the way for the Khujandis. The courageous warriors had to disembark on the bank and engage in the last battle with the enemy. In this unequal fight, almost all the warriors of Timur-Malik perished. Only he alone with a small group of people managed to escape and reach Khwarezm where the remnants of the defeated troops of the Khwarezmshah gathered.

In Khwarezm, Timur-Malik collected all warriors capable of lighting and renewed the military campaign against the invaders. He inflicted upon the enemy several big blows and even took away from the Mongols the large city of Yanykent situated on the lower Syr-Darya. However, between Timur-Malik and other military commanders of the Khwarezmshah there was no unity, which hampered him from reinforcing, his successes and he was compelled to return to Khwarezm.

Jalaladdin, son of the Khwarezmshah Mohammad, also offered a stubborn resistance to the troops of Chengez Khan. Along with Timur-Malik who joined him, Jalaladdin inflicted several heavy defeats on the Mongol troops, but in the end, he was defeated in the battle on the river Indus.

The defense of the cities was organized very badly. Only popular masses bravely defended the cities and settlements, and the administrative officials, noblemen, and the top Muslim clergy made compromises with the invaders in order to save their lives and property and their dominant status. This was the reason why Chengez Khan with less force than the Khwarezmshah won one victory after another.

FURTHER CONQUESTS OF CHENGEZ KHAN IN CENTRAL ASIA

Subjecting the remaining population of Bukhara, Samarkand and Khujand to brutal tortures and sufferings, the invaders, after a short halt, proceeded towards the Qarshi steppe and Termez. Completely destroyed Termez they butchered all its population. After this bloody reprisal, Chengez Khan crossed the Amu-Darya and entered the territory of present Northern Afghanistan where in 1221 he captured Balkh and destroyed it completely.

At this time, his sons Chagatai, Oktai and Juchi with a hundred-thousand strong Mongol army besieged the capital of the state of Khwarezmshah, Gurganj (Orgench). The defenders of Gurganj courageously fought the Mongols for six months. The battle for Gurganj was so fierce that the capture of every block of houses and street caused the invaders heavy losses.

Having seized the city, the invaders butchered all the population except craftsmen, children and women who were enslaved by them. Besides this, enraged by the big losses inflicted on them, they decided to wipe out Gurganj completely from the face of the earth. For this purpose, they destroyed the dam on the bank of the Amu-Darya and inundated the city with water.

In the beginning of the next year, son of Chengez Khan, Tului captured Khorasan which among other cities, was also fully destroyed Merv which was the most ancient cultural center of Central Asia. From all this destruction, only a few hundred craftsmen were saved who were enslaved and the rest of population perished.

From the regions populated by the Tajiks only Badakhshan and some, adjacent to it mountainous states of Eastern Tajikistan and some localities in Gur, which defended by strong fortresses, were not seized by the Mongol troops.

One of the Arab historians Ibn al-Asir (1160-1244) being a witness to these awful events, narrates the inhuman actions of the invaders as follows:

"These (hordes of Chengez) did not spare anybody. On the contrary, they killed women, men and children, tearing apart the stomachs of pregnant women, killing even the unborn infants... The sparks of this disaster spread and its harm was general, it roamed over the regions as clouds driven by wind. The people came out from the outskirts of China and moved towards regions of Turkestan like Kashgar and Balasagun, from there into the regions of Maverannahr like Samarkand, Bukhara, etc., and capturing them...destroying, killing and looting. The Tartars spared not a single city; while leaving they destroyed everything they were passing through and whatever was not needed by them was burnt. They burnt the heaps of silk as well as other goods."

The Mongol invasion brought to the people of Central Asia numerous sufferings. Because of arson and plunder, the cities of Maverannahr became heaps of ruins and the toiling population subjected to mass annihilation. Agriculture neglected.

Karl Marx, characterizing the Mongol yoke, wrote that it "not only weighed heavily but humiliated and consumed the very spirit of the people who became their victim. The Mongol Tatars established a regime of systematic terror. Destruction and mass killings became its constant institutions." According to

Marx, Mongol invaders "turned people into cattle and fertile lands and large populated settlements into pastures."⁷

At the same time, the heroic struggle of the people of Central Asia against Chengez Khan's invasion, which coincided with the rebuff given to the Mongols hordes, by the Great Russian people had a great historical significance. This struggle weakened the force of the Mongol onslaught and its further expansion to the West.

ECONOMIC LIFE AFTER THE MONGOL CONQUEST

Chengez Khan divided the vast empire created by him among his sons.

The elder son Juchi in 1207 got possession of the "forest peoples" territory populating the large territory from the lower Selenga River up to the Irtysh River. By the time of death of Chengez Khan (1227) to these territories were added Northern part of Haftrud also, the whole territory populated by the Kazakhs and the Kyrgyz's and the Northern part of Khwarezm. The possessions of the second son of Chengez Khan — Chagatai — expanded from the country of the Uigurs up to Samarkand and from the Southern part of Altay up to the banks of the Amu-Darya. The horde — main forces of the great Khan Oktai — situated in Tarbagatai. The youngest son of Chengez Khan — Tului, according to traditions of the nomads, owned the main lands of his father.

Maverannahr entered the possessions of Chagatai but actually, the great Khan Oktai (1229-1241) who apportioned a part of the revenue from Maverannahr to Chagatai and his family owned it.

The conquerors could not rule by themselves the territories annexed by them. Oktai entrusted the rule over Maverannahr to the biggest trader and moneylender of this region Mahmud Yalavach. Living in Khujand, Mahmud ruled over this country given to him. At his disposal were all the military detachments of the Mongols stationed in Maverannahr under the leadership of Baskaks whose function was also to look after the realization of taxes from the population.

The Mongol conquest did not change the social system, established in Central Asia, but it influenced the status of different classes in the country in different ways.

The clergy, traders and big landowners very rapidly became the supporters of the Mongol conquerors. As a historian of the events in the XIII-XIV centuries, Rashidaddin, informs, under Chengez Khan and his successors Oktai Khan and Guyuk Khan — (1246-1248) Mongol princes and Khans — generously distributed, among big landowners and traders licenses, on the basis of which the local population had to perform certain duties and services for them. The conditions of the toilers were equally difficult in both cities and villages.

Peasants and craftsmen, besides the payment to the state of the annual tax on cultivated land (kharaj), had to perform many other obligations. The population had to provide accommodation, food and transport under special

⁷Marx K. Secret diplomatic history of eighteenth century, London, 1899, p. 78.

counts to the officials, traders, clergy, and members of the Khan's family passing through its territory. It also charged with providing clothes, food rations to the military detachments stationed in the cities and settlements. Craftsmen were placed in a special list who besides rendering the above-mentioned services were obliged to make and supply the Mongol rulers a certain quantity of articles and commodities. Particularly harsh were the conditions of craftsmen who made arms, clothes and shoes.

The Mongol conquest inflicted a hard blow upon the economy of Central Asia. The abuse of power by the local rulers, who arbitrarily increased the taxes and obligations several times, made the conditions of the people quite unbearable. The arbitrariness and oppression, the absence of any type of guarantee for safety in work deprived the population in the villages and cities, left alive, of any stimulus for improvement of economy. Hence, during the first decades after the Mongol invasion the condition of the economy worsened even more.

Indicative of this is the condition of urban life and internal changes in money trading. According to the accounts left by Chan-chun, who visited Samarkand soon after its destruction by Mongols, in the city not more than one-fourth of its population was left, there were many paupers and hungry people but nonetheless the trading did not cease and there were many goods in the market. Subsequently the situation did not stabilize but started rapidly worsening. Samarkand coins of this period give a vivid picture of the intensification of the crisis phenomenon in money trade, the form of crisis and the futility of the attempt of the government to overcome this crisis.⁸

In Samarkand, after the Mongol conquest, as early as in the XII the beginning of and the XIII century, large copper coins were minted which polished with a thin coat of silver. These silver-coated copper dirhams replaced, in circulation, real silver coins: Central Asia had not yet overcome the "silver coin crisis". The first issue of such coins, after the Mongol invasion with the usual Arabic, predominantly religious inscriptions, was annulled and withdrawn from circulation. In 1225, others replaced them, to some extent unusual ones. The main inscriptions on them were not in Arabic but local Tajik language: there appeared the need that people who recognized the coins only by their appearance should know the content of these inscriptions. The contents were "persuasive": the inscriptions informed that the coins were local and meant only for Samarkand within its vicinity; that they were in circulation there. The inscriptions appealed for trust in an understandable native language of the Samarkandis. However, the Samarkandis did not trust, otherwise after a lapse of one year there would not have appeared new silver-coated copper dirhams which also persuaded and appealed for trust, but this time with some threat: for this purpose in the inscriptions it was importunately thrice stressed that they were the coins of Chengez Khan himself. But the natives of Samarkand were not scared, otherwise in 1232 there would not have appeared, on the silver-coated copper dirhams, inscriptions in Tajik language with an openly threatening tone: "He who does not accept these coins in Samarkand and its vicinity will be treated as an offender."

⁸Davidovich E.A., 1970 a.

This meant that Samarkand was undergoing a crisis of money circulation in its worst form: no one wanted to trade in the silver-coated copper coins and there were no other coins in circulation.

Persuasion and threats did not help. The government forced to issue real silver coins. However, this only worsened the situation: real silver had vanished, hidden in stores, and to go back to silver-coated copper dirhams was meaningless. Samarkand, which was once upon a time the biggest trade craft center of Central Asia, entered "the coinless" period: money trade ceased altogether.

In an even worse situation was the trade in many other large and sometime ago economically very developed regions. For example, in Fergana, Chach, Termez, Chaganyan and other regions and cities the issue of coins after the Mongol conquest was not renewed. If there was to some extent minimal internal trade, it fell down to the primitive level of payment in kind.

THE UPRIISING OF MAHMUD TARABI

Since the 30s of the XIII century, among the population of the agricultural oases and urban craftsmen, a movement against the yoke of foreign and local oppressors started. This movement was especially strong in Bukhara where in 1238 broke out a rebellion, known under the name of the rebellion of Mahmud Tarabi.⁹

Bukhara was ruled namely by the representatives of local feudal aristocracy (amirs and sadrs) who oppressed the people no less than the Mongol Khans. That is why it is not astonishing that the first enemy against whom the rage of the rebels directed was the local ruler of Bukhara.

The leader of the uprising — Mahmud — was from the settlement of Tarab. He was a craftsman who made sieves. On the streets of Tarab and the neighboring settlements, he addressed people in his angry speeches appealing them to start the struggle against the conquerors and their minions. The attention of the rulers of Bukhara was drawn to the addresses of Mahmud. They conspired to lure Mahmud to Bukhara through deception and execute him in order to leave the movement headless. However, Mahmud Tarabi sensed the intention of the enemies and stalled the danger facing him. He arrived in Bukhara not alone but in the company of a large number of his followers.

The numerous followers of Mahmud collected on one of the hills near Bukhara where Mahmud made an appeal to hills toiling people to wage an armed struggle against the oppressors. The entire population in the neighborhood joined the rebels.

Having gathered large forces Mahmud demanded from the clergy, sadrs, and other representatives of the ruling estates to declare him as the Caliph, which they were compelled to do because the people fully backed Mahmud. Declaring his residence the palace, built in 1206 by the leader of popular uprising Malik Sanjar, Mahmud started fulfilling his plans. The sadrs and other representatives of the ruling estates were driven out of the city.

⁹Barthold V.V., 1963 b, pp. 545-547; Yakubovsky A.Iu., 1936, pp. 101-135.

Historian Juveini, who from his class positions, negatively assesses the uprising of Mahmud Tarabi, thus describes the measures taken by Mahmud in relation to the ruling classes. "Most of the aristocrats and dignitaries were humiliated by him and the other section of these people saved themselves by fleeing."

At the same time Juveini is compelled to recognize that "he (Mahmud Tarabi) was favorably disposed towards simple people and homeless wanderers...sent people to the houses of the wealthy to bring from there tents and carpets to set up the camps for the troops".

This shows that Mahmud was preparing for the next stage of the struggle very carefully. He knew very well that "great people" of Bukhara would not stop their resistance and would try to restore their lost power.

In Kermina, sadrs and other representatives of the ruling elite along with the Mongol detachments also prepared for the battle.

The fierce battle of the rebels, with the Mongol troops, took place not far away from the city. The rebels were well organized. They fought courageously and selflessly. Mahmud Tarabi was in the thick of the battle himself. The victory of the rebels was hastened by the joining of the population of the outskirt regions who were armed with spades and axes. The troops of Mongols and local feudals were defeated and they fled. The rebels pursued them up to Kermina and butchered most of the retreating warriors. As Juveini states, in this battle about ten thousand people were killed.

However, soon after the course of the battle changed and the uprising ended in failure. Its leader and organizer Mahmud Tarabi killed near Kermina. The other talented leader of the rebels, a friend of Mahmud, Shamsaddin Mahbubi, was also killed. After several days the rebels, who lost their leadership and did not have adequate weapons, were defeated.

Juveini in his chronicles tries, in all possible ways, to tarnish the image of Mahmud Tarabi. He describes him as a semi-mad fanatic and states that only "mob and vagabonds" were his followers. These words of the class enemy of the popular uprising just once again prove the popular character of the movement of Mahmud Tarabi.

The uprising of Mahmud Tarabi directed not only against the invaders and their oppression but also against big clergy, local traders and feudals who became the supporters of the intruders. Peasants and craftsmen followed Mahmud because he was against unrestricted tyranny of the wealthy and demanded the distribution of their property among the indigents.

For the sake of the interests of the people, Tarabi did not stop before any odds. That is why, Mahmud Tarabi occupies an outstanding place in the history of the Tajik and other peoples of Central Asia.

THE INTERNAL POLICY OF MUNKE-KAAN AND THE MERCHANT-RULER MAS'UDBEK

Among the Mongol Khans and aristocracy soon after the conquest of Central Asia and Iran two tendencies towards the settled population of the conquered territory could clearly observed. A.Iu. Yakubovsky and I.P.

Petrushevsky have studied the social basis of these tendencies.¹⁰ The representatives of the first tendency were the large section of the military-nomadic elite (both Mongol as well as Turks), many princes and some kaans — the top rulers of the Mongols. They were against settled life and wanted the entire land to convert into pastures and all the cities into ruins. They were ready to shamelessly plunder, destroy, burn and take prisoners, not bothering that by such treatment of the settled population they would be depriving themselves of large revenues from cultivation of land and crafts and trade. This group was joined by a part of the local aristocracy and traders who counted upon rapid enrichment through direct plunder.

The representatives of the second tendency were some kaans and a small part of the military-nomadic Mongol elite, close to the kaan house, the main section of the local aristocracy, officialdom, clergy and majority of traders. These estates of dominant class were united by their aspiration for strong central power, struggle against the separatist inclinations of the representatives of the first tendency, clear understanding of the necessity to stop plunder and destruction of the settled population. The patronage of cities and trade, the exact norms of taxation and obligations, protection of the peasants and urban population from arbitrary collections, from the trampling of the harvest, from the destruction of cities — only such a policy could ensure the restoration and development of the ruined economy without which effective exploitation of the taxpaying population was impossible. The representatives of the second tendency fully understood that the non-implementation of this programme would amount to cutting the branch on which one is sitting because no one-time plunder would bring so much income as would provide systematic and annual receipts of revenue from agriculture and from urban crafts and trade.

Munke-kaan, who came to power in 1251 and merchant-ruler Mas'udbek, son of the first ruler Mahmud Yalavach, represented the second tendency. Historians have inadequately studied the information from the written sources about the activities of Munke-kaan, considering his instructions as an isolated attempt to restrict the tyranny of local rulers. The comparison of the content of the orders of Munke-kaan, with numismatic data collected by E.A. Davidovich, allows one to think that we have before us not separate uncoordinated measures but goal-oriented domestic policy which, at least in Central Asia, received some practical implementation.

Under Munke-kaan, poll tax strictly regulated; regular minting of gold *dinars* of equal standard was decreed in many cities of Central Asia and beyond it.

In conditions of feudalism, in general and in conditions of economic dislocation, after the Mongol conquest in particular, high standard gold coins were extremely large and did not correspond to the scale of internal trade and to the level of prices of main goods. In order to make the gold dinars, general means of circulation in the state and thus to promote the reestablishment and development of money trade, the standard for gold dinars was lowered (about 60 per cent of pure gold). In this way the coming closer of money and commodities was ensured.

¹⁰Yakubovsky A.Iu., 1932, pp. 52-53; Petrushevsky I.P., 1960, p. 48 onwards.

The rest of the measures are vividly described by Rashidaddin: "As after death of Guyuk-Khan many princes and Khans distributed numerous "tags and pies" to people, and sent messengers in all directions of the state and patronized the poor and the nobles, because they had to deal with them in trade and for other reasons, Mengu-Khan ordered the above-mentioned persons to find out in his province "tags and pies" which people received from them and from other princes in the period of Chengez Khan, Ogedei-Kaan and Guyuk-Khan and to take back everything so that in future the princes do not give and write orders about the affairs concerning provinces without consulting the Vice-regent of His Highness, so that the great emissaries do not travel more than 14 halts, so that they travel from one horse-post to another without taking away horses from the population. During the time of [Ogedei-Kaan], it was customary for traders to travel in regions of Mogulistan on post-horses, [Mengu-Khan] because the traders travelled for receiving money, what is the use of letting them travel on post-horses and ordered that they travel on their personal animals. Also he ordered that they do not go to any other city and villages where they do not have any special purpose and they do not collect taxes higher than the fixed ones."¹¹

Old burdensome and non-fixed tributes and taxes were cancelled. In particular, Munke-kaan invalidated all the tags and pies issued after the death of Chengez Khan. He also prohibited emissaries from taking horses from the people and defined the norm of the post-horses for them. Private persons prohibited from using state horses. Munke-kaan did not allow this in cities and villages and demand maintenance over and above the permissible norm. In addition, it was mentioned that the arrears from the population be not collected. It is interesting to point out one detail under Munke-kaan the decrees written in the language of the people for whom they were meant. For the Mongols, who were in the habit of not considering the interests of the subjugated people, it was an act of political farsightedness.

Thus, the measures decreed by Munke-kaan envisaged the regulation and firm fixation of the size of the taxes, protection of the people from the arbitrary and unregulated obligations and reanimation of the city life and trade. The very fact of decreeing of such measures is the proof of big victory of the second tendency in the policy from the middle of the XIII century. One of the main inspirers and its practical implementation was undoubtedly Mas'udbek who under Munke-kaan possessed a vast territory from Uiguria in the East to Khwarezm in the West. However, did these decrees have any practical success?

In Iran, as it known from the sources, the introduction of the poll tax did not bring relief to population because of the extreme misuse of power by the officials and the Mongols. In Central Asia, the regulation of taxes and cancellation of some extortions played a positive role in the rehabilitation of the economy. So far as the urban life and money trade is concerned the success was quite considerable. The gold coins enlivened the money trade. At the basis of money circulation appeared to be not the whole coins but their fragments and pieces, which accepted by weight. In combination with their low standard, it testifies eloquently to the fact that the gold coins served quite a wide sphere of

¹¹Rashidaddin, 1960, II, p. 141.

money trade on equal basis across the entire state. Besides these common state coins, several cities renewed the minting of the silver-coated copper dirhams. In this connection, it is important to point out to the intensive work of the mints of such cities as Otrar and Khujand, which indicate the revival of life in the cities (as is known, Otrar was completely destroyed during the conquest!) as also in Fergana and the entire North-Eastern part of the state, as a whole. These regions were steadfastly on the upswing. Later in the last quarter of the XIII century, they attained considerable prosperity although Haftrud by the middle of the XIII century turned mostly into pastures and many cities there were in ruins.

MONETARY REFORM OF MAS'UDBEK. PARTIAL REHABILITATION OF URBAN LIFE AND TRADE

In the beginning of the 70s of the XIII century Mas'ud-bek conducted a radical monetary reform¹². It signifies a more serious and consistent victory of the second tendency. Reform introduced in 1271 but the period of its full implementation and success was the last two decades of the XIII century.

The main context of this reform was transition to the regular minting of the real silver coins in many cities and regions of Central Asia — everywhere of equal weight and purity. Such coins had a statewide general circulation irrespective of the place of issue. It was a real revolution in money trading. Silver coins corresponded to the level of prices and the scale of internal trade of feudal Central Asia. However, for more than two and a half centuries in Central Asia, there was no regular minting of silver coins and Mongol destruction delayed for long the overcoming of this silver coins crisis.

Several attempts were made to go back to the circulation of silver coins but they did not succeed. But the reform of Mas'udbek was fully successful which clearly proves its preparedness and timeliness.

The minting of silver coins was free, that is, any person could bring his silver to the minting house to convert into coins on payment for this work. The success of the reform fully depended on whether free minting could organize, whether those who possessed silver would decide to "appear", whether they would take their silver to the mint. There were many reasons for distrust. Guarantees against arbitrariness, plunder and coercion from the side of the Mongols needed; it was necessary to assure that the government was not up to some machination for its gain. The method of implementation of reform shows that this distrust was not overcome suddenly and not equally everywhere.

Although Mas'udbek made special efforts for an all-round minting of coins, he could not succeed right away.

In the 70s of the XIII century there worked only a few mints, their produce was not much. Only in the 80s and 90s of the XIII century, the silver coin mints became large in number and mints were opened in 16 cities and regions. Thus, finally it was possible to overcome distrust. This was an indirect indication of

¹²On this reform for details see: Davidovich E.A., 1970 a.

existence of the necessary guarantees against arbitrariness and plunder and for quite normal conditions for the development of urban life and trade.

In 1269, that is, not long before this reform, on the banks of the Talas river a *kurultai* (assembly) was held in which the Mongol princes undertook an obligation to live in mountains and steppes and not to trample upon fields or interfere in the affairs of the settled population and to be content with fixed taxes. Obviously, these obligations were to some extent fulfilled otherwise the reform of Mas'udbek would not have been such a success. The decisions of the kurultai of 1269 and the very fact of conducting of the reforms are links of a single chain: the kurultai gave the guarantee without which there was no sense in conducting these reforms.

Of course, the struggle between the two tendencies continued and the victory of the second tendency was never final. An example of this is the fate of Bukhara, which after the kurultai of 1269 and during the conduct of monetary reform, destroyed to such an extent by Hulaguid and some Chagataid princes in 1273 and 1276 that it remained depopulated for seven years. In the oases of Bukhara still in the first quarter of the XIV century, there were many ruins, deserted gardens and vineyards.¹³ Here it is necessary to underline that Mas'udbek took effective measures for populating and restoring Bukhara with the result that from 1282-83 even in Bukhara a regular minting of silver coins started which showed a real reanimation of the city life and monetary trade. Another fact is also interesting: Tuva – Khan (1282-1306) constructed the city of Andijan in Fergana which started developing rapidly.

Thus, the monetary trade, judged by the numismatic data, by the end of XIII century had attained a considerable success in comparison with the previous period, which indicates a partial restoration and development of commodity production and urban life overall. The cities and trade of the North-Eastern regions of Central Asia, including the area of Haftrud (particularly productive was the mint of Taraz, Kenjab, Otrar and others), cities of Fergana and the region of Chach were perhaps in excellent conditions. The restoration of the cities of Maverannahr was going on at a slower pace but here also the last two decades of the XIII and beginning of the XIV century were marked by considerable success.

Less known is the condition of agriculture of Central Asia in the beginning of the XIV century. Significant is the testimony of a *waqf* grant of 1299 wherein the founder of the waqf bought not far away from Bukhara (about 30 kilometers towards North) a whole village with richly irrigated land and set up one more settlement, two mosques, good dwelling for the workers, flour mill and several (not less than three) weaving workshops.¹⁴ The purchase of land and all these constructions in the district of Bukhara would have hardly taken place if it had not preceded by quite a long period of peaceful life generating confidence in the security of investment in land and other constructions on it. As the guarantees, given in the kurultai of 1269 and later towards the end of the XIII century, as

¹³Petrushevsky I.P., 1949; Chekhovich O.D., 1965 a, p. 14.

¹⁴Chekhovich O.D., 1967, p. 75.

already mentioned, appeared to be quite effective in creating favorable conditions not only for urban but rural life as well.

Of course, at the beginning of the XIV century (and in the XIV century) the aftermath of the Mongol destruction had not been overcome, the economy on the whole was far from the pre-Mongol level, the forms of exploitation and harsh tax burdens prevented the restoration of the economy and slowed down this process. The Mongol yoke, for the people of Central Asia, was an incomparable disaster. These materials only state the stages of reconstruction and the relative improvement of the urban life and trade and they refute the point of view of several historians which had become for them an axiom as if in Central Asia for the development of cities and internal trade real possibilities were created only after the reforms of Kebek (1318-1326) that it was only Kebek who stopped anarchy in the monetary circulation.

CENTRAL ASIA IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE XIV CENTURY

Kebek was the first Mongol ruler who finally shifted his headquarters to Maverannahr. Kebek remained a pagan, never accepting the religion of Islam, though he readily had discussions on religious themes with the Muslim clergy. There are facts showing that he tried, sometimes not without success, to stop the extreme manifestations of persecution by nomadic feudals of settled people. He constructed a palace for himself ("Qarshi") not far away from Nasaf. Afterwards, around this palace arose a whole city, which named Qarshi.

Monetary and administrative reforms are associated with Kebek. M.E. Masson has studied the monetary reform of Kebek in detail.¹⁵ It was initiated in 1321 keeping in mind the monetary systems in the state of Hulaguids and the Golden Horde. The large silver coin weighing more than eight grams called a silver dinar and it was equal to six small coins, called dirhams. In the first years, the minting of these new coins (particularly dirhams with the name of Kebek) was extremely intensive. Their main production was in Bukhara and Samarkand. Other rulers continued the minting of silver coins, of these two denominations also. Tarmashirin, for example, also issued many silver coins. During his rule, the mint in Otrar worked intensively. Later the minting of coins decreased in quantity.

The significance of the reform of Kebek was overestimated by most of the historians. It did not bring about such radical changes in monetary economy as the preceding reform of Mas'ud. However, it created even more favorable conditions both for internal as well as external trade. The very fact of its introduction and the completely post-reform mints prove that the uplift of the cities and of monetary trade continued although not all regions of Central Asia were on an equal level in this regard as before.

In the XIV century, the struggle between the two tendencies, mentioned above, towards the settled population, became extremely aggravated. Thus, Kebek had to conduct a hard struggle against the rebellious Chagataide prince,

¹⁵Masson M.E., 1957.

Yasavur. This prince, with the help of troops of Khorasan Amir defeated Kebek. After this, as the source informs, Yasavur "from Termez to the border of Samarkand all the inhabitants of the vilayets and settlements from the river Amul (Amu-Darya) shifted and the cities and localities, which were under the power of Kebek destroyed and the people of those places imprisoned." Just only, the Khorasan Amirs took as prisoners more than 50 thousand people and captured a large booty. When Kebek wanted to inflict a counter blow on Khorasan possessions of Yasavur, the latter ordered the inhabitants of Farab and Murghab to shift to the Herat region. During these, shifting tens of thousands of people perished from cold and hunger. Feudal internecine conflicts of 1316-1319, linked with the rebellion of Yasavur, inflicted a great loss on the people of Central Asia.

The successor of Kebek, his brother Tarmashirin (1326-1334) continued the policy of his predecessor. He tilted even more towards the traditions of settled life, became an ardent Muslim and made Islam an official religion of the Chagataid state. Because of discontent of the nomadic feudals, an uprising took place and Tarmashirin killed.¹⁶ Internecine conflicts inflicted a final and irreparable blow to the urban life and agriculture of Haftrud.

It is vividly narrated in one of the sources, on the basis of an eye-witness traveler: "You could see from distance well-built settlements, the outskirts of which are covered with blooming greenery. But when you come near to it in the hope to meet somebody, you find the houses fully deserted. All the inhabitants of the country are nomads and do not engage in agriculture work."¹⁷

Administrative reform should have exerted a certain influence on the life of the country which divided Central Asia into small administrative units — tumans. So far as the timing of the reform is concerned there is no unanimity of view on it. The "authorship" of Kebek – Khan is not indisputable. V.V. Barthold assumes that this reform implemented between 1318 and 1334 (that is Kebek or Tarmashirin).¹⁸ A.Iu. Yakubovsky expressed his opinion in favor of Kebek as its author. A.Iu. Yakubovsky based himself on the fact that by the time of Timur tumans still existed and before Kebek they were not there and after Kebek nobody could have undertaken these reforms.¹⁹ O.D. Chekhovich, who found the term "tuman" in the waqfnama of 1299 (it is true that this word was preserved not in original Arabic but in Persian translation of this grant), assumed that the division into "tumans" possibly existed long before Kebek.²⁰

Researchers see in this reform an expression of a centralized tendency. A.Iu. Yakubovsky underlined that "...it should be recognized as a highly progressive step which played a positive role in the development of feudal statehood in Maverannahr." At the same time, he thought that "the administrative reform of Kebek did not liquidate feudal kingdoms with their rulers but adjusted to them; the lands were converted into administrative units — tumans, and former landowners into vice-regents of tumans." However, the waqf

¹⁶Barthold V.V., 1963 a, pp. 74-76; Stroeva L.V., 1958, pp. 210-216.

¹⁷Barthold V.V., 1963 e, pp. 264.

¹⁸Barthold V.V., 1963 zh, pp. 153; 1964 g, p.33.

¹⁹"Istoriya narodov Uzbekistana", I, pp. 338-340.

²⁰Chekhovich O.D., 1967, p. 67.

grant of 1326 allows assuming that this reform made deeper transformations in administrative-political rule. Among the conditions of waqf givers it is stated that the waqf lands cannot be farmed out or given in rent "to the rulers of Bukhara city and other vilayets from among the amirs, tumans, maliks, baskaks and diwan vazirs"²¹, that is, the hereditary rulers of pre-Mongol origin are named here without any link with "tumans". At the head of the "tuman" are Amirs, that is, the heads and elite of Turko-Mongol tribes. Hence, in this case the "tumans" and the possessions of the maliks are not alike. Perhaps this administrative reform brought about a more serious breach of the old than it envisaged before. It not excluded that one of the tasks was just the liquidation of the autonomy of the local landowners and rulers. Hence more correct is the assumption of V.V. Barthold that division into "tumans" most probably was linked as in Persia with the allocation of the principalities to the representatives of clans who came into Maverannahr along with Khans²²: *Arlats* inhabited the Northern parts of Afghanistan, *Kauchins* — in Southern Tajikistan, *Jalairs* — near Khujand, *Barlas* in the Valley of Qashqa-Darya etc. The fact that the Turko-Mongol elite occupied posts in administration of the country not only on the territory of their own principality, is a significant factor for characteristics as of the administrative reform itself as well as of the process of adjusting of nomadic elite to the settled culture with all its institutions. But overall the question of significance and the aim of this reform needs further elaboration. It is not clear yet what these "tumans" represented (what were the criteria for determining a territory as "tuman").

The feudal infighting impeded the adoption of the progressive measures and brought their results to naught. In the 40s of the XIV century Khan Kazan, continuing the political line of Kebek-Tarmashirin tried to restore the power of the Khan. In the two passages towards the West from the contemporary city of Qarshi he constructed the castle-palace of Zenjir-sarai – his stronghold in struggle against nomadic feudals. In 1346, he died in battle. Amir Kazagan succeeded him. He was an adherent of the traditions of nomadic life. In winters he spent his time in Sarai Valley (present-day Panj district of Tajikistan), in summers near the city of Munk, most of the time he was busy hunting and plundering which was to the taste of the nomadic elite who seized a lot of booty. His son Abdallah (since 1358) tried to pursue a different policy reflecting the interests of the settled top brass but he was exiled.

At the end of the 50s of the XIV century, the Chagataide state split approximately into 15 principalities. Some of them belonged to the nomadic feudals. For example, Khujand was under Bayazid Jelair, at the head of others were local feudals, both temporal and ecclesiastical (in Bukhara — sadrs, in Khuttalan — offspring's of the old Tajik family Kaikhusrav, two brothers — kings from a local dynasty in Badakhshan, seyids — in Termez and others). The Chagataide state split besides these into two parts — North-Eastern regions got separated, receiving the name Mogolistan.²³

²¹Ibid., 1965a, pp. 107-108, 183 onwards.

²²Barthold V.V., 1964, p. 34.

²³Barthold V.V., 1963 a, pp. 73-80; Stroeva L.V., 1958, pp. 216-219.

2. SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA UNDER THE MONGOLS

THE CATEGORIES OF LANDOWNERSHIP. SUIRGAL

The socio-economic relations under the Mongols, the influence of Mongol conquest and domination on different socio-economic institutions have thoroughly studied for the state of the Hulaguids.²⁴ It is not possible mechanically apply the observations and conclusions of the historians of Iran on Central Asia. However, these materials help to understand and interpret some indirect data about several socio-economic institutions of Central Asia of that period.

It is necessary to note that historians have done precious little on this aspect for the concrete historical research of Central Asia. One of the reasons for this is the limitation of the source material. Particular attention must pay to the search and study of the local sources. To what extent it is useful shown by the study of waqf grants of 1299 and 1326-1333 and the observations made by O.D. Chekhovich about the meaning of some terms.²⁵

From these documents it is obvious that the Mongols not only did not liquidate the waqf agriculture in Central Asia, but the relative weight of this category of land was perhaps not reduced but was increased. The Mongol Khans, with some exceptions, were tolerant in matters of religion. They often exempted the clergy (including Muslim) from taxes. Even during conquest and general plunder of cities, they often spared the property of the clergy. Of course, the waqf lands also got devastated along with other lands during the conquest and internecine conflicts and plundering raids of the Mongols. However, the category of these lands continued to exist. If to keep in mind the fact that the Mongols, before Kebek – Khan, did not interfere with the rule of Central Asia and did not desire to acquire land, it can be concluded that the fund of waqf lands did not decrease after the Mongol conquest. With the normalization of economic life this fund did not increase, the vivid proof of which is the waqf grants mentioned above. In 1299 Abdarrahim Mohammad, an aristocrat native of Isfijab bought a settlement with irrigated lands, made considerable constructions over them and converted all this into waqf, making himself and his heirs its managers. In 1326, the grandson of Seifaddin Bakharzi gifted to the mausoleum and khanaqa of his grandfather the entire district to the South-West of Bukhara. Even before this, the Mongol woman-khan Siyurkukteni gifted a large sum for the construction of a *madrasa* in Bukhara (Madrasa Khaniye) and provided it with waqf. The trader-ruler Mas'udbek also constructed madrasa (Madrasa Mas'udiye) in Bukhara in which he was later buried. The waqf properties of these madrasas must have been very large because the number of students in each of them allegedly ran up to a thousand.

From the other side there were some attempts to appropriate the waqf lands. One of the conditions in the waqf grant of 1326, that the waqf property

²⁴See: *Ali-zade A.A.*, 1956; *Barthold V.V.*, 1966g; *Belenitsky A.M.*, 1948; *Petrushevsky I.P.*, 1968; *Petrushevsky I.P.*, 1948, 1951, 1960 (bibliography given there).

²⁵*Chekhovich O.D.*, 1959; 1965a, 1967.

should not be farmed out or given on rent to the authorities, cannot be considered as just a formality.

Apart from the waqf lands, in the same grant while describing the plots, which were not part of the waqf, are mentioned three other categories of land: *milk* (*milk-i khass*), *mamlakai inju* and *mamlakai diwan*. The relative share of each category in Central Asia under the Mongols is not known. The milk lands in the legal terminology of the Muslim jurists included both — peasants' milki and feudal milki. The Mongol conquest and domination did not destroy the two forms of milki because we come across them in the post-Mongol period. The inju lands in the state of the Hulaguids were the lands belonging directly to the head of the state, to members of their family and their direct vassals. These lands could grant for service, given to waqf, gifted, sold, etc. One cannot but agree with I.P. Petrushevsky who compared the inju lands with the milk lands considering them of the same category: first are in the hands of the king, his family and vassals, and the second, in the hands of a private person.²⁶ It is true that the inju lands were exempted from taxes but sometimes this was also the case with milk lands. The inju lands fund in Iran, which was formed from the confiscated region, during the conquest and later lands of Iranian feudals and at the expense of commendation (giving away to private persons one's own land "under patronage" to any member of the dynasty) was very large. Obviously, the inju lands in Central Asia were not different from the Iranian. However, it not excluded that the relative weight and the means of formation were different. It is necessary to keep in mind that only Kebek – Khan and the rulers who succeeded him (but not all of them) firmly shifted to Maverannahr. By this time, the attitude to the settled population and local rules and laws was not the same as during the time of conquest and in the first decades after it. Hence, it can assumed that in Central Asia confiscation was not the main means for formation and addition to the inju lands fund. In general, this fund did not occupy such a big place here. During a detailed study of this question when sources permit it, it should not ignore that the purchase of milk lands was the most likely way for addition to the fund of inju lands. For Central Asia of much later period, examples are known when the kings purchased milk lands registering it in the usual way in the offices of the *qazis*.

The diwan lands are the state lands. Thus, under the Mongols in Central Asia there were four categories of lands according to the right to property: 1) the state lands, 2) feudal milki and inju, 3) waqf lands and 4) peasants' milki.

There is no basis to doubt that in Central Asia, during the Mongol rule as well as in Iran, there existed and developed the institution of feudal grant. In Iran during this period, the grants called by the old term *iqta* (Arabic) or by the new one *suiurgal* (Mongol language). Both iqta and suiurgal could be small as well as very large. In the beginning, iqta was given predominantly to the higher military ranks, common rank and file received maintenance in cash and kind. Under Gazan-Khan, entire districts were given away as iqta to all Mongol warriors not in mall parts but in a large allotment to a completely military unit. The Amir of one thousand divided such an allotment among the Amirs of one hundred and the latter in turn among Amirs of ten. These iqtas not only meant the right to rent, land, water and people, they were

²⁶Petrushevsky I.P., 1960, pp. 224-245.

hereditary and included full tax immunity. Suiurgal vividly manifested and complete form of exploitation by the feudal conquerors (Turk or Mongols) of the settled cultivators of land, which meant hereditary character and full tax, administrative-legal immunity. In large suiurgals the possessions of both the agricultural oases as well as nomadic steppe were joined.

The question of feudal grants in Central Asia, on the basis of concrete historical material, has not yet been worked out. It is clear that only the district of Khujand for jalairs, district of Qashqa-Darya for barlas, district of Southern Tajikistan for kauchins, etc. were grant territories or their iqta or suiurgal.²⁷

THE CATEGORY OF PEASANTS. THE QUESTION OF SERFDOM AND SLAVERY

The peasantry under the Mongols was not uniform as it was before and after them. There existed a privileged group of peasants (perhaps reduced in number as a result of bankruptcy and annihilation of a large part of population) who were the owners of peasant milki, that is, they paid a tax-rent to the state in a reduced form in comparison to others. The bulk of the peasants were tenants or leaseholders — *muzari*. This term mentioned many times in the waqf grants of 1326. According to the data of this grant, the leaseholders of the waqf arable land gave one-third of their harvest. But it was specially stipulated that these waqf lands were rented for not more than two years. The indirect data of the later period makes us assume that the Mongol conquest did not liquidate the communal remnants — the category of peasants living in one village hereditarily and having the right of "permanent lease" and some common rights and obligations binding them. In the XV-XVI centuries such surviving "peasant communes" were there on different categories of lands: on state, milk and waqflands. It is not known as to what was the situation in the XIII-XIV centuries.

In waqf grants of 1326 one more category of peasants — *kadivers* is mentioned. They are linked with cultivation on milk gardens. However, it is not clear from the documents as to what way their condition was different from that of the tenants or the leaseholders and what they had to do with the landowners. By this way, the milk gardens not only cultivated by the kadivers, but also by the bagbans (gardener). It is necessary to note that according to the grant of 1326 the waqf lands were cultivated by slaves also who though were freed by waqf givers but were attached to the land. They did not have the right to leave the waqf land but in all other matters, they were not different from the leaseholders as they also worked on condition of giving the one-third part of the harvest in kind.

The attachment to land of the freed slaves does not provide the basis to speak about serfdom in Central Asia. In Iran, under the Mongols, peasants were attached to some land and forbidden to leave it. But they returned to their

²⁷ In the connection "Amirs tumans" who were mentioned in the waqf grant of 1326 cannot but be remembered once again. Were these tumans only administrative units and Amirs their rulers? Or else as it was in some regions of the state of the Hulaguids, the Amirs of tumans were the owners of large grants (iqta or suiurgals)?

previous place from the middle of XIII century. The label of Gazan – Khan of 1303 only confirms this situation. It is important to note that it concerned those peasants who were located not only on the iqta land but also on milk land. I.P. Petrushevsky thinks that this rule applied to all peasants located on any type of land. The pre-conditions were as follows: if earlier the irrigated land was insufficient for dense population, after the Mongol destruction, the size of population and the area of cultivated land sharply decreased and the harsh exploitation, particularly by the military nomadic aristocracy resulted in mass exodus of peasants. The enslaving into serfdom policy of the Mongol Khans was dictated by the attempt of the state and the feudals to preserve the peasants as taxpayers. This policy was encouraged also by the fact that it was in line with the rules of Chengez Yasa, according to which the nomads attached to their leaders and were forbidden to leave at will.²⁸

In Central Asia there existed analogical pre-conditions such as decreased population and cultivated land, the destruction of the economy of the peasants and increased exploitation. In those districts of Central Asia (Southern Turkmenistan) which were parts of the state of the Hulaguids the attachment of peasants to land was (here as in other parts of this state. However, we do not have direct information about serfdom in the state of the Chagataids on the territory of Maverannahr and on the territory to the East.

Hence, it is premature to resolve this question. It is necessary to keep in mind some peculiarities of the organization of the administration in Maverannahr in comparison to Iran. As already mentioned, the Mongols themselves did not interfere in the administration of the country and also did not have their allotment and iqta in the XIII century: the revenues were collected by trader-rulers (Mahmud Yalavach, Mas'udbek and the latter's sons) and these revenues were considered common for those Mongols to whom this part of Central Asia belonged. That is why, before the Mongol princes and aristocracy at this time there was no concrete question of how and from whom to collect the land rent, whether the peasants were at their place or they had fled. Of course, in the XIV century the situation changed. But here also one cannot ignore the provision in the waqf grant of 1326 that the sharecroppers were not to be given land on rent for more than two years even when they brought it under irrigation and improved it. Here Bukhara oasis was mentioned which in 1273 and 1276 destroyed to such an extent that even in 1326 one could see the ruins of castles and villages, uprooted and deserted gardens, etc.

THE CONDITION OF CRAFTSMEN

The policy of the Mongols directed towards enslaving the population is clearly expressed in their attitude to craftsmen. In this respect, the testimony of one of the sources is interesting. Around 1262 the envoy of Kubilai-kaan made a new calculation in Bukhara: among 16 thousand of Bukharans, 5 thousand belonged to Batu, (that is, Juchids); 3 thousand belonged to Siyurkukteni-beki

²⁸Petrushevsky I.P., 1960, pp. 327-337.

(the mother of Hulagu-Khan, Munke-kaan and Kubilai-kaan), the rest belonged to the person who was the head of the Mongols, Kaan, in order that he could possess them as his property. In 1263, Hulagu-Khan who fought with Juchids ordered to take out of Bukhara and kill 5 thousand people belonging to Juchids; not sparing their property, wives and children. Researchers justly think that the reference is to the craftsmen registered with the Mongol Khans, who personally depended on and worked for them.²⁹

Plano Karpini mentions two groups of craftsmen: "In the land of Saratsions and others, in which they are the masters, they (Mongols – B.G.) take away all the best craftsmen and assign them different jobs. Other craftsmen pay them tribute from their business...they give everybody very little bread per day but they give nothing else except a small portion of meat thrice a week. In addition, they give this only to those craftsmen who live in cities."³⁰ Here there is one group of craftsmen reduced to the level of slaves from whom all the products of their labor are taken away and they are given only some daily food; and a second group of urban craftsmen (it is not clear whether they are free or enslaved), who work independently and pay tax for their craft. Probably Rashidaddin also mentions the same group while enumerating the measures of Munke-kaan directly linked to Central Asia: "... [Mengu-kaan] ordered that simple people from among the traders, craftsmen and owners of industries should be lenient towards their apprentices and share with them a part of their welfare so that everyone paid tribute on the deal proportionate to the amount and well-being."³¹

The condition of craftsmen of Central Asia was not the same and changed constantly during the two centuries. From the written sources, it is clear that many craftsmen were reduced to the level of slaves. During the conquest of Central Asia, the Mongols took away craftsmen to Mongolia. Later in the cities of Iran *karkhane* — workshops — were set up which belonged to the Mongol top brass where the craftsmen worked as slaves. At the same time, there were also serf-craftsmen like those mentioned above in Bukhara who worked independently but were registered with the Mongol Khans and paid them tax from crafts and trade. There was obviously a growing group of more free craftsmen and traders who paid taxes (*tamga*) to the treasury of the central power. Only the officials of the Diwan or the tax farmers could collect these taxes.

There is no basis to assume that the Mongols who took prisoners a large number of craftsmen and others who were enslaved and made serfs, destroyed completely by this the guild organization of the crafts. It was to revive again along with the revival of cities and commodity production. One of the negative phenomena of Mongol domination was an increase in the slave-owning sector. The Mongols enslaved the population of the conquered territories in a large number and not only craftsmen. The slaves were widely used in the economy including agriculture. In the markets, the slaves of different nationalities sold. As the labor of the slave who was not interested in production was not profitable, as the waqf grant of 1326 shows, the emancipation of the slaves was practiced by turning them into serfs.

²⁹Petrushevsky I.P., 1949, pp. 103, 114-115.

³⁰Plano Karpini, 1911, p. 36.

³¹Rashidaddin, II, 1960, p. 141.

The main conflict was not between the feudal elite and nomadic aristocracy but between feudal top brass (including higher clergy, traders and moneylenders), from one side, and peasantry and the urban lower strata from the other. The burdensome influence of the Muslim clergy on the ignorant and oppressed masses and particularly the stupefying role of sufism – dervishism and its numerous sheikhs held back by every means (although could not prevent completely) the development of the direct forms of struggle of the downtrodden Tajik masses against their local oppressors.

3. THE CULTURE OF THE PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA DURING THE MONGOL PERIOD

ARCHITECTURE. APPLIED CRAFTS AND ART

The intensive construction activity, which started in the middle of the XIII century and especially in the XIV century, is indicative of normalization followed by the growth of urban life and economy as a whole. The cost of constructions met by the clergy and the secular feudals and even by the individual representatives of the Mongol elite. However, the builders were the local masters that are why, the architecture of this period is only the logical development of local traditions, manifestation, materialization of the achievements of the Central Asian architects and different masters of applied arts.³²

From this period are preserved quite a large number of monuments, but all these are mausoleums. There is no need to think that the constructions of the XIII-XIV centuries were limited to only one of these forms of monumental buildings. From the written sources it known, that *madrasas* and palaces also built. Two big madrasas were built in Bukhara in the middle of the XIII century; the Mongolian ruler Kebek-Khan built the palace (Qarshi) as mentioned. In Kuhna-Orgench (Khwarezm), a magnificent minaret is preserved (its height about 62 meters), a second similar one collapsed in the beginning of the XX century — both of them are the component part of the madrasa.

The earliest among the preserved buildings of this period is the mausoleum of Seifaddin Bakharzi, an influential and popular sheikh whom evens the Mongols had to reckon with. He died in 1258. The descendants constructed, over his grave, a beautiful mausoleum along with a sufi – khanaqa by its side. In 1333, Ibn Batuta who called it a "big building" visited it. The mausoleum of Sheikh near Bukhara does not have a khanaqa. In the XIV century, it underwent big changes. The oldest part of it is the mausoleum itself. Adjacent to it the ziyarat-khana (quite a large building for praying at the grave of the sheikh and for performing rites) built later. The latest part of it is a portal. The monument is simple and huge. The expression of endurance and massiveness enhances its form: a small dome of the mausoleum itself, the big dome of the ziyarat-khana and the high massive portal decorated by towers on the sides.

³²About architecture see: *Bachinsky N.M.*, 1939; *Belenitsky A.M.*, 1950; *Bretanitsky L.S.*, 1958; *Pugachenkova G.A.*, *Rempel L.I.*, 1965; 1961; *Shishkin V.A.*, 1966 and others.

There are many pre-Timur mausoleums: several of them are in the Samarkand complex of Shahi zinda (ziyarat-khana in front of the mausoleum of Kussama ibn Abbas mausoleum of 1360, mausoleum of Khoja Ahmad etc.), the Bukharan mausoleum of Buyan Kuli-Khan, Kuhna-Orgench mausoleums of Najmaddin and Turabek-Khanum, mausoleum of Mohammad Bashoro in Central Tajikistan, presently ruined mausoleum of Tubakhan in Leninabad and others. From the viewpoint of architectural planning the majority of mausoleums are divided into two groups: more numerous are the domed mausoleums from one building, the other group consists of mausoleums of the type of Seifaddin Bakharzi, i.e., consisting of two-domed buildings (tomb and ziyarat-khana). At present, several constructive ideas worked out, especially the turn towards the domed mausoleums, double and even triple domed systems are being used.

The architectural decoration of this time is rich and variegated and testifies to the further development of the applied crafts. The carved terracotta with the use of glaze was widely in practice. The carved relief designs of the tiles sometimes entirely covered by blue or navy blue glaze, in other cases, the glaze was used only on the main big picture or inscription, and the ornamental inside decoration kept the texture of the terracotta tile.



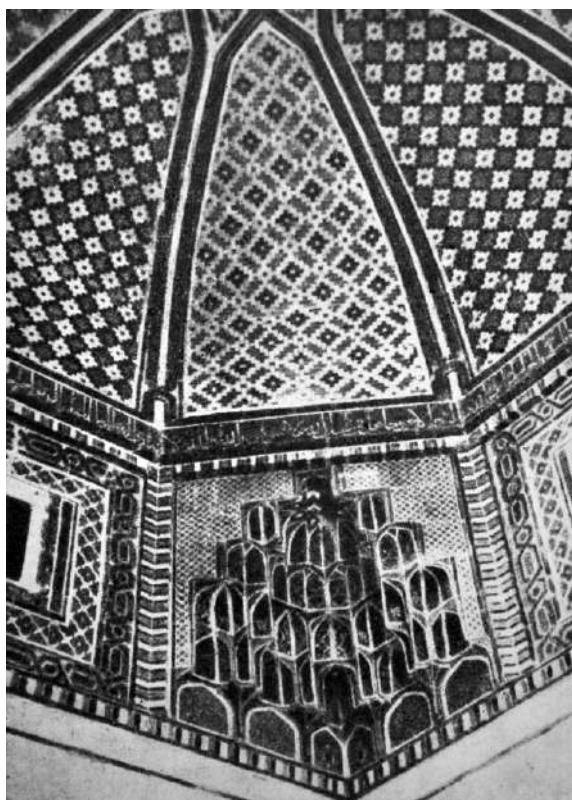
Mausoleum of Seifaddin Bakharzi of the XIV century in Bukhara

The single and multi-colored *majolica*, sometimes with the under-glazed or over-glazed picture made in gold or colors, was widespread. The simple but exquisite decoration of the walls by frames, at equal distances of vertical glazed bricks, was used. Inside splendid wall paintings sometimes covered the plastered surface of the walls. The old style of ornamentation also not abandoned completely. For example, typical for the XI-XII centuries — the carved terracotta

(without glaze) can see also in the XIV century. The multiplicity and richness of the complex floral and geometrical pictures majolica, wall paintings etc., is worth mentioning. The inventiveness of the painters who made these samples for the master-ceramists or the wall-painters is simply amazing.

Special mention may be made of the inscriptions on the large monuments of architecture, which were executed in different styles. They testify to the fact that the art of calligraphy preserved at the old level. It is also important to note that calligraphy and the art of ornamentation have left behind their beautiful samples not only in architecture. In this regard, highly interesting are two grey narrow-necked jugs, the pear-like torso of which is decorated by lines of beautifully stamped ornaments including the line of inscription containing the name and date: "The work of master Abdarrahman; 721 year" (i.e., 1321). The line of the inscription, which exquisitely executed, is the same on both the jugs. The remaining ornamental lines are different.

Some samples of glazed ceramics, found in Khwarezm and Southern Turkmenistan³³, are also of great artistic value. Buddhist place for keeping the idols in Merv in its time was painted; the rich fragments of this painting with depiction of a rabbit, dragon, etc. are preserved.³⁴



The interior of ziyarat-khana
(1334 A.D.). Ensemble at
Shahi zinda. Samarkand

³³ Vakturskaya N.N., 1959; Masson M.E., 1949; Litvinsky B.A., 1953 b; 1967.

³⁴ Pugachenkova G.A., 1954.

LITERATURE AND SCIENCE IN THE XIII MIDDLE OF XIV CENTURY

The conquest of Central Asia by the hordes of Chengez Khan inflicted a hard blow to the development of science and literature. In the XIII and the beginning of XIV century the literature developed namely in those places which were not under the Mongol rule, — in Asia Minor, in South of Iran and in India. Only by the end of the XIV, beginning of the XV century the literary centers began to concentrate in Maverannahr and Khorasan again.



Mausoleum of Turabek-Khanum. 60s-70s of the XIV century

The more important representatives of Tajik-Persian poetry of the XIII century are Jalaladdin Rumi, Saadi, and Amir Khusrav Dehlevi.

Jalaladdin Rumi (1207-1272) hailed from the old center of culture of the Tajik people — the city of Balkh. Before the invasion of the Mongols, he at the age of fourteen, along with his father, left his motherland, and having visited Nishapur, Hejaz, Syria and Asia Minor settled in Konia (Asia Minor). After receiving higher education, according to that time, he at the guidance of his father in Konia itself and then in Aleppo and Damascus started doing a teaching job. In 1244, under the influence of a dervish, he handed over his teaching job and his leadership of the sufi brotherhood to his disciples and chose to lead a secluded life himself.

Jalaladdin Rumi is one of the most important sufi poets. The best known of his works are “Diwan”, the collection of poems and a poem “**Masnavii Ma’navi**” (“Didactic couplets”), consisting of 36 thousand couplets in which the basics of sufi philosophy are expounded. In this poem, Rumi develops the genre of sufi – philosophic masnavi (the poems with twin rhyme).

The style of Rumi’s work is very simple, with the use of forms of Tajik folk poetry, lyric songs in ghazals and parables in masnavi.³⁵

Muslihaddin Saadi Shirazi (born about 1219, died in 1292) began his education in Shiraz, later moved to Baghdad where he completed his education.

From one side his passion for travel and from the other — situation in the motherland of Saadi during the Mongol invasion — compelled the poet to wander through different countries of the East over a long period. During his numerous travels, which lasted 30-40 years, Saadi visited Hejaz, Baghdad and Northern Africa.

In 1256, he returned to Shiraz and was engaged in refinement of his works. The poet from Shiraz, who wrote his works outside Central Asia, Saadi organically, entered in the history books of not only of Persian, but of also Tajik poetry. His creativity formed under influence of early medieval Tajik poetry and inseparably linked with it.

Besides the widely known works of “**Gulistan**”³⁶ and “**Bustan**”, Saadi³⁷ wrote many poems, especially several series of ghazals.

Saadi was also a great master in the field of prose. He also perfected the didactic genre. In his didactic works, the poet eloquently expressed his humanistic views and preached love for the motherland.

Saadi condemned tyranny and arbitrariness of the powerful in the world. He appealed to the rulers to respect and value the simple people. He urged them to be content, with the little and reproached money grabbing and lust for luxury. At the same time, the creative work of Saadi bore the stamp of historical and class narrow-mindedness. Thus, he writes about the need to submit to the mighty while preaching his version of non-resistance to evil.

Here are some examples of aphorism from “**Gulistan**”:

“When the enemy exhausts all his tricks, he starts weaving the chain of friendship. Thus, he is willing to become a friend when he cannot afford to be an enemy.”

³⁵Odilov N., 1964.

³⁶Saadi, 1959.

³⁷Ibid.

“For the ignoramus nothing is better than silence; but if he knew what is better for him he would not have been ignoramus.”

“Musk is what gives aroma and not what the chandler claims to be musk. The wise man is like the shop of a chandler. He silently shows his perfectness, and a stupid fellow is like a drum he has a loud voice but is hollow and worthless from inside.”

“Although the clothing of the Sultan is honorable, yet one’s worn-out dress is more honorable, although the table of the rich is sweet, yet the meal from one’s own bag is sweeter.”

“As is known the meekness of the camel is so great that a child can hold its rein and lead it a hundred steps without the camel trying to free itself, but if the camel were to be taken to a dangerous place which could cause its death and the child because of his ignorance wants to go there, the camel will snatch the reign from his hands and from the next time will not be obedient; where harshness is needed, softness is irrelevant.

They say that by softness you will not be able to make the enemy your friend, but you will only increase his pretensions.”

“The highest among the beings is obviously man, the lowest is the dog. But the sages unanimously affirm that a thankful dog is better than a thankless man.”

Amir Khusrav Dehlevi (1253-1325) — the father of the poet hailed from Kesh, but during the Mongol invasion he fled from Maverannahr to India. The poet was born in one of the cities of North India. After completing his education Amir Khusrav chose Delhi for settling down, where he continued his creative work at the court of the Sultan. Besides the Diwan of poems consisting of five parts, Amir Khusrav, following in the footsteps of Nizami, the genius son of the Azerbaijani people, wrote his poems in a combination of five. Although the poet persisted with his old topic, he changed the theme of the poems and gave original characteristics to his heroes.

More boldly than other poets, Amir Khusrav worked out local themes. His epic works “*Qiran assaadain*” (“About the reconciliation of prince Kei-Qubad with his father Bogra-khan”), “*Miftah al-futuh*” (“Key to victories”) and “*Nuh sipihr*” (“Nine Celestial Spheres”) are written on local themes. These works have, besides large literary value, also a great historical importance. A fairy-tale romantic poem of Amir Khusrav about an Indian prince and his beloved — “*Khizr-khan va Duvalrani*” is interesting.

Amir Khusrav was also interested in various sciences, poetry and music.

The first anthology of Tajik poetry surviving until our days “*Lubab al-albab*” (“The Heart of the Hearts”), i.e., “the best among the best”) was composed in 1221-1222. Its author **Mohammad Aufi** belonging to Merv and was brought up and educated in Bukhara. He fled to India to save his life during the Mongol invasion. Here besides the anthology he also compiled a collection of prose writings “*Javame al-hikaiat va lavame ar-rivaiyat*” (“The collection of stories and the rays of the narrations”), consisting of novels and legends etc.

Another writer **Mohammad ibn Qeis Razi**, who served at the court of the Khwarezmshah Mohammad, escaped from the Mongol invaders to the Southern regions of present Iran and here in 1223 he composed the poetics, or the theory of poetry (“Evaluator of quality of the poems of Ajam”, i.e., the poetry in Farsi

language") which contains specimen of works of the Tajik poets beginning from the earliest and ending with the contemporaries of the author.

The historical literature in the XIII century developed in a big way. Among the works of such a kind of literature, mention may be made of "*Tabaqati Nasiri*" written in 1260 by a person originating from Gur, *Abu Omar Minhajaddin Juzjani*. Apart from the history of kings of India in "*Tabaqati Nasiri*" given a detailed description of some of the events of the Ghaznavid period, Mongolian rule and, in particular, the troubles of the struggle against Ismailism. This work is also the best source on history of medieval Gur.

Among the historical works which are particularly valuable for the study of the Mongol period may also be mentioned the works of *Alaaddin Ata Malik Juveini* composed by him in Iran (died in 1283) "*Ta'rikhi Jahan-gushay*" ("The History of the Conqueror of the World") and the work of *Fazlallah Rashidaddin* (murdered in 1318) "*Jame' at-tavarikh*" ("The Collection of Histories"). The work of the latter is viewed by V.V. Barthold as the first serious attempt at compiling the medieval "*World History*".

CHAPTER V

TAJIK PEOPLE IN THE STATE OF TIMUR AND THE TIMURIDS

1. POLITICAL HISTORY. POPULAR MOVEMENTS TIMUR AND HIS FIRST STEPS TOWARDS POWER

The Mongol Khans while accepting Islam gradually concentrated around themselves the representatives of the clergy and the merchants and pursued a policy of centralization of the Khan Power.

Their centralizing aspirations led to discontent among the leaders of the Mongol and Turk clans. In the first half of the XIV century in the Chagatai ulus the struggle between the Khans and the clan, predominantly Turkic and the Turkicised aristocracy became aggravated. As a result of this struggle the clan leaders obtained big influence and the power of the Khans weakened.

In the middle of the XIV century in Maverannahr, Timur, the son of the Bek of Barlas, entered the political arena. In the beginning Timur “comes up as the chief of soldiers of fortune of different princes”,¹ and then became the founder of a large state.

Timur was born in 1336 in the village of Khoja Ilgar near the city of Kesh. This village still exists and is situated thirteen kilometers from the present Shahrисабз. His father Taragai was one of the famous representatives of the nobility of the Mongol tribe Barlas, which in the beginning of the XIV century settled down in the valley of the Qashqa-Darya. Leading a nomadic way of life but already beginning to turn to a settled life, this clan like many other Mongol clans in Maverannahr mixed up with the Turks, gradually losing its language and traditions.

Beginning with 1360 during ten years Timur took sides with either one or the other feudal rulers and simultaneously united around himself the Barlas tribe.

In 1361 the Khan of Mogolistan Tugluk – Timur seized Samarkand and the city of Kesh. Timur, having changed to the side of the invaders, joined Tugluk – Timur who helped him to become the ruler of Kesh. However, he did not stay for long in the service of Tugluk – Timur. By joining hands with the ruler of Balkh, Amir Husain, who was in hostility with Tugluk – Timur, Timur betrayed his first protector.

¹ “Arkhiv Marksа i Engelsa”. V. VI, p. 184.

Amir Husain and Timur rose in rebellion against Tugluk-Timur but they were defeated and compelled to leave Central Asia and flee to Sistan. In Sistan, Timur was during one of his military adventures wounded in his right hand and leg, and to the end of his life, he remained lame. From this, his pseudonym “Timuri-lang” is derived (“the limping Timur”).

In 1364, Amir Husain and Timur succeeded in snatching away Maverannahr from the Khan of Mogolistan. People hated both the Amirs, especially Husain whom known for his cruelty. He listened to the request and complaints of the Samarkand people holding in his hands an iron club. Often instead of giving an answer, he pounced upon the complainant and mercilessly beat him with his iron club.²

The son and successor of Tugluk – Timur, Ilyas-Khoja, came forward against Husain and Timur with the aim of taking back Maverannahr. In 1365, Amir Husain and Timur after collecting an army met the military forces of the enemy on the bank of river Chirchik. This battle known in history as the “Muddy battle”: this battle took place while the rain was pouring, resulting in horses slipping and falling down. Timur and Husain were defeated, they abandoned Samarkand and Shahrisabz at the mercy of fate and they fled to Balkh crossing the Amu-Darya. The troops of the Mogol Khan Ilyas-Khoja advanced directly to Samarkand. The population of the city found itself in a precarious situation as the garrison of Samarkand had fled along with Amir Husain and Timur.

