

S.P. TOLSTOV

FOLLOWING THE TRACKS OF ANCIENT KHOREZMIAN CIVILIZATION



2005



United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

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English edition first published in 2005 by the UNESCO Tashkent Office.

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First published in Russian language in 1948 by the Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad.

General Editing by the Committee of the Academy of Sciences of USSR for the Publication of Popular Scientific Literature.

Chairman of Commission Academician S.I. Vavilov, President of the Academy of Sciences of USSR.

Deputy Chairman of Commission P.F.Yudin, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of USSR.

This book is published with the financial and technical assistance of UNESCO Tashkent Office, within the framework of the UNESCO Cross-Cutting Project "International Follow-up to the Director-General's Initiative for Innovative and Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Aral Sea Basin".

Team Leader: Michael Barry Lane

Project Coordinator: Abdu Kadir Ergashev

Project Assistant: Yse Blanchelande English translation: Eric Wahlberg Proofreading: Penelope Krumm

Design and typesetting: Multigraf Combinat, Tashkent

Cover and title page: Djakhangir Buzurkhanov/Michael Barry Lane

Printed by: Multigraf Combinat, Tashkent



FOREWORD

The great historic civilizations of Central Asia developed around oases formed by rivers flowing down from snowcapped mountains. Khorezm is one of the largest of these oases, fed by the great river Amu-dar'ya, the ancient Oxus recorded by Greek historians over two thousand years ago. Today the Amu Darva is a shadow of its former self, sapped of its energy by hundreds of canals diverting its waters to the towns and fields along its banks. Where once it filled the Aral Sea, nourishing a thriving fishing industry, now there is little left but dry salt pans and the Kara-kum and Kyz'il-kum deserts. The ecological and economic hardship caused to the local populations in modern times by the drying up of the Syrdarya and Amudarya rivers and the shrinking of the Aral Sea are well known, the consequences of intensive development of cotton monoculture. Today Karakapakstan and Khorezm are among the poorest regions of Uzbekistan. Desertification, poor drainage and over-intensive irrigation have dramatically increased the levels of salt in the soil, while the public drinking water supply is polluted and the source of several endemic diseases.

Although chiefly known today as the epicentre of an ecological disaster zone, the territory of Khorezm and Karakalpakstan was for thousands of years the cradle of one of the great civilizations of the ancient world, the seat of a vast empire which has left behind countless archaeological sites and desert castles, little known and vulnerable to damage from the impact of human activities. The region is also the home of the famous Savitsky Museum in Nukus, with its outstanding collection of Soviet avantgarde art, and the medieval walled town of Khiva, inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List, while just across the border in Turkmenistan is the site of Kunya Urgench, the capital of the Khorezm Shahs from the time of the Arab conquest. Lastly, the region has a very ancient and varied folklore which is very much alive, ranging from the distinctive Khorezm magom

and Karakalpak oral epics, both of which have been recorded and published in UNESCO's World Music series, to carpet weaving, felt making, embroidery, metalworking, woodcarving and ceramics.

It is the rediscovery and mapping of the traces of this ancient civilization which is brought to life again in Tolstov's admirable account of the archaeological expeditions organized in the 1940s by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The English edition of Tolstov's book is published within the framework of the UNESCO Cross-Cutting project 'International Follow-up to the Director-General's Initiative for Innovative and Intersectoral Solutions to the Aral Sea Basin', as a contribution to the Millennium Development Goals. This project focuses on alleviating poverty and improving living standards for the populations living near the epicentre of the Aral Sea ecological disaster zone by generating sustainable incomes linked to the promotion and development of cultural tourism and other related economic activities such as traditional crafts and performing arts and sustainable alternatives to a cotton monoculture.

We believe that the Aral Sea region offers great potential for the development of a 'Golden Ring of Khorezm' itinerary taking in Khiva, the Savitskiy Museum in Nukus, the desert castles, the Tugay Forest reserve and the abandoned ships at Moynak, near the shores of the Aral Sea. It is our aim to help achieve the Millennium Goals in this hard-hit region by harnessing and managing its rich cultural and human resources to develop a kind of cultural and ecological tourism which will benefit the local populations directly, generate sustainable incomes and improve living conditions for the present-day heirs of the ancient Khorezmians.

MICHAEL BARRY LANE UNESCO Representative in Uzbekistan



PREFACE

Almost 60 years have passed since the two books of the brilliant Russian scientist Sergei Pavlovich Tolstov were published: "Ancient Khorezmi, Experience of Historic-Archaeological Research", and "Following the Tracks of Ancient Khorezmian Civilization". The publication of these books revelealed to the world the existence of one of the most remarkable civilizations of the ancient East, the civilization of ancient Khorezm. Scarce references to Khorezm and *Khorezmiyans-Khorasmiyas* in ancient Greek, Iranian and other written sources were not sufficient to allow scientists to grasp the full picture or track the historic evolution of this ancient civilization, which seemed to be hopelessly hidden within the haze of legends and myths.

During the first decades of the 20th century, intrepid travellers and naturalists exploring the depths of the deserts and oases of the Southern Aral region had noted the presence of many ancient monuments, remains of grandiose irrigation systems, ancient oases, ruins of cities, frontier fortresses and rural settlements. And this whole mysterious, phantasmal world of dead, ancient civilisation, hidden away among the masses of scientific information, remained concealed from the searching gaze of science. It was obvious that only scientific exploration of these dumb witnesses of the past, conserved by the arid desert environment, could resolve the problem of reading the apparently hopelessly lost pages of the history of the ancient inhabitants of the oases of the Lower Amu-Darya and the surrounding desert territories.

The first attempts to undertake a scientific investigation of these monuments were not productive because of the subject's novelty and the underdeveloped research methods used. The honour of the true scientific discovery of these monuments and their systematic scientific exploration belongs to Sergei Pavlovich Tolstov, a scientist who was brought up in the traditions of Anuchin's school. Tolstov's systematic approach towards the explored scientific problems is one of the brightest features of his work. Not limiting himself to mere archaeological data, he based his conclusions on a wide range of sources – historic, archaeological, ethnographic, anthropogenic, linguistic, as well as on data and methods of natural science.

Tolstov visited the ancient capital in the lower stream of Amu-Darya river for the first time In 1929, as a member of the historic-ethnographic expedition of the Russian Association of Scientific-research institutes of Natural Sciences. This expedition, as mentioned by the scientist himself, was to determine the direction of all the author's subsequent work, wherein the primary focus of his attention, despite numerous other distractions, was the history, archaeology and ethnography of this particular area of Central Asia, the "Central Asian Egypt", one of the most ancient cultural areas of our country.

The Khorezm Archaeological Expedition of the State Academy of History of Material Culture (SAHMC) was created and started its activity in 1937. For nearly five years before the beginning of the Second World War the expedition, headed by S.P. Tolstov, explored a vast territory at the mid and lower streams of the Amu-Darya and vast deserts around the Khorezm oasis, using camels, boats and cars for transportation, and often travelling on foot. However, their main archaeological activity was concentrated in the South of Karakalpakistan, where, in the long-deserted "lands of ancient irrigation" S.P. Tolstov was sagaciously expecting to discover the monuments whose exploration would help to reveal the undiscovered historic depth of ancient Khorezmian civilization. In the arid desert environment the researchers sighted ancient oases with the wellpreserved ruins of ancient cities and rural settlements, frontier fortresses, remains of main water canals and distribution networks, and the layout of ancient fields, gardens and vineyards. Tolstov referred to this phantasmal country in his writings as a "strange desert" positioned to the West and to the East of the cultivated lands of the Khorezm oasis. "Among the heavy sands, among the ridges of dunes, on the top of the multicoloured desert rocks of the Sultan-Uizdag ranges, on the steeps of Ust-Urt Chink, on the flat pinkish surface of takirs, - everywhere, over an area of hundreds of thousands hectares, we meet the remains of human activity. These are dual lines of weather-worn hillocks stretching in a dotted line over dozens of kilometres, the remains of the edges of the main water canals and the grid of irrigation network at the takirs. These are takirs, covered for dozens of square kilometres with; endless fragments of ceramics, red. smooth and clear, rough reddish-brown or multi-coloured: fragments of copper and iron; the tips of ancient three-edged bronze arrows; earrings and pendants; bracelets and seal-rings, among which you can sometimes find gems engraved with pictures of horsemen, gryphons and hippocampus; terracotta statues of men and women in peculiar dresses; figures of horses and camels, bulls and goats; and coins with pictures of kings in magnificent hats on one side and horsemen surrounded by symbols of ancient alphabet on the other. These are the remains of ancient houses. settlements, and cities. Sometimes they may be only faint traces on the smooth surface of the takir of the layout of ancient houses, or reddish rings of long-ago piphoses-hums, put into the ground on the same level as the takir. Sometimes these are complete dead cities, settlements, fortresses or castles, or ruins of other sometimes inhabited areas, with buildings standing ten, twelve or sometimes twenty meters above the beds of dry, wind-scattered and sand-covered canals, their rough walls pierced with narrow arrow slots, watchtowers, or round and lancet arches of portals".

The scientist's foresight has been brilliantly confirmed; during almost five years of pressing work dozens of unknown monuments of outstanding importance were discovered, mapped and archaeologically excavated which opened up for the first time the pre-Islamic civilization of ancient Khorezm. According to S.P. Tolstov the "magic circle" of scarce written information was broken, and it was possible for the first time to identify and clearly mark, with the help of archaeology, the circle of historic-cultural, historic-political and historic-ethnographical data related to ancient Khorezm.

Tolstov's extraordinary scientific intuition must be mentioned; he managed, based on relatively scarce materials, at the earliest stages of exploring the ancient Khorezmian civilization, to mark out the main archaeological issues of ancient Khorezm which were later to be developed by his students and followers. Many of S.P. Tolstov's elaborations, in particular the chronological development of the archaeological monuments and cultures of ancient Khorezm contained in his monograph on "Ancient

Khorezm" have successfully stood the test of time and are still used by explorers until now.

After the end of the Second World War the archaeological explorations of the Khorezm Expedition recommenced, but with a new level of quality. Exploration continued, over an expanded area. The frontiers of exploration spread beyond the lower stream of the Amu-Darya, now covering the lower Syr-Darya, Aral-Kaspiy and Uzboy. S.P. Tolstov was a pioneer of the use of aviation for this activity, which allowed the explorers to cover huge territories otherwise difficult to reach by over-land transportation.

During the same years large-scale archaeological excavations started. A palace of the Khorezm Shahs dating from the third century AD, discovered at *Toprak-kala* ancient settlement site during the explorations of 1938 and assessed as an extraordinary monument of culture, was chosen as the main object of this research. The scale of this work, using advanced methods of exploration such as aerial photography, allowed excellent results to be obtained within a relatively short time. In the rooms of the palace examples of monumental paintings and monumental sculpture were discovered. The peculiarity of the monuments of ancient art discovered led S.P. Tolstov to postulate the existence of an independent Khorezmian art school with its own special place "among the art centres of the Antique Mediterranean and the Middle East".

The monograph "Following the Tracks of Ancient Khorezmian Civilization", reflecting the materials of the first post-war explorations (1945-1948) of the Khorezm Expedition as well as the results of papers and historic-commentary works on the materials of the pre-war explorations, was a continuation and development of the monograph "Ancient Khorezm".

After the death of S.P. Tolstov the excavations of Toprak Kala continued. These works were headed by his students and closest colleagues Y.A. Rapoport and E.E. Nerazik, who completed the exploration initiated by S.P. Tolstov and prepared publication of materials from the long-term studies.

The results of the next major phase of work by a group of scientists, headed by S.P. Tolstov, were outlined in his monograph "Following Ancient Deltas of *Oks* and *Yaksart*". The issues touched on covered the whole range of exploration work of the Expedition, starting from its creation in 1937: the issue of the ancient streams of the great Central Asian rivers Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya; primeval monuments in the areas of the rivers' ancient deltas; the history and culture of the oldest establish-

ments in the lower stream of Amu-Darya and the Scythian tribes of lower stream Syr-Darya; the medieval archaeological monuments of the Aral Sea region; and finally, reflecting the specific character of the Expedition, which starting from 1945 became not only archaeological but also ethnographic, the book looked at the issues of the history and culture of the peoples of Central Asia from the 16th to 19th centuries, based on ethnoarchaeological explorations carried out by the Expedition at the abandoned 18th to 19th century settlements in the lower stream of the Syr-Darya river

The contribution to science of S.P. Tolstov and his closest colleagues and students is tremendous. Suffice it to mention that, in addition to Tolstov's monographs, 25 volumes of "Works" and "Materials" of the Khorezm Expedition were published, in addition to numerous monographs and articles by his students.

The bright, remarkable personality of Tolstov, his vast scientific and cultural erudition and his outstanding ability to captivate the young researchers with the romance of scientific research brought many talented young people into the Khorezm Expedition. More than a generation of researchers has been brought up on the works of Tolstov, who continue his work and whom we call "School of Tolstov", and there are established archaeological centres throughout Uzbekistan that still continue his work. Tolstov rendered a huge assistance to the organization of science in Karakalpakistan, being consistently involved in the preparation of scientific personnel for the young science of the Republic, and the research activity of the Khorezm Expedition in Karakalpakistan has attracted local young people into science. Continuing the development of the issues initiated by Tolstov, the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Karakalpak Branch of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan published a six volume work on "The Archaeology of the Aral Sea Zone". as well as a number of articles and monographs.

Furthermore, foreign scientists have actively joined in the development of these issues on a new level, and the Karakalpak-Australian archaeological expedition of the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Karakalpak Branch of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan and Sydney University (Australia) have been working together for more than 10 years.

In 1948 Tolstov was granted a State Prize First Class for his scientific monograph "Ancient Khorezm". Taking into account his extraordinary

achievement in exploring the achievements and contributions of the civilizations and peoples of Central Asia to the treasury of world culture, and his distinguished accomplishments in the development of science and training of scientific personnel, he was granted the honorary titles of Honoured Worker of Science and Technology of the Uzbek SSR, Honoured Worker of Science of the Tajik SSR and Honoured Worker of Science of the Karakalpak ASSR. In 1956 he was elected as an Honoured Academician of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan.

Tolstov's magnificent books "Ancient Khorezm" and "Following the Tracks of Ancient Khorezmian Civilization" have hardly dated at all, and still remain as needed and demanded by scientists as when they were first published. They have become important manuals for researchers of ancient and medieval history of Central Asia. Written in a vivid and fascinating style easily accessible to a general public, they are also of interest to a wide circle of readers.

TURA MIRZAEV, Vice-president of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan VADIM YAGODIN,
Director of Institute of History,
Archaeology and Ethnography
of Karakalpak Branch
of Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences



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Restoring the annals of ancient Khorezm which were destroyed by Kuteiba is the author's commemoration of the nine hundredth anniversary of the death of one of the greatest scientists of the Middle Ages, the author of the lost «History of Khorezm», the native of Khorezm ABU-RAIHAN MOHAMMED IBN-AHMED AL-BIRUNI (972-1048)

FROM THE AUTHOR

The present book is an attempt to popularize the materials of the Khorezm expedition of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR over the 10 years of its work (1937-1947). Despite the specificity of its publication in the popular scientific series, it can be considered as the development and continuation of our monograph «Ancient Khorezm» finished in 1942, reflecting the results of the first five years of work. Besides that, this book includes the materials accumulated during the field seasons of 1945 - 1947 for the first time, and we also use new results of our official studies and historical-commentary works in addition to the material of previous seasons. Naturally, however, we pay proportionally considerably greater attention to new materials and new problems which were not mentioned in «Ancient Khorezm». I hope that those readers who become interested in our subject can find wider substantiation of our conclusions in the works of the first period in «Ancient Khorezm». We have tried to make this book accessible to laypersons as well as specialists.

I use this opportunity to express my profound gratitude to the Communist Party and Soviet organizations of the Karakalpak ASSR where

most of the work of the Khorezmian expeditions of 1945-1947 took place. first of all to comrade Seitov, Secretary of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party and to Comrade Dzhapparov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the KASSR.

I should also express my gratitude for the self-sacrificing work of the enthusiastic Khorezmian collective of the expedition, above all my assistant on management architect M.A.Orlova. We are obliged to her for many of the successes achieved by the expedition in the post-war years due to her initiative and energy.

Moscow, November, 1947. S. Tolstov

운 Part 1 왕

TRAVEL TO ANCIENT KHOREZM





Chapter 1

PAGES FROM A LOST BOOK

1

The ancient history of the people of Central Asia was and remains one of the least studied problems of Oriental history. Only insignificant materials about the period preceding the Arabian conquest have reached us. Most of the ancient treasures of the pre-Muslim civilizations, including the historical literature, which undoubtedly existed in the ancient Central Asian states, were lost in the flames of the Arab invasion and the events of the 7-8th centuries, which brought deep changes to the socio-economic, political and cultural way of life.

With respect to the country to which the present book is devoted, we know about the barbarous destruction of the scientific literature in 712 AD by the Arabian commander Kuteiba ibn-Muslim, who killed and exiled Khorezmian scientists, the bearers of ancient domestic cultural traditions.

The great Khorezm scientist of the 10-11th centuries Ahu-Raihan Al-Biruni tells us in his book about the chronology of the ancient peoples:

«With all his might Kuteiba dispersed and exterminated everyone who knew the written language of Khorezmians, who kept their legends, all the scientists among them, so that all this was covered with gloom and there is no true knowledge known from their history before Islam came into their life.»

Some information relating to the history of the Central Asian people between the 6-7th centuries B.C. can be obtained only from other Central

Al-Biruni, 36

Asian sources - ancient Persian inscriptions, Greek and Latin messages, from Armenian and Syrian geographers and historians and from ancient Chinese historical-ethnographic and geographic literature. Some fragments of the middle Persian historical tradition, greatly distorted and difficult to use, have reached us via the Arab-Persian medieval heritage. Indian monuments give us insignificant items of information. And, finally, quantitatively abundant, but undated and extremely difficult to use for these purposes, are the sacred books of the Zoroastrian religion and Central Asian - Iranian epics, which came to us in the Persian version Firdausi.

All this material illustrates only slightly the separate periods, areas, events and themes, leaving the rest of the history in darkness. The three-year campaign of Alexander the Great in Central Asia so brightly described by Arian, Curtius and Plutarch is preceded and followed by dark centuries, which have provided only sketchy, contradictory and often scarcely intelligible echoes of events, and do not let us trace the schedule of political events, let alone make internal sense of them. And only one thousand years after Alexander, in the 7-8th centuries A.D., when western conquerors came to Central Asia, did sources bring us reliable information about the rich political life of the epoch; but we know almost nothing about the preceding history.

In view of this specificity of the references, the peoples of pre-Muslim Central Asia appear for historians only as objects of endless foreign penetrations, and not only of Macedonians and Arabs.

Not incidentally therefore, until recent days these victories and the foreign names of dynasties are used as a basis of "periodization" of the ancient history of Central Asia. The basic problems of this history, and principally matters relating to social history, have been unexplored.

Quite a rich literature (though not so rich compared with the literature on other aspects of ancient history) about the pre-Muslim period of Central Asia is almost exclusively dedicated to historical and geographical, chronological and historic and ethnographic problems; yet due to the narrowness and defectiveness of the chronological historical and ethnographic basis of studies, this literature is full of disagreements concerning the most elementary definitions.

For example it is enough to mention the period of Kanishka - the most outstanding ruler of the Central Asian and Indian empire of the Kushans - which appears in the sources from 57 B.C. to 278 A.D. Still there is no

common opinion about who the Kushans were ethnographically, as founders of that empire.

The question of what the social system was in the pre-Muslim period of Central Asia has never been put till recently. Without an attempt to justify this situation, recent research describes that period as a period of feudalism. It is not the facts of the history of Central Asia which dominate in the sources, but rather cyclic concepts which were introduced from the outside by Edward Meyer and his followers. So, in 1938 the English analyst V.V. Tarn talks about the "feudal lords" and "barons" of the Sogdians of the pre-Alexander epoch and about "feudal aristocracy" even of the Central Asian barbarians and Massagettes of the Herodotus period². Below you can see how groundless these characteristics are.

The ancient written sources about Khorezm remain very poor to this very day. If for the Sogdians we have pages of history rich with diverse content on the campaigns of Alexander, and the period of the Arabian invasion on the history of this country is described quite well, remote Khorezm not only in antiquity, but also in the early Middle Ages, to the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th century, remains almost entirely unknown.

There are few mentions of Khorezm in Persian inscriptions, in the Avesta and Pahlevi religious literature, in Greco-Latin, Chinese and Armenian sources which hardly mention the country. Only two names of rulers of Khorezm were mentioned. One was mentioned by Arian at the end of the 4th century B.C. and another in the «History» of the Chinese dynasty of Tan - in the middle of the 8th century A.D. Very poor data by Baladhuri and Tabari - this is all we have for the period of time before the 10th century when several brief descriptions of Khorezm appeared in Arabic and Persian geographic literature.

For the 10th-11th centuries we have only excerpts from the history of Khorezm, and when, in the 10th and beginning of the 11th centuries Khorezm becomes the center of the greatest Oriental empire spreading from the borders of Georgia up to Fergana and from India to the northern Aral steppes, the events of its history were the center of attention of eastern sources, which describe this breathtaking rise of a formerly unknown country situated at the edge of the Muslim world.

² W. W. Tarn. The Greeks..., pages 32, 81, 120 - 124, 410

Domestic historical tradition saved by Al-Biruni and for the first time published and studied by Sachau ³ shows us only a rough scheme of Khorezmian history in the way it occurred to Khorezmians themselves at the beginning of the Middle Ages.

Khorezmians, according to Biruni's treatise, date from the beginning of the colonization of their country, "in 980 before Alexander" (that is prior to the beginning of the Seleucid era - 312 B.C.) starting in 1292 B.C. 1200 A.D. marked the arrival of the mythical hero Zarathustra and the ancient Central Asian and Iranian epic hero Siavush ibn-Key-Kaus, who overrode the "Turkic empire", and Key-Khusrau, the son of Siavush, founder of Khorezmshah's dynasty who according to Al-Biruni ruled up to the 10th century A.D. Later, as Al-Biruni states, the Khorezmians accepted the Persian custom of chronology "by the years of ruling of each regent of the Key-Khusrau dynasty, who governed their country and had the title of shah". So it lasted up to the rule of Afrig, one of the rulers of the dynasty. The name has a bad connotation now, as does the name of Persian regent Ezcdedjerd (Ezcdigerd I). His son also ruled the country. History tells us that Afrig built "in 616 from Alexander" (305 A.D.) a grandiose castle behind Al-Fir city which was demolished by Amu-Darya in 1305 of the Seleucid era (997 A.D.). The branch of Khorezmian Siavushids began from Afrig, who ruled in Khorezm till 995. The downfall of the Afrig dynasty is an important turning point.

Biruni gives a list of 22 regents of this dynasty, starting from 305 to 995, giving some chronology of their rule. Here is the family tree showing that the authority passed strictly from father to son 1) Afrig; 2) Bagra (alternative Bagzat); 3) Sakhasak; 4) Askadjamuk I; 5) Azkadzhavar I; 6) Sakhr I; 7) Shaush; 8) Khamgari (alternative Khangari or Khangiri); 9) Buzgar; 10) Arsamukh (alternative Artamukh); he was last according to Al-Biruni who ruled during the time of the prophet Mohammed, i.e., 622 A.D.; 11) Sakhr II; 12) Sabri; 13) Azkadzhavar II (alternative Azkahvar); 14) Askadjamuk II; at the time of this shah according to Biruni, Khorezm was conquered for the second time by Kuteiba, and after that Askadjamuk II was proclaimed as regent; 15) Shaushafar; 16) Turksabasa (?); 17) Abdallah; 18) Mansur; 19) Iraq; 20) Mohammed; 21) Ahmed; 22) "Abu-Abdallah Mohammed the martyr" before destroying Afrig's fortress,

³ Ed. Sachau, Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Khwarizm, SBWAW, PhHCI, B. 73, 1873

he was killed by the Urgench emir Mamun ibn-Mohammed - his powerful contender

A long time ago, researchers noted that the poor informations about Khorezm, scattered in different monuments of ancient literature, give us a sense of the vague but considerable role of Khorezm in the ancient history of the Middle East and eastern Europe.

A special description of the role of Khorezm is underlined in Zoroastrian religious tradition. According to Bundahishn and other sources of Khorezm, Lyima, one of the first mythical regents of Iran (Jemshid of the Persian epics) lit Hurdad, Adarhurra, or Frobak, the most ancient and most worshipped sacred fires of Zoroastrism and the protector of priestly castes.

Marquart ⁴ backed up by Bartold ⁵ and by a number of other researchers is looking in Khorezm for a mysterious country Ayir-yanem-vedjo (Eranvedj) - the first inhabited land which was created by the supreme deity of Zoroastrism - Ahura-Mazda. Tradition describes it as the most northern and cold country. As the legend states the prophet Zarathustra was born there, the founder of Zoroastrian religion.

The same Marquart, in his posthumous work of 1938 6 advanced a hypothesis about the existence of a powerful country in Central Asia in the pre-Akhemenid period which under the hegemony of Khorezm united Sogdiana (basin of Zaravshan) and Khorosan (southern Turkmenistan, northeastern Iran and western Afghanistan). He is looking for acknowledgement of this hypothesis in the text of Herodotus about domination of Khorezmians in the pre-Akhemenid times over a vast country, bordering the lands of Girkan (southeastern shore of the Caspian Sea, the Gurgena river basin), the lands of Parthians (northern Khorosan), lands of Drangs and Tamanais (western Afghanistan), and also including the 16th satrapy of the Persian empire which according to Herodotus consisted of Khorezmians, Sogdians, Parthians and Arians (inhabitants of the territory of present-day Herat).

Independently of Marquart in 1938 Tarn ⁷ had come to a similar point of view.

⁴ J.Marquart Eransalır, p 155

⁵ V.Bartold, Khwarizm

⁶ J.Marquart, Wehrot und Arang. pp 9-10

W. Tarn The Greeks, pp 478-486

However all this remained only a more or less probable hypothesis, impossible to prove due to the scarcity of materials. Ancient Khorezm, shrouded in vague legends, remained an historical mystery.

2

If we look to the beginning of 19th century to the foundation of scientific studies of the history of the classical East, we shall see that the history of ancient Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia was not better known than the ancient history of Central Asia at the beginning of the 20th century. The Bible, Herodotus, Diodor Sicilian and the historical notes of Manethon the Egyptian priest and Babylonian Beroz, differ little from the records of Al-Biruni, the only material which science possessed at that time. The European scientists, awareness of this history did not go further than the beginning of the 1st century A.D. Scientists actually knew nothing about such powerful states of the ancient East as Hittites, Mittani and Urartu.

That extensive chapter of world history, which now is the property of every literate person, was almost wholly composed thanks to the hard archaeological work on the Middle East done in the 19th century and which is successfully being continued at present.

An army of philologists and other specialists follow in the steps of archaeologists, relying on the materials discovered by them. Their presence would not be possible without the successes of the science of archaeology, studying Egyptology, Assyriology, Hittology, Chaldology and other historical specialties of culture, art, and religion. Only on the basis of titanic, incredibly labor-intensive and difficult work of the representatives of "auxiliary historical disciplines" has it been possible to create a grand picture of the ancient eastern history, without which we would not understand the general course of global historical processes.

At the same time we know how many difficulties, mistakes and disappointments there have been on this path; how many points of view were put forward on each, often minor, problem; how many hypotheses were discarded and how much things remain vague, disputable, and unexplored after all that was done.

It is clear therefore that we, the historians of Central Asia, would not be confused by the scarcity and poor quality of the references, the many centuries which have passed, the vagueness of all the problems we have faced. But, at the same time, we have to be aware that in order to solve those matters on a really scientific base we have to catch up with our colleagues.

The archaeological study of Central Asia was in its incipient state before the revolution. The task of beginning these operations was scheduled from the very early years after Tsarist Russia advanced into Central Asia (so, in 1868, soon after the occupation of Syrdarya area by Russia, the well known archaeologist P. Lerch made a field trip along the river, but could not finish the trip because this project got into the hands of ill-prepared people - imperial colonial officials and officers, and despite the curiosity of some of them he succeeded only in making a superficial description of some monuments and groups of monuments.) The appearance of scientists-experts on the territory of Central Asia (Lerch, Veselovkiy, Bobrinskiy) was incidental. More systematic were the archaeological trips of V.V. Bartold, but despite his awareness of the significance of archaeological monuments, this leading figure of Russian oriental studies was not an archaeologist in any way. He provided *illustrations*, but his work is not a *source* for historical study.

Excluding the rather poor and primitive methods of excavation of Afrosiab, the site of the ancient settlement in Samarkand, and the works executed with "American breadth" but on a quite low methodical level of excavations of the Pumpelli expedition in Anau, which is near Ashgabat, pre-Muslim monuments remained outside the study. Most attention was given to monuments of Muslim religious architecture, and only Timurid monuments were described in detail.

The great October socialist revolution was a good reason for progress in archaeological operations in Central Asia.

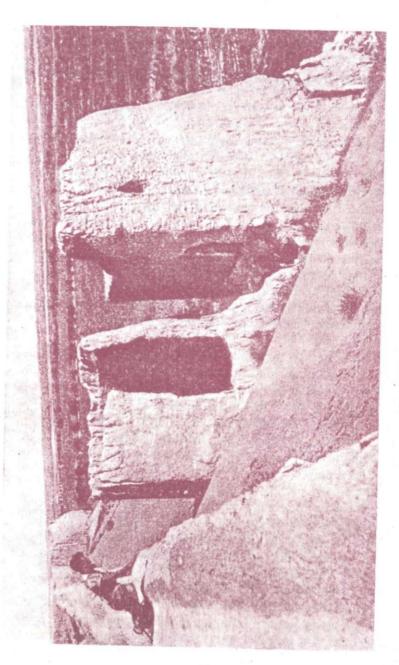
The amateurish Turkestan group of archaeologists was replaced by a series of research and development establishments headed by the powerful Central Asian Committee on Protection of Ancient Monuments and Art which had local branches. The system of museums created by the Soviet authorities developed its operations. In the 1930s the branches of the Academy of Sciences expanded their work in all republics of Central Asia. Two of them, in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, became independent local academies. Central Asian subjects have entered the programs of archaeological centers of Leningrad and Moscow, first of all the Academies of History of Material

various problems of the histories of bordering and sometimes distant countries - of Iran, India, western China, Siberia, and eastern Europe which were tightly bound with Central Asia.

One of the groups of Soviet archaeologists which developed a campaign for exploring new data for the history of our motherland was the Khorezmian expedition of the Academy of Sciences headed in 1937 by the author of this book. The expedition tried to find answers to the secrets of ancient Khorezm.

See reviews in articles of A.Y. Yakubovskiy, GAIMK-IIMK and archaeological research of Central Asia for the last 20 years. KSIIMK

M.Y. Masson. Finding of a sculptural comice of 1st century A.D., Tashkent, 1933; Termez archaeological expedition, Vol. I. Works of Uzbek Academy of Sciences, serial 1, issue 2, Tashkent, 1940; Vol. II. Works of A.S (Academy of sciences) UzbekSSR, serial I, Tashkent, 1945; V.G. Grigoriev. Report on archaeological research in Yangiyul district Uzbek SSR. Tashkent, 1935; Kavunchi-tepe. UzFANB 1940; Tali-Barzu, TOBE, II: Sogdian collection, published by A.S. L., 1934; V.A. Shishkin, Archaeological works 1937 in the western part of the Bukhara oasis. Tashkent, 1940.



The city was plundered and set on fire; many citizens were killed or taken in slavery. The traitress Guldursun was brought to the prince. He looked at her and said: "If she, because of an unworthy passion for her enemy, betrayed her people and her father, how will she treat me if someone else will awaken her passion?" He ordered her to be tied to the tails of wild horses, so that she would not betray anyone again".

The body of Guldursun was torn into pieces and spread over the fields. Her cursed blood got into the soil and the blossoming land turned into an empty desert. After that Gulistan was called Guldursun.

This tragic story has a seed of historical truth. Central Asian tradition has it that the Kalmyk invaders of the 17-18th centuries were as violent as the Mongols of Chingiz-khan, who with fire and sword passed through Kazakhstan and the northern part of Central Asia. And it was exactly this period when the above story was supposed to have taken place in Guldursun.

We finished unloading our caravan and hurried to the ruins. Having passed by an obscure labyrinth of defense constructions near the gates, we passed via a large space inside which were bushes and sand around ruins. We went up the hill to the northern wall. From this place we saw the grandiose and unforgettable panorama of ancient Khorezm. Far on the northern horizon we saw the blue silhouette of Sultan-Uizdag and everywhere there were countless ruins of fortresses, palaces and small cities.

Duman-kala ("Castle of mists") forms a dark line of walls with the high citadel of Dzhildik-kala tower ("Castle of winds"); the silhouette of Kavat-kala is scarcely visible, sinking in high barchans in the north-west. Kum-Baskan-kala ("Castle covered with sands") lies to the north-east; Teshik-kala and enormous fortifications of Berkut-kala ("Eagle tower") and Ayaz-kala with its sharp edges are also visible.

We were standing at the gates of ancient Khorezm, the way leading to the unknown past.

New and thriving Khorezm was situated with the lost, previous one around it. One year had passed and we were already standing on the walls of another ancient city, Zamashrah, at the border of Tahtin in Tashauz province, Turkmenistan. Like Guldursun, it was a vast mysterious land covered with monuments of passed generations. But at this time we were at the western side of Khorezm.

Only a few ruins have old names, allowing us to trace the thread of history: the ruins of Kunya-Urgench, Zamashrah (Zmuhshir at present), Dzhigiribent, Dargan and Shurakh. Many of the ruins acquired their present names many years after they were abandoned. Some of the ruins match their appearance. Some names remind a traveler about dangers waiting for him in the sea of sands. Koy-Krylgan-kala ("Fortress of dead sheep"), Kuzi-Krylgan-kala ("Dead Man's Fortress"), and one particularly ominous – Adam-Ulgen-kala ("Fortress of a deceased man"). It is a small fortress of the 7-8th centuries where the trunk of a deceased man in a striped gown was fond, his body dry and shrunken with a dark skin, eaten away by foxes. Many years ago this lonely traveler could not find the strength to walk the remaining 10-15 kilometers separating him from water, lay down in the shade of the castle and died.

The names of other ruins bring us to the world of folk legends and folklore. The ruins on the right river bank are associated with images of Karakalpak and Kazakh legends. The complex of ruins of the 3-4th centuries Barak-tam in the northeastern rim of Kakalpakstan is associated with the legend about King Barak. The king lived in a large building and his big hunting eagle in another. The king was brutal and stubborn. One day his eagle was visited by its mother - the giant mythical bird Angka. Barak was going to hunt that day. His trusted people tried to convince him not to go hunting and not to trouble the bird that day. He did not listen to them. The angry eagle grasped the king and his horse in its claws, lifting him high into the sky, and dropped him to the ground.

The body of the king was buried in the fortress, the area became deserted, caravans avoiding this place. Angka-kala fortress was named after the mythical bird.

Another city of the 3-5th centuries, Kurgancha is situated 20 km east of Tahta-kupir. The city of famous Karakalpak and Kazakh epics – Koblandy-batyr.

A construction consisting of two keystones on the right side of the Amu-Darya – Kyz-kala and Yigit-kala ("Maiden fortress" and "Youth fortress") – are associated with a romantic legend about the daughter of the Khorezm shah and her young lover.

The ruins of Kyrk-kyz ("Forty girls") of the 1-6th centuries A.D. appear to be Turkic or Iranian (Chil-duh-taran). They are associated with the legend of a princess and her forty girlfriends, appearing as warrior-amazons.

Westward from Kyrk-kyz there is a picturesque monument of ancient Khorezm, Ayaz-kala (pic. 10-11, 37-38). The legend tells about the slave Ayaz who asked for the hand of the princess in marriage. The Kazakh legend associates them with events which caused the appearance of Khorezm and the Aral Sea and the disappearance of the Usturt branch of the Amu-Darya river.

According to the story, the Aral Sea did not exist, the Syr-Darya and Amu-Darya were joined and flowed together via Lazan, Kunya-Urgench and Aibugir to the Caspian Sea.

The tribes of Adagy lived in the land which is now under the Aral Sea. The tribes were ruled by the terrible Fasyl-khan and Ayaz-khan, the leader of Baysyn and a former slave, who became a leader because of his wisdom and justice.

Fasyl-khan dishonored the daughter of a mullah and water flooded his lands as punishment. The Aral Sea was formed from those great rivers flowing into it. The people of Baysyn led by Ayaz-khan moved to Khorezm and founded the kingdom of Urgench. Adagians and their cities sank in the flood. On a sunny day the ruins could be seen on the bottom of the Aral Sea. ¹

Later we will return to this story again as well as to other ancient legends about Khorezm. The character of Ayaz appears in Turkmen Abulgazi family trees of the 17th century.

Short tales of the existence of Ayaz in the 11th century were discovered in the «Dictionary» of Makhmud Kashgarskiy who writes: «Ayaz is the name of a slave». It is not a general name given to slaves, but a specific name given to this slave, well known by Turkish sources of the early Middle Ages.

Names of many ancient and medieval ruins in Tashauz region are very special. When we made arrangements for the expedition in 1939 to cover this territory, we were extremely intrigued with the names of castles: Halap-kala, Yarbekir-kala, Shirvan-kala, Shenaha-kala in a line to Syria and Azerbaijan (Aleppo, Diyarbekir, Shirvan, Shenaha). When we asked local Turkmen about the origin of these names it turned out that in the national understanding these ruins relate to the remarkable Turkmen novel «Shah-Senem». The name of its heroine was given to an interesting group

A. Nesterov. History of Aral Sea area deserts in Kyrgyz Kzalinskiy district. ZVO. 1900. vol 12. 9th century, pages 95-100.

possible to find surviving monuments of extreme antiquity. Expeditions in the beginning of our century to eastern Turkestan taught us about the nature of the agriculture of Central Asia. Each piece of irrigated land was used intensively, and the density of population in irrigated zones was high. Use was made of sun dried bricks containing caliche for fertilizing fields. All this erased these earlier cultural layers in permanently settled areas.



Fig. 2. Caravan of our expedition near Duman-kala.

The "Lands of ancient irrigation" is a vast territory of wilderness bearing traces of irrigation and abounding with ruins in the Kyzylkum desert around the Khorezm oasis. A considerable number of them were marked on geographic maps. Ordinance surveys of these lands and the reasons for their being deserted for a long time were of interest not only to historians, but also to geographers and geologists in Central Asia. There were many theories: changes of the direction of rivers due to erosion, the inevitable advance of sands, salinity and finally the general drying up of Central Asia.

We have chosen these "lands of ancient irrigation" southeast of Karakalpakstan because we already had some historical data that suggested their early abandonment.

The right bank of southern Khorezm was a center of the ancient Khorezm empire till the 10th century. Kyat city was its capital.

But after the center of political activity shifted at the end of the 10th century to Urgench, this territory fell into decay. The residence of ancient

of ancient, medieval ruins Shah-Senem, an ancient fortress modernized in the Middle Ages with a magnificent garden-park complex of the 13-14th centuries located near it

The events of the epic take place in the Seljuk period, in Syria and Azerbaijan, the western boundaries of Seljuk empire.

However Tashauz Turkmen are sure that these events happened in the "lands of ancient irrigation", in their lands. The Shah-senem princess and her beloved Garib were born in Yarbekir-kala. The strict father of the Shah-senem princess forced her to live in the picturesque park. She hid her beloved there too.

One day in unprovoked rage at Shah-senem, Garib goes away but he did not go to the "Shirvan-Shenaha realm", he went to Shirvan-kala, several dozen kilometers away and then to neighboring Shemaha-kala. After reconciling the lovers did not go to Aleppo but to Halap-kala.

In a similar literary tradition, but a rather original variant, is the Turkmen legend about the appearance of Den-kala ("Fortress of the Demon") in 12-13th centuries, in central Kara-kum. The fortress is very original. It is round with a variegated cyclopean structure of huge flagstones (Fig. 96).

Our guide told us in 1939 that this fortress was built by a dev (demon) called Farhad. He had fallen in love with Shirin - a beautiful daughter of the Khorezm king. He asked for her hand in marriage. The king was not pleased by this courtship. He did not wish to let his daughter marry the dev and at the same time he was afraid to refuse. He asked an old witch to help him. The woman advised him to give Farhad an impossible task - to build a fortress made of stones in the heart of the sands of the Kara-kum. The dev, however, performed the task, carrying stones on his shoulders from remote southern mountains. Having learned about it the king asked the old woman to help again. This time she advised to have him kill 9,000 young camels, and the same quantity of young horses and lambs. All the rest she undertook for herself. In due time she came to the fortress being finished by the dev. At this moment a terrible cry came from Khorezm city. Thousands of mothers mourned the loss of their baby animals. But the witch told Farhad that all Khorezm was crying for the deceased princess. The dev, shocked by the news about his beloved, could not live anymore. He took the last unplaced stone and threw it high in the air. When the stone came down from the sky it smashed Farhad's head. When Shirin knew about it she stabbed herself over the corpse of her beloved Farhad.

In this primitive archaic tale about an eastern Romeo and Juliet there is an ancient, mythological aspect. The dev Farhad, an ancient deity of the other world, protector of builders and stonecutters acts, appears here as a prototype of a literary hero who had the features of a stonecutter and architect.

In these fairy tales and legends there is a mysterious world of mute ruins, tumbledown towers and walls guarding the approaches to Khorezm.

Our mission was to penetrate the mysterious empire, to see historical truth behind fantastic facades, to learn to read from original clay annals of dead cities.

The task was not easy. Many years passed before our research sharpened the picture of the historical development of the civilization of Khorezm from its neolithic sources up to the thriving Middle Ages under the Khorezm shahs of the 12-13th centuries, followed by its collapse with the invasion of the Mongol hordes.



Chapter 3

LAND OF ILLUSIONS

(report on the 1937-1945 expedition)

We were the first Soviet archaeologists to visit the ruins of ancient Khorezm. In 1928-1929 the expedition headed by Y. Yakubovskiy to the ruins of the medieval capital of the shahs of Khorezm - Urgench (Kunya-Urgench in Tashauz region) gave an initial scientific description of the Urgench system of architectural monuments¹ and collected data on nearby ruins of the early medieval city – Mizdahkana – the present ruins of Gyaurkala, near Khodjaili.²

In 1934 in the Tashauz region of the Turkestan SSR, there was an expedition by M. V. Voevodskiy to the ruins of medieval Zamahshar.³

Both expeditions, however, studied only the medieval levels of these monuments. Ancient, pre-Muslim Khorezm was studied by Tashkent archaeologists Y. Gulyamov and T. Temiriazev who excavated the Zoro-astrian sepulcher of the 1st millennium A.D. on Kubatau hill, near Mangyt.⁴

In 1937, Y.G. Gulyamov resumed work at "the lands of ancient irrigation" in southern Karakalpakstan, having inspected the medieval settlement Guldursun and the Narindjan ruins of the 1st-3rd centuries A.D. Pilkala near Shabbaza.

This district was not chosen by accident. Our task was to go outside the limits of the known settlements, deep into the desert, where it was

A.Y. Yakubovskiy, Ruins of Urgench, L., 1930

² Same of him, Mizdahkan settlement, ZKV, V, 1930.