THE MOVEMENT OF SARBEDARS

At this hard moment, the common people came to the defense of the city.³ When the population of Samarkand gathered at the central mosque, one of the students, Maulana-zade ascended the dais surrounded by a group of people with naked swords and said: “Numerous hordes of infidels (Mogols-B.G.) having entered our country to loot it is approaching our city. The ruler who took from every inhabitant large sums as taxes and tributes and spent them, as he liked, left us—Muslims—and fled fearing the infidels when the enemy appeared. Now whatsoever ransom the inhabitants of Samarkand give for their lives they will not escape the enemy. At the day of final judgment, you noblemen will hold responsible. Now who will take responsibility for defending the population of the city and be answerable for this before the noblemen and the common people? We will bow our heads before such a person and will start performing our duties.”⁴

To the appeal of Maulana-zade the nobility of Samarkand responded with total silence.

²See: Barthold V.V., 1964 d, p. 369, notes 44 (text), p. 370. (translation).

³About the movement of Sarbedars in Samarkand sees special works: Barthold V.V., 1964d; Gurievich A.M., 1935 (appendix contains translation of the sources by A.A. Semenov and A.A. Molchanov); Saliyev P., 1936; Nabiev R., 1942; Stroyeva L.V., 1949.

⁴AbdarazzakL.sh. 76; Barthold V.V., 1964 d, p. 371.

Then with the consent of all people present, there Maulana-zade took the responsibility of leader of the defense of the city. At once ten thousand young men took oath before him. Along with Maulana-zade others who led the defense were Maulana Khurdak Bukharai and sketcher of cotton Abubakr Kelevi (or *Kulai*, the elderman).

For three nights, the leader of the rebels Maulana-zade did not have a wink of sleep: it was necessary to organize the defense and for this force had to deploy and the city fortified. All this to done hurriedly as the enemy was approaching the city.

The defense of the city organized very skillfully. The rebels acted fast and were highly disciplined. The city inhabitants were ordered not to sleep and to remain on the positions allocated to them.

Mogol Khan knowing about the escape of Amir Husain and Timur decided that the city was defenseless. Hence, his forward troops entered the main street of Samarkand without any precaution. When they reached the place where Maulana-zade was lying in ambush with his arrow men, the signal for an overall offensive was given. Mogol troops attacked from three sides. The defenders of the city standing behind the barricades hurled at them stones and arrows. The Mogols forced to retreat suffering big losses.

The next day the Mogol troops resumed their attack on Samarkand but notwithstanding all kinds of nomadic tactics of warfare (like pretended fleeing and resort to sudden attack) they could not achieve any success. Then the Mogols decided to lay a long siege of the city. However, this also failed. After some time among the troops of the nomads, the epidemic of horse plague started and the Mogols were compelled to abandon the siege and retreat, content with the pillage of the city.

In Samarkand a struggle of the poor against the rich started. The toiling masses settled score with the hateful moneylenders and other exploiters. This movement of the residents of Samarkand is known in the historical literature as the “movement of sarbedars”. The term “sarbedar” appeared in 1336-1337 with regard to the uprising in the locality of Sebzevar in Khorasan, which started against Mogol Khan and big local landowners. The rebels raised a slogan, “It is better to see our heads on the gallows than to die of fear.” “Sarbedar” is a complex term formed out of two words: “Sar” (head) and “Dar” (gallows) with the addition of a preposition “be” (on).

The feudal historian of the epoch of Timur interpreting the term “Sarbedar” as “Darbob”, (suitable for the gallows) thus called the leaders of the Samarkand movement of 1365, considering them as rebels — opponents of the “lawful” regime. Thus Mirkhond, the author of *“Rauzat assafa”*, wrote, “One group of them (residents of Samarkand—B.G.) outstanding in its power and might and gifted with trouble-making and villainy dared to cross the limit of what was permissible to them, seized power and started violence”, lower he added: “Sarbedars began committing vile acts of different types.”

Mirkhond did not say anything what these “vile acts” were and merely sympathetically noted that “Husain and Timur considered curbing and defeating them (Sarbedars—B.G.) as the will of God”.

Historian Khondemir (a nephew of Mirkhond and one who continued his work) also gives a negative appraisal of the Sarbedars although he is compelled to recognize their contribution to repelling the invasion of the Mogols: “When the Samarkand Sarbedars successfully tackled these acts of big importance (the expulsion of the Mogols — B.G.) they chose the path of villainy and trouble-making and extended their hands towards capturing the property of their subordinates.”⁵

The other historian Sharafaddin Yezdi writes about the Sarbedars: “In the minds of this group which had a big power and might penetrated the wind of vanity, they dared to rise above the limit and extended their hands towards bloodshed and instigation of revolt and capturing power through violence”. This evaluation he confirms with his rhyme: “O God, let it not happen, a beggar becoming an honorable person!”⁶

Sarbedars defended the interests of craftsmen and lower strata of the urban population that is why the measures taken by them were in conflict with the interests of the aristocracy in Samarkand.

When the news of the retreat of the Mogol forces from Samarkand reached Timur he at once sent his envoy to Amir Husain and a little later he himself also met him. After discussing the situation, they decided not to hurry with the occupation of Samarkand, as they perhaps feared to meet a strong resistance from its defenders. Not daring to openly fight with the Samarkandis they decided to take upon them by resort to cunning. In order to mislead the defenders of Samarkand they wrote a letter to the leader of defense of the city that they were entrusting him the rule of the city and that none of the inhabitants would be punished. They confirmed this promise on oath on an accompanying letter along with robe of honor and other gifts. Along with eloquent envoys, they sent to Samarkand also special emissaries, who were to penetrate into the city and taking advantage of the heterogeneity of the composition of the Sarbedars, for preparing the ground for the seizure of the city.

The action of the emissaries of Amir Husain and Timur trying to attract the wavering strata of urban population, the indecisive line of the well-to-do section of the Sarbedars and also the preparedness of certain influential persons among them for a compromise with Amir Husain and Timur brought about a rift among the Sarbedars.

In the beginning of the spring of 1366 A.D., Amir Husain and Timur reached Samarkand with their troops and halting in a camp here wrote a letter to the Sarbedars: “We fully trust you and consider you better than other rulers.” Believing their promises, the leaders of the Sarbedars came to the camp of Amir Husain but on arrival there, they captured and executed. Only Maulana-zade spared his life at the instance of Timur. Thus, the movement of Samarkand Sarbedars was rendered headless and harshly suppressed. Amur Husain and Timur again became the rulers of Samarkand.

The movement of 1365-1366 encompassed perhaps not only Samarkand but also the villages adjacent to it. However, the historical sources throw little

⁵Mirkhond, V.VI, pp. 12-13; Khondemir, V.III, Part 3, p. 9.

⁶Sharafaddin Yezdi, 1887, p. 110.

light on it. Nevertheless, Khondemir informs: "After Amir Husain occupied Samarkand the other regions also stopped defiance and disobedience."

The information given by written sources about this movement, which preserved in works of feudal historiography, is extremely fragmented and tendentious. Very little is known about the social programme and policy of the leaders of the uprising. Only there are few scanty references. We are also unaware of most of the measures implemented during the time of uprising.

Usually in historical works of a general character and in the special researches the Samarkand movement of the Sarbedars interpreted as simply a reaction of the urban population to the threat of capture of the city by the Mogols. However, it is difficult to imagine how in this event the city dwellers could organize within a short period of few days an excellent defense against numerically superior and militarily more skillful enemies. Most likely, in the city on the eve and may be even long before this event, existed a powerful Sarbedar organization, and forces prepared to go ahead with the Sarbedar aims and slogans.

As is known, in Western Khorasan in 1337-1381, that is, during approximately half a century there existed a state of the Sarbedars and in Mazanderan in 1350-1392 and in Gilan starting from 1370 the so-called Seyid states came into existence. The Sarbedar movement in Samarkand (1365-1366) and in Kermina (1373) should viewed not in an isolated way but in the context of all these movements, the ideas of which, and perhaps some definite but covert forms of organization in the middle and the third quarter of the XIV century, had penetrated into Central Asia.

The states of the Sarbedar type as well as the other neighboring states were built on the monarchical principle. However, there was a principal difference in their social base. In the Sarbedar state, the power was in the hands of the small feudals and these states could survive only on the support of the peasants and craftsmen. The military forces consisted of the volunteer corps recruited from among the small landowners and the free peasants and not from among the feudals with their military retinues. Not only the army but also the rule was democratized; though at the helm of the state stood the Sarbedar aristocracy, its external forms were completely different. Even rulers wore simple clothes. There was equality in distribution of the war booty. The rulers organized common feasts for all. Once a year the house of the ruler opened up for "ransacking" by the crowd. All this was the outcome of adaptation of the aristocracy to the "leveling" tendencies of the radical wing of the Sarbedardom and implemented under pressure of the popular masses.

As I.P. Petrushevsky rightly observes, "The Sarbedar state was not a peasant democracy. It was a state of small landowners which however could exist only thanks to considerable concessions made to the peasantry." These concessions were related not only to the outer forms. It is enough to say that all the taxes and tributes, which not based on the Sheriat, were in general annulled. The lands of the big feudals were confiscated. These lands fell into the hands of those strata, which formed the Sarbedar aristocracy. Perhaps, the condition of the urban population also made easier. Because of the measures implemented under pressure of the popular masses, the urban population won better conditions. The

regions included in the Sarbedar-Khorasan state, cities and rural districts literally blossomed.⁷

Even from this short sketch of the Khorasan Sarbedars and their programme and policy it becomes clear what an attractive force this movement must have become for the popular masses of Maverannahr. In Samarkand, the Sarbedar movement had perhaps deep roots. That is why Timur, while sparing Maulana-zade's life showing such unusual "humanism" for him, merely intended to win over the sympathies of the urban population as a cunning and farsighted politician. However, his maneuvering did not succeed and the popular masses incessantly rose in uprisings against him.

About the strong traditions of the Sarbedar movement in Samarkand testifies the fact that after the establishment of the power of Timur, each time when he was far away, the Samarkand people rose in rebellion. During 18 years (1370-1388), there were nine such uprisings; but notwithstanding all the cruelties of Timur the Samarkandis bravely fought for freedom.⁸

THE SEIZURE OF POWER BY TIMUR IN MAVERANNAHR AND HIS FURTHER CONQUESTS

After the seizure of Samarkand, the relations between Amir Husain and Timur got aggravated. During the rule of Amir Husain, Timur was the ruler of Shahrисабз and Qarshi and covertly acted against his former ally. In 1370, he made a coup d'état in Samarkand as a result of which Amir Husain was killed and Timur became the Amir of the entire Maverannahr.

Not being a descendant of Chengez Khan, Timur did not take the title Khan. He declared himself Amir with the addition of the word "Gurgan" (i.e., the son-in-law), because he married the widow of Amir Husain — daughter of Chengizid Kazan-khan. Timur ruled with the help of dummy khans of Suyurgatmish (1370-1388) and his son Sultan Mahmud (1388-1402).⁹

Timur formed a dependable guard force from out of the Chagataide tribes mainly from the Barlas, which were close to him. He gave them various privileges. The army contingents drawn from these tribes were the mainstay of his power.

The Spanish envoy Gonzalez de Clavikho who visited in 1404 the capital of Timur's state, Samarkand, writes in his memoirs: "These Chakatai have special privileges from the king; they can roam anywhere they want with their herds, grazing them, sowing and living wherever they want in winter as well as summer. They are free and do not pay taxes to the king, because they serve him during the war when he calls them."¹⁰

After crushing the uprising of the popular masses including the most powerful one, that of the Sarbedars in Samarkand, Timur started fighting with

⁷For an analysis of the history, social base and ideology of the Sarbedar movement in Khorasan see: *Petrushevsky I.P.*, 1956.

⁸*Ibn Arabshah*, 1868-1869, p. 16. About these uprisings – *Stroeva L.V.*, 1949, pp. 280-281.

⁹*Barthold V.V.*, 1964 d, pp. 42, 47-48.

¹⁰*Clavikho*, 1881, p. 220.

the local feudals who wanted to become independent. The centralizing action of Timur was supported by the influential section of urban population — rich craftsmen and merchants — interested in liquidation of the power of the feudal rulers and their internecine wars. Timur attracted to his side the clergy also by giving them various economic privileges. By organizing plunderous raids on the neighboring countries and raising the prospects of easy booty, he could stimulate the appetite of small rulers who accepted his suzerainty.

Starting his wars of conquest, which lasted 35 years, Timur first established his power in the lower part of the Syr-Darya where at that time was located the Khanate of the White Horde. Meddling with the inter-dynastic disputes of the White Horde, Timur supported one of the pretenders to the Khan's throne, Tokhtamish-khan, who with his help also became the Khan of the Golden Horde.

In 1372, Amir Timur for the first time captured Khwarezm. Subsequently, he raided five times the rebellious Khwarezmians, the last time in 1388. During this last raid, the capital of Khwarezm, the city of Orgench (Gurganj), one of the centers of trade between Eastern Europe and Central Asia, was razed to ground on the order of Timur. The city population taken away to Samarkand and on the site of the destroyed city, barley was sown. Only in 1391, Timur allowed the restoration of Orgench.

In 1388, Timur started a fierce and long-extending fight with Tokhtamish who had deserted him. In 1392, Timur invaded the Caucasus, looting and subjugating Armenia and Georgia. In 1395, he defeated the troops of Tokhtamish and chasing the remnants of his troops invaded across the Russian border (reached Yelets). Soon after Timur seized and destroyed the capital of the Golden Horde — the city of Sarai Berke situated on the bank of the Volga and thus inflicted a final defeat on the Golden Horde.¹¹

All this according to A.Iu. Yakubovsky inflicted an “irreparable blow” on the Golden Horde. The spinal cord of the state, which brought so much suffering and misery to ancient Russia, was broken. The Golden Horde after 1395 clearly began to decline. The defeat of Mamai in, 1380 at the battlefield of Kulikov was the first significant blow delivered to the Golden Horde. The defeat on the river Terek in 1395 and the fall of Sarai was the second blow. Timur was waging war against the Golden Horde for the sake of the Central Asian interest and without any contact with the Moscow ruler about whom he did not have any idea. However, he objectively did a useful job not only for Central Asia but for Russia as well (although in the same year, that is, 1395 he looted several Southern Russian cities).¹²

Fighting with the Golden Horde Timur at the same time was conducting military action against Iran as a result of which Iran was included in his empire. Timur also made three plundering raids on India. In 1398, he captured Delhi, took hold of the large treasury there and in 1399 returned to Samarkand. Next year Timur defeated the Egyptian Sultan on the territory of Syria and in 1402 in the battle near Ankara completely crushed the troops of the Turkish Sultan Bayazid. On his return to his capital in 1404 Timur began intensive military preparations

¹¹ Grekov B.D., Yakubovsky A.Iu., 1950, pp. 316-373.

¹² Yakubovsky A.Iu., 1946 a, p. 64.

for the conquest of China and in the beginning of the year 1405 advanced with his troops towards the East. However, he could not execute his design because on the way (in Otrar) he died suddenly.

As a result of the numerous military expeditions and conquests, Timur was able to establish a large empire which included not only Maverannahr, Khwarezm, the Near-Caspian regions, the territory of present Afghanistan but also Iran and part of India, Iraq, parts of Southern Caucasus and several countries of Western Asia.

The military campaigns of Timur had an openly predatory character. For example, during the fight with Tokhtamish, he devastated the Volga region to such an extent that a famine broke out there. He also barbarically ravaged the flourishing Northern India. The bandit hordes of Timur took away from there vast riches leaving behind devastated cities and villages, epidemics and famines. A populous Armenia, as an eyewitness recalls, "Timur turned into desert by famine, sword, imprisonment, brutal suffering and by his inhuman behaviour."¹³

The campaigns of conquest by Timur were followed by brutal atrocities. In 1387 during the siege of Isfahan, he ordered his troops to behead 70 thousand of peaceful population and build a pyramid from their heads. In India in 1398,100thousand prisoners were murdered. In 1401 in Damascus he gave an order that every warrior should bring a chopped off human head. From these heads afterwards built pyramids. In the same year 1401 after crushing the uprising in Baghdad on the day of the festival of Qurban he ordered his warriors to behead 90 thousand persons and from their heads to build 120 pyramids. Implementing his order, the warriors of Timur brutally killed women and children and also prisoners brought from Syria. After the death of Timur, Sharafaddin Yezdi in his "*Zafarnama*" wrote that in the vast empire of Timur there were many of such pyramids made from human heads. After capturing, one city in Asia Minor Timur ordered to throw on the ground all the children and drive horse carriage over them. This was the kind of harvest threshing, remarks eyewitness of the event.

The tragic events in Khorasan (Sebzevar) surpassed in their brutality even these savage deeds. The population of Sebzevar rose against the bloody rule of Timur. In 1383 after suppressing this uprising, Timur ordered live persons to be plastered in making walls and several walls constructed in this manner. There were cases when the warriors of Timur buried alive the enemy taken as prisoners. Once on the order of Timur 4000 persons were executed in this manner. "...The policy of Timur — writes Marx — was to cut off, torture and annihilate, women, children and young men in thousands in order to strike terror everywhere..."¹⁴ Thus Timur tried to keep in submission the population which he savagely exploited.

The historical sources attribute to him this saying: "The entire space of the inhabited part of the world does not deserve to have more than one king."¹⁵ Indeed apart from plundering and exploiting the population of the conquered

¹³ *Foma Metsopsky*, 1957, p. 62.

¹⁴ "Arkhiv Marksia i Engelsa", V. VI, p. 85.

¹⁵ *Sharafaddin Yezdi*, 1887, V. I, p. 306.

countries, Timur strove to establish world domination. He made it his goal to re-establish the fallen Mongol empire. Timur may call the gatherer of the fallen empire of Chengez Khan. However, it must note that he was not able to realize this goal. He could not organize in the countries conquered by him a uniform kind of rule whatsoever.

Devastating cultured countries, Timur at the same time tried to create a well-organized infrastructure of public utility in the Central Asian region, which formed the basis of his power. On his order were executed large irrigation and road-building projects. For the purpose Timur brought into Maverannahr groups of imprisoned masters, scientists and artists from Mesopotamia, Syria and India. In particular, many artisans, scientists and artists were brought to the capital of Timur—Samarkand. That is why Samarkand grew extremely fast during this period.

In the interests of merchants and the feudal elite connected with trade Timur also took measures to turn Samarkand into the biggest center of trade. Gonzalez de Clavikho writes about this as follows: "As in it (in Samarkand—B.G.) there was not much place to sell everything in an orderly manner, the king ordered to build a street across the city where on both sides there would be shops and kiosks for sale of goods."¹⁶

This work was done in a way characteristic of Timur. On the order of his officials the houses and other buildings which stood on the street to be built, were removed and their owners fled in order to escape trouble. "The street was made very wide and on both sides of it kiosks were put up... from above, the entire street was covered with dome having windows through which light was to come. As soon as the job was finished the traders at once occupied the shops and started selling different goods."¹⁷

Timur tried to direct the trade routes again through Maverannahr and to destroy the trade, which was going on between Europe and the East through the Golden Horde. He destroyed Sarai and Orgench so that these cities lost their importance for trade.

After the conquest of Iran, Timur partially reconstructed the world trade route, which passed through Maverannahr.¹⁸ The traders now went from Iran to Sultania and from there through Herat and Balkh to Samarkand and after that through Taraz they went to Mongolia.

THE DYNASTIC STRUGGLE AMONG THE TIMURIDS

Soon after the death of Timur, the empire created by him disintegrated and Maverannahr turned into an arena of bloody dynastic struggle. Already during

¹⁶ Clavikho, 1881, p. 316.

¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 317-318.

¹⁸ In the correspondence of Timur with the rulers of the states of Western Europe, French King Charles VI and English King Henry IV, the questions of development of trade occupied an important place. See: Umnyakov I.I., 1956; "The History of Samarkand" V. I, 1969, pp. 173-189.

his life, Timur appointed his sons Jahangir, Omar-sheikh, Miran-shah, Shahrukh and grandsons Mohammad Sultan, Pir Mohammad, Ibrahim and Ulugbek as rulers of parts of the state.

Even several days did not pass after the death of Timur that everyone among the Timurids declared himself independent. The grandson of Timur, ruler of Tashkent Khalil-sultan (son of Miran-shah) gathered the troops, and overtaking another grandson of Timur, son of Jahangir Pir Mohammad, whom Timur appointed his successor, captured the capital of the state Samarkand. Repeated attempts of Pir Mohammad to restore his rights did not succeed. In 1406, he killed.

The Timurids had to struggle with the representatives of former dynasties who dislodged by Timur. On the West and North-West of Iran, the representatives of one of the Turkmen dynasty, Qara-Quiunlu, in Turkestan Amir Khudaidad and Sheikh Nuraddin rose in rebellion. While Khalil – sultan was fighting on the bank of Amu-Darya with the troops of Pir Mohammad, Khudaidad united the troops of Mogols and Qalmyqs and intruded into Maverannahr. He captured Samarkand and took Khalil-sultan prisoner during the battle.

For the Timurids an extremely dangerous situation occurred. The son of Timur, Shahrukh who ruled in Herat and was considered as a nominal heir of Timur, hastily collected troops and advanced towards Maverannahr.

After defeating troops of Khudaidad, Shahrukh got him murdered and freed Khalil. However, he did not restore Khalil in his rights as the heir of the throne but appointed him the ruler of Rey. Shahrukh entrusted the rule of Samarkand and the entire Maverannahr to his 15-year old son Ulugbek in 1409. After this, he moved his troops towards Iran.

Gradually depriving from power the successors of the three-elder sons of Timur (sons of Jahangir, Omar-sheikh and Miran-shah), the enterprising Shahrukh made his son Ibrahim Sultan the ruler of Shiraz and to his other son, Suiurgatmish gave the rule over Kabul, Ghazna and Qandahar.

Meanwhile the representative of the Turkmen dynasty Qara-Quiunlu managed to take back the territory, which they had possessed before the conquest of Timur, and considerably expanded it. Shahrukh carried out against Qara-Quiunlu three military campaigns, but failing to gain a decisive victory agreed to conclude peace and conceded the rule over Azerbaijan to one of the representatives of this dynasty – Jahan – shah.

During the rule of Shahrukh (1405-1447), the state of Timur though losing a part of its territory, had preserved its might. In fact, from the possessions of Shahrukh two states formed. Shahrukh himself with the center in Herat formed one state and the other state under Ulugbek with center in Samarkand.¹⁹

¹⁹The credit for detailed research on the entire history of Central Asia in the times of Ulugbek goes to V.V. Barthold (1964). See also: Ahmedov B.A., 1965.

THE RULE OF ULUGBEK

When Shahrukh appointed 15-years old Ulugbek ruler of Samarkand, the power in fact was in the hands of the outstanding military commander, an associate of Timur, Amir Shah-Malik. Already on 20 April 1410, Ulugbek and his guardian had to flee from Samarkand under the offensive of the other military commander of Timur, the ruler of Turkestan. In order to put everything right Shahrukh came himself with a large army to defeat the troops of the rebel feudals. Two years later he (Shahrukh) was killed.

The power of Shahrukh finally established in Central Asia. The dependence on the guardian was irksome for Ulugbek who many times complained against him to his father. Political expedience also demanded the withdrawal of Shah-Malik (he had many enemies among the Central Asian aristocracy), and this was done. In 1411, the 17-year old Ulugbek became not only formal but also actual ruler of Maverannahr.

However, the supreme power remained in the hands of Shahrukh. Ulugbek visited Herat several times to pay respect to his father. He always sought advice of his father on important matters and reported to him. At the same time, the contemporaries of Ulugbek did not consider him as vice-regent, practically in all respects he was independent but did not openly defy his father or did not let relations reach a breaking point.

In 1414, Ulugbek undertook successful military action against the ruler of Fergana, Prince Ahmad. Fergana and later Kashgar joined to his possessions. The strengthened Uzbeks and Mogolistan gave Ulugbek lot of trouble. In the beginning, he succeeded in putting his proteges on the throne of these nomadic states. But soon they again started defying him. In 1425, he crushed the Mogolistan Amirs in the region of the Issykul Lake and River Ili, captured booty including nephrite, which was used for the tombstone of Timur.²⁰

The inscription in the gorge of Jilianutin (on the way between Jizak and Samarkand) is also a monument of these events in which Ulugbek informs that he undertook the military campaign and “from those people returned unhurt in these countries.”²¹

But two years later the troops of Ulugbek were badly defeated by nomadic Uzbeks. It was, however, largely, because of carelessness and lack of administrative abilities of Ulugbek himself and the leaders of his army. The conquerors ravaged the country. Shahrukh himself came to the rescue of his son with a large army.

The guilty ones for military defeat were severely punished. Ulugbek removed from power but restored by his father out of pity.

After this Ulugbek did not take the risk of heading a military expedition. The actions of the troops sent by him against the nomads usually did not bring success. The nomadic Uzbeks not only captured a considerable part of Khwarezm but invaded Maverannahr and Northern provinces of Iran many times. Thus, Ulugbek did not win any military laurels.

²⁰Masson M.E., 1948.

²¹Lerkh P.I., 1870, p. 26.

From among the inter-state measures of Ulugbek it is necessary to highlight his monetary reform of 1428 which played a positive role in bringing order to the monetary sphere and trade. This reform was in harmony with the interests of the toiling population (for more details about this see below). Perhaps during Ulugbek's rule the land tax was lower than in the second half of the XV century after the death of this ruler. Here are the words of Daulat – shah: "During the rule of his father Shahrugh, Ulugbek governed Samarkand and Maverannahr independently for forty years. He followed commendable rules for the cause of law and justice."

Ulugbek differed from Shahrugh in many ways. The latter was an orthodox Muslim who saw his main task not only to follow exactly all the rules of the Sheriat himself, but also to force others—all his subjects—to do so. In Herat, the capital of the state dominated an atmosphere of rigor and piety.

At the same time in Herat, literature and fine arts were developing. The son of Shahrugh, prince Baisunqar, established there a big bookstore (*kitab – khana*). It had a large number of copy-makers, binders and even specialists on literature. Not only copying of old and rare texts was done here but also critical work on texts was organized. Thus, one can assess the preparation of a free text of Firdausi's "*Shahnama*" which was done in this kitabkhana on the order of Baisunqar. This text carried a long introduction. This copy of "*Shahnama*" has preserved until the present times and is in Teheran.²²

In Samarkand prevailed a completely different atmosphere. Even the official head of the clergy—Sheikh al-Islam—organized feasts where women singers also were invited. A follower of strict observance of Sheriat norms asked him a question: "Sheikh al-Islam "without Islam", which religious school allows men and women to sit together and drink?"

The conflict between the representatives of Muslim piety and Ulugbek was aggravated by the interest of Ulugbek in secular sciences.

The first guardian of Ulugbek in his childhood was Sheikh Arif Azari — a storyteller, poet and famous scientist. Later there were other teachers as well. Among them Qazi-zade Rumi who was called "Plato of his times", Giyasaddin and others are worth mentioning. Ulugbek had a sound knowledge of literature. He was proficient in Turkic, Tajik and Arabic languages. He himself wrote poems in Turkic and Tajik languages, was a connoisseur of music and author of five musical works. He also had an interest in medicine.

He participated in scientific discussions, impressing not only by his phenomenal memory, but also by depth of his knowledge. In his encyclopedic knowledge, Ulugbek's favorite sciences were mathematics, particularly astronomy. He collected in Samarkand the best of mathematicians and astronomers of that period. An astronomical observatory with advanced instruments built. The results of the works of the observatory in which Ulugbek took direct part were new astronomical tables with a wide theoretical introduction.²³

²²Barthold V.V., 1964 d, pp. 120-121; Romaskevich A.A., 1934, p.14; Yakubovsky A.Iu., 1946, pp. 20-21; Bertels E.E., 1960, pp. 169-170.

²³Masson M.E., 1941; Kari-Niyazov T.N., 1950; Shishkin V.A., 1953; Voronovsky D.G., 1965;

In Samarkand, Bukhara, Kesh, and Gizduvan on the order of Ulugbek many monumental buildings were constructed including the famous madrasa on the Samarkand Registan.²⁴

THE ASSASSINATION OF ULUGBEK THE FEUDAL STRIFES

After the death of Shahrukh (1447) Ulugbek for some time occupied Herat, the capital city. However, at this time nomadic Uzbeks intruded into the region of Samarkand and surrounded the city. Ulugbek had to come back to Maverannahr. On his return, he suffered big losses in the army. This undermined his authority. The population dissatisfied by the fact that the central power was not able to bring to an end plundering raids and pillage. Taking advantage of this dissatisfaction, which was further instigated by the clergy, Ulugbek's own son Abdallatif raised in rebellion against him. In the ensuing battle, Ulugbek was utterly defeated and dethroned. With the knowledge (and undoubtedly on the order of Abdallatif) Ulugbek was murdered at the end of October 1449.

Abdallatif had been longing to occupy the Timurid throne. The representatives of the Muslim clergy and the leaders of the dervish brotherhoods who hated Ulugbek supported him.

Having murdered his father, Abdallatif killed his brothers also in order to liquidate the claimants to the throne. However, six months later military conspirators killed him himself. After this, the dynastic struggle between the Timurids was intensified. The nomadic tribes took advantage of internecine wars. These tribes started playing a more important role in the political life of the country. With the direct help of Uzbek nomadic tribes united under the leadership of Abulkhair-Khan, the Timurid Abusaid succeeded in restoring in Maverannahr the power of the successors of Miran – shah.

During the rule of Sultan Abusaid (1455-1469), the development of science and literature changed to intensification of religious fanaticism and to the influence of the reactionary clergy and dervishism. Not only Samarkand and Bukhara but also the entire Maverannahr started losing the importance of a leading country of the East.

The role of reactionary dervishism grew to such an extent that the Timurid state was subjected to the leader of dervish brotherhoods—the biggest feudal Khoja Ahrar. It may state that the 40-year old rule of Ulugbek replaced by the almost also 40-year rule of Khoja Ahrar, who was one of the darkest figures in the history of the peoples of Central Asia.

In the middle of XV century in Khorasan, a fierce fight was going on for the seizure of supreme power. Abusaid succeeded in capturing the throne of Herat and unite under his power the territory from the Tien-Shan to Baghdad and from the steppes of Kyrgyzstan to the River Indus. However, this unification

Kari-Niyazov T.N., 1965; Sirajidinov S.Kh., Matviyevskaya G.P., 1965; Shishkin V.A., 1965.

²⁴Pugachenkova G.A., 1965.

was, in fact, nominal, as it was impossible to fight against separatism of big feudals who were actually complete masters of entire provinces and districts.²⁵

About the extent of power of feudal separatism, particularly in Khorasan, a contemporary historian Abdarazzak Samarqandi narrates quite vividly: "The most astonishing was the fact that every fortress situated in this country was in possession of one or the other head."

Maverannahr from 1469 went to the children of Abusaid and Khorasan to the successors of Omar-sheikh, the most leading representative of whom was at this period Sultan- Husain ibn Mansur ibn Baiqara who succeeded in establishing a firm power in Herat and to keep it during a period of 40 years.²⁶

2. THE ECONOMY, SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATIONS

THE GENERAL CONDITION OF THE ECONOMY AND THE EXPLOITATION OF THE PEASANTRY

During the rule of the Timurids, agriculture was in a considerably better situation than under the Mongols. The wars of Timur were ruinous. He annihilated a large number of people particularly in those cities and regions where he met with resistance. However, at the same time he undertook some measures for restoration of irrigational channels ruined by the Mongols and expanding the sown areas in some regions of the state. His taxation policy also created relatively good conditions for the upsurge and development of agriculture. The Timurids, with the exception of the period of internecine wars, mainly continued this policy of the founder of the state.²⁷

It is known that Timur constructed large irrigation works in the Merv oasis, in the Valley of Murghab River. He ordered the military commanders and the aristocracy to cut canals from the Murghab River; sources name 20 such canals, many of them carried the names of important military leaders and aristocracy of Timur's times. Later Shahrukh took measures to restore here the main dam called Sultan-bend and to clean the choked canals. A large part of the area in the Merv oasis was irrigated on the initiative of Sultan – Husain. Irrigation works also developed in some other regions of the state (for example, in the region of capital

²⁵During the rule of Abusaid the western parts of Iran from Azerbaijan to the shores of the Indian Ocean considered earlier a part of the state of Timur went into the hands of the Western – Oguzs dynasty Qara-Quiunlu (1410-1468). In 1458 Jahan – shah attempted to conquer Khorasan, even seized Herat, but could not succeed overall and was compelled to leave these territories. In 1459 between him and Abusaid an agreement reached according to which the Western part of Iran was left in the possession of Jahan – shah and Khorasan was taken over by Abusaid. After the death of Jahan – shah, Abusaid tried to restore the power of the Timurid states on Western Iran but did not succeed. He was imprisoned and killed (1469). Thus, the Western part of Iran left out of the domains of the later Timurid rulers.

²⁶Barthold V.V., 1964 e; Yakubovsky A.Iu., 1946.

²⁷Zhukovsky V.A., 1894, p. 71; Barthold V.V., 1964d, p. 62; 1965 a, pp. 151-152; 194-195; Mahmudov N., 1966, p. 13.

Herat and Samarkand). During the Timurid rule, private initiative was also encouraged: persons who cultivated wastelands were given concessions.

Several questions related to socio-economic history of Central Asia in the XV century have not yet solved. Some have even not been raised. However, Soviet historians have done a lot of work and continue to pay attention to the agrarian relations in this period,²⁸ so that important regularities, processes and phenomena can be highlighted more fully and concretely than it had been possible during the preceding period.

Khiraj – the main land tax-rent during the time of Timur and the Timurids collected in two ways: from the share of the crop in kind or from the measured area in cash.²⁹ Mainly khiraj was collected in kind and was of a fixed size. According to some sources from cultivated lands, it was equal as a rule to one-third of the crop.

In the sources, examples are mentioned how officials were punished for their abuse of power and exceeding the norms of collection: in some cases, they were allegedly forced to return to the peasants what was taken from them above the norm. On the occasion of some festivals, certain regions were for some time exempted from khiraj.

But the same sources also inform that (particularly during the internecine wars) khiraj was collected often several times a year or exceeding all norms and over and above all kinds of taxes, completely arbitrary collection from the population were made.

In this connection, the testimony of Daulat – shah on the norms and monetary form of khiraj not from part of the crop but from a certain area of land is interesting. From this, it is evident that this norm during Ulugbek's reign was lower than at that period (1487) when Daulat – shah wrote his account.³⁰ Whether similar change in part of the khiraj taken in kind out of the crop had, taken place not known yet. But it is more likely that if the norm was changed it must have applied to all kinds of khiraj.

Besides one main tax-rent of the XV century, there were many other additional ones, also legalized, taken either in cash or in kind. The entire group of such additional taxes was meant for the upkeep of the administrative apparatus. There was a, special tax on fruit trees — “**sar-darakht**”.

Poll tax introduced by the Mongols preserved during the XV century under the name of “**sar-shomar**”. Besides, the “smoky” tax called “**dudi**” periodically collected. Highly burdensome was the postal tax—“**ulag**” (according to which the

²⁸Azimjanova S.A., 1954, 1957; Belenitsky A.M., 1945; Mahmudov N., 1966; Molchanov A.A., 1940; Chekhovich O.D., 1965 and others.

²⁹However, Khiraj cannot consider in all cases a monetary form of rent as mentioned in the sources. N. Mahmudov (1966, p. 70) thinks that only the khiraj paid in money to Timur by one of his rulers or the khiraj which was brought from Khorasan to Samarkand and which was collected by the envoy of Timur from the tax officer of Khorasan was in monetary form. As such, it is hardly proper to speak about authentic monetary form of khiraj. It is more likely that we have here cases when khiraj usually collected in kind and only evaluated in money and paid in money into the treasury of the central power.

³⁰Barthold V.V., 1964d, p. 132; Chekhovich O.D., 1965, pp. 303-304 and others.

population was to provide horses to all kinds of envoys), and the collections “*peshkash*” for gifts and offerings which had an irregular character providing possibilities for abuse. Not for nothing, Timur, for example, banned the collection of “*peshkash*”. During the wars, special additional taxes were collected from the population. However, the officials tried to collect such taxes in peaceful times as well.

A third form of rent – labor rent under the name of “*begar*” was also widely used during the Timurid period for construction and repair of fortresses and city walls, for digging and cleaning of canals, etc. It was a harsh tax, which above all disrupted the main work of the people.

Thus, overall, the exploitation of the popular masses was of in a very high level. However, researchers justly consider that Timur and some of the Timurids in their taxation policy strove to follow established and fixed norms and even to stop sometimes abuses by the officials. Although it did not create quite favorable conditions for development of the peasants’ economy, in any case, it did save them from complete bankruptcy.

It is necessary to note that the rural and urban population was itself quite active and in different forms offered resistance to the rulers, particularly in cases of abuses of power, illegal extortions by officials and above-norm taxation. Sometimes the masses of peasants shifted to other regions forcing rulers to abolish the above-norm taxation in order to retain their taxpayers. The sources also mention open uprisings of the popular masses driven to destitution during the internecine wars due to additional taxation. For example, when Sultan-Husain conquered Khorasan and appointed two new officials in diwan, they imposed on the population additional taxes. In Herat, people rose in an angry protest and forced Sultan-Husain to abolish the tax and sack the officials.

Other cases of abolition of taxes for different periods are also known. For example, taxes for maintenance of the army abolished several times because the officials who collected to their advantage a considerable amount over and above the norms had driven the population to extreme poverty not so much because of the taxes but because of abuse of power. For restoration of the paying capacity of the population, the Timurids resorted to temporary sacrifices and also tried to fight the autocracy of the officials. In the sources, cases not only of sacking but also of then of execution mentioned.

Thus, the tax burden was very heavy. Its heaviness during different periods was aggravated by internecine wars which were followed either by multiple collection of the same taxes and tributes by introduction of new ones. The constant evil was the abuses by officials who collected taxes above the norm for their own benefit. Nevertheless, overall, a relatively favorable situation was the regulation of norms for the main taxes and tributes and the attempts of Timur and some Timurids to follow these norms and to punish the officials in the interest of the treasury.

It can be assumed that the fund of mulklands (state lands) had sharply decreased by the XV century. It was these unstable and small estates, which were to go bankrupt in the first place during the Mongol rule. Yet in the XV century, these privileged sections of the peasantry existed. The amount of the main tax-rent, which they paid to the state, was less. However, of course, they were not

exempt from other taxes. The mass of peasants as before consisted of tenant-share-croppers and peasant-communards.

If for the Mongol period, we stated a priori about the existence of peasant communes and their stable remnants, for the XV century there is concrete though scant material. E.A. Davidovich based on data of XVI century established that one of the indirect signs of the existence of communes and their definite remnants is the inseparability of the lands of the village (*qaria*). In these cases during the sale and purchase or the transfer to the waqf individual plots were not allotted from the common massive (and hence not the boundaries of the plot but the common boundaries of the entire massive were described), that is why actually the matter was about the share of the rent-tax from the whole land massive of the village.³¹ Similar examples of existence of indivisible plots can be found in the XV century as well. For example, according to a waqf grant of 1470 a village (*qaria*) Jaiz was gifted but from the grant were excluded three “*tasu*” (i.e. 1/24 “*tanaba*” of unallotted land).³² According to a waqf grant of the period of Timur there was granted in waqf one-third of undivided village Rifan and one-fourth of undivided village Nita of the Samarkand region. Here also in contradistinction a mention about half of a divided village and the boundaries of this individual half described separately. With the communal landowning are linked the references of another type of the same waqf grant of the Timur period: grape orchard, which is at the disposal of the village, the land of a “definite society”.³³

The concrete content and essence of the village community (commune) landowning at this stage not known so far. It is clear however that all the members had common rights on the land of the commune that is why, during sale-purchase, transfer to waqf, etc. allotment of plots was impossible. Even the rights over the grape orchards were common. The cultivation undoubtedly done separately but it is not known whether reallotment of the plots between the members of the commune existed. It is also beyond doubt that the lands belonged to the commune “perpetually”. It was undoubtedly to the advantage of the peasant-communard before the peasant-tenant. The other fact is also interesting: judging by the given examples, the peasant-communard could pay the rent not only to the state but also to the waqf organization and private persons. In other words, the commune landowning at this time was on different categories of land: on the state, waqf and feudal mulk lands. Hence, one should not conclude as if the peasants-communards were only on the state land.

The tenants constituted a large group of peasantry. In waqf grants, it underlined that the period of lease should not exceed three years. The necessity to change the leased out plots of land put the tenants in a less favorable condition.

³¹Davidovich E.A., 1961 a, p. 37.

³²Chekhover O.D., 1965 a, p. 346.

³³Chekhover O.D., 1951, pp. 62, 65-66.

THE CATEGORIES OF FEUDAL PROPERTY IN LAND. “SUIURGAL” IN THE XV CENTURY

According to law, property in land and water divided in the same categories as before. Above, the peasant mulks have already mentioned. During the XV century, undoubtedly the fund of waqf lands had increased particularly in comparison with the preceding period. Timur and the Timurids undertook large construction activities. Many cities of Central Asia were adorned by numerous constructions of different kinds: madrasas, mosques, mausoleums, etc. All these constructions supported by waqf property. The written sources narrate about other large donations.³⁴

Waqf property was administered by the *mutavallis*. Very often, the creators of waqf appointed themselves and their successors as mutavallis. A special institution headed by the *sadr* did the general supervision over the administration of waqfs. From the waqf property, the office of the *sadr* received a special tax, which was used to maintain the apparatus for administering the waqfs. Only by special order of the ruler, the waqf property could divest of the control of the *sadr*'s office and freed from this tax. In all other cases, the *sadr* and his officials tried to derive more and more from the waqf revenue; on this ground, there often followed conflicts. Some *sadrs* were sacked for the abuses.

So far as rest of the taxes and tributes are concerned, from waqf lands they were taken into the treasury excluding those cases when the ruler exempted them by special acts. During the Timurids (particularly during the period of Timur) such kinds of exemptions were made quite widely.

The fund of state lands was the largest one. But only a part of the tax-rent went to the treasury of the central power because during the Timurids the institution of feudal grants was highly developed. *Suiurgal* of the XV century was not some kind of single, molded in one form, grants. At this time, as before, existed various types of grants and all of them called *suiurgals*. One of the most developed forms of *suiurgals* was specific lands of the members of the dynasty. In the large cities and provinces granted to them, they were actually independent. The high dignitaries also sometimes attained a similar status to which the cities and regions were granted. Practically all these *suiurgals* were often hereditary. Sometimes they also called *suiurgals* “in perpetuity”. However, it is importantly to underline that inheritance not something to taken as granted, as inalienable component of such kinds of large *suiurgals*. When transfer of these *suiurgals* in inheritance took place, the central power formalized these by special acts. Other limitations also took place. Sometimes the granted owner had to remit to the treasury of the central power a part of the revenues of his region. The central power in some cases also limited the judicial-administrative immunity by sending to the granted owners its officials. Sometimes these *suiurgals* were taken away completely or reduced in size.

At the same time, the opposite cases were also reported, when the granted owners actually became independent rulers and central power was not always in a position to oppose this.

³⁴Numerous data of this kind have been collected by N. Mahmudov (1966. pp.56-59).

Thus, even the biggest suiurgals of the XV century were not something of a homogenous category.

There existed simultaneously smaller suiurgals with more limited rights for the granted owners. During the Timurids, particularly under Timur, suiurgals granted to military commanders who distinguished themselves during military actions. These suiurgals were of different sizes from big regions to a single village. Sometimes clergymen also received suiurgals. In general, this term included any grant up to valuable gifts.

The fund of mulk lands was very large. It belonged to the temporal and religious feudals. The sources name a number of persons whose lands were very large and who were multiplying. As an example, the lands of Khoja Ahrar can be mentioned.³⁵ He owned 1300 plots of land in various regions of Central Asia. It is implied that these plots were not tiny ones but large tracts of land “*ushr*” (that is, the rent tax of the size of 0.1 of the crop from the plots in only one Samarkand region which Khoja Ahrar paid to the state was equal to 80 thousand Samarkand mans, that is, 1600 tons of grain (man was equal to 20 kilograms).³⁶ This meant that the main part of the rent which was received by Khoja Ahrar himself from these lands, according to a minimum estimate (when the entire main part of the land rent equated 0.3 portion of the crop) from the same lands was no less than 0.2 portion of the crop, i.e., 3200 tons of grain.

When the managers of Khoja Ahrar once assembled for report, it turned out that most of them collected 30-40 thousand *batmans* of grain and none less than 10 thousand, leaving alone the cash revenue from the gardens and orchards. It is not clear what kind of batmans meant in this case. If it were the Samarkand ones (equal to 20 kg.), every manager collected from 200 to 800 tons of grain.

From the mulk lands, the state received a part of the rent. However, in the XV century exemption of milk lands of temporal and religious feudals from the grants to the central power was widely practiced. Such exemptions were formalized by *tarkhan* grants. The big feudals after becoming tarkhans gained some more rights: they and their successors exempted from punishment for nine offences; they had free access to the ruler. But other types of exemption from state taxes were also called tarkhans. The tarkhan status could sometime grant also to the inhabitants of the whole city or region.

We do not know how intensively in the XV century the process of the formation of full property in land was going on, but it is clear that it took place. The full property in land were such milk lands from which the state was not to receive anything and the entire rent belonged to the feudal, not on the basis of tarkhan grants but as right to full property. In the sources of the later period, such category of lands called *milk-i khurr-i khalis*. The main path of formation and augmentation of this category of land was the division of milk lands between the private owners and state proportionately to their parts of land. For example, the state got from the milk lands two-thirds of rent and private persons one-third; during division the state received two-thirds of the land (and this part turned into

³⁵Nabiev R.N., p. 35 onwards.

³⁶Davidovich E.A., 1970, p. 90. Other researchers estimate the *man* in the XV century as equal to 8puds (one pud = 16 kilograms) which is not correct.

the category of state lands), and the owner received one-third of the land (and this part became his full property). There is a document from the end of XV century³⁷ about such divisions of the canals, but for the canal which became full property of the feudal is used an absolutely precise term of “*mutlaq*”, i.e., “full” property.

TRADE

The most outstanding noteworthy phenomenon of the XV century was high level of development of the crafts and domestic monetary trade. As a comparative analysis of numismatic materials of IX-XVIII centuries, shows, it is in the XV century, particularly in the late quarter of the century and in the first quarter of XVI century, that trade and monetary relations reached their maximum development. It is during this time that the total volume of production of goods as well as relative weight of the production of goods for mass consumption sharply increased. During this period in the money-commodity relations a wider strata of urban society and partly of the rural population was involved (particularly of the agricultural localities and adjoining to them large cities). Never before in the earlier and during the later period up to the merger of Central Asia with Russia, the commodity production, monetary trade and the level of involvement of the mass strata of the population in money-commodity relations had not reached such level.³⁸

With these facts is directly linked the narrow specialization of crafts, which provided the growth of productivity of labor and the possibility of considerable increase in the volume of commodity production.³⁹

Monetary trade in the sphere of mass consumption was provided by copper coins. It is worth noting, that Ulugbek in 1428 carried out a monetary reform, which aimed at creation of more favorable conditions for development of small retail trade in goods of prime necessity in which the common citizens and mini inhabitants were most of all interested.

The content of the reform is as follows⁴⁰: in 1428, all the copper coins, which issued earlier and were of low weight, were banned. They could be exchanged during a certain period for the new and heavier in weight coins the minting of which began in 1428 simultaneously in many cities—in Bukhara and Samarkand, in Tashkent and Shahrulkhie, in Andijan, Qarshi and Termez. After the completion of exchange of the old coins for the new ones, all the mints except in Bukhara closed—from now on, the mint of copper coins was centralized in Bukhara. Bukhara for many years (up to the assassination of Ulugbek and even thereafter) issued copper coins of a completely uniform size. Even the date on them was not changed; irrespective of the year in which a coin issued, it always carried the year in which Ulugbek ordered his reform. The Bukharan reformed coins ensured the trade of the entire state of the Central Asian Timurids on an

³⁷ Mahmudov N., pp. 52-53.

³⁸ Davidovich E.A., 1965, pp. 83-91.

³⁹ Belenitsky A.M., 1940, p. 44.

⁴⁰ Davidovich E.A., 1965 a, pp. 274-299.

equal basis. By these coins, commodities in any corner of Central Asia could purchase. Their unchangeable form ensured them unhindered circulation and excluded all kinds of misuses and changes. Such an organization of monetary trade is for feudalism a very rare and untypical phenomenon. This reform was in accordance with the objective demands of the internal trade. A wide production of commodities for the common consumer required regularization of circulation of just the copper coins, which done by the reform of Ulugbek. The carrying out of this reform and its success in turn created favorable conditions for further development of trade in the sphere of small commodity turnover.

It is interesting that later, especially in the last decade of the XV century, the all-state circulation of copper coins was completely destroyed. Independent rulers issued their own coins and made various changes and machinations in their forms in order to gain higher revenues. Particularly shameless operations with copper coins carried out by Khusrav – shah, the ruler of the big principality with center in Hissar (in Tajikistan). This ended with the crisis of monetary circulation, and in 1501 Khusrav – shah was compelled to carry out reforms. Instead of variegated and fully discredited production, the Hissar region received uniform coins the circulation of which Khusrav – shah dared not change. All the mints in the small cities closed. From now on, copper coins were minted only in Hissar, Termez and Kunduz, and the production of these three mints had an equal circulation in the entire principality. For convenience of trade the coins of three denominations were issued—*single-dinars* (the copper coins were called thus in this period), *double-dinars*, and small coins.⁴¹

The international trade also attained a high level of development in the XV century. Timur and Timurids made efforts towards development and expansion of trade links between the countries. As mentioned earlier, they sent letters even to the French and British kings offering to give every possible patronage to their merchants. In the sources of that period, there is a lot of information about the missions sent to other countries. From different corners, envoys came to Herat, the capital of the Timurids. In the bazaars of Central Asia and Khorasan one could purchase different foreign commodities, but local goods also went abroad in a large quantity. The international trade was a stimulus for development of certain kinds of crafts and expansion of the volume of production. It also activated internal trade.

CITY AND CRAFTS

The maximum development of money – commodity relations in the XV and the beginning of the XVI century is not an isolated phenomenon. It shows more vividly the place which this period occupies in the life of medieval cities of Central Asia and testifies to the big progress which took place during this period. Unfortunately comprehensive research on what the city in the XV century was like in socio-economic aspect has not yet done. We have at our disposal only small material devoted to individual questions. However, scattered facts as well as

⁴¹Davidovich E.A., 1965 b, pp. 44-48.

observations allow concluding that all contradictions of socio-economic life of the city as an anti-feudal link in the system of feudalism got aggravated just in the XV-XVI century.

From one side the activation of the middle and lower strata of the city is noticeable. Researchers have noted that the forms of exploitation of the craftsmen acceptable under the Mongols which reduced them to the status of serfs and slaves lost their meaning in the XV century though not completely.

The main figure in the crafts became a free craftsman, and the main form of organization of the craftsmen was the craft workshop. A.M. Belenitsky justly observes that workshop organizations in the XV century became strong and their importance increased. One of the outward indications of the considerable importance of the workshops in the life of the cities was their organized participation in festivals held by Timur and the Timurids. Every workshop in these festivals participated separately.⁴²

Even more concrete and convincing material given by the research on ideology of the period, which is reflected in the literary and cultural life as a whole. A.N. Boldyrev examined the vast material and convincingly showed that the second half of the XV century (particularly the end of the XV and beginning of the XVI century) characterized by undoubtedly expansion of the social base of cultural life and creative work. The middle urban strata – city craftsmen and merchants, state officials and middle clergy – were becoming not only consumers, but creators of cultural values as well. In the anthologies of that period, in the memoirs Vasifi are mentioned numerous poets among the craftsmen, merchants and small employees: only few of them were professional poets. For most of them literature was a passion. To it, they devoted all their talent and leisure. Now the poets, musicians, men of wit collected not only in the houses of the aristocracy; the literary discussions, recitation of poems, the impromptu poetic competitions took place also in the book shops and workshops of the craftsmen and simply on the square or the bazaar. This was the case in Herat and Samarkand and to some extent in many other cities of the state of the Timurids.

No less important is the fact that the ideology of the city and of the urban middle strata reflected also in literature itself. There emerged even a special “craftsmen” poetry the main subject of which was the household of the craft circles and the language was enriched by craft lexicon. The ideology of the city, its outlook opposed to feudalism found a reflection in the creative works of outstanding representatives of progressive literature of XV-XVI century.⁴³

From the other side, the city of XV-XVI century remained feudal. In it was dominating purely feudal forms of exploitation of crafts and trade. This side of the socio-economic life of the city has studied better in the material relating to the XVI century,⁴⁴ but the known facts about XV century give a complete analogy so that the characteristics could be common for the two centuries. In the city, we find the same categories of landed property as in the rural localities. The main part of the land was either state owned or it belonged to the clerical and the

⁴²Belenitsky A.M., 1940 a, p. 189 and onwards.

⁴³Boldyrev A.N., 1957, p. 253 and onwards.

⁴⁴Ivanov P.P., 1954, pp. 42-43; Davidovich E.A., 1961 a, pp. 40-42.

temporal feudals (including the members of the dynasty). The fund of the lands belonging in the city to the direct producer was perhaps as small as in the rural locality and it meant that in the case of the direct producer in the city, his workshop or residential house was situated not on his own but on the state, waqf or on the feudal (milk) land, he paid the rent for this land to its owner. In this sense between the citizen and the peasant, there was little difference.

The sources show that not only lands but also numerous trade buildings belonged to the feudals. The process of concentration of the craft-trade buildings and even residential houses was going on very intensively and it meant that the craftsmen and small traders became not only lease holders, of the land but often of the workshop and residential house which increased their dependence on the feudal. The burden of such dependence was aggravated by the fact that in the city there were very different combinations of land and constructions. For example, the direct producer could take on lease the waqf shop situated on the milk land and vice versa.

The other purely feudal forms of exploitation were also not extinct: the craft environment was not homogenous, besides the free craftsmen, there existed groups which were at various levels of "extra economic" dependence. A section of the craftsmen brought by Timur from other countries was actually in conditions of slavery. More substantial is the data about forms of dependence of some groups of weapon masters. According to one order, a group of such craftsmen was granted to the head of the weapons chamber that was to supervise their work; the state officials did not have the right to intervene in his affairs and to collect taxes from these craftsmen. The other form of dependence was related to some groups of craftsmen serving the court. These craftsmen had to be united in workshops. The government appointed the head of the workshop. He organized the work, looked after the quality, but the production went not to the market but directly to the state department. It is essential to note that the head even of those free workshop organizations, which worked for the market not elected but appointed by the government.⁴⁵

One more essential indicator of the feudal character of the city lay in that fact that the urban population paid to the state some of those taxes which were imposed on the rural population (e.g., per capita or per household). The urban population was not exempted even from the labor rent.

Besides this, there existed, of course, the direct taxes on trade and crafts. In the XV century, such main tax inherited from the Mongols called *tamga*. The size of tamga according to some indirect data was very large. However, it is worthwhile noting that the feudals were against this tax. Particularly the religious feudals actively fought against tamga under the guise that it was against the Sheriat norms. But actually the cause of their opposition was purely economic: this tax encroached upon their interests, the interests of the class of feudals. The purely feudal modes of exploitation of the city crafts and trade from which they got profits suited the feudals and other forms of exploitation, which brought them losses, were not to their liking.

⁴⁵Belenitsky A.M., 1940, p. 45-46.

In the cities of Central Asia, there was no authentic self-rule. The cities ruled by the vice-regents appointed by central power of big rulers of principalities. The cities had always been the objects of feudal grants. Thus the main contradiction of the socio – economic life of the cities which got aggravated especially in the last quarter of the XV century and the first quarter of the XVI century was as follows: from one side there was a progressive development of the cities, the growth of productivity of labor in crafts, extremely increased the volume of commodity production, high relative weight of production of mass consumption goods, maximum involvement in trade-monetary relations of urban and partly rural population, activation of the middle strata of the cities and the new phenomena in the sphere of culture brought to life by all this. From the other side, the development of the cities was hindered by such factors as very high level of exploitation of the toiling population of the city and predominance of the feudal forms of exploitation; concentration in the hands of the same feudals of both the rural and urban property; concentration of trade-crafts buildings in the hands of the same religious temporal feudals who were the owners of land in the city and the village, i.e., merger (with few exceptions) of trade and money lending ruling clique with the landed aristocracy; the feudal forms of rule over the city.

All these moments demand deeper concrete historical research. Historians have paid considerably less attention to the Central Asian city and its socio-economic problems than to agrarian relations. The works devoted to separate questions of urban life appear after years and even decades. A study of the peculiarities of Central Asian feudalism, its causes and essence of its stagnating character is one of the most important problems.

3. CULTURE

CONSTRUCTION AND ARCHITECTURE

From XV century until our days, a considerable number of monuments of architecture have come down to us but it is merely a small part of what had existed. Timur and the Timurids had launched grandiose constructions. Big feudals also emulated them. Particularly extensive was the construction in the two capitals— Herat and Samarkand. But many other cities during the XV century were adorned by beautiful constructions for civil and religious purposes.⁴⁶ From the numerous palaces of the XV century in Central Asia have preserved a part of the portal Aq – saray in Shahrisabz, which built by Timur.⁴⁷ However, enthusiastic comments of the contemporaries and their detailed descriptions give

⁴⁶ To the architecture of the Timurid period are devoted numerous researches and publications. The following general and compendium works may be particularly noted: *Bulatov M.S.*, 1969; *Denike B.A.*, 1939; *Zasyplkin B.N.* 1928; 1948; and 1961; "The History of Samarkand" V. I, 1969; *Masson M.E.*, 1948; 1950b; 1957a; *Pugachenkova G.A.*, 1951; 1957; 1958b; 1965; 1968; *Pugachenkova G.A.*, *Rempel L.I.*, 1958; *Rempel L.I.-* 1961. For the territory of Tajikistan see: *Weimarn B.V.*, 1947.

⁴⁷ *Masson M.E.*, *Pugachenkova G.A.*, 1953.

sufficient idea about the art of the architects, decorators and the gardeners about their imagination and inventiveness of Timur, his successors and courtiers, created suburban parks with palaces. Parks divided into alleys were distinguished by the well-conceived and picturesque selection of trees and flowers; they also included the reservoirs of different configurations, channels with running water and flowerbeds; the palace was set deep in the park richly decorated with all the different ornaments available at that time.⁴⁸

About the monuments of civil architecture is known mainly from the written sources. The huge scale of this construction is noteworthy. In Samarkand, for example, as mentioned above, on the order of Timur one of the streets was turned into a continuous well-organized bazaar. Although the work on this project was still not complete, Clavikho delightfully described this street bazaar covered with dome and windows for light. Shahrukh in Herat did something similar. Two intersecting streets there were completely built up with two-storied trade buildings and covered with domes and windows for light and at the place of crossing of these two streets of bazaars was built the Chorsu — a domed building in which trading premises were located.⁴⁹

The madrasas, mosques and mausoleums of that time, which have preserved to our days, give a full idea about the engineering, construction planning and decorative development of the architecture of the XV century. The most important development was initially the improvement of the old system of domed ceiling and afterwards the wide use of a new system. The essence of the new system was that the dome now took support not on the walls of the building but on a combination of intersecting arcs, which allowed to considerably shortening its diameter, and this meant that the dome ceilings could be used for more spacious buildings. In this system dome could easily constructed not only above a square but also above a rectangular structure.

Longing for luxury and splendor found its vivid reflection in the decorative designing of the monument. The means of decoration were of diverse types and quite perfect. They absorbed the developments of the past and enriched them by new methods. In the XV century composite mosaic which had attained inimitable perfection and which was quite labor-intensive and expensive, found a wide use. The mosaic of XV century was distinguished by delicacy of the floral and geometrical design, noble choice of color (among which the combination of blue, dark blue and white predominated), extraordinary depth of dark blue glaze in the twinkling background of which the limitless fantasy of the artist delicately and in a tasteful manner drew the laces of design. For finishing of the inner surface technique called *kundal* was used which combined gold with some color often dark blue. The proportion of gold plating and that of color was different.

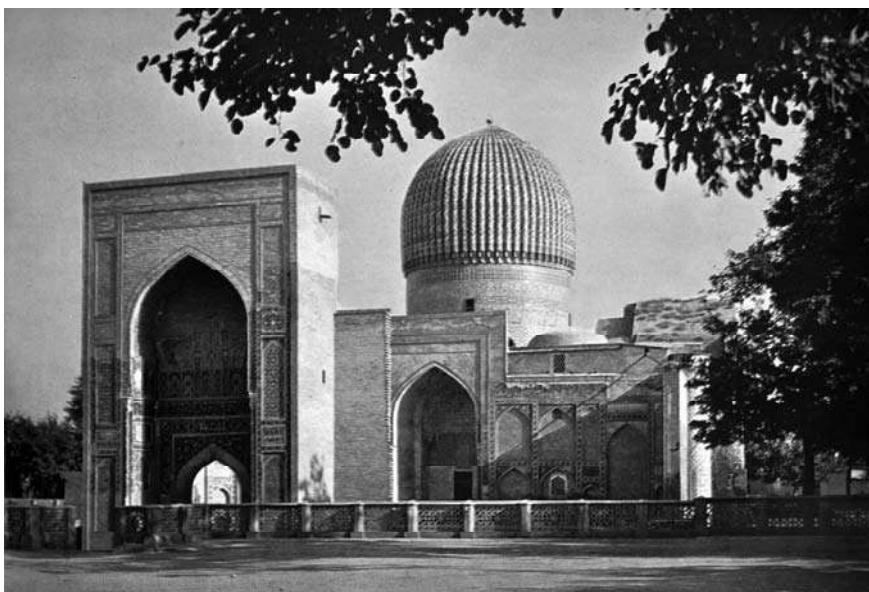
Sometimes the background was gold plated and a slight relief drawing done by color paint, sometimes vice versa. In any case, the effect was astounding, and it is not accidental that specialists compared this form of decoration with gold embroidered brocade.

⁴⁸Pugachenkova G.A., 1951.

⁴⁹Belenitsky A.M., 1946, pp. 181-183.

Marble was also widely used: polished and covered with carved drawings and inscriptions and delicately painted with gold. It is not possible to describe in a brief sketch all decorative modes of this century. It is sufficient to underline that the decorative ideas were not stagnant. For the end of XIV and beginning of XV century, the trend to decorate the entire wall with painting is characteristic. Later the texture of bricklaying used in order to make spacious designs and inscriptions in its background were made from small glazed bricks.⁵⁰

The trend towards grandeur is best of all demonstrated in the Bibi – Khanum mosque built in Samarkand in 1399-1404. Once upon a time, the monumental portal entrance led to the vast courtyard surrounded by galleries, the domes of which were resting on 400 marble columns. In the depth of the courtyard stood high the main building of the mosque: portal entrance, high-domed building and above it—the second decorative dome over a shapely drum. Nowadays not much has been left from this mosque but its romantic ruins give us sufficient idea about its past grandeur and splendour.⁵¹



Guri amir mausoleum in Samarkand (1404 A.D.)

From an architectural point of view, the mausoleums of XV century are diverse and interesting. Small but richly decorated mausoleums of Shahi zinda (Shirin-bika-aka and Tuman-aka)⁵², mausoleums of Ruhabad, Qutbi-chahar-duhum⁵³, and lastly Guri amir are monuments from the Timurid period. Particularly beautiful is Guri amir (1403-1404) in which Timur himself and his successors are

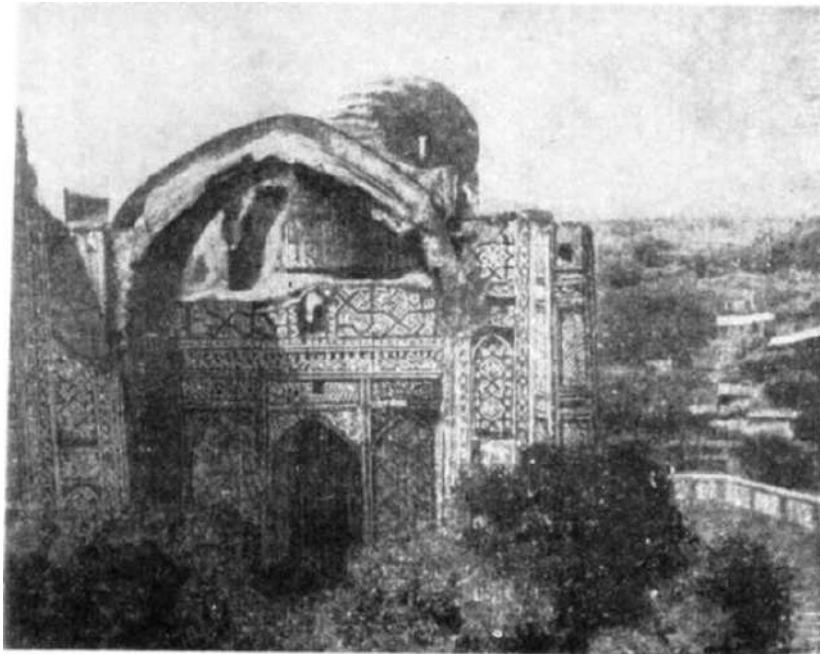
⁵⁰In more details, B.A. Denike (1939) and L.I. Rempel (1961) characterize them.

⁵¹About Bibi-Khanum see: *Masson M.E.* (1929); *Ratiya Sh.E.* 1950; *Pugachenkova G.A.*; (1953).

⁵²*Bulatova V.A.*, 1965; *Nemtseva N.B.* and *Shvab.*, 1968.

⁵³*Pugachenkova G.A.*, 1962.

buried.⁵⁴ Its form is simple and clear. The octahedral body, shapely drums and crimped dome covered with blue glazed small bricks. The internal decoration of a square hall with four deep recesses impresses with its solemn austerity. Marble, green onyx and gold plating, a general muffled tone only increases a feeling of calmness, silence and seclusion from the outer world.



Bibi – Khanum mosque in Samarkand (1399-1404)

One of the best monuments of Ulugbek is the *madrasa* on the Samarkand Registan.⁵⁵ Rectangular inner courtyard with four portals was encompassed by rows of residential room on the two storey's and in the corners there are square domed buildings; at the four outer corners there are four slender towers, on the main facade there is a monumental portal. Nowadays there are no domes left above the *darskhana* (the rooms for lectures), there is no more the tower and the second storey of the rooms. However, even in its present appearance the madrasa produces an unforgettable impression through its beautiful composition, ideal proportions, rich diverse and calm decoration.

⁵⁴ Masson M.E., 1929 a; Mosque of Guri amir, 1905; Pletnev I.E., 1968; Semenov A.A., 1948, 1949; Shishkin V.A., 1946.

⁵⁵ Weimarn B., 1946; Masson M.E., 1929 b, 1950 v.



Shahi zinda mausoleum in Samarkand



Bronze vessel from the mosque of Khoja Ahmad Yassevi. Turkistan.



Central Asian ceramic from the Timurid period



Dome ensemble of mausoleum of Shadi Mulk-aka in the
Shahi zinda complex in Samarkand

In the XV century there developed a type of mausoleum as a complex multi-room construction. One of the best mausoleums of (his type is *Ishrat-khana* near Samarkand. The central hall with deep recesses has a crosslike plan. On the

flanks are symmetrically situated other constructions. From one side there is a mosque, from the other—three room “*miyan-sarai*”. The complex has additional two-storied service rooms. New construction system of domed ceilings found in this monument its brilliant and diverse use. The new decorative technique kundal has used with completeness mid virtuosity. The extraordinary richness of the inner decoration incomplete contrast with the simplicity of the outer decorative work. The latter enables a better perception of the monument as a whole: in the outer view, one is attracted not by details but by a common compositional solution, thanks to which this monumental construction looks very light and slender.⁵⁶

A completely unique monument is the Samarkand observatory of Ulugbek at the foothill of Chupan-Ata.⁵⁷ Of this only a small hill and a heap of construction, debris has been left. However, the archaeologists have tried to find out the plan of the ground floor. It has found that the building was circular and more than 30 meters high. Mosaic, majolica and marbles tiles richly decorated it. From written sources, it also known that the observatory had three storeys. The remnants of the main instrument of the observatory, a double sextant, have preserved. It was meant to observe the movement of the sun, moon and perhaps other planets also. The one end of the sextant began at the depth of eleven meters in the trench dug out in the rock. The other end, which has not preserved, rose according to an intimate, to a height of thirty meters. The sextant consisted of two parallel arcs equal to one-sixth of the circle with a radius of more than forty meters. The arcs had an exact direction, which corresponded with meridian. They covered with polished marble tiles. Through two small holes the rays of the luminary threw spots of light on the two arcs of the sextant on which the degrees, minutes and seconds were marked.⁵⁸

Among the Herat constructions of XV century particularly impressive is the Musallya complex consisting of a mosque, madrasa and a mausoleum. Now from this complex very little has preserved. About its past grandeur, testify its slender minarets consisting of three parts and the interesting mausoleum of Gauharshad, which was a part of the madrasa occupying one of its corner places.⁵⁹

MONUMENTAL PAINTING AND MINIATURE

According to written sources monumental constructions, particularly palaces of Timur and the Timurids often decorated with paintings drawn on the walls. Their themes quite variegated: battles and siege of the cities, feasts, ceremonial receptions and scenes just from common life. This was especially

⁵⁶ Masson M.E., Pugachenkova G.A. and others, 1958.

⁵⁷ About the monuments in Chupan-Ata see: Gulyamov Ya.G., 1948.

⁵⁸ About excavation of the observatory see: Vyatkin V.L., 1912; Masson M.E., 1941; Shishkin V.A., 1953, 1965; Gulyamov Ya.G. and Buryakov Yu.F., 1968. The reconstruction of the building, which has not preserved, is subject of debate: Nilsen V.A., 1953; Pugachenkova G.A., 1969.

⁵⁹ Pugachenkova G.A., 1963, pp. 147-157.

encouraged by Timur. On the walls of his palaces, the entire saga of his military campaigns and entertainments was painted.

A contemporary account states that necessary components of these complex themes were portraits of Timur, his sons and grandsons, courtiers and even queens of the Timurid house. Only a common and vague idea of these monumental paintings can be had from the fragments preserved in some Samarkand mausoleums of Shahi zinda. These are merely scenes; a small rivulet, trees, bushes, flowers, flying herons in the floral background.⁶⁰



Portrait of Timur. Miniature from XV c. (perhaps a copy of a much older original)

The XV century gifted to humanity splendid manuscripts in which everything, beginning from paper and binding up to calligraphic writing and miniature drawings, are examples of matchless art.⁶¹ Excellent calligraphers and miniature painters lived and created their works in many cities of the vast Timurid state. But it was Herat which was the main center of development of these arts. No other city could boast of such a collection of celebrities and talents. The brother of Ulugbek, Baisunqar was famous in the first half of XV century, Herat as an expert, connoisseur and patron of art. As mentioned above, he founded **kitabkhana** which was not only a library but also an authentic creative workshop; best of the miniature painters, calligraphers, binders worked there

⁶⁰Denike B.P., 1939, pp. 200-208; Rempel L.I., 1961, pp. 318-325, 332-337; Borodina I.F., 1965.

⁶¹There are enormous literatures about them. We should name only some of publication of general characters: Denike B.P., 1938, pp. 68-80; Semenov A.A. 1940; 1946 b; Pugachenkova G.A., Rempel L.I., 1965: "Persian miniatures" 1968, pp.6-17; Stchoukin I., 1954; Ettinhausen R., 1960; Grey B., 1961 (the detailed bibliography there also).

(calligraphers alone numbered forty). In Herat besides this there existed a court library—the workshop of Shahrukh where beautiful examples of calligraphy and miniatures were created. In the second half of the century, Alisher Navai and Sultan – Husain Baiqara who were also connoisseurs of this kind of art patronized talents attracting them to the Court.

The peculiarity of the Eastern miniature, whether it decorated the book or was drawn on a separate paper, is absence of volume and treatment of light and shade and that of perspective and depth. Objects situated at different distance from the viewer simply placed vertically: near ones were below and distant ones above, the size of the distant objects did not decrease proportionately. However, all these peculiarities of miniature are considered not as deficient but just specifics of this kind of painting work. The merit of the miniature is the finesse of drawing, saturation of coloring and the emotional tuning which attained by the color and compositional structure of the completely drawing.

In the written sources, the names of miniature painters of the XV century are mentioned who were considered during those period matchless artists. However, the study of the works by most of them is extremely difficult, as they did not as a rule sign their miniatures.

In the kitabkhana of Baisunqar, the “Shahnama” of Firdausi was edited and rewritten. In the manuscript of “Shahnama” of 1429/1430 there are twenty miniatures drawn by several painters. It thought that these are the best examples of the early stage of development of the Timurid School of miniature. The finesse even refinement of the drawing, the brightness of the colors and the originality of the compositional structures on canonized topics distinguishes these miniatures.



Ironsmith Kava leading the rebels. Miniature from the end of XV c. Samarkand

The Herat school reached the zenith of its development in the second half of the XV century in the works of several painters among whom the first name is that of **Behzod** (born between 1450-1460, died in 1536/1537).

A distinguished painter of that time was **Mirak Naqqash** whose works have inadequately studied. Only two of his signed miniatures, which paid attention to a talented orphan boy, have been preserved. Behzod was also noted by Alisher Navai who patronized him and opened up for him the possibility to be among the circle of the highly cultured and talented people of their times whose opinions played a positive role in the development of the aesthetic ideas of Behzod and in the development of his creativity.

The miniatures of the early stage of the creative work of Behzod characterized by bright contrast colors, dynamic compositions, multiplicity of figures, and packed space. Such are his miniatures for the "Zafarnama" of Yezdi. At the center of the artist's attention is the dynamics of the battle and pathos of labor. The battle of two armies in a valley is completely unlike the solution of an analogical subject in the manuscript of "Shahnama" of 1429/1430. Here there are no two equal armies, but storm of the battle. Every personage is individualistic; the encounters of the warriors are unexpected, dynamic and variegated. A miniature of completely different content is the construction of Jum'a mosque in Samarkand. Here also everything is full of tense movements. The carpenters and the stone engravers are working non-stop; the overseer thrashes the lazy; a carriage laden with marble blocks is shown approaching. There are many human figures—all of them are in different positions and poses, some are swift, some are static, but always tense.

By the end of the XV century in the works of Behzod there is more of contemplation and lyricism, he paints the landscape more often. These moods are embodied in the miniatures for the poem of Dehlevi—**"Laili and Majnun"**. The theme of youthful and ill-fated love has found touching and poetic manifestation in the creative work of Behzod.

Behzod was also an excellent portrait painter. Sometimes in the portraits of his contemporaries could be seen the features of historical personages. For example in one of the miniatures, Alexander of Macedonia has the features of Sultan-Husain Baiqara. Miniatures depicting the court life are known, showing the same Sultan-Husain or one of his courtiers. However, the best of his works in this genre are the separate portraits of Sultan-Husain and Mohammad Sheibani Khan.

Behzod is creator of an entire trend in this art. He had many disciples. Among his contemporaries, Qasim Ali who according to some data in the sources was also a disciple of the great painter is famous. The contemporaries thought that their work could distinguish only through skillful painters. The miniatures, which undoubtedly done by him, have not been preserved.

The Herat school of the end of XV and beginning of the XVI century mainly used little changed compositional solutions (in comparison with the first half of the century). Along with this, in its miniatures, according to art critics, realistic tendencies had grown. The trend towards individualization and even psychologism of the personages had increased and the landscape became complicated. The technical skills of the painter reached surprisingly high perfection. The talented

works of the miniature painters of the XV century are one of the summits of the artistic culture of the East.

SCIENCE AND LITERATURE AT THE END OF XIV – XV CENTURIES

One of the famous scientists of the period of Timur who participated many times in the scientific debates in his court was *Saadaddin Mas'ud ibn Omar Taftazani* (1332-1389). Until the end of his life, he was engaged in teaching in Gizhduvan, Jam, Khwarezm, Turkistan, Samarkand, Herat and Serakhs, and had written many scientific works on grammar, theosophy, rhetoric's which became a part of text books of that time during his life time itself.

An outstanding historian of his times was *Ahmad ibn Mohammad ibn Arabshah* (1392-1450). He was born in Damascus but lived in Samarkand since he was eight-year old. His main work was the book about the Timur period "*Ajaib al-maqduf fi navaib Timur*" ("Miracles in predestination in the events of Timur's life"), in which bold and sharply negative for that time characteristics of Timur are given.

Another historian of that time *Nizamaddin Shami* had completed in 1404 his work under the title "*Zafarnamai Timuri*" ("The book of Timur's conquests"). *Sharafaddin Yezdi* (died in 1454) compiled in 1424-25 a book also devoted to the times of Timur—"Zafarnama" ("Book of conquests"). Among historians, it is necessary to mention *Hafizi Abru* (died in 1430); *Abdurazzak Samarkandi* (1413-1482); *Mohammad ibn Khandshah binni Mahmud* known as *Mirkhond* (1433-1498); *Giyasaddin Mohammad* under the pseudonym *Khondamir* (around 1475-76-1539-40) and others.

In the XIV century, fiction developed further. In this period were working *Shamsaddin Mohammad Hafiz Shirazi* (died in 1389), a recognized classic of Persian and Tajik poetry and *Kamal Khujandi* (died around 1400). In their books, progressive ideas of that time considerably reflected.

Hafiz lost his father in his early childhood. His mother not being able to give education to her son gave him away for bringing up to another family. However, Hafiz soon left this family and became an apprentice to a craftsman. For some time he studied in a madrasa and then leading life as a recite of Koran ("Hafiz"—literally means "knowing Koran by heart"), Hafiz continuously improved his knowledge. Soon he became famous as a poet.

During his lifetime itself, his poems became widespread among popular masses and a part of them was included in folklore. Even now, the poems of Hafiz are popular in Tajikistan, Iran and Afghanistan where he read in the original. The role of Hafiz in the history of Tajik-Persian literature is extremely great. He led to perfection the genres of lyrics imparting new content to them. The ghazals of Hafiz along with their motives of love, beauty and philosophical ideas are characterized also by the motives of protest against social injustice. In medieval conditions, Hafiz grew up to the struggle for dignity of human life. Sometimes out of caution, he keeps something back. Hafiz who did not desire to reconcile with the gloomy conditions of life prefers to write under the guise of a

daredevil make-merry person. However, the main motive of the poetry of Hafiz is not at all the licentious joy, not beauty for the sake of beauty, not the contemplative mystics of Sufism but the protest against social injustice, yearning for the better and faith in it.

Characteristic for the lyrics of Hafiz are passion, loftiness of impulses, criticism of hypocrisy and bigotry. He is famous as a great lyricist in both the East as well as the West. Here is one of the ghazals of Hafiz full of bold allusions and allegories:

*No, I am not a cynic, muhtasib⁶²
The Lord sees it
I could not desist from wine and woman
I would be a hypocrite if I open the prayer book
When breeze flows into my rosy flower garden
I would turn down the gift of His Majesty⁶³
As dinar doled out to a beggar
Although my attire is poor and wretched.
My old cloak is dearer to me than the tinsel of the Sultan
What the Heaven will give me—unsteady gamble?⁶⁴
Although a destitute, I burn with my own fire!
And let me go blind if in my eyeball appears
The reflection of Divinity
Love is the pearl at the bottom
I dived deeply
Where shall I emerge?
My ocean is merely a wine cellar.
When my beloved sends me into fire—
I will not even think about Kavsar.⁶⁵
(So sweet is my fate!)
Me who is now in perfect bliss
Shall I be tempted by the coming heaven promised by the
Recluse?
I don't trust much in the gifts of the seventh Heaven—
I believe only in my wine
Raise with froth until grave my wine goblet!⁶⁶*

Keeping in mind the mystic content of his poems, Hafiz called during his lifetime “*Lisan al-ghaib*” i.e., “the language of the inner-most”. After his death, some representatives of the clergy tried to interpret his poems as purely “divinely

⁶² *Muhtasib* – follower of morality.

⁶³ The ruler.

⁶⁴ God.

⁶⁵ *Kavsar* means heavenly source.

⁶⁶ “Anthology” pp. 402-403.

mystical”⁶⁷: his characters, they asserted, should be understood allegorically; “yor” (darling) is a form of God, etc.

The great poet Goethe unraveled the allegories of Hafiz as expression of protest directed against hypocrisy and religious bigotry. He devoted to Hafiz a separate book of poems “*Hafiznama*” in his “*Western-Eastern Diwan*”. Hafiz, in his opinion, used this literary form to express the ideas of humanism.⁶⁸

Kamal Khujandi spent his childhood in Khujand, received education in Samarkand and subsequently moved to Tabriz where he lived at the court of the local ruler. When the Golden Horde Khan Tokhtamysh captured Tabriz, Kamal was imprisoned and taken away to the capital of the; Golden Horde—Sarai—where he remained imprisoned for a long time. Afterwards the poet returned to Tabriz where he died around 1400.

Kamal Khujandi is one of the outstanding masters of verse. His ghazals characterized by their musicality and melodiousness. In their motives, some of them are close to the ghazals of Hafiz. The ghazal given in translation below excellently portrays the nostalgia of the poet about his motherland and merges with the entire cycle of Tajik folk lyric—gharibi (the songs on the foreign land):

*This noisy street seems to me deserted
I am chained to myself without any reason
Wandering and dreaming about my beloved motherland
O my country, my motherland!
Remember your lost son.
If you haven't seen the foreign sky above you
You can, my friend, never understand my sorrow
Alien language...the unfamiliar chirping of bird...
Here rains are alien and so is mud on shoes.
We couldn't feel for the suffering of the alien,
Because any native valley was like home.
I am alien; I wander and dream about Motherland, beloved motherland.
O, foreign land, foreign land, foreign land, foreign land, foreign land!*⁶⁹

Nasir Bukharai (died in 1378) is close to Hafiz and Kamali Khujandi in content and genre of his works. He was their contemporary.

In the poems of the outstanding poets of XIV century, which are predominantly lyrical, the mood of popular protest was manifested in its original form. In this lies the particular merit of their lyrics, the cause of its popularity among the vast masses.

Science and literature reached its zenith during the period of Ulugbek. We have already mentioned above the many-sided creative activity of Ulugbek. He could collect in Samarkand the prime of astronomical and mathematical thought of that

⁶⁷Perhaps here played its role the fact that in some poems of Hafiz the contents of separate ayats of the Koran have poetically processed.

⁶⁸Braginsky I., 1936, pp. 220-253.

⁶⁹“Anthology”, p. 387.

period. In 1428, Ulugbek completed the construction of the big observatory with perfected instruments.

This observatory played a big role in the development of astronomy. In it for the first time was determined the position of some stars. Based on these works Ulugbek composed in 1437 astronomical tables, which have a worldwide scientific significance. It may note that these tables were composed in Tajik language and only later translated into Arabic language. They give the position of more than a thousand stars, which can see by naked eye, and coordination of all cities of the Muslim East. The astronomical tables of Ulugbek served as a textbook for the study of position of the stars in the East as well as the West for a long time. Their importance also lies in the fact that they are a significant source for the study of the state of astronomical knowledge in the middle of XV century.

Ulugbek also attached great importance to the development of literature and art.

At this time, Samarkand and Herat became large cultural centers of the East. Herat, which started gaining more and more importance since the rule of Shahrugh in the second half of XV century, during the rule of Sultan – Husain Baiqara (1469-1506), turned into a large cultural and scientific center. Here started collecting the scientists and artists from all corners of Maverannah and Iran. In this period medicine, law, ethics, and also literature and art were developing.

A leading representative of literature of this period is the famous poet and scholar — *Nuraddin Abdurrahman Jami* (1414-1492). Jami was born in the village of Jam near Nishapur. He studied in Herat where he continued his study in literature and science even afterwards. He visited Samarkand many times.

From the qasid of an autobiographical character, which Jami wrote in 1487 it, can be concluded that he knew poetry, grammar, logic, Greek and Eastern philosophy, natural science, mathematics and astronomy excellently. His “*Bahoristan*” (“Spring garden”) is considered one of the best samples of the prose of XV century. In his works, Jami masterly worked out all the art genres and influenced the further development of Tajik literature. In a number of his works, Jami occupies a leading place in the entire history of Tajik medieval literature. The author of the Anthology “*Mirat al-khaial*” (“The Mirror of Thought”) *Shirkhan Ludi* informs that “Jami wrote 99 books which are recognized by people of knowledge in Iran, Turan and India and nobody could even raise finger of objection on this or that of them.”

The main poetical work of Jami is his “*Haft avrang*” (“Seven Thrones” i.e., the Great bear constellation) which consists of seven large poems of the type of “Five” by Nizami (the poetical answers of Nizami are the three poems among the seven: “*Tuhfat al-ahrar*”, “*Leyli and Majnun*” and “*Khiradnamai Iskandari*”). Many works of Jami manifest the ideas of humanism and contain a critique of autocracy of the ruling elite. However, the works of Jami are contradictory and along with progressive ideas for that time in his books are reflected religious and philosophical ideas of Sufism.

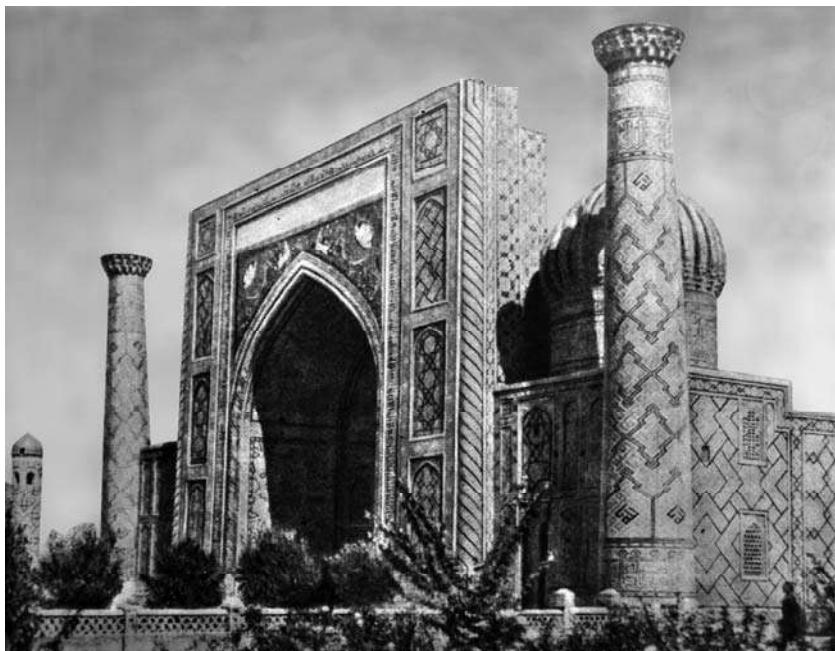
In one of the poems included in “Haft avrang” – in “*Khiradnamai Iskandari*” (“The Book of Wisdom by Alexander of Macedonia”) Jami while developing the thoughts of Farabi and Nizami narrates the social utopia – he describes the fairy-tale

country where all people are equal where there are no rich and poor and there is no oppression and want.⁷⁰

More and more strengthening of the process of mutual influence of Uzbek and Tajik literature in the following centuries characterizes the Timurid period (the time of formation of literature in Old Uzbek language). It is to this period that the creative works of the genius of Uzbek literature *Mir Alisher Navai* (1441-1501) belong. Navai was born in 1441 in a highly educated family. Among his close friends were poets, musicians and calligraphers. From childhood, he was attracted to poetry and already at the age of 15, known as a poet who wrote poems in Persian and Old Uzbek language.

After the ascension of Timurid Husain Baiqara to the throne of Herat (1469), Navai became a state figure. He receives the title of Amir and occupies very high government posts. Almost whole of his life spent in Herat.

In the making of the genius of Navai a big role was played by his friendship with the great Jami whose disciple he considered himself. "...The meeting of Navai and Jami", writes E.E. Bertels, "Indeed had as its result a friendship that lasted till the death of Jami. The roots of this friendship are not only in the individual traits of character of these two outstanding men—it was strengthened by their common world outlook, the full convergence of their views on the objectives and tasks of literature."⁷¹



Madrasa of Ulugbek, 1420. A.D. Samarkand

⁷⁰See: *Ayni S*, 1948; *Bertels E.*, 1965 a; *Jami*, 1965. The edition of the books of Jami and their translation: *Jami*; 1964; *Abdurahmoni Jomi*, 1964.

⁷¹*Bertels E.E.*, 1965 a, p. 124.

In 1483-1485, Alisher Navai created "***Khamsa***" – (The Five), i.e., the cycle of five poems. The idea of such a cycle appeared in connection with "The Five" of the great poet of XII century Nizami—imitating whom many poets including Jami created their cycles.

In his cycle, Navai devoted many chapters to criticism of violence and oppression of the people, avarice and fortune making.

When Jami died in 1493 Navai and his friends wore mourning dresses during the whole year. To perpetuate the memory of his friend, Navai wrote the book "***The Five of the Perturbed***" and translated into Old Uzbek language one of the books of Jami.

The friendship of Alisher Navai and Abdurrahman Jami is a vivid symbol of the friendship between the two peoples—the Uzbeks and the Tajiks—the beginning of which goes back to antiquity.

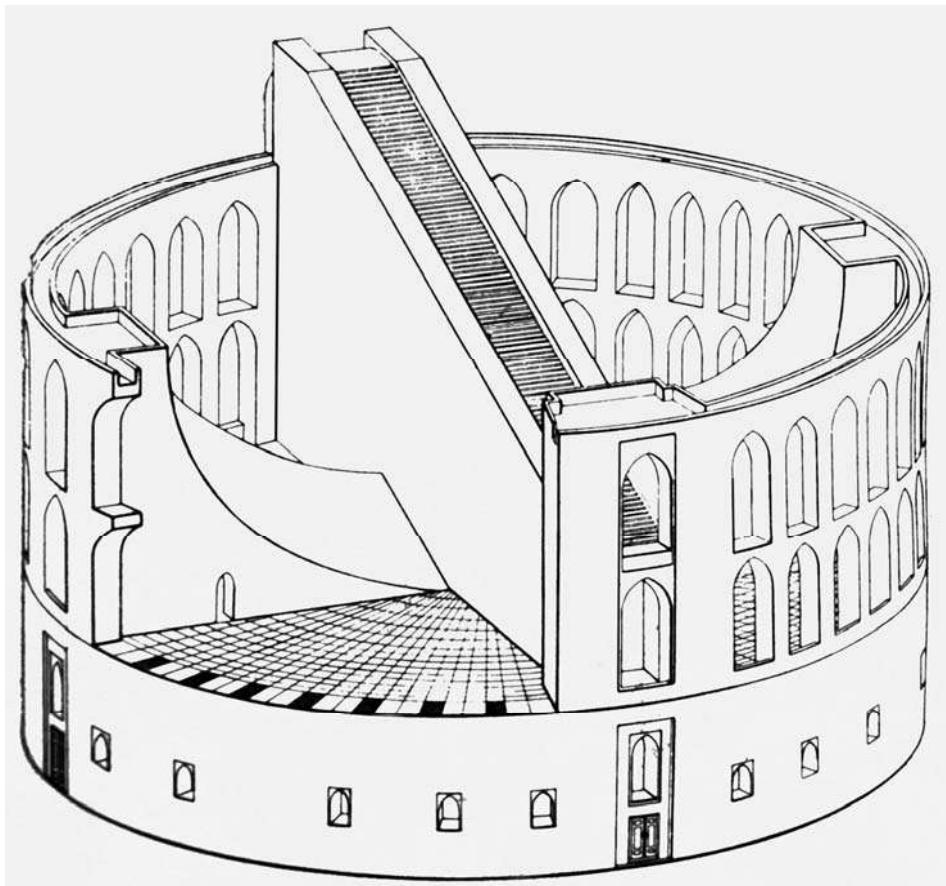
Towards the end of his life (he died in 1501), Navai wrote besides other works a poem "***Conversation of Birds***" and a book of different didactic content "***The Beloved of the Heart***" where many aspects of life are dealt with.

Alisher Navai is one of the outstanding poets of the East in the medieval times and at the same time; he is a great scholar-thinker, musician and painter and a political figure.

"Navai is great. His versatile talent puts him in one row with the geniuses of the world. His creative work has long become the heritage of the entire humanity. It has particularly played a great role in the development of literature in the Turkic languages. The great Azerbaijani poet of XVI century Fuzuli, Turkmen poets Andalib, Makhtumquli, Molla Nepes and others inspired by the works of Navai and emulated him in many ways. Navai was popular among the Turkic poets.

The importance of Navai for the Uzbek literature it determined by the fact that he brought it on the world stage. Navai by his work opened for the Uzbek people the vast possibility to develop their culture in their native language. The power of the talent of Navai lies in the fact that his works have outlived centuries and entered into the memory of the people and continue to inspire them till today."⁷²

⁷²Kor-Ogly Kh.R., 1968, p. 63. The works of Alisher Navai published in Tashkent in 15 volumes. "Alisher Navai, Asarlar, 15 tomlik. Tashkent, 1963-1968); there are several translations into Russian language. About the life and work of Navai see: Bertels E.E., 1965; Zohidov P., 1961 and others. For a detailed bibliography see: Svidicha E.D., 1968.



Observatory of Ulugbek. About 1428 A.D.
(after reconstruction)

In the above-mentioned period, literary history and criticism also developed greatly. Many works on rhyme, metrics, acoustics, poetical riddle (*muamma*) and others appeared. Jami wrote "*Muamma-i sagir*" ("Small muamma") and "*Muamma-i kabir*", ("Big muamma"), treatise, "*Risala-i qafiya*" ("About rhyme"); *Kamaladdin Husaini* wrote "*Risala fi-l-muamma*" ("Treatise on muamma"); and *Saifi* wrote "*Aruz*" ("On metrics"). In 1458, one of the courtiers of Husain Baiqara, *Daulat - shah Samarkandi* who frequently interacted with Jami and his friend Navai composed a famous anthology "*Tazkirat ash-shoara*" in which information about more than a hundred poets is given.

The significance of the literary school of Herat is extremely great. Particularly important is to emphasize once again that since this time the strengthening of the closeness of the literary creativity of the two neighboring peoples was taking place.

Let us give some conclusions of the Soviet scholars about the third period of development of classical poetry encompassing XIII-XV centuries after the Mongol conquest. Since the fifties of the XIII century despite the unbearable oppression in the surviving centers of culture there began a new upsurge of literature which gradually led to the variety of genres characteristic for the first period IX-XI centuries and to the further rise of the opposite humanist direction which was formed during the second period (XI beginning of XIII centuries).

The renewal of tradition resulted in the need for general works of literary history and criticism (like *Tazkira Aafi* and *Daulat-shah* and others). Eulogism got its use in historiographical prose of a highly rhetorical character glorifying Timur and his successors and also in the revived qasida (Khusrav Dehlevi and others). The Second revival acquires the method of creative competition — poetical answers (*nazira*). Such is the "***Khamsa***" by Khusrav Dehlevi, "The Seven" of Jami, and "The Five" of Navai. In Sufi poetry this leads to the "sufiised" verses—Sufi in form and quite different in content.

The highest achievement of poetry was the ghazals of Hafiz and Kamal. Jami was the poet who completed this period. He developed all the genres, synthesized all literary experience while working out the artistic concept of perfect man. However, in XV century in poetry there appeared the elements of feeble imitation. More attention is given to the form at the expense of the content.

The development of fiction could not but influence other related fields of art. Music and dance, particularly in XV century, became widespread. In this period, there appeared not only performing musicians but also excellent composers. Serious theoretical works on music written. "***Risala-i musiqi***" ("Treatise on music") by Abdurrahman Jami is considered one of the most important sources for study of music in the XV century.

During this period, several books on ethics were written. ***Jalaladdin Dawani*** (1426-1502) wrote in 1467 a book "***Akhlaqi Jalali***" ("The Ethics of Jalal"). In 1494 ***Husain Vaiz Kashifi*** (died in 1504) compiled and devoted to prince Muhsin a book "***Akhlaqi Muhsini***" ("The Ethics of Muhsin, the Ethics of the Benefactor") on questions of ethics and upbringing. He also improved anew the famous book "***Kalila and Dimna***". He titled this new version "***Anwari Sohaili***" ("The Glitter of Kanopus").

In the field of historiography, also there were considerable achievements. In this period the famous historical work of ***Hafizi Abru*** (died in 1430) "***Zubdat at-tawarikh***" ("The Cream of history") where the narration of the events is given up to 1427 was written. His successor was ***Abdurazzak Samarkandi*** (died in 1482) who wrote the book "***Matla' as-saadain va majma' al- bahrain***" ("The place of rise of two happy constellations and the place of union of the two seas"). This book contains the description of historical events during the period from the birth of Hulaguid Abusayid until Abusayid Timurid that is from 1304 to 1470.

Muinaddin Mohammad Isfizari (around 1446-47-1498) in 1493 compiled a book "***Rauzat al-jannat fi ausaf-i madinat al-Hirat***" ("The heavenly garden according to description of the Herat city"), in which he narrated not only the history of the Herat city, but of all the regions of the state of Sultan – Husain.

The most important historical work written in the Timurid period is the book "***Rauzat as-safa***" ("The Garden of purity"). The author of the book ***Mohammad ibn Khandshah*** (1433-1498) who hailed from Balkh and is known under the name of

Mirkhond was one of the active participants of the cultural life of Herat: "Rauzat as-safa" consists of seven books and describes the history of the countries of Islam, particularly of Iran and Central Asia; in a more detailed manner it describes the Timurid period till the end of the reign of Sultan – Husain Baiqara. The seventh and last part of the book remained unfinished and completed by the grandson of the author Khondamir.

It may emphasize again that the cultural achievements of this time do not give any reason for idealizing the situation in the state of Sultan – Husain. As mentioned above Sultan – Husain himself and his officials mercilessly plundered the toiling people. The heavy burden of building works in Herat was borne by the toiling people. In many works of the writers of that period, we come across complaints of violence against the people and then persecution.

PART V

TAJIK PEOPLE DURING THE LATER PERIOD OF FEUDALIZM IN CENTRAL ASIA

CHAPTER I

LIFE OF TAJIK PEOPLE IN THE STATE OF SHEIBANIDS (XVI CENTURY)

1. POLITICAL HISTORY

CONQUEST OF THE STATE OF TIMURIDS. INTERNAL POLICY OF SHEIBANI KHAN

At the threshold of the two centuries, the nomadic Uzbeks led by Mohammad Sheibani Khan conquered central Maverannahr and sometime later the remaining parts of the Timurid state also. The name of the new dynasty (and state) "Sheibanids" derived from the name of their founder. Sheibani Khan himself belonged to the house of Chengez Khan. His grandfather Abulkhair Khan in the first half of XV century established quite a powerful nomadic state. The Turkic-speaking tribes and clans united by him were of different origin. They roamed over vast steppe territories from the lower parts of Syr-Darya up to Siberia. The union established by Abulkhair did not have economic pre-requisites and held together by force of arms that is why, it was not strong and collapsed after his death.¹ Sheibani Khan tried to repeat the experiment of his grandfather but could not succeed. The struggle with other Chengizids who also pretended to leadership in the steppe or to full independence went on with occasional success. Stray victories brought a handsome booty but did not provide serious political preponderance.

During this struggle, Sheibani Khan more than once used the patronage of the Timurids. After one of his military failures, he lived in Bukhara for two years where according to sources he pursued his studies zealously.

The most serious enemies of the Timurids on the North were Mogols whose center was in Tashkent. The Mogols many times conducted raids even on the regions of Central Maverannahr, took away cattle and plundered population. The Timurids tried to use Sheibani Khan against the Mogols but Sheibani Khan proved to be a bad ally: pursuing his own interests, he many times changed his orientation siding sometimes with the Timurids and sometimes with the Mogols and conducted predatory raids on both. At last having firmly seized such fortified cities as Otrar, Sairam and Yasy, Sheibani Khan invited his relatives, strengthened the alliance, entered into union with the Mogols and in 1499 started the conquest of Maverannahr. First he besieged the capital of the Central Asian

¹ For details see: Semenov A.A., 1954 b; Ahmedov B.A., 1965 a.

Timurids — Samarkand and when the Bukharan vice-regent moved with his army towards Samarkand, Sheibani Khan abandoned the siege to meet him. He destroyed the Bukharan troops and proceeded towards weakened Bukhara. Three-day siege was enough to make the clergy and aristocracy give up the city to him.

Even at this critical moment, in the face of real danger the aristocracy of Samarkand and the Timurid princes were completely engrossed in intrigues and mutual animosity. Some of them backed Sultan Ali, head of the Central Asian branch of the Timurids; others invited his kin Babur to Samarkand, promising to give away the city to him. When Sheibani Khan besieged Samarkand, these discords grew further. Some of the influential representatives of the clergy induced a defeatist mood. Suspecting betrayal everywhere, Sultan Ali decided to overtake them all and with a small escort proceeded to the headquarter of Sheibani Khan. Having come to know about it the aristocracy of Samarkand appeared in submission before Sheibani Khan with a large number of presents. Thus in 1500 Samarkand passed into his hands without any fighting.

The first, fast and easy successes did not prove to be very enduring. A part of the aristocracy of Bukhara and Samarkand was in favor of restoration of the power of the Timurids. Although Sheibani Khan succeeded in exposing the first conspiracies and brutally punished the culprits and even mere suspects, nevertheless his opponents had an edge. Now the main rival of Sheibani Khan became a young Timurid prince, the future founder of the state of the Great Mogol in India, Babur. The headquarter of Sheibani Khan was located near Samarkand. The aristocracy of the city having secretly corresponded with Babur opened before him the gates of the capital and declared him the ruler. Soon in some other cities and fortifications, also the Timurid loyalists got an upper hand. However, in the open fight on the bank of Zerafshan in April 1501. Babur was defeated and locked himself in Samarkand. He describes in detail in his memoirs the long siege of Samarkand by Sheibani Khan.² According to him, it is obvious that the people, ordinary citizens and craftsmen initially took a very active part in the defense of the native town. They made courageous sorties and repulsed the attacks by Sheibani Khan. However, citizens defended not the dynastic interests of Babur as he naively thought. The residents of Samarkand already had a large and bitter experience: betrayals and conspiracies by the aristocracy, the change of power in the city led to plunder, strife and hunger. But in this case the interests of Babur and the citizens coincided.

However, it was impossible to hold on to the city. The citizens did not have arms. A severe hunger engulfed the city. "It was time for harvest. But nobody brought new bread. The siege continued and people suffered great losses; there came a time when the poor people started eating the flesh of dogs and donkeys. As fodder for horses became scarce, people began to feed them with tree leaves."³

Babur appealed to various rulers for help but in vain. He precisely emphasized the lack of understanding by Timurids of then common interests: "We hoped for help and support from the neighboring rulers, but they had their

²*Babur*, 1958, p. 106 and onwards.

³*Ibid*, 1958, p.109.

own plans.⁴ He was particularly astonished at the lack of farsightedness by Sultan-Husain, the head of the Khorasan Timurids, who did not help him and even hobnobbed with Sheibani Khan.

The citizens, warriors and even Babur's close associates fled from the starving city. At last, Babur himself fled. The capital Samarkand for the second time and completely fell into the hands of Sheibani Khan. It was in 1501.

The citizens of Karakul offered more active resistance to Sheibani Khan. In the spring of 1501 in Karakul a rebellion broke out which had a clearly class character. At the helm of power in the city put a representative of the people, perhaps the leader of this rebellion. His name not known and sources of this period call him "a beggar" and "stupid fellow".

Sheibani Khan himself advanced against Karakul with a large force. The city was seized and the head of the rebellion was killed. But after Sheibani Khan's departure the city again rose in revolt. However, at this stage the initiative taken over by the feudals who decided to use this revolt to promote the interests of the Timurids. They appealed for help to the neighboring Timurid rulers. Sheibani Khan had to send a large force to Karakul for the second time. The fighting was fierce. The poor people of the city showed miracles of courage and firmness. At last, Sheibani Khan captured the town and carried a real massacre. On the order of Sheibani Khan in Bukhara to scare the people a pyramid was made from the severed heads of the Karakul citizens.⁵

For some time, Sheibani Khan was busy securing his rears before he launched upon his conquest of the Southern Timurid lands. Here also his successes were helped by the same circumstances. The rulers of various regions could not unite or did not want to unite. Mutual distrust, intrigues, conspiracies and direct betrayals paved the ground for the conquest. Sheibani Khan skillfully used the situation promising all sorts of amnesty to some, and threatening others. He was demonstrating by his raids, plunders of the population the weakness and impotence of the Timurids, and thus strengthened the defeatist mentality. Khusrav – shah, the ruler of the large region with center in Hissar, was once so powerful, authoritarian and rich that the Timurid princes sought his help and patronage. At this time, he showed a total lack of understanding of the situation: instead of uniting with the Timurids and at least helping them for which he approached many times, he feared their claims, played clever and found himself completely isolated. At the first information about the advance of troops of Sheibani Khan towards Hissar, he fled like a coward. The Southern Tajikistan, a part of the Northern Afghanistan and Southern Uzbekistan, his former dominions, easily fell into Sheibani Khan's hands. Afterwards in 1505 Khwarezm was seized.

Herat, the other capital of the Timurids now left. In the face of a real danger, Sultan – Husain advanced with his main forces. However, old and sick, he expired during a military campaign. Among the nobility discords started immediately. As a result, at once two sons of Sultan – Husain were installed on the throne behind who stood two groups of more influential aristocrats. Sheibani

⁴Babur, 1958, p. 109.

⁵Mukminova R.G., 1950, pp. 13-14.

Khan himself could not have thought of a better situation for himself. Babur thus commented upon this situation: "It was something unusual. One never heard that two kings could rule jointly."⁶

While they were collecting the troops and while their Amirs quarreled, being unable to come to a single decision, Sheibani Khan looted Balkh and soon energetically advanced towards Herat. He destroyed badly trained Timurid troops.⁷

Many of the Amirs and the high officials fled directly from the battlefield and others from the city. The two rulers also fled, one to the West and the other to the East. The higher clergy and aristocracy sent a letter to Sheibani Khan declaring their submission. It is interesting that Khondamir, the famous historian and author of the largest historical chronicle "*Habib as-Siyar*", drafted this letter. Only the citizens offered resistance. They killed about 300 Uzbeks who were engaged in looting on the outskirts of Herat.

By that time terms of surrender of Herat were dictated before the arriving delegation: the common people and craftsman had to pay a large contribution and from the aristocracy money gifts were demanded. The confiscation comprised mainly the property of the deposed dynasty and the elite related to it.

During a short period, the remaining cities and regions up to Astarabad were conquered. In all large cities of the former Timurid Empire in Samarkand and Bukhara, in Merv, Serakhs, Balkh and Herat, in Mashhad, Nishapur, Tus, Nimruz and Astarabad silver coins in the name of the new conqueror minted. Sheibani Khan gave big political importance to this act. It was manifestation of its kind of the ascendance on the throne.

Sheibani Khan, who intended to conquer the state of the Timurids and unite under his power the large territory, knew well that military success alone was not enough for it. Mercilessly annihilating and persecuting the representatives of the dynasty of the Timurids, he right from the beginning tried to win over to his side the influential temporal and ecclesiastical feudals. This tactics perhaps brought him greater success and victory than weapons. Not only he, but also those close to him understood that merely a change of power was taking place and all the existing norms of life remained unchanged. In this connection, the story of the poet and memoir writer Vasifi is interesting who was an eyewitness of tin-conquest of Herat by Sheibani Khan. One Uzbek amir mistaking him and his companions for peasants explained them that only a change of one set of landlords by another has taken place and the new ones want the quickest restoration of economy because now the rights over lands and peasants and the duties to "take care" of peasants have been transferred to them.⁸

The entire domestic policy of Sheibani Khan after the conquest of the Timurid state served the interests of the ruling class of feudals in which the aristocracy of the Uzbek nomadic tribes too entered. Even his outwardly positive measures reflected the interests of the ruling class. Sheibani Khan himself and his

⁶Babur, 1958, p. 212.

⁷For details of the seizure of Herat and the subsequent events, see: Boldyrev A.N., 1957, p. 59 and onwards.

⁸Boldyrev A.N., 1957, p. 66.

kins, influential Amirs of the tribes and even the nearest security circles extremely enriched through confiscation of the property of the Timurids, their followers among the temporal and even ecclesiastical feudals and of the persons who were merely suspected of conspiring against the Sheibanids. Sheibani Khan divided the entire state into principalities under the rule of his relatives and the influential Amirs. The economic side of these grants was that revenues were fully or partially coming not in the treasury of Sheibani Khan but to the rulers of the cities and principalities. The conquerors understood that the looted riches should not remain as dead capital. They started buying lands, city buildings and workshops of the craftsmen. They also realized that under conditions of frequent change the most reliable form of property was that which was registered officially in the form of purchase. That is why, often the property forcibly seized registered as a purchased one. It is interesting to note that sometimes forcibly seized lands had to return.⁹

Confiscations and purchases rapidly concentrated in the hands of the Sheibanids and the Uzbek aristocracy large areas of land, a large member of city buildings, grinding mills and other profitable objects. One example is enough: already in the twenties of the XVI century the wife of the son of Sheibani Khan could give in waqf to a madrasa more than forty workshops, trade center, eight water mills, workshop for processing paper, stores, yards, about 150 plots of land, six villages, etc.¹⁰

Thus, the Sheibanids and the aristocracy of Uzbek nomadic tribes had become the largest feudal landowners who were also interested in urban crafts and trade. Their economic interests were no different from the interests of the hereditary ecclesiastical and temporal feudals of Central Asia who preserved during the Sheibanids their hereditary land and urban wealth accumulated in the preceding period.

The intention of Sheibani Khan to expand his class basis, to attract to his side the ruling class of the state conquered by him testified by his monetary reform decreed in 1507.¹¹

The crafts, trade and money circulation were one of the main items of state revenue and the revenue of owners of state principalities. The last Timurids used these items extensively and shamelessly resulting in the fact that state of money circulation did not correspond with the interests of trade, hampering its normal development, which in turn influenced the state of development of crafts. This painfully hit the interests of not only the craftsmen and small traders but also of the entire ruling class because in the feudal society of Central Asia the feudal was also a trader, he owned not only lands in the village and the city but also different trading and craft shops, he took part in the internal city trade, he was the main figure in the interregional and international trade.¹²

The reform of Sheibani Khan established an equal monetary circulation in the entire state and freed it from different changes. It determined the weight, size

⁹Mukminova R.G., 1966, p. 26 and onwards.

¹⁰Mukminova R.G., 1966, p. 41.

¹¹Davidovich E.A., 1954 a, p. 85 and onwards.

¹²Ivanov P.P., 1954, pp. 42-43; Davidovich E.A., 1961 a, pp. 40-42.

and the form of the silver and copper coins and the correlation between them. These coins had an equal value in every city and every region. The owners of principalities could not obstruct their equal circulation, to lower or raise their course in their favor.

Such a reform naturally received a large political resonance, favorably marking out the measures of the new conqueror from the financial policy of the last Timurids. It was not accidental that the decree of this reform was issued immediately after the fall of Herat — the second capital of the Timurids. Alongside other more personal measures of Sheibani Khan directed towards normalization of life disrupted by military actions, the reform of 1507 was meant to show to all strata of the ruling class that from the change of dynasty they did not lose but only won that Sheibani Khan understood and protected their interests.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN SHEIBANI KHAN AND BABUR

During several years, there had been no military actions on the large territory of Sheibani Khan, which undoubtedly helped in normalizing the economic life. However, in 1510 on the North-East and South-West almost simultaneously a serious damage was inflicted on the new state. Shortly before this, the Kazakhs of steppe who defeated by Sheibani Khan united with Mogols and defeated Sheibani Khan on Syr-Darya. The Persian Shah Ismail I was triumphantly marching from the West to the East towards Herat, seizing one city after another.

Ismail I hailed from a sufi family from the city of Ardebil. Among the sheikhs of this family became particularly famous through his "saintliness", Sefiaddin Ishaq, after whose name his successors and the entire dervish order called Sefeviye. After they entered the political arena, their dynasty received the name of Sefevids in history. In the XV century the main support of the Sefevids were the Turkic nomadic tribes who lived on the territory of Iranian Azerbaijan. They were called kyzyl-bash in the Azerbaijani language, which meant "red-headed" because the nomadic warriors wore on their head a turban with twelve purple stripes in the honor of twelve Shi'ite Imams. They owed allegiance to the Sefevid sheikhs both in political and religious lams. The Sefevid sheikhs in the third quarter of the XV century conducted plundering raids first on the non-Muslim countries afterwards entering into conflict with some Muslim rulers. But the real success was achieved only by Ismail I. Having seized Tabriz, he made it his capital and in 1501, he assumed the title of shahanshah of Iran. For a short period, taking advantage of internecine wars between different dynasties kyzylbashi headed by Ismail I conquered the entire Western Iran.

The two states of the Sheibanids and the Sefevids became neighbors. However, there was no peace between them. The political ideas were colored with religious shades: Sheibani Khan in his slate struggled against Shi'ism while Ismail and kyzylbashi were militant Shi'ites.

Sheibani Khan retreated with his troops towards Merv and sent his envoys for help to the lands of his relatives. Shah Ismail siege to Merv but afterwards removing the siege simulated a retreat. Sheibani Khan, this time made a mistake unforgiveable for an experienced commander: he underestimated his rival. Without waiting for reinforcement, he started chasing the "retreating" troops. Sheibani Khan encircled, crushed and killed. From his skull, Ismail made a gold-plated wine bowl.

Shah Ismail I used against the Sheibanids not only his sword but diplomacy as well, he encouraged, in all possible, ways the surviving Timurids to fight for the lands of their fathers and ancestors. While the influential members of the Sheibanid dynasty were engaged in discussion of the problems of inheritance of the throne, and could not come to an agreed decision, the Timurids captured Fergana and Babur who had by now established himself in Kabul quickly proceeded through Kunduz towards Hissar. A decisive battle near Puli Sangin ("Stone Bridge") through Vakhsh (where presently the Nurek powerhouse is situated) ended in victory of Babur. The Central Maverannahr fell to him without struggle as the Sheibanid sultans preferred to leave Samarkand, Bukhara, Qarshi and other cities.

The easy victory elated Babur and made him careless According to sources he and persons close to him and also common soldiers were engrossed in feasting and revelry. This revelry cost him many financial resources in search of which Babur stopped at nothing. One of the examples of his irrational behavior is his machinations with the mint of coins. He violated the norms for monetary circulation established by Sheibani Khan. This harmed all strata of society interested in trade. The large army of Babur literally ate up the population but Babur having in mind his bitter experience in the past did not decide to reduce the strength of his army. The population was particularly enraged over the existence of the troops of kyzylbashis whom Shah Ismail I sent to help Babur. The Shi'ite inclinations of Babur and his revelries were intensely disliked by the entire people.

The vast masses of Bukhara and Samarkand met with joy the victory of Babur and his arrival. However, hardly half a year passed that he lost this wide support and could depend only on his troops consisting of different calibers. He was badly let down by the latter. In the spring of 1512 young and highly energetic Ubaidallah-sultan (nephew of Sheibani Khan) failing to induce the other Sheibanids to start a new war to gain Maverannahr, himself with a small army advanced towards Bukhara. To the amazement of his contemporaries, he won a decisive victory over the troops of Babur, which were many times larger than his army was.¹³

Babur fled to Hissar. The last attempt to win back Maverannahr was made by him in the autumn of the same year when he received help from large troops of kyzylbashis. Even a simple march of such an army through the territory of

¹³The Persian sources describe this stage of struggle between the Sheibanids and Babur somewhat differently, but preference should give to the contemporaries and eyewitnesses (*Semenov A.A.*, 1954g, pp. 127-131).

Maverannahr was nothing short of a calamity. At Gzhduvan the Sheibanids completely defeated the kyzylbashis.¹⁴

The barbaric annihilation of the population of Qarshi evoked the anger of historians even with Sefevid orientation. Here rumors spread that the kyzylbashis were intending to fully liquidate the population of Samarkand. All this helped unite the local people around the Sheibanids, rouse sympathies towards them and led to a new wave of antipathy towards Babur.

CENTRAL ASIA IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE XVI CENTURY

Soon the Sheibanids won back all the regions of Central Asia: Tashkent, Fergana, Hissar, etc. However, Central Asia was in ruins. The intrusion of kyzylbashis, outrages and plunder by Mogols, the mass annihilation of population had a deadly influence over the lives of the people and the whole economy. The cold and snowy winter of 1512/1513 came as a new calamity. The price of foodstuffs increased enormously and at some places, there was a famine. The historical resources contain a detailed account of the hard conditions particularly in the Hissar and Samarkand regions.

The Mogols looted and ruined the entire Hissar region took away from the population bread and cattle. An awful famine began from which many people perished.¹⁵ The situation in Samarkand city and region was none better. Vasifi, poet and memoir writer who lived in Samarkand at that time, thus described the cold and hungry winter of 1512/1513. "In this year high prices and famine in Samarkand reached an extent that the people did not see bread than the round bread of the moon and sun on the table of the sky and the hungry poor could gather the ears of galaxies only in their dreams at night". Vasifi wrote an excellent revealing poem "Hunger" in which he described the sufferings and miseries of the people with deep sympathy and poured scorn on the selfishness and apathy of the satisfied rich. There are such lines about the rich:

*If one were to ask for bread from some richman,
they would break his teeth with a blow.*

Sheibanid ruler himself represented the image of a greedy crow.

*O wind when you blow through the steppe
Convey my greetings and gift to the crow
And tell him: "Why do you dry your bread
It will grow musty! O happy bird
Spare some to be loaned to the poor!"¹⁶*

¹⁴Details of these events are given differently in different sources (*Semenov A.A.*, 1954g, pp. 131-138; *Boldyrev A.N.*, 1957, pp. 115-121).

¹⁵*Semenov A.A.*, 1954g, p. 139.

¹⁶*Boldyrev A.N.*, 1957, pp. 122, 298-299.

In other cities of Central Asia, the situation was hardly better. They also became the arena of battles and internecine wars and witnessed many changes of power. These cities many times subjected to siege and cowardly deserted by their masters.

The state of the finances extraordinarily promoted price rise. Babur himself made big changes in monetary sphere with the aim of extracting higher revenues. The Sheibanids instead of liquidating the consequences of misuse of Babur continued his practice. As a result of this the silver coins vanished from the market and only exclusively copper coins circulated in the trade. But their purchasing power fell sharply. As the prices in copper coins grew higher and higher the traders accepted copper more and more reluctantly.

While characterizing the economy of this period, it is necessary to take into account the fact that the nomadic Uzbek tribes occupied the best lands. They squeezed the local nomads and partly the settled population as well. According to some, the area of sown land decreased generally during the XVI century.¹⁷

Among the Sheibanids there was a rule that the eldest in the clan was declared the head of the state. Hence, after the final expulsion in 1512 from Central Asia of all pretenders it was not Ubaidallah Khan who became the ruler (he was most influential among the Sheibanids) but Kuchkuchi Khan who neither had authority nor power normostly occupied with praying and pious acts. Later the son of Kuchkuchi became the ruler and only afterwards Ubaidallah (1533-1539).

Already during the rule of Sheibani Khan, the state was divided into principalities. Now there occurred final allocation of the principalities to members of the dynasty. The large rulers of principalities were independent in internal affairs, the rule at once became hereditary and only because of internecine wars particular cities and regions fell into the hands of outsiders. The large principalities were Bukhara, Samarkand, Tashkent, Balkh, Hissar and a few others. At different intervals of time, different owners of each of these principalities became the rulers but most of the time the owners of Samarkand (in the first half of X century) were declared rulers, and from 1560 Bukhara became finally the capital of the state of the Sheibanids.

During the first three quarters of the century, the state of the Sheibanids consisted typically of principalities and the ruler who carried the title of Khan and Khaqan was only one of the principality owners. He was not always the most influential and powerful. Only outward prerogatives of power belonged to him: the honorific title, khutba (the announcement of his name during Friday prayers) and the minting of silver coins in his name.¹⁸ Until the forties of the XVI century, these rules followed. Later some principality owners even sometimes minted coins in their own names as not just actual but also as formally completely independent rulers.

¹⁷ Abduraimov M.A., 1966, p. 260.

¹⁸ In the eyes of contemporaries, khutba and minting of coins were such important signs of supreme power that in the written sources when the proclamation of the ruler mentioned these signs particularly stressed.

During the rule of the first three rulers (Kuchkunchi Khan his son Abusayid Khan and Ubaidallah Khan), the internal situation in the state was relatively quite stable. There existed a certain condition for restoration and normalization of the economy. The rulers and principality owners even took some active measures for normalization of those spheres of economic life which were connected with the interests of the class of feudals and their own interests. In this connection particularly indicative is the monetary reform carried out during the rule of Kuchkunchi Khan. As already mentioned the monetary circulation was going through a crisis as a result of the wars destructive for the country and the machinations of Babur and the Sheibanids with the mintage of coins. It badly affected the trade as a whole and the interests of the class of feudals and ultimately reduced the revenues of the Sheibanids themselves derived from trade and monetary circulation. The necessity for reform had matured but it was difficult to conduct it in conditions of principalities-based state structure and the large independence of the principality owners. It so happened that the head of the state Kuchkunchi Khan in his capital Samarkand and Ubaidallah Khan in his principality Bukhara first carried out an independent monetary policy. It took more than decades in order to set right the monetary circulation at the level of the whole state."¹⁹

A distinctive mark of the period under study was the military campaign of the Sheibanids against Khorasan.²⁰ The initiator of these campaigns was Ubaidallah Khan who like other Sheibanids had a strong desire to restore his state to the size that existed during the days of the founder of the dynasty Sheibani Khan. Besides, the Sheibanids considered themselves as the rightful heirs of the Timurids.²¹

During these campaigns, the Sheibanids tried to capture large cities. Herat attracted them in the first place. They indeed seized Herat thrice but only for a short time. In 1532, the Sheibanids laid siege to Herat but could not take it. However, they seized all big cities including Astarabad. The last campaign led by Ubaidallah Khan took place in 1535-1537. After five months of siege, Ubaidallah Khan captured Herat and retained it for more than one year. In order to consolidate his victory he was going to force a decisive battle on the Sefevide ruler but the Sheibanid Sultans as it happened many times before, opposed it and preferred to retreat to their native lands. Even the power of such an authoritarian ruler as Ubaidallah Khan (and he was the head of the state at this time) was not enough to take independent decisions.

The Khorasan military campaigns of the Sheibanids were not of a plunderous character. However, they enriched their participants. Besides, as has been correctly observed,²² they objectively hampered the development of internal feuds among the Sheibanids. Notwithstanding the authoritarianism and independence of the principality owners, the territory of the state of the Sheibanids during this period did not become an arena of constant internecine

¹⁹Davidovich E.A., 1951 a, pp. 106-120.

²⁰For more details see: Davidovich E.A., 1935 a, pp. 97-106.

²¹Miklukho-Maklai N.D., 1952, p. 11 and onwards.

²²ITN. II, 1, 1965, p. 372.

wars. Of course, numerous marches of troops in the direction of Khorasan, preparations and equipment for military campaigns created an additional burden on the population of Central Asia. However, the situation at this time was calm and conditions were more stable for normal development of economy than in the subsequent period.

FEUDAL INTERNECINE WARS. ABDALLAH KHAN II AND "UNIFICATION OF PRINCIPALITIES"

From the 40s of the XVI century the feudal internecine struggles and wars became a common phenomenon. The struggle waged between owners of large principalities who were joined by small owners: some wanting to keep the principalities and others desirous of receiving new ones.

There is no need to describe the numerous feudal wars, the groupings and regroupings of sultans.²³ We would just limit ourselves to mention the following.

The Sheibanid sultans often could not come to an agreement even on questions of inheriting the throne and the head of the state took part in feudal wars like a common principality owner. There were cases when some of the Sultans not only did not acknowledge the head of the state, not only fought against him and his followers but even acquired supreme attributes of khutba and issue of coins in their name. There were cases when different groups declared different rulers and in the country, there was something like a dual power. One such episode is linked with the name of Timur Ahmad, the master of Hissar. As already mentioned, Hissar was one of the largest principalities in the state of the Sheibanids. While the head of the state was the ruler of Tashkent Nauruz Ahmad Khan (Barak Khan), the internecine wars raged with great force. However, the head of the state came forward not as a peacekeeper, but the other way round, as an initiator of conflict. It is important to emphasize that two main groups of sultans emerged distinctly: the family of Tashkent principality owner headed by Khaqan and the group led by young Abdallah-sultan. In numerous battles and sieges, Nauruz Ahmad Khan of Tashkent strongly pushed Abdallah and even took away the principality of his father, the large region of Miyankal (between Bukhara and Samarkand) with the center in Kermina city.²⁴

After the death of Nauruz Ahmad Khan, Pir Mohammad Khan, the owner of Balkh and the uncle of Abdallah-sultan declared the head of the state according to written sources. However, numismatic data bring interesting corrections in to the characteristics of the political situation of this period.²⁵ It seems that the two hostile groups, which were setup earlier, proclaimed two different Khaqans. The Tashkent family of principality owners declared the owner of Hissar, Timur Ahmad, as the head of the state and issued coins in his

²³For details see: *Velyaminov-Zernov V.V.*, 1859; *Vyatkin V.L.*, 1927.