³ M. Voyevodsky. A Summary Report of the Khwarism Expedition. BAHAA, 1938, №3.

⁴J. Gulam. Otmuz Izlari. "Gulistan", 1937, No. 4.

possible to find surviving monuments of extreme antiquity. Expeditions in the beginning of our century to eastern Turkestan taught us about the nature of the agriculture of Central Asia. Each piece of irrigated land was used intensively, and the density of population in irrigated zones was high. Use was made of sun dried bricks containing caliche for fertilizing fields. All this erased these earlier cultural layers in permanently settled areas.



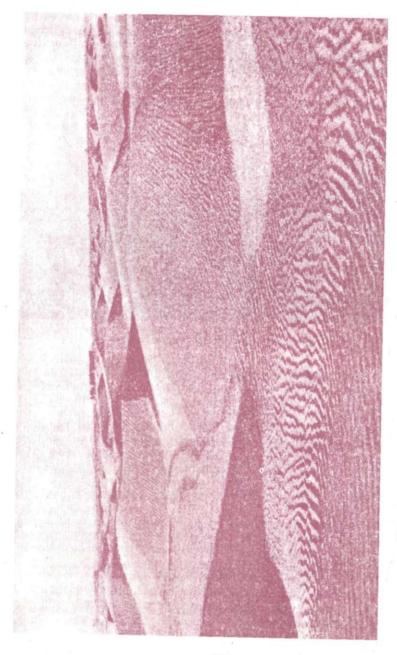
Fig. 2. Caravan of our expedition near Duman-kala.

The "Lands of ancient irrigation" is a vast territory of wilderness bearing traces of irrigation and abounding with ruins in the Kyzylkum desert around the Khorezm oasis. A considerable number of them were marked on geographic maps. Ordinance surveys of these lands and the reasons for their being deserted for a long time were of interest not only to historians, but also to geographers and geologists in Central Asia. There were many theories: changes of the direction of rivers due to erosion, the inevitable advance of sands, salinity and finally the general drying up of Central Asia.

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Khorezm shahs – Fil palace, or Fir, in 997 was eroded by the Amu Darya. In the 12th century, the Arabian geographer Sam' ani wrote that some cities of the right-bank were ruined and these lands were cultivated. In 14th century, the famous Arabian traveler ibn-Batuta on his way to Bukhara did not see a single village within the territory of Karakalpakstan, while life was thriving on the left-bank of Khorezm, particularly in Urgench and its neighborhood.

A geographical description of Khorezm underlines the abundance and undamaged condition of the ruins between Guldursun and Sultan-Uizdag mountains. Special attention was given to the fact that there were more chances to find untouched monuments of the pre-Muslim epoch.

In 1937, our employee, post-graduate student of GAIMK, A. I. Terenozhkin was sent to this district for initial reconnoitering. The result of his collecting, especially numismatic material, was processed and published by us in 1938, and has confirmed our expectations. There was a vast zone of ruins of the pre-Muslim epoch which opened wide possibilities for new research work⁵.

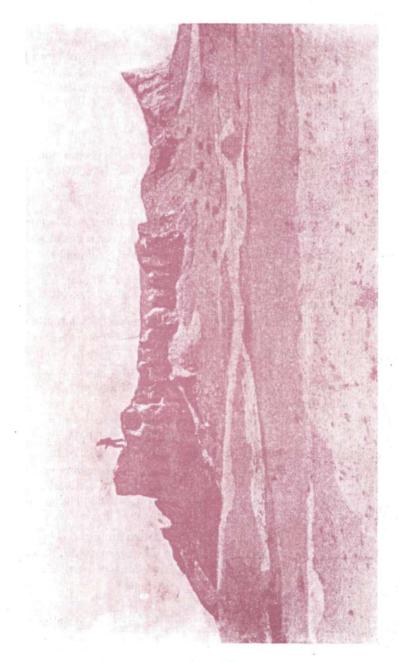
The work of the expedition began with new vigor in 1938 at the 8th century fortress Teshik-kala, which suffered during the Arab invasion. The expedition to the ruins lasted for three months. In our base in Teshik-kala we studied the most prolonged chain of ruins – Koi-Krilgan-kala, Angka-kala, Bazar-kala, Kurgashin-kala, Big and Small Kyrk-kyz, Ayaz-kala, Toprak-kala and Kzyl-kala.

At the height of excavation we were attracted to the unusual silhouette of a 7-8th century fortress sunk in the sea of sand. We were looking at it through binoculars and exchanging opinions. Above the ridges of heavy barchans we saw trapezoidal contours of angular towers reminding us of monuments of the classical East. Soon, on one quiet day of excavations, I accompanied the photographer Y. A. Poliakov and Sansyzbai Uryumov with his camels to visit those mysterious ruins.

The journey was very difficult as path ran through numbers of huge barchans, their ridges sliding down to deep winding hollows - "uyi". In the bottom of the hollows, the wind was making eddies of particles of black mica sand.

The ruins sank in the sea of barchans - they were not to be seen either from behind or at the front, but our guide confidently led us along a

⁵ A.I. Terenozlikin. Archaeological prospection in Khorezm. CAVI, 1940.



winding path around the hollows and hills of sand. Suddenly we came to a place covered with particles of red colored shards and behind them we saw the ruins of that strange fortress. We had not seen anything like this before. This fortress (as we learned later, it was Koi-Krilgan-kala) could not be seen from the tower of Teshik-kala. Partially ruined walls of an eighteen-angled citadel were enclosed in a regular circle, now razed to ground, though the remains of nine towers were visible. The walls built of huge raw bricks were 5-6 meters high in some places; they had narrow cuts of gun-slots with two bricks on the top.

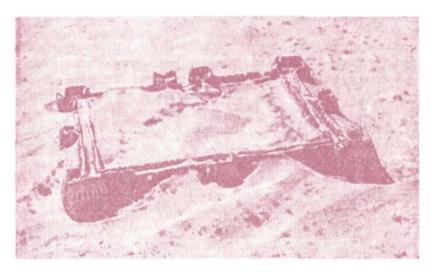


Fig. 5. Angka-kala.

Inside and around the citadel there were many pieces of jars of magnificent workmanship and baking, the surface covered with red lacquer, decorated with ornament in the form of corners and triangles with red, brown and black coloring upon a pink and yellow background. Among the pieces we found a bronze, two winged arrow-heads of early Scythian type and a pair of terracotta statuettes – a headless figurine of a man sitting with one leg crossed and his hand on the other leg. There was another statuette of a woman sitting on a fantastic animal with her legs hanging down.

Teshik-kala was from another epoch, much more ancient. It was our next investigation, and the oldest monument to early antiquity of Khorezm.

At sunset when we crossed over the new ridges of heavy sands we came to Angka-kala. It also belonged to this ancient epoch, but to a slightly later period – the first centuries of our era. There we found a copper coin with the silhouette of a king wearing an original crown in the form of an eagle. According to our previous collection we already knew this type and dated it to the 3rd century A.D.

Ankga-kala did not look like those sites we had recently examined. Only the bricks and arrow-like gun-slots indicated that they were of the same epoch.

On the map it looked like a perfect square with square towers in the corners surrounded by walls and square pylons of gates leading to a court-yard. It was one of the oldest surviving fortresses. When the sun was setting I climbed on its walls and looked back at the purple sky in the west. There were infinite ridges of sands and countless number of black silhouettes of towers of Berkut-kala, the dead oasis stretching 17 kilometers away from north to south. It was very silent in the kingdom of the desert and we felt that we were in a city of ghosts built by the titanic strength of ancient conquerors. Early in the morning we moved southward. Next to one of the corners we saw a clear silhouette of a person peering at us.

It was a fortress of the 6-8th centuries A.D. Adamli-kala ("Castle with a man") because of a bizarre fragment of destroyed wall, which did not really look like a man. Later a severe sand-storm began and all the air around was filled with the whirl of hot sand. The fortress vanished; the silhouette of the nearest camel was hard to see. We found shelter under the walls of Adamli-kala. We did not have enough water and thus decided to use these minutes of relative calm to measure and take pictures of the fortress. It is difficult to forget the figure of Y. A. Poliakov when he was taking a picture of the central tower of the fortress aiming his camera and trying to stand in the wind. Probably, no less original looking were Sansyzbai Urumov and I when we tried to stretch the tape-measure while climbing on the tower.

The absence of water (from then on we learned to take a week's supply of water even if we planned only a one-day trip) forced us to return to Qoy-Krilgan. On returning we were met by a rescue expedition bringing two barrels of water for us.

When we returned we drank tea prepared on an improvised camp-fire. It is the truth that "everything in the world is relative." At that moment even that small village in the desert seemed like a native home to us. Our next explorations showed that the other fortresses on our route that were allocated in the form of arc in the «lands of ancient irrigation» were also abandoned long ago or at the beginning of the Middle Ages.

Besides numerous ancient ruins and monuments of the pre-Muslim early Middle Ages, our work of 1938 revealed monuments of the Bronze Age. During our walks in the deserts southwest of Teshi-kala, in the hollows we found several sites with ceramics, very similar to ceramics of the Andronova culture of Kazakhstan and Siberia and, to a lesser degree, of Volga riverside culture of the 2nd millennium B.C.⁶

1939 was a year of peace preceding the war. It was the most fruitful year. The expedition lasted for 6 months from June to October and covered a huge territory from Sultan-uizdag in the north to Chardjou in the south and Central Kara Kum in the southwest. At the beginning of June the expedition of two separate groups went from Chardjou northward, along the Amu-Darya. The western group headed by S.A. Yershov sailed along the right bank.

After the track gave out, we were able to study the historical dynamics of the southern borders of ancient and medieval Khorezm. Both groups met at the "lands of ancient irrigation" south of Karakalpakstan. Here we dug at four monuments − 3 ancient: 1) a big building in the fortress of 1-2nd centuries A.D., Ayaz-kala №3; 2) an agricultural farmstead of the 2nd century, next to Ayaz-kala №3; 3) ruins of an early fortress of ancient Khorezm located at the very eastern side of the "lands of ancient irrigation", Djanbas-kala, the pre-Muslim fortress Berkut-kala №36, not far from our previous year's site - Teshik-kala.

During excavations at Djaibas-kala a new essential discovery was made: during explorations in the vast sandy hill of ruins, participants of the expedition, students of MGU A.Y. Abramovich and N. N. Vakturskaya, discovered flake instruments covered with stamped ornament of primitive ceramics. Examination and further excavations at the place of the findings have shown that this was a site of primeval Khorezmians of the Bronze

⁶ Concerning works in 1938, see *S.P. Tolstov*, Ancient Khorezm monuments of Karakalpakstan, VDI

Age discovered in 1938. This nomadic site we called Djanbas-kala No4 (earlier in the sands northwest of Djanbas we discovered three sites of the Bronze Age and one of the early Iron Age). This site belonged to a very different neolithic culture which we called Kaltaminar, after the name of the nearest inhabited locality. This site was dated to 3-4th millennium B.C.

Upon termination of digging we started a new project, one of the hardest routes of our expedition, to northern Kara-Kum. A caravan of 14 camels started on its way on a clear October morning from Tashauz, capital of northern Turkmenistan. It took us two weeks to pass approximately 150 kilometers along a huge ancient channel — the main route of the "lands of ancient irrigation" southwest of Khorezm into the depths of the desert up to the ruins of Dev-kala. We inspected 12 monuments of ancient and medieval epochs dating from 1st millennium B.C. and 14th centuries A.D.

The most important discoveries on this route were the earliest monuments of Khorezmian antiquity, more ancient than Qoy-Krilgan-kala and Bazar-kala (the oldest ruins at the right-bank) – the huge settlements Kalalygyr № 1 and Kyuzeli-gyr, now rubble and sand hills next to the middle part of Chermen-yaba. Ceramic findings date it at the middle of the 1st millennium B.C.⁷

1940 was the last pre-war year of our field work and excavation of the Djanbas-4 site which was discovered in 1939 and was related to the Neolithic period.

The scope of the work included excavation and measurement of the vast ancient settlement Toprak-kala, inspection of the dead oasis of the 12-13th centuries A.D.- Kavat-kala and excavation of a peasant house in this oasis. The expedition finished by travelling on camels along the southern side of Sultan-Uizdag mountains and further to Nukus city. During this trek together with the discovery of new ancient and medieval settlements we found an interesting complex of rock symbols on Chilpyk, Besh-tyube and Kara-tyube, relating to the Bronze Age and in the proto-Khorezmian iconic written language.8

⁷ For works in 1939, see *S.P. Tolstov*, Ancient period of upper Khorezm. VDI, 1941. № 1 and article by S.A. Yershov in the same issue.

⁸ For works in 1940, see S.P. Tolstov. New materials on modern history of ancient Khorezm culture, VDI, 1946, Ng 1.

The material accrued during first four years of fieldwork was huge and diverse: more than 1500 kilometers of prospecting tracks, about 400 newly opened monuments, 14 of which were subjected to more or less intensive excavation. The time period beginning from the 3-4th millennia B.C. up to the 14th AD, i.e. about four and a half millennia were represented by monuments allowing us to trace the development of ancient Khorezmian civilization and the basic outlines of the historical dynamics of the cultural lands and political borders of southern Khorezm in antiquity and in the Middle Ages, both on the right and left banks. We determined the general scheme of ancient irrigations and defined the time when those "lands of ancient irrigation" were abandoned.

Work on the types of settlements and monuments of agriculture and crafts allowed us to understand the social system of ancient Khorezm. Rich numismatic material provided a good source of Khorezmian written language, and explained many matters of political history. Such coins, seals, numerous and diverse terracotta statues, and hundreds of surviving architectural monuments partially opened the curtain hiding the spiritual culture, art and religions of the area.

But the deeper we plunged into our material, the more problems arose. In the summer of 1941 we were in a rush to prepare for new fieldwork: it was necessary to finish the excavation of the Neolithic site Djanbas-4, to begin work at the most interesting ancient settlement Toprak-kala; to start the vast explorations necessary in northern Kyzylkums and Usturt in order to determine the northeast and northwest historical and cultural relations of ancient Khorezm.

The treacherous attack of Hitler's armies on the USSR interrupted the peaceful creative work of the Soviet people building their socialist society. Almost all personnel workers of the expedition went to defend our moth-

Neolithic site Djanbas-4: Four ancient monuments: Djanbas-kala, Ayaz-kala №3, House №1 in Ayaz-kala, Toprak-kala; four early Middle Ages pre-Muslim period monuments – Teshik-kala and fortresses № 4, 34 and 36 in Berkut-kala dead oasis; five early Middle Age monuments: living premise in the village near Guldursun, city residence in the "old city" near the cemetery Narindjan-baba, early Middle Age graves – at the same place, Kavat-kala, village house №1 near Kavat-kala

¹⁰ Experience of chronological classification of monuments See *S.P.Tolstov* "Ancient Khorezm" (thesis) KSIIMK, 14th as well as monograph "Ancient Khorezm" M., 1948, pages 32-34.

erland and changed profession to those of field engineer, artilleryman, pilot, sniper, medical worker. We lost N. A. Sugrobov, our colleague, a wonderful excavator who became a sniper shooter during the war. He died a hero in the battle near Moscow.

Only in 1945 did we resume our work again. The time spent in the field in 1945 was of a preparatory nature: the digs of Djanbas-4 were completed, numerous new sites of the Neolithic period and Bronze Age were discovered in Djanbas neighborhoods. New reconnoiter works were conducted in Toprak-kala. We tried a new route northeast of Karakalpakstan. In 1946 all works progressed and the total output exceeded all that had been done during the first five seasons in the field.

¹¹ Concerning works in 1945, see *S.P. Tolstov*. Khorezmian archaeological ethnographic expedition AS USSR 1945, IAN.SIF, 1946, №1.

¹² Concerning works in 1946, see S.P. Tolstov. Khorezmian archaeological ethnographic expedition AS USSR 1946, IAN.SIF, 1947, №2.



Chapter 4

FLIGHTS OVER MILLENNIA

(excerpts from the journal of the expedition in 1946)

In June we expanded our digging works at Toprak-kala, the great 1st centuries B.C. settlement. We have chosen the fortress-palace of the city's governor as the main object. Three seasons of preliminary surveys and reconnoiter excavations in 1938, 1940 and 1945 allow us to conclude that Toprak-kala is vital to our work.

Later in Chapter 6 we will consider the results of the work in detail, but now we will consider the discovery of the first, most ancient and richest monumental multicolored wall-paintings in Khorezm, older than those in all other regions of Central Asia. Studying these subjects has clarified the history of Khorezmian decorative art for us.

From our base near Toprak-kala we began a new cycle of prospecting works by using new and modern technical facilities.

The use of aviation for archaeological works¹ was connected with military activities during World War I, when pilots made several interesting archaeological observations in Syrian deserts. Later this work was continued and developed by professional archaeologists; works of the Frenchman Poidebard and the Englishman Crawford were of special importance. Besides the discovery of fortification constructions and trade roads of the Roman period in the Syrian desert, Crawford used methods of aerial reconnaissance and air photography for finding ancient settlements in England which were otherwise absolutely indistinguishable from natural formations.

For a review of foreign air-archaeological works see the book of *A.V. Gaveman*, Air-photography and studying of natural resources. M-L. 1937, pages 265-275. See also *E. Schmidt*. Flights over ancient cities. Chicago. 1940.

The use of military aviation to disclose local objects with the help of photography became a starting point for the development of air photography. Photographing fortifications and settlements invisible from the ground by disclosing features of the vegetation (varying density or color change due to the existence of buildings) or small changes in the relief and sunshine allowed us to find many archaeological monuments. Later air photography was used by American archaeologists to study ancient Peruvian monuments, and before World War II the American archaeological air expedition headed by E. Schmidt did important work in Iran photographing monuments belonging to ancient and more recent civilizations.

It is worth mentioning that the archaeological air surveying of foreign researchers, as a rule, was only experimental and for personal archaeological, historical and geographical tasks. The relation of air photography to ground observations and digging was not very strong.

It was our expedition which for the first time introduced aerial surveying methods into Soviet archaeology and set new problems to be solved.

The first problem for visual air reconnaissance was to study the system of ancient irrigation; many important details could not be found during ground surveys especially in places where the ancient canals were

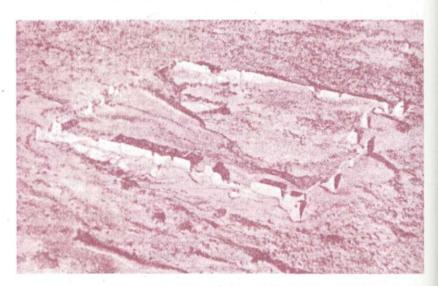


Fig. 6. Kavat-kala. View from the air.

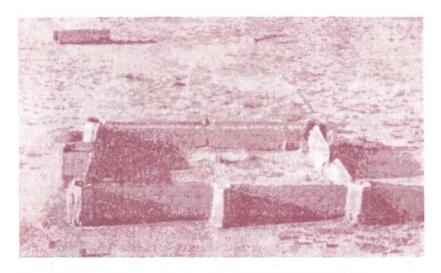


Fig. 7. Kavat-kala fortress №3. View from the air

covered with sand and were visible only partially or were washed out by overflows and irrigation systems.

Secondly, use of air photography enabled us to define layouts of ancient settlements, some parts of which were hardly visible from the ground.

Thirdly, air photography gave us an opportunity to map and to plan the general architectural layout of partially destroyed monuments and to save much time required for land marking.

Fourthly, visual air reconnaissance in deserts, because of the wide perspective it allows, prevents overlooking the possibility of monuments being hidden under barchans. A researcher at ground level depends on a map and a guide and there is always a risk of missing some monument.

Finally, our ten years of work researching the wide territory of ancient Khorezm stretching over hundreds of kilometers would have required more time and expense with the old methods of work. It was necessary to unite ground surveys (detailed inspection and measurement, prospecting digs, collection of materials) with air surveys.

PO-2 was almost an ideal type of plane to solve our problems. A combination of cruising and low landing speeds enabled us to take pictures of the monuments from low altitudes with the possibility to see architectural details and land the plane under any conditions. The only disadvantage

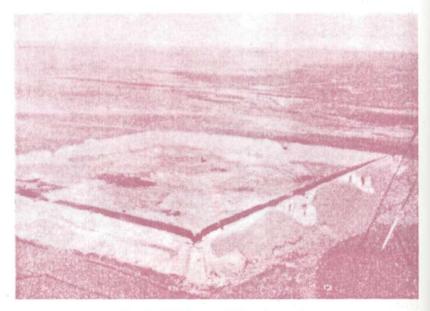


Fig. 8. Guldursun. View from air.

was its relatively short range. This problem was solved by automobiles which moved along the route arranging temporary aerodromes and supplying us with fuel, water, food and rendering technical support for the planes.

On August 25, at 6:30 am, the flying team of our expedition, consisting of pilots Y.V. Ponevezhskiy and A.P. Beleya, headed by S.P. Tolstov, with research assistant M.A. Orlova and cameraman K. Mukhammedov took off from Toprak-kala in two PO-2 planes for observation of the main site, the "lands of ancient irrigation" of southern Karakalpakstan, on the route Kzyl-kala – Kavat-kala – Dzhildyk-kala – Guldursun – Teshik-kala – Berkut-kala – Kyrk-kyz – Ayaz-kala – Toprak-kala.

A broad panorama of monuments could be seen from the air. The irrigation system could be seen against a background of hilly saline land. There was a big channel in the form of a bright double line of weather-beaten mounds, remains of the outer dam with several parallel belts of side-riverbeds running from Kavat-kala to Kzyl-kala, passing from south to north eastward of the ruins. A river channel went around the ruins from west going northwest. While we were flying over Toprak-kala right, in

front of us we saw the paths where we had walked around the fortress. From the ground it was a monotone landscape of black and gray, dead, puffy saline land and overgrown hills. Now, behind the walls we could see a new planning system. From the north side of the city we could see the silhouette of a large rectangular neighborhood bigger than the city itself. The clear lines of the external walls of the suburb with several unexplored hills linking them and a black grid inside stood out against the gray surface of saline lands. South of the city entrance there was a straight, clear stripe directly extending the line of the main street set against the bank of the above-mentioned channel, probably an ancient road which led into the city.

We turned south to the dead Kavat-kala oasis ruins. We flew along the channel running along a dried lake. The landscape is different here. The gray and white territory of taryks was beneath us. It was covered with falciform barchans. The massive ruins of Kavat-kala city with its system of dual towers lay between them and many fortresses and peasant dwellings situated near multiple junctions. All this original ensemble of "rustak" from the epoch of "Great Khorezm shahs" was visible in full view.

But for the sands it would seem like an architectural model. We are flying over the later ancient fortress Djildyk-kala. A sea of endless sands is beneath us. I am writing in my diary: "Maybe this is the main bed of the channel. It should be checked on our next flight!" During ground reconnaissance in previous years, we noted the direction of one of the Big Guldursun canal channels which ended somewhere northwest of Guldursun. We had the impression that this was the main channel for irrigating districts of Kavat and Toprak. Locals also told us about this. But now I began to question this opinion: between Djildyk-kala and Guldursun on the surface of eroded takyrs there is sand and one can see traces of a small irrigation system but no hint of the main channel.

At 7:20 we are near Guldursun, at the border of the green area of the cultivated oasis.

There are small gardens and village fields. The ancient irrigation system which caused us much trouble during ground based observations is clearly seen.

We were wrong to think there was only one channel. To the south of Guldursun there are two channels. They run parallel to each other at a distance of approximately one and a half kilometers. A big road runs by the western and obviously older one. This road we used when we came to Guldursun for the first time.

Near the corner of the fortress the channel makes a sharp turn to the west, goes around Guldursun from west and northwest and then disappears into the modern irrigated fields.

The most significant bed is a direct continuation of the modern channel Taza-Bag-yab. There is a large irrigation gate near Guldursun.

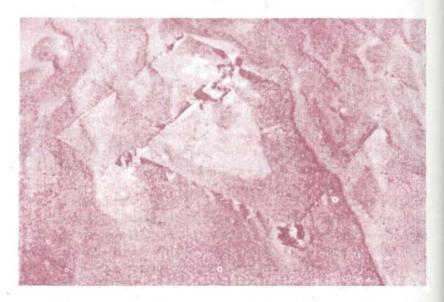


Fig. 9. Kum-baskan. View from air

From here the channel divides into three branches: the main, middle bed goes straight and then turns northeast directly to Kum-Baskan-kala; the eastern branch joins with the eastern channel near the fortress; the third western one flows almost northward to Narindjan.

We are flying above the main river bed, now washed out, at Kum-Baskan and Teshik-kala.

A striking impression is created by Kum-Baskan. An enormous fortress with huge towers and dual rectangular high clay walls is buried under giant waves of barchans. We are passing over our old "home" – Teshik-kala which reminds us of many events. With pleasure we note we

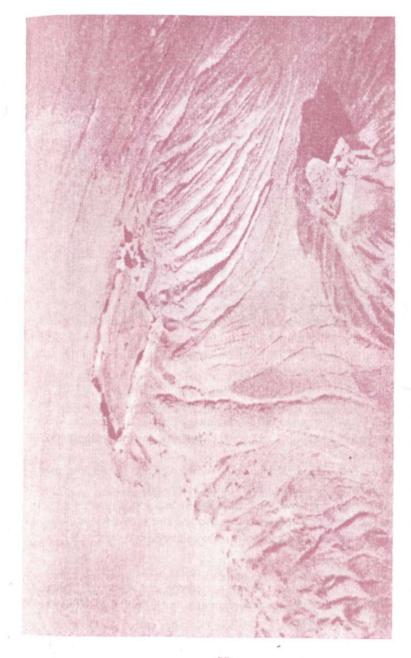


Fig. 10. Ayaz-kala. View from air (general view of group of buildings)

have nothing to correct in our indications about the land markings of the dead oasis Berkut-kala.

There is a channel behind Uy-kala first appearing as a flat stripe covered with sand and overgrown with shrubs and then turning into a definite riverbed outlined with high hills. Crowded fortresses of the Afrig epoch stretch 4-5 km north of Uy-kala; then they are replaced by isolated ones; at the last third part of the channel between Yi-kala and Kyrk-kyz they disappear altogether. Here there is a branch going to small Kyrk-kyz. This is a significant correction of our opinion on land surveys, because we thought small Kyrk-kyz linked a special channel going from the south parallel to Kyrk-kyz's channel.

Right in front of Kyrk-kyz the channel divides into three branches to the northwest, which supplied water to the city; the main bed goes east to Kurgashin-kala.

We made a turn and flew west, along a line of hills with a northern row of ancient fortresses – Kyrk-kyz, small Kyrk-kyz, Ayaz.

At 8:20 we are above Ayaz, which is as picturesque from air as from the land. It has a rectangular form and is built of gray and pink clay bricks with frequent semicircular towers. Nearby there is a small unfortified settlement of the 2nd centuries with a huge oblique-angled parallelogram around it and Ayaz-kala №3 with many rooms. The building of the farm-stead №1 dug by us was clearly seen too.

We continue our flight westward along a line of hills. On one of them half way to Toprak the outlines of an irregularly shaped fortress are clearly seen. It has heavily washed out walls and a tower in the middle. We did not find it when we walked there. We are marking this new monument on our map now.

Much closer to Toprak, on open land we marked another ancient monument, a regular rectangular hill with an eroded surface.

Toprak is under us now. We make a circle and touch down. Our journey lasted for 2 hours and 20 minutes. We had our breakfast and went on digging. Our first experience seems to have turned out well.

One of my older workers, a Kazakh native of Guldursun, asked me where we flew. I told him and he was very surprised. Although planes are not a wonder for the modern Khorezmians, our 2 hour trip would have taken him 3 days by land.



Fig. 11. Ayaz-kala No2. View from air

Even I have that strange feeling after difficult trips lasting many days, after struggling with the sands, attempting to pick out unclear forms of irrigation systems and read contours of ancient cities and settlements, after searching, reconnaissance raids, disappointments and discoveries—all that was connected with this part of the land, but now it took us only two hours to cover all this territory.

We realized something else: these five years of wandering in the desert taught us to read the relief of an archaeological map that we saw from the air easily. The next few days were devoted to new flights over the "lands of ancient irrigation" in other directions. We covered several new untouched groups of monuments. We marked precisely the ancient irrigation system, took pictures of the general view and details of the most important monuments, and disclosed and photographed several new ones which were not visible from the ground.

The first attempt was lucky and was a necessary beginning for our new prospecting works on new territories, such as Ustyurt and between the two rivers, the lower Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya, and also for our additional survey of the Kara Kum trip in 1939 to the "lands of ancient irrigation" Chermen-yaba.

In the middle of September, after excavations in Toprak-kala were finished we went from Nukus to the cape at Urga which is near the southwestern part of the Aral Sea. From there we planned to try an air survey of the southwestern part of Ustyurt plateau. Here we had several tasks. Maps showed many ruins located on old caravan roads. Travelers who visited these places told us about interesting architectural forms of ruins but could not suggest when they were built. At the same time, old caravan routes from Khorezm to eastern Europe, the Volga region and Russia pass along the plateau. Studying these roads was of much importance when looking at the history of Khorezm or its relations with eastern Europe. Special attention was paid to two localities: Alan-kala – the main one, connected with the name of ancient Alans, which intrigues historians. Shaitan-kala - "Devil's fortress", on the island of Barsa-belmes (you go – but will not return) is a huge, bitter and salty moor. The island is almost inaccessible from the shore.

The deep bog covered with a salty rim was impassable. We were told that several years ago one Kazakh in search of his lost camel went through the quagmire to the island and, despite the notoriety of the moor he returned. But get King to the island is very difficult. Meantime, the village inhabitants of Kungrad region said that the ruins of the enigmatic fortress are clearly visible from the shore and at night one can see lights. They also say an ancient king buried treasure there.

The mystery of the "Devil's fortress" turned into an interesting and romantic problem for the archaeologists.

On the evening of September 14, we made our first reconnaissance flight. The stony surface of the cape slopes quickly downwards. Its triangular image is under us. The group of medieval stone towers is clearly seen at the eastern side. Underneath cliffs, on the narrow coast is Urga – a settlement of fishermen. Near the coast we see multiple masts of fishing boats and motorboats. In the south – the blue surface of the Sudachye lake with several floating boats of fishermen. On the northern side there is dark blue even surface of the Aral. In the east we see the endless densely green valley with rushes in water. On the western side (southward – along Sudachye lake, northward – along the Aral Seashore) there is the

huge fifty meter long wall of the eastern Chinka Ustyurt, a chaos of torn layers of white, gray, greenish stone hanging over the abyss. At the foot of the mountain there is a heap of fallen rubble with blue sea waves washing over it. A flat and monotonous plateau of clay pebble, sometimes graybrown, with the occasional green valley with clear strips indicating ancient caravan routes extending northwest are seen behind the Chinka.

We are flying over endless green fields of reeds waving in the wind and bright strips of shining water. Here on the map we have several ruins marked. But where are they? Between the reeds there are narrow water corridors. A boat is sailing on one of them. There is nothing but water and reeds for tens of kilometers. I remember these places from 1929. At that time I saw these endless walls of reeds - shelter for wild boars and tigers - not from the air but from my old boat, when I was making my way through them. Here are the ruins at last! The monument has a completely different aspect! On the even green background of reeds there are the outlines of square walls, the surrounding trench, gates, and angular towers. The fortress was flooded and filled with reeds. We are flying over Kzyl-djar and Kyyat-djar with small houses of Karakalpak fishermen villages only accessible by boat or by air.

We make a circle and now are flying back towards the white wall of Ustyurt.

Our three flights above the southeastern Ustyurt gave us rich material. First of all we managed to open a great road of the early Middle Ages leading from one of the slopes of Ustyurt near Sudochye lake through the old wells of Uch-kuduk, Bulak, Kos-bulak and Beleuli to the northwest, to lower Embu and apparently further to the Ural and Volga rivers. The wells were nicely faced by stone. The caravanserais and wells were located 25 kilometers apart - a normal day's march of a caravan.

Examination of some of these monuments has shown that they were built and functioned in the 10-11th centuries. One of the caravanserais, Beleuli, turned out to be a splendid monument of early Middle Age architecture of Khorezm. Later we will return to it (see Chapter 10).

The other road goes west, to Mangyshlak, passing around Bar-kelmes from the south. It is the place where the Alan-kala fortress was erected. It goes back to a much earlier period. It is a small square building of roughly-hewn stone with square towers in the corners, built near groups of wells carved out in the rocky surfaces of the plateau of ancient wells.

By determinating the date of the erection of the fortress we see that its name was not accidental. Biruni in his topographical treatise tells us about the existence of the ancient Alani population at the western outlying districts of Khorezm. "This family of Alans and Arsaces, and their language, a mixture of Khorezmian and Pechenezhskiy," writes the Khorezmian scientist, "reveals that the Khorezmian Alans-Arsaces settled in the region Ustyurt-Mangyshlak" (VDI, 1941, № 1, p.194). Alan-kala – the Khorezmian fortress in the country of Ustyurt Alani – has preserved in its name the memory of this important component in ethno-genesis of the medieval Khorezmians.

The romantic mystery of Shaitan-kala remains unsolved.

It is necessary to mention that, when we flew to the sor of Barsa-kelmes for the first time, we were all excited. The sor produces an unforgettable impression from the air. A snow-white band appears on the horizon, behind the endless motley brown, gray, greenish rubble of the plateau. The further we go the broader it becomes. And here, right before us we see the enormous, glittering, absolutely smooth surface of the ancient lake, girded by whimsical waves of dark-gray coastal saline soils and carved patterns of hills with multicolored layers of rocks in tiered slopes along its coasts. In the background we can see the two dark spots of the big and small Shaitan-kala islands.

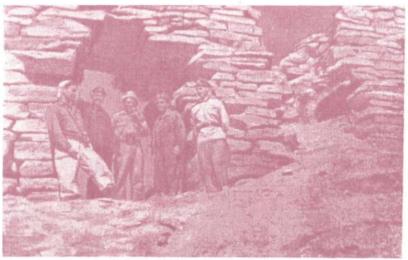


Fig. 12. Summer team at Alan - kala

We are approaching the islands. Two small oval isles are in front of us. They are girded by a circle of dark-gray coastal saline soil.

They are the same height, with fancifully cut coasts formed by outcroppings of the same grayish, greenish and pink-brown layers of rocks as those around the coasts of the sor. Three times we passed above the islands, descending to 50 meters. Nothing! No signs of constructions. The Shaitan-kala, according to the national legend, was not constructed by people. It is a freak of nature. Fantastical outlines of stony remnants and the toothy line of the coast gave an impression of ruins. But these "ruins" are the same as "Devil fortress" of Edins in the country of Tuaregs in the Sahara, rocky freakish outlines which were studied by Bart the well known traveler. He was two steps away from death there.

Much could be told about our impressions of the flights: the uncountable herds of frightened djeyrans, running without a backward glance from the monstrous plane above them, about the picturesque white rocks

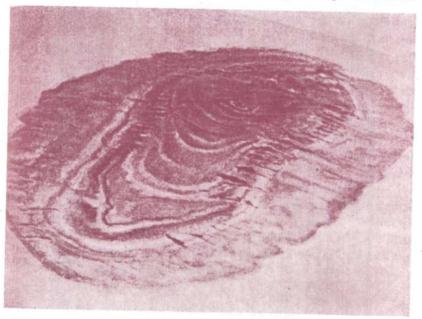


Fig. 13. Island Shaitan-kala view from air

of Ustyurt and the impressive ruins of Dev-Kesken-kala («Fortress cutout by a demon»).

It is located on the extremity of a narrow outcrop at the southeastern corner of the plateau, in the narrow part, 20 kilometers northwest from the fortress, cut off by a huge earth trench and a swell. The fortress rises above the thirty meter high hill of Ustyurt topped with magnificent outlines of the heavy adobe citadel-tower and a line of mausoleums of the late medieval period extended along it.

Dev-Kesken is a huge rectangle of walls built of rough stone with numerous towers and has a complex construction in front of its gates.

Around the fortress there is a deep trench dug in the rock. Inside the walls there are many traces of late medieval stone constructions.

The base of the walls and the citadel goes back to antiquity, but the final period of the city falls to the 16-17th centuries.

At the foot of the «top city» there is the second rectangular of the «bottom city» surrounded with walls of adobe masonry dated to the late medieval period with lots of ceramics. The city is surrounded by the dry channel of Daryalyk which passes near Ustyurt, the old western channel of the Amu-Darya which used to run into the Sarykamysh hollow. The third rectangle is southwest of both cities – a wide late medieval park making a rather effective impression from a plane.

Dev-Kesken, from our point of view, can be precisely identified as the city of Vazir – the late medieval capital of the western Khorezm principality dated 16-17th centuries

In 1558 an English traveler, Anthony Jenkinson, visited Vazir. He writes: «Sellizyur Fortress» (Sahri-Vazir — "Vazir city") is located on a high hill; the king, or Khan, lives here... The Southern part of the fortress is located on low, but very fertile ground; many delicious fruits grow here... The water for the whole country is taken from the channels which run from the Oxus river (Amu-Darya — Daryalyk) thus it does not run into the Caspian Sea anymore as before. In the near future this country will be ruined and will become a desert because of lack of water when the Oxus goes dry." ²

² Cited from the translation of Y.V. Goutier: "English travelers on the state of Muscovy in the 16th cc", 1937, pages 176-177.

The topography of the city includes the fortress on the hill and the city on the lowland; its geographical position is near Kunya-Urgench towards the Mangyshlak quay, i.e., to the West, on the bank of the Daryalyk. Actually Dev-Kesken is located 60 kilometers away (i.e., west of Kunya-Urgench, on the bank of the Daryalyk, this leaves not the slightest doubt about the identity of Vazir and Dev-kesken.

The fourth and final round of our air exploration began on October 3, 1946. We had the task of reconnoitering the territory of the northern Kzyl-Kum, the space between the rivers at the lower Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya, crossed with two old lateral channels of the Syr-Darya, Djani-Darya and Kuvan-Darya which even in the first half of the 19th century and even later was full of water. Numerous ruins are shown on the maps and in reports of traveler-officers of the tsarist army of Central Asia when they came to conquer it, and also of subsequent authors. However scientists did not study them and even their existence remained unknown. But meanwhile, in the Middle Ages it was the territory of several separate or feudal possessions of Khorezm.

To the south from the mouth of Syr-Darya there was Yangikent city («New settlement») — the residence of the governor of Turkic-Oguzs. Somewhere nearby there were the cities of Huvara and Djendt; the second city was the center of a significant principality which in the 12th century depended on Khorezm, but earlier, in the 10-11 centuries, played an important role in the history of Khorezm and Oguz relations and in the first stage of the Seljuk dynasty.

As the academician V.V.Struve ³ believes, in antiquity it was the main center of settling of Saxo-Massaget tribes, persistent opponents of the ancient Persian conquerors Cyrus and Darius, who subsequently in the 1st-2nd centuries B.C. played a large role in the destruction of the power of the Greek-Macedonian conquerors and the formation of the great Central Asian-Indian empire of the Kushans. In the history of Khorezm these regions always played an important role; the barbarous tribes settling there in the Middle Ages entered the sphere of influence of the Khorezm state or opposed it. Meanwhile, historical data on this territory are poorer than about Khorezm, and when (in 1942) we summarized the results of our first four years of field work, we had a problem in reconstructing this

³ V.V.Struve. IAN, SIF, 1946. No.3.

Fig. 15. Dev-Kesken from ground level

part of the historical past of Khorezm. In our picture there was no world of Massagets, Alani and subsequently Gunni and Turkic steppe tribes, which are vital to the history of Khorezm. It was necessary to fill in this blank spot indirectly, by using material on the history of the Gunni and Turkic tribes of remote eastern regions of Mongolia and eastern areas of Central Asia where this history was described by the Chinese historical sources and archon Turkic inscriptions of the 8th century.

We had to discover the character of the economy, social order, culture of the Syr-Darya tribes, the degree and forms of their cultural relations with Khorezm, to answer the question about Khorezm colonies on the lower Syr-Darya whose existence was proved by the major centers of this area and by the movement of tribes mentioned in sources.



Fig. 16. Sarlytam Mausoleum (illustration by N.P.Tolstov)

Our mobile base has been relocated to the area of Chirik-rabat ruins («Military fortification») the old course of Djany-Darya, 240 kilometers westward of Kzyl-horde. On October 8 at 13:10 local time, planes from Nukus arrived here with pilots I.I.Jalovkin and N.D.Gubarev and flight mechanic P.Kokorin.

At 16:30 we took off from an the airfield near Chirik-rabat. There was a freakish picture of the meandering, densely overgrown Djany-Darya. Reddish autumn foliage of tamarisk filling the channels sharply contrasts with the dark color of saxaul thickets of the coast. On the horizon on both sides there are ridges of Kzyl-Kum sands.

In one of the 8 channel bends there are the ruins of Chirik-rabat — a huge oval ancient fortress, going back to the middle the 1st millennium B.C., surrounded by a system of concentric slopes and ditches with the rectangular layout of a later ancient fortress belonging to the first centuries A.D. (see Fig. 22).

The deserted Karakalpak irrigation network and numerous ruins of the Karakalpak fortifications and the mausoleums of the 18-19th centuries are clearly seen.

On October 9 at 9:38, we took off for the second flight (the mobile base relocated 100 km to the ruins of Kum-kala). We are flying west above the huge mausoleum Sarly-tam overgrown with a dense thicket of saxaul. We are descending. We make several circles above the mausoleum 30-40 meters above the ground. Landing is impossible. A magnifi-

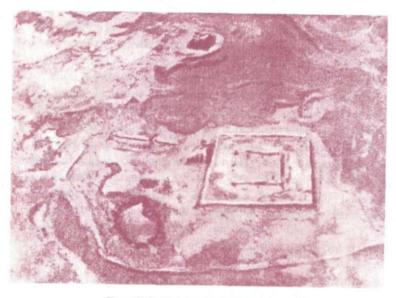


Fig. 17. Babish-mulla from the air

cent domed building is in front of us. It has a high portal trimmed with turquoise majolica and compares well with mazars of Kunya-Urgench and obviously dates from the 12-13th centuries A.D. Dense saxaul bushes protected the mausoleum from "Moslem" Kazakhs, who were not above using old Muslim relics when they need baked bricks for their patrimonial cemeteries. We will need to push through a thicket of a saxaul to reach the mazar and to measure it. We are coming back northeast. A broad panorama of late medieval irrigational constructions and various fortifications is under us. We make it back to Chirik-rabat at 12 o'clock.

After refueling the planes and eating breakfast, at 12:50, we take off again - this time to the north.

North of the Djany-Darya surrounding Chirik-rabat the picture sharply varies. Saxaul thickets and traces of Karakalpak irrigation were left behind. Whitish spots of takyrs and heavy sand dunes are under us. Again we see traces of irrigation, but this time the familiar «lands of ancient irrigation» of southern Kara-Kalpakia - flat, eroded traces of takyrs overgrown with bushes in ditches which looked as if they were deserted only yesterday.