²⁴*Velyaminov-Zernov V.V.*, 1859, pp. 379-386.

²⁵*Davidovich E.A.*, 1952, pp. 27-36.

name; the group of Abdallah-sultan made his uncle Pir Mohammad, the head of the state. This group at last was victorious.

This first big victory of Abdallah-sultan was followed by some other military and political successes. First Abdallah brought back his hereditary principality Miyankal, then expelled the sons of Nauruz Ahmad from Samarkand, and in 1557 captured Bukhara. Soon afterwards taking advantage of internecine wars in Balkh (the son of Pir Mohammad in the absence of his father captured the city) Abdallah called his father from Kermina in Bukhara and in 1560 proclaimed him the head of the state,²⁶ although his uncle Pir Mohammad Khan was alive, brought back Balkh and remained Khaqan until his death. However, he was old, and burdened by his family mess, did not even try to bring back his throne, which illegally snatched away from him. Iskandar, the father of Abdallah, was purely a figurehead. The real head of the slate was Abdallah and his sole serious rival was the family of the owners of the principality of Tashkent.

Abdallah whose independence now nobody could limit, with amazing energy, purposiveness and ruthlessness began to further integrate the principalities. In 1573, he captured Balkh, in 1574 Hissar, in 1578 Samarkand and at last in 1582 Tashkent also. In 1583 after the death of his father, Abdallah was proclaimed the ruler in violation of the above-mentioned rule (he was not the eldest in the clan). Now in his hands the real and formal powers of the ruler combined. He was the sole ruler among the Sheibanid Khaqans whose struggle with the authoritarianism of owners of the principalities succeeded and who was able to create to some extent a centralized state.

But Abdallah Khan II dreamt of much more: He wanted to bring back to the Sheibanids the old lands which once upon a time were seized by Sheibani Khan, the founder of the dynasty and in contrast with his unsuccessful predecessors, he succeeded to a considerable extent: one of the reasons for his success was of course his skill for concentration of large power in his hands. He did not depend on the caprices and decisions of other members of the dynasty.

In 1584 Abdallah Khan II conquered Badakhshan, in 1588 Herat, and then many other cities of Khorasan. The conquest of Khwarezm demanded greater power and time; three campaigns were needed to firmly establish his power there in 1595.

The cessation of internecine wars and the centralization of power created favorable conditions for normalizing economic life. Abdallah Khan II was an outstanding statesman. In folk legends, numerous constructions are associated with his name: irrigation works, roads, water reservoirs, bridges, caravan-sarais and trade centers. In these legends, there is a grain of truth.

In the sources, some irrigation works carried out on his order mentioned. These include Nuratin dam for collecting muddy water coming from mountains during rains and melting of snow, the repair work on canals in the region of Sauran,

²⁶A contemporary of the events Hafizi Tanysh in his «Abdallahnama» narrates such an order of succession of the throne. V.V. Velyaminov-Zernov (1859, pp. 392-395) rightly noted that the version of later historian Yusuf Munshi is absolutely distorted and confused. In support of V.V. Velyaminov-Zernov it may be added that large numismatic material collected during the past century (for last report see: *Lowick N.M.*, 1966), fully confirms the version of Hafizi Tanysh himself merely concrete details to some of his data.

reservoir near Kushka River, the bridge on Zerafshan near Gizhduvan, which perhaps also served for lifting water.²⁷

Abdallah Khan II gave particular attention to questions of external and internal trade. It testified by the repair of roads carried out by him and the general improvement of conditions for caravan trade. In this connection, his monetary reform and its objective results are indicative.²⁸

Almost 50 years of incessant feudal-wars on the territory of Central Asia created extremely unfavorable conditions for trade and monetary circulation. Autocratic and independent principality owners tried to conduct autonomous policy in monetary affairs in order to extract maximum gains from this item of revenue. They destroyed all norms of all-state circulation. In this connection, the increasing shortage of silver – metal in the country due to absence of considerable internal and external supply is worth mentioning. In these conditions the unscrupulous exploitation by the principality owners, both the minting and circulation of silver coins, led to gradual decline in trade. Silver coins disappeared in two ways: part of them were concealed until "better times", the other part was taken out abroad. Molding of a part of silver in conditions of its general shortage resulted in changed market proportion of the silver and copper metals and led to sharp difference between market and official state rates for the silver coins.

The monetary crisis was acute and demanded intervention. It liquidated by the monetary reform of Abdallah Khan II. There is no mention of this reform in the written sources. Only in "*Abdallahnama*" of Hafizi Tanysh there is a small hint that Abdallah Khan II meticulously instructed that gold coins should not be spoiled by mixing other less valuable metals in their mintage. Indeed Abdallah Khan regularized the minting of high value gold coins. But the main part of his reform was concerned with the mint and circulation of silver. The centralization of state formed the prerequisite for his reform. It was now possible to close down several mints in the principalities. Similar coins, which were minted mainly in Bukhara, had uniform circulation in the entire state and there was no "principality obstacle" for them. The market and official rates of the silver coins brought on par. This immediately stopped the disappearance of silver. The reform successfully took into account the interest of trade and the treasury: the revenues from mintage now flowed mainly into the treasury of Abdallah Khan II.

2. SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATIONS

LANDOWNERSHIP AND LAND USE

In the XVI century, lands were divided into five categories on the basis of right of ownership. The Sheibanid conquest in this respect did not lead to any principal changes. However, some new phenomena and tendencies should note. As before, the largest category was that of state lands. It was the main but not the sole fund of ownership based on grant, i.e., conditional feudal landownership.

²⁷Barthold V.V., pp. 153, 200, 226; Chekhovich O.D., 1954 a. p. 106.

²⁸Davidovich E.A., 1951 a, pp. 120-141.

The new phenomenon was the re-distribution of state lands. In the XVI century the main landowners of the state lands on the basis of grants was the new group of feudal class – numerous members of the dynasty and the top of the nomadic Uzbek tribes which came along with the Sheibanids.

The state of the Sheibanids, as already noted consisted of principalities. The economic basis of this "principality based" state was the right of the principality owner to collect the whole or part (two variants are known) of the feudal rent tax from the state lands of his principality for his benefit. Such large grants of entire principalities in the XVI century also called *suiurgal*.²⁹ The principality owners besides had some rights, including the right to independently use the rent-tax granted to them. Thus, a situation occurred when the principality owners distributed a part of state lands of their principalities to smaller temporal and ecclesiastical feudals and to the representatives of the military strata. There appeared a hierarchy of multi-level land grants. Such facts recorded in the XVI century legal documents.³⁰

These smaller grants coming from the central power or from the principality owners were also sometimes called *suiurgal*. Sometimes other terms also added to it. The grants for military service in the XVI century called *tankho* and *iqta*.³¹

The other category of land on the basis of ownership – feudal *milki* (i.e., the lands from which a part of the rent in favor of the state and a part in favor of the private person — the feudal) was quite large. Here three tendencies may be noted. Firstly, the members of the Sheibanid dynasty and the top of the Uzbek nomadic tribes are fully trying to obtain the *milki* lands. A large quantity of *milki* land was obtained by the conquerors by way of confiscations from the Timurids, Timurid elite and officials (who could not cross over to the side of the Sheibanids) and in some cases from the clergy. Later, according to legal documents of the XVI century, the members of the dynasty and the top of the Uzbek tribes intensively purchased *milki* lands in rural areas and cities."

The second tendency to which the legal documents testify in the "break up" of the *milki* lands, their division between the state and feudals according to their shares of rent. For example, if this share of the state in rent from the *milki* lands was two-thirds of thin rent and the share of the feudals — one-third of the rent — then after the division, two-thirds of the lands were changed from *milki* into state lands and one-third of the lands changed from *milki* lands to *milki hurri khalis* (i.e., the really privately owned).³² During such divisions, the fund of *milki* lands was decreasing. Another source of decrease in this fund, which cannot be ignored, is the abundant grants of *milki* land to waqf during the XVI century (see below).

Lastly, according to the documents of the XVI century and of the subsequent period, the *milki* lands were used by the state as the fund for feudal

²⁹Ivanov P.P., p. 26.

³⁰Nabihev R.N., 1959, pp. 26-28.

³¹Ivanov P.P., 1954, pp. 26-27. It may note that the entire terminology related to grants in the XVI century still not adequately researched.

³²Davidovich E.A., 1961 a, pp. 28-32.

grants. In this case, the state granted its own share of rent from milkilands.³⁴ This kind of grants should not confused with the "whitening" of milki lands when the state freed the *milkdar* (the owner of milk) from the rent tax so that he took himself the entire rent. Using the milki lands (like state ones) for the grants, the state could grant its share of the rent from milki lands not to the milkdar but to completely another person. In this case a part of rent was received by one person (on the basis of ownership) and the other part by another (on the basis of grants).

The specific weight of the lands of the category milki hurri khalis in the XVI century not large but was growing. The legal documents record two ways of increase in this period of the quantity of fully privately owned lands: division between the state and the feudals of milki lands (see above), purchase of state lands by feudals. It is interesting to note that purchase of state lands was recorded in documents as change into milki lands with consequent division of the latter as described above.

The fund of waqf lands during the XVI century undoubtedly increased both at the expense of milki lands as well as to some extent at the expense of lands milki hurri khalis. This confirmed by numerous religious buildings (madrasas, mazars, mosques and khanaqas) which built during the XVI century and in all cases maintained as waqf property among which land occupied a substantial place. A considerable number of *waqf-name* of the XVI century have been found from which it is evident that besides the main provision, different persons later granted in favor of the same constructions additional resources.

The state in some cases received from waqf lands its own share of rent and in other cases nothing. However, the Khaqans often "whitened" the waqf lands. In this respect, the XVI century differed little from the preceding period. The other thing is interesting. The waqf lands, as is known, not subjected to alienation and were inviolable. In the meantime, from some waqf grants it is evident that big feudals tried to lay hand on waqf property and revenues. Particularly eloquent in this respect is the waqf-name in favor of the Samarkand madrasa of Sheibani Khan. Among conditions provided by a woman who created the waqf there are such conditions: "...it is not desirable to rent out these waqf properties to persons from whose side there is a danger of grabbing them...among them are tyrants, hostile and inimical persons; to sultan...; these waqf properties in no case should be rented out to the officials and persons from whom it will be difficult or" impossible to realize the rent tax."³⁵

The mutavalli usually was in charge of the waqf lands and other waqf property. The grant deed was preserved with one of the successors of the persons who granted the land. The waqf property was for the clergy one of the means of ruthless exploitation of the toiling strata of the country, if not the single but extremely important methods of personal enrichment.

The biggest in charge of waqf lands, the keepers of the waqf grants were sheikhs and ishans of the two most influential in Central Asia sufi – dervish brotherhoods — "Kubraviya" and "Naqshbandiya" (otherwise "Khojagon"). The

³⁴Ibid., pp. 29-30.

³⁵Mukminova R.G., 1966, p. 293.

dervish sheikhs concentrated in their hands large wealth. Such for example were famous sheikhs Juibari.³⁶

A contemporary of Abdallah Khan II, Khoja Islam Juibari, was the owner of large herds of horses, sheep, camels and cultivated land. Fond of hunting, Khoja Islam had many dogs, and big staff of falconers, etc. The faithful desirous of meeting him complained that the "holy old man" talks more to birds and dogs than to people. Three hundred slaves served at his court and for household accounts there was a special office. Khoja Islam was engaged in trade as well and his caravans went up to Moscow. All these crowned and uncrowned rulers, temporal and ecclesiastical, different types of "holy men" and their retainers mercilessly plundered the people.

Legal documents sometimes mention another category of lands – small plots of milki lands, which were under the direct ownership of the producer.³⁷

We do not have information about the number of such peasant milki. But indirect sources show that the fund of such lands during the XVI century and the subsequent period considerably decreased. The peasants sold their milki lands to rich feudals. Obviously it was done not voluntarily but under direct pressure or because of economic hardship. Here a great role was played by mortgaging and money lending.

The peasants – milkdars in comparison with the rest of the masses of direct producers were in a relatively privileged condition. The rent tax formally paid by them to the state was less than that of the other peasants paid to the state and feudals. But small size of plots of land and increase in family led to these peasants also falling into the trap of bondage to feudals and moneylenders.

In the XVI century, as in the earlier times, the feudals did not have large-scale landlord farms and the main economic unit was that of peasant household. Hence, the lands of all categories formed out to peasants. The peasant-tenants did not have the same status. Legal documents of XVI century show that often feudals were the tenants of the waqf and state lands. The peasants in this case were sub-tenants and the conditions of tenancy were tougher because tenant feudals took away from sub-tenant peasants more than the usual size of the rent.³⁸ The conditions of peasant-tenants and sub-tenants worsened because the tenure of tenancy was not long. In the waqf deeds, for example, it is stipulated that the lands should not be farmed out for more than three years.

In Central Asia in the XVI century existed communal landownership and strong remnants of it.³⁹ The condition of the commune peasant economically did not differ much from the condition of the peasant-tenants. However, he had one definite advantage: he cultivated land "permanently", had a right of a kind of "permanent tenancy".

³⁶ Vyatkin V.L., 1927, p. 3 onwards; Ivanov P.P., 1954, p. 48 onwards. For interesting material about the struggle between the sheikhs — "Kubraviya" and "Naqshbandiya" at the roots of which lay the material interests and longing for political influence and also about methods of deception of the people see: Semenov A.A., 1940 and 1941.

³⁷ Ivanov P.P., 1954, pp. 31-32, 41.

³⁸ Ivanov P.P., 1954, pp. 33-34.

³⁹ Ivanov P.P., 1958, p. 62.

It is not correct to think that the peasant – communards were settled only on state land. The commune land switched over from owner to owner. It could be a milki land, waqf land, etc., but the peasant notwithstanding this did not lose his right to "permanent tenancy". It is extremely important to remember that during sale and purchase of the commune land it was nor parceled out. In essence, it was sale-purchase not of the land itself but of the right on the rent from the peasant-communard. Such cases reported when the commune land was in the hands of several co-owners but the land itself was not divided between them, they only divided the rent.⁴⁰

We do not have sufficient data to judge whether the form of exploitation during the Sheibanid period changed in comparison with the XV century. It convincingly proved that the lawful and fixed size of the main part of the land rent was in the XVI century as a rule 30 per cent of the crop from the cultivated land (but sometimes it reached 40 per cent) and it collected in kind.⁴¹ Besides, there were many other different taxes, which were collected sometimes in cash, sometimes in kind. But their absolute size is not known exactly. They perhaps in many cases depended on the will of the central and local administration. The land rent from grape orchards was as a rule collected in cash. As before there, also existed labor rent form. The most direct and doubtless proof of the hard condition of peasants as reported in different sources is the abandoning by peasants of their long-occupied places and fleeing.⁴² This phenomenon reached a level that the administration took active measures up to attaching the peasants to the land. In this connection, of particular interest are the documents related to Fergana where the fleeing peasants brought back.

In the cities of Central Asia, there existed the same categories of landownership as in the rural areas. Judging based on legal documents of this period, the characteristic phenomenon both for the city and village was the intensive process of concentration of landownership in the hands of the members of the dynasty, big temporal and ecclesiastical feudals. In both places, it was proceeding at the expense of bankruptcy of small and even medium landowners. In the cities, another process was also going on simultaneously. The concentration in the hands of the feudals of the craft workshops and residential houses was taking place. The craftsmen were becoming tenants not only of the land but also of structures of their own workplace and often even of their residential place. It increased the norm of exploitation of direct producer in the city. Besides this, in the cities there also existed typically urban taxes. This is what Jenkinson writers: "The Bukharan king takes one-tenth of all items sold by the craftsmen and traders which results in the impoverishment of the whole people."⁴³ The burden of taxation in the city grew many times because of the fact that besides the fixed taxes, the masters of the cities at their own will imposed additional direct taxes on the citizens and levied indirect taxes.⁴⁴

⁴⁰Davidovich E.A., 1961a, pp. 36-38.

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 30-32.

⁴²Nabiev R.N., 1964, pp. 95-96; Mukminova R.G., 1966, pp. 52, 55-56.

⁴³Jenkinson, 1937, p. 183.

⁴⁴Shishkin V.A., 1947, pp. 25-26; Davidovich E.A., 1961a, pp. 40-44.

CRAFTS, INTERNAL TRADE AND MONEY CIRCULATION

In the literature on the subject two diametrically opposite evaluation of the state of production of crafts in Central Asia of XVI century are given. According to one of them, the crafts declined after the Sheibanid conquest while on the contrary according to the other it further developed. Neither of these two evaluations can accepted as correct.

In the development of crafts production in the internal trade during the XVI century, certain changes and developments took place. It did not however had much effect on the technical side of commodity production. The specialization in crafts in the XVI century was as narrow as in the XV century. For the characteristics of this specialization in the XVI century we have at our disposal more material than for the preceding period because a lot of legal documents as sale deeds, waqf grants, etc. mentioning different shops and workshops, have been preserved. Each kind of ready-made production and even semi-products were made by separate or different craftsmen. The productivity of labor in crafts was at this time on a maximum possible level of development under feudalism.⁴⁵

It cannot state that important changes whatsoever in the quality of production occurred. If, for example, the quality of fancy expensive ceramic or of some kind of products of applied arts worsened to some extent, the Samarkand paper⁴⁶ and many other items of Central Asian art were famous and exported as earlier. Thus, technical level of crafts' production and the quality of products overall did not change much in the XVI century.

However, new tendencies can be seen in comparison with the second half of the XV century. A certain decrease in the scale of commodity production and monetary trade as also in the sphere of small retail and wholesale trade took place. These tendencies appeared not immediately. Already in the second quarter and by the middle of XVI century these were visible.⁴⁷ The measures taken by the state power from time to time to create more favorable conditions for monetary trade (i.e., the reforms of Sheibani Khan, Kuchkunchi Khan and Abdallah Khan II) undoubtedly slowed down the growth of these tendencies but could not fully liquidate them. A study of the causes of gradual but steady decrease of commodity production and monetary trade in the XVI century and more intensively in the XVII – XVIII centuries is of great interest. Historians on a full scale did not work out this question.

Let us dwell on some particular reasons, which influenced the state of crafts and monetary trade in the XVI century. A certain role was played here by changes in external trade. Through Central Asia during many centuries, the transit trade route was passing which linked the East and the West. But in the XVI century after great geographical discoveries this route lost its importance. Central Asia became isolated from the main flow of commodities and this could not put influence the internal commodity production towards decrease of the

⁴⁵ Belenitsky A.M., 1940; Belenitsky A.M., 1949; ITN vol. II (I) pp. 401-402.

⁴⁶ Mukminova R.G., 1966, pp. 31-32.

⁴⁷ Davidovich E.A., 1965, pp. 90-91.

scale of production in a large number of crafts the products of which traded internationally and which served the caravans in transit.

Of course, these losses, to some extent, were compensated by the trade links of Central Asia with Russia, which were becoming stronger in the XVI century. However, the variety of goods exported on a large scale from Central Asia to Russia (see below), stimulated only a small group of crafts.

The essential moment is the state of monetary economy in the XVI century, the influence of principality-based state of the Sheibanids on the organization of the mints and circulation of coins. The end of XV century and the first decades of XVI century are characterized by unrestricted exploitation of the monetary system. The quickly changing rulers of the cities and regions tried by different methods to extract greater revenue from monetary transactions. At this period the minting and circulation of copper coins was particularly misused. It were the copper coins which served the small retail trade in which both the craftsmen (who made not the luxury items but commodities for the common civilians) as well as the citizens themselves and the peasants who bought in their shops goods of primary need were equally interested. For larger trade in which various strata of the ruling classes were interested in the first place, extremely unfavorable conditions prevailed which in turn indirectly affected the development of crafts overall.

Two monetary reforms which were carried out during the first quarter of the XVI century and were aimed at creating more favorable condition for monetary trade testify that such conditions did not exist as a rule. It is indicative that the second of these two reforms could not be carried out immediately because of the authoritarianism of the principality rulers; it required more than one and a half centuries to liquidate the crisis and to set right the monetary circulation on the level of the entire state.

In the following period, the independence of principality owners put new obstacles for equal circulation of coins in the whole state.

After the reform of Kuchkuchi Khan which ended by 1525 such a situation had been strengthened in which the revenues from the mints of the big principality owners, for example, the revenues from silver coins were formed through two ways: fixed payments by the owners of the metal, and revenues from open machinations with the rate of silver. The essence of the latter was that the silver coins of equal weight and value were divided into two groups: the group of "old" coins and the group of "new" coins with different rates (according to purchasing power 10 "old" tenga were equal to 9 "new" ones). Periodically and arbitrarily by the support of state power "new" coins were declared "old" ones bringing to treasury 10 per cent of revenue and to the owners of the coins immediately 10 per cent of loss. Jenkinson who visited Bukhara in 1558-1559 very convincingly characterized the ruthless exploitation of monetary system and its consequences for trade: "The price of silver is raised and lowered by the king for his own benefit every month and sometimes twice a month; he does not care for the people because he knows that he will not rule more than two or three years when he will be either killed or exiled. All this badly ruins the country and the traders."

It is necessary to add to this that along with increasing feudal splintering, the principality owners more and more obstructed the circulation of coins at the entire state level. Trying to extract more profit, they put obstacles to circulation of the coins of other cities in their principalities.

It is not accidental that in the third quarter of XVI century Central Asia went through one more and very serious crisis of monetary circulation.

The third essential moment is the general situation in the country and its direct influence on the economy. The numerous military campaigns and raids on Khorasan enriched the Sheibanid rulers and partly their troops as well. However, the preparation and expenditure on these campaigns cost dearly to the people. Particularly ruinous was the almost half a century of incessant feudal internecine wars: the wars between Sheibanid Sultans, the change of power in cities and principalities accompanied by trampling down of crops, plundering of cities and rise in taxes. Thus, the situation in this period was also not conducive for the rise and even firm stabilization of handicrafts and trade.

It is true that by the end of the century when Abdallah Khan II put an end to the internecine wars and took some measures for improvement of trade conditions, the situation changed for the better and stabilized. But the period of stabilization was extremely short to liquidate all consequences of the loss caused to handicrafts and trade during the preceding period. The later developments rapidly brought to naught the positive results of stabilization of the common situation in the country during the period of Abdallah Khan II.

The fact that Bukhara during the XVI century expanded its territory, some outskirts were included in the city, does not contradict the conclusion that three-fourths of the XVI century was a period of gradual decline in the scale of handicraft production and internal trade. It was during the XVI century that in Bukhara many new monumental trade centers, caravanserais, etc. were built and Bukhara in the second half of the XVI century firmly became the capital of the Sheibanid state. What is more important, Bukhara was the center of Central Asian trade, the place where predominantly foreign traders used to come and which was the trans-shipping point for foreign goods. Hence, the level of trade in Bukhara is not indicative of Central Asia and it does not justify statement about the progressive development of handicrafts in the whole of Central Asia.

EXTERNAL TRADE, DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

An important factor in the historical development of Central Asia in the XVI century was the strengthening of economic and diplomatic relations with Russia.⁴⁸ It was more visible in the second half of the century when Russian envoys in Central Asia and particularly Central Asian envoys in Moscow state became permanent guests. Envoys at that time were also traders: they carried in their caravans not only gifts for kings and khans but also goods for trade. The Khan-King trade was custom duties free, Sheibanid rulers and principality

⁴⁸Zhukovsky S.V., 1915; Pankov A.V., 1927; Chuloshnikov A., 1932.Ziyaev Kh.Z., 1962; 1965; Yuldashev M.U., 1964; Jamolov K., 1966.

owners willingly dispatched their caravans to Moscow state. However, from the point of view of strengthening of economic ties the growth of private trade is more essential. Although the caravans of private traders arriving in Astrakhan subjected to custom duty, it did not decrease the trade. The Central Asian goods became so usual and necessary for Russia that it found its reflection in terminology and geographical names. For example, one of the unit of weight current in Moscow was "Bukharan ansyr". In the Kazan Khanate, the Central Asian traders called "Tezikhs" (Tajiks), and in Kazan, one of the settlements in the center of the city called "Tezik moat".

Trade was increasing through another route also — towards Siberia. Here the Central Asian goods were in greater demand that is why, the Moscow government in XVI century did not charge any custom duty on trade with this region.

From among the Central Asian goods, cotton and silk fabric of different kinds were in great demand in the Moscow state. From Moscow to Central Asia raw leather, wooden utensils, woolen fabrics and many other things were exported. Indian, Chinese and Persian merchants purchased some Russian goods in Bukhara.

Close diplomatic, trade and cultural contacts existed in the XVI century between the state of the Sheibanids and the Great Mogols of India. Trade relations with Sefevid Iran considerably decreased. Here the main reason, besides the common ones (change of trade routes), was the religious rift between Shia Iran and Sunni Central Asia. The other cause was the political relations between the Sheibanids and the Sefevids, which aggravated by frequent military campaigns and raids by the Sheibanid sultans on Khorasan in order to conquer the rich cities like Herat, Mashhad, Isferain and others. Jenkinson who lived in Bukhara in 1558-59 and was particularly interested in trade related questions, thus wrote about the Central Asian trade with India and Iran: "The Indians bring thin white fabrics which the Tatars wrapped around their head and also other kinds of white material which is used for stitching of clothes from the cotton material, but they do not bring any gold or silver, precious stones and spices. I enquired and found that such trade was carried through ocean because all the places where these items are found are under the power of the Portuguese. From Bukhara, Indians export silk fabrics, raw leather, slaves and horses, but coarse woolen fabrics they value very little. I suggested to traders from these countries coming from distant places in India, even from the land of Bengal and river Ganga, to exchange broadcloth for their goods, but they did not agree.

The Persians bring here fabrics, cotton, linen and printed, and horses, etc. and take away from here raw leather and other Russian goods, slaves belonging to other countries. But they do not buy fabrics which they bring themselves."⁴⁹

Other sources replenish the list of goods exported to India (pears and apples, currants and almonds, Khwarezm melons, Russian furs and hunting birds) and also goods imported from India (brocade, dyes, tea, pearls).⁵⁰ It is necessary to note that a particular item which was coming from Central Asia in

⁴⁹ Jenkinson, 1937, p. 184.

⁵⁰ Istorya Uzbekskoy SSR, vol. I, pp. 537-538.

the second half of XVI century was Sheibanid silver coins; interestingly Akbar the Great (1556-1605) allowed in his state the circulation of Sheibanid coins for which a small stamp carrying his name was put.⁵¹ The diplomatic relations were also successfully developing between the Sheibanids and the Great Mogols. The Sheibanids who expelled Babur from Central Asia made every effort to normalize relations with him after he conquered a considerable part of India. Towards the end of the rule of Kuchkuchi Khan, an official envoy was sent to Babur. Interestingly, the envoys were not only from the head of the dynasty, i.e., from Kuchkuchi Khan himself but from Sultans of the Sheibanid court. Babur received the mission very well and he presented them rich gift when they were leaving. For example, to the envoy of Kuchkuchi Khan 70 thousand silver coins, precious sword and woven with gold headgear were gifted.⁵² This mission was not only an act of recognition. At this time, the Sheibanids making onslaughts on Khorasan and were interested in securing their rear.

The diplomatic relations between the two outstanding rulers, the Sheibanid Abdallah Khan II and the ruler of India, Akbar were successfully growing. They exchanged missions several times with letters and presents. Abdallah Khan II for example attached great importance to mission sent soon after the conquest of Badakhshan by the Sheibanids and impressive victory of the army of Akbar in Afghanistan. The mission had twin objectives: to prevent the further advance of Indian troops and from the other side to explain to Akbar that the Sheibanids also do not have any pretensions on his territory. The return mission of Akbar received with great consideration and honour.⁵³

3. THE PROBLEM OF ETHNO-GENESIS OF THE UZBEK PEOPLE

The problem of ethno-genesis of the Uzbek people began to examine on a scientific basis for the first time only in the Soviet-Marxist historiography. In the pre-revolutionary and also foreign literature the dominant view was that the history of the Uzbek people must begin from the XV – XVI centuries when the tribes of conquerors appeared in Central Asia who were called "Uzbeks". The beginning of the brand new understanding can be traced to A.Iu. Yakubovsky. He came to the conclusion that the conquerors — Uzbeks — were assimilated in the local Turkic population of Maverannahr: "...when the conquerors — Uzbeks — came on the territory of contemporary Uzbekistan, if not on the entire, then at least on a large part of it, the Turkic speaking, i.e., the Turkic or Turkicised population was there in a large number which had lived here for long and was forming in the process of merger with other more ancient peoples who had lived here since the antiquity. The nomadic-Uzbeks entered into the Turkic-speaking population only as the last component giving it their name".⁵⁴

⁵¹Davidovich E.A., 1951, pp. 139-140; Lowick N.M., 1966.

⁵²Babur, 1958, p. 407.

⁵³Umnyakov I.I., 1930, pp. 325-328.

⁵⁴Yakubovsky A.Iu., 1941, p. 3.

In 1949, I published my own interpretation of this complex and important problem. I reproduce here a citation from the History of Tajik People: "...From the XVI century there begins an increasing penetration of the Turkic-speaking tribes and people into the territory of Central Asia."⁵⁵ This process accompanied by coming closer of these tribes and peoples with the ancient population of Central Asia. The joint actions of Turks with the Sogdians are characteristic for the struggle of the peoples of Central Asia with the foreign invaders. The transition, first, of the poor strata of Turkic nomads to settled life and cultivation of land was taking place during centuries. There was increasing blending and mixing of Turkic peoples with the Sogdians, Bactrians and Khwarezmians, with the descendants of Sako-Massagaete tribes. Among the peoples formed that way, the Turkic spoken language was predominant. On this basis, the Uzbek people (national group) were formed who thus absorbed in itself like other peoples of Central Asia, the cultural heritage of its ancient inhabitants. By the XI century, this process of formation of the Uzbek people reached its high intensity spreading more and more from the North of Central Asia towards its Southern regions and found its reflection particularly in the creation of the Qarakhanid state, in the development of urban culture.

To this period is related also the intensive formation of the Turkmen and other Turkic-speaking peoples of Central Asia. In this period, the expression "Turku Tajik" became widespread for the characterization of the two main ethnic elements in the population of Central Asia.

As mentioned above, already during the period of the Samanids in the settled regions of Central Asia, there were a large number of Turkic-speaking populations. Historians point out to the existence of a large number of Turkic-speaking populations in Fergana, Khwarezm, Chach, Tokharistan and other settled agricultural regions. Nonetheless, during the Samanid period in the cities and settled agricultural regions of Central Asia the predominant majority of population was Tajik. The picture changes during the Qarakhanid period. As a result of settling down of Turkic-speaking nomads and of Turkicisation of the local Tajik population in Central Asia the proportion of the Turkic-speaking people sharply grew.

Among the ruling classes, there appears a closeness of Turkic tribal nobility with the old feudal aristocracy who by combined efforts increased the exploitation of the toiling masses. At the same time at the lower-level among the toiling people themselves in the joint struggle against this exploitation there grew the bonds of friendship between the working people of Tajik and that of the Turkic-speaking peoples, particularly Uzbeks and Tajiks. During all the popular uprisings of the later centuries in the heroic struggles against outside invaders we see the descendants of all the peoples of Central Asia side by side with each other, particularly the neighboring peoples — the Tajiks and Uzbeks. While studying the distinctive contribution made by each of these peoples to the treasure house of

⁵⁵It is true that some historians tried to question this viewpoint. They stated that the penetration of Turkic-speaking tribes, started quite earlier. One can agree with this. However, the author assumes that an intensive mass penetration of Turkic-speaking tribes and peoples into the territory of Central Asia starts from the VI century.

culture we also emphasize their mutual links and influence on each other.⁵⁶ In our concept the viewpoint that the Uzbeks along with Tajiks and other peoples of Central Asia are the heirs of the whole ancient history and culture of Central Asia is underlined, and the role of ancient Iranian-speaking tribes and peoples in the formation of the Uzbek people is shown and the chronological frame of this process i.e., the XVI century is defined.

This concept was taken into account in the foreword (author is A.Iu. Yakubovsky) to the first edition of "*The History of the Peoples of Uzbekistan*" published in 1950 in its first edition⁵⁷ and clearly expressed in the edition of "*The History of the Uzbek SSR*" in 1967.⁵⁸

According to this concept the Uzbek people is an equal participant not only of the last four centuries of Central Asian history but also of a longer period.

Subsequent researches have brought us more accurately some concrete propositions of this concept. The initial point is the irregularity of the recognition of language as the sole indicator of the limit of ethnic history of people. In the contemporary stage of development of the science of history, it can briefly summarize here below.

Above the initial stages of mutual interaction of Irano-Turkic population were mentioned. The penetration into the territory of Central Asia of Turkic spoken language is related with the grand movements of nomadic tribes of North-Eastern and Central Asia which started at the threshold of our era and continued, at times increasing and decreasing, during several subsequent centuries. Some part of these tribes including the Turkic-speaking tribes during their raids and resettlement remained on the territory of Central Asia.

The number of Turkic-speaking population of Central Asia particularly grew starting with the second half of the I century A.D. when the troops of the Turk Kaganate captured power on the territory of Central Asia between the two rivers after the defeat of the Hepthalites. From this time the Turkic-speaking tribes have played more and more important role in the processes of ethno-genesis in Central Asia (particularly in the northern and northeastern and then in the southern regions) A.N. Bernshtam relates the beginning of this process on the territory of Fergana to VII century A.D.⁵⁹ E.A. Davidovich and B.A. Litvinsky relate it to an earlier period (VI–VII centuries).⁶⁰ About the existence of Turkic population in Khuttal informs Hoi Chao whose information belongs to 726-727 A.D.

In the eastern regions of Central Asia (particularly in the Haftrud) and in Eastern Turkestan there existed numerous Sogdian colonies since long. The Turkic gradually squeezed out the Sogdian language.

⁵⁶Ghafurov B.G., 1949, pp. 223-224.

⁵⁷Trever K.V. and others, 1950, pp. 10-12.

⁵⁸"Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR", vol. I, pp. 380-381; see also: Vahabov M.G., 1961, pp. 3-85.

⁵⁹Bernshtam A.N., 1947 b.

⁶⁰Davidovich E.A. and Litvinsky B.A., 1955, pp. 207-208. To the second half of VI beginning of VII century belongs, paleographical very ancient Turkic inscription — the most ancient Turkic inscription from Northern Fergana and on the whole territory of Central Asia. See: Klyashtorny S.G., 1960 a, p. 175, note N.14.

The inflow of Turkic-speaking population increased considerably in the X-XII centuries. The Turks occupy an important place in the administrative apparatus of the Samanid state, its army, etc. The Turkic dynasties appeared (for example, the Ghaznavid) at the end of the X and beginning of the XI century. In Central Asia, a whole wave of Turkic intrusions and resettlement can be seen: Turks-Seljuks, Turkmens, Guzs, Ilek-khans. The latter after defeating the Samanids formed a large state encompassing Maverannahr, Haftrud and Eastern Turkestan. This state, which is known in history as the Qarakhanid state, played an important role in the history of Central Asia. The state of Qarakhanids included the Uighur tribes, Qarluqs, Chigils, Yaghma, Arghu and Tyurgkesh.

Linguists characterize the language of the Turkic population of the Qarakhanid state as the Qarluq-Uighur language. It has some phonetically, morphological and lexico-grammatical peculiarities found in such works as "*Kutadghu bilik*" of Yusuf Balasaguni in the corresponding part of "*Diwani lughat at-Turk*" of Mahmud Kashgari and others.⁶¹ The Turkic-speaking tribes of the Qarakhanid period were in close interaction with the local Sogdians (and other peoples part of whom continued to speak Eastern Iranian languages) as well as with the Tajik speaking population. Thus during the time of Mahmud Kashgari (XI century) the inhabitants of the cities of Haftrud in particular of Balasagun "accepted the clothes and customs of Turks", speaking Sogdian as well as Turkic languages and there were no people who spoke only Sogdian languages (the same was the case with the inhabitants of Taraz and Isfijab).

From this, it is clear that in the second half of XI century the Sogdians of Haftrud was bilingual and that they were gradually being absorbed into the Turkic ethnic environment. In the South of Uzbekistan, there lives a small ethnic group Harduri. They are Tajiks by origin and continue to speak the Tajik language but with a large number of Uzbek words and expressions. However, the character of the economy and the way of living of this group, their many customs are similar to those of neighboring Uzbek tribes.⁶³

The second example is linked with Khwarezm. In the XII century two main peoples were represented there — the Tajiks (Tajik language had by that time squeezed out considerably the Khwarezmian language) and the Turks. In the letter of credentials to the Vice-regent of Syr-Darya border cities by the Khwarezmshah Tekesh (1172-1200) only these two peoples mentioned.⁶⁴

According to the testimony of the great scholar of Central Asia al-Biruni who was Khwarezmian by origin, the "natural" language for him was the Khwarezmian. Phrases and even entire dialogues in the Eastern Iranian Khwarezmian language are found, as it is known in the works of XII-XIII centuries. However, in the same works Turkic words and expressions can be found which indicate to the presence in the Khwarezm of XII century of a certain perhaps considerable number of Turkic-speaking populations. Such a conclusion also confirmed by the testimony of the contemporaries, for example, Plano Karpini who visited Khwarezm in the forties of XIII century and informed that in

⁶¹ Shcherbak A.M., 1956; Baskakov N.A., 1969. pp. 300-301.

⁶³ Barthold V.V. 1964, pp. 466-467; Eshniyozov M., 1956.

⁶⁴ Semenov A.A., 1952. p. 24.

Khwarezm they spoke the "Komanian" language (that is one of the Turkic dialects). It can be assumed that by this time a majority of the indigenous population was bilingual and even trilingual (Khwarezmian, Tajik and Turkic languages), with the Turkic language dominating over the Khwarezmian.

After the XIII-XIV centuries, we do not have any information about the Khwarezmian language. Perhaps soon after this period the Turkic dialect and the population of Khwarezm finally squeezed it out, which was in the past Iranian (Khwarezmian and Tajik-speaking) finally switched over to the Turkic language. The Turkic (Uzbek and Turkmen) dialects which were developing on the Khwarezmian substratum absorbed a number of ancient Khwarezmian words (compare, for example, *agna* — big canal, *uav* — small canal, etc. in the Uzbek dialects of contemporary Khwarezm). The ancient Iranian lexicon broadly represented in the geographical names of this region (Hazorasp), etc.

The study of written sources show that in the XI – XII centuries the Turkic population formed not separate islands but a considerable layer, particularly in the Northern and partly in the Southern regions of the country where it was of becoming predominant. In the cultural life of Central Asia and even in the culture of the urban population there are visible traits of Turkic contribution and Turkic influence (see, for example, the depictions on ceramic, etc.). The Turkic language of that time which is mentioned above — Qarluq — Uighur — was the basic language after the breakup of which and on the basis of which there developed in Central Asia of the post-Mongol period the ancient Uzbek language very closely linked with its predecessor.⁶⁵

In Soviet historiography there is a viewpoint, which is formulated in "*The History of the Uzbek SSR*": "In the XI-XII centuries mainly, the formation of the Turkic-speaking people was completed, who were later called the Uzbeks."⁶⁶ Here it was mainly correctly emphasized because the formation of the Uzbek people (as well as the Tajik) had been going on for a long time. The tribal differences were still very distinct, the new comers Turks were sharply different from the Turkicised in language settled inhabitants, and from those Turkic-speaking nomads who moved into Central Asia in the pre-Arab times, the formation of the old Uzbek language was taking place.⁶⁷

The Mongol conquest again brought about great changes in the ethnic map of Central Asia. The resettlement of a large number of the Mongol-nomads was an extremely substantial factor. From the point of view of ethnic history, it is very important that these Mongol tribes – the Mangit, Jalair, Barlas, etc., after coming to Central Asia were turkicised in language during a short time.⁶⁸

The fact that why just Turkicisation but not Tajikisation of the new comers took place is explained by the fact that in their way of life the Mongols as well as the Turks were nomads and it is natural that the Mongols associated themselves more closely with the Turks. However, the intensity and swiftness of the process

⁶⁵Shcherbak A.M., 1959, pp. 108-109.

⁶⁶"Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR", V. I, p. 380.

⁶⁷Malov S.E., 1961, pp. 221-222.

⁶⁸Shcherbak A.M., 1956, p. 109.

permits to make a conclusion about the very powerful Turkic environment in which the new comers, the Mongols, found themselves.

In the XIV – XVI centuries there existed the old Uzbek language including the literary one, which attained perfection. "In the given period some territorial dialects were already formed but the tribal-lingual differences played an important role. On the territory of Fergana, in Maverannahr and Khwarezm, the representatives of the three main dialect groups in differing proportions entered into contact and mutual interaction: Qarluq-Uighur, Uighur-Oguzs and Qypchaq."⁶⁹ "The basis of literary language was the live Turkic speech of the population of Maverannahr which differed besides the essential mixture of Iranian elements, by the conglomeration of the Eastern and Western Turkic elements..."⁷⁰ In the literary language there was an abundance of Iranian vocabulary and Arabic elements (sometimes 40-50 per cent of vocabulary); constructions which were not characteristic for the Turkic language were used. Many poets wrote their verses in the Turkic and Persian language (for example, Loutfi and other predecessors and contemporaries of Navai as also the founder of the Uzbek literature himself who was called by his contemporaries as fluent in two languages)."⁷¹

In the XIV-XV centuries there took place mass Turkicisation of the settled rural and urban population particularly in Khwarezm, Haftrud, Tashkent oasis and Fergana. In the sources, this settled population figured under the name "*Sarts*".⁷² As is evident from "*Baburname*" this name was used for both the Turkic-speaking and for Tajik-speaking settled population, which is by itself symptomatic: that is, there was no sharp difference between them. So far as the term "Uzbek" is concerned, all attempts to link this name with the Golden Horde Khan Uzbek (1312-1340) are baseless.⁷³ It can be assumed that in the 50s or 60s of the XIV century this name was applied to Turkic-Mongol population Dashti Qypchaq, and after the intrusion of the alliance of the nomadic tribe under the leadership of Sheibani Khan in Maverannahr and Khorasan on the threshold of XV and XVI centuries, the Turkic-speaking population of these regions,⁷⁴ that is, the Uzbek people received its name. Of course, the resettlement of the new large mass of the Turkic-speaking tribes, which brought the name for the people, was an important event but it did not become a principally new key moment in the history of the Uzbek people. The fact is that the same tribes, which already lived in Central Asia, mainly represented the nomads-Uzbeks who came in Maverannahr.

The linguist-Turkologists have established that "already in the XIV-XV centuries the grammatical structure and the main vocabulary fund of the

⁶⁹Shcherbak A.M., 1962, p. 223.

⁷⁰Ibid, p. 211.

⁷¹Ibid, p. 20 onwards; Rustamov E.R., 1963; Bertels E.A., 1965a.

⁷²For this term and its history see: Ostromov N.P., 1908; Samoilovich A., 1910; Barthold V.V., 1964 z, Vahabov M.G., 1961, pp. 31-33.

⁷³Semenov A.A., 1954 b, pp. 3-37; Ahmedov B.A., 1965a, pp. 11-12; see also Grekov B.D., Yakubovsky A.Iu., 1950, pp. 298 – 302.

⁷⁴Ahmedov B.A., 1965a, pp. 11-17. About the correlation of the terms "Uzbek" and "Kazakh" in XV-XVI centuries see: Ibragimov S.K., 1960a, 1960b.

language of the Uzbek people were being established approximately in the form in which they are found in our times", while the settlement of the nomadic Uzbek tribes in Maverannahr did not change either the language or the ethnic type of the already existing Uzbek people.⁷⁵

The further ethnic development of the Uzbek people was going on in several directions. There was taking place extinction of the tribalistic character of the settlement and social structure with the formation of territorial units and links. This process was not complete even during the modern period as in some regions tribe-clan divisions were still preserved. This process was going on intensively where the change from nomadic to semi-nomadic and particularly to settled economy and way of life was going on. Simultaneously, on a wide scale was going on the Turkicisation of the local Tajik-speaking population — through different forms of bilingualism (from partial to full) and at the same time Tajikisation of the separate groups of Uzbeks. All these complex heterogeneous and contradictory tendencies overall-led to leveling of the constituent components and consolidation (in the ethnic terms) of the Uzbek people.

Above it was stated several times that the Uzbek people was formed on the basis of the settled Iranian-speaking population in which the Turkic-speaking tribes had flowed into many times, and already Turkicised groups were blended with new Turkic ingredients. Unfortunately, science does not have methods with which the proportion of one or the other component could establish. This problem cannot be solved also based on analysis of anthropological materials. It is necessary to keep in mind that the Turkic-speaking tribes and peoples who were arriving in Central Asia could have been a mixed up lot even before moving into Central Asia. It is true that anthropological materials can be of some interest for orientating conclusions. Indeed among the three large Turkic-speaking peoples of Northern Central Asia — the Uzbeks, Kazakhs and the Kyrgyzs — the latter two are the Mongoloid ones according to the physical type (the Kyrgyzs are more Mongoloid than the Kazakhs are) and the Uzbeks are Europeoid. Anthropologically the Uzbeks belong to the same race as the Tajiks — to the Europeoid Brahitsefal race of the Central Asian inter-river region. The difference between the physical type of the Tajiks and the Uzbeks is the large Mongoloid blend in the latter. However, as anthropologists have underlined "in the basis of anthropological type of Uzbeks lies the local ancient Europeoid racial type and the Mongoloid features are only mixed to it." (V.V. Ginzburg). Such is the opinion of L.V. Oshanin, A.I. Yarkho and V.V. Ginzburg.⁷⁶ Among the nomadic Uzbek tribes sometimes, the racial type is more Mongoloid than among settled Uzbeks. As an example, one may refer to the Lokaits. At the same time the Uzbek-Karlucks fully lost the clearly Mongoloid traits whatsoever, "absorbed" in the mass of local population and they do not differ at all from the Tajiks anthropologically.⁷⁷ In this way from the clear blend of Mongoloid features to the relatively small in which the Uzbek population does not differ completely from the Tajik-such are the variations of physical type of contemporary Uzbeks. For

⁷⁵Shcherbak A.M., 1956, pp. 109-110.

⁷⁶Oshanin L.V., 1957, pp. 93-100; Ginzburg V.V., 1964, pp. 132-133.

⁷⁷Oshanin L.V., 1957 a, pp. 34-35.

comparison, it may note that except Pamir Tajiks in whom the Mongoloid blend is fully absent, it is present in rest of the Tajik groups. It is more prominent among the Tajiks of Fergana, Southern and South-Eastern Tajikistan and less noticeable among the Tajiks of Bukhara, Samarkand and upper Zerafshan.⁷⁸

Thus, the anthropological material shows the main nucleus of the Uzbek people was the local Central Asian Europeoid population, which was to some extent Mongolised as a result of mixing up with the newly arrived carriers of the South-Siberian racial type. Deciphering this from the viewpoint of ethnic history, it may be stated that the main component in the composition of the Uzbek people, if to take it as a whole, is indigenous Central Asian population. Turkicisation of a part of it had started in the early medieval period and continued more intensively later. The linguistic process of Turkicisation was going on considerably more widely and intensively than the biological process of Mongolisation. New groups and layers of population were involved in these processes. The complex transformation at different levels of Mongoloid and Turkicised tribes and peoples into closely linked population in close interaction with Europeoid Irano-Tajik speaking ethnic formations was going on. The latter in the ethnic terms led to the complex interlacing of processes going on in different directions; the cases of de-Turkicisation are recorded which more and more complicates the entire picture.

Such are the common trends of ethnic history. Well-documented history of Central Asian culture, particularly of literature fully confirms and elaborates the facts stated above. We need not dwell upon it in detail, more so, as the Tajik-Uzbek literary links have deeply worked out by specialists in literature.⁷⁹ The magnificent symbol of friendship of literatures of the two brotherly nations is the life and creative work of two great sons of the Tajik and Uzbek peoples — Jami and Navai — faithful friends and comrades.⁸⁰ Extremely important are the ethnographic materials which help more concretely and realistically to imagine the dynamic of mutual relations between the Tajiks and Uzbeks (in this connection the works of ethnographer B.Kh. Karmisheva) are of great interest and show, what is more important, how closely related are the contemporary popular culture and mode of life of the Uzbeks and Tajiks to the extent that the line of distinction between them is sometimes not visible at all. The neighborhood extending over many centuries and close interaction as the existence of the common substratum led to the existence in the Uzbek language of a wide layer of Tajik words and vice versa; the linguists point out the large mutual influence of the grammatical structures of these languages. Tajik – Uzbek bilingualism is widespread.

Thus, although the formation of the Tajik and the Uzbek people took place in different times, the languages of these peoples belonging to different linguistic groups, basic-ethno-anthropological substratum of both the people is common. The historical destiny of these peoples and their cultures are intertwined in the closest manner. For the medieval times, only in some spheres of culture, it is

⁷⁸ Ginzburg V.V., 1949, pp. 316-331.

⁷⁹ Braginsky I.S., 1962.

⁸⁰ See especially: Bertels E.E., 1965 a.

possible — on the basis of language — to demarcate the Uzbek and Tajik cultures, inside each of which there was its own tradition, but even in these spheres the mutual penetration is extremely large. The Turkic and Eastern Iranian tribes and peoples, the Tajik, Uzbek and other peoples of Central Asia lived shoulder to shoulder in the same state formations, in the same cities and settlements. They together fought against foreign invaders, together participated in class struggle against their "own" exploiters. Of course, there were cases of collision and ill will, but the general line of friendship, joint life and labor is absolutely indisputable.

Some ethnic differences, which mentioned here, are not at all the basis for contraposition of one set of peoples against the others. All peoples of Central Asia have made a great contribution to the development of the common civilization of humanity. Between both the Iranian and Turkic-speaking peoples of Central Asia there were outstanding figures of science and culture. They are the pride of all peoples of Central Asia.

4. MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL CULTURE

CONSTRUCTION AND ARCHITECTURE

In the XVI century there developed intensive construction work. One of the characteristic features of this period is the large scale of civil construction. In many cities and along the caravan roads there appeared many bridges, caravanserais, baths and large trading buildings of different types and sizes. Many other large buildings also constructed: madrasas, mosques, mausoleums and khanaqas. The best of these have preserved until the present times. However, an idea of the full scale of the construction activities can be had by adding to them those constructions, which have not survived. Many such constructions are mentioned in waqf grants and other sources.

Bukhara and its outskirts abounded in construction works.⁸¹ It can be said without any exaggeration that the face of the later medieval Bukhara was considerably determined by construction built in the XVI century. During this century the new city wall was constructed which surrounded the outgrown area of this city. By the end of the XVI century Abdallah Khan II (to please the influential and rich Juybori sheikhs) included in the city line all their large homesteads.

The typical traits of the architecture of the XVI century are particularly visible in the Bukhara structures and can analyze on their basis.⁸² In the religions

⁸¹Shishkin V.A., 1936.

⁸² The literature on architecture of the XVI century is vast. There are descriptions of individual monuments and combined works: Voronina V.L., 1950, pp. 93-96; 1951; Davidovich E.A., 1950 a, Dmitriev V.I., 1950; Litvinsky B.A., 1953; Masson M.E., 1936; Pugachenkova G.A., 1962, 1968; Pugachenkova G.A. and Rempel L.I., 1958; Ratiya Sh.E. and Voronin L.N. 1936; Frenkel N.I., 1950.

structures can be more clearly seen a synthesis of old traditions and new trends; in the social structures new trends are predominant.

From the standpoint of construction, planning the XVI century is marked by interesting searches. Especially beautiful are the domed roofs harmoniously blended with the size and purpose of the corresponding structures. In planning can be noted many deviation from the traditional scheme. From the XVI century have come down the authentic sketches of some of the structures for different purposes. These are the standard model projects.⁸³ Among them, there is a model project for khanaqa (sufi place of worship). Some of the real khanaqas of XVI century deviated from this project only in details of planning. One of the khanaqas from the end of XVI century in Faizabad is absolutely new scale planning solution. On its side facades there are open domed galleries, which are excellent barrier in the conditions of hot Central Asian climate.

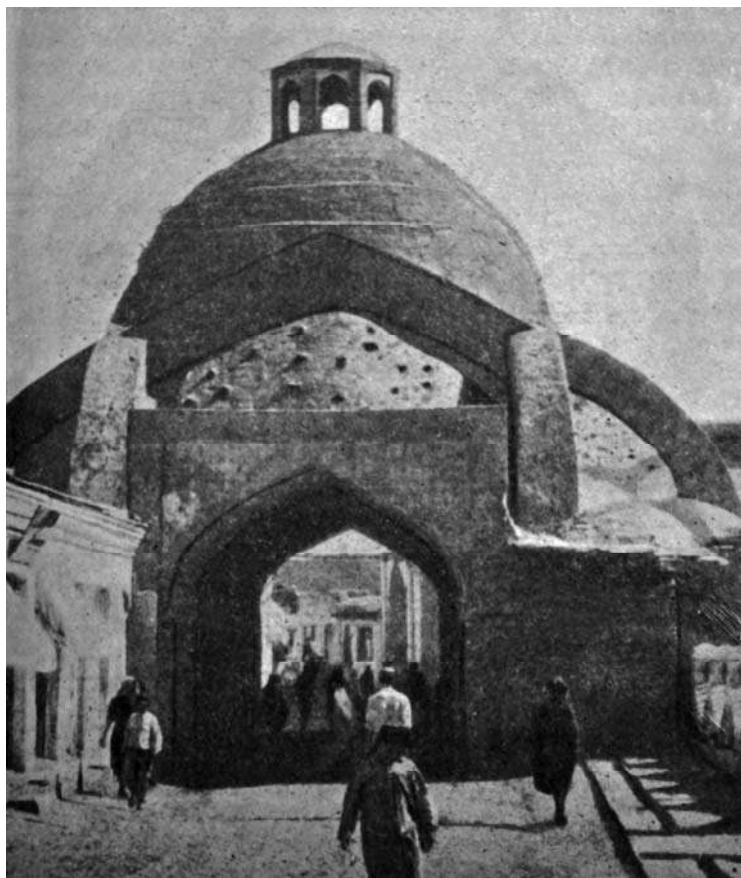
The other example is the madrasa of the XVI century. The plan of this madrasa was drawn and canonized earlier and some madrasas of XVI century merely repeat it. In others, there are considerable deviates from the existing scheme, which are prompted by practical needs: the architects searched the methods for increasing the number of *hujr*, to create small supplementary premises.



Matcha inscription on stone mentioning Babur

⁸³Baklanov N., 1944; Pugachenkova G.A., pp. 194-210.

From this point of view are interesting the Bukharan madrasa Miri Arab and particularly the madrasa of Abdallah Khan II. The plan of the latter is extremely interesting. From inside it do two storeys of hujr surround usual rectangular yard. The four aiwans in the middle of the four sides of the wall also appear to be usual. In fact, two of them lead to separate complexes of supplementary rooms. One of these complexes the octahedral internal yard covered by dome and surrounded by hujras. The total number of hujras in the madrasa of Abdallah Khan II is considerably larger than it could have been in the usual planning.



Taqi Saraffon XVI c. General view. Bukhara

The evolution of the decorative design of the festive structures is very interesting. In the first half of the XVI century, the Timurid traditions were alive and developing.

Expensive and labor-intensive composite mosaic was widely used; the majolica as in the XV century was distinguished by the delicacy of drawing, purity and harmony of the dark blue, white and blue shades; the glazed tiles of panels were decorated by exquisite painting in gold; the relief-blue-golden painting in the kundal technique — impress by its elegance and richness.

Such uses of decor are found in the monuments of Bukhara, Masjidi Kalan, Madrasa Miri Arab, mosques of Baland and Hoji Zainaddin, in the Tashkent mausoleum of Siyunji Khan, etc. The mosques of Baland and Hoji Zainaddin particularly surprise by the richness of their design. For example in the mosque of Baland, all the walls are covered with decoration: here are painted in gold, glazed tiles of panels and exquisite composite mosaic of complex drawings and kundal paintings.

In the second half of the XVI century, the decorative appearance of the monumental structure is changed. More cheap and less laborious decoration finds its wide use. However, from the point of view of art it is not at all a decline. The masters often reached beautiful results by very simple means. The domes ornamented by simple means. The domes were ornamented by simple figure laying of the bricks in the design of a fur tree are just beautiful. The dome gave an impression of a multi-rays star. Often the drawing of the dome formed the cast *ganch* ribs, the space between which was laid by polished bricks. The favorite material for the decoration of the internal rooms is white and painted alabaster. The technique was different. Sometimes alabaster was put on the walls in two layers (below painted and above white), and then in the upper layer the drawing was carved. In other cases, drawing carved in one-layer white ganch and painted ganch was "rubbed" in decorative design. The best sample of such cheap extremely effective decoration can be found in the khanaqa of Faizabad and khanaqa of Bahauddin.

In Central Asia of XVI century were built separate monumental structures as well as full ensembles. Some ensembles were grandiose, for example, the ensemble of Masjidi Kalan and madrasa Miri Arab. The Friday mosque Masjidi Kalan is one of the largest in Central Asia. Around the large rectangular inner yard, there are covered galleries: about 300 domes on the square pillars. On the street the mosque opens through the main portal, a blue dome on the high cylindrical drum crowns the main building of the mosque on the opposite side of the yard. The madrasa Miri Arab situated on the opposite side of the mosque is very small in comparison with it. But the compositional balance is reached very skillfully: the madrasa is lifted on a platform, its facade is "made heavy" by a quite massive tower.

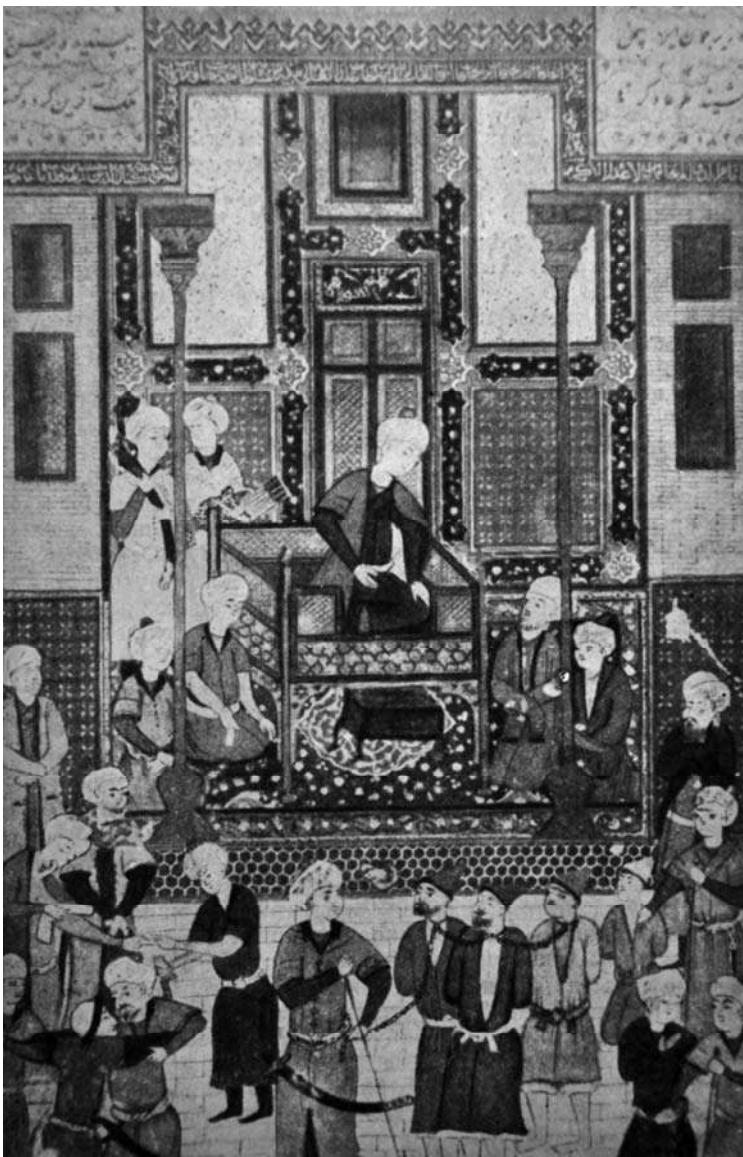
Even more grand is the ensemble Char-Bakr near Bukhara. The compositional center of the ensemble is the three monumental structures on one platform (khanaqa, mosque and the aiwan linking them with hujras on sides in two storeys), as if enclosing from three sides the yard-square. The complex is completed by small yards — the family tombs with numerous gravestones.

The ensembles formed by structures meant for social purpose were of another type. On several street crossings were built *charsu*, along the streets were *tims* for trade purposes and caravanserais. This ensemble formed squares, streets and crossings.

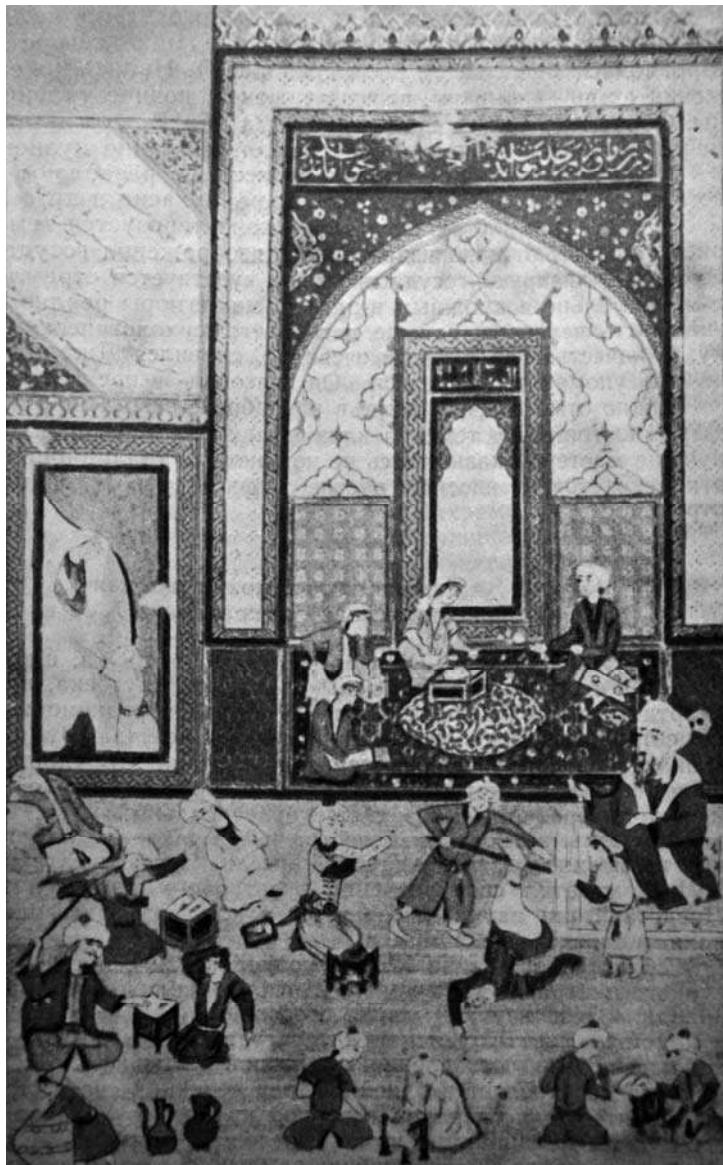
The largest ensembles of such types in Bukhara were at two places: one on Registan (it has not survived), the other one started on the crossing of two ancient streets of the old Shahristan of Bukhara and stretched to the north beyond the former Shahristan (from it three charsu and a tim of Abdallah Khan II are preserved).

This characterization of the art of XVI century will not be complete if such applied arts as the carving on stone and wood is not mentioned. In this, the masters of the XVI century reached high perfection.

Brilliant samples of carving on stone are the numerous gravestones and steles of the already mentioned complex of Char-Bakr. The gravestones decorated with ornaments and inscriptions. Their corners are made in the form of columns. Some gravestones in miniature repeat the form of domed mausoleum.



Miniature from XVI c. Showing the generous vazir freeing a young bandit sentenced to death. Bukhara



A miniature from the XVI c. Bukhara

The best samples of carving on wood are the hanging wooden ceiling of the mosque of Baland, the doors of some madrasas, etc. In the XVI century artistic get – up of the manuscripts was highly developed.⁸⁴ At the courts of some powerful Sultans existed libraries, which were at the same time workshops for copying and designing of manuscripts. In Central Asia of this period lived and

⁸⁴Galerkina O.I., 1956; Dolinskaya V.G., 1955; 1958; Pugachenkova G.A., 1950; 1956; 1959; Pugachenkova G.A. and Rampel L.I., 1955; Semenov A.A., 1946b and others.

creatively worked excellent calligraphers and miniaturists. Some of them came here from Herat. A considerable number of manuscripts copied in XVI century by local calligraphers and decorated by local miniaturists among whom there were highly talented persons, have come down to us.

Some researchers have concluded that the Central Asian miniature of XVI century became an independent school. G.A. Pugachenkova more elaborately propounds this thesis (although in separate moments it does not seem to be indisputable). She divides the development of this Central Asian miniature school into several stages. The first stage (before the 40s of XVI century) is the time of co-existence of the two styles. Some miniaturists followed the traditions of Behzod. Others painted in a slightly other style, less exquisite more laconic and more "ethnographical". The best example of this style are the miniatures in "*Fathname*" a work devoted to the glorification of the deeds of Sheibani Khan, the manuscript was re-written in the beginning of XVI century. The miniatures illustrate corresponding chapters and concrete historical event, on them are depicted a number of historical persons starting with Sheibani Khan himself. All the everyday details, costumes, environment as a whole are realistic. The mixture of settled and nomadic culture is underlined. In the same manner, the illustrations of the other historical works have been executed. It is interesting that in the "*Ta'rikhi Aboulkhair*" written in the XVI century the narration of the event is given only up to the rule of Aboulkhair, as for the miniatures, they are "modernized": costumes, everyday life detail and environment is of the XVI century while illustrating the events of any antiquity.

In the second stage beginning with the middle of the century in the works of best miniaturists, these two sides appear to be synthesized. Their drawings are elegant, precise and exquisite. However, in them psychological analysis, social themes, and genre scenes occupy a larger place. Portrait is also not forgotten. One of the best manuscripts of this stage is "*Shahnama*" of Firdausi illustrated by the miniaturist Mohammad – Murad Samarkandi. Painted by him the scenes of battle are very dynamic, full of movement and sometimes tragically tense. He also painted social themes as well. In this connection, particularly remarkable is the miniature depicting the uprising of the ironsmith Kava.

At this time Mahmud Muzahhib, Mohammad Chihre Muhasin and others continue to develop their creative works.

So far as portraits are concerned, the XVI century is characterized by the deviation from canonized depiction of the ruler: their portraits do not idealize them. In them is felt their attempt to not only depict the appearance of the person with maximum possible realism in the frame of miniature, but also to impart him psychological characteristics. As a portrait painter, Jalaladdin Yusuf was well-known. Vasifi mentioned him many times. He also authored brilliant caricatures.

It is important to note that even during the working out of the most banal, so to say "permanent" themes for illustrating classical poetry and fiction, the best masters were not the copy makers of the traditional depiction of these themes, but they infused in the works their individual spirit.

TAJIK FICTION AND HISTORICAL LITERATURE IN XVI CENTURY

As already mentioned above literature and science, which were highly developed during the rule of Ulugbek, began to sharply decline soon after his death because of the increasing reactionary influence of Muslim clergy on social life. This decline grew especially during the rule of Sultan Abusaid. The political situation, which existed in the beginning of XVI century, delivered even greater blow to scientific-literacy life. The role of reactionary Muslim clergy grew extremely which hampered more and more the development of scientific thought. As a result, Herat lost its importance as a cultural center in Central Asia from the beginning of XVI century. The representatives of science literature and art and culture dispersed in different directions of the country.

In the second half of XVI century grew the importance of Bukhara as a cultural center. At this time, the number of madrasas in Bukhara increased. However, here only theology was studied. Nevertheless, to some extent secular literature and sciences also were developing. The author of anthology of Bukharan poetry which was composed in the second half of XVI century, *Khoja Hasan Nisari* gives a list in one of the three editions of his *Tazkira* 250 names of literary and scientific figures during the period of the rule of Ubaidallah Khan and his son. Although a majority of these listed figures did not leave any notable trace in literature and science whatsoever, such a number indicates a considerable revival of literary and scientific thought. For the further development of literature and science, only the works of few of them had an importance. Among them, particularly important is to note the name of Vasifi.

Zainaddin Vasifi was born in 1485. Up to 1512, he lived in Herat. After the fall of the Timurids he went over to serve under the Sheibanids and until the 30s of the XVI century was staying in Bukhara, Samarkand, Tashkent and other cities of Central Asia. Besides poems, Vasifi wrote the most interesting memoirs "*Badai' al-Vaqae'*" ("Amusing Events"). In these memoirs he vividly depicts the face of contemporary cities, describes literary traditions in Herat during the period of Navai and the life of the court poets during the Sheibanids. As a witty and observant writer, Vasifi exposes in a satirical form the sins of the prevalent regime in the khanate.⁸⁵

A contemporary of Vasifi was an outstanding poet-historian **Kamaladdin Binai** (born in 1453, was killed in 1512).⁸⁷ He was born in Herat in the family of a skillful master builder; in his young age, he lived in Shiraz for some years, later in Tabriz at the court of Sultan Ya'qub. In 1491, he returned to his motherland in Herat. However, as a result of court intrigues which were caused by envy towards him as a talented poet of "low" origin, he was forced to move to Samarkand in 1495. There he became a witness to the struggle for power between the last Timurids and the Sheibanids. After the capture of Samarkand by Mohammad Sheibani Khan, he joined his service and along with his troops in 1507 returned to his native Herat. After the death of Sheibani Khan (1510) and capture by the troops of Sefevids of Herat, he settled down in Qarshi where two years later he was killed.

⁸⁵ Boldyrev A.N., 1957; Ayni S., 1956.

⁸⁷ About him see: Mirzoev A., 1957.

Binai wrote poems and fiction and he was an excellent musician. To him belongs the didactical poem "***Behruz and Bahram***" where he narrates his social and ethnic views. He criticizes in it the human weaknesses, exposes social evils, points to the necessity of knowledge and castigates the faults of the rich and elite and the morally degraded avaricious clergy. Notwithstanding the traditional character of the didactical genre, Binai brings to his poems new ideas.

The ghazals of Binai are written in the tradition of XV century. But even here he comes out as an innovator, bringing autobiographical details and elements of critique of the powerful. Among the historical works of Binai first should be mentioned his "***Sheibanimama***" and its expanded version — "***Futuhati Khani***" written between 1504 and 1510. These works describe in prose interspersed with poems, the events from the life of Sheibani Khan. In contrast with other historical works of the period, they contain many didactical deviations by which Binai naively thought to influence the conscience of the ruler.

Binai was a typical representative of the middle strata of citizens and from their position criticized the sins of the ruling circles. He was a talented follower of the best traditions of Tajik-Persian classic literature. He vividly reflected in his works the historical situation in Central Asia of the end of XV beginning of XVI century.

The opinion contained in some works that Binai was an opponent of the development of literature in Uzbek language, which was the result of information of historians about his temporary tiffs with Navai, is based on a misunderstanding. Binai highly appreciated the Uzbek and Tajik poems of Navai. He remembered him with great warmth in his works after his death and even himself wrote poems in Uzbek language. There was no "movement against Uzbek language" whatsoever at that time. The life and works of Binai speak of the close friendship between the figures of culture of the two peoples.

The other talented poet of this period is ***Badraddin Hilali***,⁸⁸ who like Binai belonged to the Herat cultural circles. He was born in Astarabad around 1470 but in 1491, he shifted to Herat for continuation of education, living there for rest of his life. In 1529, he was accused of professing Shi'ism and of writing a satire on Ubeidallah Khan, and on the order of this ruler he was executed. The Diwan of love ghazals, which are highly popular until our days in Tajikistan, occupies the most important place in the creative works of Hilali. The simplicity and perfection of the form and musical structure impart his ghazals a particular beauty. Besides these to his pen belong three more poems — "***Leyli and Majnun***", "***Sifat al-ashiqin***" and "***Shah-u gada***".

The works of the poets of the first half of the XVI century are still not adequately studied. There is no doubt that in them in comparison with the poetry of the XV century, there is an increase in formalistic trends and decrease in skill is to be found which was the result of the influence of the historical situation.

In the second half of the XVI century after the establishment by Abdallah Khan II of centralized power in Central Asia in comparison with the preceding period there is a noticeable revival. From among the circle of craftsmen there came out outstanding poets. Among them, first of all, must be named ***Abdarrahman Mushfiqi*** (1538-1588) who wrote in the Tajik language. According to one version

⁸⁸About him see: *Ayni K.* 1957.

Mushfiqi was born in Bukhara in a family of craftsmen, lived for some time in Samarkand, became known as a poet and after failure in his attempt to enter the court of Sultan Sayid moved to Delhi to join the court of Emperor Akbar, an Indian religious reformer whom he glorifies in his two qasidas. In 1567, he returned to Bukhara where he drawn to the court of Abdallah Khan II and became "malikash-shuara" (the king of poets).

Notwithstanding his career at the court and large skill manifested by him in the genre of qasida (he is considered to be the last great poet-panegyrist in Central Asia), Mushfiqi who hailed from the popular masses was by his calling first of all a lyrical and satirical poet. Especially popular and well-known are his lyrical ghazals and excellent rubais and his magnificent qasidas have almost faded. It is true that in some of his qasidas he dared to point to the ruler the poor conditions of the peasants.

The satirical diwan of Mushfiqi in which the poet mocks at the different people, mostly poets, became widely known among the people. Mushfiqi has acquired fame in the Tajik folklore as a jester. He became a favorite hero of anecdotes (*latifa*) which spread initially among the craftsmen. In them, he is depicted as a free thinker, "the trouble maker".

Here is an example of his satirical poem about the division of inheritance where inequality of women is exposed:

*Sister, our father is dead; it is time to divide the property;
I have invited the mullah and you pay to him sister.
The division is according to justice: I need granary of grain more,
You take the straw, take it away quickly sister.
Man needs to sleep on soft bed that is why you take the mattress to my house,
And you should sigh in the night — shed your tears my sister.
Tambur and rings should go to me in the division,
Listen how tambur sounds overcome your grief my sister.
From floor to ceiling space belongs to me,
You take the clouds and the moon is more necessary to you my sister,
You reverse the dead and I sit on the grave;
Buy halwa, make pancakes and feed my guests sister.⁸⁹*

Historiography also continued to develop in the XVI century. Such detailed historical annals like "*Habib as-siyar fi akhbari afrad il-bashar*" ("The friend of life descriptions in information about outstanding persons of humanity") of *Khondamir* in which the events of the entire history and biography of outstanding people up to the period of the end of the struggle of Sheibani Khan and Shah Ismail (1510) is contained, "*Mehmannamai Bukhara*" ("The book of the guests of Bukhara") of *Ruzbehan*, "*Abdallahname*" ("The book of Abdallah") of *Hafizi Tanysh* are the most important sources for the study of history of Central Asia in the XVI century.

Hafizi Tanysh was also a poet; to him belongs a whole diwan of poems, which unfortunately is lost.

⁸⁹"Anthologia", p. 434. See also: *Mushfiqi*, 1958.

CHAPTER II

TAJIK PEOPLE IN THE STATE OF JANIDS (XVII FIRST HALF OF XVIII CENTURY)

1. POLITICAL HISTORY.

FEUDAL INTERNECINE WARS IN XVII CENTURY

Sheibanid ruler Abdallah Khan II died in 1598 and his son Abdal Mumin ascended the throne. Not being like his father, a big state figure, he could not either curb or attract to his side the hostile groups of feudal tribal elite. In 1598, a mercenary group of feudals who were against the central government killed Abdal Mumin. To Pir Mohammad Khan II, the last of Sheibanids belong only a small part of the state. He soon after perished in an interneccine struggle.

The Sefevids, the Khivan dynasty and the Kazakhs immediately took advantage of conflicts between the Sheibanids. The Sefevid ruler Shah Abbas I captured a considerable part of Khorasan including Herat. Abdal Amin, the nephew of Abdallah Khan II, initially captured Balkh. He even succeeded in minting coins in his name. Soon the city passed into the hands of the protege of Sefevid Abbas I, Mohammad Ibrahim. Thus, even this native territory of the Sheibanids for a short period happened to be in the sphere of influence of the Sefevid state. The Kazakhs captured a number of cities including Tashkent the largest principality of the Sheibanids. From here, the Kazakh Sultan Tevekkel raided the central Maverannahr and even captured Samarkand. Only the defeat near Bukhara, the serious injury and death of Tevekkel stopped the expansion of the Kazakhs.¹ Khwarezm, which was captured by Abdallah Khan II with difficulty, again gained independence. Who was the first ruler of the Janid dynasty is not quite clear. Feudal aristocracy offered the throne to Janimohammad Sultan (Janibek Sultan). He was married to the sister of Abdallah Khan II. He himself originated from those successors of the Chengezids who ruled over the Astrakhan Khanate after the disintegration of the Golden

¹For details about the struggles between the different contenders, see: *Velyaminov-Zernov V.V.*, 1864; *Abduraimov M.A.*, 1966, pp. 56-57. However, it is necessary to take into account that M.A. Abduraimov very incorrectly identifies the last of the Sheibanids Pirmohammad II with Pirmohammad I, the uncle of Abdallah Khan II (Pirmohammad I died in 1567) and Pirmohammad II was the cousin of Abdallah Khan II. Besides, the author positively and uncritically follows Mohammad Yusuf Munshi whose information on the history of XVI century is very often confused and doubtful.

Horde.² When the Astrakhan Khanate incorporated in Russia Janibek lied to the Sheibanids. According to written sources, Janibek Sultan declined the throne in favor of his elder son Din Mohammad Sultan. The latter however perished on his way to Bukhara. Then the second son of Janibek Baqimohammad Sultan was declared the Khan. In the scientific literature, it affirmed that the first Janid ruler was Baqimohammad.³ The numismatic data gives a somewhat different picture. There are a considerable number of coins of Janibek Sultan, which were minted in Bukhara, Samarkand and Tashkent.⁴ Hence, in fact the first nominal ruler was Janimohammad (Janibek).

The only internal political success of the first of the Janids was the return of Balkh. All other attempts to stop the internal feuds and struggle with the nomads did not yield any substantial results.

In 1611, Imam Quli Khan (1611-1642) seized the throne from his uncle Valimohammad Khan. The latter get help from the Sefevids but was defeated and executed. Imam Quli Khan succeeded in expanding the borders of the state. He took back Tashkent from the Kazakhs.⁵ He was successful in his struggle against other nomads — the Qarakalpaks and the Qalmyks who were advancing to the borders of the Janid state.

Imam Quli Khan succeeded for some time in holding up the internecine wars. Although the historians of the time exaggerate the prosperity, which as if came to the country during the rule of Imam Quli Khan, there was some truth in their glorification, particularly if to compare his long rule with the preceding and following period. The sources mention even some irrigation works during the rule of Imam Quli Khan.⁶

His brother Nadirmohammad Khan did not rule long. Perhaps his policy affected the interests of the feudal elite and hence because of a conspiracy his son Abdalaziz Khan (1645-1680) was put on the throne. Nadirmohammad had to reconcile himself to the status of the ruler of Balkh. However, even here his position was not firm. In struggle for power and principalities, the other son of Nadirmohammad had drawn who joined either the side of the father or the brother. Thus began the ruination of the richest region of Balkh. Nadirmohammad appealed for help to Shahjehan the ruler of the dynasty of the Great Mogols of India. Shahjehan sent his two sons with a large army with the purpose of merely capturing Balkh. Nadirmohammad fled, the conquerors were ruining the region for two years, the population suffered and fled, famine started. The military actions between the conquerors and Abdalaziz who at last arrived here ended in the victory of the latter. But it led to the extreme impoverishment of the population.

Soon Balkh again but not for long came into the hands of Nadirmohammad. But this did not bring peace to the ruined region. First

²That is why in the literature the dynasty of Janids is often called the Ashtarkhanids.

³Abduraimov M.A., 1966, p. 64; "Istoriya Uzbebskoy SSR", 1967, p. 550.

⁴Davidovich E.A., 1964, pp. 12-14; 243-244.

⁵It is true that the struggle around Tashkent was going on and the owner of the city was only nominally subordinate to Imam Quli Khan (Abduraimov M.A., 1966, pp. 112-115).

⁶Abduraimov M.A., 1966, pp. 267-268.

Abdalaziz sent his brother Subhan Quli Khan against his father who captured the city and then sent new troops to take away the city from his brother. Subhan Quli Khan withstood the siege but around Balkh and in the region everything was annihilated and ruined. The Khivans used all these inter-dynastic discords. Their numerous openly plundering raids ruined several regions of Central Maverannahr. They even reached Bukhara and once captured a part of the city. However, the active participation of all the citizens helped in driving them away.

Taking advantage of all this disorder Subhan Quli Khan (1680-1702) captured power. During his rule the raids of the Khivans continued. They even captured Samarkand. The aristocracy of the city recognized the Khivan Khan for which later the population of the city was literally ruined by a huge contribution taken from them by Subhan Quli Khan. He understood that the raids of the Khivans would not stop unless his own regent put there. Skillfully acting through the local aristocracy Subhan Quli Khan at last succeeded in getting Khiva recognize his power.

But in rest of the matters his rule was not successful. Internecine feuds had long lost their inter-dynastic character. The heads of the Uzbek tribes gained great powers. Subhan Quli himself in some cases elevated some of them. For example, when his son tried to hold on to Balkh and was killed by the order of his father, Subhan Quli Khan appointed the ruler of this region (which for long was considered the principality of the heirs to the throne) one of the Amirs from the tribe of Yuz.

During Subhan Quli Khan's rule, Mahmud Biy Atalyq⁷ from the tribe of Qataghan rose into prominence. Subhan Quli Khan sought his help several times against the Khivans. He entrusted to him the work of suppressing the rebel Amirs in the Balkh region and then appointed him as a regent of Balkh and Badakhshan.⁸

Badakhshan at this time was actually an independent Kingdom of Yarbek, the founder of the independent dynasty of Badakhshan Mirs. Relations between Badakhshan and Bukhara started deteriorating in 1650. After capturing the valley of Qunduz the Bukharan Khans continued to raid the territory of Badakhshan. The Badakhshan people elected Yarbek as their Mir (ruler) and under his leadership gave successful resistance to the aliens. A direct cause, which led to a military campaign by Mahmud Biy, was the refusal of Yarbek to allow Bukharans to mine rubies in Badakhshan.⁹

The expedition of Mahmud Biy with the aim of complete subjugation of the entire Badakhshan failed. His troops several times laid siege to the central city of Badakhshan — Faizabad (Juzgun) but could not take it. At last, Mahmud Biy had to conclude an agreement with Yarbek according to which the latter undertook to give to the Bukharan Khan the produce of the ruby mines of Badakhshan, which was extracted during two years and recognize himself as a

⁷Atalyq – the fifteenth in hierarchy and the highest rank in the Bukharan Khanate. He occupied the first place after the Khan and actually performed the functions of the first Minister.

⁸Mohammad Yusuf Munshi, 1956, p. 153.

⁹Ibid, pp. 158-159. In the information about ruby mines in Badakhshan the high quality of spinel is mentioned.

vassal of Bukharan Khanate. In reality, Yarbek remained unrestrained ruler of Badakhshan and governed it fully independently.

The ruler of Balkh, Mahmud Biy was becoming more, more independent and less and less obeyed Subhan Quli Khan. Subhan Quli Khan, fearing the extraordinary power of Mahmud Biy, succeeded in expelling him from Balkh. The grandson of Khan – Mohammadmoqim Sultan appointed the ruler of Balkh.

Subhan Quli Khan became famous by overcoming the resistance of local feudals. The incessant wars fought by him led to the increased oppression of the toiling masses. For waging wars with the rebellious feudals, large means were required and Subhan Quli Khan demanded that taxes from the people should realize seven years ahead. Under these conditions, the introduction of such a system laid an unbearable burden on the people. Bribery and misuse of power ruined the working people more and more.

GROWING FEUDAL BREAK UP. INTERNAL POLICY OF UBAIDALLAH KHAN

The short-term rule of Ubaidallah Khan (1702-1711) was marked by an extremely tense struggle between the central power and the feudals. Ubaidallah Khan was the last of the Janids who strove to put an end to autocracy of the feudals and to strengthen the central power. The personality of Ubaidallah Khan and his internal policy undeservedly for long did not attract attention. In literature, there is a firmly established characteristic with which it is difficult to agree: Ubaidallah Khan "showed a tendency towards absolutism, extremely presumptuous and arrogant, lacking the skill to get along with the people, he in reality turned out to be a puppet in the hands of the Amirs."¹⁰ Such an impression is formed as the written sources of that period were dedicated entirely to a detailed description of internecine feuds, but about the events of other type, there were only casual references and indirect hints.

For characterizing the internal policy of Ubaidallah Khan more information is contained in the "*Ubeidallahnama*" of Mohammad Amini Bukhari.¹¹ A comparison of these materials with numismatic data convinces that his attempt to centralize the state was the most purposeful for the entire period of the rule of the dynasty of the Janids. It was based on a clear understanding of peculiarities in the arrangement of class forces, not always consistent, but decisive and sometimes flexible. If it did not fail, it was mainly because for centralization of the state there were no objective pre-conditions.

From Subhan Quli Khan Ubaidallah Khan received a hard legacy. The Amir — the heads of Uzbek tribes — felt themselves completely independent. As a rule, they were the rulers of just those cities and regions, which were allocated for feeding their tribe. There they bought land and were the big landowners and

¹⁰"Istoriya narodov Uzbekistana", V. 2, 1947, p. 90.

¹¹These materials have been analyzed by historians though not always valued and understood adequately. See: *Chekhovich O.D.*, 1954, pp. 68-69; 1959, p. 218 and onwards; *Davidovich E.A.*, 1964, pp. 148-156; *Abduraimov M.A.*, 1966, p. 136 and onwards.

conducted themselves as full masters. Many of them taking support from their tribes completely disobeyed the central power. They fought among themselves, formed groups and sometimes openly declined to recognize the power of the Bukharan Khan. Ubaidallah Khan possessed neither means nor adequate army to fight against separatism of the feudals. He had to take support of one group of Amirs for struggle against the others. Indeed, he did not always succeed in implementing his decisions. Often the Amirs on whose support he depended refused on various pretexts to join his campaign. The Bukharan group was defeated more than once. Sometimes during the military campaign, a section of the Amirs just deserted with their troops and even crossed over to the side of the enemy. Ubaidallah Khan was in a very difficult situation and he had to maneuver in different ways. He tried to make use of the Amirs to weaken each other and displayed in this a great inventiveness. However, this was not the single main direction of his attempts. Separate facts collected together show that he undertook a whole system of measures directed from one side to strengthening of his own economic base and from the other to the economic and political weakening of the Amirs. The class of feudals not united. By this time, there clearly appeared two main groups: one was the Amirs and feudal top brass of the Uzbek tribes, the other was the old elite, bureaucracy, feudals, landowners, the top of urban traders and craftsmen.

The internecine wars of neither the Amirs ruined nor only the common people: they also hit the interests of this second group of the class of feudals who were therefore interested in the strengthening of central power. However, this group of feudals whose support Ubaidallah Khan could take was not monolithic and united. Some of its representatives at different intervals of time supported the Amirs, particularly in the regions where the Amirs were powerful. The toiling people of the cities and villages badly ruined by internecine wars rose many times in support of the central power against the rebel Amirs. Such was the picture in general.

Ubaidallah Khan kept this in mind though he was not always consistent. He took support first from that group of feudals who were interested in strengthening of central power and ending the internecine strifes. An extremely important component of his internal policy was his attempt to create a new apparatus of officials from the people who were obliged to him for their promotion. A historian of this period Mohammad Amini Bukhari directly testifies that Ubaidallah Khan attracted to administration the children of craftsmen and traders, people of lower origin, and without kith and kin.¹²

The following episode was not accidental. When the Bukharan troops reached Balkh Ubaidallah Khan issued a special order that the crops of the inhabitants should not be trampled and no harm caused to the population. Making a stop in one settlement Ubaidallah Khan paid for the crops damaged by the troops. Here an attempt to win over to his side the common population is clearly visible. As already mentioned, in the XVII – XVIII centuries the popular masses of Central Asia became extremely active. It was to the advantage of the Khan to have them as his ally in the struggle against separatist Amirs.

¹²Mir Mohammad Amini Bukhari, pp. 220-223.

How the measures of Ubaidallah Khan depicted? His relations with the Amirs were hostile; his struggle against them was open. This is confirmed by the historical sources. Of course, he rewarded those Amirs by money, gifts and land on whom he leaned for support. Overall, he started an onslaught against them along economic lines even using the small means. Interesting example is that he introduced in the system the cell of "gifts" to his political opponents charging for them ten times more. According to one source, "the unfortunate Uzbeks felt suffocated."¹³ But more substantial were his attempts to liquidate a part of tankho — conditional land grants in favor of nomadic Uzbeks. Interestingly that he resorted to a very shrewd maneuver, which prompted perhaps by the practical impossibility of merely snatching the tankho. He gave away (that is, of course sold away) these lands in full ownership to his retinue and officials. From this, it is evident that in his policy he took the support of that group of feudals which was interested in strengthening his power and influence. Besides, this method of confiscation of tankho aggravated the contradictions between the two groups of feudals.

One more source for augmenting the dividends of the treasury was seen by Ubaidallah Khan in the liquidation of the "whitening", that is, the tax immunity from milki lands. This was a bold and perhaps risky measure as it harmed the interests of that group of feudals whose support he was taking. Apparently, it was done selectively. It known that he deprived from tax immunity the largest "spiritual" feudals – Juybori Sheikhs.

Ubaidallah Khan also took measures for the development of international trade. It is true that to some extent this harmed the interests of local traders. The Bukharan traders bought foreign goods at a wholesale level but usually paid only afterwards following the sales. This was highly inconvenient for foreign traders. Besides, according to the Sheriat the sold goods could be returned during three years. During the rule of Ubaidallah Khan, the government took the side of foreign traders. This was aimed to increase the inflow of foreign goods and accordingly the dividends of the treasury.

Ubaidallah Khan had placed high hopes upon monetary reform.¹⁴ Mir Mohammad Amini Bukhari not adequately informed when he wrote that the reason for conducting this reform was the full absence of money in the treasury even for necessary expenses. Some historians accepted uncritically and repeated such an explanation for reform. Actually, Ubaidallah Khan by the time of introducing the reform had perhaps accumulated in the treasury large sums of money through other different ways. The Janid rulers during the XVII century constantly resorted to the minting of coins as a source of revenue. Decreasing and increasing the standard of the coins, they by the end of XVII century led the minting of coinage to the point when the coins contained only 22.5 per cent of silver. Ubaidallah Khan on the contrary minted coins of quite high standard containing 35 per cent of silver. During seven years, he did not use the change in standard of coins as a source of revenue notwithstanding the situation he faced. It can be explained only in two ways: on one side he did not spoil the coins, because it would have affected adversely the interests of that group of the class of feudals

¹³ *Mir Mohammad Amini Bukhari.*, p. 227.

¹⁴ Davidovich E.A., 1954, pp. 135-147.

on whom he leaned for his support; on the other side, as the content of the reform of 1708 shows, he "protected" this source by not emptying it on small things in order to derive at once a big revenue at an appropriate time.

In 1708, the coins present in the treasury reminted: from every coin four coins were minted each containing only 9% of silver. After that, it declared that from now on new coins (9% of silver) and old ones (35% of silver) were equal in their purchasing power. In other words, Ubaidallah Khan desired in one goes to enrich the treasury four times. This had never happened before for usually the silver standard was decreased by only 5-10 per cent. By taking, such an unusual step Ubaidallah Khan perhaps thought that he would have enough resources for a more effective struggle against the Amirs and that is why it was worth taking a risk. He should have understood that he was taking a risk because by this reform he was robbing, even if temporarily and with good intentions, not only his enemies but also his allies: the people, trading-feudal top of society, all those who were interested in monetary trade and had money.

In Bukhara trade stopped, traders and craftsmen closed their shops and workshops. The ordinary citizens found themselves in an awful situation. There was nothing in the bazaars to buy.

This led to general discontent. The crowds of citizens, mostly the poor people, approached the residence of the Khan shouting and threatening. The uprising of the people was suppressed and several persons were executed. However, it was not a complete defeat because Ubaidallah Khan forced to compromise and changes the content of the reform. From now on (and it lasted for many years even after the death of Ubaidallah Khan) the old coin was made equal not to one but to two new ones. In other words, the treasury of Ubaidallah Khan did not increase four times but only twice. This reform did not bring the desired dividends but it only incited against Ubaidallah Khan his former allies. That is why no qualitative change in the internal policy could achieve.

After this, struggle and mutual distrust and hostility increased. One of the conspiracies ended in killing of Ubaidallah Khan in 1711, plundering of his treasury and all his property. During the last but one representatives of the dynasty of Janids, Aboulfaiz Khan (1711-1747) the central power lost completely its significance and the Khanate broke up into separate independent regions. The power almost completely went into the hands of the Atalyq Mohammad Hakim Biy, who was supported by the elite of the Mangit tribe.

Due to discontent among the elite because of the autocracy of the Atalyq Mohammad Hakim Biy deposed in Qarshi. The Russian envoy Florio Beneveni writes about full anarchy at the Court of Aboulfaiz Khan at this time. The high officials who strove to make a fortune managed everything. They seized the monopoly of trade in the bazaars of Bukhara and looted people freely.

This "general strife" (the expression of F. Beneveni) of Khans between themselves and full autocracy of feudals speak for itself about the hardship which the peoples of Central Asia were going through during the period of the rule of the Janids.¹⁵

¹⁵Formally, the dynasty of the Janids ceased to exist in 1785 but the last Khan Aboulghazi was simply a stooge.

2. SOCIO – ECONOMIC RELATIONS.

STATE OF ECONOMY. LAND RENT. TAXES IN CITIES

The central power as is evident from what has stated earlier was not a serious real power. The Janids had two official centers — Bukhara and Balkh. In Bukhara ruled the Khan himself, and in Balkh, there was his heir to the throne or the big military commander — the Atalyq. As a rule, Janid Khans were entirely dependent on the feudal-tribal elite who actually administered the country. In comparison with the Sheibanid period, the rights of the Atalyqs grew extremely as well as the power and autocracy of the Uzbek tribal elite: the administration was entirely in their hands. They occupied the most important posts in the administrative apparatus.¹⁶

Intensification of feudal reaction, political disintegration, incessant internecine wars and depopulated cities, ruination of the settled population subjected to continuous extortions by different feudals who robbed oasis and trade caravans — all this was characteristic of the period under study. This led in the XVIII century to the great economic decline and stagnation, particularly in the central regions of Central Asia.

Agriculture was in a state of ruination. The irrigation system was declining.¹⁷ There was an acute shortage of grains. "And grains in Bukhara, Balkh and Khiva they sow very little", wrote an eyewitness, envoy of Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich, Boris Pazukhin, "and over the years very little bread is left in some homes."¹⁸ Famine spread over entire regions and districts became a common occurrence.

The official norm of feudal land rent remained as before (0.3 of the crop) but practically it was much more. Rent was collected in advance for several years or was arbitrarily increased. For example, during the rule of Subhan Quli Khan it was raised seven-fold. In addition to this, there were many other taxes, levies, and awful abuse of power by the officials. Maliho writes that Subhan Quli Khan in whole of his state, particularly, Samarkand, every year collected seven times more taxes. If one was supposed to pay one *tanga*, from him were exacted seven tangas. The officials of the diwan and landowners even more.¹⁹ It may note that the tax-rent (maluji- khat, kharaj) was increasing not only from the state lands. Correspondingly, the state share of rent from milki lands also grew. It was usually called *milkana*. According to one source, the burden of the milkana was so heavy that the owners of milki lands gave them away free but nobody wanted to take them even free.

Here the reference perhaps not so much related to the feudals as to that group of peasantry who still preserved milki lands. The process of reduction of peasant milki lands and of this comparatively privileged group of peasantry was

¹⁶For the administrative system in the Janids state see: Barthold V.V., 1964, p. 388 onwards; Semenov A.A., 1948 a, p. 137 onwards.

¹⁷Abduraimov M.A., 1966, p. 260.

¹⁸Pazukhin B., 1894, p. 61.

¹⁹Mirzoev A.M., 1954, p. 17.

visible in the XVI century. But during the Janids, there took place their total ruination, particularly in the central regions of Central Asia.

The tax burden was so heavy that the peasantry was bankrupt to such an extent that by the beginning of XVIII century the government dared to increase rents and introduce new ones. In "Ubeidallahnama", it is directly mentioned that this means of obtaining dividends for the treasury was cut off as it threatened to create large turmoils.²⁰

The onslaught against the peasantry overall was going on in all "directions". The peasant economy was ruined not only by plunder during the internecine wars but also by unbearable taxes. There was also going on a deep social process of extinction of the communal order, reduction of the group of peasants-communards, increase in the group of peasant leaseholders. Above it was mentioned that the communal peasant had the advantage of not requiring lease of new land every two-three years; he had the right to cultivate the land all his life (his successors as well).

Craftsmen also were subjected to various types of oppression by large and small feudals. The crafts and trade were burdened with high arbitrary custom duties and all kinds of levies, compulsory gifts to the khans and amirs. Because of the feudal arbitrariness and absence of even smallest guarantees for the private property of craftsmen and traders there was going on depopulation of even old urban centers.

The development of mining industry hampered by prohibitory measures because of the fear of the khans that mining of ore deposits could cause raids by greedy neighbors.

CONCENTRATION OF LANDOWNERSHIP IN THE HANDS OF THE FEUDALS

Along with this at this period, the concentration of lands and wealth in hands of individual big feudals and influential sheikhs was going on. Particularly large landowners during the Janids became the Amirs of the Uzbek tribes. Here are some examples: from the legal documents, it is evident that a large landed estate was owned by Yalangtush Biy, especially in the Samarkand region where he was the ruler for many years (in first half of the XVIII century). The Janid khans additionally "exempted" his lands from the state land-rent. Allaberdi Biy and his son Allaer Biy collected a large tract of land; they also tried to concentrate their possessions of land at one place for the sake of which they resorted to the exchange of lands.²¹ The Juybari Sheikhs remained large land magnates. In the complex situation of that period when the central power could not patronize them as it was during the Sheibanids and the strengthened tribal elites had an eye on their wealth, Juybari Sheikh Tajaddin even then multiplied his already colossal landed estate.²²

²⁰Mir Mohammad Amini Bukhari, p. 157.

²¹Chekhovich O.D., 1954b, pp. IX-XII.

²²Ivanov P.P., 1954, pp. 68-80.

The elite and the military commanders continued to receive grants, which quite often called suiurgals and tankho. Pazukhin notes, "certain villages were marked out for the grant to the military and persons of different ranks."²³ During the rule of the Janids besides this more often and in large number were granted for the service not only state lands but also state shares of rent from the milki lands. It created such complicated mutual relations between different people who had rights on different shares of rent from milki lands that in the XVII-XVIII centuries, as researchers have correctly noted; even the terminology in the legal documents underwent a change. In the deeds of purchase, waqf grants, etc. while describing milki lands the stress was on the exact definition of the share of rent which the buyer or the waqf institution was supposed to receive.²⁴

However, concentration of landed possessions was going on not through grants alone. The typical process of this period is the concentration of landownership by big feudals through purchase of land. Some feudals "rounded off" their lands to the extent that they became owners of entire districts. It is indicative that in the trade turnover state lands figured more and more. This is borne out by legal documents.²⁵ The scarcity of funds in the treasury compelled the Bukharan Khans to resort to such sales and grants more often. This was registered in the offices of the qazis in the same manner as during the XVI century.

It is characteristic that the division of milki lands between the state and the owners — private persons (that is, transforming the milki lands partially into state and partially in *milki khalis* lands now became more intensive. This is understandable. An increase of the norm of exploitation by the state made the condition of feudal *milkdar* extremely disadvantageous. He preferred to have less quantity of milki khalis lands and wanted more rights in land. Here his dividends were not dependent on how much will the state exact from the peasant and will able to take his share of rent from the bankrupt farming.

Hence for the XVII-XVIII centuries the following is typical: the concentration of privately owned and grant lands in the hands of big feudals, especially in the hands of the elite of the Uzbek tribes, increased norms of exploitation of peasantry, the mass bankruptcy of *peasant-milkdar*, the lessening of the group of the *peasant-communards*, the growth of the category of privately owned lands *milki khalis*, more intensive "disintegration" of feudal milk is, the sale of state lands to feudals, the mass distribution of state and milki lands (the state-owned shares of the milki lands) in conditional possession, the grant of state lands, etc. The result was a perpetual shortage of money in the treasury of the khan as the main source of revenue — land tax — rent — gradually gave to treasury less and less until it was reduced to nothing because of the above-mentioned reasons. Different sources testify to this directly or indirectly. Let us give evidence of two eyewitnesses who visited Bukhara in different times and who at once struck by this situation. B. Pazukhin (1669): "And the kings have very little money in their state treasury because all the villages are known to be granted

²³Pazukhin B., 1894, p. 61.

²⁴ITN, II, 2, p. 37.

²⁵Chekovich O.D., 1954 b, pp. 15-18.

to the military and to people of different ranks, and for the king's treasury the duty is collected from the mint house; and for everyday expenditure less and less money is left over the years." F. Beneveni writes, "The Khan says that he has great ideas but no power to implement them because of scarcity of funds in the treasury which has been emptied by the Uzbeks many times and there are no revenues left to replenish it."²⁶ This is the economic basis of increased weakening of the central power and of increased strengthening of the independence of big feudals especially Amirs — the heads of Uzbek tribes.

The role of the ecclesiastical feudals too had increased. Particularly in different periods the dervish leaders — sheikhs — took power into their hands (this happened in Fergana and Tashkent).

POPULAR MOVEMENT

Unbearable oppression and feudal exploitation, internecine wars, destruction and famine, greatly increased the resentment of popular masses. In different places, popular revolts and agitations constantly broke out.²⁷ During the rule of Abdalaziz Khan according to his contemporary poet, Sayido Nasafi, in the village of Dahbed, near Samarkand, an uprising broke out. The magnitude of this popular movement was so large that Abdalaziz himself arrived here with large troops, after suppressing the uprising burnt down, and destroyed Dahbed. In the same way during the rule of Subhan Quli Khan and his successor popular agitations broke out continuously which were sometimes used by individual feudals for achieving their personal goals. For example, once when Subhan Quli Khan approached Balkh the entire population heroically defended the city for 21 days, which owned by Mahmud Biy Atalyq and upheld against the Bukharans.²⁸ All strata of society were united in this case, as they understood that the seizure of the city by the Khan would lead to ruthless looting and slaughter. However, more often the people supported the central power because feudal wars and internecine conflicts ruined the population of cities and villages both.

One of the biggest and victorious uprisings was the agitation of people in Hissar in 1703. It started with the war between two feudals: Mohammadrahim Biy with Bukharan army set out against Utkan, who owned one of the fortresses on the territory of Hissar region. Having failed, the Bukharan army began to retreat leaving the population of Hissar at the mercy of Utkan. Then the people of Hissar appealed to the Bukharan Amirs demanding protection as soon as the feudal conflicts broke out. The Amirs treated the people's messengers rudely. One of them even pounced upon them with sword and the messengers picked up stones and sticks. As a chronicler writes, "Bukharan Amirs hastily left the fortress of Hissar and their troops being horrified and in a state fear and panic before the people in revolt also followed them. Then the population of Hissar, Yuzs of the Shadi clan, started looting the tents

²⁶Pazukhin B., 1894, p. 61; Beneveni F., 1853, p. 373.

²⁷Chekovich O.D., pp. 63-71; Abduraimov M.A., 1956; pp. 64-72; Chekhovich O.D., 1959 a, pp. 221-223; Davidovich E.A., 1964, pp. 135-145; ITN, II, 2, pp. 44-47; "Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR", 1967, pp. 579-580.

²⁸Mohammad Yusuf Munshi, 1956, p. 162.

of hastily retreating Bukharans. In the fortress something incredible was going on as if the Day of Judgment had arrived.²⁹ In this case, the interests of the indigenous settled population of the Hissar region and the Uzbek tribe Yuz coincided; the people actively came out for stoppage of feudal wars on its territory. The Yuzs willingly supported the victorious action of the people and completed the defeat of the Bukharans.

The uprising in Bukhara of 1714 was of a different character. The group of feudals from the tribe Keneges headed by Atalyq Ibrahim tried to penetrate into the arch to carry out a palace coup. The people rose in defense of the state power. In the city, barricades were constructed and the Khan succeeded in completely defeating the enemies only due to the active help of the people.³⁰

Earlier in 1708, the people of Bukhara came out against Ubaidallah Khan when he declared his monetary reform. Resentment spread over different strata of society and in the beginning took the form of passive resistance: the shops and workshops were closed, trade stopped, it was impossible to buy anything in the market. In the second stage, it transformed into an open uprising of the poor. According to a chronicler of that period Mohammad Amini Bukhari, the uprising was suppressed, several persons were hanged, the reform was fully implemented and everybody reconciled to it.³¹ For some time historians took this biased observation uncritically. A comparison of action and narrative sources convinced that this agitation overall was considerably successful. It scared the government and compelled it considerably change the content of the reform.³²

In the first half of the XVIII century the popular movements were so frequent that even the court historians were compelled to mention them even though in a biased and covert manner. Besides the above-mentioned uprisings, the agitations of people in 1713-1714 in Bukhara, in 1713 in Samarkand, in 1719 in Balkh, in 1746 in Tashkent etc. are known. Despite distortion by court chroniclers of the fact of popular resentment, it is beyond doubt that in conditions of feudal reaction and tyranny the Tajik and Uzbek popular masses rose in struggle against the regime of inequality and tyranny, against feudal internecine conflicts.

CRAFTS, TRADE AND MONETARY CIRCULATION

The conditions for development of crafts, internal and external trade in the state of the Janids were most unfavorable and worsening along with the increasing internecine feudal wars. Some of the cities and entire regions were subjected to such plunder and destruction that they could not recover for a long time. But the people did not lose their technical skills: it is not accidental that only in Bukhara, poet Sayido Nasafi, counted more than 200 types of crafts. The economy destruction, which resulted from internecine wars, raids of the Khivans, onslaughts by foreign troops and nomads, hampered the development of normal commodity production

²⁹ Mir Mohammad Amini Bukhari, 1957, p. 68.

³⁰ Abdarrahman Tali, 1959, pp. 60-63.

³¹ Mir Mohammad Amini Bukhari, 1957, p. 159.

³² Davidovich E.A., p. 140 and onwards.

and trade. Poverty, famine, destruction — all this decreased the number of necessary goods. The same Sayido Nasafi who in his old age started weaving eloquently writes in his poems about the absence of customers, about full stagnation in trade towards the end of the XVII century:³³

*During stagnation in trade, my goods lost their value.
For long, I am ashamed of my shop.*

Or:

*Every time when I bring my produce to the market.
I have to drag a customer by his sleeve and flap.*

The situation worsened even more in the first half of XVIII century. The valley of Zerafshan was completely ruined by incessant raids of Kazakhs, which lasted for seven years (1723-1730). An awful famine began, surviving people fled to the outskirts, Bukhara and Samarkand deserted.³⁴ Those cities and regions, which were predominantly situated in the far-flung corners of the state, were in a better shape as they did not become the constant arena of feudal wars, raids by Khivans and nomads.

On their development, the ruination of the central regions of the state had a favorable impact because the craftsmen from larger trade and crafts center fled there in search of security and work.

For the development of crafts and trade, the general state monetary economy and the government policy on minting and circulation of coins were also unfavourable.³⁵ To all hardships due to machinations in mintage of coins, which laid a heavy burden on crafts, and trade already in the XVI century, now added the intensive damage to the silver coins. The coins were minted by fusion of silver and copper and the quantity of copper was growing more and more. The treasury every time during reduction of standard of coins gained more profit and the people suffered big losses. The population fought actively against the damage to the coins; here the interests of all strata of society coincided. The population fought for "good coins" — stable, definite always equal and of high standard. In the XVII century, this struggle was fought with alternate success: sometimes the population was victorious and the government temporarily raised the standard of coins. But in the last quarter of XVII century high standard coins were not minted at all. Although the people continued, their struggle for "good coins" but their victories were rare and less significant: this content of silver did not go beyond 35% and later in 1708. Ubaidallah Khan decreased the content of silver in coins up to 9%, which caused agitation by people who were partially victorious.

However, the government exacted gains from the coinage deal not only through this direct method. Even a heavier burden caused through rate manipulations. As in the XVI century all, the silver coins during the Janids were divided into "old" and "new". At any time the government could declare the "new" coins as "old" ones and the purchasing power of old coins in the market was on the

³³ Mirzoev A.M., 1954, pp. 77-78.

³⁴ Chekhovich O.D., 1954, pp. 72-73.

³⁵ Davidovich E.A. 1964, pp. 100-134.

whole dependent upon their standard. For example, the coins having 60% content of silver after being declared equal to the "new" circulated at a compulsory rate as if "new" were of a high standard. As soon as the "new" ones were declared "old" they lost at once 40 per cent of their purchasing power, that is the population lost 40 per cent. In other words during the XVII century the norm of exploitation through coinage deal extremely grew which caused even greater bankruptcy of the traders and craftsman than that about which Jenkinson wrote in the middle of XVI century.

All this clearly shows that even though the craftsmen possessed all technical skills, the general conditions were such that their volume of production deceased sharply, especially from the end of the XVII century. The assortment of goods also decreased. Of course, those types of crafts, which produced goods for export, were in a slightly better position: the external demand stimulated the production even in such hard conditions. In this connection particularly important were strong and expanding trade relations with Russia.

The Russian government was extremely interested in expanding trade with Central Asia and created for it favorable conditions. The Central Asian traders were gradually given rights to trade in all the cities. Most advantageous was trade through Siberia — here the Central Asian traders charged a very small duty and certain goods not at all subjected to taxes. After the foundation of Orenburg in 1735 to attract Central Asian traders for a certain period, it was declared a duty-free zone.

The Central Asian traders carried with them mainly cotton textiles and related items. The custom records of Siberian order and Astrakhan show what a large quantity of goods exported to Russia. From detailed list given in these records it is also evident that in Central Asia of that period different kinds of cotton fabrics were produced. For example, there are mentioned different kinds of fabrics — "*zendeni*" (*sebendi, dyubendi, purbeni, burmeti*), various kinds of printed fabrics, *byazi*, etc.

According to some data, the production of silk fabrics at this time was decreasing both in volume and perhaps in assortment. There was shortage of raw silk (its export was banned). The deterioration of conditions of life reduced the number of persons engaged in silk production and the number of consumers of silk and expensive silk items.

The items of exports were leather, some kinds of furs, carpets etc. The assortment of goods of the so-called "Khan trade" which exported by the envoys-traders was quite large. The volume of the export of all goods, which had great demand in the Russian state, was large. Hence, their production in Central Asia was in a better condition.

The production of weapons and of metallic items was overall flourishing. These were exported abroad. The samples of ceramic of that period are preserved until the present times. Besides ordinary and simple, the exquisitely designed glazed utensils were also produced. The applied arts in the XVII century also not ignored. Production of mosaics and majolica, ganch and wooden carvings were at a high level. By the XVIII century the demand for the high artistic goods of applied arts nearly stopped.

So far as the foreign trade is concerned, trade with Russia was more significant.³⁶ It was already noted what kind of Central Asian goods were exported in

³⁶Rychkov P.I., 1949; Chuloshnikov A., 1932; Ziyaev Kh.Z., 1962; 1965; Yuldashev M.V., 1964;

this direction. It is necessary to add that the Central Asian traders were also intermediaries: They exported not only their own but also foreign goods, especially Indian. This in turn stimulated some increase in import into Central Asia of goods from India although the demand of local population for imported goods must have declined due to the already mentioned situation.

The new element in the Russian Central Asian trade was not only increase in volume of exports and imports but also the more active participation in it of Russian traders. Russian traders or their sales clerks now lived in various cities of Central Asia for two-three years brought Russian goods and exported Central Asian goods to Russia. Among the Russian goods in Central Asia were in big demand not only the luxury items (expensive furs, leather, broad cloth, etc.) but also various household articles and items of daily use: wooden utensils, fancy goods, etc.

Central Asia also traded at this time with India, Iran and China but the volume and significance of this trade has not been adequately studied. It is interesting that in Bukhara Indian traders populated an entire locality. Ubaidallah Khan justly saw a big gain for the state in development of foreign trade and tried to take steps for betterment of its conditions. However, this was a short-lived episode, which was nullified by the growing economic decline. Florio Beneveni, who lived in Bukhara in 1722 and specially studied the question of trade, noted that there were no conditions for its development although there were goods in mutual demand for Bukhara and Russia.³⁷

3. MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL CULTURE

ARCHITECTURE AND ART

The peculiarities of economic and socio – economic life in the XVII–XVIII centuries vividly reflected in architecture also. The influence, power and wealth of the feudal top brass of the Uzbek tribes – Amirs was growing. Cities and entire regions were sometimes actually in their hands. They had money for construction and by this already traditional method, they thought of glorifying and perpetuating their names.

One of such dignitaries, Yalangtush Biy, started developing construction work on Samarkand Registan and created the ensemble, which exists until our days. Opposite the madrasa of Ulugbek (on the place where earlier the khanaqa of Ulugbek had existed) on his order architect Abdaljabar constructed a new madrasa. In the tympanums of the entrance, portals of this madrasa are depicted wild animals pouncing on deers. From here is derived the name madrase Sherdar (i.e. "having lions"). The facade of madrase Sherdar is a copy of that of madrase Ulugbek. In the center there is a portal, and corners are slim towers, between the portal and towers there are ribs-like domes — which are constructed above two auditoriums — darskhana. However, in details of planning and decor there are many original and peculiar traits.

Jamolov K., 1966.

³⁷Beneveni F., 1853, pp. 376, 380-381.

Sometime later on the third side of the square Yalangtush Biy started construction of the building, which profusely decorated with gold plates that it got the name Tillakari. This is a madrasa and mosque simultaneously. On the three sides of the yard, there are hujras and on the fourth side is a mosque (here there are a central domed place and two galleries with numerous domes).

As a result, we get a square open from one side, and from the three other sides it consists of richly designed and exquisitely decorated main facades of three monumental structures.

The other large ensemble was completed in the XVII century in Bukhara. One of the main parts of the ensemble is the big reservoir, from here is derived its name *Labi havz*. The building of the future ensemble constructed earlier in XVI century — it is the madrasa Kukeltash. In the XVII century one of the famous dignitaries of that time, Nadir Diwanbegi ordered to build a reservoir, a madrasa and a small khanaqa. This ensemble is not as harmonious and balanced as the ensemble of Samarkand Registan and not so holistic. It looked like a monumental main facade of a madrasa of XVI century overlooking the square from one side of which there was a small madrasa of Nadir Diwanbegi and from the other side was Labi havz and behind the latter, there was a small khanaqa. The madrasa and reservoir with khanaqa did not adequately balance each other and did not correspond to the madrasa of XVI century. The ensemble lacks both symmetry and compositional balance. The architect here showed neither taste nor talent. These structures of XVII century in themselves are of no great interest.

More interesting is the other Bukharan ensemble, which was completed in XVII century. It consists of two madrasas constructed opposite each other: one is the madrasa of Ulugbek of XV century, and the other is the madrasa of Abdalaziz Khan of XVII century.

They have much in common but also even more dissimilarity. The proportions of the facade of the madrasa of Ulugbek are characterized by harmony, decoration work is restrained and exquisitely simple. The facade of the madrasa of Abdalaziz Khan lacks harmony, portal is too much elongated, and the side parts of the facade on the contrary are massive. The decoration is characterized by extreme splendor and pretentiousness.

If one were to speak of the XVII century as one of the stages in the development of the Central Asian architecture, it would concern mostly the decorative work. The decorators of XVII century developed the traditions of the two preceding centuries and achieved sometimes creative successes. Ganch carvers achieved particularly outstanding successes. Alabaster stalactites in the Bukharan madrasa of Abdalaziz Khan are startling in their complexity, delicacy and somewhat airy heights. The majolica and assembled mosaics are widely used. Their designs are complex and intricate but color scheme is rougher than in the XV – XVI century. The abundantly used yellow and green shades have made extremely bright.

The number of manuscripts of XVII century available to us decorated by miniatures of local Central Asian painters is not many. But even from this small number of samples it is clear that the traditions of Central Asian School of miniatures of XVI century received in the XVII century worthy continuation and

development.³⁸ Particularly excellent are the miniatures-illustrations to "Zafarnama" of Sharafaddin Yezdi. This manuscript copied is Samarkand in 1628 has 12 miniatures in it.³⁹ In battle scenes, the miniaturist with amusing skilled puts on miniatures a large number of figures and every one of them is full of dynamic movement and gust. For example, in the miniature depicting the siege of Herat by Timur there are 23 human figures and 18 horses. In the other miniature, which illustrates the military campaign of Timur against the Golden Horde Khan Tokhtamysh, are shown 20 persons engaged in fighting. No less crowded are the scenes of feasts of Timur. Here are dignitaries and guards, musicians, singers, reciters, wine waiters. The scenes are highly picturesque.

In the XVII century, the art of portrait painting had not become extinct. Its example is the expressive portrait of Imam Quli Khan drawn in 1642.⁴⁰

The situation of the subsequent period was in no way conducive to development of construction, architecture and art. The first half of the XVII century is the period of economic dislocation, internecine wars, destruction of cities and villages, popular uprisings, raids of Khivans, intrusion of nomads and foreign troops. The central Maverannahr and Balkh region suffered particularly. The population fled, art centers like Bukhara and Samarkand were deserted. It is not surprising that this troubled and hard period did not leave any significant monuments of architecture and art.

THE TAJIK FICTION AND HISTORICAL CHRONICLES IN THE XVII BEGINNING OF XVIII CENTURY

During the rule of the Janids were founded two literary centers — in Bukhara and in Balkh — where the residence of the heir of the then Amir was situated. In this period, the Tajik literature developed more noticeably than in the XVI century. However, during the rule of Subhan Quli Khan the regime was so oppressive that some court poets were compelled to leave their native country and move to India.

If the court and officially – sufi literature went through a period of decline at this time, there developed among the city craftsmen poetry close in spirit to the common people. Here one can name Fitrat Zarduz Samarkandi, Obid Momtaz and especially outstanding poet Mirobid Sayido Nasafi.

Fitrat Zarduz Samarkandi was born in 1657 in the locality of gold embroiders in Samarkand. All his relatives were skilled embroiders and he himself mastered this art. In 1685, he went to Bukhara and joined the madrasa there. The life of the poet was very hard. Experiencing want, he was compelled to sell his house. The buyer, rich man, deceived him and took away his house for a small sum. The poet avenged himself by writing a satire on him. Fitrat died in the beginning of XVIII century.

³⁸ Pugachenkova G.A., and Rempel L.I., 1965, pp. 358-359; "Sredneaziatskie miniatiury XVI-XVII.vv."M., 1964.

³⁹ Semenov A.A., 1956, pp. 3-16.

⁴⁰ Pugachenkova G.A., and Rempel L.I., 1965, pp. 360-361. On musical art see: Semenov A.A., 1946 a.

In tazkira it is noted that Fitrat was a master of both poetry and prose. From his heritage is available to us masnavi "**Tolib and Matlub**", one satire and several ghazals. His diwan has not found yet.

Sayido Nasafi (died between 1707-1711) is the most outstanding poet of this period. He was a contemporary of Abdalaziz, Subhan Quli Khan and Ubaidallah Khan and saw the sufferings of the poor people in conditions of harsh feudal oppression.

In the first period of his creative work, trying perhaps to finds patron for himself, Sayido came close to some representatives of the ruling top brass and under their influence dedicated several qasids to Abdalaziz and Subhan Quli Khan. However, when he saw with his own eyes the court environment he decisively declined to have anything to do with it:

*It is better not to walk along the street of the rich,
From under the imprint of my foot gushes out a bloody spring.*

Sayido loved his people sincerely. He defended all the unfortunate and suffering people who approached him not only through his literary writings but also through his personal sympathy.

*Wherever I see the miserable, I reach out to him
The thorn from this steppe will become the first flower in my basket.*

Sayido dedicated his odes not to the celebrities and kings but to poor people, craftsmen and peasants and he perceptively described the life of this group of people. Such are his odes to the baker, to the painter and others. "**Bahoriyat**" ("The spring motives") occupies one of the central places among the works of Sayido. In this work he under the guise of animals depicted the representatives of different strata of feudal society and showed that the toiling people who are swarming under their feet like ants are in fact higher aid if they unite they can overpower the lion.

In a number of his poems, Sayido showed the unlimited sufferings of the toiling people during the rule of Subhan Quli Khan when on the one pole the rich flourish and on the other there was want and destruction. Thus, he writes:

*The sky is like the torso of the bent old man
World is like a ravaged village
As the people of the world sucked each other's blood
The firmament is like a squeezed pomegranate
Destiny took away water and greenery from the stream of flower garden
The soil in the garden is like a torn pocket.
In his colorful dress the wealthy man is as a worm wrapped in silk.⁴¹*

Sayido Nasafi was the first poet in the Khanate who openly defended the toiling people and sharply criticized feudal regime. He is a talented poet, mouthpiece of ideas and aspirations of the toiling strata of population, particularly of craftsmen.

⁴¹Mirzoev A.M., 1954, p. 18.

These people occupy the main place in his works. In his outlook, he went far ahead of his contemporaries. He declared the superiority of the toiling people over other strata of society, boldly asserted that the power of the toiling people is in their unity, and sharply criticized rulers accusing them of ignorance and savagery.

Sayido brought much that new in the theme and form of poetry, continuing at the same time the best traditions of his predecessors. In ghazals he contrasted the traditional themes with topics critical of the rulers and account of destruction in the state. He also expanded the theme of qasida to odes to the craftsmen. His "Bahoriyat" should consider as a new form of didactic poetry. In literature of the post-sixteenth century, the genre "shahroshub" received a new development in the works of Sayido. The poet also replenished the repertoire of artistic instruments by giving original metaphors and comparisons by attracting folklore, proverbs and sayings borrowed from spoken language.

Sufi ideology had to some extent a negative influence on the works of Sayido. In his poems, the impact of complex "Indian style" is also visible. However, he used it creatively.

Most of the poets of the past tried to preserve untouched the norms of the language of classic literature. After the political events of the beginning of the XVI century, isolation of Iran from Maverannahr, the preservation of the unity of language lost its sense, Sayido understood this and bravely broke the old tradition by introducing into poetry commonly understood popular words of native spoken language. The language of his works is very close to the literary Tajik language of the present times.⁴²

The XVII century had its historians. One of the most outstanding chroniclers of this period was *Mohammad ibn Vali*. His work "*Bahr al-asrar fi manaqib al-akhbar*" ("The sea of the secrets in the dignity of information") is a unique encyclopedia consisting of four volumes the historical past of which encompasses the period from Chengez Khan to the Janids.

Another important work written by him at this time is "*Ta'rikhi Sayid Raqim*" ("The History of Sayid Raqim").⁴³ This work though it does not describe the historical events in their strict sequence, however, contains much data about known persons, different constructions and literary works starting with the epoch of Timur until the XVIII century.

In the valuable historical sources of this period can be included the work of *Mohammad Amin Yarakchi* which is called "*Muhit at-tavarikh*" ("The Ocean of Stories"). The author starting his historical narration from very old times writes in detail about the transition under the Ashtarkhanids and brings his work down to the middle of the XVII century.

"*Ta'rikhi Muqimkhani*" ("Muqim Khan's History") of *Mohammad Yusuf Munshi* is dedicated mainly to the history of the Janids until 1704. Lastly, a valuable historical source written at this time is "*Ubeidallahnama*" ("The Book of Ubeidallah") of *Mohammad Amini Bukhari*, which is fully dedicated to description of the period of the rule of Janid Ubaidallah Khan and encompasses the events of 1702-1711.

⁴²Mirzoev A.M., 1954, pp. 159-162.

⁴³Raqim – a chronicler.

B.A. LITVINSKY

**BOBOJON GHAFUROVICH GHAFUROV
AND HIS WORK**

Bobojon Ghafurovich Ghafurov (1908–1977) – The outstanding political figure, the Great Soviet Tajik scientist, the academician of Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the academician of Academy of Sciences of Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic, a member of many foreign scientific organizations. About B.G. Ghafurov written many scientific publicist works,¹ therefore we will be limited to the minimum data of his life and works. His childhood has passed in native village Isfisar of Khujand district (now – Leninabad area of Tajikistan). His father was the gardener and the railway worker, his mother – Roziya Ozod became subsequently the known poetess. In the childhood, the future academician worked for bays. He would remain peasant as his father and his grandfather, but the Great October Socialist Revolution has opened before the capable and the inquisitive teenager other ways. He gets education, becomes the Komsomol worker. He has finished in Moscow All-Union Communistic Institute. Many veterans of party, working with V.I. Lenin, the largest theorists of party taught here. B.G. Ghafurov has received the strong base of knowledge in the field of Marxism-Leninism, the science of public life.