Here are the ruins of Babish-mulla — a proper square fortress with a square citadel in the middle and a layout surrounding the fortress from three sides. The settlement is enclosed by a wall. At 13:50 we are landing on the smooth surface of the takyr covered with a scattering of ancient ceramics. We come up to the ruins. Typical Khorezmian ancient fortification constructions are in front of us: large adobe bricks, with 39x39x11 and 40x40x11 dimensions, with a generous admixture of saman (cut straw). Swept-back loopholes in the walls are much smaller than those of most of Khorezm monuments, but similar to loopholes of the ancient fortress Check-Senem at Chermen-yaba. Ceramics are typical of the early ancient monuments of Khorezm dating from the first centuries B.C., well baked and covered with red engobe. All forms of ancient Khorezm ceramics are available - bowls with disc shaped pallets, jugs with rectangular handles: typical forms of vessels, nimbuses of khums (pitchers). The babish-mulla belongs to early ancient Khorezmian monuments. It is obvious that we are in the territory of a small Khorezmian colony at the middle reaches of the Djany-Darya.

However time is passing. At 15:20 we took off and in half an hour landed in the vicinity of Chirik-rabat where recently we had our base. It is

necessary to catch up with our motor vehicles which have already left. It takes one hour to have a snack, refuel the planes, prepare for a new start. At 16:45, for the third time today we take off and fly east. We have little time and need to hurry up. We are flying above sands and saxaul, with woods to the north. The sun is setting. It is risky to go on flying, dense thickets of saxaul are again ahead of us.

At twilight it will be difficult to find a place for landing - at 18 o'clock we landed on the nearest taryk.

We made a big fire from saxaul. We launched a rocket. Far in the east in the gloom a bright signal flare flashes in reply. It was our group. We answer with another rocket. It got completely dark. The teapot is boiling on the fire. We have a hasty supper of canned food and make our improvised night's lodging.

At 7:35 am on October 9 we take off and return to our route. In 10 minutes we are again above the dense thickets of saxaul. On the coast of Diany-Darya we can see irregular outlines of mud-streamed swells of a fortress covered entirely with saxaul. It is Kum-kala, the planned point of our meeting. Our motor vehicles are near it. Comrades are signaling us about something and we fly low above them with switched off motors. They were crying something but it was not possible to understand their words. We had to find a place to land. We made several circles around but everywhere we saw a continuous sea of saxaul. The only flat and open place we found was a narrow strip of an old road. We had no other choice. We decided to test the limits of the PO-2 fully. I.I.Yalovkin, the leading pilot begins landing. At first he takes a try and passes above the road almost touching the ground. It is possible! Second attempt - and the plane is running and jumping on the road. The second plane also lands safely. The car rushes to the place of landing and in some more minutes we gathered at the fire in the camp. We had our breakfast and discussed the situation. At 11:20 the planes are off again and we go northwest to the ruins of Djan-kala where the main base of the expedition is to be located. The channel makes an abrupt loop to the north. Along the channel there are groups of mausoleums and traces of channels.

At 11:35 a wide panorama of an extensive system of ruins opens among the thick saxauls. Channels spread out in different directions. Buildings are scattered everywhere in the dense saxaul woods. A citadel with a lonely watchtower, a line of city walls, adobe foundations of some big constructions covered with heaps of baked bricks, a caravanserai, two extensive manors adjoining the city with attractive landscaping. The ruins of the large medieval city center are under us.

We are searching for a landing site. It is a difficult business in this country of saxaul. At last, we chose a suitable takyr, surrounded with a high wall of saxaul thickets. We go down to our new base.

We are in a hurry making our way through the dense bushes. A very unusual impression for Central Asia — ruins, in the thick woods.

Powerful clumsy trunks lift a chaos of fantastically bent branches upwards 3-4 meters. It would be more difficult to be guided in the city without planes. Under our legs there are dwellings destroyed by roots of trees, multi-color slip-glazed and black ceramics of the well known Khorezmian ceramics of the 12-13th centuries.

We are in Djend city, the extreme eastern outpost of the medieval Khorezm state when it was transformed into a global empire.

Djend was a mystery for a long time. There were various hypotheses on this matter because indications of medieval sources do not give exact geographical reference points for this very significant center of the lower Syr-Darya basin.

V.V.Bartold in "Turkestan" (1900)⁴ fails to locate this city. «We can not precisely determine the location of these cities (Uzkend, Barchin-lygkant) and Djend itself because the distance between them and other cities is not indicated anywhere», he writes on this occasion. Lerch ⁵ rather presumptuously specifies that Djend should be somewhere near Horkut-ata cemetery (to the west of Djusaly).

Kallaur ⁶ tries to equate Djend with the ruins of Kys or Gysh-kala, not yet surveyed archaeologically (under Bartold's assumption, Hysht-kala — «Brick fortress»), in Tamar utkyul tract, 25-30 kilometers from Kzyl-Orda, on the left side of the Syr-Darya.

Bartold in 1914 considered this point of view "very plausible". V.F. Minorskij 8 agreed with this point of view too.

⁴ V.V.Bartold. Turkestan, 2, page 181.

⁵ Lerch. Archaeological trip..... Page 11.

⁶ PTKLA, appendix to the report dated September 11, 1900

⁷ V.V.Bartold. Irrigation, page 152.

⁸ Hudud al-Alam, page 371 and map VII, page 307.

With regard to Djan-kala, Kallaur⁹ tries to equate it with his only hypothetical «second Yangikent», located somewhere nearby Djend. Bartold notes that this hypothesis of Kallaur «does not find acknowledgement in the sources». ¹⁰

It is worth remembering one very important circumstance: the ruins of all large city centers in the basins of Central and Lower Syr-Darya have kept their names almost unchanged till recently, but are still easily recognized: Yangikent-Djankent-kala, Sauran-Sauran, Sygnak-Sunak-Kurgan, Ashnas-Asanas, etc. It is improbable that the name of such a significant center of the early Middle Ages as Djend has been completely forgotten. And only Djan-kala on the lower Syr-Darya still sounds like Djend.

An important reference point for us could be that mentioned in a collection of documents of the 12th centuries in the Sag-dere locality ("Insha") located on the river on the road from Khorezm to Djend, 20 farsakhs (i.e. 120 km) from Djend. ¹¹ If we apply this distance to the West from Djankala by the present road to Tahta-Kupyr – Kzyl-orda along the channel of Djany-Darya it will match Chirik-rabat, the ancient settlement site (110 km in a straight line from Djan-kala, according to the speedometer of my car - 125 km, but if we take into account a small deviation from road for surveying some monuments located close to it, the distance will be almost exactly 120 km).

Sag-dere is a Turkic-Iranian combination of words meaning «the right valley», «the right channel». Just before Chirik-rabat Djany-Darya divides into two branches. On the right side there are ruins. I think, that all the above-mentioned arguments allow us to consider our identification as final. Chirik-rabat is an early medieval natural tract Sag-dere. Djankala is the early medieval city - Djend.

Our air and ground reconnaissance has shown that Djen-kala is a center of a significant area densely populated in the 12-13th centuries. 12 kilometers southeast there is a significant city settlement of the 12-13th centuries already mentioned as Kum-kala.

Further to the south there is a system of medieval ruins Kum-kala № 2 — a big fortress. Traces of medieval irrigation, manors, ruins of a significant fortification stretch along the southern bank of Djany-dary and up to

⁹ PTKLA, VIII, page 66-67.

¹⁰ V.V.Bartold. Irrigation, page 151.

V.V.Bartold. Turkestan, I (texts), page 41.



ANNALS OF DEAD CITIES





Chapter 5

THE ERA OF SIYAVUSH

1

The flat and sandy lowland situated south of Djanbas-kala has a wide strip of takyrs which stretch from south to east. There are many sites of the primitive culture of Khorezm along the border of the lowland and takyrs, in the sand, with many islands of takyrs scattered around. In 1945 we finished counting all 18 sites which were jointly named "Djanbas".

The research work on these sites began in 1939 and continued for several years. The work results allowed us to establish the general outlines of the most ancient period of the history of the early Khorezmians.

The results show that in the 3rd-4th millennia B.C., the territory of the "lands of ancient irrigation" was completely different from today. In the north this triangle is enclosed by the ancient Sultan-Uizdag heights. This ridge is as old as the Urals and Mugodjar. In the west it borders the Amu-Darya channel and in the east it reaches the Su-yargan or Akcha-Darya. At that time it was a humid and marshy land plentifully irrigated by numerous channels and lakes and it was overgrown with reeds and woods. It was the eastern part of the ancient upper delta of the Amu-Darya spreading west through the channels of Daudan and Daryalyk, flowing into the Sarykamysh and Aybugir lakes. The Akcha-Darya (Su-yargan) went around the Sultan-Uizdag from the east and then flowed into the wide Daukarinskoe lake (to the east of the present Tahta-kupyr) and from the northern side there is a small ridge – Beltau.

Further to the west the channels of Akcha-Darya flow into the same great and ancient delta of the Syr-Darya and pass across the northern Kzyl-kums.

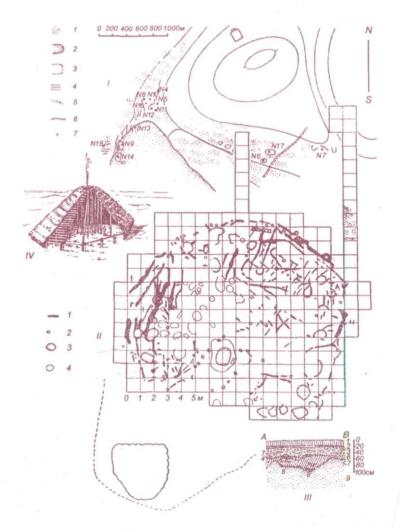


Fig. 18. Monuments of the Kaltaminar culture. Late Stone Age site Djanbas-kala №4

1. location of the sites: 1 — sand; 2 — continuous sand; 3 — takyrs; 4 - zones of destruction of takyrs; 5 — heights; 6 — road; 7 — camp

II. plan of excavation sites: 1- fields of coal; 2 - holes for posts; 3 basic locations; 4 - piles

III. cross section view of the central locations: 1-homogeneous soil of takyr, 2—stratified clay with prints of marsh plants; 3—sand with finds; 4—remainders of coal, 5-layer of white ashes: 6—red burnt sand; 7—dissemination of clay in sand; 8—separate coals; 9—sand without finds

I doubt that the Aral Sea existed then in its modern state. Most likely the climate at that time was more arid than now; southern dry winds prevailed; the Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya had much less water and could not break a channel through the western Sultan-Uizdag ridge. It flowed spreading out into many channels, lakes and bogs west and east of this barrier.

Here, nearby the channel of Akch-Darya, on the coast and on the sand islands of the great lake-marsh reservoir near the Djanbask rock ridge, seemingly far to the west, along the southern bottom of the whole Sultan-Uizdag system, the fishermen and hunters of Neolithic Khorezm built their dwellings. They were the founders of the most ancient culture we discovered and were called Kaltaminars.

The excavations of the best preserved Kaltaminar site Djanbas-4 (in 1939, 1940, 1945) allowed us to recreate a general image of this peculiar culture. The Kaltaminars made their instruments only from stone and bones. The cultural layer of the site contained an ample quantity of handmade flint articles; they were tiny and had the form of a knife and were used for different purposes (scrapers, punchers, supporting razors for the bigger instruments made of bone). From the same plates they made original tiny tips of arrows with one thorn. Some of them were sharp only on one side and some of them on both sides. The bigger instruments were made from ground stone as, for example, a big axe of trapezoid form. The ornaments were made from stone and shells brought from other places (we will discuss this later). The most specific of them are the fine oval pendants with beads of cylindrical form made of shell or stone with a hole on one side.

Their food chiefly consisted of fish such as pike and catfish. We found their bones everywhere in the cultural layer of the site. Hunting was of no less importance for them. We also found a lot of bones of wild boar, deer, and waterfowl.

Their food was cooked in earthenware crockery not made on a potter's wheel. It had a cone bottom and was covered with the richest printed and lined ornament in the form of geometrical compositions. The pans had thin walls and were well baked. The baked pans then were painted red but this is not evident today.

The variety of forms and richness of the ornament was amazing. The keel-shaped dishes remind one of a lengthwise cut egg, imitating forms which were initially developed in wood.

The ornament consisted of many ridged prints and was drawn using a sharp instrument, it also had "herring-bone" zigzags and parallel strips of prints. Often, the surface of vessels was separated by ornamental ribbons into rectangular fields with various patterned prints. We found one large undecorated vessel which had a "goffered" wavy line on the top edge. Some large thin-walled bowls were without ornament and had only slanting notches at the edge.

The dwelling of the Kaltaminars we found had a very interesting construction. It was well preserved in the sand under the takyr layer so we could reconstruct it almost completely. It was a huge (24x17m) construction made of wood and reeds, had the shape of an egg and was built on the top of the sandy barchan. The frame of the dwelling formed three concentric lines of posts in the center, around the main family fireplace (we will explain this later), around the rim of the house, and in the intervals between those and others. There were holes only 30-40cm deep left after the poles had been removed, which were filled with black ash and pieces of coal. There was a system of rafters on the poles. The poles were located in pairs, and the rafters were probably inserted between the pairs of such closely shifted poles and were bent to fit them. Such a method was widely used in the architecture of the primeval people of America, Oceania and Africa.

A horizontal grid of poles was put on top of the main poles and was covered with reeds. All this was imprinted in the sand as a web of radial and tangential charred strips of various thicknesses covered with a thick layer of burnt reeds.

Compared to the proportions of modern similar buildings of peoples in southern Asia, Oceania and America, the central poles were probably 8-10 meters high and the roof prolonged, cone-shaped and asymmetric with the much narrower and flatter slope on the southwest away from prevailing winds. On the other side was a wider and abrupt slope and the entrance door of the dwelling was on the northeastern side.

The roof did not reach the ground. Judging from the density of the burned material on the sides, the roof was resting on a low wall and the entrance door had a small reed shed.

The house inside was as unusual as on the outside. A narrow corridor, bordered by two lines of poles, led from the entrance to the central fire-place of the dwelling, which was always lit. The fireplace was approxi-

mately one meter in diameter and survived as a thick shield of dense white ash with a half-meter high layer of red, heavy sand. On the right of the entrance and behind the main fireplace there were other numerous cooking fires and the great bulk of household finds were concentrated here. On the left side of the entrance there was a sector of the dwelling which was almost without fireplaces. Only along the rim of the wall were there small fireplaces with a few finds around them.

The communal dwellings of the Andaman islanders (Bay of Bengal) by the level of the development and type of economy (settled fishers and hunters with Neolithic period instruments, ceramics with round bottoms, bows and arrows) remind one very much of the Kaltaminars and helped us to understand their life.

The community of the Kaltaminars including their children consisted of 100-120 persons. A family was defined by the economic-household relation. There was a certain mobility of families and frequent changing of living places. An eternal sacred flame was the center of public life. On the left of the entrance there was a place free of fireplaces called the "dancing floor". This area was used for communal rites and ceremonial dances. Smaller fireplaces in the house, as in the house of the Andaman, probably meant a place for unmarried young men; they ate in the family kitchen and their fireplaces were used only for warmth on cold nights.

The analysis of the materials extracted in the excavation of Djanbas-4 and collected from other settlement sites of Neolithic Khorezm (Djanbas-5, etc.) allowed us to trace some lines of cultural and ethnic relations of the most ancient population of Khorezm. The most important monuments of ancient Central Asia were not in the south but the north – in Kazakhstan, Siberia and northeastern Europe.

The closest parallels of Kaltaminar culture were found by one of Stein's expeditions to study similar topographical conditions in southern Serindia², and in other sites in western Kazakhstan (the area of Saksaulskaja station and the north side of the Aral Sea) recently discovered by A.A. Formozov, which represent the latest stage of Kaltaminar culture. Here we clearly see

About excavations in Djanbas-4 see our articles in VDI, 1941, № 1, and in 1945 № 1 Antiquity, 10th cc. 1946 and "Ancient Khorezm", pages 59-66.

¹ A. Stein. Innermost Asia, I. page 85, 196, 205; III, table. XXII, XXIII, same by him. Serindia, I. page 357.



Fig. 18 a. Crafts of the Kaltaminar culture

Djanbas-kala settlement Ne4: 1 - ivory instruments; 2 - flint instruments; 3 - pendants and beads made from shell; 4 - ceramic disk; 5 ivory disk; 6 - shards of vessels; 7 - keel-shaped vessel. Djanbas-kala settlement №14; 8 - flint instruments; 9 - shards of vessels; 10 -

beads made from shells.

evidence of catte herding.3 L.V. Sinitsyn told us about material similar to the Kaltaminarswhich was found by him in the lower Volga region. The monuments in laksaulskaya station have a close relation to Kaltaminar culture and they are much earlier than Djanbas-4 (copper, flat-bottomed vessels), the settements of the Kama Eolithic sites and especially the place found by Levshnskaya near the river Chusovoya (end of 3rd millennium B.C.) More renote parallels exist with the southern Siberian Neolithic. The traditions there are very close to the traditions of Kaltaminars of the 2nd-1st millenna B.C; in the cultures of "shighir" in the Ural area, and in the Ob river Nedithic period. Less clear, but nevertheless certain relations lead us into the circle of Neolithic cultures of "hollowed and ridged ceramics" in the prtheast of Europe, and to the early stages of the Eolithic and the Bronze age cultures of the Eurasian steppes - to the ancient hollow culture of 3d millennium B.C. in eastern Europe and the Athanasius culture of 3rd and the beginnings of the 2nd millennia A.D. in southern Siberia.

The existence of relations with the Aral Sea region in the Athanasius culture was notced a long time ago. S.A. Teplouhov found ornaments made of Corbiula fluminalis shells in the Athanasius burials of the Minusinskiy region in Siberia, the site located at the mouth of the Amu-Darya.⁵ This fac allowed him to assert in 1927 that the Aral area culture influenced the accient population of southern Siberia.

However, wth strong relations leading to the north, northwest and northeast (whenas the chronological data tells about the movement of these relations from the Aral Sea region to the north), the Kaltaminar culture had another less strong influence in southern Iran and India.

The ornaments found in the Minusinsk territory burial sites of the 3rd and beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. were made of shells from the lower Amu-Darya as was most Kaltaminar bead jewelry in remote southern territories. Among the shells of Dentalium which were found in Djanbas-4, two kindsof shells from the Indian ocean, the Red sea and Persian

³ A.A. Formozov, About the discovery of Kaltaminar culture in Kazakhstan, News. KazFAN, 1945, No.2.

N.A. Prokoshev. About Neolithic monuments of the Kama Ural area. MIA, I, 1940, p. 20.

Materials on ethography". III. pages 75-76; IV. pages 42-43.

and Arabian gulfs were found. The vessels were always painted red, and were of a resonably high technical quality. Maybe it was a reflection of the influence of the ancient agricultural tribes in southern Turkmenia (Anau) and the western and southern periphery of the Iranian plateau. The composite ornaments of the Kaltaminars had many things in common with so-called "cultures of painted ceramics". Flint instruments of the Kaltaminars also had many parallels with the instruments of the Eolithic settlements near Persepolis and with little-studied microlitic instruments found in the Neolithic sites of northern India.

All these connections allowed us to state that already in the 4th-3rd millennia B.C. Khorezm played a linking role between the world of ancient civilizations of the Middle East and the remote Hyperborean North.

Now we cannot say anything about the ethnicity of the primitive Kaltaminars. However it is necessary to mention that linguistic science already noticed significant relations between non-Indo-European languages of India (Dravid and Mund) and Ugrian languages of western Siberia and the Ural area.

Caldwell and Schroeder wrote about Dravidian-Ugrian relations; Eksbond, Khaveshi, and Bannerji wrote about the Munda-Ugrian languages; Schroeder agreed with them but with some reservations.⁶ Some of these authors, Khaveshi in particular, put the Munda languages in the Ugrian group and proposed that there are ancient Ugrian resettlements in India.

The material collected by these authors does not provide evidence about the unity, but only about the cultural relations of the Ugrian ancestors and Indo-Europeans which existed in the remote past because of the territorial contact of these peoples. The Indo-European ethno-linguistic element undoubtedly prevailed in the life of people living at the crossroads of Central Asia and eastern Iran in the 1st and, most likely the 2nd millennium B.C. But they are not later than the 4th-3rd millennia B.C., when the founders of Kaltaminar culture were the most probable link in these relations.

I would like to remind the reader that the ancient territory of the Dravidian languages extends far north of their modern territory (the Indian peninsula). Even nowadays in Baluchistan, halfway between Khorezm and Dravidian India, people of Bragui preserved the Dravidian language

⁶ For definitions of this see in «Ancient Khorezm», pages 65 and 350.

and their southern anthropological features. History shows the further spread of Dravidians to the north and to the west. G. Huzing (1916) tried to reveal the Dravidian ethnic layer as the most important component in the make-up of the ancient population of Iran.

Bruno and Bork discovered traces of influence of Dravidian phonetics in the ancient Japhetic languages of early Asia — Elami and Mitanni. B.A. Kuftin showed the ancient Dravidian substratum in Transcaucasian Japhetic languages, particularly in Kartvelian (Georgian and related languages). ⁷

Additionally, as we know, in the 9th century A.D. (probably earlier) the southern borders of Ugrian tribes (Bashjargy Magyars) reached as far as the Aral Sea region.

It would be unreasonable to search for "Ugrians", "Dravids" or "Munda"." in the Kaltaminars. From the historical point of view it would more correct to use these terms for the earlier epoch. We would rather suppose that Central Asia during this epoch showed quite a colorful ethnographic and linguistic range and experienced the impact of various ethnic elements, which later led to the appearance of Ugor in the north, Dravid in the south and probably Munda languages which gave rise to the eastern groups of Indo-European languages because of the mixture and inclusion of Japhetic and other elements.⁸

This process, however, should be related to a later time.

Folk legends about the origin of Khorezmians can be found in various literary sources. One of the most fantastic legends tells about Reza-Kulikhan, the Persian ambassador to the court of the Khivan khan Alla-Kuli (1825-1842). According to the legend, the prophet Suleyman (tsar Solomon to whom the Muslim tradition attributes spiritual authority) got angry with a Peri and sentenced her to exile to the most remote country in the world, having ordered a Dev (demon) to deliver her there. The Dev flew a long distance with the Peri on his shoulders. He was looking but could not find such a place and at last he arrived at deserted Khorezm which appeared suitable. But having executed the order of Suleyman, the Dev decided to stay there because he had fallen in love with his fair captive.

⁷ B.A. Kuftin, Archaeological excavations in Trialeti, Tbilisi, 1941, pp 126-127.

See. S.P. Tolstov. Aral knot of ethnogeny process, SE, VI-VII, 1946, p 309.

The Khorezmians are supposed to come from the marriage of the Dev and the Peri. Riza-Kuli-khan says therefore, that Khorezmian women are beautiful, and men are evil. This aphorism is most likely Persian: Iran during that time suffered from the predatory attacks of Khivans.

900 years prior to Riza-Kuli-khan the following legend about the origin of Khorezmians was told by the Arabian geographer al-Makdisi. "... in ancient times, — says al-Makdisi, — the tsar of the East got angry with 400 of his trusted servants and sent them to a remote place located 100 farsahs away (about 600 km), now the city of Kas, and the capital of the ancient Khorezm, now Shabbaz. A long time passed, and the king sent people to find out about the exiles. When they came there they found them alive. The exiles had built tents, they fished and had plenty of firewood. When the king was informed about it he asked: "What do they say for meat? The informers answered "khor" (or "khvar"). Then the king asked about firewood, and got the answer: "razm". After that the king declared the area to be known as Khorazm (Khvarazm) and let them be the owners of the land. He gave an order to send them 400 Turkic girls. The present people look Turkic." 9

The legend of al-Makdisi contained interesting information about the Amu-Darya changing its channel. In chapter 5 we will tell about this, but now it is important to note another fact. Beside the information given by al-Makdisi, in the 10th century Khorezmians had vivid memories about their distant ancestors who were fishermen and lived in huts in a forested country (the image recalling the time of the Kaltaminars). In this story he told about the mixed origin of the Khorezmians, about the presence of some newcomers in their ethnogeny. This fantastic scene sounds like a fairy story by Reza-Kuli-khan.

Al-Biruni is the only ethnographer of ancient Khorezm whose works have reached us. As we know he wrote the two most ancient Khorezmian chronologies which tell about the 13th century B.C. – the era of the first colonization of the country and first arrival in Khorezm of the mythical founder of the dynasty of Khorezmian kings — Siyavush, the son of Key-Kaus. These are the two earliest sources of Khorezmian ethnogeny.

The archaeological material confirms this persistent tradition of the national legends, but our material about the 2nd millennium B.C. of the

⁹ BGA, III, 285th word, MITT, I, 185th word.

Bronze Age of Khorezm is still very poor. We know only several scattered settlements and one site, Djanbas-6, excavated in 1945-1946 by J.G. Guljamov and N.N. Nakturskaya.

The period which came after the Kaltaminar period of Khorezm is marked first of all by major climatic changes. The strata of Djanbas-4 are very interesting in this regard. Shortly after the big house of the settlement site burned, the sandy hill underneath flooded, and because the basis of the barchan (silver-gray alluvium of Amu-Darya) lies 4 meters below the cultural layer, the rise of water seems to have been very significant. The site first appeared at the bottom of the bog and was periodically flooded with fresh waters (in the bottom layers we found prints of bog plants), and then this bog turned into a permanent lake with a 40 cm layer of loamy-sand.

Apparently this climatic crisis was connected with the transition from the "Atlantic" to "Sub-boreal" period of the climatic history of Eurasia when northern winds dominated in Central Asia and were the basic source of moisture. For Europe this change took place approximately in the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C., but maybe earlier.

Probably because of this change most of the ancient delta of Amu-Darya formed an extensive continuous reservoir which caused sediments of takyr loam in Khorezm, and the population had to relocate to the higher areas and to suburbs of the basin and continued to develop ancient traditions of the Kaltaminar cultures.

The second of the cultures of primitive Khorezm known to us from the 2nd millennium was named Tazabagyab. They were direct descendants of the Kaltaminars. The sites of this period located on ancient barchans and takyrs yielded some fragments of copper (unfortunately all the instruments were broken), microlithoidal flint instruments continuing the traditions of Kaltaminar, and flat-bottomed dishes with stamped ornament in the form of angles, triangles and oblique-angled vines recalling dishes of the Andron culture of the Bronze Age of Siberia and Kazakhstan.

We do not have direct information about the economy of the Tazabagyabs, but there is every reason to believe that it was the same as that of the Androns who had cattle breeding (sheep, bulls, horses) and hoe agriculture (wheat and other cereals).

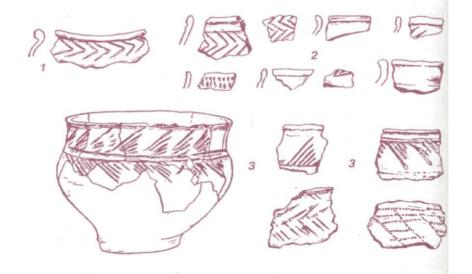


Fig. 19. Ceramics of Tazabagyap, Suyargansk and Amirabad cultures

- 1. Amirabad culture (settlement in Djanbas-4)
- 2. Suyargan culture (settlement in Djanbas-6)
- 3. Tazabagyab culture (settlement Angka-1)

The rise of cattle breeding, according to all available information, comes at the final stage of the history of Kaltaminar culture, in the second half of the 3rd millennium. A.A.Formozov studied the late Kaltaminar site near Saksaulskoy station and found flint instruments, ceramics and bones of domestic animals: 80 % cow and sheep (or goat) bones, the rest wild horse and dziggetai.

Absence of irrigation traces in Tazabagyap settlements led us to believe that their agriculture during this epoch was based on artificial irrigation, and people used so-called "kayir fields", i.e. areas of water-meadows with sufficiently moist soil for cultivation of plants.

Along with the settlements of Tazabagyaps we found other settlements closely related (the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C.) but yielding absolutely different material. Fragments of copper were found here but there were not microlithic crafts made of flint.

The utensils were flat-bottomed, but had other forms and a flat surface painted yellow or red. Occasionally they were black and had a smooth surface. Some of the crocks had traces of black paint on a red background. There were a few dishes close to the Tazabagyab type, but less colorful with stamped ornament in the form of angles on the nimbus. These ceramics reminded us of materials from the middle layers of Anau and suggested that there were relations with the south.

The settlement sites, as a rule, were situated on takyrs.

Probably the development of this culture, which we called Suyargansk, was connected with the appearance of new ethnic elements in Khorezm historically connected to the south, the Iranian plateau and other neighboring countries where the cultures developed hoe cultivation and stock-breeding and lived in rectangular cob houses and made painted flat-bottomed utensils.

We already mentioned the effect of this culture on the Kaltaminars. This effect came not only from cultural interaction but also because of the relocation of new ethnic groups to Khorezm from the south.

Since the settlements of Suyargansk and part of Tazabagyap cultures were located on takyrs, under the buried barchans, there is reason to believe that in the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. the territory became dry due to the breaking through of the Amu-Darya to its western part in Sultan-Uizdag and the formation of its present channel. Maybe because of these changes in geography and the second relocation to this upper delta of the Amu-Darya, southern tribes began to colonize the tribes living near the south Khorezmian lake. From the ceramics we can assume that southern tribes assimilated with Tazabagyab, Suyargansk and later with the Amirabad cultures.

There is reason to believe that these tribes formed the eastern branch of the Japhetic system of languages which also includes modern Caucasian (Georgian, Circassian, Daghestanian, etc.) and the founders of the most ancient civilizations of Syria and Asia Minor.

E. Gertsfeld wrote about the agricultural Japhetic tribes of the Iranian plateau who created "the culture of painted ceramics" and called them the "Caspians". 10

E. Herzfeld. Iran in the Ancient East. London - N. York: 1941

B. Groznyi discovered traces of the Japhetic language which is close to the Subarean language. The hieroglyphic inscriptions in Mohenjadaro (Pakistan) and the above-mentioned traces of Dravidian influence on the near Asian Japhedits reveal the large role in the structure of Japhedits played by tribes of the Hurri-Mittanian or Subarean groups who created a great and powerful state - Mitanni in the beginning of the 2nd millennium. Its center was upper Mesopotamia. Hittites tribes who spoke prefixed type languages also played an important role. ¹¹ The founders of the Sumerian civilization of the lower land between two rivers preserved the attributes of the East and had similarity both in lexicon and in morphology to languages of the Altay group and to Turkic. Sumerian – dingir - god, Turkic tengri - god, sky; Sumerian - ai - moon deity, Turkic - ai - moon, month; Sumerian - dag -stone, Turkic - dash - stone, dag - mountain; Sumerian - goosh, goon - three, ten; Turkic ooch, oon - the same meaning, etc.). ¹²

To all appearances, in antiquity the Iranian plateau and the neighboring countries were the strongest ethnographic source of near Asia where the ethnic elements of "eastern weight" – Sumerians, Hirrians, Hittites and other related tribes came across southern elements of "southern weight" – with Semites and related nations who also used near Asian and Caucasian Japhetic languages.

As we see, the tribes of the plateau of Iran already in the Neolithic period were not isolated from their northern and southern neighbors. Anau and other cultures of a similar type influenced the culture of fishing on the alluvial plains, as well as the founders of Kelmintar cultures. In Anau we found many shards with stamped angular ornament, reflecting the influence of Kelmintar and the subsequent Bagyab cultures. Unfortunately, we do not have data about plain and unpainted ceramics of the Iranian plateau. As a rule, archaeologists are attracted to the painted utensils and do not pay due attention to the more modest ones.

However there are reasons to believe that Anau is not an exception, and if we research the south and west more carefully we shall find traces of the counter-influence of tribes of the Central Asian alluvial plains, especially at

¹¹ B. Groznyj. Proto Indian letters and their decoding... VDI, 1940, № 2, page 15 w.; VV. Struve. Decoding of Proto Indian letters. VAN, 1947. № 8.

¹² F. Hommel. Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients. Munchen . 1926, page 21.

The name of the Mitannian goddesses Sauskas¹³ (Sauspi) is undoubtedly connected with the previous name and at the same time has associations with the Khorezmian imperial name Shaush (1 and 2) from the same list of Al-Biruni. A more remote association is given by the relation between the Mitannian imperial name Artatam (1 and 2) and the Khorezmian Artamukh.

Hurrian-Mitannian ties connect to other ties in the near Asian Japhetic world, the Khorezm-Hittite ties. Besides the significant parallel itself the ethnic name Hattu (Hetti) and the stem of the name of Central Asian people – the Massagets (the Great Hittites) Strabon ranked the Khorezmians with the Great Hittites. I found a surprising concurrence not seen in the Iranian and Turkic world. The Khorezmian word in Uzbek dialect arna – means channel, and proto-hittite arna – means water source, spring. These parallels can be traced in the material cultures. The antique Khorezmian clothes on the statues found by us show much in common with the clothes of Asia Minor tribes known to us from Hittite and ancient Persian topography and monuments of Greek art showing a "Phrygian cap" and high boots, a prominent feature of Hittite men's wear. The clothes of women who are the most direct descendants of Dakh-Massaget tribes of the Caspian area, Turkmen-teke, still wear clothes in the tradition of the Hittites as reflected on relief art. 14

Certainly, all this is not enough to make firm historical conclusions. These are only hypotheses, requiring the attention of researchers to settle unresolved matters about the ethnogeny of nations in western Eurasia. Only one thing can be said: the ties of the nations of the Central Asia with the near Asian ethnographic world go deep into Indo-European antiquity and the question of Japhetic national origins and the states created by them can not be solved without taking into account the role of Central Asian tribes.

No matter where these ties were directed to, Khorezm — "Land of Hvarri (Harri)" should explain the settlement of Hurrians. At the same time we should keep in mind that in the Hittite language we see the first language bearing certain features of the Indo-European structure, and that in Mitanni we see for the first time the names of the Indo-Iranian deities Mitra, Varuna and Nasat, as well as Indo-Iranian equestrian terminology.

¹³ An interesting affix (ska) meaning in the name of Central Asian Kushan kings 1-3rd centuries A.D. – Kanishka, Huvishka and one of the dynasty names - Turushka

¹⁴ See "Ancient Khorezm", page 197 of words.

There were no bases for large migration hypotheses with the Indo-Europeans from the west and east fighting "Kentum people", i.e. western Indo-Europeans, for the country of the Hittites, and Hindus — the country of Mitanni. There was interaction between the ancient Japhetic and, probably, other Indo-European languages of Iran, Central Asia and probably the northern Ponto-Caspian steppes — the first forms of Indo-European speech appeared on the steppes.

As we know, these early stages of the proto-Indo-European language appeared in the 3rd millennium B.C., in the Cassian language.

An interesting monument which helps to explain this complex problem of the ethnogeny of nations of the Ancient World was found by us in 1940 – the rock carvings in the northwest foothills of Sultan-Uizdag: Chilpyk, Kara-tyube and Besh-tyube. We assume that these rocks served as places of the tribe's funeral cult. Here, according to primitive ritual that was later modified in the ceremonies of the Zoroastrian religion, corpses were left unburied and were eaten by birds and other predators. This assumption proves to be true because subsequently, in the beginning of our era, one of these heights, Chilpyk, was used as a dahma, a "tower of silence", for the orthodox Zoroastrian funeral ceremony.

The whole surface of these rocks is covered with diverse signs cut out of the rock. The most ancient complex of them has various geometrical figures (with direct and slanting grids combined in pictographic compositions) dating to the Bronze Age as with the rock carvings from Priazovye ("the Stone tomb", investigated by O.N. Bader), and with archaic hieroglyphics of India, Elam, Mesopotamia and the Hittite kingdom.¹⁵

Academician V.V. Struve in one of his latest works amended the historical interpretation of the Mohesh-Dar inscriptions made by B. Groznyi. He related them to the monumental heritage of Hurrit tribes.

But let us turn to the information about Khorezm which we gleaned from the Bronze Age monuments.

We should note the concurrence of dates established archaeologically – the occurrence of new ethnic elements in Khorezm which advanced to the eastern edges of the plateau of Iran, down to Murgabu or Amu-Darya, Hurrit tribes — with the beginning of the Khorezmian chronology in the 13th century B.C. according to Al-Biruni. Biruni connects with this date the arrival of the divine hero Siyavush who was the founder of the Khorezm state.

¹⁵ See *S.I. Tolstov.* The question of Proto-Khorezmian literature, KSIMMK, XV, 1947, page 38., and also "Ancient Khorezm". page 71.

Siyavush (variant Siyavakhsh), the mythical ancestor of the ancient dynasty of Khorezmian kings, who ruled up to the end of the 10th century A.D., plays an important role in Iranian mythology and epics.

Avesta already knows him under the name of Siyavarshan. The Shahnama has an extensive section for the epos of Siyavush. In Avesta and Pahlavian literature, in the Shah-nama and Biruni, Siyavarshan (Siyavush) is shown as the hero-demigod. However more profound analysis of his image initially shows us a deity who was overshadowed later in the images of the Zoroastrian pantheon. Siyavush - the son of Key-Kaus (Kava-Us of Avesta), the second tsar of the second legendary dynasty of the Iranian tradition of Kayanids. He was born to a mysterious fair girl found by combatants of Key-Kaus in the border of Turan (probably, the initial image of the wood goddess-dryad). From the moment of his birth, which cost the life of his mother, Siyavush amazed people with his unearthly beauty. Having rejected the criminal passion of his stepmother and being slandered by her, Siyavush had to pass through fire with a gold helmet sitting on a black horse. He had to gallop through a huge flame. Having won and restored his honor he went on a campaign to Turan, and upon victory went to Afrasiab, the tsar of Turan, and married his daughter. From his father-in-law he received a land in Turan where he built a magnificent city-fortress Kang-diz, or Kang-e-Siyavakhsh. Again having fallen victim to slander, he is killed by murderers sent by Afrasiab. His son Kei-Hoorov becomes the avenger for Siyavush (according to Avesta — the grandson, the son of the daughter of Siyavarshan from the brother of Afrasiab - Agrerat, probably a more ancient and matriarchal variant of the story), Kava-Husrav Avesta, victorious over his perfidious grandfather, united "the Aryan lands" and according to Khorezmian traditions founded the first Khorezmian dynasty.

No doubt this is a "historical" mythical character connected with a cycle of images of the dying and reviving of the god of vegetation - Osiris, Attis, Adonis and similar Gods. The story of Siyavush closely resembles a Greek legend – the myth about Ippolit: besides the slander of his stepmother there is also the association of the hero with a horse. The death of Siyavush, the innocent victim of treachery and his subsequent return in the form of his son as the avenger completes the image with typical features of the myth about a suffering agrarian deity. Specific features, except for the bond with a horse, bring Siyavush into a circle of chthonic

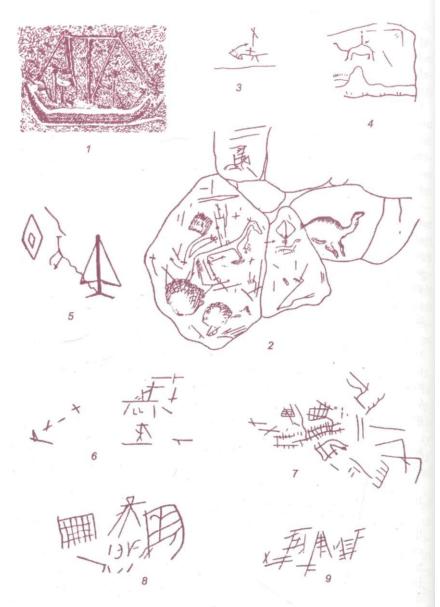


Fig. 20. Proto-Khorezmian rock inscriptions. 1 – 4 – Besh-tyube; 5 – 9 - Kara-tyube

deities: he is the horseman on a black horse which stands as an attribute and embodiment of Angro-Main (Ariman), and his fiery hordalia attaches him to the cult of the underground fire.

Siyavush (Siyavahsh, Siyavarshan) both in an onomasiological and mythological way is concerned with the image of Phrygian god-horseman Sabazy (Phrygian Saobadz) and more remotely with the "Slavic Ghefest", the god of underground fire — Svarog. Another possibility is a relation with one of his most respected manifestations – Svarozhicha (the name with a patronymic affix, like the Avesti name of Siyavush – the comparative Svarozh-ich = Siyavarsh + an).

Siyavush in the image of the god-horseman is a favorite image of Khorezmian coins of the 1st century B.C. and up to 8th century A.D. The horse was immortalized in statues and the image of the horseman. There is a strong link between Khorezmian and Thracian civilizations, as revealed by the ethno-cultural ties of Khorezm during the epoch of Indo-European tribes.

It is impossible to track the course of the process of formation of these ties. Khorezmians on the boundary of 2nd and 3rd millennia B.C. in the third stage of Khorezmian ethnogeny, acted as a link in the chain of Indo-European tribes who surrounded the Black and Caspian Seas. The tribes can be generalized under one name – Thracian-Cimmerians. Strabon relates the Khorezmians to the complex of Massaget nationalities; the name ("great Hittites") reminding us of the names of Thracian Hittites and Thyrahetts ("Dnestr Hittites"). The Dahs tribes were the neighbors of Khorezmians in the southwest and northeast, while Balkan Hittites were neighbors of Dacs. Thracians and Massagets had totemic ceremonies with the presence of a cult of the horse. The customs of Massagets had specific parallels with customs of agatits (marriage and funeral ceremonies). Several can be tracked in the belief of personal animism (Spargapis, Tamiras in the Thracian world and Spargapis, Tamiras of the Massagets).

It seems there are reasons to believe that in the territory of Khorezm there were three extensive areas of ancient Indo-European tribes: Indo-Iranian, with the main center of formation of all attributes in the eastern side of the plateau of Iran, the territory of western Afghanistan, and the upper waters of the Amu-Darya; the Cimmerian area in the Aral Sea region and Caspian steppes, and further to the Danube was the home of Scythians who occupied the eastern steppe and foothills of Central Asia, gradually yielding to the Cimmerians.

The collection of Avesta legends tells about the feats of the Kayanids, Siyavarshan and Husrav. The story takes place in the country of lakes near Urva (Urgench – by Sachau), the sea of Vurukash (the Aral Sea) and the country of Dahs (the lower lands of the Syr-Darya) and Sarmatians (Sairima, Volga steppes). Here, near the Vurukash sea, on the islands "seven kirshvars" the first settlers arrived with the secret fire of Mazdeism on the sacred bull Sasraoka. The sacred fire was built by Yema – Djemshid on the top a mountain in Khorezm. As a result of the above-mentioned processes "Ayiryanem-vedjo", "New Ariana" or "the new country of Hurrits" ("Harri-zem") was founded. "The land of Hurrits" is also called "the land of (people) of the Sun".

One of our colleagues, a young ethnographer J.V. Knorozov, in his research work tells about the mythological heroes of Avesta and Pahlavian traditions of Ayuryanem-vedjo and their existence in present Khorezmian traditions connected with the land of Khorezm.