Validity and at the same time extraordinary energy distinguished the young party worker. He appointed the editor of the republican newspaper «Qizil Tajikistan», and then he begins work in the apparatus of Central Committee KP (b) Tajikistan. After that he heads a Central Committee news department, manages cultures and-educational sector. In 1941 B. Ghafurov – the Secretary of Central Committee KP (b) of Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic on agitation and propaganda, from 1944 the Second, and since February 1946 – the first Secretary of the Central Committee of Communist Party of Tajikistan.

B.G. Ghafurov headed the party organization of republic the whole decade. Besides, it from 1952 up to 1961 was a member of the Central Committee of the CPSU. Simultaneously he repeatedly selected in the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan and in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR – he was the deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR from 1946 up to 1970 (with three-year intervals). Despite

¹Bobojon Ghafurovich Ghafurov. I.S. Braginsky's introductory article. Z.M. Shevchenko makes the bibliography. Dushanbe, 1969, (Materials and bibliography of scientists of Tajikistan, XIII issue); Mukhtarov A.M. Academician Ghafurov Bobojon Ghafurovich, Dushanbe, 1979, (Russian and Tajik editions); Mukhtarov A.M, Sharipov Sh., Academician Bobojon Ghafurov. Dushanbe, 1983; Bhushan Shashi. Academician Bobojon Ghafurov. New Delhi, 1977, etc.

huge employment political work, B.G. Ghafurov from second half of 30th gives more and more time teaching and scientific work in the field of history. Devoted to the 20 the anniversary revolution in Bukhara joint with N.N. Prokhorov he published the book «Falling Bukhara Emirates». In 1940 – 41, he is the post-graduate student of the Institute of History of AS of the USSR, and defended his master's thesis «The History of Ismaili sect from the beginning of XIX century up to the first imperialistic war» on April 11, 1941.

In days of the Great Patriotic War, he wrote articles and the books devoted to heroic episodes of the history of the Tajik people and national heroes. The material for larger work gradually collected. Partly these materials have used in his articles. But B.G. Ghafurov carried a way ideas of creation of generalizing history of the native people in which he could show historical destinies of Tajiks on a wide historical background, in a close connection, with history of others nations of Central Asia. To write such work, having exclusive busy socially political work, was some kind of a deed. In 1947 under edition of the known literary critic M. Mirzoev in Stalinabad there had been published a book of B.G. Ghafurov «Short history of Tajik people», Vol.1. Editor A. Mirzoev. After two years in 1949 in Moscow Gospolitizdat had published the Russian edition of the «History of the Tajik people in short statement, and considerable processed and added variant of the same book, under edition of literary critic I.S. Braginsky, vol. 1. From the most ancient times up to the Great October socialist revolution». The book had sold up at once. Soon (1952) the second volume was required, and then the third (1955) editions. In each of them were revised and added changes.

There were many responses, including S.Ayni's reviews and the prominent at that time researchers of the past of the people of Central Asia – S.P. Tolstov (Moscow) and A.Iu. Yakubovsky (Leningrad)². For this, monograph in 1952 B.G. Ghafurov had awarded the scientific degree of the doctor of historical sciences.

In the second half of 50th, B.G. Ghafurov has put forward idea of creation multivolume «History of Tajik people». This was a collective work in which scientists of Academy of Sciences of Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic participated, and also experts from Moscow and Leningrad. In 1963 – 1965 this collective work, has been published in three volumes (five books). B.G. Ghafurov was a member of the general editorial board. Besides, he together with me edited the first volume (since the most ancient times to V century A.D.) and together with A.M. Belenitsky – the second volume (VI – XVI centuries). At that time, this edition was the most detailed, strictly scientific history of Tajik and other people of Central Asia. On the character, it has been addressed first to all to experts, and had purely academic character.

My acquaintance and the subsequent cooperation with B.G. Ghafurov go back to the beginning of 50th. On April 14, 1951 The Central Committee of the KP (b) Tajikistan, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and Ministerial Council of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic have accepted the joint decision «One establishment of Academy of Sciences of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic». B.G. Ghafurov would

²Tolstov S.P. The book on history of the Tajik people. - «Culture and life», 1950, April 22; A.Iu. Yakubovsky, Serious research on history of the Tajik people. - «Communist», 1953, № 1 (see: also, A.Iu. Yakubovsky's review «History Questions», 1950, №7). From reviews of other authors, the review is important: V.A. Romodin. - «History Questions», 1953, № 1.

be one of members-founders of republican Academy. Other member-founder was A.A. Semenov – one of the greatest Soviet orientalists.³ He was entrusted to head the Institute of history, archaeology and ethnography. For the organization of archaeological and numismatic work, A.A. Semenov recommended his Tashkent pupils – my wife, E.A. Davidovich, and me. That time it was possible to meet B.G. Ghafurov who not only lively interested in researches, but also visited places of excavation. When the third edition «The Historian of the Tajik people in a summary» prepared, he asked me with the request to give a report of the newest materials on archaeology and has specially noted it in the book.

Cooperation continued even after moving B.G. Ghafurov to Moscow and the beginnings of his work as the Director of Institute of Oriental Studies AS of the USSR (on this post he remained to the death; he has died in July, 1977 in Dushanbe, his tomb is in the park of S. Ayni). Coming back to Dushanbe B.G. Ghafurov necessarily interested in the course of the scientific researches, new archaeological opening. Then we met in the scientific congresses and conferences in Moscow and Tashkent. These years B.G. Ghafurov continues to conduct the big political work, and at the same time, he published his numerous works on history of the Tajik people, the problems of national-liberation movement, and the problem, which was so close to him «Lenin and the East». The Academy of Sciences of the USSR selects him the member-correspondent (1958) and then the full member (1968).

In 1966-1967, there was an idea of the new, fourth edition «History of Tajik people in a summary». During the next meeting in Dushanbe B.G. Ghafurov has told to me about it and has asked to look the text of the third edition and to think, what changes is requires that the book could answer the standard of the end of 60th.

The problem was not so simple. The basic kernel of the book has written in the middle of 40th. By the moment of ours talk has passed 20 years – and what years! It was rapid development time of archaeological, numismatic and historical researches. In the republic territory have been started and planned archaeological excavations. For Tajikistan were very important the two major landmarks: the organization of the Sogd – Tajik archaeological expedition (1946) and archaeology sectors at Institute of history, archaeology and ethnography (1951). Systematic archaeological excavations were spent in other republics. Exclusively important there were results of numismatic works. There appeared the multivolume academic «History of Tajik people», numerous editions of historical sources, and also monographs, collections, the whole sea of articles. Results of works of foreign scientists were impressing also.

We have frankly discussed developed situation. Though «History of Tajik people in a summary» was very dear to B.G. Ghafurov, he even before our conversation understood that it already is appreciably obsolete. There were two ways. To try to expand once again a statement, something to specify, improve, «patch» or write essentially new book? And B.G. Ghafurov has made the radical decision: to write new work in which advantages and a basic direction of the former book and the academic depth of working out of the problems would be combined, and the peculiar of 1950-60 historical science, certainly, could be included. In the new

³B.A. Litvinsky, N.M. Akramov. Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Semenov (scientifically-biographic sketch). M., 1971.

work could be include separate text from the third edition of «History of Tajik people in a summary».

Almost five years had passed of intense work and the manuscript has lain down on a table. It was absolutely new text which almost three times exceeded volume of the previous book. Archaeological, numismatic, linguistic, ethnographic, anthropological materials and, certainly, all set of written sources on ancient and middle Iranian languages, Greek, Latin, Chinese, Indian, Syrian, Armenian, ancient Turkic, Arabian, Tajik-Persian and others have been used. Contours of political history have added by the analysis of lines of social and economic, cultural and ethno-linguistic development. The culture was considered in all its variety, including material culture, the literature, history of a science and philosophy architecture, art etc. Enough place has been given religion.

The analysis of development has done from positions of Marxist-Leninist theories. For this reason in the book, such attention is given to social and economic history, to class struggle, the role of broad masses. It is necessary to notice, that it has been made in a manner and with application of terminology, characteristic for our historical science of the end of 60th and now represented occasionally surplus categorical and hardest.

In the book in the broad manner used the work of foreign scientists: English, French, German, American, Japanese, Iranian, etc. In this respect, it far surpasses all other summary works on history of the separate people of Central Asia. It has allowed entering a cultural history of the Tajik people into a context of history and culture of the East.

Since the first and to last page this work is deeply international. All history of the Tajik people is considered in the tideway of communications, friendship and a brotherhood with other Central Asian people, especially detailed – with direct neighbor – the Uzbek people.

This work, perfectly polygraphic executed, has published in Moscow by publishing house «Nauka»: B.G. Ghafurov. «Tajiks. The most ancient, ancient and medieval history». Editor-in-chief B.A. Litvinsky. M., 1972.

«Tajiks» have gained at once high scientific authority and extraordinary wide popularity. Subsequently it has published in Tajik language (B.G. Ghafurov. «Tojikon. Okhirhoi asri miyona va davrai nav». Kitobi I-II. Dushanbe, 1983, 1985. From the Tajik it was translated into Dari in Kabul in Arabian script; from Russian - into Polish.

As it was already underlined, the book «Tajiks» bears a visible print historically sciences of time. Some were puzzled with that the events proceeding in territory almost of all Central Asia are included in the book, partly – Afghanistan and East Iran. It speaks about the specific character of ethnogenesis of the Tajik people on the one hand, their extensive sizes of historical ethnic territory and aspiration and to show historical developments of Tajiks and their culture not separately, but in the close connection with history and culture of other people. As it is told in «Foreword», «research of history of the Tajik people helps to understand sources of time-honored relations of the Central Asian people. Tajiks and Uzbeks – the people that have developed on the general ethnic basis are especially closely connected. Cultural treasures of the Tajik people became the property of Uzbeks, is equal as achievement of the Uzbek culture were widely acquired by Tajiks. The most ancient,

ancient, and much medieval history of these people are very close, and is frequent and is identical, and it developed in the same territory. Nevertheless there formed two people which have become now the Tajik and Uzbek socialist nations». This position substantially extends on all people of Central Asia. For this reason in the book are mentioned figures and the culture phenomena, including the sciences connected not only with Tajiks, but also to other people of Central Asia and neighboring countries.

The statement in the book is finished up to the middle of XVIII century. This chronological border is accepted conditionally: the matter is that the second volume in which the author intended in details was assumed to consider historical processes up to the October Socialist Revolution, but has not had time to write these parts.

In the second Russian edition, we have decided to reproduce only complete parts, i.e. published during the lifetime of B.G. Ghafurov from the text of the first edition.

At the same time, it is necessary to hand over one reservation. The circulation of the first edition of the book «Tajiks» (10 thousand copies) has appeared underestimated, the book has been bought instantly up. Many people addressed to B.G. Ghafurov suggesting to republish the book. Though the definitive decision was not accepted, B.G. Ghafurov asked me as the editor-in-chief, once again to read already printing text, to eliminate typing errors, to make necessary editorial specifications. In the middle of 70th, I have made the list of such specifications. They did not mention the basic text and corrections of some dates, names, specifications of bibliographic data, filling of admissions, in several cases - specifications of formulations concerned only. B.G. Ghafurov has approved my offers. All of them were brought in the text of the second Russian edition.

From time of a writing of the book, «Tajiks» has passed about two decades. These were years of even more intensive profound researches in all areas of historical and adjacent sciences. The gain of new archaeological and numismatic materials is especially great. Their statement to the analysis would demand volume, commensurable with volume of the book «Tajiks». Therefore I will be limited to extremely short illumination only some of the most important new archaeological opening and historical and numismatic researches.

The Stone Age

For time separating us from the first edition of Ghafurov's book, the areas of studying of the Stone Age of Central Asia and especially Tajikistan have made new opening, and considerable degree changing our representations about time of initial settling primitive person of this territory. Here especially it is necessary to note V.A. Ranov's merits. It, first of all, V.A. Ranov's new opening, before an unknown variant of a Paleolithic - «a loessial Paleolithic», connected with powerful loess-soil cuts of Southern Tajikistan and possessing specific characteristic.⁴ Thanks to the

⁴Lazarenko A.A. Ranov V.A. Karatau 1 – the most ancient paleontological monument in loess of Central Asia.– The Bulletin of the commission on studying of quarter period, № 77, 1977; Dodonov A.E., Ranov V.A., Penkov A.V., Finds of a Paleolithic in ancient buried soils of Southern Tajikistan their geological position. – The Bulletin of the commission on studying of

researches spent by V.A. Ranov, in 1973-1986 had been opened a series low Paleolithic ontological parking, for the first time in history studying of the Stone Age of Central Asia given the chance to prove by means of variety of their natural sciences of the absolute ages.⁵

It is possible to answer, that owing to the geographical conditions of Southern - Tajikistan surrounded with the screen of the highest mountains Pamiro-Alai and Hindukush detaining dust, blown by winds from great Central Asian deserts, differs for its powerful accumulation of the loess reaching of 180-200 meters that allows to consider Southern Tajikistan, along with loessial plate a us of China, the region of the greatest accumulation of loess on our planet. Loess alternates with pale soils. Soils are fine conservatives of the archaeological rests collecting during optimum for life of people the climatic optimum as a result of repeated visiting of a surface of formed soil by primitive person.⁶

In loess of Southern Tajikistan, it is dug out three standings. Most ancient of them Kuldara standing (Khovaling district) is dated age is 750 – 800 thousand years. Here were found parts and scraped of unstable form, which are mainly small. Tools differ for the minimum processing and typological amorphousness.⁷

The second standing in age – Karatau 1 (Yavan district) – which dated age is 200 thousand years. The industry as a whole characterized a spebbly. The appreciable place occupies dental-whole group of tools, most extended scraped and scraped type tools. The best samples have step with break retouch reminding musters. Original tools are unifasi-tools extended-undertriangled outlines, with completely processed by one of surfaces. Karatau 1 standing is the standing – eponym of special culture, which has received the name Karatau.⁸

Close on age, but younger is standing Lahuti 1. It is located in the same area, as Kuldara. Here concentration of finds considerably higher than on Karatau1. Lahuti has age of 130 thousand years. Lahuti 1 industry is further development of Karatau's culture.⁹

Besides the described parking, in loess-soils cuts of Southern Tajikistan there are 30 points and where we find stone tools.

Thus, in Southern Tajikistan the culture that has already 800 thousand years developed here autochthons, forming a basis of all further development of Paleolithic cultures in this region, which is, opened pebble. Analogies to Karatau's culture are found out, from the one hand, in the industries of soans

quarter period, № 48, 1978; Ranov V.A. Ancient Paleolithic finds in loess of Southern Tajikistan. – In book: Border of a neogene and quarter systems. № 1980, etc.

⁵Dodonov A.E. Anthropogenic of Southern Tajikistan. M, 1986.

⁶Lomov S.P., Ranov V.A., Buried soil of Tajikistan and classification on them the Paleolithic tools. - "Pochvovedenie", №4, 1984, p.21-30.

⁷Ranov V.A. and others. Kuldara – new low Paleolithic monument of Southern Tajikistan. - «The Bulletin of the commission on studying of quarter period», № 56, 1987, pp. 65-75.

⁸Ranov V.A. Ancient Paleolithic finds in loess of Southern Tajikistan. In book: Border of a neogene and quarter systems. "Nauka", M., 1980, p.197; Ranov V.A., Zhukov V.A. Group works on Stone Age studying in 1974, Archaeological works in Tajikistan. Issue 14 (1974) «Donish», Dushanbe, 1979, pp. 7-26.

⁹Ranov V.A. Excavation low Paleolithic standing of Lahuti 1 in 1979. Archaeological works in Tajikistan (1979). Issue 19, «Donish», Dushanbe, 1986, p. 11-36.

monuments of North-West India and Pakistan¹⁰ and from the other in monuments of a loessial plateau of China, which are less well published.¹¹ However, the presence of direct communications between the specified regions is still difficult. More likely, here takes place convergent similarity of historically Paleolithic cultures of the remote areas Asia nor connected with each other.¹²

The works spent by the Uzbek archaeologists in Southern Kirgizia where they dig out Sel-Unkur cave very rich with archaeological materials is extremely interesting, which located on the suburb of Haidarkan. In a cave, it is opened 5 horizons containing archaeological materials and a rich collection of fauna. The industries differs specific features – it is possible to track certain lines of similarity in techniques and less in typology with the industry of Karatau cultures, but in Sel-Unkur it is more developed in techno-typological elements, reminding musters which are accurately traced. U. Islamov has suggested dating the monument age, which is going back to 500 thousand years. There is a proof that here a teeth of the person belong to *Homo erectus*, that speaks well for the offered date. However, thus there are many challenges, still remains.

Two monographs and one generalizing article, devoted to muster monuments, published in Uzbekistan. Mainly to muster monuments is devoted the work on geology of Paleolithic of Central Asia.¹³ There put forward the theoretical positions proving local distinctions, features of industrial complexes, chronology of monuments muster's cultures. V.A. Ranov and R.S. Devis put forward the assumption of migration of musters cultures carriers – Neanderthals men to Central Asia from Near East.¹⁴ So, the last 15 years – this time of judgment before the received materials. Therefore, there is a representation about the special Central Asian center of development of muster's cultures in Eurasia.

The same occurs in the field of studying the top Paleolithic.¹⁵

In the field of Mesolithic, the process of studying of early found monuments proceeded. Considerable it is possible to consider the success of A.V. Vinogradov who has opened variety Mesolithic standing, microlits of geometrical type which is the fact of confirming representation about migration of tribes – carriers of the tradition which are going back to Mesolithic of the Near East (or diffusions of this tradition) far to East.¹⁶

At the same time, by our time representation that in first half of Holocene in

¹⁰Ranov V.A. Soan culture: a myth or the validity? Ancient India. Historical and cultural communications. «Nauka», M., 1982, pp. 267-296.

¹¹Wu Rukang, Olsen Y.W. (Ed.). Paleanthropogy and Paleolithic Archaeology in the Peoples Republic of China. Academic Press, 1985.

¹²Ranov V.A. Stone Age in Southern Tajikistan and Pamir. Diss. for doctor of historical sciences, in the form of report. Novosibirsk, 1988, p. 21.

¹³Ranov V.A., Nesmeyanov S.A. Paleolithic and stratigraphy of anthropogeny of Central Asia. «Donish», Dushanbe, 1973.

¹⁴Ranov V.A., Davis R.S. Toward a New Outline of the Soviet Central Asian Paleolithic. Current Anthropology, v.20, 1979.

¹⁵Dzhurakulov M.D. Samarkand upper Paleolithic standing. "Fan". Tashkent 1987.

¹⁶Vinogradov A.V. Ancient hunters and fishers Central Asian interfluves. M., 1981, p. 57-63.

Central Asia and the adjoining countries there are two groups of monuments. For one the basis for manufacturing tools is cremenis peculiar to use the geometrical forms. These are Mesolithic monuments. For the other in which tools from flintmeet very seldom, is peculiar the set of stock absolutely deprived of microlits of the geometrical form. These are epi-Paleolithic monuments. They represent autochthon line developed whereas the Mesolithic is a reflection of Near-Eastern tradition.¹⁷

For deserts of Central Asia where 50 years monuments of Kelteminars Neolithic cultures, the results of excavation of standing of Tolstov that are published only in a preliminary kind and burial ground of Tumek-Kichidzhik, carried out by Vinogradov are very important.¹⁸ They, in many respects enrich our representations about material culture of Kelteminars. In particular, the big set of the earlier badly presented bone tools found out.

In Southern Tajikistan studying of a mountain neolith – Hissar's culture are in progress.¹⁹ Hundreds of new points with finds of this culture in Yavan area and on the coast of Nurek artificial lake. There is started the excavation of an interesting new monument with the remained occupation layer – Kangurtut (Soviet region). There is a hope, that here it is possible to fix the end of existence of Hissar culture. If conclusions, which have been made on the basis of the first year of excavation (1987) will prove to be true, it will be possible to say that Hissar neolith lives till the end of the second millennium B.C. and that Hissarians have been assimilated by the agricultural tribes which had come from the West of a bronze age tribes.

Chalcolithic period and bronze

In Southern Turkmenia by 1982 has been revealed 27 Chalcolithic period settlements, and many of which are in details studied. On one of them, Karadepe on at Artyka, opening an extensive site. Here building of the inhabited files closely stands with each other, sometimes separated from each other by narrow small streets. Such inhabited place included up to 20 houses, some of them were with the heating centers. Along with dwelling place, there were also economic premises. There were also cult sites with the specific centers. On settlement, there was a fine painted ceramics with the image of goats, spotty animals, going birds, eagles with open wings, terracotta figurines, a marble figure of a bull and others.

Not less interesting results have brought excavation of other settlement – Geoksur where also there were multiroom houses. As well as on Karadepe they included planned units consisting of premises with the heating center and a nearby subsidiary premise. Special premises with the center-altar carried out functions of a house sanctuary. V.I. Sarianidi has in details studied collective

¹⁷ Ranov V.A. The Stone Age..., pp. 33-35.

¹⁸ Vinogradov A.V. Ancient hunters..., pp. 78-89; Vinogradov A.V., and Itina M.I. Yablonsky L.T. Ancient population of lower reaches of Amu – Darya, M., pp. 7-78.

¹⁹ Ranov V.A. Hissar culture – a neolith of mountain areas of Central Asia (origin, distribution, features). – In book: The Stone Age of Northern, Middle and East Asia. Novosibirsk, 1985. pp. 10-35.

tombs in the form of the brick chamber with the false arch.

On Southern Turkmenia Chalcolithic period there are many publications belonging to its researchers O.K. Berdyev, V.M. Masson, V.I. Sarianidy, I.N. Khlopin. The summary sketch of Chalcolithic period of Southern Turkmenia published.²⁰

The epoch of Chalcolithic period has special value because, the irrigated agriculture which has arisen, actually, even earlier at this particular time develops in VI thousand B.C., in the end of a neolith. The initial stages of development of agriculture in Central Asia have been in details studied by G.N. Lisitsyna. She recognized that an environment of that long-distance time were in many respects similar to the modern.

According to her investigations, the most ancient stage of agriculture (VI-IV thousand B.C.) is characterized by a combination, not irrigated lands and irrigation methods of housekeeping. The irrigation agriculture was based on disposable irrigation. It was arranged on disposable – watering: the elementary partitioning devices or creating sites which were arranged during high waters. Later (IV-II thousands B.C.) has appeared irrigating systems, though also elementary on a design and small in sizes, but intended not for, disposable, and reusable watering. In delta of the river of Tedzhen by means of air photography, it was possible to reconstruct drawing of an ancient hydrographic network and artificial channels. In one case there were three parallel channels deduced from a deltoid channel. From channels originated river network. A narrow strip along irrigating system has extended fields. And, at last, in the end of a bronze epoch – the beginning of an epoch of iron (early II and I thousand B.C.) started to construct large main channels with the head constructions, sometimes having water elevating devices. These stages of development of irrigation corresponded to the periods in agriculture development.²¹

For expired time studying of an epoch of bronze marked by the important opening. The tribes of primitive farmers occupying Southern Turkmenia were studied even with more intensity. Original variants of this culture as a result revealed. One of them has been extended in South-West Turkmenia (in particular, in valley Sumbara) where burial grounds of late bronze with various are dug out by (I. Khlopin) with rich inventars.²² Extremely important materials have been received by V.I. Sarianidi in Margiana (see more below). Excavations in under mountain strip of Kopet-Dag of in particular on Altyn-tepe (V.M. Masson).

The hill of Altyn-tepe has arisen in Chalcolithic period and its thickness reaches 30 m. Top layers – the epoch of the developed bronze age (2300-1850

²⁰Masson V.M. Chalcolithic period of Central Asia. – In book: Chalcolithic period of USSR. M., 1982 (Archaeology of the USSR), in the same place the extensive bibliography.

²¹Lisitsyna G.N. The basic stages of history of irrigated agriculture in the south of Central Asia and the Near East. - «Short reports of Institute of Archaeology», 122 issue. M., same author: History of irrigated agriculture in Southern Turkmenia (early agricultural epoch). - «Successes of the Central Asian archaeology», 1 issue. L., 1972; Kes A.S., Kostiuchenko V.P., Lisitsyna G.N. History of settling and ancient irrigation of South-West Turkmenia. M., 1980.

²²Khlopin I.N. South-West Turkmenia during an epoch of late bronze: On materials of Sumbarsky burial grounds. L., 1983.

B.C.). At this time the settlement had difficult defensive system (its source go back to the previous period), strongly varying on various sites. The main entrance settled down in the south of a hill. Here walls reached, as a result of numerous thickenings, thickness of 6 meters. The front entrance was on the sides strengthened by two towers – pylons.

On settlement territory, some sites are dug out. In the north, there was a site where premises in which the people who were engaged in craft manufactures, mainly, handicraft. Inhabited files have a multiroom dense layout, premises and courtyard. In the neighborhood settled down fire burnedceramic furnaces. Similar to it layout other files of ordinary building you can see there rooms careful furnish. In some cases separate complexes are isolated, the structure of which included economic courtyard (often with the furnace and some premises – inhabited and economic. In premises, in corners of houses (in holes), burial places of children burial place of up to 1-2 years old.

There were also burial places of adults, part of them placed in made tombs premises.

The well-founded top of a society lived in the center of east half - «quarter of the nobility». Here there was «a house of the leader» with the central premise 3,5x5 m. The premises have been constructed with the big carefulness. The accurate layout of a street network and constructions well planned before the construction. There was treasure of things included import things, including products made from an ivory. Into a complex included four tombs with collective burial places and rich stock.

In a southeast part of settlement the cult center which survived periods of reorganizations. It consisted of a multistage tower (during the most ancient period had on front of 21 m, focused from the north to south, which has remained on the height of 6 m and consisted of the rests of 4 steps decorated by three-stage pilasters in the plan), funeral ensemble (a tomb, a sanctuary), groups of economic constructions and «the house of a priest». Certainly, this not so usual settlement and «protocity». The step tower reminding zikurrat, allows to plan communications with architecture of the Ancient East, in particular, Mesopotamia. It has something in common with finds in Mesopotamia (Ur, Khafadzh and others) altyntepin gold, in laid with turquoise, a head of a bull. The find of two seals specifies in communications with the protoindian civilization show the protoindian style.²³

Bright monument of a protocity civilization of later period, after expansion of oykumen of southturkmen tribes on the east, is Bactrian settlement Sapallitepa (Southern Uzbekistan).

Sapallitepa before excavation looked like the small hill extended from the East on the West, the area was about 4 hectares. In its center there was constructed the square fortress in the plan (82x82) with a difficult design. It is revealed three building periods. Not entering into details, the general layout was following. Actually built up territory forms a square, its bypass wall is sufficient massive (thickness – 1,7 m). In parallel of its outside, with a ledge, with each parties was two corridor compartment with so massive walls. An input in them –

²³More in detail – see: V.M. Masson. Altyn-tepe. L., 1981.

from with in settlements, through apertures in bypass stack. Length of these premises was 26 – 36 m, width – 3,1 m. Space between a bypass wall and these compartments occupied T-shaped premises with inputs of outside of a fortress the inputs in them were false inputs into the fortress, but these premises were an original traps. In fortress conducted one input – in the middle of a south side. From these gates of the fortress led main street from which in the parties narrow deadlock small street from which were departed bypass and brought to compartments – corridors. The system of small streets broke all building into eight complexes, consisting of inhabited and economic premises and workshops. Inhabited complexes consisted of one – two three – condominiums. If in the house was more than one room, one was a vein, with the center-fireplace, another economic, the third – industrial appointment.

In each quarter, there were ceramic fire furnaces. In premises, and streets there were a set of burials (138 burials had opened). Almost all of them looked like a catacomb from which the majority – single.

Fortress Sapallitepa has certainly constructed on a coherent plan. Clearness of the general layout testifies, that it has been planned not only external contour, but also the basic – elements of internal building. Further, this clearness has been broken by reorganization bypass corridors, "traps", in particular, has been built up, and was a building round a fortress, the fortification value of which has gradually fallen.

Calculations show that in the fortress lived during different periods up to 60 families, no more than 320 persons. They were engaged, mainly, in irrigated agriculture, and also cattle breeding and hunting. Besides, they were skilful handicraftsmen – potters, iron metal and etc. Members of a community differed various social and property status. A.A. Askarov's dating – 1700 – 1500 B.C.²⁴

A.A. Askarov's merit is also the research of Jarqutan – the huge complex including a necropolis and premises.²⁵ On the last is founded a fundamental constructions, among which two are allocated one is defined by the digger as a palace, and the other as a temple.

At works of the Soviet-Afghani archaeological expedition in the north of Afghanistan V.I. Sarianidi in Dashlyn, Farukhabad and Pichkan oases has opened the whole series of settlements of an epoch of late bronze. Dashly – 1 represents a rectangular fortress with continuous internal building. It is led by round powerful (to 4m of a thickness) wall with massive towers on corners and semi-oval turrets along walls.

On Dashly – 3 "temple" the round form with the round bypass gallery supplied with 9 turrets has been opened. This is central kernel of an enormous complex concentric structure.²⁶

²⁴ Askarov A.A. Sapallitepa. Tashkent, 1973; same author. Ancient agricultural culture of an epoch of bronze of the south of Uzbekistan. Tashkent, 1977. However a number of researchers believes, that sapallitepin's culture should be dated later time –XIII century B.C.– boundary II-I thousand B.C. (see, for example, Khlopin I.N. The mentioned work. pp. 55-56).

²⁵ Askarov A.A., Abdullaev B.N. Jarqutan (to a problem of a protocity civilization in the south of Uzbekistan).

²⁶ Sarianidi V.I. Ancient farmers of Afghanistan. M., 1977 pp. 22-40 fig. 7-14.

Monuments of this circle have found out in Southern Tajikistan. Here also settlements and burial grounds have been found out. In the beginning, only burial grounds have found out. Large number settles down there in the Beshkent valley, and lower reaches of Kafernigan, in lower reaches of Vakhsh and the Kizyl-Su (excavation of M. Mandelshtam and B.A. Litvinsky). Later burial grounds have been dug out in Hissar valley and other places, at once have been allocated two barrow of culture: Beshkent and Vakhsh. The character of a funeral ceremony and funeral stock of these two cultures has considerable distinction, in particulars, in Beshkent burials used the fire burning. For the specification of beliefs, it is very important the presence of a cult of fire connected with funeral cult. The tribes, which have left burial grounds in lower reaches of Vakhsh, Kafernigan and the Kizyl-Su, used a cattle-breeding image of life.²⁷

Burial grounds of the agricultural population are opened also. One of them is in Hissar Valley – the burial ground Tandiryul, on the left coast of the Qaratag River in Tursunzade region. There it was dig out three and half ten of tombs, noted by stone calculations or separate stones. A design of burials – simpleholes of the oval or roundish form. There are holes lining and holes with descent. A way of a burial place – place of body, but seldom partial burial place. Buried lays in the writhed position on one side, and the head on the North-East or the South-East. Cenotaphs fixed with anthropomorphic images from not burnt clay. Cases of a finding of coal at the bottom of a tomb and burnt skeleton bones are noted. On turtles, there are traces of red okhra and have place of deformation on the skull after death. Anthropologically buried belongs to Caucasian type of the East Mediterranean type. In a tomb is put from 1 to 9 vessels, tiny metal subjects, ornaments from a stone and metal, sculptural images from not burnt clay.

From settlements, we will characterize Kangurtut. The monument is located in a mountain valley near Kangurtut village of Dangara region. There are 7 excavation. The settlement total area is 500x250 m. Capacity of an occupation layer from 0,5 to 2,5 m. In some cases under a Bronze Age layer of Hissar neolith. Economic premises, furnaces-tanury, grain holes terrace at home with the stone basis of walls were opened. The ceramic material is subdivided into three classes: circular ceramics (53,1 %), modelled (46,7 %) so-called steppe ware with a stamped ornament (0,2 %). From bronze things there are knifes-sickles, two face blades daggers, shills buttons and so on, and also finds of foundry forms are noted. Stone products are presented pests, drummers, and grain-grate. From

²⁷Litvinsky B.A. Tajikistan and India. – In book: India in antiquity. M., 1964, p.158; Mandelshtam A.M. Monuments of an epoch of bronze in Southern Tajikistan. L., 1968 (MIA, № 145); Pyankova L.T. A burial ground of an epoch of bronze Tigrovaya Balka. – SA, №3, 1974; Litvinsky B.A., Zeimal E.V., Medvedskaya I.N. Report about the works of South Tajikistan archaeological expedition in 1973 – ART, vol. XIII (1973). Dushanbe, 1977; Pyankova L.T., South-Western Tajikistan during a bronze epoch. – Newsletter of the International association on studying of cultures of the Central Asia, 1 issue. M., 1971; Pyankova L.T. Ancient cattlemen of Bactria (about Vakhsh and Beshkent cultures).– In art.: «Culture of a primitive epoch of Tajikistan». Dushanbe, 1982; same authored: Finds of a bronze age from Nurek. – In art.: «Materials on history and a cultural history of Tajikistan». Dushanbe, 1981.

other subjects a stone beads, clay anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures had been found. Prints of grains barley and wheat are found. The basic percent - 52 % in an osteological material belongs to large horned livestock, the small horned livestock makes 19,5 %, a horse - 19 %, a donkey - 5,6 %; there are bones of a camel - of 2,6 %, a deer - of 1,3 % and dogs. The bottom chronological border of settlement is defined by the potter's ceramics close to final monuments of sapallin's culture of molalin stage. The ceramics of type Yaz I is found in the top layers of settlement, allowing to approach the top border of existence of monuments of bronze epoch to the end of II millennium the beginning of I millennium B.C.

Burial ground Kangurtut is in 200 m to the South-West from settlement on a high slope. 58 burials had been found. All tombs, except for one (№ 53) – cenotaphs. On an ancient surface sometimes remain above tomb stones. There are simple holes and holes with lining. A way of a burial place – place of body, in the writhed position, on one side. All cenotaphs with funeral stock. In some cases there clay anthropomorphic figures from not burnt clay. In a tomb, tiny bronze subjects have prevented from 2 to 9 vessels; finds of bones of animals are noted. The burial ground material corresponds with finds on settlement.

Settlements Teguzak, Baraki-Kurug, Karim-Berdy, in state farm of Kirov, etc are known. Along with a massive bunch of communications with Sapallin culture are besides became known, the link with steppe cultures of Andronov's circle, and also with Beshkent culture come to light. These monuments now are actively investigated by N.M. Vinogradova and L.T. Pyankova.²⁸

Exclusively important is settlement Sarazm researches in Zerafshan Valley in 15 km to the West from a site of ancient settlement of ancient Panjakent. Earlier it supposed that a valley of Top Zerafshan – a zone of distribution of cultures of a steppe circle. But also here the picture has appeared incomparably more difficult. The found out settlement consists of 10 premises the total area of which is about 90 hectares (taking into account distribution of casual finds). A.I. Isakov successfully investigates opened by the local resident, from 1977 with the assistance of the French and American archeologists. It was found out, that since IV thousand B.C., i.e. since the epoch of Chalcolithic period, in Zerafshan Valley there was an economy of permanent-agricultural type, which has the same character of economy of other early-agricultural civilizations. Sarazm characterized by a very high standard of culture, fine constructions from a brick, presence of monumental multiroom constructions. Sarazm has fallen into decay by the middle of II thousand B.C.

It is necessary to search for an origin of culture of Sarazm in Southern

²⁸ Vinogradova N.M. New monuments of an epoch of bronze in territory of Southern Tajikistan. Art. «Central Asia. M., 1987; Vinogradova N.M., Kuzmina E.E. Contacts of steppe and agricultural tribes of Central Asia during a bronze epoch. Art. «East Turkestan and Central Asia in system of cultures of the ancient and Medieval East». M., 1986; Vinogradova N.M. Bronzezeitgraber von Tandyriul, Tadzhikistan. – Beitrage zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie. B.4, 1982; Kuzmina E.E., Vinogradova N.M. Beziehungen zwischen bronzezeitlichen Steppen – und Oasenkulturen in Mittelasien. – Beitrage zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie. B.5, 1983, and also specified above L.T. Pyankova's work.

Turkmenia and North-East Iran. At the same time, a number of communications specifies in Baluchistan. Having come from so remote places, inhabitants of Sarazm have developed own culture considerably differing from the initial.²⁹

It is difficult to judge languages of the population of the south of Central Asia during those remote times, in III and beginning of II thousand B.C. A Number of Soviet scientists (S.P. Tolstov, B.A. Litvinsky, V.M. Masson) have stated a hypothesis that distribution territory proto-dravids language (on which, obviously, spoke the population Kharapps is differently – the protoindian civilization) covered in IV – the beginning of the II thousand B.C. and considerable area of Central Asia, being closed to Iran with an area elams tribes. Presence testifies such distribution about proto-dravids proves the existence of dravidi language of ethnic group language bragui (braui) in Northern Baluchistan much to the north of the basic part of dravides, i.e. the area dravides tribes was once much to the north.

About northern borders of this area testify dravido-finnougor links contacts of carriers of these languages and it is possible to present really only in case of settling dravides on language tribes of territory of Central Asia, if not everywhere, then its parts. New argument and new stimulus in working out of this hypothesis detection by the French researchers on the south from Amu-Darya, at southern border of Central Asia, in Afghanistan near the settlement Shor-tugay where the trading station of Kharapps had been found.³⁰ Certainly, it did not limit languages of the population of Central Asia. In II thousand B.C. here there are carriers of the protoindian languages (see more in detail more below). Some where in first half or the middle of II thousand B.C. in a North-East part of Central Asia there are carriers of one more group of Indo-European languages the prototokharian. Concrete contours of these ethnolinguistic processes remain unknown.

So, in bronze age bowels appears are rudiments of new culture which is possible to name protocity. All characterized above "protocity" have not developed in original cities, and have stopped the existence, but they were the signals of subsequent more than half thousands history of the Central Asian urbanization.

The separate centers of a protocity civilization existed and outside of a southern zone, a little bit to the north. The major settlement is Sarazm (between

²⁹Isakov A. Sarazm – new ancient agricultural monument of Central Asia.-SA, 1986, №1; Isakov A. Excavations of the bronze age. Settlement of Sarazm.In: "The bronze age Civilization of Central Asia". Ed. by P. Kohl, 1981; Besenval R. Decouvertes recentes a Sarazm (R.S.S. du Tadjikistan) -"Academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes rendus", 1987, avril-juin.

³⁰Lyonnet B. Decouverte de sites de l'age du bronze dans le N.E. de l'Afghanistan: leurs rapports, avec la civilisation de l'Indus. - "Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli", 37 (N. S. 27), 1977; Frankfort N. - P. Pottier M.H. Sondage preliminaire sur l'établissement protohistorique harappeen et postharappeen de Shortugal (Afghanistan du N.-E.)."Arts Asiatiques", t.34, 1978; Frankfort N. - P. The late periods of Shortugal and the problem of the Bishkent culture (middle and late bronze age in Bactria). – "South Asian archaeology 1979".Berlin, 1981.

Samarkand and Panjakent). Occurrence of such centers is obliged to tribe's movement and the impulses going from a southern zone.

The considerable part of central and northern zone of Central Asia and adjoining parts of Kazakhstan have occupied by the tribes belonging to a circle of tribes of a steppe zone. Andronovs tribes which culture has made the most direct impact on the Central Asian tribes have occupied steppe open spaces of Kazakhstan and Siberia, from Priurals and on the east to the Minusin hollow. To the west from andronovs in Northern Prikaspiy and the Volga region (and to the west) were closely related andronov's tribes of cuttype cultures. Along northern and east coast of Caspian Sea, they moved ahead to Central Asia, reaching South-West Turkmenia.

In Semirechiye there lived tribes of semirech type of Andronov's cultures. In Priurals, the Tazabagyab culture has been extended. Settlements of this culture included from two-three houses to one and a half tens. On settlement Kokcha-15 are revealed 12 houses, part from them settled down closely, others- on considerable distance. Usually houses had character of rectangular semidugouts with the area of 80-85 m² with an input-corridor.

Especially it is necessary to stop on spiritual culture of inhabitants of the south of Central Asia of an epoch of the developed and final bronze. For this epoch, occurrence of the large cult centers is characteristic. As an examples could be mentioned Altyn-tepe, round construction of Dashly-3, temple of Jarqutan, etc. At preservation of house and patrimonial cults process of their concentration in cults of larger order - cults of the whole tribes and associations of tribes is planned. Space correlation of large monumental constructions (Dashly-3, Sapallitepa, etc.) accurately testifies the difficult symbolical value even profanic constructions.

Even more visually, it becomes known in cult constructions. About them, we have mentioned above.

Excavation in 1983-1986 of monumental complex Togolok-21 in Margiana, carried out by V.I. Sarianidi, has revealed the cult building consisting of three parts, in the center of an original fortress with powerful bypass walls and angular towers in which there is continuous, amazingly regular building, divided into two parts: smart and subsidiary. All premises of a smart part have kept the interiors covered snow-white plaster in some layers. In the center of a smart part «the internal court yard» with bypass corridors, obviously sacral part of all complex settles down. Between smart and subsidiary parts, there is a premise where there was a process of preparation of intoxicating drink.

As a proof could be served the analysis of fossils from the vessels of this premise containing microscopic branches of ephedra and a poppy.

The fortress rounded by almost square wall with towers on corners and the perimeter of walls. Along the western wall in a chain narrow, the cells had settled down.

The third, external wall also with towers has kept altar's platform and an area with platforms and «fiery chambers» on which the fire kept burnt.

General layout of Togolok – 21 has no direct analogues except only to trinomial of internal division and could be compared with «The Oval Temple» in Khafaj (Mesopotamia). Its chronological accessory belongs to II-I thousand B.C.

and the general character of finds (cult vessels, «tiny columns», stone graters with the poppy rests and others) grant the right to consider, that in the temple were performed the cult of depiction and also fire cult. It not excluded, that Togolok-21 is the first known, but the far world. Detection in afghan Sistan in Godari Shah of a congestion of considerable quantity of «tiny columns», known in such quantity only in Togolok-21, can specify the existence in Sistan a similar temple, with the same cult ceremonies. In turn Sistan is allocated with many (though not all) linguists as a place of the most probable native land of Zoroastrian and most likely «Avesta».

The unpublished results of excavation of 1987 new monument of Togolok – 1 in Margiana give us the right to consider, that along with "cathedral" of Togolok – 21 type there were the provincial temples calculated on separate oases or even were intended for needs of separate large premises.³¹

The universe symbolic also was realized through cult subjects-images (a bull with an astral symbol from Altyn-tepe, images of snakes on figurines and the seals). The increase of man's figurines testifies about gradual decrease of the primacy of a cult of the goddess-mother peculiar to agricultural cultures of an epoch. On the front line the man's images and deities became popular. The big role played by the doleful cult quite often connected with a cult of fire.

Settlements of Earlyclassical society

Studying of settlements of earlyclassical societies has sharply promoted. Only in territory of Bactria, by estimate of A.S. Sagdullaev, it is registered about two and a half hundreds settlements of I half thousand B.C.

In Bactria at that time there were large cities, was known even earlier. Representation about North – Bactrian city of that time gives Kiziltepa (the Surkhan-Darya area). On a place existing from VIII-VII centuries of settlement there in VI century was a city. It was the rectangular form, and the area was approximately 30 hectares. Formatification consisted of a city wall (thickness in the basis 10 meters) with a ditch. Presence in one of corners of the city of a citadel was characteristic of that period. For this time, it was known round in the plan with internal premises of a tower, and in walls, there were loopholes.

The character of inhabitance was oasis type, with the allocated central settlement.

Sometimes constructions of the strengthened settlements rose on high platform-pedestal (Kuchuk-tepe). Kizylcha 6 gives the representation about a layout: manor a square building with an exit in a courtyard adjoining from the south. The building looks like a courtyard (16x16 m) with premises on perimeter of an external wall. Constructions are connected with a courtyard passes.

Later, in Achaemenids time, there were huge public buildings. Their shape

³¹ Sarianidi V.I. Opening of Margush country. - «Nauka v SSSR», 1986, №1; same author. Monumental complex Togolok-21 in Margiana. – AO 1984. M., 1986; same author. South-West Asia: migrations, aryans and zoroastrians.- Newsletter MAIKCA, 13 issue; same author. Le Complexe Cultuel de Togolok-21 en Margiane, "Arts Asiatiques". Paris, 1986, t. XLI.

has cleared up as a result of V.I. Sarianidi's excavation in Southern Bactria. He in particular, had dug out summer palace of Altyn-10. This was strait line building of 80x55 meters consisting of two rectangular parts. Between them was an enfilade strip of premises. Each half of the courtyard surrounded with columns with brick bases and these were column porticos. In external corners a courtyard – on a square premise with a basic column. The winter palace is nearby had dug out. This square building (36x36 m) with the central courtyard surrounded on perimeter by numerous, small premises. In two angular premises, the covering was based upon columns. Separate premises could serve as house chapels. In a courtyard, there was a reservoir.

Many new monuments had opened in Tajikistan part of Bactria. We will mention, the rests of the Achaemenids time on Tupkhona (Hissar), Tamoshotepa (Yavan), Boldaytepa (Kurgan – Tube) and, the main thing which has been dug out by A. Abdullaev is the cult construction of Baytudasht IV (Panj), testifying the high level of architectural art.³²

The remains of VI-IV centuries in Northern Tajikistan revealed on a site of ancient settlement of Shirin, in Mug-tepa (Ura-Tube), in Leninabad – Khujand. Great value is the discovery of T.V. Belyaeva the site of ancient settlement of Nurtepa (in 22 km to the north of Ura-Tube) the area of which is about 18 hectares. There is a citadel and actually a city, which there was a develope system of fortification. Excavation on this monument is conducted from 1979.³³

Besides, monuments early Iron Age had investigated in Southern Turkmenia, Priarals, Sogd, Tashkent oasis and Fergana.

Amudarya Treasure

Studying of the Amudarya treasure for expired time proceeded. In 1979, the Amudarya treasure has brought to the USSR and exhibited at the State Hermitage and the Museum of A.S. Pushkin. In this connection, there was a research of treasure of E.V. Zeimal becoming a serious contribution in working out, the problems. Essentially new in work of E.V. Zeimal is treasure of consideration as a complex including a set of things and a set of coins. We should

³²Abdullaev A. Archaeological investigations in Panj area in 1977 – ART, 17 issue. Dushanbe, 1983; Askarov A., Albaum L.I. Kuchuktepe settlement. Tashkent, 1979; Zeimal E.V. Ancient agricultural settlement of Bolday-tepe.-MKT, 2 issue. Dushanbe, 1971; Litvinsky B.A., Sedov A.V. Cults and rituals of Kushan Bactria. A funeral ceremony. M., 1984; Rtveladze E.V. «New ancient bactrian monuments in the South of Uzbekistan. – Bactrian antiquities». L., 1976; Sagdullaev A.S. Notes about the early Iron Age of Central Asia.–SA, 1982, № 2; same author. Manors of ancient Bactria. Tashkent, 1987; Sarianidi V.I. Ancient farmers of Afghanistan. M., 1977 and etc.

³³Belyaeva T.V. Archaic, antique and early Middle Ages Khujand according to written and archaeological sources. – In book: «Researches on history and culture of Leninabad». Dushanbe, 1986; same author. Researches in Leninabad area. AO 1979 M., 1980; Negmatov N.N., Mirbabayev A.K., Abdurasulov M.A. The beginning of excavation of a site of ancient settlement of Shirin. ART, 14 issue. Dushanbe, 1982; Negmatov N.N., Belyaeva T.V., Mirbabayev A.K. To opening of a city of an epoch of late bronze and early iron – Nurtepa. – Art. «Culture of a primitive epoch of Tajikistan». Dushanbe, 1982.

notice that O.M. Dalton considered only things of treasure and only one Achaemenids coin. O.M. Dalton recognized that there is no confidence, that coins and things could made a treasure in the true sense because all have been found out not by scientists, during carrying out of archaeological excavations, but have been found by casual and unknown conditions. Therefore, he has included in the edition of the Amudarya treasure only one coin – darik.

E.V. Zeimal proves that the treasure consisted of ware and monetary parts. Into treasure structure entered not less than 150 gold and 1000-1200 silver coins. Not all can now reveal – E.V. Zeimal has included in the catalogue over half-thousand coins. Among coins, the earliest are coins of cities of continental Greece beginning V – and middle IV centuries B.C. and up to coins of second half III century A.D. There are also group of Greek-Bactrian coins of the beginning of II century B.C., but they as considers E.V. Zeimal, could be mixed to a treasure after its find.

«...The majority of the coins presented in a treasure are not characteristic for monetary circulation in a right bank of Amu-Darya. For the last hundred years, despite conducted now in southern areas of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan intensive archaeological works, there it is not registered any coin which would repeat the cores types carried to a treasure. Thus, coins are on the structure so unusual to this area, as well as other part of a treasure».³⁴

E.V. Zeimal has carefully analyzed the structure of a treasure and has made the following conclusion. «As all things and coins, dated more senior 30th years of IV century B.C., and indisputable not local (Bactrian), but Iranian, it is possible to assume, that this part of treasure was generated last third IV centuries B.C. outside of Bactria and only then has been brought here. It is impossible to answer a question who could collect it - "bottomrank" which went with Alexander's army to take Persepolis, threatened Pasargadae, entered the winner of Babylon and everywhere participated in an extraction sharing, or one of officials just created Selevkid's state, it is clear, that the basic kernel of this treasure has been made somewhere in Iran throughout last third IV century B.C. The second stage of drawing up of a treasure begins since second half III century A.D. when the initial owner (or to whom the treasure has passed) has lodged on east suburb of the Selevkid's state – most likely in Bactria – here again continued to fill up the riches (obviously, already less intensively). It is difficult to tell, how many owners the Treasure replaced for this time... Coins show, that in Evtidem I reign (and it is possible even, as well as assumed A.Cunninghem, during his long war with Antioch III in 109 – 206 B.C.) and the treasure replenishment has stopped, i.e. it has already hidden and has ceased to change owners».³⁵

The whole hypothesis E.V. Zeimal is well proved and faultless from the point of view of logic. Thus, of course, it is impossible to reject definitively and other possibilities. The matter is that other products of ancient Bactrian period are not found out yet, that is why to compare practically there is nothing. It is impossible to exclude possibility that in Bactria (and other centers) workshops in which silver and gold products in empire – Achaemenids style were made functioned.

³⁴Zeimal E.V. The Amudarya's treasure. An exhibition catalogue. L., 1979, p.16.

³⁵Zeimal E.V. The Amudarya's treasure. An exhibition catalogue. L., 1979, p.32.

Other masters could develop other – Bactria – Achaemenids tradition.³⁶

And the last, opening Takhti-Sangin has brought a new element. It is not excluded, that things and coins of the Amudarya treasure originally were part of treasures of temple Oxus, and then gold and silver products from there have been with drawn and hidden – and just in XIX century local residents found those.

It is necessary to note, however, that continue to express other points of view, in particular, one of the largest modern experts Achaemenids period of arts O.V. Maskarella's believes, that it is actually, not the treasure and that it could not be «considered as a find occurring from one place or even area».³⁷

Internal system of the Greek-Bactrian kingdoms

Excavation Ai-Khanum by French archaeologists proceeded under the guidance of professor P. Bernar up to 1978. For French archaeological mission in Afghanistan was possible to open considerable areas in a city, to investigate its strengthening's, to dig out constructions out of city walls.

The site of ancient settlement is located on two terraces. Adjoining to Panj river part sites of ancient settlement is lower - the bottom city, but the South – East was considerable more upper part - an acropolis. The city and its acropolis are strengthened by "the nature itself, and also powerful defensive walls with the towers erected from burnt brick. P. Bernar considers that the city has been based during Alexander the Great stay in Bactria. A city carry to the centers of east province of Badakhshan, simultaneously served as a stronghold against an attack of nomads from the east. It is known, that Badakhshan lazurite extracted for all ancient East only in this place of Bactria, it was transported in an antiquity to Assyria, and then in Achaemenid time to the capitals of the Western Iran.

The Greek city with public buildings found on Ai-Khanum: columned halls, a parade decorated exits – propylons. The youth was brought up in enormous gymnasium, supplied with pool for washing after physical exercises and run. Here there was also a theatre with stone seats for the city nobility, located on northern extremity of bottom of an acropolis. The theatre had 35 steps – the benches located on a semicircle in diameter about 45 m and in height of 15 m, orchestra where there were theatrical representations. By estimates of archaeologists, at theatre there were places for 6000 spectators. It is one of the greatest Hellenistic theatres, conceding to the theatre in Epidaurus, but twice surpassing theatre of such large city, as Babylon. In connection with theatre opening there were of the number of inhabitants in Ai-Khanum, on the results of the Greek cultural influence as in the library Ai-Khanum had been found the text of drama product,

³⁶E.E. Kuzmina and B.Ya. Stavisky have tried to allocate products of this tradition – Kuzmina E.E. Greek kuros in Bactria – Short reports of Institute of Archaeology, 147 issue, 1976; same author. Semantics of the image on a silver disk and some questions of interpretation of the Amudarya treasure. – In book: «Art of the East and antique». M., 1977; Stavisky B.Ya. Notes on Amudarya treasure. – In book: «Art of the East and antique». M., 1977, (comp. with Zeimal E.V. The Amudarya treasure, p. 28, 36 – 37, 44 – 46).

³⁷Muscarella O.W. Excavated and unexcavated Achaemenian art. – In: «Ancient Persia: the art of an empire». Ed 8 by D. Schmandt-Besserat. Undena7, 1980, p. 26.

the rests of the papyrus containing the philosophical treatise, written in the form of the dialogue close to dialogues of Plato, and Aristotle's "Metaphysics". The fountain on coast of Panj was other primordially Greek construction. River water approached and washed a fountain step, however Greeks used the water following from water waste hole in the form of a head of a lion, a dolphin and old man Silen. The majority of buildings in which administration of a city was exercised and in which relics and jewelry contained, have been erected from burnt brick, in the traditional local technique. It combined with Hellenistic columned systems, pilasters and other constructive details of the Greek origin, and mosaic inlaid floors etc.

The palace was one of the major constructions of a city. It had a big smart courtyard (137x108m), from four parties surrounded with the whole wood column are there were porticoes with 118 Corinthian columns. In the middle of a courtyard of the south side –an input in a smart part of the palace, also issued by a portico. Extensive premises with courtyard included halls for receptions, inhabited and office accommodations, a treasury, a special courtyard for rest, pantries, and other office accommodations. The shape of this construction reminds a palace-apadana in Susa. According to P. Bernar, it is a palace belonging to the king.

The huge area was occupied also with an arsenal. Here there were workshops for weapon manufacturing, warehouses for its storage.

Apartment houses consisted of a courtyard, from which south side – a columned portico, after which followed main building. Here there was a central room (served for habitation and reception of visitors), a round it – bypass a corridor and a horseshoe and other premises. In houses, there were premises for a swimming bath. There was an away for cloakroom, for hot and cold water and a room for washing (washed douche). Plates or a mosaic from a pebble covers the floor. Temples with three parts, as well as a palace, find out traces of east composition. So, the temple with ledged niches on a layout and building materials goes back to Mesopotamia building and cult practice, though in it was found Greek sculptures and a part of a foot of huge Greek statue Zeus.

In architecture of Ai-Khanum the general lines and laws have come to light Hellenistic syncretism traced on all monuments of Afghanistan and Central Asia of Hellenistic period for the first time: on a layout and building materials they were basically eastern order designs were Greek – Asia Minor (mainly – Corinthians) with east modifications and in application of torus-shaped columns.

Interiors of temples, public buildings, and also funeral constructions of Ai-Khanum were decorated by a sculpture, occasionally inlaid floors. Thus, the sculpture in a stone and clay carries purely Greek lines although the use of polychromatic clay sculptures is uncharacteristic for continental Greece – is a tribute of local ancient eastern traditions, dictated by absence in the Central Asia of marble and high-quality limestone's. The sculpture from marble – always was imported (foot Zeus), from limestone -basically was produced on a place, it is possible to judge by the fine uncompleted statue of the young athlete topped with a wreath. All sculpture from clay – formed on a place in a kind of fragility of a material and impossibility of its transportation. It is remarkable, that the local sculpture usually was polychromatic whereas painting in Hellenistic period was

extremely seldom. This speaks of traditional love to remarkable carpets for which Bactria always was famous, most likely, decorated interiors of Hellenistic constructions. In the considerable quantity of sculptures from the limestone, modeled in purely Greek traditions Ai-Khanum have been opened: the stone relief with the image epheb – belong to traditional funeral sculptures, germa with a bearded head palais trites – one of the most ancient forms of Greek sculptural plastics, the mentioned stone – also absolutely Greek; bronze figurines (Hercules with club, the model of the curly woman left in a matrix), images of Olympic deities and also heroes of Trojans war, - i.e. all large and small sculpture carries pure Greek lines. East Hellenistic cults reflected on gilt silver disk with the image of procession of Cybele in a chariot with lions, crossing the mountain tops covered with colors. Before Cybele on vehicle Nike – the goddess of victory operating lions by a long whip – prod. In the sky, three images: Helios in the form of a bust of the young man with a nimbus from 13 beams, a symbol of the Moon in the form of a gold half-moon, on the right – the Star with 16 pointed beams. Before a team the altar with five steps on which a priest performs a religious rite, putting fire an incense on a small smoke plate, standing on altar top towers. Obvious symbiosis Greek (Cybele and Nike on a chariot with lions) and east (astral figures, a scene of sacrifices, a priest) are studied by researchers of Ai-Khanum, drawn a conclusion about obviousness of communications of Syria and the Central Asia during this period. Conclusions about a continuous cultural contact of Bactria Seleucid's period of East Mediterranean prove to be true various written sources (inscriptions, dipinti, papyrus), the most authentic and informative monuments of a cultural heritage of antiquity even more particularly.

Along with Greek – Bactrian's are found many Indian coins. There are also of finds of Indian subjects that testify the intensive communications with India.

Judging by architecture and partly inscriptions, the city has been occupied by basically Greeks. There were also the local residents some of them were officials, for example, Bactrian's Oxeboak and Oxubaz. Judging by the same inscriptions, the city was the Greek policy.

Seven volumes of expedition works (each object had published (separately) and set of articles.³⁸

Other city constructed during the epoch of Alexander the Great or soon after it, was Takhti – Sangin (the Stone throne – tajik). The site of ancient settlement is opened in the south of Tajikistan (Qubadian region, 40 km to the south of district Shahritus). It is located in an upper course on the right coast of Amu – Darya in a place of merge of Vakhsh with Panj. Takhti-Sangin from the west protected by

³⁸ *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum, I*, rapport preliminaire publie sous la direction de P.Bernard, vol. I-II. Paris, 1973 (MDAFA, vol. XXI). See also: *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum, II* (MDAFA, t. XXIX, 1983); III (MDAFA, t. XXVII, 1984); IV (MDAFA, t. XXVIII. 1985; V (MDAFA, t. XXIX. 1986; VI (MDAFA, t.XXX, 1987); VII (MDAFA, t. XXXI, 1987). In Russian: Bernard P. Problems of the Greek colonial history and urbanism Hellenistic cities of the Central Asia.– In book: «Ancient art Problems». M., 1986; same author. Gymnasion in Ai-Khanum. – In book: «City culture of Bactria – Tokharistan and Sogd. Antiquity, the early Middle Ages. Tashkent, 1987; Lekyo G.A. Ai-Khanum. Housing building – also there; Lerish P. Defense of the Hellenistic cities of Ai-Khanum in Afghanistan. – also there.

mountain ridge Takhti-Qubad, from east – Amu – Darya, from the north and the south - a double number of defensive walls: it was locked thanks to strategically thought over choice of a place. Takhti-Sangin together with being in 5 km to the south of Takhti-Qubad by means of stone walls, the harbors with a crossing a site of ancient settlement on the left Afghani coast formed a complex supervising water and overland highways.

The narrow valley laying between a ridge and the river Vakhsh, is crossed from the east on the west two walls, standing from each other on 2 km. Between these defensive walls houses and settlement manors are visible. In the center, there is a rectangular citadel (237x165 m). It was flanked with powerful, 2 m stonewalls and towers more than 8 m in height and is bordered by a ditch.

Excavation of Takhti-Sangin, spent in 1928 B.P. Denike and in 1956 A.M. Mandelshtam had prospecting character, though A.M. Mandelshtam having characterized stratigraphic monument, fairly dating it to beginning Hellenistic time. In 1950, M.M. Dyakonov, spending investigations in Qubadian, has visited a site of ancient settlement, naming its Stone city and having specified on enormous interest of a monument for the historian and the archaeologist. From 1976 on, 1989 Southern-Tajikistan archaeological expedition (the head – academician of Academy Sciences of Tajikistan B.A. Litvinsky, the chief of Takhtiqubad group I.R. Pichikyan) has finished excavation of the central hill of citadel of Takhti-Sangin. As a result of excavation was opened a large temple complex: a temple of east type (51x51 m) and facing to it on the big fenced area two monumental stone altars. Advantage of an investigated monument consisted in fine safety of the temple devoted as the inscription in Ancient Greek language testifies, to the god of the river Oxus on which coast the temple has been erected. It consisted from huge (12x12 m) the four-columned hall surrounded two lines with around about corridor. The hall input has been turned to the east, of the river. On sides of the hall, there were ledges-wings with premises for fire storage. Between them – two lines a four – columned portico. Before a temple, on a stone pedestal, there was a huge bronze statue. Before a temple, there was the big temple area, which has led round by a monumental wall.

Powerful (more than 3 m in width) walls have remained to 5,5m from initial height of archaeological filling of 6,6 – 7 m. Untouched, good safety otashgoch (fireplaces)-through calcinated square (5x5 m) premises – storehouses of eternal fire with the central multilayered altars of fire, have allowed to reveal a functional purpose each premises in internal structure of the Iranian temples of fire and to reconstruct process occurring in them socially-religious ceremonies, “path” of sacred fire.

In temple Oxus 12 altars of fire and four monumental altars from large stone blocks with labels of masons in the form of letters of the Ancient Greek alphabet are opened. Under the form, an architectural composition, proportions and profiled monumental altars of temple Oxus go back to altars of Asia Minor and its colonies. Character of processing of a stone, the device and the form pirons, in alphabetic order – specify letters in the work of the Greek masters – stone polishers made directly in the temple of Oxus, and also on a stone quarry which is in several hundreds of meters from a citadel.

Designs of columns of temple of Oxus ionic capital of Minor Asian type,

stone fusts, bases of east warrant with torus divided separately from a two – level pedestal, show synthesis of Achaemenids and the classical Greek architectural traditions, generated early Hellenism. The walls which have been laid out are from mudbrick of the large standard (50x50x14 cm), also can be an example of transitional period from Achaemenids to Hellenistic module. The analysis of ionic capital finding direct analogies in a temple of Athens in Priene and Artemis – Cybele in Sardis which building has been authorized by Alexander the Great, allow dating the end of construction of temple Oxus by the end of IV and the beginning of III century B.C. Thus, we see a typical Iranian temple of fire four-column hall with an altar, bypass corridors-storehouses, eight-columned aiwan with altars and sufas on perimeter, from the north and the south bordered with otashgoh – special premises for storage of eternal, imperial fire, and altars on the area for public religious ceremonies. However the Greek inscription testifying, that the temple has been devoted to local deity of the river Oxus, and also variety of images of the Greek deities including water and the found temple, shows, that a cult penetrated by difficult lines syncretism, was multipurpose. Also we can say about the comparisons with close on time and a layout fire temple in Persepolis.