So, in Hodjeili, on the hill-necropolis Mazlum-khan-slu, there is a majestic barrow named Dju-mart-kassab ("Djumart-butcher"). Here according to the legend a "sacred man" was buried and the barrow was named after him. Cattle breeding ceremonies aimed to ward off diseases were connected with this place. Near the barrow there is a sepulcher of "Shamunnabi" ("prophet Shamun") whose name is connected with legends recalling the biblical legend of Samson. In Dzhumurt-tau district, on the left bank of the Amu-Darya, there was a tomb "Shish-paigambar" ("prophet Sif"). This tomb and fortress Gyaur-kala on the right bank of the Amu-Darya were connected with another variant of the same legend about Samson. All this system of monuments and legends is undoubtedly connected with Gavo-mardom Kayumers (Djumart, Djumurt) - the ancient Iranian mythical hero who lived in Ayiryanem-vedjo associated with the bull (according to K.V. Trever, "man-bull" means the bull is his companion-attribute). Gavo-mardom Kayumers lived on one bank of the sacred river Daytja (according to our data, undoubtedly Amu-Darva), and his bull on the other. It is typical of early Persian tradition that Kiyumerg was associated sometimes with the biblical Siph and sometimes with Samson.

Hosrov is a semi-historical character representing the eastern Hurrit leader, via Aggregat, and his daughter Siyavarshan, by genealogical tradition is linked to the world of local ancient deities.

We will only touch on the second cycle of legends about Ayiryanemvedjo, connected with Ghats and other later parts of Avesta which bring us to the struggle between the priestly castes kavi and karapans (east variant of kavirs and koribants of the Phrygian world). The kavi had followers of the ancient mythical prophet Zarathustra (an obvious parallel of the Thracian Zalmoxis), combining the elements of monotheism with primitive animistic beliefs to which the dualistic elements of Zoroastrism belong.

If we follow the Zoroastrian tradition, the first stage of this struggle took place in Ayiryanem-vedjo — Khorezm, the future birth place of Zarathustra, but comes to a victorious end in the palace of tsar Vishtaspy with rather vague dynastic links coordinated by traditions of the Khorezmian house of Hosrovs.

Zoroastrianism undoubtedly has a complicated history, and the image of the ancient prophet Zarathustra is known from Media and Persia.

However the Avestian tradition that reached us, undoubtedly of oriental origin, should be connected to the religious reform activity of the Parthian king Vologez, in the 1st century A.D. Marquart insisted that the center of the pre-Akhemenid political world of the Central Asia was in Khorezm (below we will see additional arguments) and that the eminence of Bactria was connected with the epoch of the Akhemenids. The myths and epic legends of ancient prehistoric Khorezm were adapted in the 4-5th centuries A.D. by Bactrian "atranauts" (priests of fire), transferring the ending of the story about the Khorezmian Zarathustra to their native land and the Parthian king attaching his family to the Khorezmian Siyavushids. One of the versions of the story by Strabon about the origin of the Arshakids identifies them with Bactres and the proud name Pahlavi (Balh, Bactrian) which was taken by Parthian regents.

The Avesta does not refer to the Akhemenids. Inclusion of the last of them into Persian religious literature on the Sasanids is a clumsy falsification, as is the transformation of Alexander the Great into the son of Darius and the ennobling to the Akhemenid provincial princes - priests of Stahrwho in the 3rd century A.D. began the new Persian dynasty.

Bactrian priestly rulers initially related the geographical Avesta to the narrow territory of the country of lakes and rivers of Khorezm, and Avestian history tells of wars with associates of the Khorezm tribes, the expanding to the east of Iran and Central Asia. The ignorant falsifiers of the Sasanid epoch tried to connect unclear names and events with their historical and geographical ideas. They transferred events and places to the Sasanid country, associating them with current centers of the subsequent Zoroastrian belief.

Cleared of these later layers, the Avesta appears as a first class source for the history of Khorezm and the surrounding countries between 13th century B.C. and the last centuries of the 1st millennium B.C. But it can be used only after extensive critical work.

From the archaeological point of view the initial stage of this period was poorly explained. Replacement of the Suyargan culture by the new Amirabad culture happened in the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. Replacement of old forms of painted ceramics by a new type is typical for this culture at that time. The dishes were not made on a potter's wheel; they were black or black-gray with a flat bottom and had a bent spout usually without an ornament. Sometimes a dish had an ornament at the nimbus in the form of a fir-tree closely recalling ceramics of pre-Scythian settlements of the northern Caucasus (the ancient settlement Kobyakovo).

Instead of oval wooden columns they already erected long adobe buildings on the same sandy dunes. In the settlement Djanbas-7 there is a house which is 70 meters long consisting of two parallel narrow premises in the form of a corridor. There were also changes in the family and household habits. The ethnographic parallels lead us not to Andamans but to Irokezs. The elongated proportions of houses are connected usually with isolation of the coupled families living under one roof but united in the general family.

Irrigation had not yet received notable development; Amirabad settlements are located away from channels and were still in the form of kayirs. All these features show a primitive level of social development, hardly risen above the level of confederations of tribes similar to the well-known lrokezian.

Kava-Huorava, the "founder" of the Khorezmian state, is more like Haiawatha, the founder of the Iroquois confederation, rather than the founder of eastern military despotisms of previous and subsequent centuries.

Society stands already on the verge of civilization. It is necessary to take only one more step. And in the 8-7th centuries B.C. such a step was taken. Khorezm entered the new era of history, an era when Khorezmians, in the words Al-Biruni, began to record a chronology based on the rule of their tsars, according to the common tradition of the ancient East. The vague period of the Khorezmian confederation of tribes headed by priests, tracing their ancestry to the divine Siyavush, ended.

¹⁶ See "Ancient Khorezm", page 68.



Chapter VI

HOLY KANGHA

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The period from the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. up to the 4th century A.D., i.e., about one thousand years of Khorezm history, can be characterized as the richest and most versatile period. The initial date of this period could not be determined precisely, but the collection of archaeological and historical data allowed us to relate it to the 8-7th centuries B.C.

Despite the long period of time and the richness of chronological variations, the culture of Khorezm of this epoch is characterized by unity in all spheres.

So, for all the stages of the history of ancient Khorezm we witness:

- the domination of large square adobe bricks with a standard size of 40x40x10cm, with insignificant deviations;
- a type of torispherical elliptic on vaults with an inclined position of brick courses;
- in the principles of fortifications walls with internal shooting galleries having high «swept-back» embrasures designed for hinges;
- a characteristic type of fortified «labyrinth» protecting approaches to the gate;
 - a prevalence of square or rectangular towers.

Trihedral sleeve-form Scythian arrows existed for a long time and during ancient times they were widespread in the northern Black Sea area.

Ceramics dating from Khorezmian antiquity were of high quality. The craft utensils were mainly made on a pedal-driven wheel and were often

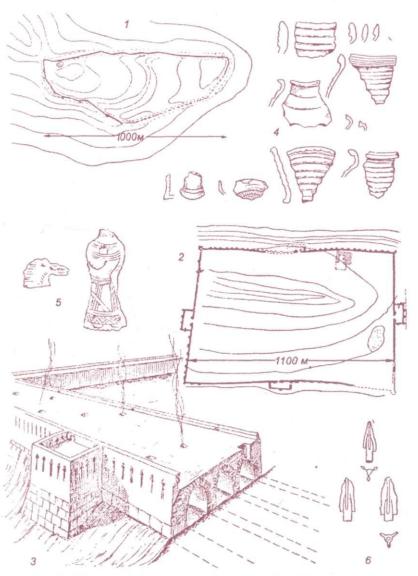


Fig. 21. Monuments of ancient settlements with inhabited premises 1 - Kuzeli-gyr; S - Kalaly-gyr; 3 - reconstruction of the inhabited premises; 4 - ceramics from Kuzeli-gyr; 5 - figurines of archaic style; 6 - tips of arrows from Kuzeli-gyr

covered with red engobe or varnish, with some forms remaining unchanged for the entire millennium. Ornaments included imported beads made of colored glass. Stone beads that were widely distributed during the subsequent period were rare except for the fine prismatic beads of local manufacturers made from the drilled crystals of pyrite.

Later on we shall see that behind this unity of external features of the culture there is much deeper unity of social and economic structures, but the aforementioned shows that Khorezmian antiquity was internally united as unlike earlier and subsequent periods.

2

The most ancient settlements belonging to that period which show the beginning of the new stage in the history of Khorezm were discovered by us during prospecting work in 1939 in the lands of ancient irrigation in Tashauz region, Turkmen SSR, near the ancient channel of Chermen-Yab.

Quite far from this channel, on the south of the southern Daudan, on rock-strewn heights, there are two large ancient settlements Kalaly-gyr № 1 and Kuzeli-gyr. The first one has a rectangular form, with dimensions of 1100x700 meters, the second is triangular and in the form of a hill – 1000x400 meters of actual area.

The results of research into the settlements let us date them to the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. This was determined by the archaic character of the Scythian bronze arrows belonging to the 6-4th centuries B.C., and rather rough ceramics made on a manual wheel with horizontally-fluted surface which were found in the lowermost layers of the latest ancient settlements of the subsequent Kangyui period (Bazar-kala, Djanbas-kala).

The layout of the settlements is rather original; the large internal space of the settlement was completely deprived of a cultural layer; the whole hill was covered with rubble.

The life of inhabitants of the ancient settlements was entirely concentrated in long, narrow vaulted corridor type rooms hidden behind the thick strong walls of the Kadaly-gyr. There were two parallel internal living corridors in Kadaly-gyr and three in Kuzeli-gyr.

Ancient Khorezm», page 77 of words.

We did not find any other living quarter premises in the settlements. The building consisting of many rooms at the northern wall of Kalaly-gyr was a construction for funeral ceremonies «the house of the dead»; we found large earthenware pots with bones there.

The layout of the residential settlements is described in the Avesta – the «Square Vara» fortified settlement built by the mythical hero Yima (Diemshid of the medieval poem):

"Yima erected the Vara that was as long as a horse could run (according to Darm-steter approximately 3 km) around all four sides and he brought there seeds of bulls, people, dogs, birds and red fires. He also built a dwelling for people that was as long as a horse could run around all four sides; Vara then was the shelter for the cattle.

He dug 1 khatr waterway (about 1.5 km). He also built other dwellings – a house, an arch, and a yard - the land was enclosed on all sides.

In the wide part of the construction he made nine passageways, six in the middle and three in the narrow part...

... He also made an entrance and a light hatch..." (Vendidad, II), 33-38). This vague text becomes clear when compared with our descriptions of the design and layout of those ancient settlements.

At first sight the huge and empty internal space of the settlement was not clear to us, but later we understood it was a shelter for cattle. All the layout of the fortress was geared towards protecting the cattle.

We have many ethnographic parallels with this principle of settlement layout; Circassian flat land villages of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries and the kraals in southeastern Bantu (the Dutch name of villages of this type «kraal» is used in the ethnographic literature and means «shelter for cattle») with two concentric fences and a narrow passage between them, some huts and an empty space in the middle used as a shelter for cattle.

The layout of our ancient settlements revealed to us their secrets of social and economic life in the history of Khorezm. First of all, we could define its economy as a settled one with a dominant role of cattle breeding together with agriculture and irrigation. However at this stage agriculture played only a supporting role.

In this settlement there was a huge, 6-7 km long house (including parallel rooms) built, according to the most conservative estimates, for one thousand people. The absence of attributes of internal partitioning of

the community living in the settlement and some significant social differentiation of dwellings suggested archaic forms of public organization. The «ancient settlement with the walls of quarter premises» is a settlement of a tribe or a group of related families.

The strongly fortified settlements of inhabitants who had to huddle in the dark and gloomy corridors of the thick clay walls suggest a period of harsh wars over cattle. It was necessary to protect the cattle by all means.

We learned about processes which finally led to the collapse of primitive, communal, tribal organization because the cattle stopped being part of the communal property and passed into the hands of the patriarchal family. Cattle, according to all ethnographic examples, were under the collective protection of a tribe, or were the possession of a separate family. The wars over cattle led to differentiation in cattle breeding, promoting the concentration of many cattle in the hands of separate families, leading to the formation of a powerful family-tribal aristocracy.

These conclusions were supported by some literary references, principally Avesta, because the amazing parallel between the «square Vara» and the «ancient settlements with the walls of quarter premises» gives us good reason to use it.

The Avesta, as well as the majority of other «sacred books», is a complex and multi-layered source. But undoubtedly, the layer of the archaic epoch of the history of eastern Iran and Central Asia dominates, which in view of our materials, can be chronologically dated to the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C.

But the Avesta tells us much about the type of society. 2

The society of settled herders and farmers had large horned livestock, horses and camels. All property interests were concentrated around the cattle. There was an abundance of herds, horses, and fields convenient for cattle breeding – all things the writers of hymn of the Avesta asked the gods for. At the same time agriculture was based on the manual irrigation as described in the Avesta. Agricultural work was considered an honorable occupation though it was rarely mentioned. The population lived in fortified settlements such as the «ancient settlements with the walls of quarter premises». The society consisted of people who were rich and had cattle and those who were poor. The heroes of Avesta - Yima, Atvya, Purushaspa, had epithets like: «rich with herds», «rich with bulls», and «rich with

² S.P.Tolstov, "Society of Ancient Central Asia on Avesta" History of USSR

horses». The powerful military aristocracy of cattlemen was represented as fighters and invaders. Capturing of cattle was the object of wars and attacks.

The society in the oldest parts of the Avesta is divided into castes: priests of fire (atravans), soldiers (rathaesta - «riding on chariots») and common communal tenures. Crafts were not separated yet from agriculture; this was in the process of taking place. In the Avesta we only once (Yasna, XIX, 46) see mention of handicraftsmen as a special caste standing below the other three. The Avesta does not allow us to judge the degree of development of slavery, but the following history gives reason to assume that the «fire keepers» and «riding on chariots» - all these «owners of numerous herds» had slaves as did their contemporaries - the Scythians of Herodotus.

At the same time the Avesta society was centered around the family and tribe. The core of the society was «vis», the population of a separate village was also called «vis». The land was the property of the tribe. Several families formed a tribe or «zantu». The «danhu», «dahue» was the largest union of tribes. The «pati» were the leaders of these units of a tribe or a province. Quite often such a leader along with a rank «danhupati» carried the title of prince («sastar») or king («kavi») and often carried out priestly functions. Such kings, i.e., the supreme leaders or priests of a territorial-tribal association were the most ancient Khorezmian Siyavushids.

They were the leaders of the unions of tribes whose authority over the communities was limited by the council of tribal and breeding leaders and priestly castes.

In addition to the Avesta we have other sources: messages by the ancient writers Herodotus and Strabon. Information about them, according to A.Germann, goes back to Hekate Milesian and also to Ktesiy Knidskiy and other authors.

The most detailed evidence of Hekate about Strabon I am quoting in full:

«It is said that a part of the Massagets lives in mountains, a part of them in plains, the third part occupies bogs formed by rivers, the fourth part lives in islands on these bogs. They accept the sun as their god to which they sacrifice their horses. Though a man has got only one wife, he also uses the wives of others, and not secretly: a man who has relations with another woman hangs up his bow on his cart thus informing others about these relations. The best death for them was to live till old

age and be slaughtered together with their sheep and then be eaten. Those who died from illness would be thrown to animals, as impious and unworthy people. The Massagets are good cavalry and infantry soldiers armed with bows, swords, and copper axes; when fighting they wear gold belts and gold bangles. The bridle and straps of their horses are decorated with gold. They do not have silver and have little iron, but they have plenty of copper and gold. Massagets who live on the islands eat

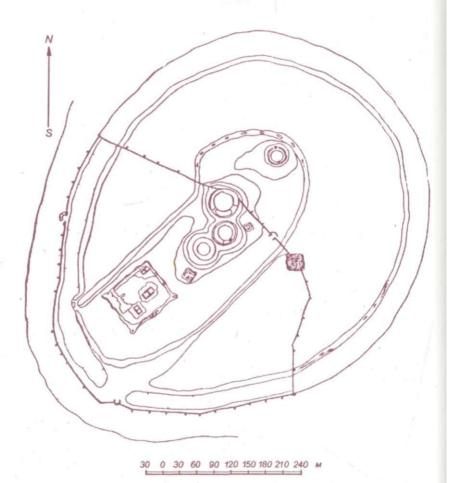


Fig. 22. Chirik-rabat-kala layout

roots and wild fruits because they do not have fields. Their apparel was made of tree bark (they do not have cattle), and they drink fruit juices. Those living in bogs eat fish and wear sealskin.

The mountain people eat wild fruits. However, they have few sheep and do not slaughter them, keeping them for wool and milk. Their dresses were brightly colored using vegetable dyes that do not fade. People of the plains do not cultivate the land; they eat meat, mutton and fish and have a nomadic and Scythian way of life. All these peoples have a similar way of life. Their funeral ceremonies, customs and existence are similar; each nation separately is artful, wild and martial but in relations with others they are ingenuous and truthful." (Strabon, XI, 1, 6-7).

There is no doubt the author exaggerated, emphasizing the wildness of customs of the Massagets. In particular, the archaeological data does not confirm information about the complete absence of agriculture and a settled way of life.

In 1946 in Djany-Darya we found a huge fortified ancient settlement Chirik-rabat, dating back to the 1st millennium B.C. and modernized by Khorezmian engineers, probably shortly before the beginning of the 1st century A.D. The Massagets were semi-settled tribes combining ancient traditions of fishing and agriculture (probably plowed) with advanced seminomadic cattle breeding.

Chirik-rabat belonged to one of the Apasiak tribes («water Saks», «Massagets of bogs» - by Strabon). It is a huge oval fortification surrounded by two concentric rings of hills and walls erected from square ancient brick of large sizes: 30x30x9 to 50x50x11cm. Inside it there were three high hills with the rest of the constructions. In the southeast part of the settlement there are ancient walls of the oval fortress.

The cultural layer covered all the interior of the ancient settlement and was divided in two. The upper part was 70 cm under a clay layer, it was about 7 cm thick and consisted of a coal-like mass probably dated to the second period of the fortress. The next clay layer was 37 cm thick. Under this layer we found another thick ash cultural layer of 49 cm containing plenty of ceramics reminding us of the ceramics from the «ancient settlements with the walls of quarter premises» but rougher, and lots of burnt bones of sheep and horses.

Returning to the description of Strabon, it is necessary to note that he classified the Massaget tribes by economic type and also by the characteristics of archaic customs and ceremonies.

Herodotus writes about the preservation of vestiges of group marriage among the Massagets.

At the same time Herodotus, Ktesiy and other authors confirm the high position of Massaget women, and tell of women leaders («kingina» Tomiris in the story by Herodotus, «kingina» Sparetra in the story by Ktesiy) participating in wars (the story by Ktesiy about a female army of kingina Sparetra). In this respect Massagets join certain tribes of the Volga steppes as sources of ancient legends about the Amazonians.³

All this suggests that matriarchal traditions existed in the life of Massaget tribes. The forthcoming history of the tribes of the Aral Sea region confirms this assumption. In the Avesta we can find echoes of matriarchy. The marriage of brother and sister in this respect characterizes the orthodox Zoroastrian form. This form shown in research of Frazer characterizes the development of the transitive stage from matriarchy to patriarchy.

Economic and household ways of life became patriarchal: the cattleman, the plowman and the soldier took the leading place in economic life; accumulation of riches, especially cattle, first of all in tribal aristocracy, meant that men were interested in their children inheriting their property. Meanwhile matriarchal norms of inheritance continued to dominate society: children of a man's sister inherited his property, not his own children. Ethnography suggests a number of possibilities during this transition from matriarchy. For example, the militant nomads of Sahara - the Tuareg men divided their property into two parts: «right» and «wrong». The first one he inherited and it was increased by his work. The children of his sister would inherit this part under matriarchal laws. The military gains and other earnings (payments for guiding caravans, etc.) were inherited by his own children. But the most radical solution to the problem of inheritance was the establishment of Zoroastrian forms of marriage. In this form, which did not violate matriarchal norms, the man makes his own children his successors: in fact the children of his sister who becomes his wife, simultaneously are his own children.

³ Recent archaeological excavations were evidence of ancient Savromat gynecography writings. B.N. Grakova in her work showed the presence of numerous female burials with a horse among the monuments of Savromat culture between the lower Don and lower Ural rivers (Yaik). See. B. Grakov. ΓVNAIKOKΠΑΤΟVMENOI (Vestiges of matriarchy of Sarmatians). VDI, 1947, № 3, page 100.

There is evidence that not only during the researched epoch, but also much later, in the 2nd - 1st centuries B.C, Massaget tribes kept matriarchal norms of royal inheritance established in the 2nd century B.C., in particular, the natives of the Khorezmian steppes, Sakaravaks, the «Sak» princedom in Seistan. There, the regent passed his throne to the son of his sister.

These archaic forms of public life, as well as the religious customs described by Strabon, did not prevent the development of public life in the Khorezmian oasis - the heart of the Massaget steppes.

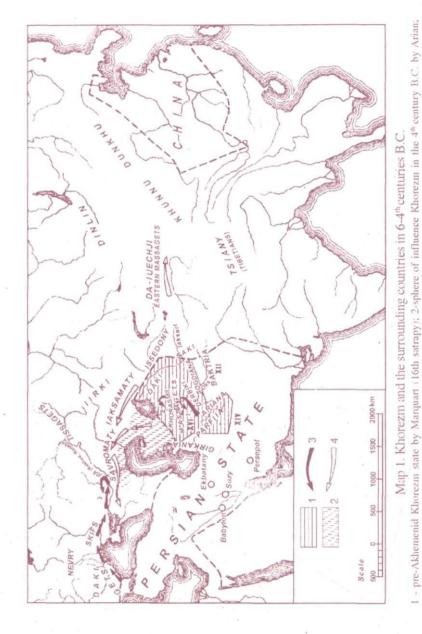
We see here the development of irrigation based on a system of great irrigation channels.

The distribution of monuments like «settlements with quarter premises» on the left and right banks of the Amu-Darya (the bottom layer of Bazar-kala goes back to that epoch) is connected with the big channels. The basic part of the large network of the ancient channels of Khorezm had already been dug by that time and probably had been functioning for centuries.

Herodotus tells us about the legend of the 10th A.D. by Al-Makdisi about huge irrigational constructions of Khorezm on which the well-being of the neighboring tribes depended. Both authors mention how the Caspian branch of the Amu-Darya – the Uzboi stopped flowing, and how the Aral Sea was formed. The water level rose and flooded the Suyargan settlements leading to a substantial expansion of the Aral Sea. But due to the creation of irrigation channels the water flow was reduced on the left part near Sarykamysh and Uzboi.

Anyhow, in the 5th century B.C. the huge irrigation constructions of Khorezm were not fully constructed, and their creation is shrouded in legends. I think we can date their construction to the 8-6th centuries B.C.

The creation of such an irrigation system was only possible due to the strong centralized government and wide application of forced labor; for example, the work of prisoners of war (slaves). All the historical experience (the subsequent history of the Khorezmian irrigational network) shows on the one hand, that without political centralization it is impossible to create and keep functioning such an extensive system of irrigation, and on the other hand to maintain the channels without a huge number of farmers. During ancient times, when the traditions of Avesta «military democracy» were still alive, no state could force its free Massaget sol-



3 - campaigns of Akhemenids: 1-Cyrus, 2-3 -Darius I, 4 - supposed movement of Aral Sea tribes to eastern Europe.

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dier-citizens to perform such ambitious excavations. Even in the early Middle Ages, in the Samanid period, governors had to take an oath that they would not build new channels.

The system of irrigation of ancient Khorezm [spelling is correct for ancient Khorezm] is evidence of an abrupt change in social development. The primitive military democracy of the 8-6th centuries in Khorezm simultaneously, or possibly before the formation of the states of western Iran, was replaced by a strong slave-holding state where the community still kept tribal forms and matriarchal traditions.

The hypothesis of Marquart about the pre-Akhemenid Khorezmian empire was proved by archaeological materials.

The satrapy included Khorezm, Sogd, Parthia and Arriana and according to Herodotus the Girkans, Parthians, Arians and Tamanai participated in the sphere of political influence of Khorezm. Both texts mutually confirm each other, showing the extensive sphere of influence of Khorezm uniting Sogd in the east and Khorasan (except Margiana) in the southwest.

There is reason to believe the source of power of pre-Akhemenid Khorezm was its hegemonic position and the fact that the Massaget confederation of tribes gave it inexhaustible military forces.

This role during the Greek-Macedonian epoch undoubtedly originated in the remote past, going back to the legendary Kei-Hosrov. But the transformation of Khorezm into a strong slaveholding state predetermined a new direction for the ancient confederation: the cultural periphery of Massaget tribes passed over to the authority of Khorezm.

Tarn ⁴ sees the Massagets of Herodotus and Strabon as a confederation of five tribes in which the dominating role was played by the Khorazmi tribes, namely: Derbik, Apasiak, Attasi, Khorazmi and Augasi (Augals).

We have tried to bring in definitions to this list ⁵ (see the map 2); the structure of Massaget confederation, in our opinion, included Khorazmi, Apasiak («water Saks» along northern borders of Khorezm, from Uzboi to Djany-Darya corresponded to «Massagets of bogs» according to Strabon), Sakaravaks (Saks-Haumavarga, Saks-Amurgi, from southeast borders of Khorezm up to the mountains of Nura-tau, corresponded to «Massagets of mountains and plains»), Derbiks (middle of Amu-Darya,

^{4 «}The Greeks», page 81.

⁶ «Ancient Khorezm», page 244.

between present Chardzhou and Bukhara), Tohars (or Dahs - Kuvan-Darya), Asiis (yatiis, Asians, Usunis, Yaksarts - middle of Syr-Darya, that is from present Turkestan up to Tashkent and further to the east); and Attasiis (Augasi, Aygaly locale is not known).

The dominating role of Khorezm in this association provided hegemony over the northern and western parts of Central Asia.

However the growth of power of the young Khorezmian state was limited by the eminence of the Persian monarchy of the Akhemenids.

The campaign of Cyrus (in 530 B.C.) against the Massagets («Saks of king Omarga» i.e. Sakaravaks, and later Derbiks - according to the version of Ktesiy) was very important for the decision of the question about Khorezm's subordination to the Akhemenids.

The necessity of the campaign shows that these tribes were independent from Cyrus and partially hostile to him. Meanwhile they were situated in the communication lines between the Khorosan and Bactrian possessions of the Akhemenids and Khorezm - the only route possible for movement of significant military forces.

This absolutely excludes the possibility of Cyrus conquering Khorezm. Darius in his detailed notes also did not say anything about that country being conquered.

All this makes us believe that Khorezm voluntarily recognized the supreme authority of the Persian king and took on the obligation to render tribute, most likely with the purpose of maintaining sovereignty of the southern property - Arriana, Parthia and Sogdiana which was under the direct influence of the Persian armies which were stronger in Bactria and Margian. Khorezm achieved this purpose having kept the hegemony of the 16th satrapy, probably (at least at the beginning) by remaining an independent state-tributary of the Akhemenids (from the huge territory of the 16th satrapy the amount of tribute was smaller than from the small territory of the 12th Bactrian satrapy).

In this connection the unsuccessful campaigns of Cyrus against the Massagets and of Darius against the Saks and the European Scythians were of great interest. It is not easy to assume aggressive purposes in

⁶ Deceased *G.I. Karpov* suggested that the name of attasiis still can be met in a name of the Turkmen - ata and it is necessary to search for the center of the ancient attasiis in the Dargan ata oasis, to the south of Khorezm. Strabon mentions the Khorezmian and the attasiis together.

both these enterprises. Both king-commanders were too realistic as politicians to attribute such hopeless ventures to them, which would not have brought special benefits even if they had been successful. It is much more likely that they were attempts to pacify the Scythian-Massaget steppes which were important communication links to the northeast half of the empire. In fact, the independent tribes of Massaget-Saks not only separated Akhemenid properties from Khorezm, they were in the immediate vicinity of the main routes connecting Hyrcania, Parthia, Arriana, Margiana, Bactria and Sogd. The semi-independent Khorezm and its governors were not much pleased with the situation and probably widely used the ancient ties with the Saks and Massaget tribes. The role of Khorezm in subsequent international events in Central Asia in the 4th-2nd centuries B.C makes this supposition more than likely.

The campaign of Cyrus was directed against Massaget tribes occupying key positions on the Middle Amu-Darya. Failure of this campaign compelled Darius to undertake a second campaign, known to us from «Stratagems» of Polyene. The academician V.V. Struve tries to understand this using the defective fifth column of the story of the Begistun inscriptions which relate the campaign against the Saks in 517 B.C. ⁷ If Struve is right - he managed to collect solid arguments for the benefit of his hypothesis - this campaign put more far-reaching tasks before Cyrus. The Persian armies not only passed through Khorezm, but went as far as its northeastern areas in the lower Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya lands of the Apasiaks. They struck in the heart of the Massaget confederations. The Persians penetrated deep into the hinterland of the Kara-kum and Kzyl-kum tribes taking control of the main area of their settlements.

The story of Polyene has one important detail: three Sak kings Saksafar, Omarg and Tomiris met in a council when the news about the approach of Darius came. The last two names remind us of the names of characters in the legends about the death of Cyrus. Tomiris is the Tomiris, «kingina» of the Massagets (Derbiks) mentioned by Herodotus. Omarg the king of Saks in one of the versions of Ktesiy. Saksafar is undoubtedly Shaushafar, probably one of the favorite names in the dynasty of Khorezmian Siyavushids. This leads to the conclusion that Shaushafar (Saksafar of Polyene) was the Khorezmian king. The kingina of the Derbiks, the governor of Saks-Haumavarg and governor of Khorezm discussed

⁷ IAN, SIF, 1946.

defense against the invasion of Darius. As Khorezm remains in the shadow in the Begistun inscription, there are reasons to believe that it remained in the background of events, acting only as their secret conspirator. Probably, neither Derbiks nor Saks-Haumavarg participated directly in the military struggle with Darius. The stratagem was to entice Darius deep into Apasiak territories and when his army was exhausted in severe conditions of deserts and bogs to crush him from the rear. As Polyene says, this plan almost worked, and though Darius and his armies survived by «miracle», the campaign finished in failure.

The campaign was victorious and finished with the capture of Skunha the leader of the Saks.

Both sources have some merit: the story by Polyene obviously goes back to Massaget-Saks tradition, and the Begistun inscription was written by the commander. It lies in the middle though a little bit closer to the version of Polyene, despite the legendary epic form of his story. The smart plan of the destruction of Darius did not succeed, but the campaign of Darius also was not successful though he captured one of the leaders of the Saks (probably Apasiaks). The situation remained unchanged. And probably this was the precondition for the third, the most grandiose strategic plan, but also unsuccessful, by Darius to campaign against the European Scythians (approximately in 512 B.C.). We can understand the purpose of this campaign only in view of the general development of the war between the Saks and Persians. Persia had various political problems and it was difficult to assume which one was more dangerous and difficult.

This campaign cannot be understood in view of Greek-Persian relations. Moreover, these relations created a new serious threat to the rear communications of the Darius forces.

In the grandiose enterprise of Darius I tend to see his attempt to pass with fire and sword through the deepest reaches of Scythia and come to Central Asia from the northwest, having destroyed his terrible northeastern enemies and having finished consolidating of the northern borders of the empire. The task of strengthening Akhemenid power in Transcaucasia because of the direct threat of European Scythians could play an important role here. The huge scale should not confuse us. We should not forget the huge size of the empire and extent of the routes of the campaigns of Cyrus, Kambiz and Darius in territory from Bactria to Barkia and Nubia. The geographical awareness of the Persians of Scythia was

much greater than that of the Greeks, and their campaign into «the country of gloom» was not mysterious, and was probably well known to Persian intelligence.

Notwithstanding the failure of this campaign, just as in the previous two unsuccessful campaigns, Cyrus managed to stabilize the Scythian and Persian lines. According to the data concerning the Xerxes, at this period Khorezm had to recognize the supreme sovereignty of the Akhemenid powers and, at the same time reject sovereignty over at least part of its old southern possessions.

Khorezmians took part in the campaign of Xerxes to Hellas in 480 B.C. and they acted as one military force with the Parthians under the command of Artabaz, son of Farnak. Citizens of ancient Khorezm, Arians and Sogds represented themselves as independent formations, and the Saks-Amurgi - recent allies of Khorezm - were part of the Bactrian army (supporting Persian governance in the east) under the command of the son of Darius (according to Herodotus, 7, 64-66).

Khorezmian military leaders and officials served the Persians in the Asian and African possessions of the Akhemenids. The Khorezmian Artaikt was appointed governor of Sesta city on the European coast of the Dardanelles. The Khorezmian Dargman served as a soldier in the Persian garrison in Elephantine, in Upper Egypt, which consisted of Jewish irregulars. However the power of the Akhemenids in Khorezm was fragile. For the 4th century B.C. there is no data about the subjection of Khorezm to Persia. During the struggle between Darius III and Alexander the Great Khorezmian armies were not mentioned in the detailed lists of troops of Darius composed by Arrian. Khorezm again stands as a sovereign state occupying an unfriendly position in relation to the Persians in this fatal moment for the monarchy found by Cyrus and Darius I.

In relation to the victorious Alexander, Khorezm takes quite an independent position.

According to Arrian, in the winter of 329-328 B.C. "Farasman the king of the Khorasmians comes with 1500 horsemen to the residence of Alexander in Marakanda. This Farasman said that he is the neighbor of Colchis and the Amazons and if Alexander would undertake a campaign against them and would try to subordinate the tribes living at the Yevkin (Black sea) he would guide this campaign and provide the army with food". Alexander concluded a military alliance with Farasman; but post-

poned the campaign before conquering India. He did not manage to begin it before he died.

Khorezmian possessions neighboring the Colchis (western Georgia) and Amazons (the female Savromat warriors) to the east of the Azov sea have long interested researchers. Gutmshid and Bartold think they are evidence of the extension of the power of Khorezm to the southeast corner of eastern Europe, but Tarn considers this improbable.

All further (as well as previous) histories of Khorezmian and East European relations lead us to agree with the first two researchers. Probably the empire of the Akhemenids, which had deprived Khorezm of its southern and eastern possessions and closed the way of its expansion in these directions, determined the reorientation of foreign policy of this Aral area slaveholding empire. The archaeological and historical data, the results of research by M. Rostovtsev, showed that in the 4th century the powerful movement of the Aral Sarmatians to the West, to the Scythian steppes, resulted in a complete change of the ethnographic map of southeast Europe. In view of indications by Arrian (confirmed by Kvint Kupiy) we should conclude that behind this movement there was the directing hand of Khorezmian kings, predecessors and successors of Farasman who ruled over «the countries on Ranga river (Ra - by Greek authors - Volga), which were not governed by supreme authorities,» (Avesta, Vendidad, I, XX, 76-78).

The powerful governor of Khorezm, having protected himself against the Macedonian intrusion, was not likely to look indifferently at the strengthening of Macedonian authority in the ancient possessions of Khorezm - Sogdiana and Khorasan. Spitamen, the leader of the Sogdians in the liberation struggle against Alexander was Farasman's natural ally, though Farasman cooperated with Alexander until the destruction of the hated authority of Akhemenids. It is more probable that the plan of the campaign against the Black Sea peoples, the neighbors of the Greeks (Farasman was knowledgeable about political geography of the epoch), preoccupied Alexander and distracted him from those countries the Greek-Macedonians were not interested in.

The next year in 328 Khorezm supported the anti-Macedonian guerrillas of Spitamen with groups of Saks and Massagets and gave asylum to Spitamen. Since Spitamen died in the autumn of 328 we know nothing about relations between Khorezm and Macedonia. But this silence was significant.



Fig. 23. Artefacts of Kangyui cultures

1 - tips of arrows from Djanbas-kala: 2 - sling stone; 3 - bronze ornaments and beads from Djanbas-kala; 4 - stone seals from Takyrs in Berkut-kala; 5 - the handle of a jug found in the ancient settlement near the fortress №13: 5a - model of a vessel handle in the form of a lion head (Djanbas-kala); 6 - pottery relief from Djanbas-kala; 7 - pottery relief from Kurgashin-kala: 8 - fragments of a man's figurines from Djanbas-kala; 9 - the head of a horse from Djanbas-kala; 10 - ceramics from Djanbas-kala; 11 - ceramics from Koi-Krilgan-kala; 12 - signs on vessels of the Kangyui epoch; 13 - black lacquer vessel from the ancient settlement near fortress №13

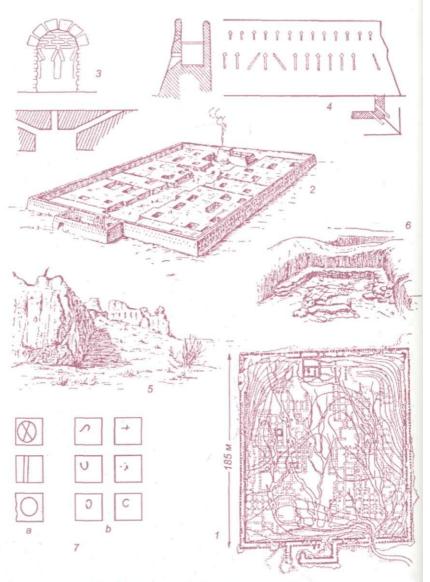


Fig. 24a. Monuments of Kangyui culture, Djanbas-kala

I - layout; 2 - reconstruction; 3 - layout and an internal facade of triple embrasures;
 4 - facade and sections of the city wall; 5 - view of construction at the gates; 6 - sanctuary of fire; 7 - symbols on bricks

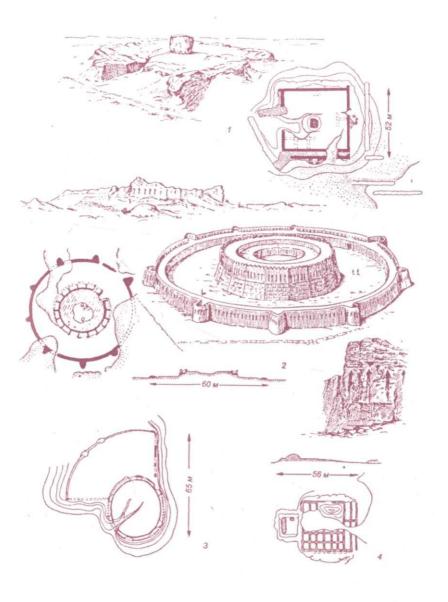


Fig. 24b. Monuments of Kangyui culture
1 - Kunerli-kala; 2 - Qoy-Krilgan-kala; 3 - Small Kyrk-kyz; 4-- Ak-tepe

In the north of Central Asia, in the Aral Sea area, in the center of the steppes of Saks and Massagets, the only independent state of Central Asia observed the events and gathered its forces for struggle. This country would play an outstanding role in throwing off the yoke of overseas aggressors.

2

The monuments of the historical period after the time of archaic «ancient settlements with the walls of quarter premises» are much more plentiful and rich. This was a period of prosperity of the ancient Khorezmian civilization. Khorezm of the 4th B.C. - 1st centuries A.D. was a powerful state released from the Akhemenid yoke and occupied an outstanding place among the countries of Central Asia.

The earliest monuments of the researched series such as Bazar-kala, with its ancient layers going back to the days of the «ancient settlements with the walls of quarter premises» date back to the 3rd-4th centuries B.C. Koi-Krilgan-kala and Kunerli-kala on Chermen-yab and the interesting small town Djanbas-kala belong to that period. The majority of other monuments of Khorezmian antiquity appeared at that prosperous time in the first centuries A.D.

The researched epoch brought a lot of new finds in comparison with the previous one. The enormous fortified dwelling-lairs leave the stage. A city with a continuous internal building becomes the norm, a separate fortified house as the basic form of rural settlement (Qoy-Krilgan-kala, Kunerli-kala, etc.). The rural housing estate replaces the dwelling-lairs and testifies to the increased importance of agriculture over cattle farming. This is due to great progress in irrigation.

However, such cities as Djanbas-kala and the bottom layers of the same epoch (Toprak-kala) consist of a few housing estates (two in the first and eight in the second settlement) with 150 to 200 rooms in each. The city housing estates differ only in that they are not fortified. This function of protection was performed by the external defensive system of the city.

⁸ See «Ancient Khorezm», page 84-102.

Each such house could contain 500 to 1000 persons; in other words - the whole tribal community. In cities these communal houses were grouped in two complexes: in Djanbas-kala only two houses with one wide street between them; in Toprak-kala we also saw one main street leading from the city gate through the center; on both sides there are four symmetrically positioned housing estates separated by narrow side streets.



Fig. 25. Bazar - kala from the air

The signs of the tribe on bricks were used for identifying the people of each house. It turned out that the signs on bricks of Djanbas-kala walls of two big buildings adjoining each other appeared to be different; the bricks of one of the walls showed one group of related signs, the signs on bricks of another wall were absolutely different.

This observation gives us full confidence that the communities of the houses had not lost their tribal character.

Double partitioning of the city was of great interest: It reflected the very ancient grouping of clans into two families. This tradition was kept in Central Asia down to the early Middle Ages when there was a tendency to divide a city in two parts not by street but by an internal wall (compare, for example, the layout of Dargan city belonging to the early Middle Ages).

Division of a tribe into two parts occupying two detached parts of a settlement was combined with a special set of ceremonies.

One of them was the annual ritual competition of the two divisions frequently finishing with a battle. Echoes of this custom were found in different areas of Central Asia in early medieval sources. The Chinese «History of the Tan dynasty» tells about such a ritual battle between two halves of a city during the New Year's holiday of pre-Muslim Fergana. Al-Makdisi tells about a similar custom in a number of Central Asian and east Iranian cities of the 10th century.

Special ethnographic research has shown that «the dual organization», i.e. division of a tribe into two groups of clans connected with each other by cross marriage obligations, finds its reflection in religious ideology as a complex of dualistic beliefs: the world of spirits, and subsequently deities, appears divided into two parts. As fraternal groups are in traditional ritual struggle, the world of spirits is filled with struggle between its hostile halves.

It is typical that dualism, the division of the material world and the world of spirits into hostile halves headed by two supreme spirits, twin brothers who are simultaneously cruel enemies - Ahura-Mazda and Ahriman-Mainyu, is a feature of the Zoroastrian religions of Central Asia,

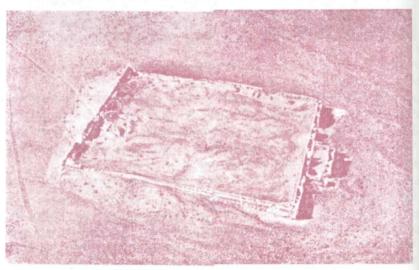


Fig. 26. Djanbas-lkala from the air

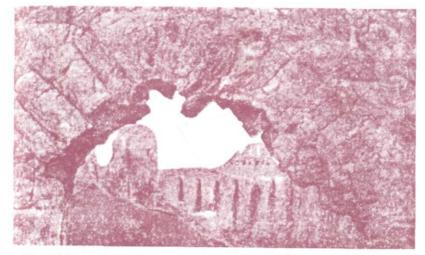


Fig. 27. View of a construction near the entrance gates in Djanbas-kala

in particular Khorezm. It is important to note that the dualistic myths similar to Zoroastrian myths about the creation of the world during a severe struggle between twin-enemies were observed by many primeval peoples, in particular the Indians – Irokez. The closeness of their cosmogony myths to Zoroastrian myths was noticed by E. Taylor.

In the «dual» structure of the ancient Khorezmian settlements we undoubtedly see the robustness of the traditions of «dual-tribal organization» which are the key origin of Zoroastrian religious dualism.

The important element of the city settlement in ancient Khorezm is with the house of fire, linking the main street between the two opposite gates as in Djanbas-kala and in Toprak-kala. In the early Middle Ages Biruni and the other authors of that time tell us about the houses of fire (atesh-gede, buyut-niran), the center of a public cult, the eternal sacred fire and the place of public assemblies and rituals in Central Asia.

The tradition of these houses of fire under the same name (alau-hana the home of fire) was kept until now by the mountain Tadjiks where these houses were built near mosques showing their ancient relation with religion and serving as places of rest for men of the settlement, places of public gatherings, and also places of lodging for travelers.

The houses of fire are also a vestige of so-called «men's houses» appearing at a late stages of maternal-tribal formation as one of the instru-

ments of struggle of men for the leading position in a society still dominated by maternal powers. 9

In general the layout of settlements of this epoch in ancient Khorezm amazes us with its variety of primitive-communal, tribal, and maternaltribal traditions.

However, alongside this, the archaeological material also opens other aspects of the social life of the ancient Khorezmians. The archaeological ceramics are plentiful. By analyzing this material we came to the conclusion that there was a high degree of development of the craft industry. The overwhelming quantity of vessels amazed us with its technical perfection. They were made on foot-driven potter's wheels used only in craft pottery, and were made of perfectly washed and excellently burnt clay. A piece of broken crockery is thin, dense and firm. Our workers were surprised that the utensils made more than 2000 years ago were much better in quality than those of modern Khorezmian potters. The ceramics were covered with an even layer of heavy red engobe, less often black or greenish-white. Earlier vessels quite often have red, brown and black drawings on a light background. The later utensils were monochrome, but with wavy-linear or modeled relief ornament.

The utensils are amazing in their variety of forms (see Fig. 23). There are jugs for water of different types and sizes, big and small earthenware pots, big flat dishes, tall cups and deep bowls for drinks with typical disc pallet.

The handles of vessels were given freakish forms of animals (such handles are rarer than in eastern areas of Central Asia). Modeling on the top part of handles of jugs in the forms of lion heads as though holding the edge of the vessel with their teeth is very typical for Djanbas-kala. A similar handle with a lion's head decorates one of the vessels from the well-known «Amu-Darya treasure».

Alongside the crafts there are also crudely modeled kitchen utensils, but the quantity of them is insignificant.

We see that crafts in Khorezm at that time were quite separate from agriculture, having become a highly specialized branch of the economy. However, as opposed to medieval cities, we do not find in ancient cities of Khorezm evidence of separate quarters for craftsmen. Traces of potters'

⁹ About vestiges of primitive public institutions in the public life of ancient and medieval Central Asia and for the literature on this subject see «Ancient Khorezm» excursus III.

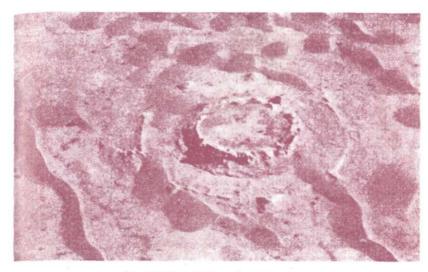


Fig. 28. Qoy-Krilgan from the air

furnaces and potters' slags can be met, in particular, in various housing estates of Djanbas-kala. It leads us to believe that pottery was manufactured by handicraftsmen - slaves living within the limits of those housing estates in the tribal communities they belonged to.

There are lots of ornaments, mainly beads. Djanbas-kala gave us a plentiful set of various beads (the same as those found on the northern Black Sea Coast, mainly Olvia and Kerch) dated from the 2nd century A.D. up to 4th century B.C. They are small beads made of dark blue glass with cylindrical, crosscut surface, spherical and oval. Alongside them were oblique cylindrical and disc-shaped glass beads of opaque light green, pear-shaped «amphora» beads of greenish-white, white glass crosscut beads with gilding, bi-pyramidal dark green beads and beads of goldenbrown glass. There were beads of bluish-gray Egyptian paste in the form of buttons and so-called «olvian mosaic» - ellipses with layers of gold and dark blue glass with white paste.

There were not many stone beads. They are spherical jetty and cornelian, fine trapezoid with drilled crystals of pyrite and large beads in the form of barrels and nodules of hematite.

Most beads were imported from Syria, Egypt and cities of the northern Black Sea coast. There were also other items brought from Egypt.

Two phallic pendants of greenish paste and a tiny figurine of paste of the Egyptian god Bess were found in Bazar-kala.¹⁰

The assortment of beads is specific and tells us about the taste of Khorezmians and their extremely wide trading relations.

This shows that the social development had made great progress due to the development of irrigation, agriculture, internal and foreign trade, and in the field of fortification, including fortification of the whole state.

Fortifications of cities and separately standing rural housing estates were kept in excellent condition and enabled the people to develop a distinct style of fortification. Cities were enclosed by powerful walls erected from large (basically 40x40x10 cm) adobe bricks. The bases of walls have plinths made from lime-sand (pahsa) in continuous layering.

The upper part of walls from inside had a one-storied or, as in Djanbas-kala, two-storied, shooting corridor – a gallery opening outside with numerous high and narrow embrasures sharply widening downwards and outside, designed for «hinged fighting» - an attack at the base of the fortress walls. Some of the fortresses amazed us with the ancient system of defense. Djanbas-kala has no towers at all. An extremely original and very imperfect system of slanting embrasures in pairs covering the corners and located in groups on three embrasures was built for a flank attack and protection of the corners (in the middle - direct, on sides slanting, turned aside). The fortress Small Kyrk-kyz is without towers too. Here the builders found another way to avoid weak places in defense of unprotected corners without towers; they were given an oval form.

Eighteen-angled, almost circlular, the Koi-Krilgan-kala citadel had an external wall with towers.

Thus, if in southwest Khorezm the fortifications designed for a flank attack of the enemy with towers were known since the days of «ancient settlements with walls of quarter premises», on the right bank the tradition of archaic fortifications without towers was kept for a long time. But many of the fortresses already had towers, usually densely located, rectangular in plan, of the same height and with the walls having the same embrasures.

Defense of corners with the help of towers was varied:

In Kurgashin-kala all four corners have a different system of defense. One corner as in Djanbas-kala has no tower and was protected by a pair

¹⁰ Our colleague I.V. Ptashnikova carried out the definition and dating of the beads.

of slanting embrasures. Another was protected by two towers which were closely situated with a corner between them. This system was used on the well-known palace of Sargon in Horsabad. At the third corner these two towers stand close, completely absorbing the corner and forming an original figure «tail of the swallow» known from the Egyptian fortress Semne existing in Khorezm in Bazar-kala and Ayaz-kala No 1. The fourth corner is protected by one tower with its axis being a continuation of one of the walls converging here.

The prominent feature of almost all ancient fortresses of Khorezm is the «labyrinth near the gates» (see Fig. 27) - the big rectangular ledges of a wall with a way leading to the gate. The way has several bends with embrasures for shooting.

In general, the defensive system shows the influence of traditions of fortification of the classical East - from ancient Egypt and ancient Sumera to Assyria and the Akhemenids of Iran. However these developments

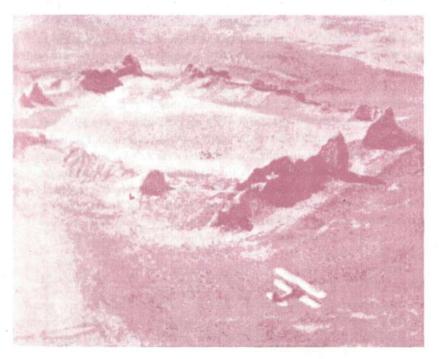


Fig. 29. Kurgashin-kala from the air

testify that in the first centuries B.C. Khorezmian fortification engineers independently solved the problem of defense of the corners independently of the Near East, where the problem had already been solved more than two millennia before.

A good example is the Akhemenid fortifications.

Excavation by G.V. Grigorieva in Tali-barzu near Samarkand showed that in the Sogd of that epoch similar principles of fortification and general construction dominated.

Khorezmian fortifications, undoubtedly, were designed for the defense of everybody, not only men. The huge amount of embrasures shows that they were narrow - just enough for one man to shoot from a bow.

This feature tells us that people were not well armed and the national home guard played the leading role.

The geographical arrangement of the fortified ancient cities of Khorezm show that here there was a uniform system of fortresses protecting all boundaries of the oasis from the desert side: going from the east to the west, Djanbas-kala, Bazar-kala, Kurgashin-kala, Kyrk-kyz, Small Kyrk-kyz, Ayaz-kala, Burly-kala and, lastly, Toprak-kala - all are located at the end of irrigation ditches where there are closing strips of cultivated lands along channels forming a continuous line of fortresses visible one from another.

It was a coherent plan of defense of the oasis from steppe tribes, testifying to the presence of a strong centralized state.

Further we shall see that for the Middle Ages there were other specific tendencies: cities and large castle-fortresses as a rule were located inside the oasis, near heads of channels with significant branches, obviously providing protection of not only the country, but also the irrigation network, in other words - controlling the farmers who used it. Even during the strengthening of the central authority in the Middle Ages there were large fortresses along the borders and small forts and watchtowers that allowed military forces of feudal governors to warn each other of the approach of danger.

The expedition gave us rich material to characterize the spiritual culture of the ancient Khorezmians, their arts and religions. First of all we acquired numerous terracotta figurines and pottery ornaments that were especially rich in Djanbas-kala (see Fig. 23). Among them prevailed female figurines in magnificent clothes and figurines of men in high boots, short jackets with triangular neck, and wearing original tree-horned «Phrygian caps».

The most ancient figurines are flat. It is typical for them to have detailed ornaments of clothes, transferred by engravings. This style goes back to the epoch of the «ancient settlements with walls of quarter premises» (see Fig. 21). Later figurines of the 1st century B.C. are volumetric and quite realistic.

Along with the figurines we found human images on vessels. A horseman with a long peaked cap atilt and the pedestrian figure of a soldier in a tall-helmet in the form of an eagle typical for images of kings (3rd century A.D.). Khorezmian coins gave us new details about ancient Khorezmian clothes and weapons.

Among the images of animals there were many figurines of horses and their heads, sometimes schematic, sometimes realist. This suggests the totemic cult of the solar horse in the religion of the Massagets and parallels between the Khorezmian-Massaget and Thracian cultural world.

We also found images of camels, rans, pigs and even (but later) rhinoceroses and monkeys, but horses prevailed and lions were represented on handles of vessels, also closely connected with the solar cult.

In female figurines the most common the image is that of a goddessmother, the patroness of waters and irrigation, of the Amu-Darya and Ardvi Sura Anahita. In male figurines we find the image of the god-helpmate of the great goddess, Sabaziy-Siyavush.

According to Nershahi, on New Year day Zoroastrians of Bukhara destroyed clay figurines of gods and replaced them with new ones purchased in a special market where their king was present. This ceremony probably also existed in Khorezm (all the figurines we found were broken centuries ago). This was typical for the year Asian cults of the dying and resurrecting god of fertility of the land, marking the death and revival of the deity.

3

We shall discuss now some subjects of political history of Khorezm, the theme we left off in the previous chapter.

At the end of the 4th century the south and the east of Central Asia were part of the Greek-Macedonian empire, and then part of the Seleucid state which developed in the Asian part of the territory conquered by Alexander.

eral, the shape of ceramics was original and allowed us to speak of a culture simultaneous and related to the ancient Khorezmian but at the same time independent.

This was also proved by the architecture: the central building of Djetyasar Nol was erected from large «ancient» adobe bricks, but of different size than the Khorezmian; instead of the square Khorezmian brick this brick was rectangular, with sizes varying from 38x28x9 to 43x30x10cm. From the top of the hill we could see the panorama of the lifeless clay plain of Djety-asar with powerful silhouettes of ruins widely scattered to the north, northeast and the east. Having determined directions to the monuments for future exploration, at 12:56 we took off to the north above the ruins of Diety-asar № 2. At first appearance it was same as the first monument. At 13:18 we landed near the huge ancient settlement Dietyasar №3 (Altyn-asar), the largest and most complicated of all surveyed monuments in this area. At 15:45 we moved further and came to the ruins of Diety-asar № 4 (Rabensai) on the southern bank of the northern Kuvan-Darya. Having passed over it we headed towards Djusaly where we landed our plane at 16:45 and finished the first prospecting work of the Dietyasar complex.

On October 11 and 12, the flights were devoted to ruins south of Kazalinsk where we found an original, new culture of east Aral Hunturkik «bog settlements» (see further, Ch. 8, 2).

When we returned to Djusaly, the same day, at 13:57 we again flew to Djety-asar approaching Djety-asar N_2 5 from the northeast. After flying around ruins N_2 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 we turned and came to the central group of ruins N_2 11, 12 and 13 where we landed at 16:25.

Here the crews of both planes gathered for a «military council». According to our initial plan we had to return to the main base on October 13. Meanwhile it was clear that the group of monuments would require at least two days of work and several landings for careful ground level inspection, prospecting digs and topographical measurements of the monuments. We had almost run out of produce, and we could not let the rest of the expedition remain uninformed about our well-being. Therefore at 17:10 we took off to Djan-kala and at 17:46 without any mishaps landed in our «aerodrome». The drivers of our expedition, the mechanic and guides were relieved at our arrival.

On October 13, at 12:40, our planes took us to Djety-asar. In two days we surveyed the monuments. We walked to Djety-asar № 11, 12, 10, 9

(spent a night there) and N_2 8, 7, 4. After landing at this monument (on October 14, between 14:52 - 15:50) we flew to the southwest outskirts of the territory to find the boundaries of the ancient culture in this direction,

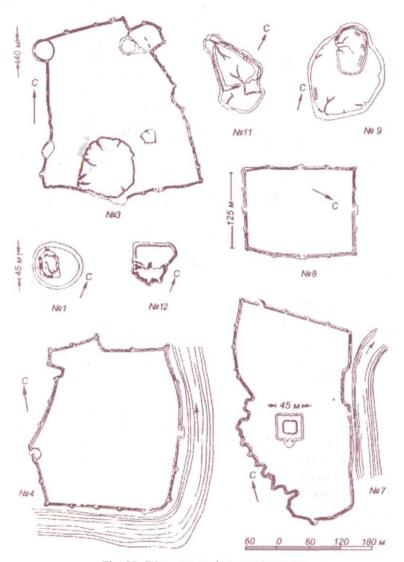


Fig. 30. Djety-asar culture monuments

in the sands bordering the Djety-asar takyrs from the west. Here at one of the old channels we found another group of ruins of the same type (Djety-asar № 16 and 17). We could not continue further prospecting work in this direction because we had almost run out of fuel. We were sure there were many other undiscovered monuments of the Djety-asar epoch. At 17:12 we returned to our base having finished the cycle of prospecting work in Djety-asar and having surveyed and photographed 17 monuments. Nine of them were inspected and measured by us from the ground.

The natural boundary of Djety-asar is a flat, clay plain almost without vegetation passing into the Dzhusalin steppe in the north. In the west it passes into heavy rows of sands bordering the southern, older channel of Kuvan-Darya.

In the south the sand lying on clay soils showed countless traces of late medieval irrigational constructions and Karakalpak settlements.

Here, between Djany and Kuvan-Darya they are densely concentrated. Near the natural boundary of Djety-asar there were no traces of Karakalpak irrigation.

The Djety-asar plain is crossed in its eastern and northern limits by the old channel of the northern source of Kuvan-Darya. Numerous less powerful channels of old sleeves lead away from it. All the monuments registered by us are connected with the main channel or with the above-mentioned branches. We have seen traces of small irrigational channels around the majority of monuments. There were no large main channels. Their role was played obviously by the natural channels and sleeves. Each monument had one or several independent channels taken directly from this or that channel.

All the area was crossed with multiple water lines and it was damp and marshy. This was the agricultural economy of the Djety-Asars. The monuments were scattered at significant distances from each other and were incorporated into two significant groups with a lot of isolated monuments near them (see map 8).

The monuments were divided into three basic types. The first, most common – a fortified manor with a big building also fortified from the inside and consisting of numerous vaulted rooms, in some cases with two or three floors.

The second type - a big fortress with a strong, advanced system of fortification (towers, enforced gate) with no traces of constructions from inside.



Fig. 31. Djety-asar № 1 from the air

Lastly, represented only by one example, was the most significant monument (Djety-asar № 3, or Altyn-asar). It is a large fortress with the same advanced system of fortifications but with numerous and varied ruins of large inhabited premises inside.

Djety-asar $N \ge 1$ (Fig. 31) shows the first group partially described earlier. This big building with irregular outlines was eroded and rose to a height of about 8 meters above the surrounding plain.

The size of the building is 45x30 meters. Its corners are oriented to the cardinal points. Traces of internal long rooms are seen on the washed surface of the hill. The traces of the external wall of the building erected from large adobe bricks with varying sizes (38x28x9, 40x30x9, 40x30x10, 38x28x10cm) were in better condition. On the bottom side of the bricks there were prints of reeds put perpendicular to the surface of the wall, the line showed that the first brick was placed when it was still wet. It also shows that reed layers protecting the buildings from humidity and salt were already widely applied at that time. This method was not known in ancient Khorezm and for the first time was registered by us in this monument of the 12th-13th centuries (Djanlyk-kala).¹²

On the outside the building is surrounded by an almost round yard with the house located a little off-center, closer to the northwestern side. The yard platform is approximately 1.5 meters higher than the surrounding plain; there are also traces of an external wall.

¹² «Ancient Khorezm», page 160.

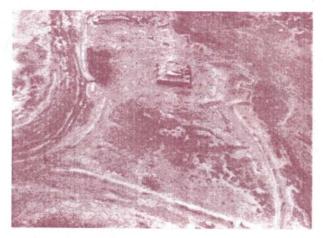


Fig. 32. Djety-asar № 7 from the air

The second subtype of the same first type was a fortified communal house - a square-concentric manor. This building would have square, less often rectangular outlines, often with a square raised middle part which made it something like a step pyramid.

The manors of Djety-asar № 2, 5 and 6, and the big manor № 7 (Fig. 32) have precise square-stepped buildings, № 13, 15,16. Probably this layout is related to a slightly later time than the layout of the first subtype.

The second type is a big fortress without constructions inside. These are the large ancient settlements Djety-asar № 4 (Raben-sai, Fig. 33) and №8.

The third type, as mentioned, is represented by a big ancient settlement Djety-asar №3 (Fig. 30.) The settlement has an irregular trapezoidal form, narrowing at the north, about 350 meters in length from north to south. The length of the southern wall is about 300 m, the northern wall is 150 m. The external walls, at the base, are 1.5-2 m and 3.5 m thick. They were erected from pahsa layers of 1.25 m and large adobe bricks of the above-mentioned sizes with admixture of saw. The walls have low 60x20 cm rectangular embrasures located 2.5 meters one from the other. Along the walls, at various distances, there are small and eroded towers made of adobe layers and bricks: air-brick - 8 cm, pahsa (admixture of saw) - 15 cm. The towers extended about 2 meters from the walls.

In the northwest corner there was a round construction 40 meters in diameter surrounded by a pahsa wall 2.5 m thick at the base, about 4.5 m high.

Near the northeast corner there is a house of the usual Djety-asar type and size, with a yard adjoining it from the east. The size of the living area is about 30x30 meters; its height is 8 meters. The eroded walls and floors of the premises located on two floors have plenty of ceramics. An irregularly shaped yard, approximately 60x60 m, is enclosed by a wall with towers of the same type as the external one. The platform of the yard rises 1.5-2 meters above the surrounding plain.

The mound of a huge building adjoins the middle of the southern wall. The largest construction of all the system of monuments covers an area of approximately 100x80 meters and is over 12 meters in height.

The first one has a lot of varied vessels made without a potter's wheel and has pots, jugs and pitchers covered with black or blackish-brown glossy engobe, in most cases gray on the break and surface. All the vessels of this group have different forms and nothing in common with those of Khorezm. Most of the vessels have ornaments of incrusted angles and stripes frequently inlaid with a white paste on the black glossing (see Fig. 34, figs. 10-29).

The second group has broken pieces of crockery having pink, pink-ish-yellow or brick-red colors in the break with the surface covered with black, brown, reddish-brown or red, less often covered with green-white engobe. Most of these vessels were not made on a potter's wheel. Light

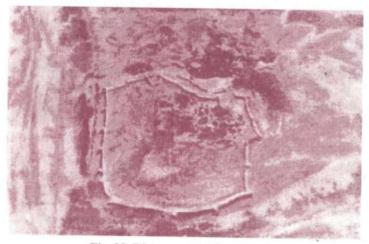


Fig. 33. Djety-asar № 4 from the air

yellow vessels without engobe but with red-brown paint are related to the same group. Among the vessels of the second group there are separate forms close to the ancient Khorezmian type. Here we also met some specific forms. Most of the black-gray and red ceramics belong to the same type of vessels but some features of the form and ornament are peculiar to each group: drawn angular-linear ornament can be seen only among black-gray ceramics.

Though the ceramics of both groups can be found together and, undoubtedly, both of them coexisted for a long time, the first group as a whole is more ancient (made without a potter's wheel and with forms like those of Khorezm, drawn and incrusted ornament).

This last group of vessels (Fig. 34, figs. 10-29) deserves special consideration.

The characteristic features are like Belsk ancient settlement ceramics at Poltava and Scythian and early Scythian monuments of other areas of Ukraine, as far as Kharkov and Izyumshina.

A.A. Potapov drew attention to the similarity of these black ceramics incrusted with white paste angular-stripe found in Ukraine to ceramics of the classical Gallic-state in the Danube basin, and V.A. Gorodtsov noted the influences of the ancient traditions of ceramic art of peoples of the Caucasus.¹³

Leaving aside the roughness of the Belsk ceramics in comparison with Djety-asar ceramics, the form, texture, technological features and system of ornamentation of the vessels of Djety-asar, Ukraine and Gallic-state monuments amaze us with their technological and stylistic closeness notwithstanding the great distance between them.¹⁴

This relation of the Djety-asar ceramics with pre-Scythian ceramics of Ukraine and ceramics of the Danube Gallic state is remarkable. We will return to it later.

Summarizing all the information, we can make a chronological framework of the researched site of the monuments.

¹³ V.A. Gorodtsov. Works XIV AC, 1911, volume III, page 154; A.Potapov. Inkrustierte Keramik von Blesk. ESA IV, 1929, page 162-168; I.I. Lyapushkin. Archaeological monuments of the Iron Age of Vorskla river basin. KSIIMK, XVII. 1947, page 127.

¹⁴ Comp., for example, the system of ornamentation of a vessel in Fig. 12, the article by Potapov and similar composition in our Fig. 34, 14. Compare also Potapov's picture 4.5.9 and our 34.28; *Potapov*, 24.29.23.25.26. *Lyapushkin* 53.13.54.13 and ours 34.22-24, etc.



Fig. 34. Ceramics of Djety-asar cultures

The total absence of early Afrig forms (frequently occurring on Kazalinsk Hun-Turkic ancient settlements) allows us to relate the later monuments to the epoch preceding the middle of the 1st millennium A.D. But the Khorezmian late ancient forms are represented in such insignificant quantity that these monuments scarcely survived till the beginning of our era. Several crocks with painting allowed us to believe that penetration of Khorezmian types of red color varnished and engobe white utensils should be dated to the 1st centuries B.C. The great bulk of our ceramics also date back to that period. The general pattern of ceramic material is considerably more archaic than the pattern of ceramics from Khorezmian monuments going back to the 4th centuries B.C., as well as «pre-Scythian» and Gallic state associations, but this can be explained by the provincialism and peripheral character of the whole culture, which experienced only insignificant influences of the more advanced craft centers of Khorezm and kept their ancient traditions for a long time.

I think that the most cautious person would believe that our monuments belong to the second half of the lst millennium B.C.

Not only ceramics but also all the general layout of settlements speaks of earlier dates. These are big community-tribal fortified house-fortresses that can stand as a parallel with such monuments as Kunerli-kala near Zamashkhar and Ak-tepe near Kavat-kala.¹⁵

However the Djety-asar houses and manors are larger and they are characterized by an extreme irregularity of layout probably testifying to the natural growth of tribal fortifications. The ancient character of irrigation adhered to natural channels, and proved a rather unreliable source of water supply. This also suggests early dates.

Both the separate manors and «cities» of Djety-asars give us the same deeply archaic picture of public life. The ancient settlements № 4 and 8 deprived of all attributes of buildings and giving a minute quantity of excavated material can be considered only as ancient settlement-shelters. The rather dense irrigation network in the neighborhood of the first of them and its isolated position in relation to the tribal fortified houses allows us to say that the population in the fortified manors lived in these light dwellings a part of year near their fields. Agriculture, in the absence of an irrigation system and the changing water level in the channels of Kuvan-Darya, had to remain «semi-nomadic» in character and together with the strong fortified dwellings designed for winter required portable dwellings, probably huts or yurts.

^{15 «}Ancient Khorezm», page 101. 16 VDI, 1940, № 3-4.

Altyn-asar (Djety-asar № 3) was a center of the entire ancient Djety-asar province. It is also a very original «city». The city consists of two manors of the first subtype in our classification; the smaller one is of the same size as Djety-asar № 1 and included in it is an external wall which is equal to the manor of Djety-asar № 7. The round construction in the northwest corner of the fortress and the trapezoidal one near the main housing group make a very strange impression and could be of a public or cult character. We hope that excavations will allow us to define their function. In any case they are not dwellings and not defensive installations.

I tended to date the defensive installations of Djety-asar № 7, 4, 8 and 3 to the late period of the existence of the Djety-asar group because the character and arrangement of single towers in the angles appeared in Khorezm quite late. The most ancient monuments are Djety-asar № 1, 9 and 11, and the basic construction of the «city» Djety-asar № 3 with the modernized defense system dates to the later period of its existence. In this case it is possible that there was a general tendency towards modifying such settlements during the five hundred years of Djety-asar culture:

1) the main centers were moved up to the bank of Kuvan-Darya, probably in order to provide a more reliable water supply; 2) construction of settlement-shelters testifying to the increased role of temporary dwellings; 3) creation of improved fortification systems inspired by Khorezmian and Maverannahr examples.

It is essential to find out which people built these monuments to coordinate our data with written historical sources.

The comparative analysis of texts by Ptolemei (IV, 12; VI, 14), Plinius (III, 42), Polibius (X, 48) dedicated to peoples of the Oxo-Yaksart area lets us conclude that the basin of Kuvan-Darya was inhabited by Tohars, located by Ptolemei «in the northern part of Yaksart», near the Pasiks (Apasiaks of the Aral coastal region), on one side, and Yatiyas (Asiyas, Asians, Usunyas of the right bank of the middle Syr-Darya and further eastern areas) on the other side.

The Tohars are the object of wide scientific discussion in connection with the discovery of early Middle Age Buddhist documents in the east of Turkestan written in an unknown language. This language was linked by a number of scientists with the Uigur language frequently mentioned in texts as the «language of Tohri» i.e., Tohar (in other words «language I» or «kuchar-karashar»).

Interest in this language has been great because of its phonetic features similar to western Indo-European languages (Celtic, German, Italic and Greek), usually united in the «Kentum group» (the conditional term determined by pronunciation of the Indo-European k in the word «hundred», which in eastern Indo-European languages, Slavic-Baltic, Indo-Iranian and Armenian passes into s, whence these last languages were named «Satem» from Sanskrit «hundred»; compare Tohar kandh - «hundred», okadh - «eight», yakwe - «horse», etc.).

Recently a number of scientists (including Soviet researchers Umnyakov ¹⁶ and A. Bernshtam ¹⁷) argued against relating the «Tohar language» with the historical people Tohars who participated in the Yuechi-Massaget conquest of Bactria. They preferred to look for the original language of Tohars in this or that Iranian-type language of Eastern European documents.

I do not think that the arguments of these authors is convincing. The attempt of Linkvist and then of Bernshtam to see in the «Tohri language» of Uigur documents the Sogdian language is not persuasive. The original name of Sogdians was well known to Turkic peoples. Probably, the first definition remains unchanged: «Tohri language» is the language of Tohars, a Massaget tribe from the Kuvan-Darya basin which participated in conquering Bactria, whence subsequently, together with the Bactrian colonization and the spread of Buddhism this language came to cities of east Turkestan.

At the same time relating this language to «western Indo-European languages» and the attempt to see in it ties with the Celtic language is completely superficial. Preservation of the ancient Indo-European k, makes the Tohar language related not only to «Kentum languages» of the West, but also to the ancient Palae-Indo-European language of the Hittites. This archaic feature of phonetics was independently preserved in various parts of the periphery of those who spoke Indo-European while in the central areas there was a natural development of Indo-European phonetics, and the transition from k to s.

The relations of the Tohar language with Hittite and with Thracian-Phrygian languages was noticed long ago and are much more important historically. The famous scientist Pocorny in 1923 directly asserted that «we should consider Tohars as Fraco-Phrygian Cimmerians», ¹⁸ and French linguist Benvenist (1936) comes to the conclusion that the «Tohar lan-

¹⁶ VDI, 1940, № 3-4

¹⁷ SE, 1947, № 3.

¹⁸ Pocorny. Die Stellung des Tocharischen... BFIOOW, III, 1923.

guage is an ancient member of the prehistoric group of languages (including Hittite) which is close to Baltic, Slavic, Greek, Armenian and Fraco-Phrygian ^{19.} A.Meje ²⁰ defines the position of Fraco-Phrygian among the Indo-European languages and writes: «We shall not be mistaken much if we place the Tohar language between Italo-Celtic on the one hand, and both Slavic and Armenian on the other».

All these associations lead us into the linguistically poorly known circle of Illiro-Fraco-Phrygian languages. In particular, in Illiro (as well as in Hett) there is the archaic k^{21} that for a long time misled researchers of the Tohar and Fraco-Phrygian languages. The destiny of this phoneme in Fraco-Phrygian was insufficiently defined (the distinction in pronunciation of the name of the Fraco-Phrygian goddesses of the Earth – Semela as Cybele). It is necessary to note that in the Tohar language, as in the dictionary and especially in the sphere of inflections, the pre-Indo-European features take us to the world of Japhetic languages of the Caucasus and Asia Minor. So, the nominal paradigm of the Tohar language finds amazing contacts with Hittite-Urarto-Kartvelian linguistic world (compare the Toharian comitant suffix -as-sal and similar Hittite -shil, Toharian suffix genitive -is in Georgian -is, Magr., Chansk., Yrart. -ish Toharian suffix dative (case) and ablative (case) -ac, as - Urart. dative -ash, ablative -ash-te etc.

N.J.Marr and N.S. Derzhavin established the transitive Japhetic-Indo-European character of Illiro-Fraco-Phrygian languages. They survive in modern Europe in Albanian (as well as Armenian). ²²

At the same time it is necessary to recall V.A.Gorodpov, the best expert of southern Russian antiquities, who studied black inlaid ceramics of Belsky and similar ancient settlements of Ukraine, which we discussed earlier and which are similar to the ceramics of the most ancient layer in Djety-asar (the monument of Syr-Darya Tohars) as a monument of the Cimmerian culture ²³. Along with Pocorny, he connects them to the Tohars. Illiro-Fraco-Phrygian relations with Cimmerians are also probable.

In the previous chapter we have already seen those numerous and various lines of cultural relations which lead from the Khorezmian-Massaget

Benveniste. Tokharien et Indo-Europeen. Festschrift fur H. Hirt. 1936, II. page 237.
 Indogerm. Jahrbuch I. 1913 (Strassburg, 1914). Page 17.

E. Philippon. Les peuples primitifs de l'Europe meridionale. Paris. 1925.

²² N. Y. Marr. About Japhetics in Albanian. YS, 1, 1922, page 57; N.S. Derzhavin. The history of Bulgaria 1.1945. pages 71-88, and his article in YL 1, 1926, 171 word. SE III, 1940. etc.

²³ V.A. Gorodtsov. About Cimmerian culture. TSA II, M., 1928, page 59; same by him. Household archaeology. M., 1910, page 344.

world to the world of Hittites on the one hand and the Fraco-Phrygian world on the other and then to Slavs. Probably the Tohar language is the descendant of the ancient Dakh, the only one that survived up to the 5th-10th centuries (but, already in another's territory) and the representative of the eastern, Massaget branch of the Illiro-Fraco-Cimmerian groups of languages (probably the most ancient Khorezmian language belonged to this group). The majority of Massaget languages already by the 5th century B.C. had undergone a strong influence of Sak-Scythian languages.

4

But let us return to the review of the political events connected with the fall of the Greek-Bactrian state.

Now we can restore in a general way the preconditions and the course of these events.²⁴

After the Greek-Macedonian penetration, on the boundary of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. we notice the process of political expansion of the Khorezmian-Massaget confederation not only to the West, but also to the east, to eastern Turkestan down to the borders of Mongolia. In the second half of the 3rd century B.C. the «big Yuechji», the Massagets, become neighbors of Hun tribes and try to control them. Not only the occurrence of the name Massagets in the east but also archaeological evidence attests to this.

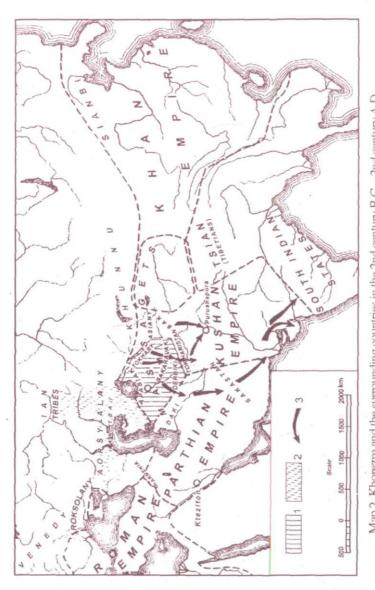
At the end of the 3rd century B.C. according to B. Laufera's research, the governor of the Huns Mode-Schanyui made a military reform, replacing the traditional light horses with heavy horses. Laufer considers this «Iranian» though it was absolutely not typical for the ancient Iran that used light armed infantry and light horses combined with fighting chariots. The heavy horses are typical first of all of Massagets, for the first time mentioned by Herodotus.

It is typical that subsequently from the same Aral coast (by Rostovtsev) the reform is carried by Sarmat-Alains to eastern Europe, and in the 1st century B.C. it is widely applied by Parthians against Romans in the battle at Cara where the Sakaravak cavalry and horses of Surena used arms made by Mervs, and the governor of Sakastana (Seistan), played the main role.

From here, via the country of the Massagets, the magnificent breed of war-horse penetrates²⁵ to Mongolia, China and Siberia (Altai).

²⁴ For substantiation see «Ancient Khorezm», digression I.

²⁵ For detailed substantiation of this situation see «Ancient Khorezm», chap. 4, sec. 3.



- Kangha - Khorezm in 2nd-1st centuries B.C.; 2 - sphere of influence of Khorezm at the beginning of the 1st century A.D.; 3 -Map 2. Khorezm and the surrounding countries in the 2nd century B.C. - 2nd century A.D migration of Saks-Massaget tribes app. in 140 B.C.

Apparently Syr-Darya Tohars occupied the central sector of attack. They also occupied the basin of the upper Amu-Darya, the area subsequently named Toharistan (Chinese Tuholo). The eastern neighboring Asians moved together with them. Pompey Trog laconically informs us that «Asians became the kings of Tohars», i.e., probably an Asian leader was the head of the coalition.

The right, western flank of movement consisted of Sakaravaks and Apasiaks who advanced to Arriana and Seistan where they fought with their recent allies - the Parthians. Tien Shan area tribes of Saks made up the left flank and passed through the Pamirs and entered the valley of Kabul.

What role in all these events was played by Khorezm?

In order to find out the answer we look at the evidence of the most informed observer who personally visited Central Asia during the fifteen years after the fall of the Greek-Bactrian empire.

In 126 B.C. after long and difficult wanderings in rugged steppes and mountains of Central Asia the Chinese dignitary Tjian-tsyan arrived in Fergana with a message from the Wu-di emperor. The purpose of his diplomatic mission was to conclude a peace treaty with the Chinese empire and the recent victorious conquerors of the Greek-Bactrian Empire, the people of the «big Yuechji» against their common enemy the Huns whose center was in present Mongolia. The Huns after expelling the Yuechji from the east of Turkestan controlled all the steppes north of Tibet and threatened China. The mission of Tjian-tsyan failed but he gave us the first Chinese description of the Central Asian countries describing many details which had remained unremarked by Greek-Roman sources. From him we for the first time learned about the existence of an extensive state Kangyui in Central Asia.

This country in the east bordered Fergana, in the south Parthia and Bactria, in the west included Khorezmian and Bukhara oases. According to the data on the «History of the old Han dynasty» «Kangyui has five small possessions: Suse, Fuma, Yuni, Gi, Yuegyanj. All these five possessions depend on Kangyui».

According to the data of the latest Chinese sources, these names refer to Kesh-Shahresiabz on the Kashkadarya, Kushaniya on the Zaravshan, Tashkent, Bukhara and Urgench.

According to information of Tjian-tsyan, Kangyui «similar to the Yuechji; has an army of up to 90 thousand people». The «History of the old Han dynasty» increases the size of the Kangyui army up to 120 thousand.

Looking attentively at the contours of this country map restored by Marquart we notice similarities with the outlines of the ancient, pre-Akhemenid Khorezmian Empire. The only difference is in the southwest borders: Khorosan of the 2nd century B.C. was an inalienable part of the Parthian empire of the Arshakids.

As Tjian-tsyan said, Kangyui «knowing about their weakness recognized the power of the Yuechji in the south and the power of the Huns in the east».

The center of the Yuechji confederations at that time, according to the same traveler, was somewhere to the north of the upper Amu-Darya, probably in the territory of the right-bank of Bactria, the present Tajikistan or southern Uzbekistan, but maybe on Kangyui territory in the basin of Zaravshan. I should remind readers that the Kushaniya on the Zaravshan was related by history to the older Han as «small Kangyui possessions» and was later given the name of one of the influential Yuechji nation - the Kushans (Chinese Guishuanj) who promoted the dynasty of governors of the Kushan empire 1-3 centuries A.D. This leads us to believe that the inclusion of Sogdiana (basins of Zaravshan and Kashka-Darya) into the structure of Kangyui empire goes back earlier than 140 B.C. when this territory, nominally Kangyui, was under the actual authority of Massaget tribes. Meanwhile during the reigns of Evtidem and his son Demetri Sogd undoubtedly was a part of the Greek-Bactrian Empire.

Probably the entry of Sogd into the Kangyui kingdom should be dated to the time of the Eucratide revolt in 175 B.C. which struck Bactria due to the absence of Demetri who was on his military expedition to India.

Pompey Trog (XII, 5) informs us that Eucratides conducted wars «with Sogdians, Arahoziys, Drangs, Arias, Inds» emaciating the forces of the Bactrian state. This information, undoubtedly, should be understood as an indication that Sogd became a member of the Kangyui monarchy.

It is strange that Greek-Latin sources know nothing about Kangyui. We may assume that he is known under another name there.

In their turn, the Chinese, before the travels of Syuan-pzan and «the History of the Tan dynasty» never mentioned Khorezm (Urgench according to Avesta and the latest sources never was the center of an independent possession).

Avesta as well as the latest Zoroastrian literature knows Kangyui under the name «Kangha, the high and sacred» (Ardvisur-yasht, V, XIV, 4), and Khorezm (mentioned under this name only once, in the hymn to Mitrathe god of sun), but he mentions them in different texts (Kangha - in a hymn to the goddess of Amu-Darya, Ardvisur Anahit; the text places Kangha in the immediate vicinity of Urgench). The Shah-name makes Kangha (Kangdiz, Kang-Siyavahsh) the arena of activity of Siyavush, but according to Buruni this is Khorezm.

All the above-stated as well the other more detailed information 27 leads to the conclusion that the name Kangyui is identical with Kangha of Avesta, and means Khorezm. The term «Kangha» has the Iranian (and general Indo-European) stem «kan», whence Uzbek and Tajik «kan», and the word «channel» can be translated as «the country of aryks» (ditches) or «the country of flow channels» or delta; it is typical, that the delta of Helmand in Seistan carries the name of Miyan-i-Kang; southwest of Khorezm the extreme flow channel of the ancient Sarykamysh delta of the Amu-Darya still carries the name Kangha-Darya, and the adjacent height still carries the name Kangha-gyr. Probably, Kangha is a wider concept than Khorezm. While the latter originally included only the upper part of the Amu-Darya delta, the basic core of the country under the name Kangh is the whole delta of this river, and probably the delta of the Syr-Darya that formed one single system at that time. However Khorezm of that epoch was both the geographical and political center of Kangha, the most advanced and powerful area of the delta.

The identification of Kangha and Khorezm gives us valuable materials for the restoration of the political history of the country. According to our classification of monuments the Khorezmian culture of the 4th century B.C. - to 1st century A.D., the time of the flowering of Djanbas-kala, is called by us «Kangyui culture»).

We can conclude that as in the days of Alexander and Arshak I, in the 2nd century B.C., Khorezm acts as the leader and the initiator of attacks on possessions of the Greek conquerors in Central Asia. In approximately 175 B.C. Khorezm successfully opposed Eucratide and restored its traditional authority over Sogd and the middle Syr-Darya. But between 140 and 120, at the height of the movement of Massaget tribes in the south of Khorezm, he could not save his role of leader of the Massaget confederations. Sakaravaks in Seistan, Tohars and Asians in Bactria create their own independent states, and Bactrian Massagets rule in the Sogdian terri-

²⁷ See «Ancient Khorezm», pages 20-24 and others.

tory of Khorezm. Khorezm remains, however, such a powerful state that in 101 B.C. it intervenes in the Fergana-Chinese war: the approach of Kangyui armies allied with Fergana compels the Chinese to lift the siege of the Fergana capital and to leave. The 1st century B.C., as well as the beginning of the 1st century A.D., should be considered as the time of the zenith of Khorezm-Kangyui state power. The international position of Kangyui changed. The political union created during the gains of the Bactrian Massagets breaks up into its components. The «History of the younger Han dynasty» states: «When the house of Yuechji was destroyed by Huns (206-165 B.C.) it moved to Dahya (Bactria) and divided into five princely houses: Hyuni, Shuanmi, Guishuanj, Hise and Dumi».

The parity of military forces of Kangyui and the Bactrian Yuechji has changed: if Chian-tsian determines the size of the armies of the first as 90 thousand persons, and the second as 100-200 thousand, the «History of the older Han dynasty» gives figures of 120 and 100 thousand accordingly.

After the disintegration of the Hun state (48 B.C.) and the crushing of Chzhichzhi, the Shanyui of the western Huns (36 B.C.), the position and east borders of Kangyui changed. Kangyui in the last third of the 1st century B.C. acts as a powerful ally of the western Huns; in this union the Chinese ambassador Go-shun sees the guarantee of the strength of western Huns in their struggle against China.