Finds of gold plates in temple Oxus (Bactrian, the leader of a camel), including not engraved half-finished products combined three times or twice (like gold plates from the Amudarya treasure), could support the stated opinion that the Amudarya treasure was temple treasure. After a find of an Ancient Greek inscription in temple Oxus with dedication to the god of the river there was a thought, that it "duplicates" adequate dedication on a ring entering into the Amudarya treasure (№ 105) where dedication to Vakhsh is traced by the Aramaic alphabet.

Characterizing a complex of finds of temple Oxus from more than 5000 votive gifts, the researchers marked different periods of subjects stored in it with a huge chronological range from V century B.C. until III century A.D. Dedication made hundreds Greek – Bactrian, Parthians, Indian and Kushan coins, in a temple waste have found "dumps" of ganch and clay of Hellenistic sculptures, a considerable quantity of products from an ivory, about 3000 iron and more than 50 bronze tips of arrows, local daggers – akinaki, a sheath of the Greek cavalry and infantry swords, the fine arts have found from the various materials and small plastic.

Now part of works of art of temple Oxus already published, the monograph is prepared in detailed archaeological comment and the full catalogue of finds for the press. Archaeologists should open still the temple area – temenos and the constructions surrounding a temple on a citadel. It not excluded, that new finds would make clear the ancient Greek name of the city Oxus.

But already it is now clear, that the great value of finds on Takhti-Sangin consists that they open dynamics of development of the unknown art of Bactria of the whole millennium: from Achaemenids style, through the Greek-Bactrian traditions, the period of formation of Kushan's art schools. Thanks to it, on an example of opening the Takhti-Sangin basic compound components of the Greek-Bactrian art and architecture, which should distinctly considered differentially. In architecture, there were ancient eastern, primary traditions, with strong ancient eastern fundamental principle, but in Hellenism art – Greek – introduced, later added with the Greek-Indian synthesis of Gandhar together.

Central Asia in Kushan time³⁹

In the field of history and culture of Kushan study, it is necessary to note an improbable gain of archaeological and numismatic materials.

In Kushan time, Bactria continued to remain «the country of thousand cities», and archaeological data allow asserting, that the city life became incomparably more intensive, than in previous, Greek-Bactrian epoch. It is necessary to note four moments:

1. Quantitative growth of city settlements, occurrence new, -earlier not existed cities. The number of cities becomes maximum for all time of history of ancient Central Asia.

2. Growth of the city areas in old, for a long time existing cities, increase in density of city building (certainly, there were also exceptions).

3. Continuation of formation of three-private structure of a city: a citadel actually a city – suburb (including except inhabited and industrial complexes cult, especially Buddhist constructions, and also necropolises). Other cities adjoined to cities of the three-private scheme, in particular, without citadel.

4. Basic internal social and economic changes of the city organism. Strengthening of the role of a city in system of an economic life of the country first of all prompt growth of city craft, both quantitative, and qualitative. Cities – the centers of commodity manufacture, from here their leading value in system «a city – village – nomadic steppe».

Along with it the role of cities, as centers of an ideological life that promoted by concentration in cities of cult constructions increases also. Thus, cities have turned to the major knots of all infrastructure of Kushan states.⁴⁰ According to E.V. Rveladze, in Surkhan-Darya area is registered 110 monuments belonging to Kushan epoch, and from them 70-80 have arisen in Kushan period.

The prevailing form of new city of the Kushan epoch remains rectangular; less often the city had other outlines. The groups of very large cities allocated. These are capitals: Balkh, Termez (350 hectares), Shahrinav site of ancient settlement (350 hectares), Er-Kurgan (150 hectares), Afrasiab (over 200 hectares) and Merv etc. The population of these cities-giants reached fifty thousand persons. They were adjoined by average cities of the area of 15-30 hectares, such as Dilvarzin – tepe, Yavan (site of) ancient settlement, the Toprak-kala, etc.; their population kept within limits of

³⁹B.A. Litvinsky., *Pichikyan I.R.* Archaeological opening in the South of Tajikistan. – Bulletin AS USSR, 1980, № 7; B.A. Litvinsky., I.R. Pichikyan.-Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1981, № 2; same authors. Monuments of art from the sanctuary of Oxus (Northern Bactria). – "Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, t. XXVIII, fasc. 1-4, 1980; same authors. Scabbard of akinaka from Bactria. – VDI, 1981, № 3; same authors. Takhti-Sangin – Stone city (excavation 1976-1978). – In book: Culture and art of ancient Khorazm. M., 1981; same authors. Votive of Atrosok from temple Oxus in Northern Bactria. – VDI, 1985, № 4.

⁴⁰B.A. Litvinsky. Kushan city of Central Asia and India (parallel). - «The People of Asia and Africa», 1979, № 3; B.A. Litvinsky, A.V. Sedov. The Tepai-shah. Culture and communications of Kushans Bactria. M., 1983, p. 120-121.

five-ten thousand people.⁴¹ Part of the cities without citadel others had powerful citadels.

One of the most studied Kushan cities of the Northern Bactria is Dilvarzin – tepe. The site of ancient settlement has the rectangular form (650x500), in a South-East corner the round-polygonal citadel enters into a city rectangle (in a diameter approximately 180 m). The city has been strongly strengthened – a city wall with rectangular towers, and a ditch.

The layout system was enough free, there was not strict street network. The basic part of a city was occupied with the inhabited quarters consisting of average and large inhabited complexes. These were the houses of poor, average townspeople and aristocrats. Houses of the last on the area in three-four times exceeded houses of average townspeople. In one of aristocratic houses was available from above, two and a half tens premises. The central smart part included the big four-columned hall with an altar. The input in a smart part has been issued in a kind of cross column richly decorated aiwan. The house included the numerous premises serving for residing with full and not full rights of the big family, for its economic and household needs.

In such houses there was a rich - stock, various treasures were stored. The treasure of gold ingots is found in one of houses with the Indian inscriptions both the Indian and local gold ornaments. Temples, including Buddhist are found out. It is necessary to note civil construction – wine pressers.⁴² It is a little bit less, in sizes the site of ancient settlement Zar-tepe, which is square in the plan (approximately 400x400 m). A strong wall with semicircular towers and a deep ditch has surrounded it. In a northeast corner the square citadel is entered in a square of a site of ancient settlement also. Almost all-internal area was built. A central-axial highway in width of 10 dissected the construction.

About city center, along a highway, in late Kushan time the palace complex settled down. It consisted of many premises. Among them allocates the four-columned hall and larger twelve-column hall. To the south of a palace separated by a street was sacred place. In it was available premise with an altar for keeping fire.

On other part of the city highway was late-kushan region of a housing estate. It was wide (about 3-5 m) internal street on two parts departing from it under a right angle small streets on separate blocks, in structure which enter not less than 15 inhabited, industrial and economic premises. The structure of one of the blocks included a house sanctuary with cult on a central platform. Each "block", obviously, represented dwelling big families of the society and therefore there were some premises and the whole group of economic-auxiliary of the industrial premises. Some home ownerships on the opposite side were small courtyard with the economic centers.

At a late stage at a North-West city wall, having destroyed it, the Buddhist sanctuary has erected. Judging by large number of the finds connected with the

⁴¹E.V. Rtveladze. About a population of Kushan settlements of Northern Bactria. – In book: «History and archaeology of Central Asia». Ashkhabad, 1978.

⁴²G.A. Pugachenkova., E.V. Rtveladze, etc. Dilvarzin-tepe. The Kushan city in the south of Uzbekistan. Tashkent, 1978; G.A. Pugachenkova. Art treasure of Dilvarzin-tepe. L., 1978.

Buddhism, in a city there were also other Buddhist cult constructions.⁴³

Craft part in a southern part of Dilvarzin-tepe included the workshops of the handcraftsmen grouped round an extensive courtyard and consisted from-group interconnected premises-probably separate workshops and dwellings. On the hill basis on which they have been built, had ceramic. There was the building of economic-warehouse appointment including wine-reservoir.

City temples were monumental buildings of a different layout. In temples were altars, interiors have been ornate by painting and a sculpture. In a city, there was also a Buddhist sanctuary with remarkable sculptures.

Out of city walls there were a suburb, but building here destroyed. In the suburb, there was Buddhist sanctuary, including a mortar in contour of premises. Sculptural images of the Buddha and secular characters are found. Nearby from actually city was a funeral construction – naus, where throughout long time was made a burial place (the burial place of bones, body place).

Small cities and small towns were numerous. As an example could serve Tepai-shah (Shahritus district). In the center, there was a citadel 80x80 m., around the wall with towers on corners and in the middle of the parties. The center of an internal layout was big, probably, a rectangular courtyard, round it (along external walls) complexes of continuous building with inhabited and economic-auxiliary premises settled down. There were also smart premises, small house chapel. The citadel was in the center of not strengthened board the remains of which extended by a strip about 500 m at width to 200 m. In 1,5 km to the South-West from settlement there was Buddhist monastery Ushtur-mullo. In 350 m. on the west from the central part was necropolis-groups of naus were different in layout. This settlement was central in the Shah oasis.⁴⁴

Many important materials has been received at studying Kushan cities of the left bank (southern, being in Afghanistan) Bactria,⁴⁵ especially Dilberjin (excavation of the Soviet-Afghani expedition)⁴⁶ and Surkh-Kotal (excavation of the French archaeological mission in Afghanistan) for which we have now not preliminary, and the detailed definitive publication and research.⁴⁷ They allow characterizing much more detailed as a monument, and giving its detailed cult interpretation, which, nevertheless, in many respects remains not clear.

The Dilberjin temple allows tracking evolution of beliefs, but in late Kushan period, they became Sivaistic.

⁴³V.A. Zavyalov. Excavation of quarter later-kushan time for site of ancient settlement of Zar-tepe in 1975-1976. – SA, 1979, № 3; K.A. Abdullaev., V.A. Zavyalov. Buddhist motives in city culture later-kushan time (on Zar-tepe materials). – VDI, № 4.

⁴⁴B.A. Litvinsky., A.V. Sedov. The Tepai-shah. Culture and communications of Kushanian Bactria. M., 1983; T.I. Zeimal. A Buddhist mortar at the Camel hill (typology of mortars of right-bank of Tokharistan). – Art.: «The Past of Environments of Asia». Dushanbe, 1987.

⁴⁵The list and the detailed bibliography see: W. Bell et J. – C. Gardin. Catalogue des sites archeologiques d'Afghanistan, I – II. Paris, 1982.

⁴⁶I.T. Kruglikova. Dilberjin I. M., 1974, I.T. Kruglikova., G.A. Pugachenkova. Dilberjin, II. M., 1977; I.T. Kruglikova, Dilberjin M., 1986.

⁴⁷D. Schlumberger., M. Le Berre et G. Fussman. Surkh Kotal en Bactriane, vol.1, Paris, 1983 (MDAFA, t. XXV); G. Fussman. Surkh Kotal. Tempel der Kuschan-Zeit in Bactrien. Munchen, 1983 (Materialien zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichender Archäologie, Bd. 19).

Many new data received about Buddhist cult constructions and about the character of Central Asian-Kushan Buddhism. Considerable materials are received at excavation of cave – land Buddhist center of Kara-tepe⁴⁸ and monastery Fayaz-tepe in Termez,⁴⁹ a Buddhist complex in Airtam, etc. Very informative have material appeared from Kara-tepe and Fayaz-tepe the numerous Buddhist inscriptions more often executed in the Indian languages by writings kharoshthi and brahma more rare-bactrian and bilinguals.⁵⁰ Besides, in Airtam has found Bactrian monumental inscriptions.⁵¹

From Termez inscriptions follows, that on Kara-tepe settled down «imperial vikhara» where monks of sect makhasanghika lived. As is known, this sect is Khinayana tending to work out the concept of the Makhayana. According to Airtam inscriptions, the Bactrian term for the temple name – «bagolaggo» («the house of the God») was applied also to the Buddhist religious institutions.

Funeral monuments were dug out also. So, in the territory of Southern Tajikistan has been continued the burials of Tup-khona and the Beshkent valley, there begun the excavation in Dangara valley, and were opened types of funeral constructions which were new to Bactria-naus (Tepai-shah). Excavation of Kushan funeral monuments in the Surkhan-Darya area (Airtam, Dilvarzin-tepe, Yalangtush-tepe, etc.) is spent.⁵² Sensational the opening of the princely burials covered with gold in left bank of Bactria.⁵³

The analysis of these burials, funeral constructions, and funeral stock has allowed developing new representations about chronology of burial constructions, funeral constructions and funeral ritual as a whole. It is very essential, that the chronology of Beshkent burial grounds be in a new fashion interpreted. In his time, A.M. Mandelshtam «destroyed» their dating and their interpreted them as a movement trace «nomads on a way to India», having let out under this name of the corresponding book which has been added by the book about excavation of the Babashov's burial ground. Beshkent barrows A.M.

⁴⁸ The Buddhist cult center Kara-tepe in Old Termez. M., 1972; New finds on the Kara-tepe in Old Termez. M., 1975; Buddhist monuments of Kara-tepe in Old Termez. M., 1982 – all collections «Materials of joint archaeological expedition on the Kara-tepe» under the general edition of B.Ya. Stavisky.

⁴⁹ L.I. Albaum. Excavation of Buddhist complex Fayaz-tepe. – Coll.: «Ancient Bactria». L., 1974; same author. Research Fayaz-tepe in 1973 – Coll.: «Bactrian antiquities». L., 1976.

⁵⁰ M.I. Vorobeva-Desyatovskaya. Written monuments of kharoshthi and brahma from Soviet Middle Asia. – Coll.: «History and culture of the Central Asia». M., 1983; V. Vertogradova. Indian inscriptions and inscriptions in unknown lettering from Kara-Tepe in Old Termez. Moscow, 1983.

⁵¹ B.A. Turgunov., V.A. Livshits., E.V. Rtveladze. Discovery Bactrian monumental inscription in Airtam – ONU. 1981, № 3.

⁵² B.A. Litvinsky., A.V. Sedov. Tepai-shah, short.compos.; B.A. Litvinsky., A.V. Sedov. Cults and rituals of Kushan Bactria. A funeral ceremony. M., 1984; G.A. Pugachenkova., E.V. Rtveladze, etc. Dilvarzin-tepe, short.compos.; E.V. Rtveladze. A burial ground of Kushan time in Yalangtush-tepe.–SA, 1983, №2; B.A. Turgunov. To studying of Airtam. – In book: «from history of an ancient art of Uzbekistan». Tashkent, 1973.

⁵³ V. Sarianidi. Bactrian gold. Leningrad, 1985.

Mandelshtam dated last third of II century B.C. and later.⁵⁴ However, its argument has been subjected to critical consideration and new dating had been offered: I century B.C. and (the basic part) - I-II centuries A.D. Accordingly, there is no bases directly to connect occurrence of these burial grounds with Yueh-Chih movements.⁵⁵

Burials of Kushan time from Bactria are typologically very various, that testifies the variety of ethnoses, cults and rituals. In this variety, the burials gravitating are allocated to burials of North-East Central Asia, to burials of Parthian circle etc. Zoroastrian typically customs with burial in nau – uzdana earlier cleared from the soft of bones.⁵⁶

At the excavation of settlements and burial grounds revealed the extensive complex of data of material culture, art and architecture. Appreciably it is developed and investigated in publications and private researches, however till now there is no summary monograph where lethal research and correlation of all available materials with their consideration of internal and external links.⁵⁷ Such research is not spent also for architecture, but is available for art.⁵⁸ Very important researches have been spent in the various areas of the Kushan state, which are outside of the USSR, the results of these works, and also researches of foreign scholars⁵⁹ are necessary for considering very carefully for historians of Central Asia.

Especially it is necessary to tell about finds of coins and numismatic researches. Their finds in various parts of Bactria were numerous, and many of them have found out at archaeological excavations, in precisely fixed - stratigraphic conditions. Along with separate coins the whole treasures of Kushan coins, which are especially very important. E.A. Davidovich has published the first treasure of silver coins Gerai (Vakhsh district) with detailed research.⁶⁰ The whole materials finds from Southern Tajikistan has been published with detailed by Zeimal;⁶¹ E.V. Rtveldadze and Sh.R. Pidaev have published coins from Southern Uzbekistan.⁶²

⁵⁴ A.M. Mandelshtam. Nomads on a way to India. L., 1966 (MIA, № 136); same author. Monuments of nomads of Kushan time in Northern Bactria. L., 1975.

⁵⁵ B.A. Litvinsky., A.V. Sedov. Cults and rituals, p.120-134.

⁵⁶ B.A. Litvinsky., A.V. Sedov. Tepai-shah, short.compos.; p.107-116. About funeral ceremonies see also: F. Grenet. Les pratiques funeraires dans l'Asie Centrale sedentaire de la conquete grecque a l'Islamisation. Paris, 1984.

⁵⁷ Chapter «Northern Bactria» in the book «The Most ancient states of Caucasus and Central Asia». M., 1985 is a useful report, but such analysis does not contain.

⁵⁸ G.A. Pugachenkova. Art of Bactria of Kushan epoch. M., 1979; B. Stawiski. Mittelasien. Kunst der Kuschan. Leipzig, 1979.

⁵⁹ The Newest review: G. Fussman. Chronique des etudes Kouchanes (1978- 1987). – "Journal Asiatique", t. CCLXXV, № 3-4, 1987.

⁶⁰ E.A. Davidovich. The first treasure of tetradrachm Kushanian «Gerai». – VDI, 1976, № 4; E.A. Davidovich. The first hoard of tetradrechmas of the Kusana "Heraios". – "Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae", t. XXVIII, №1-4. Budapest, 1980. About it and other treasures of Kushan's coins see also: E.A. Davidovich. Treasures of ancient and medieval coins of Tajikistan. M., 1979.

⁶¹ E.V. Zeimal. Ancient coins of Tajikistan. Dushanbe, 1983.

⁶² E.V. Rtveldadze and Sh.R. Pidaev. The catalogue of ancient coins of Southern Uzbekistan.

The work of E.V. Zeimal⁶³ contain a huge numismatic material and the classification based on its prekushan and Kushan coins, developed by him evolution of monetary types and their chronological correlations. It was extremely important for Kushanian numismatics and history, except the works E.V. Zeimal and E.V. Rtveladze, works of foreign scientists and first of all R. Göbl.⁶⁴

These works, especially books of E.V. Zeimal and R. Göbl according the known French scientific G. Fussman's mark themselves as a "turning point" (or "solving stage") in studying the Kushan numismatics.⁶⁵

Despite so considerable progress in numismatic researches, the question about Kushan's chronology about which is in detail spoken in the book, still has not received the definitive decision. Considering various synchronism, I tend to initial date of Kanishka somewhere within 78 – 128 A.D. New epigraphically researches have increased the fund written sources.⁶⁶ Some have a new translated and studied Chinese narrative sources.⁶⁷ There was a generalizing work on history and culture of Kushan state in Russian, it belongs to B.Ya. Stavisky.⁶⁸

The gain of knowledge on Sogd was much less. Interesting materials have brought excavation in Southern Sogd, in the Er-Kurgan. The site of ancient settlement has been surrounded by two numbers of powerful defensive walls. The general area – of 150 hectares, the area of an internal pentagonal city – 40 hectares. In the middle of a North-East corner there was constructed in the I century A.D. a citadel with the fortification system.

On the foothill of the citadel, the palace of governors built on high platform. The central hall – a hall of receptions, has been located at two levels. To the east of the center of the city there was a temple existing in III-IV century. The building has been decorated by a sculpture and painting. Inhabited quarters, and also quarter ceramists are opened. Outside of an internal city is found out dakhma. The housing estate consisted of separate quarters, in each of which was some buildings closed on perimeter with one

Tashkent, 1981. See also: E.V. Rtveladze. Ancient coins of Central Asia.

⁶³ E.V. Zeimal. Coins of Great Kushan in collection of the State Hermitage.-«Works of state Hermitage», vol. IX, L., 1968; same author. Political history of ancient Transoxiana on numismatic data. - «Culture of the East. An antiquity and the early Middle Ages». L., 1978; E.V. Zeimal. The political history of Transoxiana. - «The Cambridge history of Iran», vol. 3 (I). Cambridge, 1983.

⁶⁴ R. Göbl. System und Chronologie der Munzpregung der Kusanreiches. Wien, 1984. See also: B.N. Mukherjee. Kushana silver coinage. Calcutta, 1982 (Indian museum monograph. №13); G. von Mitterwallner. Münzen der spaten Kusanes, des Hunnen Kirada/Kidara und der frühen Guptes, 1. München, 1983.

⁶⁵ G. Fussman. Une etape decisive dans l'étude des monnaies Kouchanes.-"Revue numismatique", 6-e ser., t. XXVIII. Paris, 1986, p.145.

⁶⁶ Above was said the Soviet researches; about foreign researches see: G.Fussman, Chroniques..., p. 355 - 357.

⁶⁷ A.F.P. Hulsewe., M.A.N. Loewe. China in Central Asia. The early stage 125 B.C. – A.D. 23. An annotated translation of chapters 61 and 96 of the History of the Former Han dynasty. Leiden, 1979.

⁶⁸ B.Ya. Stavisky. Kushan's Bactria: history and culture problems. M., 1977.

general input in a courtyard and the small area. The width of city highways exceeded 10 m.⁶⁹

About the fine arts of Sogd give representation also bone plates with the engraved images – they found in a barrow № 2 near the villages Orlat (Koshrabad region of Samarkand area). These are battle and hunting scenes, and also other images. G.A. Pugachenkova who has published them dated them I century B.C. and I century,⁷⁰ however they, possibly, belong to II-III centuries A.D.

In Khwarezm excavation of the Toprak-kala was provided and two monograph, containing results of excavation of a citadel with its palace and actually cities, remarkable works of art have been published. Special value of the publication of documents of Khwarezm has the writings, published by V.A. Livshits in one of these volumes.⁷¹

The big archaeological and numismatic material on Parthia there was also excavation in Nisa. However, results of this excavation still wait for the publication.

The early Middle Ages

The early Middle Ages – one of the major periods in the history of Tajikistan and Central Asia as a whole. Just this time there were basic changes of social and economic shape of a society. Then there were radical changes in ethnic structure of the population of Central Asia, the major political events, such as inclusion in Turkic Kaganate, and then the Arabian invasions, to the subsequent inclusion in Arabian Caliphate and Islam distribution. In the early Middle Ages high level of the urbanization has reached, the people of Central Asia have achieved outstanding cultural achievements. One of the main aspects of history of this epoch – city history in VI – and the middle VIII centuries given in the first part of the monograph «Medieval city of Central Asia». The monograph appeared in 1973, a year later after B.G. Ghafurov's book, where the extensive material of excavation in Panjakent, not published before researches of other cities of Central Asia, and also written sources is used. As a result A.M. Belenitsky and I.B. Bentovich, and the authors of this part of the book, was possible to recreate many important parties of history of cities and a city life of Central Asia. They have developed questions of fortification and building of cities and, especially in

⁶⁹S.K. Kabanov. Nakhshib on an antiquity and Middle Ages boundary (III-VII centuries). Tashkent, 1977, p. 23-28; R. Suleymanov, N. Nefedov, Excavation of a sanctuary of a temple of a site of ancient settlement the Er-Kurgan.– IMKU, № 15. Tashkent, 1979; N.Yu. Nefedov. Housing estate Er-Kurgan.– IMKU, № 18, Tashkent, 1983; M.Kh. Isamiddinov, R.Kh. Suleymanov. Er-Kurgan (stratigraphy and periodization). Tashkent, 1984; same author. Temple complex Er-Kurgan, preliminary results studying. – In book: «City culture of Bactria – Tokharistan and Sogd. Antiquity, the early Middle Ages. Tashkent, 1987.

⁷⁰G.A. Pugachenkova. New about art culture of antique Sogd. – In book: «Culture monuments. New opening. A year-book. 1983». L., 1985, pp. 524-531.

⁷¹Site of ancient settlement Toprak-kala (excavation 1965-1975). Editor: E.E. Nerazik, U.A. Rapoport. M., 1981; the Toprak-kala. A palace. Editor: U.A. Rapoport, E.E. Nerazik. M., 1984.

details, city crafts and trade. They have touched also the problems connected with culture and a social composition of the population.

It is possible to note a considerable gain of archaeological and numismatic data. For the history of Tajik people the materials connected with Tokharistan and Sogd are most important.

In Northern Tokharistan (the south of Central Asia) excavation was spent in the territory of Southern Tajikistan and Southern Uzbekistan (the Surkhan-Darya area).

So, have been proposed by V.S. Solovev (under the guidance of B.A. Litvinsky) excavation on site of ancient settlement of Kafir-Qala – early Middle Ages center of the Vakhsh valley. In the book is given the short characteristic of excavation for 1970. Excavation after that were spent almost annually. It has allowed to finish opening of the top circle of premises on a citadel, and also to dig out some sites in actually city – shahristan. It is established, that the city has gone through three periods in the history: Postkushan (end IV – first half V century); Tokharistan-Heptalite (the end V – the end of VI century); Tokharistan – Turkic that (the end VI – middle VIII century).

The analysis of the materials received at excavation has allowed in many respects to render separate lines of shape of one of the capitals of Tokharistan, a city layout, fortification, architecture, material culture. The architecture and fortification of Kafir-Qala, undoubtedly developed in the tideway of Central Asian early Middle Ages civil and defensive architecture. Building materials, planned decisions, designs of arches, domes – all finds is the direct parallels in monuments of this time in the big territory of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. At the same time Kafir-Qala architecture has the features caused by specificity of local conditions, and the presence of steady Bactria-Tokharistan traditions.

On the example of Kafir-Qala those qualitative changes which have occurred in building business of Central Asia in VI-VIII centuries in comparison with the previous antique period are visible. There are new types of the domes, the developed belts tromps, a rectangular brick, which was more practical square etc. It is established also, that sources of early Middle Ages architecture comes to antiquity. To such basic conclusions, results could come by studying material culture and art of Kafir-Qala.⁷²

Small (not capital) cities were studied also. As an example, it is possible to specify in site of ancient settlement Qalai-Kafernigan that is located in Lenin district, in 80 km on the South-West from Dushanbe, on the left coast of Kafernigan river near the village Esanboy. It has two-private and consists of

⁷²Litvinsky B.A., Solovev V.S. Middle Age culture of Tokharistan in the light of excavation in the Vakhsh valley. M., 1985; Litvinskij B.A., Solov'ev V.S. L'art du Toxaristan à l'époque du Haut Moyen Âge (monuments non bouddhiques). "Arts Asiatiques", t. XV. Paris, 1985; Litvinskij B.A. und Soloviev V.S. Kafurkala. Frühmittelalterliche Stadt im Vachs-Tal, Süd-Tadzjikistan. München, 1985 (Materialien zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie, Bd. 28). See also reports of V.S. Solovev in ART (1973), XIII issue. Dushanbe, 1977; ART (1974), XIV issue. Dushanbe, 1979; ART (1975), XV issue. Dushanbe, 1980; ART (1976), XV issue. Dushanbe, 1982; ART (1978), XVIII issue. Dushanbe, 1984; ART (1979), XIX issue. Dushanbe, (1986).

actually site of ancient settlement (shahristan) and the citadel separated by a ditch. The general sizes of shahristan 275x100 m, the area of a site of ancient settlement – about 3,5 hectares. A wall with 12 towers has surrounded the site of ancient settlement. The surface of shahristan excavation consisted of hillocks. The network of the main streets, by width 5-7 m accurately traced. B.A. Litvinsky made basic excavations in 1974-1980. It established that the settlement existed throughout three periods: Greek-Bactrian, Kushan and early Middle Ages. Fortification system was erected during Greek-Bactrian time and, being updated, continued to function up to the early Middle Ages. Thus, early Middle Ages the city found room in borders of the ancient.

On shahristan there are three circles of constructions: bottom-Greek-Bactrian middle, average-Kushan and the top (covering) – early Middle Ages. Basic excavation was spent in a southern part of shahristan and has opened constructions of the top of circle: quarter of ordinary building, dwelling of the representative of the city nobility, large construction (it is possible, palatial-bathing), including the central hall and round about corridor, at last a Buddhist temple, in a South-West corner of shahristan.

The large construction, which is mentioned above, is a whole monumental complex. Its kernel makes undertriangle hall (7,35x7,55 m). Indoors, along walls - two-level sufa which on the sides, opposite to an input, extends, forming "platform". In the premise center there was a pedestal - the basis under fire altar. Flat overlapping four ornamental supported columns in height not less than 3,75 m. There was available typesetting ornamented wooden ceiling. The top parts of walls have been decorated carved ornament by panels. There were also panels with graphic motives, for example, with pair huge peacocks. This hall from three sides has been surrounded by a corridor, and the hall has been "raised" and on a way to it, the floor of corridors raised. Carved wooden panels also have decorated corridors. Though the central hall reminds reception halls (mehmon-khana – the drawing room), however a number of its lines allows to think, that this complex originally had cult functions (or along with the inhabited carried out also cult functions).

In 1975-1977, excavation of object was spent, adjacent with previous - they are divided only by ancient street. The center of the opened construction – a Buddhist temple – was the square sanctuary to which you could enter from temple courtyard. The input had a four-columned portico. At a square premise were two inputs on one axis (one input – from a courtyard, from the east). From three sides square, the sanctuary has been captured by the P-shaped cranked corridor. From a piece of a corridor, opposite to a portico, one input conducted in internal square "sanctuary" (?), another – in premises of an external circle which, obviously, served for habitation of monks. From the south to temple premises were adjoined by group of premises economic-household purpose.

In the central sanctuary in one of walls there was a niche with a pedestal for a large figure of the sitting Buddha, sculptures were in corners of premises and on the central pedestal – all was at least nine large sculptures. Besides, the sculpture was in the roundabout corridor, which walls have decorated by painting. A sculpture extremely effective and made of polychromatic, images is given in difficult foreshortenings. On the remained site of painting–double-deck

inscription. Above it represented the sitting Buddha and on its sides – coming, below – a Buddhist procession with excellently represented figures of notable admirers of the Buddhism and Buddhist monks.

The painting now known through tokharistan monuments unites a number generality of iconographic and stylistic signs. It is very important, that not Buddhist painting of Balaliktepe and Buddhist painting of Qalai-Kafernigan in many respects are "twins". It shows, that two branches of Central Asian early middle-aged arts – Buddhist and not Buddhist (so-in initial approach, actually the picture was much more difficult) – developed not simply in parallel directions, but as two integrally connected, though not identical, parts of the general unity. Excavation Kafernigan-Qala for history of the Central Asian architecture is very important also. The analysis of one of premises of a Buddhist temple has allowed establishing genesis of such important type of the Central Asian architecture as the Muslim mausoleum etc.⁷³

A lot of the new received at excavation in Southern Tajikistan of others earlymiddle-aged monuments: lock-fortress Urtaboz II (Kolkhozabad district) with fine architecture⁷⁴; sites of ancient settlement of Qalai-Shodmon (Orjonkidzeabad district) with wall painting,⁷⁵ etc.

After 3 years of the B.G. Ghafurov's book publication, there had been finished excavation of Buddhist monastery of Ajinatepe (B.A. Litvinsky, T.I. Zeimal). Excavation proceeded 16 years (1960-1975). It has appeared, that in both sides of the monument are fifty-two premises, eight of which are sanctuaries. First half (we it named monastic as here there were premises of monks) had the two-storeyed premises, the second (temple) – one-storeyed. The main mortar occupied all courtyard of temple with a half, in its corners there were tiny

⁷³ About Qalai-Kafernigan and its excavation – see: Litvinsky B.A. Central Asian centric mausoleum. Genesis problems. – In book: Ethnography and history of Central Asia. M., 1979; same author. Wall painting of Qalai-Kafernigan. – In book: Caucasus and Central Asia in an antiquity and the Middle Ages (history and culture). M., 1981; Litvinsky B.A. Qalai-Kafernigan. Problems in the religion and art of early medieval Tokharistan.- East and West, N. S., vol. 31, № 1-4; Litvinsky B.A. Buddhist temple of Qalai-Kafernigan (Southern Tajikistan) and problems of a cultural history of the Central Asia.– In book: History and culture of the Central Asia. M., 1983.

Representations about dating of painting Balaliktepe have sharply changed. L.I. Albaum's dug out this monument dated painting of V century. Later other definitions have been offered: VI the beginning of VII century or end VI-VII centuries (Antonini Ch.S. Le pitturi murali di Balaluk Tepe.-"Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli", vol.32 (N.S., 22), 1972, p.71-77; Belenitsky A.M., Marshak B.I. Experience of the comparative characteristic of monuments of the Central Asian painting. – In book: Restoration, research and storage of museum art values. The abstract collection. M., 1976, p.6; same authors. Questions of chronology of painting earlymiddle-aged Sogd.–In book: Successes of the Central Asian archaeology, 4 issue. L., 1979, p. 35).

⁷⁴ Zeimal T.I., V.S. Solovev. The work of Urtaboz group. – ART (1977), XVII issue. Dushanbe, 1983; Zeimal T.I. Excavation of a fortress low Urtaboz in 1975, - ART (1978), XVIII issue. Dushanbe, 1984.

⁷⁵ Litvinsky B.A., Solovev V.S. Excavation on Qalai-Shodmon in 1979 – ART (1979). Dushanbe, 1986.

mortars, tiny clay models of mortars with the clay tablets inserted into them with Buddhist motives. Many masterpieces of Buddhist art have been found. It turned out, that Ajinatepe possesses strictly thought over architectural compositions.⁷⁶

Research of early middle-aged cities has led to a number of important theoretical conclusions. It concerns a question about ostensibly taking place in Central Asia, including in Tokharistan, city blight in the early Middle Ages. Supporters of a city blight refer that one cities of Kushan time in the early Middle Ages have become empty, laid in ruins, in others part of their area has been rendered habitable only. The estimation of all set of the facts allows asserting, that in early Middle Ages according to new conditions of a social and economic life there was reorganization, maybe, even radical, "grids" of city settlements, there were many new settlements, including average and large. Internal structure of the city settlement, how much we represent to ourselves, according to some information, has changed.

At the same time, despite the most serious transformations, in all areas of a city life, material culture and art communications with a previous epoch are traced.

This is really so. It is possible to calculate according to which from 107 early Middle Ages monuments of Surkhan-Darya region of Northern Tokharistan 44 monuments belong to Kushan time, grew roots in early Middle Age, and 63 have arisen directly in the V – first half of VIII centuries.⁷⁷

Serious changes in the infrastructure characteristic, and also material and spiritual culture belong to the second half of IV-V centuries. Genesis of early Middle Age cultures of Tokharistan, as well as Central Asia as a whole, is connected with ancient culture of corresponding areas, however are not limited to this substratum. The considerable ethnic files, which have come from other regions, certainly, have brought the contribution to development of bases of culture to Central Asia, including Tokharistan. The cultural synthesis meaning interaction and merge of various elements, proceeded under the influence of the cultural influences going from the east, the south and the west. This difficult process concluded also slow, but essential, evolutionary changes.

All it also explains addition on base early feudal relations of early Middle Ages cultures and models of early Middle Ages cities. As to the level of earlymiddle-aged city culture, as have shown excavation in various parts of Central Asia including in Tokharistan, is an extraordinary high.

Though the role of a city and city craft was very great, nevertheless in a life of earlymiddle-aged Tokharistan was not smaller, and, the agricultural population and an agricultural production had possibly, prevailing value. By estimates of E.V. Rveladze, in Surkhan-Darya region of Tokharistan on one city

⁷⁶ Litvinsky B.A., Zeimal T.I., Medvedskaya I.N. Report about works of South Tajikistan archaeological expedition of 1973 – ART (1973), XIII issue. Dushanbe, 1977; Zeimal T.I. Excavation of Ajinatepe in 1975 – ART (1975). Dushanbe, 1980; Litvinsky B.A., Zeimal T.I. Some aspects of hierarchy and semantics stupa in Central Asia and India. – In book: Ancient India. Historical and cultural communications. M., 1982.

⁷⁷ Annaev A. Early Middle Age settlement of Northern Tokharistan. The author's abstract of dissertation. L., 1984, p. 16.

settlement was necessary during an epoch of the early Middle Ages seven-eight agricultural premises.⁷⁸ This estimation is possible to extrapolate on all Northern Tokharistan,⁷⁹ with the account, of course, that cities were usually much larger than rural settlements.

Plentiful finds of coins (only in Chaganian is found about 1000 copies) have allowed investigating monetary circulation of Northern Tokharistan in V-VIII centuries.

Up to the end of V and beginning of VI century in circulation there were imitations coins of Kushan kings. «In the end of V and beginning of VII century their place in reference sphere the copper coins which were issued by rather small possession and having, judging by areas of were narrow local reference. One group of such coins is with confidence localized in Termez, another – in a southern part of a valley of river Kafernigan (Qubadian)... New in monetary circulation of the considered area: occurrence since second half of V century as a part of monetary weight of silver coins: imported Sasanids (it is possible, local), Hepthalites and local copies. In the second quarter of VII and the middle of VIII centuries «...in Northern Tokharistan three quantitatively considerable groups of copper cast coins with an aperture were issued and addressed: Tokharistan with italic Hepthalite legend (so called «munchak type»), Tokharistan with Sogdian legend and Tokharistan epigraphs. The quantity reaches some hundreds (Ajinatepe, Kolkhozabad, Kafir-Qala, Kafernigan-Qala and other points in Southern Tajikistan). In valley of Surkhan-Darya the absence of such coins is necessary to explain the reasons of political property (for example, isolation at this time in separate possession Chaganian the isolation of which economic also has followed). In parallel with copper coins in Northern Tokharistan silver imitations of Sasanids coins with curved were issued and used...»⁸⁰

Monetary circulation of Chaganian is in details investigated. Here in circulation were silver of Sasanids drachmas Varakhshan, Peroz, Valash, Khusrav I, Hormuzd IV, Khusrav II; local imitations drachmas Peroz and Khusrav I with Bactrian and Sogdian issued. There were local imitation coins Peroz and Khusrav, and also coins of a local dynasty Chagankhudat, minted on the basis of drachmas of Khusrav I. There were also copper coins of different types, including imported Sogdians.

On coins of Khusrav I and imitations legends of Bactria-Heptalite writing are available in it. They contain a name of the governor and his title, for example: Sashpokhdev, Zarinokhdev, etc. Chagankhudat coins were minted in second half VII – last quarter of VIII century. On late releases Bactria – Heptalites inscription containing a name and a title of the governor – Khnar-khidev (or

⁷⁸ Arshavskaya Z.A., Rtveladze E.V., Khakimov Z.A. Medieval monuments of Surkhan-Darya. Tashkent, 1982, p. 34.

⁷⁹ Litvinsky B.A., Solovev V.S. Medieval culture of Tokharistan, short.compos.; p. 125.

⁸⁰ Davidovich E.A., Zeimal E.V. The Monetary economy of Central Asia in a transition period from an antiquity to Middle Ages (to feudalism typology). In book: Near and Middle East. Commodity-money relations at feudalism. M., 1980, p. 72-74. See also: Litvinsky B.A., Solovev V.S. Medieval culture of Tokharistan..., short.compos.; p.136 – 137 (on V.A. Livshits's materials).

Enar-khidev). Monetary circulation in Guftan (Sherabad-Darya valley) and Termez⁸¹ had its own features.

For Sogd (and Central Asia as a whole) excavation in Panjakent has the major value. Begun in 1947, it consistently headed by A.Iu. Yakubovsky, M.M. Dyakonov and especially long time A.M. Belenitsky whose merits are exclusively great. Many years at the head of this excavation was B.I. Marshak who has carried out essentially new approaches to excavation, considerably having improved a technique, and to interpretation of the data received at excavation.

Results of excavation of Panjakent to the beginning of 70-s have been generalized and analyzed in already mentioned capital work of A.M. Belenitsky and I.B. Bentovich «The City in VI – and the middle VIII century».⁸²

In Panjakent for last decades provided new opening, which not only added, but also changed the opinion on history and culture of early Middle Ages of Sogd.⁸³ Among of the publications, great value had an article of A.M. Belenitsky, B.I. Marshak and V.I. Raspopova and devoted to the thirtieth anniversary of the beginning of excavation.⁸⁴ Authors managed to show, how improvement of a technique of excavation has allowed studying half of territory of ancient Panjakent to allocate the synchronous cuts, the comparison of which, in turn, has given the chance to track history of a city from generation to generation throughout almost four centuries. In this and other works of the same authors the social structure of Sogdian societies is in a new fashion shown and the economy characteristic is given.⁸⁵

In Panjakent, besides citadel with the palace of ruler⁸⁶ and temples, dug out about one and a half hundreds multiroom dwellings, craft workshops, shops etc. Such great volume of the studied dwellings has allowed researchers of Panjakent to plan their hierarchy. Two of Panjakent dwellings are allocated with the sizes, coming nearer in this respect and on structure of premises to a palace. The size of

⁸¹ Rtveladze E.V. Monetary circulation in North-West of Tokharistan in the early Middle Ages. – In book: City culture of Bactria – Tokharistan and Sogd. Antiquity, early Middle Ages. Tashkent, 1987.

⁸² Belenitsky A.M., Bentovich I.B., Bolshakov O.G. Medieval city of Central Asia. L., 1973.

⁸³ Belenitsky A.M., Bentovich I.B., Bolshakov O.G. Medieval city of Central Asia. L., 1973; Belenitsky A.M. Monumental art Panjakent. Painting. Sculpture. M., 1973; Raspopova V.I. Metal of Medieval Sogd. L., 1980, etc.

⁸⁴ Belenitsky A.M., Marshak B.I., Raspopova V.I. The Sogdian city in the beginning of the Middle Ages (results and methods of research ancient Panjakent). – SA, 1981, № 2, p. 94-110. See also: Belenitsky A.M., Marshak B.I. Question of chronology of painting of Medieval Sogd. – Successes of the Central Asian archaeology. L., 1979. vol. 4.

⁸⁵ Belenitsky A.M., Marshak B.I., Raspopova V.I. Social structure of the population of ancient Panjakent. – Commodity-money relations on Near and Middle East during Middle Ages epoch. M., 1979, p.19-26; same authors. To the characteristic of commodity-money relations in early Medieval Sogd.-Near and Middle East. Commodity-money relations at feudalism. M., 1980, p.15-26; Raspopova V.I. To a question on specificity of a city and rural settlements of early Medieval Sogd. – Successes of the Central Asian archaeology. L., 1979, vol. 4, p.22-26; Livshits V.A. Governors of Panj. (Sogdians and Turkic). People of Asia and Africa, 1979, № 4.

⁸⁶ Excavation on a citadel is given in the special monograph: Isakov A.I. Citadel of Ancient Panjakent. Dushanbe, 1977.

these home ownerships, accordingly, 1200 and 2000 m. They included comparatively small premises of the first and second floor; a smart part with a hall, a corridor before it, a premise with an altar and other structures; the benches turned on street and the workshops, which have not connected by passes with internal premises. In each of these dwellings, there is still a big hall or the big hall with a courtyard, on the area commensurable with a throne hall of a palace. In these parts of constructions, there could be populous meetings. More low a rank two home ownerships the area of 575 – 800 square meters which are similar previous on structure of premises, but in them are not present additional halls. The same dwellings on character of the smaller area – 160 – 500 square meters and at last, – ordinary home ownerships the area of 60 – 90 square meters. They were two-storeyed, there were also smart premises, which, however, were used as inhabited. With one exception, ordinary dwellings, unlike richer, had no picturesque furniture. Workshops and benches at such dwellings were not. More or less rich houses with painting made, approximately, third of all houses.⁸⁷

«The basic partitioning of the population on a way of life did not coincide with partitioning on feudal lords and trading-craft layers. The accurate border passed between the nobility and, large merchant class, on the one hand, and handicraftsmen together with the small dealers who were part of "workers" (kryk'r), - from the other.

The building structure of Panjakent reflects sites of ancient settlement developed public life. Contrast between density of building with its high floors, absence of courtyard in the huge majority of home ownerships, narrowness of benches and workshops, narrowness of the streets, which part even blocked the arches to erect over them the second and third floors, and open space of smart halls could at once attracts attention. Prosperous Panjakent people, allocating part of the site under benches and workshops for income reception, a much bigger part of undoubtedly expensive city land took away under smart premises with their rich furniture painting and a sculpture. Obviously, the public person of owners of houses depended on splendor of receptions occurring in halls and ceremonies. However smart halls of private citizens contained probable more than 20-30 visitors simultaneously».

The same researchers pay attention that in a palace, and in two largest aristocratic houses of hall contained several times more people, here there could be populous meetings. Biruni informed that during his time, i.e. the end of X and beginning of XI century in each village of Sogdians there was «gathering in rais, eats and drink. That occurred by turns». They come out with the assumption, that in premuslims time such custom could be in cities, in particular, in Panjakent.

In Mug documents the city community – n'β. The presence of two temples according to a hypothesis of these scientists (A.M. Belenitsky, B.I. Marshak, V.I. Raspopova) is possible to connect with two parts of the city community (or two city communities), headed by two rais.⁸⁸

It turned out, that solvent demand for production of city craft was provided

⁸⁷ Belenitsky A.M., Marshak B.I., Raspopova V.I. Social structure..., short.compos.; p. 19-21.

⁸⁸ Belenitsky A.M. Marshak B.I., Raspopova V.I. Social structure..., short.compos.; p. 21-23.

with presence in cities of a powerful layer of addressees of the feudal rent and the merchant class connected with caravan trade whereas the peasantry has been poorly mentioned by development of commodity-money relations. The city nobility not only economically, but also politically headed the civil community, mentioned in documents from mountain of Mug city n'β. If early domination of the nobility considered incompatible with development of small-scale craft and trade now becomes obvious that is the interconnected phenomena. Many questions of monetary circulation have specified by means of exact stratigraphic data of the chronology of monetary releases of VII-VIII centuries.⁸⁹

V.I. Raspopova specially investigated century's metalworking craft - Panjakent and Sogd as a whole in the monograph sated with enough facts.⁹⁰ Leaning on her data, we will try to present, that "we for a-minute were transferred to Panjakent market of VII century. Through an open door measured reckock of hammers is distributed, smells ashes. It is a tiny smithy. Its area of only 10 or 11 sq.m. Inside, in the twilight, shined fire, works the smith and three improvised or pupils. Two from them continuously swing two furs, and a double nozzle through which air is forced, provides uniformity of blasting, heat. There is one more forge and in it coals decay. Sometimes the product needs to be supported in hot condition and for this purpose is served the open center in a room floor. Near to it a floor a vessel with water necessary for strengthening. In a lateral wall – aniche forttools: hammers, nippers, pincers, chisels etc. Near to a forge and a vessel with water in an earthen floor, the wooden bar, on it—an iron anvilis drowned. The heap of iron preparations in the form of cores and spheres of the different size fallen down in one corner; in other corner goat horns are combined – they used them as carburization or cementations of a surface of finished articles. Their assortment was very extensive: from needles and knives to remarkable steel chain armours and smart swords, which were highly appreciated in the East.

On the device, workshops of jewelers were very close to it. However forges in them were less and there were many melting forms, matrixes, lyaches etc. Jewelers perfectly knew properties of various precious and semiprecious stones and successfully used them. Bronze, gold and silver tobacco pots, dishes, bowls, cups, earrings, rings and necklaces from gold and jewels – all found at excavation or known from images in painting and toreutics. In this connection, it is necessary to say especially about Sogdian toreutics. B.I. Marshak as a result serious researches managed to reveal Sogdian School of toreutics and to track evolution and interrelations of Sogdian silver, and also in details study other groups and the centers of early Middle Ages of Central Asian toreutics.⁹¹

Some monographic works on separate aspects of Sogdian histories and cultures are based mainly on Panjakent materials. Such are A. Anarbaeva's researches on an

⁸⁹ Smirnova O.I. The summary catalogue of Sogdian coins. Bronze. M., 1981; Raspopova V.I. Casting of coins in workshops of Panjakent of boundary VII-VIII centuries – KSIA, 147 issue. M., 1976, p.39-48; Dovutov D. Commodity money relations of Medieval Panjakent of (V-VIII centuries): Resume of dissertation: 07.00.09. L., 1982.

⁹⁰ Raspopova V.I. Metal products..., short. compos.;

⁹¹ Marshak B.I. Sogdian silver. Sketches on east toreutics. M., 1971; Marschak B. Silberschatze des Orients. Metallkunst des 3 – 13. Jahrhunderts und ihre Kontinuität. Leipzig, 1986.

accomplishment of cities, D. Abdullaeva on the problems of Sogdian inheritances in pre-Islamic culture of Central Asia, G.L. Semenova on early Middle Age fortifications of Sogd.⁹² Detail information on Panjakent citadel construction and two city temples.⁹³ Instead of former some static picture became it became obvious now the evolution of a city in dynamics: growth of its territory, development of strengthening's, perfection and complication of architecture of dwellings. Evolution of temples has shown stability of the basic cult-honoring of gods. In second half of V – and the beginning of VI centuries in one of temples there was a special premise for eternal fire.⁹⁴ Possibly, researchers of Panjakent are right, carrying a cult going in temples, as a local version of Zoroastrianism. Moreover, all of them more tend to that, all set of iconographic materials from Panjakent testifies about it⁹⁵ – this interpretation is the most probable.

Still the great value was given to studying of works of art. A.M. Belenitsky had published large publications of lists, and unlike the first editions, which were copies; they have originally documentary character, including reproduction of color photos from originals. Publications accompanied by detailed research. B.I. Marshak makes much in this plan.⁹⁶ For last fifteen years, the portrayals executed from originals were rather improved. Even at bad safety of lists, they allow to reveal plots of images. Thanks to it the case of iconographic materials that has allowed in art studying to new level of generalization.⁹⁷ B.I. Marshak's article «Art of Sogd» is most indicative in this respect, in which the lists of front doors of halls it considered as a complete system.⁹⁸ Three ranks of paintings differ as formally (on their more or less place of honor on walls and on the sizes of figures), and also a substantial. The higher rank – a cult scene which shows gods – patrons of a family and owners of the house praying before them, the second rank – illustrations to the epos or scenes of a noble way of life (feasts, hunting), the third rank – illustrations to parables, fairy tales, fables, entertaining sketches. All

⁹²Abdulloev D. Panjakent of the period of the Arabian invasion of Central Asia and a question of Sogdian cultural heritage: Author's abstract of dissert. of cand. of hist. sciences: 07.00.06. L., 1980; Anarbaev A., Construction of a medieval city of Central Asia (V – beginning of XIII century). Tashkent, 1981; Semenov G.L. City walls of Medieval Sogd as a historical source. Author's abstract of dissert. of cand. of hist. sciences: 07.00.06. L., 1985.

⁹³Isakov A.I. Citadel of ancient Panjakent, Dushanbe, 1977, Shkoda V.G. Panjakent temples and a problem of religion of Sogd (V – VIII centuries). Author's abstract of diss. of cand. of hist. sciences. L., 1986.

⁹⁴Skoda V.G. Le culte du feu dans les sanctuaires de Pendzikent. – Cultes et monuments religieux dans l'Asie préislamique. Paris, 1987, p.63-72.

⁹⁵Marshak B.I. Art of Sogd. – In book: The Central Asia. New monuments of writing and art. M., 1987, p. 241.

⁹⁶Belenitsky A.M. Monumental art...; Belenizki A.M. Mittelasien Kunst der Sogden. Leipzig, 1980.

⁹⁷Belenitsky A.M., Marshak B.I. Characters of outlook Sogdians of VII-VIII centuries in art of Panjakent. – History and culture of the people of Central Asia (an antiquity and the Middle Ages). M., 1976, p.75, 89, 179-186; Belenitsky A.M. and Marshak B.I. The Paintings of Sogdiana. – In: Azarpay G. Sogdian Painting. Berkeley. Los Angeles. London, 1981, p.11-77.

⁹⁸Marshak B.I. Art of Sogd. – The Central Asia. New monuments of writings and arts. The collection of articles. M., 1987, p. 233-248.

programs as a whole shows hierarchy of values in Sogdian outlooks. Roles, which given to piety, valor, to practical wisdom and entertainments, show a high self-estimation of representatives of the numerous city nobility. Those were not citizens of east despots, and citizens of cities-states. Each smart hall of the house on complexity of the architectural organization resembled a palace or temple interior. Thus, Sogdian architects were highly professional; they developed the themes, which were of great importance in history of world architecture (for example, «type of the written cross»).⁹⁹ In studying Panjakent for the last 15 years, the quantity has passed into the quality: all researches of private problems have led to creation of integral representation about evolution, social structure, culture art of Sogdian cities of the early Middle Ages. The American researcher G. Azarpay has written the serious report on Sogdian art also.¹⁰⁰

Along with new generalizations, some works devoted to private themes represent the big interest: the characterizing separate sides of the city life. Therefore, the history of one quarter throughout the whole century (since second half of VII century up to 70 of VIII century) has shown landed property movement in a city: growth of the house of the rich man who has attached to the dwelling the modest house of ordinary townspeople.¹⁰¹ Urbanization has led to complication of a way of life, to staging rituals. B.I. Marshak has tracked in whole one of Panjakent temples the remnant of the wooden elevating device, forcing to recollect Saadi verses about an idol lifting hands when the hidden priest pulled behind the rope.¹⁰² About a breadth of vision of Sogdians the plots of lists cast by the translation literature to which one could now, probably, refer the illustrations of the great Indian epos "Mahabharata".¹⁰³ Local agricultural cult of the Grandfather – farmer having something in common with ethnographic rituals of Tajiks has got in painting Panjakent the complicated aristocratic character.¹⁰⁴

The excavation continued in Afrasiab (ancient Samarkand) which have brought us new early middle-aged objects. In the text of B.G. Ghafurov's book is given the short description of monuments of Afrasiab painting, made on the basis of preliminary publications. In the mid-seventies appeared the detailed publication of these monuments belonging to L.I. Albaum,¹⁰⁵ giving full representation about this remarkable cycle of the Central Asian art that has

⁹⁹ Marshak B.I. Eastern analogy of buildings of type of the entered cross. Panjakent and Bamiyan. VI-VIII centuries – In book: Problems der Architektur des Orients. Halle (Saale), 1983.

¹⁰⁰ Azarpay G. Sogdian Painting. Berkeley. Los Angeles, London, 1981.

¹⁰¹ Rakhmatullaev I. Dwelling quarter of ancient site of ancient settlement of Panjakent. – SA, 1982, № 1, p. 143-154.

¹⁰² Marshak B.I. Lifting machine in temple of ancient Panjakent. – The Past of Central Asia (archaeology, numismatics and epigraphic, ethnography). Dushanbe, 1987, p. 95-103.

¹⁰³ Semenov G.L. A plot from "Mahabharata" in painting Panjakent. – The East Cultural heritage. Problems, searches, judgments. L., 1985.

¹⁰⁴ Marshak B.I., Raspopova V.I. The Sogdian image of the Grandfather – farmer. – Coll.: Questions of ancient history of Southern Siberia. Abakan, 1984; Marsak B. et Raspopova V. Une image sogdienne du Dieu-Patriarche de l'agriculture. – Studia Iranica, t.16, f.2, 1987, p.193-199.

¹⁰⁵ Albaum L.I. Afrasiab paintings. Tashkent, 1975.

considerably added our representations about Sogdian iconography and ideologies. Sending the interested to this publication, we will notice only, that art level of Afrasiab painting corresponded to the capital status of Samarkand, and the degree of informativeness, especially considering inscriptions, is very high.

For studying art and religious representations of Sogdians is very important again to find out ossuaries with graphic plots in Samarkand and Southern Sogd. L.V. Pavchinskaya, G.A. Pugachenkova, etc. published them. Besides had been published in-depth studies of these ossuaries.¹⁰⁶

Linguists made the important contribution to religion study of Sogdians also. The West German scientist H. Humbach has spent in-depth study of data of written sources about some deities of Sogdian pantheon,¹⁰⁷ and taken from sources of data and iconographical data supply each other.

The extensive cycle of works of art has opened at excavation headed by N.N. Negmatov in Shahristan on Qalai Qahqaha I. This cycle belongs to the VIII – the first half of IX centuries also is the latest number of early middle-aged monuments. The short characteristic of Shahristan's iconographic materials was used in B.G. Ghafurov's book. In 70-th art restorer, V.M. Sokolovsky managed to recreate from splinters picturesque compositions of the Small hall. In the (only partially published) dissertation he has given the characteristic and research of painting of early medieval Shahristan.¹⁰⁸ Together with N.N. Negmatov¹⁰⁹ these articles give the general representation about character of painting in Shahristan, its separate plots have been investigated in more details. In addition, articles about carved wood had published.¹¹⁰ However, serious monographic research of excavation and art of Qalai Qahqaha does not exist and it sharply contrasts with position in area of studying of art of Panjakent.

In Sogd the considerable quantity of coins – only in Panjakent are over 2000 copies was revealed. The general characteristic of monetary circulation of Sogd contains in E.A. Davidovich's and E.V. Zeimal works. In Bukhara Sogd

¹⁰⁶ Pugacenkova G.A. Les ostotheques de Miankal-Mesopotamia, vol. 20. Firenze, 1985; Grenet F. L'art zoroastrien en Sogdiane. Etudes d'iconographie funéraire. – Mesopotamia, vol. 21. Firenze, 1986.

¹⁰⁷ Humbach H. Vayu, Šiva und der Spiritus Vivens in ostiranischen Syn-kretismis. – Acta Iranica, II sar., vol. 4. Leiden, Taharan – Liege, 1975.

¹⁰⁸ Sokolovsky V.M. About painting of the "Small" hall of a palace complex of site of ancient settlement Qalai Qahqaha I (Shahristan, Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic). – Information of State Hermitage, XXXIX issue. L., 1974; same author. Monumental painting of medieval Shahristan. Author's abstract of cand. diss. M., 1983.

¹⁰⁹ Negmatov N.N. About palace painting afshins of Ustrushana (the preliminary report). – SA, 1973, № 3.

¹¹⁰ Negmatov N.N., Sokolovsky V.M. Two fragment of a wall list with the image of the multiarmed goddess from Shahristan. – Information of State Hermitage, XXXVIII issue. L., 1973; Voronina V.L., Negmatov N.N. Discovery of Ustrushana. – In book: A science and humanity. 1974. M., 1975; Negmatov N.N., Sokolovsky V.M. «The Capitol's she-wolf» in Tajikistan and legends of Eurasia. – In book: Culture Monuments. New discovery. 1974. M., 1975; Voronina V.L., Negmatov N.N. Relief heads from Afshin palace of Ustrushana. – SA, 1976, №1; Negmatov N.N. A carved panel of a palace of Ustrushana's afshin. – Culture monuments. New discovery. 1976. M., 1977.

circulated copper coins issued here. Together with that, from the end of V or from VI century silver coins issued minted on the sample of drachmas of Varakhshan V. Later they began to supplied with Sogdian legend. In Samarkand Sogd until VI century coins with the image bower were issued. Later the VII-VIII centuries were marked by considerable changes in minting reference of coins. O.I. Smirnova who has published the capital summary catalogue of Sogdian bronze coins, named this period of monetary circulation «later sogdian». It was marked because by 20-30-th years of VII century there appeared new type of Sogdian local coins. It has made on the sample of the Chinese coins of tan's period. In the beginning in Sogd simply copied the tan's coins, but then appears short, and vast Sogdian inscription with a title and a name of the king and his signs. Along with copper, in Bukhara and Samarkand Sogd on the base of bukharkhudat had been issued coins «Gitrifi» and «Muhammad», addressing accordingly to Bukhara and Samarkand in the first centuries after the Arabian invasions.¹¹¹

The analysis of Sogdian monetary legends, mug's Sogdian documents and other sources it has allowed V.A. Livshits to establish names of governors of ancient Panjakent. (In Sogdian writings, it called Panchem). The first governor, whose name is testified on coins, was Gamakiyan (or Khumakiyan). It obviously, ruled in the end of VII century, maybe, in 70-80-th years of that century, anyway – up to 690 or 694 years. Then comes the governor with a monetary legend «governor Pancha sovereign Bilge». His full name, according the Mug's documents – Chekinchur Bilge, the son Bychuta. Judging by his name, he was a Turkic origin. He ruled approximately in 694-708-9 (or 690-704). He was replaced on according Mug's documents, Devashtich, son of Yodkhshetaka. However, coins with his name are not present. According to V.A. Livshits's assumption, this governor (approx. 709 or 704 till 722) applying for the Samarkand throne, did not wish to let out Panjakent's coin with the name, being afraid, that it will be apprehended as refusal of its claims. Therefore, coins were issued on behalf of his senior wife who carried the name of Nana. This is proved also by monetary stratigraphic in Panjakent.

The new analysis Mug's documents has allowed V.A. Livshits to put forward the assumption, that the trip of Fatufarn, after Devashtich, took place not in 712-713, but most probably in 718-719 and then Devashtich applied for Samarkand throne. However, in treatment of these events, still remains a lot of unclear and last word not told yet.

At the same time, available materials show, Turkic played that in Sogdian city of Panch (Panjakent) the considerable role also. Sometimes representatives of the Turkic nobility even were at the head of the city (governor Chekinchur Bilge), along with Sogdians in Panjakent and in his district lived also Turkic, for example, operating palace economy of Utetc.¹¹² It specifies in-depth ethnocultural Turk-Sogdians communications.

¹¹¹Davidovich E.A. Treasures of ancient and medieval coins of Tajikistan. M., 1979, p.105-130; Smirnova O.I. The summary catalogue of Sogdian coins. Bronze. M., 1981; Davidovich E.A., Zeimal E.V. The Monetary economy..., short.compos.; pp. 73-76.

¹¹²Livshits V.A. Governors of Panj (Sogdians and Turkic). - «The People of Asia and Africa», 1979, № 4.

Central Asia and Tajik people during the periods of development and the set of a feudal system

Over various problems of the history of Tajik people of Middle Ages epoch worked the whole group of researchers. To give the general sketch reached by them in all directions of historical knowledge and to cover within the volume, all the material is simply impossible. Therefore, we have been compelled to be limited in a very compressed kind and extremely selective, of the characteristic in two main problems: 1. Studying of political and social and economic history; 2. A city and craft. Unfortunately, it was necessary to refuse the review of new researches on archaeology, science, literature, cultural life and an additional bibliographic index.