The power of Kangyui at this time goes far to the northwest, on the routes laid by Farasman, the contemporary of Alexander the Great. According to the «History of the younger Han dynasty» going back to the beginning of the 1st century A.D., Kangyui subordinates the Alains (Yantsai, Alanya), at that time spreading from the northern Aral region up to the Azov and even the northern neighbors of the Alains – the Ural wood tribes of the Yan', who paid a tribute of furs to Kangyui. In the 1st century A.D. the northern Black Sea coast witnesses the full-scale movement of Alain tribes to the West. Probably, this movement was not a spontaneous real-location movement of barbarians but was a component of the active foreign policy of Kangyui-Khorezm. It is typical that the «barbarous» dynasty of Aspurgians who came to power at about this time in the Bosporus empire (Panticapaeum-Kerch) uses the tamga (the tribal sign), a variant of the Khorezmian Siyavushid's tamga (see below). This tamga and its numerous variants are widely represented on various monuments of the

beginning of our era across the entire northern Black Sea coast and are evidence of political relations of the eastern European Alains with Khorezm.²⁸

The most ancient silver coin of the Khorezmian Siyavushids (see Fig. 35) was found in 1940 in Toprak-kala with the face value of 4 drachmas $(9.32 \text{ g})^{29}$. On the front side it has a graceful image of a bearded king's head wearing a round crown decorated with beads with earlaps and lap on the neck, wrapped in an ornamented turban. Behind the head there is a schematic figurine of the reigning goddess of victory - Nikki (the image typical for Parthian coins of the 1st century B.C). On the back side - the image of a horseman on a walking horse with the sign of the Siyavushids. Around the coin there is an inscription in deformed Greek letters imitating inscriptions by the Greek-Bactrian king Eucratide: BASIAEQS METAAOY EKPATIAOY («The great king Eucratide»). Both this inscription, and the texture of the coin, and details (the border of rhombic beads) (see further in the latest Khorezmian coins) show the direct continuation of Greek-Bactrian stamping of the 2nd century B.C.

It is obviously not by chance. Powerful masters of Kangyui having taken hold of much of the Greek-Bactrian inheritance, probably considered themselves lawful successors of the Greek-Bactrian kings and were inspired to emphasize this on their coins. But these coins are not a slavish imitation of Greek-Bactrian samples as is the case with the most ancient coins of the Bactrian Massagets. Horse twins - Dioscur coins of Eucratide were replaced by the artfully executed figure of the divine ancestor of the Siyavush dynasty. The tamga appeared too. The style of images is different: they maintain the ancient eastern art tradition and testify to the maturity and independence of the skill of Khorezmian artists.

It is probable that the similarity of the most ancient Khorezmian coins to the coins of Eucratide (Bactrian Massagets in the primitive imitations mainly reflect the coins of Yevtidem) also indicates some dynastic relations as is common in ancient coining. Maybe the war with the Sogdians mentioned by Trog ended with the establishment of a peace agreement between Kangyui and Eucratide, fixed, according with the custom of that time, by marriage between members of both families, most likely by giving the daughter of Eucratide in marriage to the Khorezmian king or his

^{28 «} Ancient Khorezm», page 184.

²⁹ S.P. Tolstov. Addition to the history of Khorezmian Siyavushids (new data on numismatics of ancient Khorezm). IOIF, 1945, № 4, page 275.

son, which in matriarchal traditions would allow subsequent governors of Khorezm the right to be legitimate Eukratides. We will hardly be mistaken if we assume that the coin from Toprak-kala belongs to that unknown but powerful reign of Kangyui about which the Chinese ambassador Go-shun writes in his report: «Kangyui is proud and audacious and does not agree to any show of submission before our envoys; he puts the officials sent to him from the deputy below the Usun ambassadors».

The numismatic material allows us to discover some essential details of those political events which developed in the 1st century A.D. and resulted in a resolute change in the status of Khorezm in the world - its transformation from the center of a powerful independent empire into one of the vassal states in the system of the Central Asian-Indian empire of the Kushans.

Many coins found in various areas of Central Asia, as far as Tashkent in the north, in Afghanistan and in northern India were included in numismatic literature under the name of «coins of Heraus» (or «coins of Miai»). ³⁰ These are tetra drachma with the bust of the king on one side with sharp facial features and artificially deformed skull (the custom widely practiced in the steppes during the Sarmatian epoch). His headdress - a simple bandage-diadem holding his long hair in place.

On the back of the coin – a horseman – much like our coins of «the unknown person of Kangyui». However on this coin the image of Nikki crowning the image of the king on the face of our coin, here crowns the horseman on the reverse side.

Around the horseman there is a Greek inscription: from above $TY\Pi PANNOYNTO\Sigma H\Pi AOY$ (some researchers prefer to read MIAOY), between the legs of the horse- Σ ANAB, under its legs KOPPANOY (or KOPCANOY).

As a whole the legend (inscription of the coin) can be read as: «[Coin] of the ruler Heraus [Miai], Sanab³¹, of Kushan». ³²

The coins of Heraus dated the end of the 1st century B.C. are almost simultaneous with the coin found in Toprak-kala and are the earliest coins

³⁶ See. A.N. Zograf Coins of «Geray», Tashkent, 1937.

³¹ Probably the ending of the name was omitted.

 $^{^{32}}$ r in Kushan graphics was used for spelling as actual r. and for special sound, merging r and sh, subsequently turned in sh. Same destiny of r for rzh, subsequently zh in Polish.

to display the name of Kushans. There is no doubt that our coin and the coins of Heraus are closely connected with each other and at the same time as in relation to Heraus go back to coins of Eucratid.

Toprak-kala is much closer to the general prototype; we think that the stamping of Heraus is an imitation of a direct stamping of Eukratid and of Khorezm-Kangyui coining of the 1st century B.C. The modest title instead of





Fig. 35. The coin of a nameless king

«Great king» - «ruling Heraus» (probably a local title) in turn explains the attitude of the stampings: Heraus mints coins as the vassal of the Kangyui king. Most likely, the ancient center of the Kushan family was Kushania on the Zaravshan. Here during the events of 140 a group of Tohars (or Asians) beat Bactria in the 1st century B.C., in connection with restoration of the lost sovereignty of Kangha-Khorezm over the Sogd. Its most like consolidated its power by cross marriages between the dynasties.

However Kushans simultaneously enter, according to Chinese sources, into a confederation of five Massaget yabgu (Massaget title of the leader, subsequently king, in the Chinese hi-heu - an ancient pronunciation yapheu, in the Indian inscriptions on Kushan coins - yavug) and begin active participation in the political life of Bactria, where in the beginning of the 1st century A.D. a new process of political consolidation developed.

Kushan yagbu become the leaders in this process.

In the opinion of the majority of researchers, the first «Great Kushan» Kuzula Kadphises came to power in 15 A.D. (according to Smith - 45 A.D.). Tarn considers Kadphises as the son of Heraus. If M.E. Masson is right, in the report at the ethnographic conference of 1943 in Tashkent where he put forward a hypothesis that Kadphises has coins of so-called «soter megas» («the Great Savior») then it is possible to trace a major sequence of events.

Kuzula Kadphises, having united under his authority the area of the Bactrian Massagets -Tohars and having broken the vassal relations with Khorezm, accepted the title of «King of Kings, the great savior». He was

doubly «the Great Savior» - rescuing his own possessions from dependency and «rescuing» the Massaget tribes, which as a result of political disintegration lost their former military power.

On his coins he keeps traditions of coining of Heraus, Khorezmian stamping, the image of a horseman, and also begins stamping gold coins simulating the Roman gold coining of Augustus whose products at this time penetrated into India.

After uniting Sogd and Bactria, Kadphises I defeats the Parthian and Sak governors south of the Hindukush, subordinates Kashmir and the basin of Kabul-Darya, expanding the borders of his empire from Sogd in the north to the upper Inda in the south and from the Pamirs in the East up to the borders of Parthia in the West.

His son and successor - Wima Kadphises (Kadphises II), who according to the opinion of the majority of historians governed in 45-78 A.D., continued the expansion of his power approaching the Indo-Parthian and Indo-Greek states in the basin of Inda. Indo-Parthian princes keep only some of their possessions on the lower Inda by the end of 1st century A.D. In the south the territory of the Kushan empire reaches Benares.

Coins of Kadphises II sharply vary from the tradition of previous Kushan stamping. On the reverse side there are Indian deities (Shiva with his attribute – the bull Nandi). The king is reflected completely differently than on coins of Kuzula Kadphises - in place of the bust is a figure of a sitting or standing king in full height, bearded, in ritual attire – a high Scythian klobuk and long caftan. These images are strongly established for the subsequent Kushan kings, who often become Indian monarchs. Peshawar becomes their capital.

The time and circumstances of the entrance of Kangyui-Khorezm into the Kushan empire remain unclear. The sources do not give indications of the Kushans conquering the northern part of Central Asia. At the same time the coins of Wima Kadphises and his successors - Kanishka, Huvishka and Vusudeva in the 1-2nd centuries A.D. superseded the local coins in Khorezm – attesting to the inclusion of Khorezm into the Kushan empire.

The Chinese «History of the younger Han dynasty» (1-3rd centuries A.D.) locates Kangyui in a separate chapter describing empires of «the Western territory» and at the same time informs about the political activity of Kangyui in the north, on the northeast Black Sea coast and the southern Aral. I think that Kangyui, having reserved its basic nucleus in Khorezm and northern part of its possession and continuing an active policy in the

north, at the same time joined into the system of the Kushan empire as a member of the ancient Massaget confederation, the hegemony of which had passed over to another center.

Thus, beginning from the middle of the 1st century A.D. and probably up to the end of the 2nd century we can speak about the Kushan period of the history of Khorezm. According to the coins in the 3rd century, Khorezm restores its political sovereignty.

During the period of the successor of Kadphises II - Kanishka (78-123 A.D.) the empire of the Kushans achieves its zenith of power and takes its place as one of four greatest states of the epoch alongside Rome, Parthia and China. Kanishka expands and strengthens its authority in northern India, conducts a successful war with Parthia, and actively intervenes in the affairs of east Turkestan.

The first attempt of Kanishka to extend his hegemony northeast was unsuccessful. When in 90 A.D. he addressed the Chinese court asking for the hand of the Chinese kingevna in marriage, the Chinese governor of «the Western territory» arrested the embassy of the Kushans. A Kushan army of 70 thousand in eastern Turkestan was the answer to this arrest. But a well-known Chinese commander Banchao totally defeated the Kushans, intruding into their Central Asian possessions - Fergana and Kangyui, and forced Kanishka to recognize (nominally) the supreme authority of the Chinese emperor, according to the Chinese chronologist «since then, - Yuechji every year sent a tribute and gifts». But in practice the circumstances developed completely differently. After the magnificent victories of Banchao the authority of China in eastern Turkestan declined. The death of Banchao in 102, at the age of 71, deprived the Chinese government of the most active defender of their interests in the West. The internal political weakening of China and the vigorous activity of Kanishka's emissaries in the courts of the small east Turkestan city empires were preconditions for the revolts of the east Turkestan empires inspired by the Kushans against China.

In 105 all these empires proclaimed their independence from China.

In 107 when the residence of the Chinese deputy was besieged, the government decided to abolish this post.

In 123 only an insignificant Chinese garrison consisting of three hundred persons remained in Dunhuan. By the end of the reign of Kanishka, Kashgar, Yarkend and Khotan are part of his state stretching from the lower Inda up to Hotan and from the Aral Sea up to Benares.

The reign of Kanishka was characterized not only by gains. He developed vigorous building activity, established several cities in northern India, one of which, Kanispor, still bears his name. Numerous solemn inscriptions in different parts of the country attest to the political influence of the Kushan government. Economic and political relations of the country expanded. In 99 the Kushan embassy visits Rome. Roman coins were used in large quantities on Kushan territories. The Kushan coins penetrated far into the Kama river area - here, as well as earlier, Khorezm stands as a vital link in trading relations.

The religious policy of Kanishka is interesting. The Buddhist tradition puts him in one line with Ashoka - the greatest representative of the ancient Indian dynasties of Maurya who played an outstanding role in the spread of Buddhism to India. The building of a large Buddhist temple (according to the most accepted chronology of 100 A.D.) played a significant role in the formation of northern Buddhism and was ascribed to Kanishka.

The coins of Kanishka are indicative in this respect. On their reverse side we find images of various deities which allow us to conclude that there was religious syncretism in the Kushan empire. Among Kushan deities we find the Buddha, Indian Shiva, Greek Helios and Selenium (deities of the sun and the moon), Zoroastrian Mitra (sun), Mao (moon), Artoaspa (water deity), the Semitic goddess of fertility Nanaiya. This syncretism, reflecting the process of merger of local Indian, Greek and Central Asian Zoroastrian cults brought by the Kushans from those lands, can be considered the starting point for the development of the latest, extremely syncretic, northern Buddhism, the so-called «doctrines of the big chariot (Magayan)» which spread into Tibet, Mongolia and China.

Kushan domination in east Turkestan meant that Buddhism reigned in this country for several centuries. During the Kushan period and subsequently down to the Arabian conquests Buddhism was dominant in Central Asia. It finally reaches China. From the Chinese chronicles we learn that in 147 A.D., one of the major Buddhist compositions - Amitaba-Sutra was delivered to China from the country of «big Yuechji» and that in the court of emperor Huan-di (147-167) as a result of the activity of Kushan missionaries, Buddhism for the first time became widespread.

In 1-2nd centuries A.D. all four great powers of classical antiquity, such «imperial religions» as Christianity, i.e., the reformed syncretic Judaism in the Roman Empire, the reformed Zoroastrism in Parthia, the

reformed syncretic Buddhism in the Kushan Empire and in China all were trying to oppose the ancient religious ideology of local city empires with a new cult of universal deities - assimilating them into one syncretic system consecrating the imperial association with religious authority. From this point of view the religious reforms by Kanishka should be considered as evidence of progress.

. The Kushan epoch in the history of the Middle and Far East is an epoch of high artistic culture of the peoples who lived in the Kushan empire and those who were under its influence. Numerous monuments of architecture and sculptures of that epoch known in the territory of northern India, in the valley of the Kabul river and in Bactria, on both banks of the upper Amu-Darya have survived. In the specialist literature this art is called Gandhar, after the areas where the most part of its monuments were found and where they were studied first.

This art has round sculptures and the wide use of images for ornamenting of architectural details, friezes and the planes of walls, and can be characterized as the Central Asian-Indian variant of late-Hellenistic art, the result of the synthesis of classical Greek and local forms. The ancient realism of images, the wide use of magnificent Corinthian capitals as basic elements of sculptural ornament, are combined with eastern techniques and Buddhist images. Gandhar Kushan art had a huge influence on the art culture of peoples of the Far East - China, Japan, Indo-China, and Indonesia where the traditions of the Gandhar school survived the Middle Ages and are alive today. From the monuments of Gandhar art found on the Soviet part of the territory of ancient Bactria, the magnificent sculptural cornice of the first centuries A.D. with the figures of musicians divided by traditional leaves of acanthaceae, found in Airtam near Termez and studied by M.E. Masson, should be especially noted.

. 5

Khorezm of the Kushan period is represented by several monuments. the most typical being the extensive complex of ruins of the rural settlement Ayaz-kala ³³, well dated by the coins found in a cultural layer of the agricultural manor. We found two coins of Kanishka of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd centuries A.D. On the neighboring takyrs there are a

^{33 «}Ancient Khorezm», pages 102 - 111.

lot of Kushan coins of the 2nd century; some of them have a Khorezmian stamp on the upper part, the symbol of Siyavushids, the Latin letter "s".

A Kushan settlement sharply differs from the settlements of the Kangyui epoch. As we remember, for the rural settlement of Kangyui the huge, multiroom, strong fortified communal house is typical, such as Kunerlikala on Chermen-yaba, and numerous small towns, such as Djanbas-kala, representing the association of the same two other housing estates. In the Kangyui epoch we do not see the clear isolation of houses of the aristocracy from houses of ordinary free people of the community. Differentiation within the limits of a free community, certainly, already existed, but in material monuments this is hardly seen. The traditions of primitive democracy are too strong still. The communal «house of fire» is still the center of the city but not the palace of the king or prince.

This public way of life with its eastern character reminds us of the slaveholding democracy of ancient Greece and republican Rome.

The situation sharply changes in such large monuments of the Kushan Empire as the rural settlement Ayaz-kala and the large city Toprak-kala. We will dedicate the following chapter of our book to this.

Ayaz-kala is a complex of large unfortified rural farmsteads located at the bottom of the Ayaz-kala cliffs. Every estate consists of a huge yard surrounded by a brick wall. The territory does not have buildings and probably used to have gardens and vegetable gardens.

There is a small building at one of the walls, a living quarters consisting of 10-15 rooms and unlike any other huge house-estates of the Kangyui epoch. This place is for a separate patriarchal family already separated from the tribe.

Among the many similar manors three buildings look quite different. First of all the giant fortress Ayaz-3, with its wide and empty yard enclosed by a huge wall with towers and a labyrinth at the entrance gate of the ancient cities of Khorezm. Near its northeast corner there are ruins of a house separated by two corridors and consisting of 40 more or less identical rooms.

The large manor is located in the northwest corner of the settlement. On the cone-shaped rock towering over Ayaz-kala there are two spectacular ruins of the Ayaz-2 fortress modernized in 5-7th centuries but erected in the Kushan period.

Highest of all, on the steep part of the Ayaz-kala plateau adjoining the settlement there are majestic ruins of the perfectly preserved Ayaz-1 for-

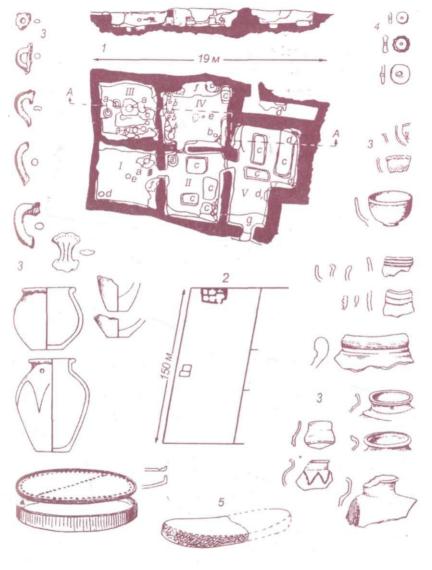


Fig. 36a. Monuments of Kushan culture in Khorezm
Excavations of house № 1 near Ayaz-kala
1 - layout and section of the site; 2 - the general layout of the manor;

3 - ceramics; 4 - ceramic spins; 5 - milling stone

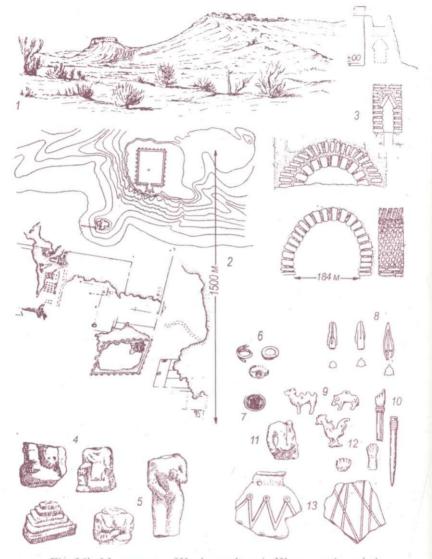


Fig. 36b. Monuments of Kushan culture in Khorezm: Ayaz-kala 1 - general view of the complex; 2 - layout of the complex; 3 - architectural details Ayaz-kala No1: 4-5 - figurines in Kushan style (Djanbas-kala and Koi-Krilgan-kala):

- 6 bronze rings; 7 gold pendant with Indian almandine; bronze arrows tips;
- 9 bronze pendant; 10 bone tools for writing; 11 clay Egyptian figurine of Bess god (Bazar-kala) 12 - stone amulets; 13 - fragments of ceramics

tress with numerous semicircular towers, fortified towers and labyrinths at the entrance gate, a vaulted gallery at the base of walls, and a huge well cut out of the rock, but it does not have any traces of buildings inside the walls. Several hundred meters to northeast from Ayaz-1 - there are the ruins of the ancient watchtower. It is not a city and not a manor but a real fortress probably inhabited by a small garrison of Kushan officials and guarding one of the sides of the northern border of the empire.

Taken as a whole, the complex of Ayaz-kala slightly lifts the veil on the internal, social and economic history of the Kushan empire. We see the disintegration of the traditional tribal community of free citizens of the slaveholding state, divided into separate patriarchal-slaveholding families with a small powerful landowning aristocracy. The sovereignty of the city community is being replaced by imperial sovereignty: not fortified and almost independent cities but fortresses erected by the central government and occupied by garrisons of a regular army of the empire protecting the borders of the oasis from steppe tribes and hostile states (we recall that the armies of Banchao have deeply intruded into the territory of Kangyui and according to Chinese chronicles, they reached the Aral Sea).

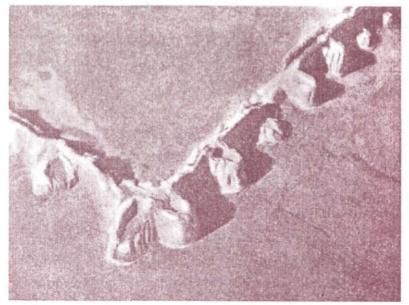


Fig. 37. Ayaz-kala from air (detail of fortification)

A similar process is taking place in Khorezmian cities of the Kushan epoch. The center of Toprak-kala is not the temple of fire. This temple is now at the bottom of the huge fortress-castle with three towers. The city keeps the old traditions. It still consists of huge houses - estates of free citizens of the community, but we know that in the ancient Mediterranean Roman empire, a village was the carrier of the new social order that pushed the conservative urban community into the background. The archaic eastern - slaveholding system of Khorezm was living its last years.

The above-mentioned processes of the evolution of the Kushan empire in the field of ideological history, in religion and in art are reflected in the Kushan monuments of Khorezm.

Figurines change their character. Late antique figurines of the 1st-2nd centuries A.D. give us a plentiful assortment of female figurines not dressed in solemn long clothes, but naked, with the typical gesture of Venera Medicean, with Indian bracelets on her wrists. Part of the figurine is covered, but not in long dresses of Kangyui goddesses but loose ancient draperies of Gandhara sculptures. The sitting naked male figurine also remind us of Buddhist images. The Indo-Buddhist influence is reflected in the appearance of diminutive images of Indian sanctuaries - images of monkeys alien to Khorezmian traditions.

The Greek influence came to Khorezm, but not directly from the Greek-Macedonian conquerors as with Sogd. Only in the beginning of our era, together with Indian art traditions and the world of Buddhist religious images, do elements of Hellenistic art penetrate into the ancient center of the Kangyui empire.

We know that the Kushan empire was rather short-lived.

After the reign of Kanishka's successors, Huvishkas and Vasudevs, who governed in the third quarter of the 2nd century, the Middle Eastern ancient empire begins to fall into decay. The chronology of the further governors and the list of them remains absolutely unclear and causes sharp divergences in the opinions of experts who have only badly dated numismatic material at their disposal.

In the 3rd century the Kushan governors lose a significant part of their possessions in India, keeping indisputable authority only in the basin of Kabul-Darya. The numismatic material of Khorezm allowed us to assert that already in the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D. Khorezmian kings renewed the



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stamping of coins according to the ancient Kangyui method, thus emphasizing the restoration of the sovereignty of the «Sacred Kangha», and the continuity of the dynastic tradition of the ancient dynasty of Siyavushids.

As we noted earlier, in the 2nd century Khorezmian kings stamped their S-shaped sign on both sides of Kushan coins. The coins of king Arsamuh I and his wife go back to the end of the 2nd century and maybe the beginning of the 3rd century. These are the first coins with a Khorezmian inscription, the most ancient example of the Khorezmian written language.³⁴

The alphabet of Khorezm for the first time became known due to the work of our expedition. It is very close to the ancient Syrian Aramaic written language, which was widely used within the whole territory of the Akhemenid empire as the usual script of Akhemenid officials where Syrian scribes worked. The Persian cuneiform writing was used only for solemn inscriptions. Various alphabets of Iran and Central Asia come from the Aramaic letters - the Arshakid pahlevi, Sasanid pahlevi (or parsi), the Avesta alphabet, the Sogdian alphabet and its descendants in Central Asia and in the Far East - Uigur, Mongolian and Manchurian, the special alphabets of Bukhara and Usrushan (territory of Ura-tyube), different from the Sogdian alphabet. The Khorezmian one represents an independent branch directly related to the classical Aramaic Akhemenid epoch and unlike all other alphabets, keeps the ancient Aramaic traditions.

Ardamuh on the coins (tetra drachma, 11.75) is represented as a bearded king wearing a high headdress. On the reverse side – the traditional «Khorezmian horseman» and behind him an S-shaped tamga. On the top there is a deformed Greek inscription $BA\Sigma IAE\Omega\Sigma$ - «king».

On the bottom there is an inscription in Khorezmian - wrbwmhMLK' - king Ars[a]muh.

The name of Arsamuh is of special interest. It is very close to Uruzmag - the name of one of the oldest heroes of the Nart epic of the Ossetians. As we know, the Khorezmian language in southern Khorezm up to the 13th-14th centuries ³⁵ is close to the Ossetian language. Together with Ossetian and Sogdian it belongs to the so-called «North Iranian» group. To put it more precisely, it belongs to the Saks-Sarmatian group of Indo-European

³⁴ See. S.P. Tolstov. Coins of sheiks of ancient Khorezm and ancient Khorezmian alphabet, VDI, 1938, № 4.

³⁵ See. A.A. Freiman. Khorezmian language. ZIV AN VII, 1939, page 306; S.L. Volin. A new source for studying the Khorezmian language. Same, but page 79.

languages, developed on the basis of a mixture of ancient Massaget and Scythian (Saks). The Khorezmian language, according to Henning, is much closer to Ossetian, than to Sogdian. ³⁶

Vazamar was one of the successors of Arsamuh who left beautiful silver coins with the image of a long bearded king in an original helmet in the form of an eagle and who governed in first half of the 3rd century Another governor also wore the eagle helmet but his name has not been discovered yet. Their coins already are typical for all the latest Khorezmian Siyavushids of the 8-9th centuries A.D. with the tamga (sign) in the form of an S. The mark under that symbol probably represents political sovereignty; it is also typical for the tamga of the Kushans. Most likely, Vazamar finally broke away from formal dependence on the Kabul successors of the Kushans.

The middle of the 3rd century was a time of great political changes for all the Middle East. Not only the Kushan empire falls but so does the power of the Parthian Arshakids. In Iran a new Persian dynasty of the descendants of the priest of Starch (Sasanids) come to power. In 224-226 Ardashir the Sasanid, son of Papak, after the destruction of the last Arshakid - Artaban V, becomes the ruler of all Parthia.

The Persian historical tradition (apocryphal «Letter of Tansar», Tabari) attributes the wide expansion policy in the East to Ardashir. According to Tabari, «Ardashir undertakes a campaign against Balkh and Khorezm, up to the far borders of Khorasan». «Ambassadors of the Kushan king, Turan (?) came to him to express their submission.» ³⁷

The «Letter of Tansar» directly includes Khorezm in the structure of the possession of the Sasanids.

The inscription of the Sasanid - Narse (293-302) in Paikuli tells us that the «king of the Kushans, and the Roman Caesar (!), and the king of Khorezm» ³⁸ expressed their humility. The context itself is clear enough to see here the hyperbole, and is more likely an indication that the author considers Khorezm as one of the great states of the epoch.

Probably, the first Sasanids managed to seize a part of the Kushan possessions; their power reached Balkh, - the early Sasanid coins are widely distributed in Sogd, reaching Tashkent. The subsequent Kushan-sheiks of

³⁶ ZDMG, 1936, B. 90, 3/4, page 28.

³⁷ Nöldeke. Tabari, page 17-18.

³⁸ E. Herzfeld. Paikuli, page 117-119.

Kabul and Bukhar-hudats on the coins represented the symbols of the Sasanids.

But Khorezm was no more dependent on the Sasanids than the possessions of the «Roman Caesar».

Of the many hundreds coins found by us in Khorezm there is only one copper Sasanid coin. The coins of Khorezmian kings keep their ancient symbols till the 8th century. Sacrificial fire, the basic symbol of Sasanid coins, is used in various areas of Sogd, Afghanistan, India, but did not supersede the «Khorezmian horseman». Till the 8th century Khorezmian coins keep their archaic Greek-Bactrian style and symbols of Siyavushids. Political shocks of the 3rd century that destroyed the two Middle Eastern ancient empires (the fall of ancient China happened in the same century), did not lead to the collapse of the Khorezmian state. On the contrary, as you can see below, there are reasons to believe that in the 3rd century it is a contender for the role of world power because of the weakening of its contenders. But this brings us to the large social, economic and political changes to which we shall return in chapter 8 of the book.



Chapter 7

TREASURES OF THE THREE-TOWER FORTRESS

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On a clear October evening in 1938 our small prospecting group stood on the walls of the Kushan fortresses at Ayaz-kala № 1. Along with the familiar silhouettes of ruins in the south and in the east, far in the west, beyond the smooth plain of takyrs, sand and saline soils, on the horizon there was the contour of huge ruins with mighty outlines of a three-towered citadel. «What fortress is that?» I asked our guide. «It is Toprak-kala, there is nothing interesting there» was his laconic answer. Next day our caravan approached the «uninteresting fortress».

After the mirror-like, barren surface of Ayaz-kala takyrs, midway to Toprak-kala we entered the gloomy lifeless plain of Toprak-kala saline soils. The black and gray rough surface of saline crust hid a layer of soil saturated by salt, in which legs of camels sank up to their ankles, leaving large, rough prints. The dead picture of black saline desert was made even more gloomy by conic hills of sand, covered by a saline crust and topped with bunches of dried bushes.

It was getting dark when we came to the northern wall of the fortress which faced the nearby Sultan-Uizdag mountains, rising higher and higher in steep parallel lines of gray, black and green mountain ridges with jagged tops.

Hurriedly we found a place for the night and let the guides unload the camels, while we prepared supper, and then went to see the ruins. We approached the huge three-towered 20 meter high fortress and climbed

up the scree. On the right of us, in the southern cut of the northeastern tower there was a line of open vaulted premises, tumbledown arcs and huge bricks of the frontal walls of arched rooms which towered threateningly over our heads.

In the northeastern corner of the central field of the fortress we saw ruins of vaulted premises leading downwards. Next to it, on the slope of the northwestern tower we saw contours of other tumbledown volutes covered with sand and clay.

All this huge body of the fortress consisted of countless vaulted premises placed in different layers. Some of them were demolished, some not. From the southern tower and the southern wall we could see the panorama of the city: the rectangular huge, 10-15 meter-high walls transformed into hills by time. The walls and the space inside were covered with the same lifeless black and gray crust of saline soil.

The inside of the fortress had some strange conic hillocks covered with plumes of crooked branches. But, suddenly in the slanting beams of the setting sun, on the gray surface of the settlement, we saw a sharp picture of the ancient layout:

- there was a dark line of the main street running from the gates in the southern wall;
- there were narrow symmetric side streets running off it, showing clear contours of huge houses – living estates with multiple rectangular rooms.

The map of this ancient Khorezmian city appeared in the wonderful play of the evening light.

We went down, our feet breaking through the crusty layer of salt and the cultural layer destroyed by the salt. Everywhere, through the crust here and there, were pieces of ceramic crockery divided into layers by salt, and copper coins scattered. We wandered off the settlement driven by the instincts of hunters. Luck went with us. If Djanbas-kala is the museum of terracotta figurines, Toprak-kala was a giant numismatic laboratory!

During the first evening and the next morning we found dozens of coins at the ancient settlement. Here we found many Kushan coins, and even earlier Khorezmian ones from the 3-5th centuries A.D. - dense copper circles, with tamgas on one side and with images of Arsamuh, Vazamar, and other governors of ancient Khorezm not yet familiar to us.

At the gate of the southern wall we found piles of crockery fragments – funeral boxes on legs, for keeping the bones of deceased after they

ig. 39. View of Toprak-kala from the south

were cleaned of meat and skin by winds and birds. One of them contained a partially broken skull; on the ground there was a part of another human skull and, a white thigh bone eaten by salt. It was a big necropolis! It got absolutely dark. The finds in the cemetery increased the gloom of the situation. We left through the southern gate, walking lengthwise through the ditch along the eastern wall and returned to our camp. The wall had a majestic black contour in the fading sunlight. Horned owls sitting on the towers hooted plaintively. Ahead, in the thick gloom of the moonless night the bright flame of our campfire flared.

We were pleased with our prospecting. Our first acquaintance was enough for us to be convinced that this was a great monument of the ancient cultures of Khorezm, with inexhaustible prospects for researchers. This impression was not wrong.

We returned to Toprak-kala again in 1940. This time we made a detailed plan of the ancient settlement, marking the land with stratigraphical pits which allowed us to determine the date of its existence as somewhere between the 1st and 5th centuries B.C. or the beginning of the 6th century A.D. Our numismatic collection was replenished with many more coins, including the coin described above of the «proud Kangyui».

Extensive excavations were clearly necessary. They were planned for the following year - 1941, but were not carried out due to the war. We



Fig. 40. Our planes above the palace Toprak-kala (view from the west)

could return only in 1945 to Toprak-kala and start two small excavations on the central platform of the fortress.

It is necessary to say that we started this excavation with some trepidation. The vaulted premises of the fortress were treacherous.

We had already determined that the perfectly preserved ancient vaulted buildings were used in the Middle Ages. The fortified house-fortress Kzylkala of the Kushan epoch located near Toprak-kala had been modernized twice – in the 6-8th centuries and 12-13th centuries, and had thus been a residence three times. It is therefore impossible to gane an accurate idea of how it was first constructed! It is quite another matter when the ceiling is flat and beamed as in the Teshik-kala fortress of the 8th century, the first object of our excavations in 1938. The fortress was destroyed as a result of siege and attack. Fire destroyed the beams of the ceilings - they fell down, the clay extinguished the fire, and under this weight everything in the rooms of the fortress on the last day of its life was preserved.

In Toprak-kala, near the above-mentioned breach of the arch in the northwest corner of the central platform, we found big pieces of two richly decorated jugs of the 12-13th centuries! Did the Toprak-kala fortress become a dwelling in the 12th century again and was everything left by their predecessors destroyed by the new residents?

The excavation of 1945 showed that our fears were in vain. In fact, the Toprak-kala fortress in the 12th century, in the days of the «Great Khorezm-sheiks», was inhabited by people, but few of these people inhabited already destroyed buildings. The ancient cultural layer stayed buried under a thick layer of sand and clay.

In room ¹I dug out by us in the northwest corner of the central platform, I meter beneath the key-stone of the arch, we found two medieval jugs partially buried. Several meters deeper, under clay and sand, the untouched cultural layer contained many fine, thin-sided Kushan ceramics with red engobed surface. The analysis of stratifications has shown that the southern part of the arch had already fallen in antiquity and the desert sands in summer and the winter rains had eroded the adobe bricks and formed a clay and sand layer. But the northern part of the arch stood open as the vaults of the northeast tower are now, forming something like grottoes, which most of the day are in the shade.

Here, in the shade of these original grottoes, in the 12-13th centuries, a few people lived. They buried jugs for storage of water and products and

Fig. 41. General view of excavations, Toprak-kala fortress

left a lot of broken and whole utensils. Who were these people? All the data leads us to believe this was an observation post of a frontier detachment of the «Great Khorezm-sheiks» and from the twenty-five meter height of the ancient tower we could clearly see the horizons of sands and ruins located 15-20 kilometers to the east. The detachment was placed by the garrison in the neighboring Kzyl-kala fortress, also ancient but reconstructed in the Middle Ages.

So the Kushan cultural layer remained untouched. This fact already boded well for our excavation. But this was not all. On the floor of room N_2 1 we found numerous fragments of clay plaster with a multi-color painting on a white background. Above the surviving part of the arch of this room we found the corner of the rooms on the second floor where the painted plaster was directly applied to the wall. These were insignificant, yet promising fragments of a monument with a new art type for ancient Khorezm - monumental wall paintings. Murals are the most interesting monuments of art, throwing light on many aspects of the material culture of the people who create them.

We know the important role the wonderful frescos of Buddhist cave monasteries of the last centuries of the 1st millennium A.D played in uncovering the history of the culture of east Turkestan cities.

Ancient murals were almost unknown in the territory of Soviet Central Asia. The only ones (but still relatively very late - approximately 5th century A.D.) were the fragments of wall-paintings in one of the rooms of the imperial palace in Varakhsha, near Bukhara, explored and published by V.A. Shishkin in 1938. We had the fascinating task of revealing to the world Khorezmian monumental paintings. In 1946 the Toprak-kala fortress became the basic object of our excavations which continued on a wider scale in 1947.

Toprak-kala is a regular rectangular, 500x350 meters, extending from the north to the south, with powerful, banked walls of large ancient bricks, with numerous square towers. The angular towers covering the corner on both sides (better preserved in comparison with those in the northeast) are typical for late-ancient monuments of Khorezm. The northeast tower has remains of decorative pilasters with high swept-back ancient embrasures in between.

The excavations at the southeast corner showed that at the foot of the wall there was a narrow vaulted corridor in very good condition in some

places. The design of the vaults was typical of ancient monuments and was made of inclined half rings of trapezoidal adobe bricks.

All the northwestern corner of the city is occupied by the huge fortress of the governor consisting of a yard (180x180m) with intricate layout and a majestic well-preserved three-tower castle about 25m high (northwest and southern towers).

The ruins of this extensive complex of constructions adjoin the southeast corner of the fortress, suggesting a huge rectangular building (35x50m) in the center, enclosed by double adobe walls with a round corridor inside leading to the gate facing the main street of the city. The central premises of this building are characterized by plenty of white ash on the surface. This attribute (white ash, the result of full burning of fuel, is typical for the sanctuary houses in Djanbas-kala and for the eternal flame of a communal house of Djanbas-4), as well as the general layout of the building (the round corridor), are very similar to the Sasanid temple of fire excavated by R.Girshman in Shapur, allowing us to assume that this building was the city temple of fire.

On the outside the fortress and temple group were enclosed by a thick wall with towers in the middle of the southern and eastern walls, with two gates on the south and on the east. The total area of the fortress and temple was 200x200m, not including northern towers of the fortress with a yard lying between them occupying 160x50m.

To the east of the fortress and the temple there was a wide place of 200x130m (probably a market) that was without constructions and occupied the northeast corner of the city.

The southern part of the city, 310x280 meters, had multiple dwelling houses of ordinary citizens and was characterized by a rather typical layout. Right in the middle, from the southern main gate of the city, there was a 10 meter wide main street from the south to the north from which more or less symmetric 5-7m wide lanes branched out at right angles dividing all the built-up area of the city into 9 or 10 huge houses with area 50x150 to 90x150 meters, each of them consisting of dozens of square and rectangular rooms.

Some houses on the east side merged. A narrow lane dividing such pairs formed a deadend. There are only two such double houses, and to count them separately would increase the number of houses to eleven). The number of rooms in each such house reached 150 to 200, i.e. equal to one of two house-estates of Djanbas-kala.

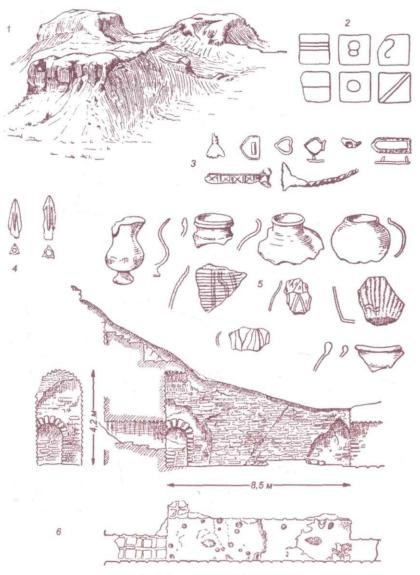


Fig. 42. Monuments of Toprak-kala

1 - view of the palace before excavations (view from the south); 2 - tamga symbols on bricks; 3 - bronze instruments; 4 - bronze tips of arrows; 5 - ceramics; 6 - the plan and sections of room №1 of the palace.

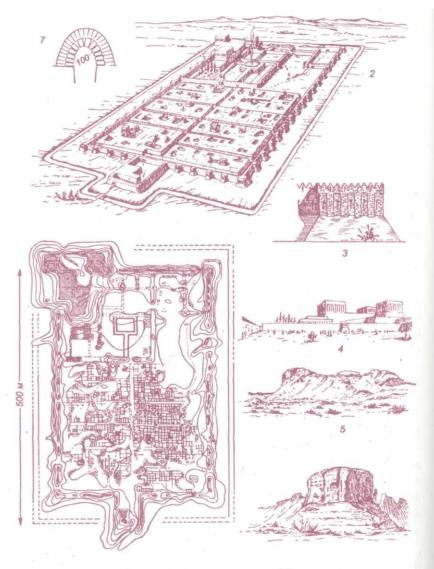


Fig. 43. Layout and reconstruction of Toprak-kala

1 - layout;
 2 - reconstruction;
 3 - reconstruction of the corner tower;
 4 - reconstruction of the palace (view of the bazaar square);
 5 - general view of the palace from the east;
 6 - northeast corner tower;
 7 - section of the arch at the entrance to one of the premises of the northeast tower

Almost every estate has one or several hills towering above the general level - the obvious ruins of brick towers rising above the houses.

The most distant northwest estate faces the main street by way of a rectangular square located near the temple gate which was once enclosed by a portico with columns and their stone bases like truncated step pyramids and which has survived till now.

Visitors are struck by the severity and size of the huge fortress-palace. Big multifamily complexes of the city seem tiny in comparison. Now the central estate of the fortress of 80x80 m rises 16 meters above the ground level, and three towers, 40x40 m each, raise their flat tops 25 meters into the air.

Their initial height was at least 5 meters higher. The walls of the fortress rose straight up from the ground, sharply differing from the walls of the later, early medieval buildings which had plinths like truncated pyramids. This further emphasized the height of the construction.

The architectural composition of Toprak-kala is characterized by towers of housing estates and of the fortress and the high central building with its enormous weight. It follows the forms of classical Oriental architecture.

A significant part of the fortress has already been dug out. The northern half of the central part and all three towers, about 100 rooms located on three floors covering about 6 000 meters out of approximately 11 000 meters of the total area of the enormous building. The work we did enabled us to build up a picture of the monument, though certainly further excavations could bring many new unexpected finds. The premises of the central part of the fortress were erected above the ground to the powerful twelve meter long plinth, part of the system of intersecting wattle and daub walls, the space between them filled with adobe bricks laid fresh with sand dividing the separate bricks. This sand and brick work of plinth constructions was the most typical feature of the building method of ancient Khorezm. The sand or sand and brick plinths with a clay coating on the outside were already seen in the «ancient settlement with quarter premises». The same plinth is found in the house of fire in Djanbas-kala, the big house in Ayaz-kala-3, the huge more recent house-fortress in Dzhildyk-kala and other monuments.

Subsequently, in the 5-6th centuries this method disappeared: solid wattle and daub plinths replaced the sand-brick plinths. This original method of erecting of the foundations goes back to primitive traditions of construction of houses on sandy dunes, like Djanbas-4 and Djanbas-7, where we see the adobe house built on a sandy hill. The plinths of ancient buildings are the artificial barchans providing safety from the effect of soil moisture and salts. The elastic mass of sand and the clay armour was able to resist erosion for millennia, and even now such enormous buildings as Djildyk-kala and Toprak-kala proudly raise their towers built of sand.

On the platform of the plinth there were floors of vaulted premises running parallel and perpendicular to each other. Some attributes let us to suppose that above the roof of the second floor there was another floor of premises with thin latticed walls which were erected out of figured sunbaked bricks - something like «balahana» found in recent Central Asian houses. However, it is possible that the figured lattice fenced the open space of the roof as a parapet. It is difficult to build up a picture of the layout of the central part of the fortress. It seems that each of its sectors had an internal courtyard on to which some of the rooms opened. It would have been possible to enter the rooms through arched passages leading from one room to another. The rooms had light holes. Some of the rooms on the ground floor probably had an economic purpose and did not have natural illumination.