Political and social – economic history

For expired time, the questions connected with history of Arabia on the eve of Islam, occurrence of Islam development were in details studied by the Soviet scientists who investigated all spectrum of sources. Besides, since 1983 the Soviet-Yemen complex expedition, which is carrying out archaeological, ethnographic, historical, historical – geographical, linguistic, architectural and anthropological researches of Southern Yemen successfully, functions. Capital monographic researches had been published.¹¹³

New illumination was received by a problem of a social order of Southern Arabia on the eve of Islam. In details and deeply investigating this problem of L.V. Negrya has come to conclusion, that «before occurrence of the state formation in Medina development of the race-tribal organization of Arabia went on a way of creation of various forms of the intertribal and inter-generic unions that concealed in itself potential possibility of regeneration of institutes of an communal – generic system into the institutes of a class society and brought to the state formation. With statehood occurrence in Medina the further development of the race-tribal organization on this way became impossible. The conclusion of the new intertribal unions on an old basis was forbidden. «There are no unions in Islam», – has proclaimed Muhammad. Extortionate attacks as the social phenomenon bearing on the basic loading out exploitative activity of Islam, forbidden by the state in its limits, have been used by the last for the purpose of a gain of neighboring countries».¹¹⁴

This treatment completely supported by P.A. Gryaznevich.¹¹⁵ M.B. Piotrovsky studies ways of formation of a medieval society in Southern Arabia

¹¹³ The Review – see: Gryaznevich P.A. Problems of studying of history of occurrence of Islam. – In book: Islam. Religion, society, state. M., 1984.

¹¹⁴ Negrya L.V. The Social order of Northern and Central Arabia in V-VII century's. Author's abstract of cand. of Science. M., 1978, pp.17-18. See also: Negrya L.V. From of the history of class formation in early medieval Arabia.- «The People of Asia and Africa», 1975, № 4; same author. Public relations in pre-Islamic Arabia V-VII centuries – In coll: «History and ideology of the countries of the East». M., 1978.

¹¹⁵ Gryaznevich P.A. Studying problems..., pp. 10-11.

(Yemen) in details. The reader will find illumination of political history, an economic life, and a parity of nomads in his monograph and settled structures of a society, struggle of dogmas and many other special questions. According M.B. Piotrovsky's conclusion, Southern Arabia followed on a way of genesis of feudalism «with a clear prevalence of the antique beginnings», i.e. with preservation of considerable elements of an ancient social and economic heritage. This way of formation of feudalism of Southern Arabia was under the influence of processes, which occurred in V-VII centuries in nomadic and oasis society of Internal Arabia where new forms of political and economic dependence and the ideology affected, founded its further development in Islam and in Muhammad's community. In some approach and, certainly, with reservations Internal Arabia can be carried to pre-feudal protofeudal stages of social development or is comparable to type of genesis of feudalism directly from a race-tribal system of "barbarians".¹¹⁶

So, the thing is that at all specificity of development of separate areas of Arabia, the feudal relations had developed there.¹¹⁷

M.B. Piotrovsky made an analysis of an ideological and political situation in Arabia of VII century. He allows speaking about existence there the prophetical movement activity, where Muhammad was part. The analysis of making elements of its power of the prophet can serve as a bright example of how the history uses traditional representations and institutes, developing them and pouring in them the new maintenance».¹¹⁸ Other researchers dealt with a problem of an origin of Islam, in particular, P.A. Gryaznevich.¹¹⁹ Islam played the important role in history and cultural histories Tajik and other people of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, for last two decades, was written in many works of the Soviet scientists, which studied it from positions of religion study and a cultural history, and have published many important sources.¹²⁰ On Russian, some works outstanding foreign Islamic studies had translated into Russian.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ Piotrovsky M.B. Southern Arabia in the early Middle Ages. Formation of a medieval society. M., 1985, pp.172-173.

¹¹⁷ See about it Nadirzade L.I. Problems of feudal relations in Caliphate of VII-IX centuries. Author's abstract of doc. diss. M., 1975.

¹¹⁸ Piotrovsky M.B. Prophetical movement in Arabia VII century – In book: Islam. Religion, society, state. M., 1984, p. 25

¹¹⁹ Gryaznevich P.A. Islam origin (the Condition and research prospects). – In book: Islam and its role in modern ideological and political struggle of developing countries of Asia and Africa. M. – Tashkent, 1980.

¹²⁰ Besides specified above, see: An-Nauhibahti, al-Hasan ibn Nus. Shiites texts. Translation from Arab., research and comments S.M. Prozorov. M., 1973; Al – Ghazali. Revival of sciences about belief. Translation from the Arab., research and comment. V.V. Naumkina. M., 1980; Islam in history of the people of the East. M., 1981; The Arabian countries. History and the present. M., 1981; Islam in the countries Near and Middle East. M., 1982; Sketches of history of Arabian culture V-XV centuries M., 1982; Islam. The short directory. M., 1983; Islam. Religion, society, state. M., 1984 and many other, see also: Koran. Translation and comments of I.Iu. Krachkovsky. M., 1986.

¹²¹ U.M. Wott. Influence of Islam on medieval Europe. M., 1976; The Arabian medieval culture and the literature. Articles of foreign scientists. M., 1978; Rouzental F. Celebration of

Before to get into Central Asia, Arabs have crushed Sasanid power and have invaded, in particular, Iran. Gain process of Iran by Arabs has received a detailed and all-round illumination in A.I. Kolesnikov's work.¹²² Special value to the book gives its extensive III section «Arabs and the subdued population of Iran». Here is given two types of expansion of Islam in the East: «violent», i.e. by force of weapon and by peace, meaning conclusion peace treaty between the two sides.

These two types mattered for the subsequent mutual relations of Muslim administration and the population. Thus the most part of territory of Sasanid Iran has been won by peacefully way. The contract included in some cases the requirement to accept Islam in other cases (they were the majority) political submission with tribute or head tax payment. Then the population kept religion and customs of ancestors. The land remained for former owners. Mass Islamization has begun much later. Further A.I. Kolesnikov considers a question on the Iranian allies of Arabs and the first Iranian Moslems, the Iranian administration in the territory won by Arabs, about the basis of the Arabian settlements in Iran and the Arabian administration, etc. All these materials are very important for an explanation of a situation and both in Central Asia for which the sources are very poor.

After 1972 certain work on studying history of the separate periods and dynasties of an epoch of the developed Middle Ages, Central Asia has been spent, articles and some books are published.

During the Sasanid epoch, «the greatest political power had possessors of Khwarezm, Isfijab, Saganian». In Saganian the dynasty of Mukhtajids ruled over. And after falling the Samanids, Saganian remained under the power of the amirs.¹²³ Here, as a matter of fact, everything, that has written by V.V. Barthold rather concerning Saganian in Samanid's and postsamanids time. Research of written and numismatic sources has allowed to expand considerably representation about the history of Saganian during this epoch. Outstanding English orientalist C.E. Bosworth studied numerous written sources, a number from which have not been used by V.V. Barthold and for the first time has given a sketch of political history of Saganian in X-XI centuries. The history of this possession is considered not separately, but in a close connection with others places.¹²⁴ In a final part of the work he states the maintenance «especially important» E.A. Davidovich's article devoted to Saganian coins of XI century and as historical source.¹²⁵ New finds of Saganian coins have allowed the analysis of their value allowed E.V. Rtveladze to reveal names of a number before

knowledge. The concept of knowledge and medieval Islam. M., 1978; Masse A. Islam. A history sketch. M., 1982; Gryunebaum G.E. Classical Islam. A history sketch. M., 1986, etc.

¹²²Kolesnikov A.I. A conquest of Iran by Arabs. M., 1982.

¹²³Barthold V.V. Turkestan during an epoch of the Mongolian invasion. Comp. work., - vol. 1. M., 1963, p. 293.

¹²⁴Bosworth C.E. The rulers of Chaghaniyan in early Islamic times. – "Iran", vol. XIX. London, 1981.

¹²⁵Davidovich E.A. Treasure of Saganian coins of the second quarter of XI century as a historical source. – In book: Written monuments of the East. Historic-philological researches. A year-book, 1968. M., 1970.

unknown persons of Saganian governors, to specify dates of their board, to establish degree of their dependence on the central power.¹²⁶

Extremely productive there was E.A. Davidovich's study of Samanid's, coins Akhsiket – medieval capital of Fergana. Already in the end of IX century Ahmad ibn Asad has started the Fergana destiny with capital in Akhsiket as its coin, which has issued in 890-91, testifies. It was possible to establish names and sequence of governors of Akhsiket in the end of IX – the first quarter of X century. «Five first possessors of Akhsiket were independent not only actually, but also formally, and in a pointed manner underlined their independence at all and did not mention a name of the head of a dynasty on the coins even in quality suzerain. Only the sixth possessor who has received Akhsiket by means of the central power, minting a coin on its own behalf, in quality nevertheless mentioned the head of a dynasty».¹²⁷ Other Fergana's coins – up to 70-th of X century had been investigated. Besides various questions of political history also, they have fixed multistage feudal hierarchy, feudal wages with the various economic maintenance and administrative-political privileges.¹²⁸

Work in the field of studying of history of Qarakhanids became more active. In due time the largest orientalists expressed time and again opinion, that Qarakhanid's coins will allow advancing studying the history of Qarakhanids state. The big series of numismatic publications of E.A. Davidovich in 50-70-th have shown in practice, how great the possibilities of Qarakhanid's numismatics. For last two decades the fund of Qarakhanid's coins has sharply grown – are found out both separate coins, and the whole treasures. We have considerably moved ahead, due to diligence of E.A. Davidovich¹²⁹ and B.D. Kochnev¹³⁰ a research in the field of Qarakhanid's numismatics. It was possible to identify many titles of monetary inscriptions that have allowed advancing far forward studying political, first of all – dynastic histories of Qarakhanids, and also

¹²⁶ Rtveladze E.V. Saganians copper fels of mukhtajids of X century – In book: The Medieval East. History. Culture. A source study. M., 1980; also. To monetary circulation history in Saganian VIII – the beginning of XIII century - «Epigraphic of the East», XXIII issue. L., 1985.

¹²⁷ Davidovich E.A. New data on history of Samanids (a treasure of copper coins IX-X centuries from Samarkand). – In book: Central Asia in an antiquity and the Middle Ages (history and culture). M., 1977, p.122.

¹²⁸ Davidovich E.A. Coins of Fergana as a source for the characteristic of institute feudal grant for service in Central Asia X century – In book: Written monuments of the East. Historical-philological researches. A year-book, 1969. M., 1972.

¹²⁹ Davidovich E.A. The problems of chronology and genealogy of Qarakhanids of the second half of XII century – In book: Central Asia in an antiquity and the Middle Ages (-history and culture). M., 1977; same author. About coins of Ilak's dehkans of the end X – the beginnings of XI century – In book: The Antiquity and the Middle Ages of the people of Central Asia (history and culture). M., 1978, etc.

¹³⁰ Kochnev B.D. Notes on medieval numismatics of Central Asia, p. 1-7. – In book: History of material culture of Uzbekistan, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 issues. Tashkent, 1978, 1979, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1986; same author. New numismatic data on history of Qarakhanids of the end of X – and beginnings of the XIII centuries – In book: Kirghizia at Qarakhanids. Frunze, 1983, etc.

partitioning political structure of the Qarakhanid state etc. Numismatic materials allow putting also questions on mutual relations during the first period of Qarakhanids dominations and governors and local aristocracy etc.¹³¹

Except these researches, we can note occurrence of generalizing work of O. Karaev¹³² who has made attempt to unite all available materials on ethnic, political and social-economic history. This problem in our science traditionally is considered exclusively difficult. With it are connected strong and weaknesses of the book of O. Karaev.

Z.M. Buniyatov has created valuable work on Khwarezmshahs state history – Anushteginids.¹³³ V.V. Barthold named in due time this dynasty of "most brilliant" of Khwarezmians dynasties. The great orientalist has devoted to this history a considerable place in the basic work «Turkestan during the epoch of the Mongolian invasion». However, - writes in his book Z.M. Buniyatov, - since the time of the edition of work of V.V. Barthold (1900) has passed more than eight decades, at during this time became accessible compositions of Arabian and Persian authors, the documentary sources, published or found out in manuscripts after issue of work of V.V. Barthold. Up to the period of writing the book Z.M. Buniyatov had spent a lot of study work, had carried out commentary of the edition of translation of two written sources. Thus, the source study base was very thorough.

Z.M. Buniyatov's book includes detailed consideration of problems of occurrence, development and destruction of the Khwarezmshahs – Anushteginids state. The considerable part of the data informed by the author was not known earlier. The big value represented by chapters devoted to the military organization, structure of machinery of state, to cities and settlements, monetary mints and to monetary circulation, a cultural life and destiny of Khwarezmians, who left the native land. Already this list shows the richness of the maintenance of the book. The cited in it data allow to present rather concrete picture of the major aspects of life in the state of Anushteginids. It is very important for revealing specific lines of the state of Khwarezmshahs. It is necessary to underline, that in the book the materials connected not only with Khwarezm, but also with many other areas of Central Asia.

A number of problems of the histories of XIII century (after the Mongolian – invasion) is investigated in monographs. So, E.A. Davidovich has devoted his book to a monetary economy of Central Asia after the Mongolian invasions in XIII century.¹³⁴ The maintenance of the book is much wider. Along with the publication and research of actually numismatic material, the book contains (on the basis of written and archaeological sources) the analysis of social and economic development of Central Asia. It leads E.A. Davidovich to completely new conclusions and summary. Usually time after the Mongolian gain until the

¹³¹Davidovich E.A. About coins of Ilak's dehkans...

¹³²Karaev O. History of Qarakhanid's Kaganate (X – beginning XIII century). Frunze, 1983.

¹³³Buniyatov Z.M. Khwarezmshahs – Anushteginids State of 1097-1231. M., 1986.

¹³⁴Davidovich E.A. Monetary economy of Central Asia after the Mongolian invasion and reform of Mas'ud-bek (XIII century). M., 1972.

end of XIII century in historical works was drawn on black color or far-fetched concepts (for example, by B. Shpuler). Actually, according to E.A. Davidovich, the social and economic life has gone through three stages. A boundary of the first and second stages was kurultay 1251 year; the third stage connected with currency reform of a merchant – governor Mas'ud-bek on 1271-72 years. And if the second stage was time of revival of a city life and monetary trade in some areas of Central Asia, the third stage have ripened conditions and objective preconditions for serious development of a city life and internal monetary trade in many areas of Central Asia. In B.G. Ghafurov's book (459-461 pages) all it is stated on the basis and referring to article published in 1970 by E.A. Davidovich, therefore is very short and generalized. E.A. Davidovich's book allows deepening and concretizing this statement considerably. It is promoted also by the publication of the text and translation of Bukhara waqf of 1299, i.e. belonging to the end of XIII century. The document publication is anticipated substantial "Introduction", in which, on the basis of written sources, the analysis of position of Bukhara and its district in 1220-1299 years. Authors of "Introduction" is given (A.K. Arends, A.B. Khalidov, O.D. Chekhovich), having analyzed these sources, texts of waqfs and agrees with E.A. Davidovich's general conclusion.¹³⁵

Many centuries many researches and publications are devoted to the history of XIV-XV centuries. Some part from them is devoted to social and economic problematic. The history of monetary circulation of XV – the first quarter of XVI century is brought in E.A. Davidovich's capital monography.¹³⁶ The first part of this work is the source study research where inscriptions of coins analyzed and issued monetary units – according to monetary inscriptions. It becomes the terms designating those or other monetary units, and their real maintenance found out.

In the second part, the major problems of monetary circulation are studied. Much attention given to the problems of a monetary policy and forms of operation monetary regalia. Here the policy concerning weight of coins of a standard of price and forms of operation monetary regalia is considered. Some crises of the monetary circulation, four currency reforms, etc. Along with currency reforms nationwide value (for example, Ulugbek, Mohammad Sheibani Khan, etc.), in the book are investigated also reforms of "local" character in particular spent by Hissar governor Khusrav-shah in 1500-1502 years. From written sources are taken materials about the sizes of decorated persons of various categories middle and low-paid people. The question on a periodization, both local variants of mint and references of coins is very deeply developed. The author allocates eight stages of minting and references of copper coins. The comparison of Central Maverannahr is spent with one of the "provincial" centers – Hissar. It thus found out, that the Hissar from XV century has caught up with central part of Maverannahr, but to a level of development of manufacture of the consumer goods, on retail trade and degree of involving of agricultural population in commodity-money relations. Conclusion of the book is the section

¹³⁵Bukhara waqf of XIII century. Publication of the translated from Arabic and Persian, introductions and commentary of A.K. Arends, A.B. Khalidov, O.D. Chekhovich. M., 1979.

¹³⁶Davidovich E.A. History of monetary circulation of Medieval Central Asia (copper coins of XV – and the first quarter of XVI century in Maverannahr). M., 1983.

containing statement of a question about relative – for a feudalism epoch – places of the period of XV beginning of XVI century from the point of view of development of commodity manufacture. As E.A. Davidovich has established this time was the «peak» of intensive development of commodity manufacture and involving city and agricultural population in commodity-money relations – earlier, and after such was not possible.

It is difficult to overestimate general historical and methodological value of a result of research: «We think that historians should pay steadfast attention to that interval of time, which, on numismatic data, looks «special». As this phenomenon could not be isolated, certainly, and is one of links in a chain of the facts. However, this link is important already because it demands to search for the others. The numismatics shows, that by boundary of the XV-XVI centuries grew ripe many special conditions; obviously, in the field of commodity manufacture some objective preconditions for origin of capitalism were created which, however, have not received the further development». ¹³⁷

Along with problems of social and economic history, historians were engaged in research of a role of separate outstanding persons of XV century, played the important role in historical process. Attention of experts has drawn to particular Khoja Ahrar (1404 – 1490) – the largest spiritual feudal lord of second half of XV century actively participating in a political life of the epoch. In the Soviet historical literature, it was considered as the reactionary figure and even – the obscurant, as it is told in the book B.G. Ghafurov Khoja Ahrar was «...one of the most gloomy figures in the history of the people of Central Asia».

Further, on this question discussion between two visible experts has inflamed. O.D. Chekhovich, publishing the documents connected with activity of Khoja Ahrar, has given his characteristic, using for the first time many earlier not used written sources. Thus, he had concluded, that «...considering himself as a defender of oppressed, Khoja Ahrar actually was the direct helper of exploiters: he helped them when the people did not submit to a brute force and thinner, spiritual tool of oppression». ¹³⁸

A.N. Boldyrev in his remarkable research¹³⁹ has brought many facts, which, on the contrary, testify in favor of positive role of Khoja Ahrar, and has specified in bias and inconsistency by former researchers. He has underlined, in particular, that Khoja Ahrar actively struggled «...with tradition of an injurious robbery of the people coming from the Mongolian invasion, the legalized arbitrariness of tyrants....», i.e. with «chingiskhanian». And further he writes: «...negative

¹³⁷ Davidovich E.A. History of monetary circulation..., p. 323. For Ulugbek epoch, see also: Davidovich E.A. Witness of Daulat – shah about the sizes of the ground rent at Ulugbek. – In book: Written monuments of the East. Historical-philological researches. A year-book. 1971, M., 1974.

¹³⁸ Samarkand documents of XV-XVI centuries. (About possession of Khoja Ahrar in Central Asia and Afghanistan). The facsimile, critical text, translation, introduction, notes and indexes of O.D. Chekhovich. M., 1974. See also: Chekhovich O.D. About a social role and political activity of Khoja Ahrar. – In book: Barthold's readings. 1982. Sixth year. Theses. M., 1982.

¹³⁹ Boldyrev A.N. Once again on the question about Khoja Ahrar. – In book: Clergy and a political life on Near and Middle East in feudalism. M., 1985.

characteristic of Khoja Ahrar established in our science is taken out without sufficient account of all set of known primary sources (lives, letters, own compositions of Khoja Ahrar, in a separation from historical conditions, without attempt to recreate and estimate its ideologically-ethical concept, i.e. without needed historical condition and methodological substantiation».

Certainly, in any way it is impossible to consider a question solved – profound monographic researches, the account sides of all parties of historical research here are required.

B.A. Akhmedov's devoted to Balkh Khanate of the XVI and first half of the XVIII centuries.¹⁴⁰ «In the work of the author undertake attempt not only to recreate political history of Balkh Khanate occupying huge territory, stretched with the north to south between Hissar area and Hindukush mountains and from the west to the east between the rivers (it is necessary – the river –B.L.) Murghab and Badakhshan, but also to open its social and economic condition, political and commercial relations with India, Iran and Russia and to reveal a place of this specific possession in destinies of Bukhara Khanate from which it was in nominal dependence. On the basis of written sources is defined the political-economic position subjected Balkh cities is considered, employment of the population both city, and rural are characterized, approximate topography of Balkh – the main city of possession is defined».¹⁴¹

In later Middle Ages, the territory to the south from Hissar ridge throughout long time (though it is not constant) entered into Balkh possession. In B.A. Akhmedov's book in the chapter about territory and the main cities of Balkh Khanate is given numerous data from late Middle Ages written sources about a number of cities and areas of Southern Tajikistan (Kulyab, Hissar, etc.)

Some works, in particular, R.G. Mukminova's connected with history of craft and social structure of the city (about them see more, in the following chapter) social and economic problems of XVI century and subsequent time. Problems of feudal land tenure would be the object of the future research of B.A. Akhmedov, E.A. Davidovich, A. Egani, R.G. Mukminova and O.D. Chekhovich.¹⁴²

The understanding of the separate problems connected with the most difficult period of history of Central Asia, the Middle Ages, time of formation of the major economic, ideological institutes, at last, the states and the people, substantially restrains, by the absence or fragmentariness of the given written sources of narrative character. It is difficult to overestimate thereupon value of data of epigraphy. V.V. Barthold had proved basic possibility of reception of concrete results concerning a cultural-historical circle at the analysis of epigraphically monuments earlier.

He underlined, that the basic problems of histories Maverannahr can fully recreated only at complex research of written sources, numismatic, archaeological and epigraphically material.

¹⁴⁰ Akhmedov B.A. History of Balkh (XVI – first half of XVIII century). Tashkent. 1982.

¹⁴¹ Akhmedov B.A. Short. compos. p.3.

¹⁴² See: The collection forms of the feudal landed property and possession on Near and Middle East. M., 1979.

It is represented, that the results of epigraphically researches of scientists of Tajikistan – A.M. Mukhtarov and L.N. Dodkhudoeva our representations on history and a cultural history of the Tajik people during the period from XI to XIX centuries have allowed to add in a certain measure, the study of epigraphic monuments of Kuhistan of the XI-XIX centuries, provided by A.M. Mukhtarov promoted understanding of evolution of such important institute, as peasantry, to the best explanation of administrative functions of Qazi. Important point of the research was variety revealing earlier not known calligraphers-carvers of XIV-XVI centuries. Poetic elegies in Tajik language, curved (minted) on cemetery stones, were samples of the national poetry flourishing in this mountainous country.

Ornament of Kuhistan's collection is the inscription-autograph of Babur minted out by the hand of the glorified governor.

The Samarkand collection gravestones – Kayraks of XI-XIV centuries one of the largest in Central Asia became a subject of special research of L.N. Dodkhudoeva. The unique monuments collected in epigraphic work have deepened representations about the history of Samarkand, especially on the eve of invasion of Chengezids; they testify the strong influence of clergy on all aspects of life of a feudal society about struggle of religious figures for Sunnism and cleanliness of Islam, against rationalism of philosophy and sectarianism, about close cultural and economic relations of Samarkand with other cities of the Muslim world; confirms a high level of development of craft and trade, specifies in existence of dynasties of the officials, carrying out a municipal government; testifies about high enough level of literacy of the population, about the use of the Arabian language as language of a cult, and about prevalence of native, Tajik language.

City and craft

Above we already addressed to consideration of the first part of the book «Medieval city of Central Asia».¹⁴³ This work had published already after B.G. Ghafurov's book. The author of the second part of the book carrying the name «The City in the end of the VIII – and the beginning of XIII century», O.G. Bolshakov, one of the prominent historians of medieval period, for the first time in domestic oriental studies has created generalizing work on a medieval of Central Asian city. This work combines generalization of results of the previous researches of history of separate cities with in-depth study of all set of written and archaeological sources.

«From the smallest and private questions to large problems O.G. Bolshakov's work is creative, analysis of sources and critical judgment of literature revision, and is absolutely new questions of history of a medieval city of Central Asia of VIII-XII centuries (problems which before O.G. Bolshakov nobody was engaged in), but this and new decisions of old questions and problems, before which is big and different literature; it is the critical selection of

¹⁴³ Belenitsky A.M., Bentovich I.B., Bolshakov O.G. Medieval city of Central Asia. L., 1973.

one of the points of view, but sometimes refusal of all».¹⁴⁴

In the first chapter of the work of O.G. Bolshakov draw the circle of problems and outlined their characteristic. The author in detail stops on all written sources, estimating importance of each research for a theme. Further, he writes: «The only supplier of new data is archaeology. And relative density of its data about a city increases every year». «The Major achievement of last decades was transformation of an archaeological material from an illustrative appendage in to independent source of objective, and visible data of the medieval city». He at the same time specifies in features the archaeological source. «It is certainly more objective, than written sources, is absolutely free from class, religious and other tendentiousness which so deforms the picture of the past fixed by a feather of ancient authors, but he speaks about himself more, than about relations of people in a society, who left. So, progress in public relations not always and reflected at once on the manufacture progress, the intracity organization that so poorly reflected in a layout, that this reflection could not revealed. Synchronization known historical events with the changes, found out on a site of ancient settlement, not always is reliable owing to discrepancy of archaeological methods of dating». To could be added the complexities arising because of imperfection of a technique of excavation, interpretations of their results and character of publications.

In the second chapter consequences of the Arabian invasion is analyzed. In this chapter, the author stops on the characteristic of a city of the period before the Arabian gain. The author comes to fair conclusion, that «the greatest changes in connection with the Arabian invasion took place in cities. There were big garrisons, of Arabian immigrants lodged there. In them, first of all began Islamization and Arabization, and new forms of mutual relations and life» established. After the end of the Arabian invasion, «city position has changed also. From residence of the feudal lord, it has turned to an administrative center, residence of the authorities representing the state. Inclusion of Central Asia in the structure of extensive empire promoted expansion of trade and cultural contact, which continued to develop even after its disintegration, and to speed the growth of cities. To the beginning of IX century there was that type of a city, which without basic changes has existed for the whole period of all Middle Ages».

The third chapter is devoted a theme: «quantity of cities». Consideration conducted on historical and cultural regions: Southern Turkmenia, Khwarezm etc. The Actual maintenance of this chapter is much wider, than follows from its name. For every historical region, entering into this or that region, data about the cities known on written sources, data on their localization are cited, the sizes of corresponding sites of ancient settlement etc. The majority of these data is shown in tables. For the large city centers data about some elements of their historical topography are analyzed. The question on dynamics of a city life in those or other areas and also their consideration. For the first time after V.V. Barthold all set of written and historical sources has been a new considered and compared. O.G.

¹⁴⁴Davidovich E.A. Discussion questions in A.M. Belenitsky, I.B. Bentovich, O.G. Bolshakov's book «The Medieval city of Central Asia». In book: The Antiquity and Middle Ages of the people of Central Asia. M., 1978, p. 103.

Bolshakov's conclusions allow introducing serious corrective amendments in existing representations. It concerns also the cities located in the territory of Tajikistan. So, for example, it has opened weak points in the offered by N.N. Negmatov localizations of the capital Ustrushana of the city of Bunjikat on a modern place of Shahristan and has expressed opinion, that the remained medieval descriptions of this city approach to Ura-Teppa. The subsequent archaeological researches have allowed more likely to specify in detail many concrete questions making the maintenance of this chapter (see more below).

In his conclusions, O.G. Bolshakov based on descriptions containing in medieval geographical compositions of 250-270 cities. This general conclusion is that in IX century in Central Asia there was an explosion of city formation, and cities turned to large craft shopping centers. Very important were IX-X centuries. In XI-XII centuries the growth of cities proceeded, but not so intensively. By the end of this period «...cities reach the greatest size which has been surpassed only in XIX century».

The fourth chapter is entitled «Territorial development of a city». It contains the analysis of histories and, especially, historical topography of such largest cities, as Merv, Bukhara, Samarkand: Thus the author stops only on those questions which allow «...to track growth of city territory and to reveal placing of trading craft and administrative areas of a city».

The fifth chapter «Population size» contains attempt of definition of a population of many large cities. In his opinion, to the beginning of VIII century in the largest cities the number of inhabitants reached 10 – 60 thousand persons, in average cities – of 5 – 10 thousand persons. In XI – XII centuries in Merv could live approximately 150 thousand persons, in Bukhara – 40 – 50 thousand people, in Samarkand – 75 – 85 thousand people (in Samarkand with vicinities – of 100 – 110 thousand people), in Termez – 20 – 25 thousand people, in Binket – 22 – 25 thousand people.

The chapter VI considers the problems connected with craft, trade, and a life. Here the wide picture of the certain sides of city industrial activity (textile craft, potter's manufacture, glassmaker, processing of metals) is given. For the first time data on building trades, on processing products of agriculture and animal industries have been collected. In cities as O.G. Bolshakov shows, many people have connected with maintenance of intracity requirements: millers, bakers, bread traders and food products, including haris (a sort of palaw from wheat and meat), butchers, tailors, shoemakers, etc.

Trade as shown by O.G. Bolshakov, included an exchange between a city and rural area, trade with nomads, intracity, interregional and international, including transit trade. Assortment of goods was not simply wide. The specific goods were slaves, especially Samarkand was famous for training sale of slaves. As appears from messages of Middle Ages author, slaves were the same specific goods of Samarkand, as paper. In cities there were markets, the various constructions connected with trade. The trade centers were trading chorus, located on crossroads of the main streets.

Trading lines were often covered. The big role has played sarrafs-changers. O.G. Bolshakov considers that though direct data on the shop device of craft were not present, nevertheless it is possible to admit its origin at that time.

In corresponding sections the question on the prices and a standard of life, an accomplishment of cities is considered, etc. From VIII century in cities there were first baths, they widely extended in IX century, for example, in Samarkand. In large cities there were hospitals.

Social and economic relations in a city are in details considered by O.G. Bolshakov in final, the seventh chapter. Here, in particular, the question on city self-management in medieval Central Asia investigated. He considers the status and functions city mayors, their mutual relations with the central power, and the same qazi. He comes to the thoughts of absence of the independent city budget and municipal bodies. Some municipal functions of city self-management carried out quarter associations of townspeople and association of handcraftsmen and dealers.

The most severe exploitation caused revolts of townspeople. O.G. Bolshakov results in his work the materials characterizing city revolts.

His general conclusion is the following: «City of the IX-XII centuries in Central Asia dominates over agricultural area as politically, being its administrative center, and economically because the considerable part of large land owners lived in cities, being engaged simultaneously in trading activity. Growth of craft manufacture and trade not only leads to concentration of the big means in hands of a city top, but also creates a numerous layer of handcraftsmen which were absent before and hired workers».

We have brought the detailed review of the work of O.G. Bolshakov because it considerably supply, and sometimes changes existing before representation about Central Asian medieval city of IX-XII centuries. Certainly, not all O.G. Bolshakov's general and concrete positions are in disputable, some demand an additional substantiation, others disputable or needs to be discussed. It has done in E.A. Davidovich's special work, which, having noted weak points in O.G. Bolshakov's argument, has offered the treatments, having advanced history research of middle-aged cities of Central Asia.¹⁴⁵

After O.G. Bolshakov's covering territory of all Central Asia and Southern Kazakhstan¹⁴⁶ have appeared summary (or generalizing) works on separate historical and cultural areas. Such are Yu.F. Buryakov's devoted to genesis and stages of development of city culture of Tashkent oasis¹⁴⁷ the works, and K.M. Baypakov – on medieval cities of Southern Kazakhstan and Semirechiye.¹⁴⁸ Both contain a plentiful material on history of separate cities, archaeological complexes, investigate specific lines of an urbanization of corresponding regions etc. Some general questions are also raised in them.

¹⁴⁵ *Davidovich E.A.* Discussion questions in the A.M. Belenitsky, I.B. Bentovich, O.G. Bolshakov «The Medieval city of Central Asia». In book: The Antiquity and the Middle Ages of the people of Central Asia (history and culture). M., 1978; Continuation – in book: Culture and art of the people of Central Asia in an antiquity and the Middle Ages. M., 1979.

¹⁴⁶ See also the collection: Medieval city culture of Kazakhstan and Central Asia. Alma-Ata, 1983.

¹⁴⁷ *Buryakov Yu.F.* Genesis and stages of development of city culture of the Tashkent oasis. Tashkent, 1982.

¹⁴⁸ *Baypakov K.M.* Medieval city culture of Southern Kazakhstan and Semirechiye (VI – beginning of XIII century). Alma-Ata, 1986.

Monographic and separate sides of a city life IX –XII centuries, in particular city organization had been investigated.¹⁴⁹

One of the sides of later epoch in the history of a city life is investigated in R.G. Mukminova's book¹⁵⁰, which discussed the questions of a social composition of cities of Uzbekistan in XV-XVI centuries. She has used various written sources (narrative, assembly, etc.).

«Though we have no figures, - writes R.G. Mukminova, - it is possible to assume, that in a quantitative sense small manufacturers made in the large craft centers as it was in Samarkand and Bukhara, the most part of labor settling». Among handicraftsmen – ustod («masters») there were the richest people like Tangri Berdi whose property included two houses, mills, slaves, a horse, the big stocks of raw materials; half-finished products, finished articles, expensive subjects, the big sum of cash. It was the large businessman, the organizer of manufacture and the dealer. Among his debtors, there was even a sheikh al-Islam. At the same time, position of ordinary handicraftsmen was very heavy, they were in debt servitude. According to one document, the handicraftsman who has not obeyed to the buyer, whose debtor was, he has been obliged to divorce from the wife – not less and no more! In even more state of dependence, there were hired workers and pupils. Even more low on social (and property) ladder there were city poor and declassed elements. In its most bases, there were slaves. Rather not numerous class of feudal lords also consisted of several layers, in particular, included spiritual feudal lords. The author comes to conclusion, that in XVI century «...property and social stratification of urban population» has considerably amplified.

The internal system of the Tashkent possession of XVIII century has investigated by O.D. Chekhovich.¹⁵¹ Studying of sources has led to its unexpected conclusions. «Internal self-management in four parts of a city, and also in villages subjected to Tashkent and the small towns, the uniting all trading-craft and agricultural population of extensive area, carried lines original feudal-republican build. As at the head of the Tashkent self-management there were large dealers and the landowners belonging to aristocratic estate of khajies, we have the right to name this feudal republic aristocratic... The important role played, possibly, shop organizations of handicraftsmen...».

Detailed research of historical topography early middle-aged of Balkh has carried out in the special book of A.M. Mukhtarov.¹⁵² He in 1972 and 1974 studied in Balkh on a place and carefully investigated numerous written sources. In the book the description and the characteristic of various elements of a city are given: walls, gate, city quarters etc. The special attention is given

¹⁴⁹ Anarbaev A. Construction of a medieval city of Central Asia. Tashkent, 1981.

¹⁵⁰ Mukminova R.G. Social differentiation of the population of cities of Uzbekistan. The end of XV-XVI century, Tashkent, 1985.

¹⁵¹ Chekhovich O.D. City self-management in Tashkent XVIII century – In book: History and culture of the people of Central Asia (an antiquity and Middle Ages). M., 1976.

¹⁵² Mukhtarov A. Late medieval Balkh. (Materials to historical topography of a city in XVI-XVIII centuries). Dushanbe, 1980.

to city constructions (to a mosque, madrasa, etc.). The book comes to the end with the section about irrigation system. A.M. Mukhtarov's book contains the most detailed, strictly verified data on one of the largest cities, and its historical topography.

Intensive archaeological research conducted of the city centers, including large one. To number and furthermore the characteristic of this excavation cannot be brought here. We will note only occurrence of monographic publications on history and historical topography of Otrar,¹⁵³ Tashkent and Tashkent oasis¹⁵⁴, Kuva¹⁵⁵, Samarkand,¹⁵⁶ Bukhara,¹⁵⁷ Sogd,¹⁵⁸ Merv,¹⁵⁹ Dahistan,¹⁶⁰ etc.

The big archaeological researches spent in medieval cities of Tajikistan. Here first of all it is necessary to note E. Gulyamova's moved continuation which began in 1953 E.A. Davidovich and B.A. Litvinsky's excavation of Hulbuk (site of ancient settlement of Kurban-Shahid in Vose's district). Since 1958, E. Gulyamova spent these work many seasons. The city was very great – it is only central part occupied about 70 hectares. The basic excavation has been concentrated to a citadel (50x150 m). As have shown excavation, on a citadel the extensive palace has been located. After a strong fire in XI century, the palace part has considerably reconstructed. The palace at last stage consisted of two parts. Higher, southern part was crossed by two cross-shaped-crossed corridors. In corners there was a set of rooms, including parade, and cult. The central part was paved by burnt brick a courtyard was occupied with a reservoir. It has been surrounded by smart, inhabited and economic premises. On the perimeter of premises turned to a reservoir went columned aiwan. The walls of constructions of Hulbuk made from pakhsa, burnt bricks. The complex of premises has been ornate: floors were "parquet" (from the burnt tiles), walls are covered by peace panels with difficult geometrical, vegetative zoometric and epigraphic motives. They meet separately in difficult combinations. Peace panels often decked, that gave them special effect. About quantity of such panels can give representation that

¹⁵³ Akishev A.K., Baypakov K.M., Erzakovich L.B. Late medieval Otrar (XVI-XVIII centuries). Alma-Ata, same authors. Otrar in XIII-XV centuries. Alma-Ata, 1987.

¹⁵⁴ Ancient Tashkent. Tashkent, 1973; Buryakov Yu.F. Historical topography of ancient cities of the Tashkent oasis (Historic-Archaeological essay of Chach and Ilak). Tashkent, 1975; Antiquities of Tashkent. Tashkent, 1976; Ancient and medieval culture of Chach. Tashkent, 1979; Filanovich M.I. Tashkent. Origin and city development in the city culture. Tashkent, 1983, etc.

¹⁵⁵ Bulatova V.A. Ancient Kuva. Tashkent, 1972. For Fergana the monograph is still important: Brykina G.A. Qarabulaq, M., 1974.

¹⁵⁶ Afrasiab, II-IV issues. Tashkent, 1973-1975. To historical topography of ancient and medieval Samarkand. Tashkent, 1981.

¹⁵⁷ History of Bukhara with the most ancient times up to now. Tashkent, 1976.

¹⁵⁸ Lunina S.B. City of Southern Sogd in VIII-XII centuries. Tashkent, 1984.

¹⁵⁹ Works of South Turkmenistan archaeological complex expedition, vol. XV-XVI. Ashkhabad, 1974, 1978, etc.

¹⁶⁰ Atagarryev E. Medieval Dahistan. History and culture of a city of South-West Turkmenistan. L., 1986.

it was found over five thousand fragments and the whole copies. Opening of subject painting was sensational. Among them were images scenes with guardsmen, musicians etc. Earlier painting had found out in Ghaznavids monuments of Afghanistan; synchronous painting has specificity. Undoubtedly, that Hulbuk's painting continues iconographical traditions of Tokharistan (more widely – Central Asian) painting of the early Middle Ages. It is necessary to investigate this problem in details still. But also now it is represented indisputable, that Hulbuk's painting – are the important additional argument about close and organic communication of "Muslim" and "pre-Muslims" culture of Central Asia.

In Kulab region, in 18 km to the South-West from settlement of Moscowvsky E. Gulyamova has spent long-term excavation on site of ancient settlement of Sayod. This huge site of ancient settlement (1,5 x 0,8 h) is near the river Panj. Excavation has opened in Shahristan rich aristocratic house of palace type (50x50). It is layout was following: round central courtyard are located on premise perimeter. Many of them have been decorated not less, but sometimes richer, than in Hulbuk. The mosque premise is especially ornate. In a complex, there was a bath. As a whole, the complex pieces scenery from Sayod, the rests of the wall painting one by one considerably supplements finds from Hulbuk. On a site of ancient settlement, there were other constructions similar on a layout, but more modest.

Medieval constructions of Hulbuk and Sayod, and also some other medieval monuments dug out in Kulab area give representation about ordinary city building, dwellings in prosperous and aristocratic houses, about palaces, and other types of city constructions and about a city accomplishment. It is difficult to overestimate value of the remarkable monuments of architecture and art opened here. Truly, it is Central Asian Samarra. Unfortunately, all these riches are published only in the form of short notes and preliminary reports. The publication and researches of these materials is in future.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹First publication: Litvinsky B.A., Davidovich E.A. The preliminary report on works of Khuttal group in territory of Kulab area in 1953. – Reports of AS Tajik SSR, №11. Stalinabad, 1954. E. Gulyamova's publications: The report on works of Farkhar group in 1972 – ART, XII issue (1972). Dushanbe, 1976; same author. Excavation on site of ancient settlement Sayod in 1973. – ART, XIII issue (1973). Dushanbe, 1977; same author. Carved pieces of Hulbuk. – Material culture of Tajikistan, 3 issue. Dushanbe, 1978; same author. Excavation on site of ancient settlement of Sayod in 1974. – ART, XIV issue (1974). Dushanbe, 1979; same author. Excavation on Sayod in 1975. – ART, XV issue (1975). Dushanbe, 1980; same author. Excavation on site of ancient settlement of Sayod in 1976. – ART, XVI issue (1976). Dushanbe, 1982; same author. Excavation of medieval sites of ancient settlement of Hulbuk and Sayod (1978). – ART, XVIII issue (1978). Dushanbe, 1984; same author. Excavation on site of ancient settlement Sayod in 1977. – ART, XVII issue (1977). Dushanbe, 1983; same author. About works of Hulbuk and Moscow groups in 1979, – ART, XIX issue (1979). Dushanbe, 1986; same author. The image of lions in a decor and architecture of Khuttal. – Material culture of Tajikistan. 4 issue. Dushanbe, 1987. See also: Art of Central Asia epoch of Avicenna. Dushanbe, 1980; Antiquities of Tajikistan. An exhibition catalogue. Dushanbe, 1985.

Extensive archaeological excavations on medieval monuments of city type (or monuments with medieval layers) have spent in areas of Shahristan – Ura-Teppa, Leninabad (Khujand), etc. North Tajikistan expedition under the head of N.N. Negmatov in Khujand has been put in pawn in a citadel and Shahristan many tens of digs and small excavation. They have given the important material for judgment about stratigraphic separate sites of a city, and finding of subjects of material culture etc. Short accounting data about this excavation or their general characteristics in generalizing works was published,¹⁶² but any generalizing monograph while is not present.

Much is made in the field of studying of history of mining and metallurgy of Central Asia during Middle Ages epoch. Medieval mines are investigated many in more details and the mining history is deeply analyzed. We will mention two monographs. Yu.F. Buryakov in his monography¹⁶³ takes up questions of history of mining and metallurgy in Middle Ages Ilak. The book consists of two parts. The first contains the detailed description and the characteristic of mines and melting points of Chatkalo-Kuramin district, including being on territory of Northern Tajikistan of mines South-West Karamazar for which the author results, along with earlier known, and new, collected by him personally, data. The second part of the book contains the characteristic of stages of development of a mountain craft in region. Here the attention to the question on extraction total amounts, on prevailing value of extraction silver-lead of ores, about archaeological traces of extraction of the ores belonging to II thousand B.C. etc. Then characteristics of separate stages are resulted (VIII century; IX – X centuries; XI – beginning XIII centuries, XIII – XVI centuries).

¹⁶²The number of preliminary publications is great. We will mention only following: Negmatov N.N. Work of North of Tajikistan archaeological group in 1972. – ART (1972). Dushanbe, 1976; same author. Works of North Tajikistan archaeological group in 1973. – ART, XIII issue (1973). Dushanbe, 1977; same author. To a problem of compact settlements of Ustrushana and Khujand area in the Middle Ages. – Material culture of Tajikistan, 3 issue. Dushanbe, 1978; same author. Some results and prospects of archaeology of Northern Tajikistan in connection with creation of STAKE. Short results of works of 1974. – ART, XIV issue (1974). Dushanbe, 1979; same author. About researches of STAKE in 1975. – ART, XV issue (1975). Dushanbe, 1980; Bilalov A.I., Belyaeva T.V. Research of citadel of Khujand in 1975. – ART, XV issue (1975). Dushanbe, 1980; Negmatov N.N. About works of STAKE in 1976. – ART, XVI issue (1976); Dushanbe, 1982; Belyaeva T.V. About work of Leninabad group in 1976. – ART, XVI issue (1976). Dushanbe, 1982; Negmatov N.N. About works of STAKE in 1977. – ART, XVII issue (1977); Dushanbe, 1983; Belyaeva T.V. Research of Khujand group in 1977. – ART, XVII issue (1977); Dushanbe, 1983; Negmatov N.N. Field researches of STAKE in 1978. – ART, XVIII issue (1978). Dushanbe, 1984; Belyaeva T.V. Some results of works Khujand group in 1978. – ART, XVIII issue Dushanbe, 1984; Negmatov N.N. Field researches of STAKE in 1979. – ART, XIX issue (1979). Dushanbe, 1986; Belyaeva T.V. Excavation on Khujand arch in 1979. – ART, XIX issue. (1979). Dushanbe, 1986; Negmatov N.N. Khujand. The basic stages of history. – In book: Researches on history and culture of Leninabad. Dushanbe, 1986, etc.

¹⁶³Buryakov Yu.F. Metallurgy of medieval Ilak of V and beginning of XIII century M., 1974.

M.A. Bubnova has devoted her monograph¹⁶⁴ to mining operations in Central Asia epoch of the late Middle Ages and new time. These questions were discussed earlier in the literature (especially P.P. Ivanov), but M.A. Bubnova has made it incomparably more in detail. She surveyed funds Moscow, Leningrad, Tashkent, Frunze and Orenburg archives, including geological. Printing materials (reports of ambassadors, reports of travelers, geological works etc. are more exhaustively used.). Work contains data on mining operations, are grouped by the state formations (Bukhara Khanate etc.). They supplemented with data about Central Asian trade in minerals, about the organization and the technician of mining and metallurgy during this epoch.

In the territory of Tajikistan the settlement of miners of Bazar-Dara on East Pamir (Murgab area) at height of 3900 m. Here is dug out a caravanserai enclosed with a wall (the area – 400 m²) and actually settlement (the area about 1 hectares). The settlement consisted of 80 – 85 houses, from this number 6 houses are dug out. Spent here in difficult excavation M.A. Bubnova's have led to opening the richest complex of material culture of XI century. The extraction of silver-lead ores there.¹⁶⁵

R.G. Mukminova's book¹⁶⁶ is devoted actually the city craft. This carefully executed monographic research of a condition of craft and position of handicraftsmen of Samarkand and Bukhara. It entirely based on XVI century written sources: assembly, historical and references, and risala, etc. After the short review of a condition of Samarkand and Bukhara in XVI century, R.G. Mukminova passes to the characteristic of separate crafts. His work contains data about weaver's business, color painting business, paper manufacture, metalworking, clothes manufacturing, pottery, stone-polishing and building business, woodcraft manufacture etc. At the analysis of the archaeological and ethnographic materials are used. In special chapters, such questions, as social and economic position of handicraftsmen, craft workshops and sale of their production, taxes from craft and trade, social contradictions are considered. The book of the R.G. Mukminova containing a plentiful material undoubtedly was the important contribution to studying of medieval Central Asian crafts.

The archaeological material on the Central Asian medieval craft, received

¹⁶⁴Bubnova M.A. Mining operations in Central Asia in XVI-XIX centuries. M., 1975.

¹⁶⁵Bubnova M.A. Results of excavation Bazar-Dara settlements in 1973. - ART, XIII issue (1973). Dushanbe, 1977; same author. Excavation of rabad on Bazar-Dara settlement (a field season of 1974). - ART, XIV issue (1974). Dushanbe, 1979; same author. Importance of caravan trade for high-mountainous settlements of East Pamir in XI century – In book: Commodity-money relations on Near and Middle East during Middle Ages epoch. M., 1979; same author. Bazar-Dara settlement (field researches of 1975) – ART, XV issue (1975). Dushanbe. 1980, same author. Maintenance of miner settlements with a foodstuff on an example of settlement of Bazar-Dara (XI century) – In book: Near and Middle East. Commodity-money relations at feudalism. M., 1980. See also: Antiquities of Tajikistan. Dushanbe, 1985.

¹⁶⁶Mukminova R.G. Essays on craft history in Samarkand and Bukhara in XVI century. Tashkent, 1976.

at excavation, is huge literally. It is only in significant part was published and investigated. More all has carried to ceramics and glass. From the published monographs of G.V. Shishkina¹⁶⁷and L.G. Brusenko¹⁶⁸ could mention. The richest complexes of ceramics and glass from excavation in the territory of Tajikistan monographic not published until now. Much is made for studying medieval Central Asian bronze¹⁶⁹ including the Uzun treasure of such products (Kolkhozabad district) ¹⁷⁰ which is completely published.

¹⁶⁷Shishkina G.V. Glaze ceramics of Sogd (second half of VIII and beginning of XIII century). Tashkent, 1979; same author. Craft production of medieval Sogd. Glass. Ceramics. Second half of VIII – beginning XIII century. Tashkent, 1986.

¹⁶⁸Brusenko L.G. Glaze ceramics of Chach of IX-XII centuries. Tashkent, 1986.

¹⁶⁹Marshak B.I. Bronze jug from Samarkand. – In book: Central Asia and Iran. The collection of articles: L., 1972; same author. Silver vessels X-XI centuries, their value for a periodization of art of Iran and Central Asia. – In book: Art and archaeology of Iran, vol. II, M., 1976; Voronina V.L. Bronze Akhsiket from A.N. Smirnova's collection. – In book: Central Asia in an Antiquity and the Middle Ages. M., 1977; Ivanov A.A., Kozhomberdiev I.K. Treasure of bronze things from Ketmen-tube. – In book: Kirghizia at Qarakhanids. Frunze, 1983.

¹⁷⁰Litvinsky B.A., Solovev V.S. Medieval culture of Tokharistan in the light of excavation in the Vakhsh Valley, M., 1985, pp. 164-192; 198-204.

**SUPPLEMENT
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LIST OF ABRIDGEMENT

ADD – Avtoreferat doktorskoy dissertatsii

AKD – Avtoreferat kandidatskoy dissertatsii

APT – “Arkhitekturnye pamiatniki Turkmenii”. Ashkhabad

Ar. SSSR – “Arkhitektura SSSR”. M.

ART – “Arkheologicheskie raboty v Tadzhikistane”. Dushanbe (Tr. II AN Tadzh SSR)

Biul. AN

SSSR – “Biulleten AN SSSR”. M.

Biul.

SAGU – “Biulleten Sredneaziatskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta”. Tashkent.

VV – “Vizantiyskiy vremennik”. L., M.

VDI – “Vestnik drevney istorii”. M.

VI – “Voprosy istorii”. M.

VIMK – “Vestnik istorii mirovoy kultury”. M.

VRGO – “Vestnik Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva”. SPb.

VS – “Voenniy sbornik”. M.

VYa – “Voprosy yazykoznaniya”. M.

GZh – “Gornyi zhurnal”. M.

DAN

UzSSR – “Doklady Akademii nauk Uzbekskoy SSR”.

DAN

TadzhSSR – “Doklady Akademii nauk Tadzhikskoy SSR”.

ETK – “Ezhegodnik Turkestanskogo kraya”. Tashkent.

ZhMNP – “Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniya”. SPb.

ZhS – “Zhivaya starina”. SPb.

ZVORAO – “Zapiski vostochnogo otdeleniya russkogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva”. SPb. Pg.

ZIV – “Zapiski instituta vostokovedeniya AN SSSR”. M.-L.

Z(I)RGO – “Zapiski Imp. Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva”. SPb.

ZKV – “Zapiski Kollegii vostokovedov pri Aziatskom muzee Rossiyskoy Akademii nauk (Akademii nauk SSSR)”. L.

IAN – “Izvestiya (Imperatorskoy) Akademii nauk”. SPb.

IV – “Istoricheskiy vestnik”. M.

IGAIMK – “Izvestiya Gosudarstvennoy Akademii istorii materialnoy kultury”. M.-L.

IZh – “Istoricheskiy zhurnal”. M.

IZ – “Istoricheskie zapiski”. M.

Izv. VGO – “Izvestiya Vsesoyuznogo geograficheskogo obshchestva”. M.

Izv.

OLEE – “Izvestiya Obshchestva lyubiteley estestvoznaniya i etnografii”. M.

Izv. Tadzh.

FAN SSSR – “Izvestiya Tadzhikskogo filiala AN SSSR”

II – Institut istorii

IIAE – Institut istorii, arkheologii i etnografii

IIINT – Institut istorii nauki i tekhniki

IM – “Istorik – marksist”. M.

IMKU – “Istoriya materialnoy kultury Uzbekistana”. Tashkent

INA – Institutu narodov Azii AN SSSR

IOON AN

Tadzh SSR – “Izvestiya Otdeleniya obshchestvennykh nauk

Akademii nauk Tadzhikskoy SSR".
Dushanbe

IRGO – "Izvestiya Russkogo
geograficheskogo obshchestva".
SPb.

IFYALI – "Institut yazyka, lite-
ratury i istorii"

KSIV – "Kratkie soobshcheniya
Instituta vostokovedeniya Akademii
nauk SSSR". M. – L., M.

KSIIMK – "Kratkie soobshche-
niya Instituta istorii materi-alnoy
kulturny AN SSSR". M. – L., M.

KSINA – "Kratkie soobshche-
niya Instituta narodov Azii AN
SSSR". M.

KSIE – "Kratkie soobshcheniya
Instituta etnografii AN SSSR". M. –
L., M.

LO INA – Leningradskoe otdele-
nie Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR

LU – "Literaturnyi Uzbekistan".
Tashkent

MAR – "Materialy po arkheolo-
gii Rossii". SPb.

Mat-ly

YuTAKE – "Materialy Yuzh-
noturkmenskoy arkheologicheskoy
kompleksnoy ekspeditsii". M. – L.,
Ashkhabad

MIA – "Materialy i issledovani-
ya po arkheologii SSSR". M. – L.

MIIYa – "Materialy i issledo-
vaniya po indoevropeiskim i drugim
yazykam". M.

MITAU – "Materialy po istorii i
teorii arkhitektury Uzbekistana".
Tashkent

MITT – "Materialy po istorii
turkmen i Turkmenii". M. – L.

MIUTT – "Materialy po istorii
Uzbekskoy, Tadzhikskoy i
Turkmenskoy SSR"

MOE – "Materialy Otdeleniya
etnografii". L.

MSTK – "Materialy dlya sta-
tistiki Turkestanskogo kraya".

Ezhegodnik pod red. N.A. Maeva,
vyp. I – V. SPb., 1872 – 1879

NAA – "Narody Azii i Afriki".
M.

NS – "Numizmaticheskiy sbor-
nik". M.

NTrTGU – "Nauchnye trudy
Tashkentskogo gosudarstvennogo
universiteta"

NE – "Numizmatika i epigra-
fika". M.

OVGE – Otdel Vostoka Go-
sudarstvennogo Ermitazha

OIT – "Ocherki po istorii
Tadzhikistana". Stalinabad

ONN – Otdelenie obshchest-
vennykh nauk

ORYaS – Otdelenie russkogo
yazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akademii
nauk. SPb.

PV – "Problemy vostokove-
deniya". M.

PLNV – "Pamyatniki litera-tury
narodov Vostoka".

PS – "Predneaziatskiy sbornik". M.

PTKLA – "Protokoly zasedaniy i
soobshcheniya chlenov Turkestan-
skogo kluba lyubiteley arkheolo-
gii". Tashkent

RANION – Rossiyskaya Assot-
siatsiya nauchno-issledovatel'skikh
institutov obshchestvennykh nauk

RV – "Russkiy vestnik"

RT – "Russkiy Turkestan"

SA – "Sovetskaya arkheologiya"

SAGU – Sredneaziatskiy gosu-
darstvennyi universitet. Tashkent

Sb. MAE – Sbornik Muzeya
antropologii i etnografii pri AN
SSSR". SPb., M. – L.

SV – "Sovetskoe vostokove-
denie". M. – L., M.

SGSTMA – "Sbornik geografi-
cheskikh, statisticheskikh i topogra-
ficheskikh materialov po Azii". SPb.

SIIA – "Soobshcheniya Instituta
istorii arkhitektury"

SIITA – “Soobshcheniya instituta istorii i teorii arkhitektury Akademii arkhitektury SSSR”. M.

SKSO – “Spravochnaya knizhka Samarkandskoy oblasti”

SMSSDO – “Sbornik materialov statistiki Syr-Daryinskoy oblasti”

SE – “Sovetskaya etnografiya”. M. – L. M.

TAN – Trudy Akademii nauk

TAE – Termezskaya arkheologicheskaya kompleksnaya ekspeditsiya

TV – “Turkestanskie vedomosti”

TVORAO – “Trudy Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva”. SPb.

TIIYaO – “Trudy Instituta istorii, yazyka i literatury”

TIE – “Trudy Instituta etnografii”

TOVE – “Trudy Otdela Vostoko-Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha”

Tr. GIM – “Trudy Gosudarstvennogo istoricheskogo muzeya”

Tr. IINT – “Trudy Instituta istorii nauki i tekhniki”. M. – L.

Tr. IE – “Trudy Instituta etnografii”

Tr. Kirg.

AEE – “Trudy Kirgizskoy arkheologicheskoy ekspeditsii”. M.

Tr. KHAEE – “Trudy Khorezmskoy arkheologo-etnografičeskoy ekspeditsii”

Tr. UzGU – “Trudy Uzbekskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta”. Samarkand

Tr.

YuTAKE – “Trudy Yuzhnoturkmeneskoy arkheologicheskoy kompleksnoy ekspeditsii”. Ashkhabad

UZ IVAN – “Uchenye zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniya Akademii nauk SSSR”. M.

UZ LGU – “Uchenye zapiski Leningradskogo universiteta”

UZ MGU – “Uchenye zapiski Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta”

UZ TGU – “Uchenye zapiski Tadzhikskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta”

EV – “Epigrafika Vostoka”. L.

AA – “Ars Asiatica”. Paris

AAH – “Acta Antiquae Hungarica”. Budapest

AI – “Ars Islamica”. Paris

AKGWG – “Abhandlungen der Koniglichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen”. Berlin

AM – “Asia Major”. London

ANS – American Numismatic Society. New York

AOr – “Archiv Orientalni”. Praha

AP – “Ancient Pakistan”. Peshawar

AON – “Acta Orientalia Hungarica”. Budapest

AOS – “American Oriental Series. New Haven, Connecticut

ASPR – American School of Prehistoric Research

AWL – Academie der Wissenschaft und der Literatur, Wiesbaden

BCI – “Bulletin of the College of Indology”, Banaras

BI – Bibliotheca Indica: a collection of oriental works, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal

BGA – Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum. Edidit M.J. de Goege, parc. I–VIII, Lugduni Batavorum

BRIPHI – Brief report on the investigation of the Protoindian texts. Moscow

BSO(A)S – “Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African)

Studies". London Institution (University of London). London

CAJ – "Central Asiatic Journal" "International periodical for the languages, literature, history and archaeology of Central Asia", Wiesbaden

CHM – "Cahiers d'histoïne mondiale", Neihatel

CRAI (BL) – "Academie des inscriptions et belles – lettres. Comptes rendus des seances". Paris

CSSS – China Society Sinological Series

DI – "Der Islam". Berlin

ENR – "Economic History Review". London

EI – "Enzyklopaedie des Islam. Geographisches, ethnographisches und biographisches Wörterbuch der muhmmelanischen". Volker, Bd. I–IV. Leiden – Leipzig (1908), 1913 – 1934

EI. New ed. – "The Encyclopaedia of Islam". New. ed., vol.I. Leiden – London, 1960

ESC – "Economies, societes civilisations". Paris

EW – "East and West". Roma

GMS – "E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series". Leiden

HO – "Handbuch d.Orientalistik". Leiden – Koln

IF – "Indogermanschen Forschungen". Berlin

IHQ – "The Indian Historical Quarterly". Calcutta

IJWIPS – "Iran Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies". London

ISHNWCC – "International Symposium on History of Eastern and Western Cultural Contacts". Japanese National Commission of UNESCO

IQ – "Indian Quarterly". Calcutta

ISQ – "The Islamic Quarterly"

JA – "Journal asiatique". Paris

JAOS – "Journal of the American Oriental Society"

JASB – "The Journal of the Royal Asiatic society of Bengal". Calcutta

JBORS – "Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society"

JESHO – "Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient"

JGIS – "Journal of the Greater India Society". Calcutta

JIH – "Journal of Indian History". Madras

JNSI – "Journal of the Numismatic Society of India"

JNES – "Journal of Near Eastern Studies"

JRAS – "The Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland". London

JSS – "Journal of Semitic Studies"

MAOr – "Monografie Archivu Orientalniho". Praha

MASI – "Memoires of the archaeological survey of India". Delhi

MCAAS – "Memoirs of the Connecticut Academe of Arts and Sciences". Connecticut

MDAFA – "Memoires de la Delegation archeologique Francise en Afghanistan". Paris

MDTB – "Memoirs of the Department of the Toyo Bunko"

MMAI – "Memoirs of the Mission archeologique en Iran".

MN – "Museum Notes", New York

MNH – Museum of Natural History

MVAG – "Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch – Aegyptischen Gessellschaft". Leipzig

MW – "Muslim World"

NC – "Numismatic Chronicle"

- NS** – New Series
- NZ** – “Numismatische Zeitschrift”
- OBR** – “Oriental and Babylonian Record”. London
- OTF** – “Oriental Translations Fund”
- PELOV** – Publications de l’Ecole des langues orientales vivantes
- PHT** – “Persian historical texts
- PZGA** – “Philologus. Zeitschrift fur das classische Althertum”. Gottingen – Leipzig
- PIHANS** – Publications de l’Institut historique et archeologique Neerlandies de Stanbul. Stanbul
- PPMHU** – “Papers Peabody Museum Harvard University”
- RE** – “Pauly’s Real – Encyclopaedie der Classischaft”, neue Bearbeitung, begonnen von G. Wissowa, hrsg. von W. Kroll
- RMP** – “Rheinischen Museum fur Philologie”. Bonn, Frankfurt am Main
- RN** – “Revue numismatique”. Paris
- SBE** – The Sacred Books of the East
- SIAS** – “The Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies”. Copenhagen
- SPAW** – “Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Academie der Wissenschaften”. Berlin
- TC** – “Tamil Culture”
- ZDMG** – “Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft”. Berlin
- ZVTA** – “Zeki Velidi Togan’a armagan”. Istanbul
- ZVSGIS** – “Zeitschrift fur vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indo-germanischen Sprachen”. Berlin

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PART I

THE PRIMITIVE COMMUNITY SYSTEM AND ITS DECLINE ON THE TERRITORY OF CENTRAL ASIA

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GHAFUROV BOBOJON

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