We found many things in the rooms. Besides the remains of food – seeds of fruit plants (apricots, peaches, grapes), seeds of wheat, barley, millet, melon - were numerous bones of animals, mainly goats, pigs, large-horned livestock, horses, camel, and wild animals - wild ram, deer and gazelle. There were numerous fragments, and sometimes whole vessels of the late antique type characterized by special manufacture and graceful red angobe surface. Fragments of paper, woolen and silk fabrics, parts of leather footwear, an iron tip of a spear, three trihedral iron arrowheads and about twenty painted arrow shafts of wood, gilded belt buckles with glass inlays and several little Khorezmian and larger Kushan copper coins of the 3rd century A.D. supplemented the assortment of finds. The large alabaster figurine of a naked woman found in the excavation of the southeastern part of the city wall should be added to the list of finds.

In the fragments of processed wood we found a small wooden label with a black ink inscription consisting of four words written in the ancient Khorezmian alphabet - probably an economic document, the first Khorezmian document of such kind to be found.

But the most important treasures of Toprak-kala were the monumental paintings discovered in 1945 and the monumental clay sculpture found in 1947. The painting was made with mineral paints on a gluing substance on clay plaster covered with alabaster priming.

A white background is used almost everywhere, through sometimes this is completely covered by the painting on top of it. The image was always contoured with a precise black line, the space inside was filled with spots of the appropriate color and paint-brush strokes of various density, thin and slight, wide and bold.

The paintings were in most of the rooms, probably in all living quarters and the main premises. Among the rooms discovered in 1946, room ¹ 5 on the second floor opening on to the northern yard of the fortress was the most richly decorated. It was an enormous hall with a flat foor resting on four columns, and was probably for ceremonies. Its walls were covered with magnificent ornament - a system of crossing strips of black and vellow tones, with ornaments in the form of hearts, sockets and leaves of acanthaceae and forming rhombic fields used for picturesque images of musicians. One of them was almost entirely preserved: it was a graceful image of a woman harpist painted in yellowish tones. The fingers of her hands had rings and plucked on the strings of a big triangular harp, reminiscent of an Assyrian instrument. Her round shoulders and oval face transport us to the world of Kushan and Gandhara art traditions: the harp-player of Toprak-kala is a picturesque answer to the women musicians of Ayrtam friezes. Two other fragments of images of female faces found in the same room are especially striking - one of them is turned to the viewer, looking directly out of the painting, with widely open eyes and continuous brows. This is suggestive of the art of Syria, Egypt and the northern Black Sea coast of Roman times. The second fragment showed part of a female head with proudly turned neck, richly decorated collar, and thick black hair tied by a red scarf. It is also closer to ancient Mediterranean art. Traditions of two art schools were represented in one room though they have a distinct Khorezmian character.

Among the fragments of the paintings found in this room there was an image of a small two-sided tom-tom drum in the form of an hourglass. A fragment of a painting with the image of the hand holding the necks of a two-string instrument like a dombra was found in 1947 in the blockage of the room situated under the room with the «woman harpist». Probably the whole painting was a reflection of the contents of the Ayrtam frieze.

The room had other ornaments. At its western wall we discovered numerous fragments of modeled clay (with admixture of wool), garlands of leaves and fruits painted in green, saffron and red colors, and also a huge hand which was one and a half times the normal size – clearly from a high-relief image of a person leaning with the tips of his fingers against something rectangular and rounded. This gesture is familiar to us from the images on coins of the Kushan kings Wima Kadphises and Kanishka.

In one of the rooms on the ground floor there was an arched bay with a picture of two figures - a man (in bad condition) sitting opposite a woman. In the adjacent room there was a picturesque composition executed in a warm red tone - the image of a woman collecting grapes and peaches into an apron. Above her were hanging bunches of grapes and the trellis of a garden summerhouse.

In another room at the northwest tower excavated in 1946 we discovered a fragment of a new, extremely original art. As opposed to the wide pictorial manner of the «woman picking fruits» here we have the strict graphical style: on a white field the red and black contours represent a silhouette of an inclined man's head, leaning with his head on bent fingers of a hand decorated with thick bracelets.

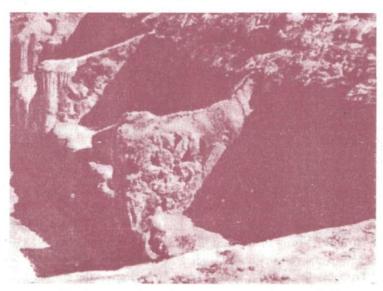


Fig. 53. Bays of the « Hall of Khorezmian Kings»

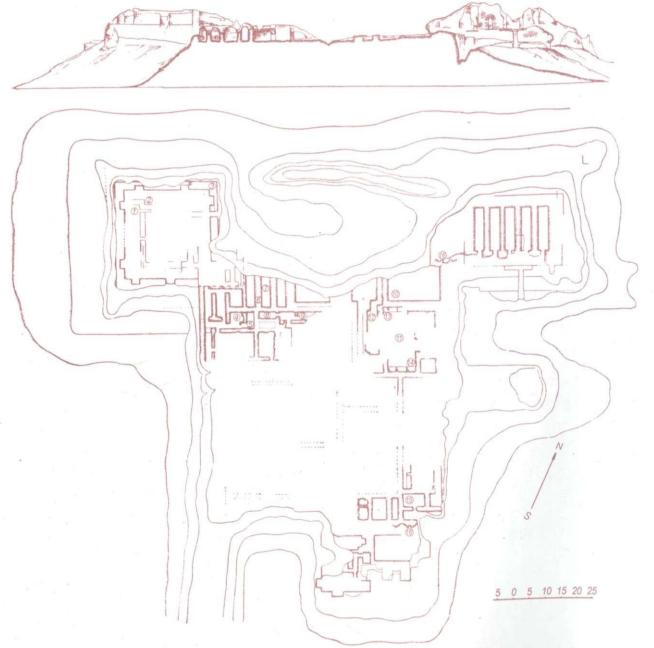


Fig. 44. Layout and section of Toprak-kala (excavation)

1 - corridor with a panel of «red fishes»; 2 - red room; 3 - tiger paws; 4 - room with a two-figured composition in a niche; 5 - room of «woman picking fruits»; 6 - room of «harpist woman» (on the 2nd floor); 7 - place where we found the «red head»; 8 - room of «tiger and pheasant»; 9 - wall with painting of two characters; 10 - place where

statues: «woman in white» and torso of Anahida; 11 - «hall of Khorez-mian kings»; 12 - legs of «statue of the guard»; 13 - statue of «priest»; 14 - bay of «Vazamar king»; 15 - room where we found fragments of a carpet and painted arrows; 16 - immured pilasters of external walls of the base section of the citadel

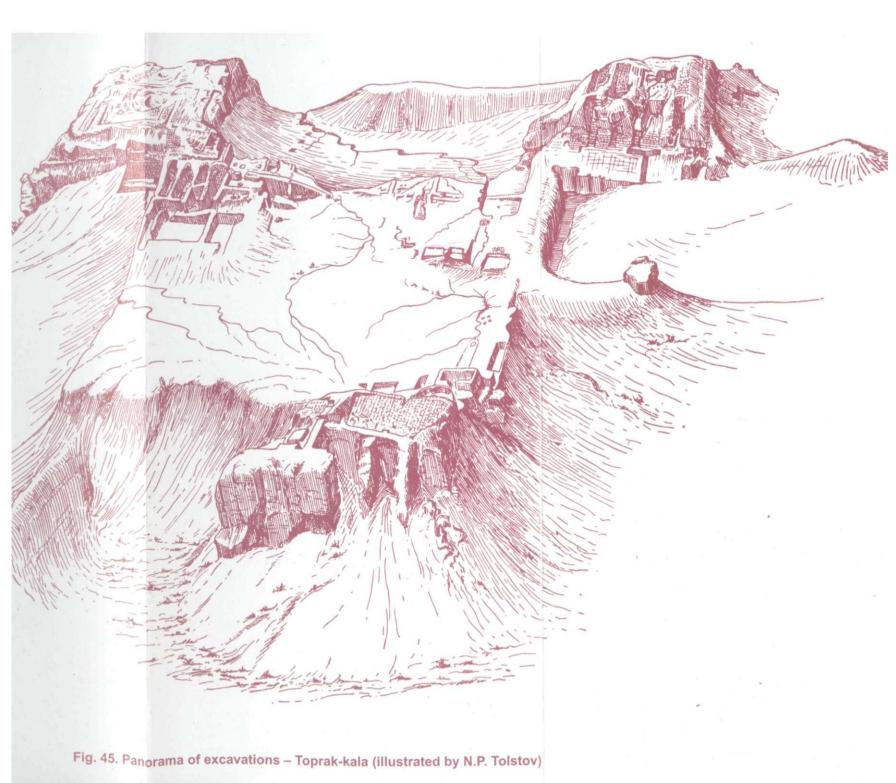






Fig. 46. Harper (room 11,5)





Fig. 48. Woman picking fruits

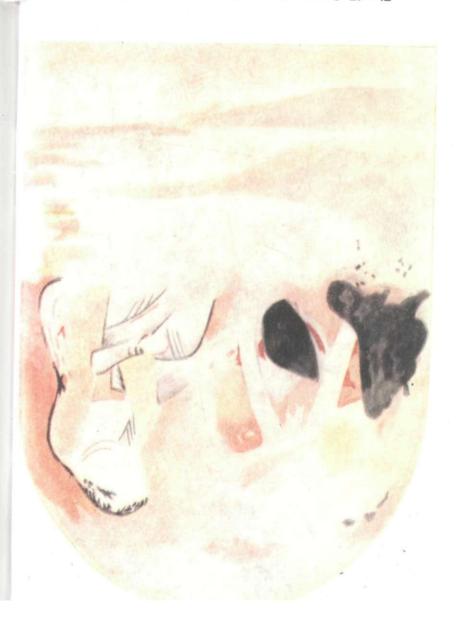


Fig. 47. Composition with two characters (room 1,5)



Fig. 48a. Panel with waves



Fig. 50. a - Horse leg from the «red room» b - Tiger paw



Fig. 49. a,b,c,d,e - paintings from the «tiger and pheasant» room

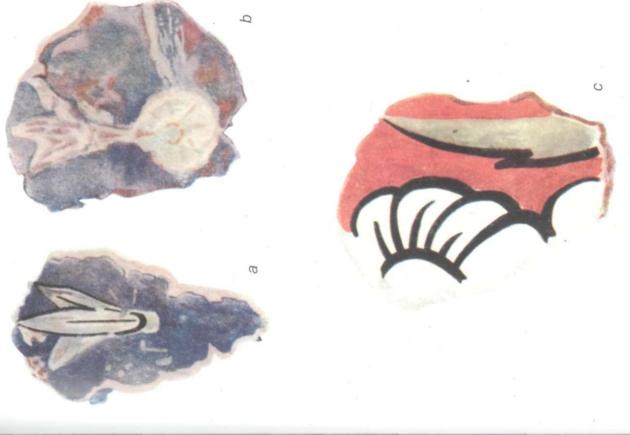


Fig. 51 a,b,c - Fragments of a man

Fig. 52 a, b – Lily from paintings of garden with sculptures; c – Flower from paintings of the northwest tower

The work of 1947 helped us to restore more fully the principles of monumental pictorial compositions of ancient Khorezm.

In some of the rooms at the bottom of the walls there were parts of paintings - 0.5-0.75 m wide ornamental panels. In one of the rooms of the western tower we found a beautiful blue panel with the image of dark blue waves and red and white fish. The waves were executed in a free and dynamic manner, the play of curling spirals creates a real impression of flow. Above this panel there was a composition with images of people, animals, bunches of grape and leaves on a black and red background.

In an adjacent room above the panel with gray-blue background of black scales, on a scarlet background, there were images of people and horses framed in vines. The scarlet background here and in the northern corner rooms of the same tower suggest they were probably painted by the same master.

In the paintings with the vine ornaments were animals. In different rooms there were fragments of three images of tigers (a head, a back part

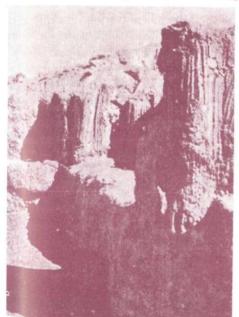


Fig. 54. Bays of the «Hall of Khorezmian Kings»

with tail, two paws), four images of horses, including one gray spotted horse, wellpreserved images of gray-blue birds (pheasants) on a red background, and a number of fragments of human images two half faces, the upper part of a head, the whole face of a person, an eye, a shin. In one of the rooms of the central platform of the palace there is a composition with several persons. The image of a woman in white clothes and a man in a black caftan were quite well preserved.

The discoveries of 1947 allowed us to considerably enrich our representations about the stylistic features of ancient

Khorezmian painting. The analysis of materials has shown the influence of Indo-Buddhist art so vividly expressed by the image of the harpist found in 1946. Perhaps of all the finds of 1947, only the half-length portrait of the woman in white and ochre tones, discovered in one of the rooms of the southern tower, can be fully related to this stylistic direction.

The other paintings are in the style of the image of a woman picking fruits discovered in 1946 and are characterized by their extreme original-



Fig. 55. Statue of a «priest»

ity, allowing us to speak about the existence of an independent Khorezmian artistic school which holds a special place among artistic centers of the late ancient Mediterranean area and the Middle East

In the sphere of color this school is characterized by an exceptional richness of palette. Almost all possible colors are represented here: various gradations of red, crimson, pink, dark blue, blue, green, orange, yellow, violet, white, black, gray. Combinations of colors amazing for their boldness and diversity: The images appear on scarlet, dark blue, black, and white backgrounds forming striking colorful combinations. Such paintings as scenes of hunting made in lilac-gray and ochreyellow colors, fine white and orange lilies scattered on a dark blue background, the pink face of a person on blue, white with red vegetation traceries and the image of a human face on black background are especially outstanding.

The images are characterized by great freedom and realistic.

original, laconic and convincing methods of relief using various strokes and patches of color. The light-green patches on the yellowish skin of a naked human body in the «red room» of the western tower and the confident red strokes on a pinkish background vividly evoke the chin of the female image of the above-mentioned composition with several characters.

The assortment of ornamental motives reflected on various fragments found in various rooms is rich and diverse. Here there are vegetative geometrical topics - garlands, flowers and leaves, rosettes, small hearts, crosses with branching to different sides, the ends resembling sheep horns, circles and spirals, strips of oval violet beads on a black background, direct and wavy color lines.

Like the pictures, the ornament is quite original. In the composite of the paintings (for example, partitioning of spaces of a wall using rhombic fields) they have many features in common with the «sarmat» paintings of Kerch catacombs. But most of all they have much in common with the national textile ornaments of the modern peoples of Central Asia - Uzbeks, Tadjikis, Karakalpaks, Kazakhs, particularly with the figures of Khivan



Fig. 56. Fragment of a seated figure

printed cloths, Uzbek and Tadjik embroidery in silk suzana and Karakalpak patterned koshem. This contact of the wall painting and grille cloths is hardly casual. They fulfil the same function. It is rather natural to portray figures from textiles directly on walls, and vice versa. So the roots of modern folk art of the successors of the ancient civilization of Central Asia go back to extreme antiquity.

A completely new page in the history of ancient Khorezmian arts was revealed when in 1947 we excavated a monumental sculpture. Statues made of unbaked clay were found in nine rooms.



Fig. 57. Legs of «guard»

The number of statues in fragments exceeds 30; two of them were almost complete (but without heads), four heads (one with a tall headdress), two headdresses, five whole torsos, about 15 bases of standing statues with the legs of one statue, the bottom parts of two sitting statues and innumerable fragments of torsos, hands, feet, parts of clothes, etc. Among the fragments there was a large fragment of the relief of a horseman (life-size), a flank of a horse with richly ornamented girth and the folds of the horseman's cloak.

Most of the statues were made to scale, but some of the figures were smaller than full-scale, while others were one and a half times the size of a human. The statues were painted: faces in skin tones, clothes in various tones - white, green, pink, blue, red, black, etc. The clothes ornaments, probably embroideries, are multi-colored. The dark sorrel horse was perfectly drawn.

The statues testify even more than do the paintings to the great skill of Khorezmian artists, the maturity and independence of Khorezmian arts even though influenced by the Gandhara Indo-Buddhist art school. The



Fig. 58. «Red head»

Khorezm artists creatively adapted this influence and subordinated it to their own art traditions.

The faces of the statues were reproduced with great realism and can complete with the best sculpture of any other center of late-Hellenistic art.

The figures, folds of cloth and draperies were produced with a similarly mature skill, as in images of faces.

Most of the statues were concentrated in the so-called «Hall of Kings» - a large (20x20 m) hall in the northwestern part of the palace with wide sections separated by cross-section walls of molded brick, each containing statues. Two statues of sitting men (approximately twice the natural size) were found in excellent condition. There were 5 more statues of standing men, women and children on either side.

The walls behind the sitting statues were decorated with the abovementioned white and red lilies on dark blue background, above the pinkorange monochrome panel.



Fig. 59. Head of «spouse of Vazamar»

Fragments of the two headdresses that were found allowed us to determine the subject of these sculptural groups: they appeared to be identical to individual crowns of two Khorezmian kings of the 3rd century A.D. known to us from their images on coins. The heavy sculptural crown in the form of a white eagle was known to us from the earliest coins of the 3rd century, minted by the first Khorezmian king to become free from Kushan dependence whose name can be read on coins as Vazamar. The statue was found in one of the remote bays.

This information leaves us is no doubt that this was the portrait gallery of the dynasty of the Khorezmian Siyavushid governors of the 3rd century.

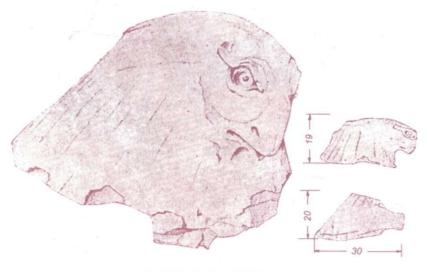


Fig. 60. Crown of Vazamar

Probably the huge sitting figures represented kings, and the surrounding figures represented the members of their families and god-patrons. This is suggested by the torso of a woman holding a pomegranate found in one of the bays.

A woman with a pomegranate in her hand is a typical depiction of Anahita, goddess of fertility.

The discovery of the «portrait gallery» of the Siyavushids convinced us that Toprak-kala palace was not a palace of local princes, but the pal-





Fig. 60a. Coin of Vazamar

ace of the sheiks of all Khorezm, and, according to Al-Biruni, Toprak-kala was their ancient residence before they moved to Kiat in 305 A.D.

The enormous size of the palace has no equal among the monuments of ancient Khorezm. The fact that the residence moved to Kiat explains the reason why the palace was deserted in the 4th century A.D. while the city of Toprak-kala survived till the 6th century.

It is necessary to pay attention to some features of the architecture at Toprak-kala. The builders created a great monument but it was lacking from the technical point of view. The bricklaying of Toprak-kala palace differs sharply from the exact and accurate laying of other, earlier ancient monuments of Khorezm. This negligence was revealed by the subsiding and wedging of walls and it was decided to build additional supporting and counterforce retaining walls.

B.N. Zasypkina suggests that this was the reason for the fragility of the buildings constructed at the time of Timur: the order of the conqueror that enormous buildings should be created in the shortest time possible was intended to emphasize the greatness of the new world power, but the necessary construction skills for this were lacking. Buildings were created, but none of them survived as a whole. The problem was solved only by Timur's grandsons.

The palace of Vazamar was probably created under similar conditions. Having been released from its dependence on Kushan, Khorezm became a powerful state which claimed the role of a world power, according to the description in Paykul where the sheiks of Khorezm were listed among the Kushan kings and Roman Caesars. The greatness of the governor's palace had to correspond to the greatness of its governor.

The palace was erected in record-breaking time, and during its construction the builders faced new problems. The palace was originally con-



Fig. 61. Bust of Anahita from a room (I, 20)

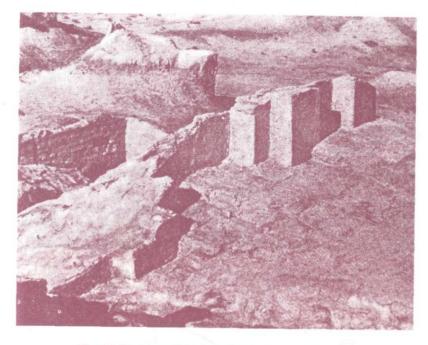


Fig. 62. Pilasters of the central part immured during construction of the southern tower

ceived in more modest terms: during excavation of the southern tower it was revealed that it had been attached to a wall which already had step pilasters and was covered by an even clay coating. In other words, the original square building was changed and made more imposing by the addition of three huge towers.

We see reflected in the architecture the political events connected with Khorezm's the reassertion of its role as a first class state in the 3rd century A.D.

Ancient Khorezm created a high and original art culture. The monumental architecture, amazing in its grandeur, the magnificent plasticity of monumental earthenware statues, terracotta figurines and reliefs, the fine art of the ancient Khorezmian medallists and the rich scale of graphics and images testify to the independence, strength and maturity of the figurative thinking and art skills of the founders of the ancient Khorezmian civilizations.

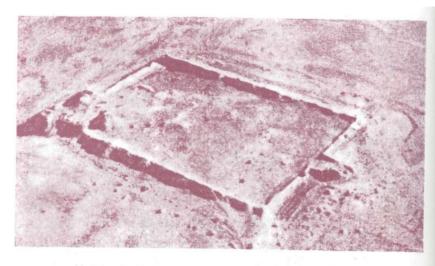


Fig. 63. General view of Toprak-kala from the air

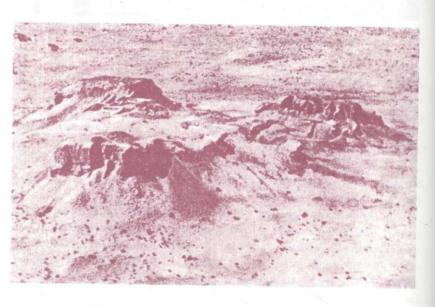


Fig. 64. View of excavated citadel from the air

The harpist and her friends opened up the world of the ancient art of music, which is so difficult for researchers to understand. We know about the vital role of the classical Khorezmian school of music in the late Middle Ages and during recent times for the peoples of Central Asia. The graceful image of the woman harpist with her «Assyrian» musical instrument in her hands is a new link in the chain tracing the relations of ancient Khorezmian civilization with the Asian world and, at the same time, a precious monument to its distinct high musical culture.



Chapter 8

THE ERA OF AFRIG

«Things were like that before the time of King Afrig, and he was one of this dynasty. He deserved ill fame just as Ezdegerd deserved his fame among the Persians [Ezdegerd I, 399-420]...

Also [Afrig] built his fortress inside al-Fir in 660 after Alexander [the Great]. So the chronology starts from [Afrig] and his descendants. Al-Fir was a fortress near the city of Khorezm with three walls built of adobe bricks and clay, one inside the other, each one higher than the previous one, and their fortress surpassed the fortresses of all other kings, just as Gumdan in Yemen, the residence of Tobbs, Qubs al-Fir could be seen from a distance of ten miles and more».

With these words Al-Biruni stated the circumstances accompanying the establishment of the third and the last pre-Moslem Khorezmian era.

In this compressed text we get sence of the important public events that were accepted in the new era by the Khorezmians. The establishment of the new dynasty was considered as a continuation (or a branch?) of the ancient Siyavushids, with the image of the severe king-despot etched in the national memory, the creation of a grandiose fortified fortress standing as a terrible symbol of the power of the Afrigids until their decline, when the Afrig tower fell into the waters of the Amu-Darya – all this should be considered as links in a chain.

The portrait of Afrig was saved on Khorezmian coins (Pic. 65). We can see the predatory profile of the hook-nosed person with a pointed sparse beard, and intense, large, bulging eyes. There is a double line of beads around his neck. On his head he wears a hemispherical tiara cov-

ered with scales of plaques and with a nape cover decorated with a half moon on his forehead. On the reverse side it has the traditional horseman with tamga behind him, traces of the Greek inscription from above and a Khorezmian inscription under the legs of the horse, saying 'pwrg MLK' - «King Afrig».

The ruins of a grandiose late ancient fortress known to people under name Pil-kala are still visible in the vicinities of Shabbaz - the small town which arose in the late Middle Ages at the place of the pre-feudal capital of Khorezm. The name «Pil» is the natural modern pronunciation of the ancient form «Fir» which in Arabian sources (Tabari) we can also trace as «Fil».

Pil-kala is not the fortress of Afrig. Al-Biruni, a contemporary of the destruction of the fortress, could not be mistaken, and his description of Al-Biruni does not correspond to the layout and design of Pil-kala.



Fig. 65. Coin of Afrig

However this fortress belongs to the epoch of Afrig and is a unique monument of the Afrigid capital with the same name.

The ruins are surrounded by a bog with a track through it. The ancient settlement is en-

closed by a low adobe wall made from bricks of the ancient sizes, with numerous round towers frequently located along the walls, forming a «swallow tail» figure on the corners familiar to us from Ayaz-kala. The fortress in general closely resembles Ayaz-1 and is close to it in time of construction (2nd-3rd centuries A.D.). But at one of the corners of the fortress there are obscure ruins of a huge building, 54x54 m, which is unlike ancient constructions. Its thick walls were erected using pise-walled laying, in an extremely original way: the blocks of pahsa are located perpendicular to the surface of the wall, providing it with unusual thickness about 6 meters at a height of 10-11 meters. This gives the building an original appearance reminiscent of cyclopean buildings. The time of Afrig is an important historic turning point. We can see the essence of this change in the words of Al-Biruni.

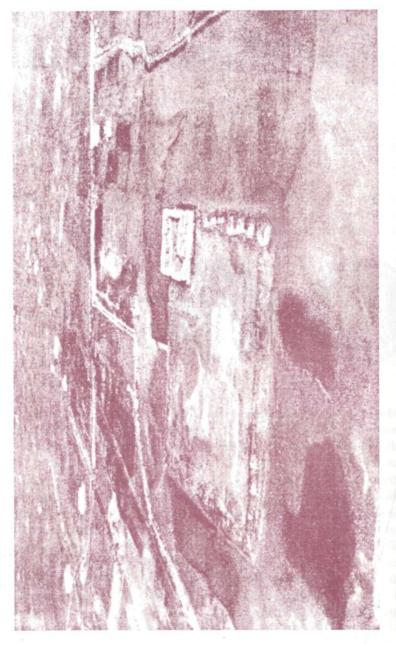




Fig. 67. Pil-kala, the citadel

Since the 4th century we increasingly notice more and more the fast development of processes resulting in changes to the social system, family and political life of Khorezm. This is reflected in the occurrence of completely new types of settlements and dwellings with the "fortress" as the basic form in full conformity with the story of Biruni.

The processes we observed earlier when reviewing with the monuments of the 3rd century were in full development.

The unfortified settlements such as Ayaz-kala, widely scattered under protection of the mighty fortresses erected and maintained by the government, were replaced with a strongly fortified manor, a tiny fortress of a farming community standing separately among fields and the huge, strong fortress with its aristocracy towers standing above these small peasant «fortresses». The ancient fortresses fencing the oasis from the side of the desert fell into decay. The grandiose system of ruins – the dead oasis of Berkut-kala (the main part of its monuments belongs to the 7-8th centuries A.D.) – is the «archaeological reserve» of that epoch, the period directly preceding the Arabian conquest.

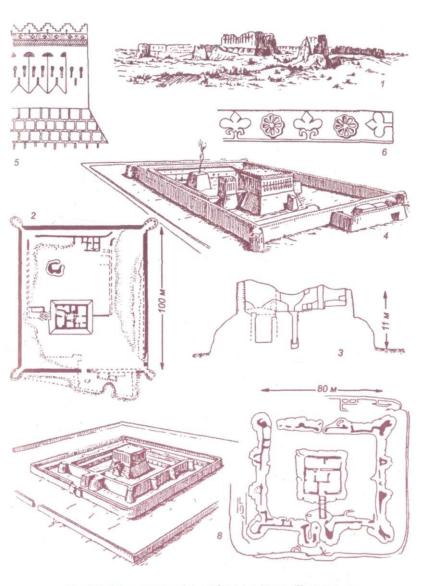
About one hundred strongly fortified manor-fortresses were scattered with a strip of 2-3 kilometers on both sides running from the south to the north of a wide irrigation ditch with a number of branches, over an area of about 17 kilometers. If the Djanbas-kala helped us to solve the problem of the «one thousand cities» of ancient Central Asia, as told to us by Pompey Trog and Chinese sources, the Berkut-kala oasis helped to solve

the problem of the "tens thousand fortresses" mentioned in the sources of the Arabian conquest.

Here there are fortresses of very diverse size - from big fortresses such as Berkut-kala, Teshik-kala, Ui-kala, Kum-Baskan-kala, each of them covering not less than one hectare, to completely insignificant buildings of several hundred square meters. But all of them were constructed by the same principle. In all cases there are manors, fortified defensive constructions. They are enclosed by high adobe walls, and have, as a rule, «donzhon» - an inhabited tower on a high plinth that is massive or contains vaulted premises. The building techniques vary: adobe bricks were used less often and have decreased sizes (standard size of Afrigid brick 35x35x8). Now continuous pise-walled laying («pahsa») prevails. The specific form of the ancient fortification disappeared: now pahsa walls do not have embrasures; towers are built only at corners or in the middle of walls and have a round or oval layout characteristic of the Middle Ages. One big manor (Teshik-kala) and three small manors (fortresses № 4, 34 and 36) excavated by us allowed us to determine the household contents of these monuments in detail.

The big one gives us a picture of how the Khorezmian aristocracy lived. The external walls, decorated with massive half-columns connected in perspective arches above; rich furnishings of the internal premises, in particular friezes from crude clay decorating the top part of the rooms in the dwelling tower with an ornament extremely ancient in its motives consisting of alternating eight beam rosettes (similar to Akhemenid prototypes) and eight beam palmettos; the large sizes of the inhabited towers all suggest that this dwelling belonged to a family of Khorezmian land owners, dihkans. Small fortresses, on the contrary, testify to the ordinary life of a common family of peasants. But this family of peasants had its own «fortress», inhabited tower with embrasures, powerful defensive walls, and the layout of such a country «fortress» essentially did not differ from the aristocratic manor, except for the sizes and richness of It was not yet the serf peasantry, but a social class of farmers to which the aristocracy did not stand opposed as to an antagonist class. Each owner of such a small fortress is also a kind of «dihkan», a word which now means «peasant» while earlier it designated a representative of the aristocracy, sometimes even the title of a king.

Among the monuments of this time we do not meet any open villages. Without exception the agricultural population lived in «fortresses». We



 $Fig.\,68.\,Monuments\ of\ the\ Afrigid\ cultures.\ Teshik-kala$

1 - general view, 2 - layout, 3 - section, 4 - reconstruction, 5 - reconstruction of a fragment of a wall in the donzhon, 6 - frieze of one of the rooms of the donzhon, Yakke-parsa - reconstruction, 8 - layout

see that the Ayaz-kala system of large-family manors still incorporated into the general framework of a settlement has broken down, and instead of concentrating on a territory of several hectares, the settlement was scattered along the channel within an area of over 30 square kilometers. Each manor was separated by several hundred meters from another and was surrounded by fields and gardens, as seen from studying the surface of takyrs. Inhabitants of such a manor undoubtedly represented a big family well known from the Arabian sources. This was a «ked», a large-family patriarchal home community headed by a «kedhuda» and including numerous members of the family, clients - «kedivers» described by Nershahi and other Muslim authors.

The cultural landscape as a whole looks grim and severe. It is a country of strengthened fortresses with inhabitants behind adobe walls who were always ready to resist the attack of an enemy. The landscape reveals a rough epoch of continuous wars, people living in constant fear of enemy invasion, in constant readiness to defend life and property with weapon at the ready.

Feudalism had not triumphed yet, but signs of its approach are felt everywhere. The fortresses of the aristocracy stand at the heads of large channels giving orders to the manors of peasants. The manors were fortified and that obviously testifies not only to the constant threat of external attack: the peasant is compelled to assert his freedom from a much more serious threat from the owners of big fortresses. Information about the internal life of Khorezm reveals a severe and bloody civil war, that ended only with the Arab intervention. New historical changes happened in the city even more abruptly than in the villages.

Cities fell into decay. Toprak-kala with the empty fortress-palace survived only up to the 6th century Kyrk-kyz-kala also was in ruins by the same time. This process was inextricably linked with the progressive decline of city crafts. If in the 4th century the traditions of magnificent ancient ceramics continued, the 5th century witnesses a sharp deterioration in the quality of goods. The great bulk of vessels of the middle Afrig period was of domestic manufacture. These goods – rough, badly baked pots and bowls, were made without a potter's wheel, reminding us of those produced now by the same primitive techniques by women in remote mountain settlements of Tajikistan.

Water jugs and pitchers made by craftsmen also show a decline in technique: the clay body becomes rougher, there are impurities, and jugs

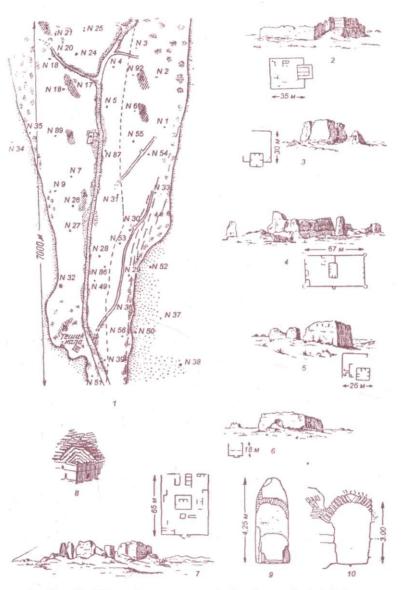


Fig. 69. Afrig culture monuments. Dead oasis Berkut-kala

- part of layout of the oasis; 2 - 7 - small fortresses; 8 - domed room of the donzhou in fortress № 36; 9 - section of a vaulted room of the donzhon in fortress № 36;

10 - archway between two rooms of the donzhon in fortress № 34



Fig. 70. A frig culture artefacts. Teshik-kala and fortress № 36
1 - iron tip of arrow; 8 - bronze subjects; 4 - bone subject from fortress № 36 with the image of a fish; 4 - clay head of a ram and wooden comb from Teshik-kala;
5 - prints of seal on clots of crude clay; 6 - alabaster (above) and clay goods from

fortress № 36; 7 - fragment of embroidered felt mat from fortress № 36; 8 - ceramics from Teshik-kala; 9 - fragment of a millstone from Teshik-kala were produced on a manual potter's wheel. The variety of forms of ceramic products is sharply reduced. Ornaments on vessels become rough and poor; they are not varnished, not engobed and glossed.

The art of the Afrigid epoch is represented by a number of monuments. Besides the severe and strict architecture and rich series of Afrigid coins there are samples of Khorezmian glyptic – a number of prints of seals of the 8th century, found by us in the excavation of the Teshik-kala fortress. On one of them there is a horseman shooting from a bow, on two others – a deity with four hands sitting on a throne (Fig. 70; 5).

This image appears identical to the series of images on silver bowls found in the Kama region and stored in the Hermitage and in the British Museum; bowls have inscriptions in an alphabet identical to the alphabet found on Khorezmian coins. This identity enabled us in 1938 to determine the Khorezmian origin of these monuments of applied art.

The four-armed image of the female deity sitting on a throne, on a subdued lion or leopard, the image characteristic for Afrigid iconography, was undoubtedly influenced by the Indo-Buddhist art traditions which go

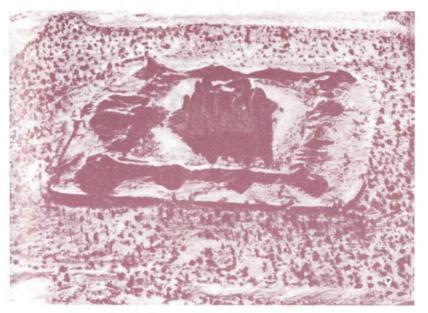


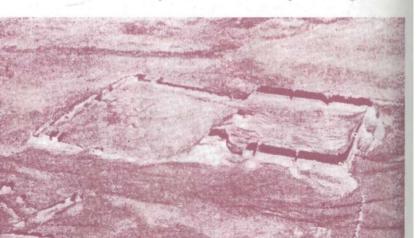
Fig. 71. Yakke-parsan. View from the air

back to the Kushan epoch. In this goddess we can see the Khorezmian Anahita already familiar to us, a reflection of Indo-Buddhist deities.

These perfect samples of national household utensils of the Khorezmian elite of the 7-8th centuries are in sharp contrast with the rough and poor daily utensils of people from the Berkut-kala oasis. The applied art does not die, but it loses the mass character of the ancient epoch of Khorezm, and becomes the property of a narrow circle of aristocracy.

Foreign commercial relations weakened. In Afrigid monuments we already cannot find the rich assortment of Mediterranean Syro-Egyptian and northern Black Sea glass, paste and stone beads. Simple cornelian and chalcedonic spherical beads are imported from Iran or produced here.

The result of the decay of cities by the end of the Afrigid period was clearly expressed in the stories of Arabian writers about the conquest of Khorezm at the beginning of the 8th century: according to al-Tabari, in Khorezm of 712 there were only three cities: the capital Kiat (Fil), Khazarsp and probably Urgench. This figure was probably underestimated, but the tendency reflected in it proves to be true according to the archaeological material. Tens of thousands of fortresses take the place of a «thousand cities». Yet in the 10th century before the final collapse of Afrigids at the



beginning of the rise of new Khorezm, according to al-Makdisi, in the vicinities of Mazdahkana city alone (nowadays the ancient settlement Gyaurkala near Hodzheili) there were 12 thousand fortresses!

The center of public life moves from the dying city to the village. But also in village we notice attributes of the decline of productive forces expressed first of all in the reduction of the irrigational system. The eastern branch of the Gavhor loses more than half its volume.

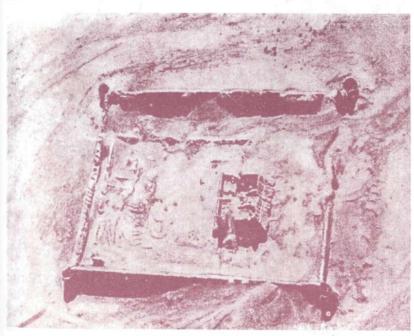


Fig. 73 Teshik-kala. View from the air

The life in Angka-kala, Koy-Krylgan-kala and Djanbas-kala takyrs begins to decline. The northeast part of the Berkut-kala (Kyrk-kyz) channel that irrigated the vicinities of Kurgashin-kala stopped being used. The big right branch of the main channel of Gavhor that irrigated the settlements at Ayaz-kala shrank.

The decline of the irrigational network on the left bank accelerated and the entire system of the great channel Chermen-yab fell into disuse. The bank west of Zmukhshir has no monuments of the Afrigid epoch.

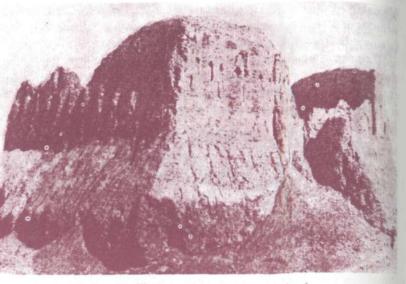


Fig. 74. Teshik-kala. General view of thedonzhon

These processes took place not only in Khorezm, but also in Sogdian settlements in Semirechye (seven rivers) and other less investigated areas of Central Asia. The archaeological monuments of the 7-8th centuries and the data of Arabian sources suggest the same about Merv, Sogd, Toharistan, Fergana and Shash.

A fortified, isolated fortress becomes the basic type of settlement there, similar to the Khorezmian one – be they those fortresses of Sogdian colonies of Semirechye or the fortress on Mug mountain in the upper part of Zeravshan explored by A.N. Bernshtam and excavated by A.A. Freiman that yielded a brilliant collection of Sogdian documents.

In approximately the 5th century there was a sharp decline in the cultural field. V.A. Shishkin noted this in the western part of the Bukhara oasis.¹

There was a decline in the city life and in the 5th and beginning of the 6th centuries there was another sharp change in all material standards, at fact especially emphasized by M.E. Masson for the Termez region.²

V.A. Shishkin. Archaeological works of 1937, pages 42-43.

² M.E. Masson. Ancient settlements of Old Termez. Works UzFAN, series 1, publication 2, pages 102, 103.

While for ancient times it was typical to have relative uniformity of many facts of material culture for all the territory of Central Asia, after the 5th century we notice sharp regional isolation of cultural types.

This is especially clearly seen in the ceramics. Not only Sogd and Semirechye with their original early medieval vessels reviving local traditions of handicraft ceramics going deep with their roots to prototypes of the Bronze Age of Iran and even Asia Minor, but also Bukhara yields ce-

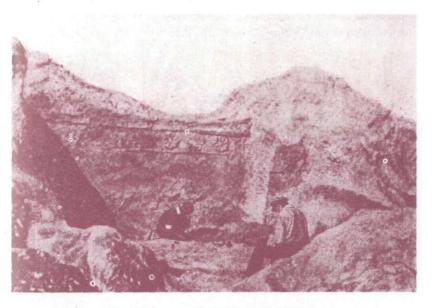


Fig. 75. Room with a frieze in Teshik-kala

ramics of that time, which have nothing in common with those of the Afrigid times. Even in the northwest areas of Khorezm the ceramics of Afrigid are different from the south Khorezmian classical type.

In the whole of Central Asian we can get clear picture of the political side of the process. If the ancient and Chinese sources of Kushan and the preceding time tell us about extensive empires, the Arabs found Central Asia divided into many small states independent of each other. Each such state was a city with a neighborhood, sometimes surrounded by a ring of «long walls». Sometimes these kingdoms are incorporated into small and unstable confederations attached to a large center.

Toharistan, ancient Bactria, by the time of the Arabian conquest, breaks up into several small, remote princedoms, their rulers bearing various magnificent titles.

We find Balkh on the left bank of the upper Amu-Darya, Chaganian (led by «Chagan-hudat») on the right; between them the independent Termez possession controlled by «Tarmizshah»; in the Upper Toharistan – such princedoms as Vashgird, Kuvadian and Huttalyan (between the Pianj and Vakhsh rivers). Upstream of Pianj there were such mountain princedoms as Kerran, Shahinam (Shungan) and Vahan, covering the territory of the present Gorny-Badahshan autonomous region. Deep into the

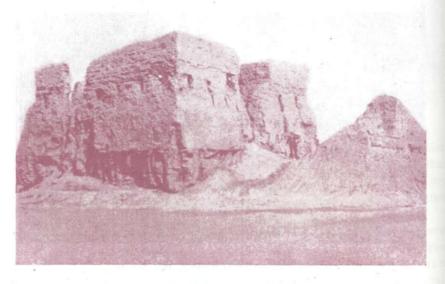


Fig. 76. Fortress № 7

country to the north, in the upper area of Vahsh, there were Rasht and Kumed provinces, the present territory of Karategin, inhabited by mountain people – the Kumidzhi considered as Turkic by al-Makdisi.

The mountain area in the upper parts of Zeravshan formed a Buttam princedom. Sogd broke up into three confederations of small city princedoms. Actually Sogd, with its center in Samarkand, covered only the Zeravshan basin from Pianj to Kermine. The western part of the Zeravshan valley made another confederation with Bukhara the leader. Kashkadarya

with its center in Kesh city also formed an independent confederation, sometimes entering into the Sogdian union. Some of the princedoms of these confederations in fact were quite independent. For example, the governor of Maimurg, located only 8-9 kilometers to the south of Samarkand, in 451 sent his independent embassy to China.

Downstream from Samarkand along the Zeravshan river there were the small states Ishtihan and Kushania.

Near Bukhara, within the limits of the Bukhara oasis, there was Vardan's princedom whose governor carried the pretentious title «Vardanshah».



Fig. 77. Fortress № 13

Fergana represented the association of several princedoms reminiscent of these confederations. The kings of Fergana and Sogd carried the title «Ihshid». The district of Khodzent was an independent state, and the king of it was called «dihkan». Ura-tyube province made an independent area Osrushanu headed by a prince carrying the title «Afshin».

We have no data on the political division of Khorezm during this epoch. It apparently was a uniform possession, holding a special place on the general political scene. However the weakening of internal political ties was also noticeable there: al-Tabari mentions Khorezmshah toge:...r with the «kings» subordinated to him (Arabian «mulyuk»).

However some of the traditions of the ancient, wider political association continue to exist till the 7-8th centuries

Maverannakhr, making something like a confederation, would gather in extreme situations in the city of Kanaka near Khorezm. The last name most likely is the name of the country, and the name of its capital was Kyata-Fira, which we often meet the in early Muslim sources. It suggests that Kendakin was within the territory of Khorezm.

Chinese information should be related by not the formal, but actual hegemony of Samarkand in the Kangyui union, by its role as the largest economic center of the Maverannakhr.

Central Asia's history of foreign policy between the 4th and 8th centuries, the period between the fall of the Kushan empire and the Arabian conquest, is very eventful.

We remember that the Kushan empire reached its zenith of political power in the 2nd century A.D. and then went into decline and disintegra-





Fig. 79. Coin of Shaushafar

tion. We know little about the reasons of this crisis – data on events of that time about the empire of the Kushans is very poor. Even the scheme of the history and chronology of separate reigns and the number of kings who governed after Kanishka is the subject of infi-

nite discussions of modern scientists. One thing is indisputable: in the 3rd century when Iran comes to power after the Parthian Arshakids, the new Persian dynasty of Samanids, the Kushan kingdom is not capable of serious resistance to their vigorous advance to the East.

Bactria or Sogd experienced some political influence of the empire of the Samanids.

Khorezm, however, not only preserved its independence, but probably already at the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd centuries was released from the formal hegemony of the weakened Kushans. According to numismatic data and the materials acquired in excavation of Toprakkala, in the 3rd century it strengthened its political status and continued developing this ancient art.

But at the beginning the 4^{th} century – the time of Afrig – a crisis was beginning in Khorezm. The appearance of various small copper coins of a Khorezmian type belongs to this time, but they have different tamga (signs)

testifying to some dark developments in the political life of the country, signaling possible political disintegration.

Was the severe tyranny of Afrig directed against these tendencies, his cruelty that is known to history?

2

The events developing at the beginning of the 5th century in Central Asia resulted in the final collapse of Sasanid expansion. I mean the widespread movement of the Central Asian barbarous tribes named collectively «white Huns» or Hephthalites.

Apparently the initial center of the Hephthalite union was the northeast area of Khorezm, the area of the ancient delta of Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya that existed during this epoch.

The name Kerder, or Kurder, was connected with this district in the early Middle Ages, whence Lerch deduces the name Huns-Kidarits, the first name of the «White Huns». It seems the name Hephthalites represents a distortion of the Turkic form of the name of the Massagets (Gwetaali, «people of Gweta»), i.e., the rest of the Massaget descendants in their ancient land near the Aral Sea.

Here, during our work in 1946, we discovered several rather original ancient settlements that can be considered as a monument of Hephthalite culture before their aggressive movement to the south.³

These settlements are located on a marshy flat triangular peninsula, or, more correctly, the island lying to the south of Kazalinsk and bordered by Syr-Darya from the north, from the west by the Aral Sea and from the southeast, the marshy cane fluxes of the former channel of the Kuvan-Darya. This island is crossed with numerous old channels of the ancient delta.

These monuments are located several kilometers away from the sea on the banks of these channels.

Kesken-Kuyuk-kala is the largest of them. It is located on the southern bank of the ancient channel that is dry and overgrown with bushes now. This is a vast ancient settlement with roughly rounded contours, 500x700 meters, stretching from east to west. The settlement is surrounded by the

³ See S.P. Tolstov. Cities of Guzs . SE, 1947, № 3.

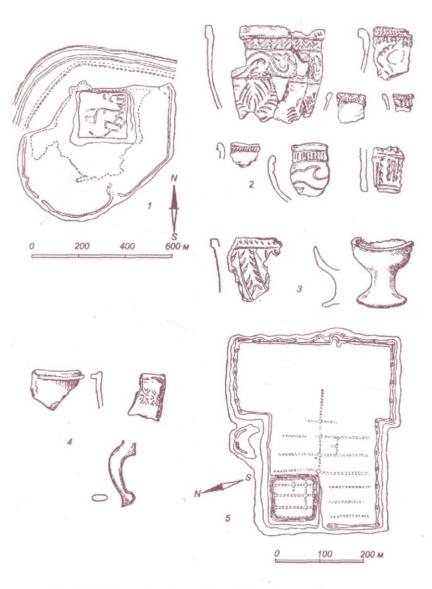


Fig. 80. Monuments of eastern Aral Sea «boggy settlements»

1 - layout of Kesken-Kuyuk-kala; 2 - ceramics from Kesken-Kuyuk-kala;
3 - ceramics from Kuyuk-kala; 4 - ceramics from Dzhankent-kala;
5 - layout of Dzhankent-kala (Yangikent)

swell of washed-out adobe walls and rises about 2 meters above the surrounding district.

In the middle of the settlement a little closer to the northern wall, there is a hill of a square citadel that is 210x210 m, rising 3 meters above the general level of the settlements, i.e., 5 meters above the surrounding district. The citadel has premises whose traces are visible. The walls were erected from square adobe bricks with sizes varying between 28x28 and 40x40 cm. The prevailing sizes are 33x33 and 35x35 cm, typical for Khorezm of the Afrigid period.

The citadel has an extremely original layout amazing in its irregularity. On the periphery of the square there is a surrounding corridor that is about 1.5 meters wide.

A 3 meter wide street going obliquely (closer to the eastern side) divides the square in the middle. Crooked curved lanes going at different angles divide all the territory of the citadel with irregular and different size buildings. The walls are the thickness of two bricks varying from 4x4 up to 23x23 m and separate the buildings into square rooms. The inside surface of premises as well as of the ancient settlements has an ash cultural layer abounding in various ceramics, fragments of copper products and bones of animals badly preserved, mainly belonging to small horned livestock, but sometimes there are bones and skulls of horses and camels.

The plentiful ceramic material excavated at the ancient settlement gives a very bright and original picture

A small percentage of Dzhety-asar, ancient Khorezmian and Afrigid type vessels allows us to determine the time period of the settlements as the beginning of the 1st century A.D. up to the early Middle Ages.

The prevailing ceramics, however, are of only local forms. They are crude, modeled ceramics richly decorated with a relief ornament known on the Don river settlements of the middle of the 1st millennium A.D., probably Alano tribes –geometrical ornaments consisting mainly of firtree figures surrounding the nimbus of the vessel, with magnificent vegetative decoration, closely resembling early medieval ones of Turkic tribes of Mongolia and Central Asia, made of bone, metal and stone, and also textile patterns.

We still see prototypes of these ornaments in Hun monuments of Mongolia and Semirechye, dated 1st century B.C. and 1st century A.D.

Similar materials were found in two other surveyed settlements -Kuyuk-kala and Dzhankent, with the difference that the second one ex-



Fig. 81. Kesken-Kuyuk-kala from the air

isted up to the 10-11th centuries A.D. and contains later material, including early medieval slip glazed ceramics characterized by the greater regularity of layout which is reminiscent of the layout in Toprak-kala. Later in chapter 10 we shall return to this settlement again.

The analysis of material on «marsh settlements» east of the Aral Sea leads us to the conclusion that these monuments were created by people who were closely related to the Sarmatae-Alano and Massaget tribes; however in the 4-5th centuries A.D. they were influenced by eastern Turkic-Mongolian tribes, most likely Huns. The Chinese «History of Northern Courts» informs us that the Yanjtsai country (Chinese transcription of the name of Aors - Alanos), located northeast of the Aral, i.e., in the area researched by us, in the 4th century was conquered by Huns and Huni – the governor of this country in 440 sent his embassy to China.

Probably the Huni of the Chinese chronicle is none other than Kungha, the king of Central Asian Huns-kidarites who according to Byzantine data in 468 waged persistent war with the Sasanids and was defeated by Peroz Shah of Iran. Hephthalites for the first time in the historical arena acted under the names of kidarites and chionites. The first of these names is closely connected with the name Keder. This name was used in the 10th and even in 13th centuries for the northeastern Aral Sea area near Khorezm.

Thus, we have grounds to believe that «marsh settlements» of the Aral region are monuments of the Hephthalite culture giving us a picture of the history of its formation from the local, Massaget-Alan, and newly arrived Hun elements who allowed the restoration of the basic features of the economic and public life of the «white Huns».

These people, characterized by cattle breeding, fishing and agricultural facilities, with the leading role of cattle breeding, did not have a nomadic character. They were at least semi-settled, with dwellings in fortified communal settlements - «cities» («city life of Hephthalites» described by Byzantium authors and Menander).

The character of the layout of the settlements allows us to speak about communal-tribal traditions.

Chinese chronicles, in particular, inform about polyandry among the Hephthalites, the vestige of the Massaget tradition of group marriage. There is the custom of the Hephthalites described by Procopyi Cesarean about the ancient, barbarous way of life of the leaders surrounding themselves with people who were their associates at meals, in life, in battle and who after the death of the leader, should accompany him to the other world.

The appearance of the Hephthalites who controlled the cities of Maverannahr in the historical arena remains undocumented in historical sources. It happened undoubtedly in the 4th century and was connected with disintegration of the Kushan empire and the expansion of the Sasanids in Central Asia that led to the association of the Central Asian states under the hegemony of steppe barbarians, close relatives of the Kushan empire founders who preserved untouched the traditions of military-tribal democracy in their Aral Sea settlements, and it was they who struggled against the powerful Iranian conquerors.

The first intrusion of the Hephthalites into Khorasan took place in 427. Such leaders as Varahran V («Bahram Gur», 420-438) and Ezdegerd II (438-457) were fighting against them. Varahran V defeated the Hephthalites near Merv, killed their king and decorated the temple of fire in Azerbaijan with his crown.

Ezdegerd II also resisted the force of the Hephthalites and protected the possessions of the Sasanids in eastern Khorasan and Toharistan. But after his death in 457 the Hephthalites, governed by king Akshunvar occupied Chaganian, Budahshan, Balh, Toharistan and Gurgistan. Campaigns of Ezdegerd and Peroz and their successors against the Hephthalites in 459 and 479 were unsuccessful.

During the campaign of 479 the Iranian army was defeated. Peroz suffered a defeat in 484. The Iranian government was compelled to pay a tribute to «white Huns» in order to survive.

The march of the Hephthalites stands as one of the links in the chain of the full-scale offensive of barbarous tribes against the slaveholding world living out its last century. The offensive of Germans, Thracian and Sarmato-Alan in the west, at the borders of the Roman Empire that was planned long before during the «Marcoman war» in 160-170 A.D. reached its culmination in the 5th century when the front of the defense of the empire was breached by the Huns of Attila, the western relatives and namesakes of the white Huns» - the Hephthalites. In the east it was the offensive of «southern Huns» (318 A.D.) and other barbarous Central Asian tribes who followed behind them - Sianbyis of Toba and Zhuan-zhuans who conquered and devastated northern China. The deep internal crisis of the slaveholding system was reflected in the aggravation of the internal class struggle - revolts of slaves, semi-slaves of colonies, and impoverished and enslaved free populations of cities and villages was the precondition for success of the barbarians in conquering the northern borders of the ancient slaveholding empires from the British Isles to the Pacific Ocean.

For the Middle East the 5th century was a period of extreme aggravation of class contradictions resulting in the beginning of open civil war in the Sasanid state. This war predetermined the success of the Hephthalite advance that had a wide response in Central Asia, vis-à-vis the powerful antifeudal movement of destroyed and enslaved communities of peasants, which went down in history under the name of the movement of the Mazdakits

It was a broad movement of enslaved rural communities feudalized by the Iranian aristocracy, under the slogan of returning lands to communities and restoration of communal family-household traditions. In an ideological respect this movement represented the left wing of Manichean dualistic sectarianism which mobilized the masses to ruthless armed struggle with the «world evil» embodied in landowning aristocracy supporting their orthodox Zoroastrian priests hated by the common people.

At the time of Shah Kavad's successor Peroz, the leader of the movement, Mazdak, achieved significant successes.

Kavad, who spent many years as the hostage of the Hephthalites, reached an agreement with the Mazdakits, seeing in them a chance of support in the struggle against the divisive tendencies of the feudalized

nobles. Most probably this political course chosen by Kavad was determined by his acquaintance with Hephthalite rules: Hephthalites community and tribal traditions had much in common with the slogans of the Mazdakit movement, and Kavad could see a way to strengthen the weakening unity of the empire of the Sasanids by following the example of the «white Huns» who won the long-term struggle with the powerful «shahs of Iran and the non-Iranians, as the Sasanids called themselves».

However this attempt failed. In 497 Kavad was overthrown by the nobles, ran away to the Hephthalites and with their help returned to his throne. But the continuation of Mazdakit politics was already impossible—Kavad and his son and successor, Khosrau Anushirvan, came to blows again with the nobles, and the Mazdakits carried out a number of political reforms aimed at strengthening government relying on feudal traditions in the economic life of the country.

In Central Asia Hephthalites remained the masters of the situation. By the beginning of the 6th century the border between Iran and the Sasanid territories became firmly established along the Gugen river and between Merverrud and Talekan.

Balkh, Toharistan, Gurdzhistan, Badgis, Herat, i.e., all in the territory of present Afghanistan, were included into the system of the Hephthalite state.

In the middle of the 5th century Hephthalites began advancing to the basin of the Indus. Having subordinated the possessions of Kushan shahs of the Kabul valley they invaded India several times.

At the end of the 5th century one of the Hephthalite leaders, Toramana, occupied the Malava area in central India. His son Mihirakula who had acceded to the throne in about 510 made his capital in the city of Sakala in Punjab. The Indian branch of Hephthalites formed a partially independent state that was dependent on the supreme governors of the Hephthalites, whose residence, in the opinion of Marquart, was in the city of Peikend, near Bukhara.

Chinese chronicles speak about the significant expansion of Hephthalite possessions also to the east. According to the chronicles they included Kashmir, Gandhara, Vahan, Sogd, Bukhara.

Hephthalites replaced Zhuan-zhuans from eastern Turkestan and included state of Kashgar, Hotan and a number of other city kingdoms in their realm.

⁴See «Ancient Khorezm» digression II, section 5.

In that way the Hephthalites almost completely restored the Kushan empire, in some parts even going further. Their campaigns, as proved by further events, slowed down the process of feudalization of Central Asia, having strengthened communal-tribal and military-slaveholding traditions and suspending processes of feudal disintegration.

The Hephthalite period is related to Kushan cultural-ideological politics. Chinese sources and art monuments of Afghanistan and Maverannakhr provide evidence of the revival and strengthening of the Buddhist religion in Hephthalite possessions.

According to Vei-shi, «there are many Buddhist temples and obelisks in the residence of Hephthalite kings, and all of them are decorated with gold».

We can date the magnificent buildings of monumental art from the Varakhsha palace ruins near Bukhara to the Hephthalite period monuments of the 5th century Probably Varakhsha was one of the residences of the supreme governors of the Hephthalites.

Stylistic features of this art and subjects of images allow us to see a resemblance to the later branch of Indo-Buddhist art school and the revival of Kushan art traditions.

However the state of Hephthalites was fragile. Both internal and external forces worked for its destruction. We know that Sogdian landowners and the trading aristocracy felt the burden of Hephthalite hegemony and conducted secret relations with external enemies of the state of Hephthalites. Already in 528, Mihirakula, as a result of the united offensive of the Indian princes, lost Punjab and temporarily kept control only the north of Kashmir. In the 560s the new powerful barbarous state of the OrhonTurkic, recent tribute payers of the Zhuan-zhuans, appears in Central Asia, defeating the Zhuan-zhuan Kagan and expanding east against China and west, to east Turkestan and Semirechye. This marked the last hour of the Hephthalite empire. Between 563 and 567 it had fallen under the influence of the Turkic who concluded a union with the successor of Kavada – Hosrov Anushirvan and the Sogdian aristocracy.

The Turkic – barbarians like the Hephthalites – in their internal political structure combined military-slaveholding and communal-tribal elements. However their historical role was essentially different, defined first of all by further decomposition of the military-democratic structure in Turkic society. Turkic khans obviously are in the same coalition with the feudalizing aristocracy of the Central Asian empires, supporting it in the struggle against the people and relying on the aristocracy in the struggle

against democratic movements in the Khanate. This role of Turkic is seen in the events in Bukhara in the 580s connected with the internal social struggle in Kagan.⁵

In 583 the Kaganate, having failed in attempts to expand against the stronger China, experienced a series of economic and political crises.

Ordinary Turkic, community soldiers, excited rebellion against Shabolio kagane, having put forward a rival to him in the dynasty, Dalobian Abrui (The Abo – from Chinese sources), Mukhan the son of the khan from a slave bond-maiden. Abrui was defeated and went off to the western part of the khanate to Bukhara where, having united with «poor men and beggars of the "Bukhara oasis, Turkic exiles carry out the policy of compelling the aristocracy of Bukhara - «dihkans and rich merchants» to emigrate to Semirechye, for the protection of the Turkic Khanate."

However the government of the khanate, weakened by the crisis, appeared unable to suppress the democratic movement of the united groups of Turkic and Sogdians and was compelled to resort to calling on the intervention of their erstwhile enemies - the Chinese.

In about 586 the deputy of Kagan - Yabgu Kara-churin (Shehu Chuloheu), heading the Turkic and Chinese armies appeared at the walls of the ancient capital of the Hephthalites - Peikend, selected as his residence by Abrui. The revolt was suppressed, Abrui was taken prisoner and was subjected to a brutal execution.

«A big bag was filled with red bees and Abrui was put there, and died» according to a story of Nershahi.

The suppression of the revolt enabled the nobles of Bukhara to return from emigration, and the people supporting Abrui became servants and kedivers (clients) of the returning people.

Khorezm preserved its political sovereignty during both the Hephthalite and during the Turkic period. About the Hephthalite period we can say more: as well as the Kushan empire, the empire of the Hephthalites at the beginning developed under Khorezmian influence. Coins of Indian Hephthalites as the coins of «Heraus of Kushan» reflect the influence of Khorezmian coining: headdresses of kings – a hat with a half moon and tamga on the reverse side –resemble decorations on Khorezmian coins but are cruder in execution.

⁵ See, S.P. Tolstov, Tyranny of Abrui, IZ, III, 1938, and also "Ancient Khorezm" digression II.

The sketchy writings of Menander the Byzantine historian on diplomatic relations of Khorezm with Byzantium and the Turkic refer to the 560s.

The 560-580's saw persistent attempts on the part of Byzantine diplomacy to create an extensive anti-Sasanid coalition, to cover the territory of the old enemy of Byzantium - the Iranian empire - with a continuous front of states allied with Byzantium on the southwest, with Abyssinians on the right, Arabs on the left, and the Central Asian Turkic and peoples of Central Asia on the southeast.

The route of the Byzantine ambassador Zemarkhos, who in 569 visited the headquarters of the western-Turkic Kagan, lay through Khorezm (the country of Holiats or Hoalits, according to Menander). On the return of Zemarh (together with theTurkic embassy) some governors of the Central Asian states expressed the desire to add their ambassadors to the embassy of Kagan. However Kagan agreed to add only the ambassador of the Hoalits (Khorezmians) showing that he considered Khorezm as an allied state equal and sovereign.

At the end of the 6th and 7th centuries in all Central Asia (there is nothing the sources tell us especially about Khorezm) there is a deepening sociopolitical crisis which was reflected in the Mazakit movement and its response in Central Asia in the revolt of Abrui. The collapse of the Turkic Kagan into western and eastern parts and the subsequent decline of political power of both of them caused by civil wars and internecine wars brought the intervention of China which subordinated the rest of the khanate and tried to conquer the Central Asian empires as well.

In the 660s the Chinese attempted to include Central Asia in the Chinese empire: in Semirechye they created two Chinese prefectures, in Sogd - 7, in Toharistan - 16. Khorezm, as during the Turkic period, preserved its sovereignty.

However, all this organization remained mostly on paper. Further events developed adversely for the Chinese.

In 670 the hordes of new barbarians – Tibetans – interfered in eastern Turkestan. In 661-663 and 679 there were revolts of eastern Turkic which ended by reestablishing the khanate. China appeared cut off from Central Asia and for a long time, down to the middle of the 8th century, could not interfere in Central Asian affairs.

A new external force from the southwest – the Arabs – appeared on the Central Asian political scene. Their intrusion was decisive and was the turning-point in the history of peoples of all the Near and Middle East.



Chapter 9

THE REBELLION OF HURZAD¹

]

The history of the formation of the huge semi-barbarous Arabian empire is inseparable from the history of the crisis in the slaveholding system in the east Mediterranean, Byzantine and Iranian empires as well as the history of the formation of the Hephthalite and Turkic states, which cannot be understood without studying the crisis of slaveholding society in China, Central Asian and Iran.

Remote tribes and primitive city communities of western Arabia were involved in this crisis and were affected by the pernicious consequences of the economic decline of Byzantium, in particular, the decline of its trade in the east from which the trading and slaveholding nobles of Arabian city communities used to reap considerable benefits. The attempt by those people to shift the weight of the crisis onto the poor of cities and Bedouin tribes trapped the latter in a net of usurious servitude, causing an outbreak of social strife. This ended with the creation of a strong military and slaveholding state which looked for a way one of its internal social crisis through external expansion, conquest and robbery, inspired by the fanatical ideology of Islam, representing a chaotic mixture of elements of Christian and Judaic sectarianism with ancient Arabian shamanism and traditions of the Mecca urban cult.

In the 630s the Mecca-Medina military and predatory political community subordinated all Arabia and began attacks on the territory pos-

¹ See detailed analysis of events described in this chapter in our works «the New Year's holiday «calanders» of Khorezmian Christians 11th century SE, 1946,№2 and «Khorezmian genealogy of Samuel Aba», SE, 1947,№1.

sessed by Byzantium and Iran. These attacks ended with the retreat of the Byzantine armies from Syria and Palestine, and in 642 the battle of Nihavend resolved the destiny of the Sasanid state. The last «Shahinshah of Iran and not-Iran» Ezdegerd III repeated the retreat of a thousand years previously by the Akhemenid Darius III, escaping from Alexander the Great. Being the leader of 1000 horsemen and the same number of seryants, he fled to Mers. But the governors of the city, as with the satraps of the Akhemenid Persia, were not willing to rescue the lord of Iran and his state. When they learned about the offensive of the Arabs in 651 they called on their old enemies the Sasanid-Turkic, and the abandoned Ezdegerd had to wander in the vicinity of the city where he was killed by a casual murderer who coveted the luxury clothes of the Sasanid king.

In the same year, the Arabs for the first time appeared at the borders of Central Asia near the walls of Merv, Herat and Balkh, satisfied at first with agreements and tributes. Merv and Balkh became operative bases for the further extortionate attacks into the heart of Central Asia. During attacks on Sogdiana in 654, the Arabs were still satisfied with armed robbery and collection of tributes. However already in 655 the powerful revolt of the population recently conquered in Khorosan areas almost led to the collapse of the young Arabian state. This revolt was headed by Peroz, the son of Ezdegerd III, and received the armed support of the Chinese who, as we saw, at this time actively interfered in Central Asian affairs.

It should be stated that Ezdegerd III entered into relations with China after the battle in Nihavend, hoping to rely on its help. However these negotiations did not produce any results. Peroz managed to do something even better. After the death of his father he hurried to China, entered into direct relations with the Chinese court, and received the help he asked, paying for it by accepting of vassal dependence on China. Peroz attacked the Arabs and suffered a number of serious defeats and reprieves for Khorasan. We are present here at a curious historical episode - at the creation of the Chinese province Bosy (Persia), with its center in the city of Zerendzh (on the present border of Iran and Afghanistan) governed by the prefect of the Chinese emperor, the last representative of the dynasty of the Sasanids.

The crushing of the Arabs in Khorasan led to a sharp political crisis and an outburst of civil war in the caliphate, costing the life of caliph Osman who was killed by insurgent soldiers in 656. Only in the beginning of 660 was the Arabian aristocracy able to suppress the armed opposition

of the broad masses of the Arabian tribes and to enthrone the representative of the most notable and rich Meccan aristocratic family of the Omayads – Mu'awiya I. The Arabs began a new offensive to Khorasan, opening a new series of attacks in the heart of Central Asia. Peroz, finally routed in 667, ran back to the Chinese capital and again after an unsuccessful attempt to return to Khorasan in 675 ends up as «the general of the guards of the right wing» of the Chinese emperor.

The Arabs strengthened their presence in Khorasan, and from 670-80 organized a number of large attacks on Maverannahr and Khorezm.

The Arabian sources tell about the double «conquest» of Khorezm by the Arabian commanders Salma ibn-Ziyad and Umaia ibn-Abdallah. However these were the same attacks as those on the cities of Maverannahr.

Only in the beginning of the 8th century did the deputy of Khorasan, Kuteiba ibn-Muslim, complete his conquest of internal Central Asia. The loss of independence of Khorezmshahs who had resisted attacks for centuries past happened only in 712. The circumstances of the conquest of Khorezm by Kuteiba are recorded – for the first time we learn from written sources about the events of the internal sociopolitical history of Khorezm confirmed by archaeological remains.

2

The Arabian historian Tabari relates that before the Arabian conquest the authority in Khorezm was actually held by Hurzad (or Hurrazad) - the brother of Khorezmshah who, relying on his adherents, forced out the lawful king and dealt severely with the Khorezmian elite, taking away their property, cattle, wives and daughters.

This seemingly anecdotic detail is very important: the matter is that one of the essential items of the social program of the antifeudal movements of the Mazdakit type is the slogan of the destruction of the harems of the aristocracy and restoration of the ancient forms of group marriage whose traditions were still very strong both in agricultural rural communities and in cattle breeding tribes, and not only in Massaget but also in Hephthalite. The importance of this slogan was that under the Sasanid code of laws Matikan-i-Xazar Datestan, the process of concentration of women taken from a community into harems of the aristocracy as younger

wives, wives-bond-maidens (zan-i-cakar), concubines and «foster daughters» was one of the essential forms of enslavement of free communities and their transformation into the semi-slaves of the feudalized elite and whouse serfs» of the farming estate.

The community severely suffered from the appropriation of women of the community by the landowners. Besides that, in these conditions a significant part of the community members, first of all the poor, were condemned to celibacy, and accordingly it was impossible for them to create their own households, as the whole community needed female labor.

This fact shows that among the «crimes» imputed by apologists of the aristocracy to antifeudal movements and sects was the accusation of «dissolute behavior», justifying the «capture of women». This was also an accusation originating from the aristocracy of Mazdak himself and his fellow-fighters and of the latest movements of the same type – the Mukanns in Sogd and Babek in Azerbaijan in the 8th century, and the Karmats in the 9-11th centuries.

A similar «sin» was imputed to the Hephthalites: ostensibly both the campaign of Deroz and the conquest of Turkic had the aim to protect the Sogdian aristocracy from the dissolute encroachments of the Hephthalite governors. The same aim was used in the relations of the Hephthalites with the Mazdakits as specified above.

All this allows us to assert with confidence that the revolt of Hurzad was an antifeudal movement of the Mazdakit type, the movement of rural communities and city poor against the inhabitants of big fortresses, of the powerful feudalized aristocracy.

The ideology of the movement of Hurzad is of great interest. We know that antifeudal movements of the early Middle Ages invariably act in the framework of religious sects.

There are reasons to suppose that in this case we are dealing with a peculiar syncretic Judaism. The clergy of Khorezm were leaders whom, as we saw at the beginning of our book, Kuteiba barbarously punished, Tabari named them habr (ahbar - plural), and this name both in ancient and in modern Arabian has only one meaning - the Jewish rabbi. The history of subsequent events gives, as we can see later, strong proof of the above.

In the person of Hurzad (verbatim, «the child of the sun»), whose «name» probably is his title, or more correctly the translation of the

Khorezmian title bagpur (Arabian fagfur) we see a secular king, co-ruler of the sacred Khorezmshah, or Hosrov of Khorezm.² We have one of those representatives of the pre-feudal imperial dynasties who in coalition with communal movements searched for support in the struggle against the reparative tendencies of a powerful landowning aristocracy, as we have in relation to Kavad, Hephthalite kings, Abru and some other figures of subsequent centuries.

Probably the «sacred person» of Khorezmshah was opposed by a «sacred king» of sectarians whom Tabari mentions under the name of Hamdzherd which is read as Hangiri on one of the series of Khorezmian coins of the 8th century, but there is no image of Siyavush, and the tamga of Siyavushids is replaced by an original symbol of a trident on a horizontal line, and the inscription is in Khorezmian letters modified under the obvious influence of a Jewish square letter.

Khorezmshah enters into secret relations with Kuteiba and calls for his help against his own people. Kuteiba arranges a false diversion towards Sogd, and a traitor of Khorezmshah immediately tells the army and people. This disinformation contributed to the unexpectedness of the actual attack.

The Arabs appeared near Hazarasp. Kuteiba took Hurzad prisoner. The brother of Kuteiba Abdurrahman defeated and killed Hamdzherd. The Arabs concluded a treaty with the shah, who payed a tribute of 10000 cattle. 4000 captured insurgents led by Hurzad are sentenced to death.

According to the information of Beliazuri, immediately after the Arabian armies departed the Khorezmians rose against the shah-traitor and killed him, causing a second campaign of Kuteiba mentioned by Biruni and Ibn-al-Asir. The throne was taken by Askadzhamuk the son of the traitor, and his co-ruler was Wali (the Arabian term for the title of Khorezmian king-co-ruler -b a g p u r). Kuteiba appointed his brother Abdallah who had relations with the dynasty of Afrigids by marriage to the daughter of Khorezmshah.

As we saw in the beginning of our book, not being satisfied with killing 4 000 captives – an unprecedented phenomenon in the history of

² As in other Central Asian empires, the kings of Khorezm were considered sacred. They were considered as the embodiment of deities. As we try to prove in SE, 1946, No. 2, along with the embodied deity - Khorezmshah, or « Hosrov of Khorezm», in Khorezm of the 8th century there were secular kings – co-rulers who carried a title «bagpur».

the conquest of Central Asia by the Arabs and undoubtedly testifying to the use of class terror, - Kuteiba annihilated the historical literature of Khorezmians, and exterminated and expelled their scientists.

The consequence of these events was one of the most interesting phenomena of the early medieval history of eastern Europe - «Turning Hazaria to Judaism».

The Hazarian Khanate which appeared at the end of the 6th century A.D. during the disintegration of the western Turkic empire seized up and developed in the southeast of Europe the ancient Turkic political traditions. At this time it conducted a struggle against the Arabian conquerors and was the ally of Byzantium.

The rest of the Khorezmian insurgent Judaists fled to Hazaria, led by the «new bagpur», who replaced the now deceased Kuteiba Hurzad, also known from Jewish-Hazarian sources as Bulan.

The Khorezmian exiles quickly took the lead in Hazaria, becoming leaders of the Hazarian armies, and finally their leader became the governor of Hazaria, the founder of the dynasty of Hazarian beks, overshadowing Kagan and turning him, according to Khorezmian sources, into a power-less religious king.

Syncretic Khorezmian Judaism became the state religion of Hazaria.

These events took place between 712 and 730 when the already «converted» Hazarian king Bulan and his army invaded the Arabian possession in Transcaucasia.

Subsequent events allow us to compare Hazarian, Arabian and Chinese sources and the numismatic data. Arabs say almost nothing about Khorezm during the 8th century, a period of intense struggle connected with the final conquest of Central Asia by the Arabs and persistent revolts of the Central Asian empires.

It seems Khorezm continued to live its isolated life, remaining away from these tremendous events, being limited to formal recognition of vassal dependence on the Arabs and, from time to time, sending auxiliary military contingents.

Archaeological monuments of Khorezm of the 8th century do not tell us about any changes in the social life and culture of the Khorezmians. I shall remind the reader that Teshik-kala, the classical monument the Afrigid culture, belongs to the second half of the 8th century However two important sources on the political activity of Khorezm go back to the middle of the 6th century At this time the last attempt of China to restore its position

in Central Asia fails. In the same year, 751, when on Talas there was a decisive battle between arries of such commanders as Gao-Sian-Chzhi and Ziyad ibn-Salih, ending with the victory of the Arabs, the embassy of Khorezmshah Shaushafar arrives in China - the source is obviously hostile to the Arabs, testifying to the fact that Khorezm was an independent force in the Arabic-Chinese stand-off.

The coins of Shaushafar proves the favorable international situation and that his action had also other positive effects.

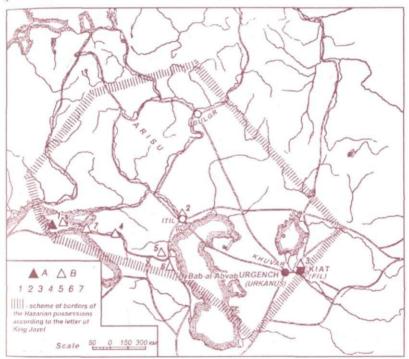
The imperial title on these coins MR'MLK'pr'r xzrn - is read «His Highness the blessed king of Hazaria». Probably, shortly before 751 there was a union of two brancles of Afrigids - Hazarian and Khorezmian, creating a huge empire, stretching from Crimea and Priazovye up to Khorezm. The so-called Noticia Episcopatuum is the important document of this unity of the 8th century containing a list of Christian Episcopal faculties. The Hazarian Christian church at that time formed an independent metropolitan state with its center in Crimea, in Doros and including seven Episcopal faculties. The Hvalian i.e. Khorezmian faculty (in Alano-Hazarian pronunciation) was the third in this list, after Crimean and Itils, the other four being north Caucasian faculties. This fact can be explained only in view of the political unity of Khorezm and Hazaria. Even in the 10th century the Hazarian king Joseph in his well-known letter to the Spanish Jew Hasdai ibn-Shaprut included Khorezm into the structure of Hazaria this time without the slightest grounds except for historical tradition (see map 3).

Probably the formation of a significant Christian colony in Khorezm belongs to this time. The presence of this colony was testified to by Al-Biruni in the beginning of the 11th century and in the middle of the 13th century by Plano Carpini. The first of these authors describes the appearance of a New Year's rite «talandas» of Khorezmian Christian Jacobites (orthodox, but not Nestorians, being the most widespread sect of Christians of Iran and Central Asia). The name and content of the rite was identical with the Slavic ceremony of Christmas caroling. Plano Carpini, in his turn, directly indicates that the Christian colony of Urgench consisted of Hazari, Russians and Alans. Probably, together with events of the 8th century, and in particular with the events of the 10th century, significant groups of the Hazarian population (see Chapter 10) immigrate to Khorezm and at the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th centuries the political association of Hazaria and Khorezm was established again. This

infiltration to Khorezm was connected with various ethnic elements of the Khanate, including Russians.

The famous Arabian genealogist of the end of the 8th century and the beginning of 9th century ibn-al-Kalbi (who died in 819) gives a curious genealogy of Hazars and Khorezmians, closely correlating them with each other: «Iskhak (Isaac) the son of Ibrahim al-Halil (Abraham) gave birth to Hazar and B-z-r and Bursul and Khorezm and Fil».

Bursul (closely related to Hazars and the neighboring tribe) and B-z-r (probably, U-z-r of the Hazarian genealogy Jeguds of ben-Barzillai) appear



Map 3. The centers of Hazarian - Khorezmian metropolises, middle of the $8^{\rm th}$ century according to Notitia Episcopatuum

A – Doross metropolis; B - Episcopal faculties: 1 – Hotesyr (Karasubazar); 2 – Astel (Itil); 3 - Hvali (Khorezm); 4 – Onogur (Kuban);

Khorezmian colonies; names of tribes, areas and geographical places in accordance with the letter of King Joseph

^{5 -} Reteger (Terek?, Tarki?); 6 - Hunni (Varachan-Semender); 7 - Tamatar (Taman); The map shows the basic trading routes; the major economic centers of Khorezm;

as «brothers» together with eponyms of Khorezm and Fil (the name of one of the most ancient cities of Khorezm), and relating them to Isaac, i.e., including them in the Jewish genealogy. However, in the 10th century Hazars (according to Joseph's letter) already accepted the orthodox Jewish genealogical tree, relating their family to Togarma and Japheth. The apocryphal genealogy which could appear only on the basis of political unity of these countries was widespread in the 8th century both in Khorezm and in Hazaria.

Probably the moving of the capital of Hazaria from Dagestan to Itil on the lower Volga – to the central crossroads of the trading links of Khorezm with eastern Europe was connected with the activity of these Khorezmian emigrants.

Political integration of Hazaria and Khorezm continued until the 760s when in 764 Hazarian armies headed by a Khorezmian military leader captured Tbilisi.

Ras-tarhan (or as suggested by Marquart, As-tarhan). There are all reasons to believe, however, that this union did not exist long.

According to the letter of King Joseph, the grandson of Bulan Obadiy who governed in 760-70s, made major political and religious reforms: «... Has reformed the kingdom also strengthened belief according to law and rule» relying on Jewish Talmudic clergy which came «from Bagdad, Khorasan and the Greek land» and for the first time introduced in Hazaria «24 books, Mishna, Talmud and all the order of beads, accepted by Hazzans».

To the same time belongs Konstantin Bagrianorodnyi's chronicle on civil war in Hazaria which ended with exile from Kagan and flight to the west, first to the northern Black Sea steppes, and then to Hungary and Panonia to people called Kavars.

Kavar is west Hazarian pronunciation for the name hvar, hovar – the name of Khorezmians, in Alani pronunciation hval, hoval, hal. In this last form of pronunciation halisi, descendants of Kavars were established in the 11th century in Hungary as a special people mentioned by John Kinnam, that on the one hand « are of the same confession as the Persians», and on the other «were guided by the laws of Moses, that were not understood absolutely correctly».

Probably the contradiction of the source reflects the inconsistent character of the eccentric Zoroastrian-Judaic syncretism of the religion of the descendants of the Khorezmian exiles. Descendants of Kavars in the 13th century still preserved the legend about their Khorezmian origin. Hungarian chronicles of the 13th century preserved the legend about the Khorezmian genealogy of King Samuel Aby (1041-1044), one of the Kavar aristocracy. His family went back to brothers Ed and Edumer, to the sons of the son of Attila-Huba from a Khorezmian mother, whereas Edumer went back to Hungary together with numerous families of his father and mother.

It is curious that the literary tradition about Attila in the chronological scheme of the actual genealogy of Kavarian leaders misled the earliest of our informers - Simon Kezai Hungarian chronologist of the 13th century: events of Attila's times were dated to 700 A.D., and the exile of Huns from Panonia following his death was dated to the exile of Judaic Khorezmians from Khorezm.

The events of the rule of Obadiah should be considered as a Hazarian reaction against the domination of Khorezmian emigrants and the submission of Hazaria to Shaushafar and his successor Turksanat (who would not casually have taken the name of the founder of the Hazarian Kagan's dynasty, the Turkic leader of the end of the 6th century, known in Byzantine sources under the name Turksant).

Obadiah, the descendant of Khorezmians, took the side of the native aristocracy and, relying on the authority of the scientific Jewish clergy recruited from different countries, created a revolution which ended with a second emigration of Judaic Khorezmians much further to the West.

Flight to the East was hardly possible. There Islam was making progress. Both the contemporary and distant relative of Obadiah accepted the Muslim name Abdullah;

Khorezm entered into the system of the Caliphate. On the coins of Abdullah, above the croup of the horse of Siyavush there are engraved fine cubic letters of the names of Arabian deputies of Khorasan – Dzha' far (ibn-Muhammad, 787-789), al-Fadl (ibn-Yahya, 794-803).³

These coins sharply fall in weight: coins of Shau-shafar are not full weighted (the lowest weight of Sasanid drachmas 3.69g), varying between 3.06 and 3.26. The coins of Abdullah are without the names of deputies and weigh 1.97-2.44g, and with the names Dzha'far and Fadl only 1.32-2.05g, falling in weight more than twice in comparison with drachmas of Shaushafar and more than three times less than the full weight

³ VDI, 1938, № 4, page 129-131.

Khorezmian drachmas of the 7th – 8th century (4.36-4.67g), which surpassed even the maximal weight of Sasanid drachmas (4.06g). The quality of metal sharply falls - some coins of Abdullah have an insignificant share of silver in base metal, turning almost to copper coins.⁴

The internal economic history of the country under the authority of the Arabian conquerors in conditions of deep internal social crisis, was reflected in the history of the dramatic falling off of the weight and quality of coins of Khorezmshahs in the 8th century.

This decline was reflected even more in the historical dynamics of the irrigated lands. Their new sharp reduction falls in the period of the 8th and 9th centuries: the main eastern branch of Gavhor - from Guldursun to Kyrk-kyz entirely drops out of use. Hundreds of fortresses turn into the ruins in the desert we can see today.

The other branch – the Ancient Kelmintar also sharply reduced. Thousands of hectares of lands became desert. This process undoubtedly was accompanied by sharp class struggle. Destruction of countless fortresses and fortified manors happened because of that too. Everywhere we meet traces of military routes and fires.

Khorezm in the 9th century did not experience any large external invasions which could explain this gloomy picture of devastation.

Proof of this struggle is the mass migration continuing of Khorezmians down to the 10th century – now already Moslems - to Hazaria with hired Khorezmian guards supporting the authority of Kagan and Beg. Without doubt these guards were made up, first of all, of small free farmers who had two prospects – to become «servants and kedives» of feudals or to emigrate.

- 3

During the 9-10th centuries, Khorezm alternately entered into one after another large early feudal structures of eastern Iran and Central Asia – the countries of Taharids, Saffarids, and Samanids.

We have very little data about the local history of Khorezm of this time, but the data tells us that the same processes developed there as in other areas of the caliphate. The most essential was the process of disin-

⁴ Same on pages 138-139.

tegration of the old patriarchal-slaveholding traditions which were holding back the development of the feudal economy. One of the most important moments of this process was the rupture of traditional patriarchal contacts between the aristocracy and the people.

The conditions of Arabian conquest and subsequent decades changed this situation. A part of the old half-patriarchal half-feudal dihkan aristocracy was destroyed in the course of constant wars, revolts, and the military terror of conquerors. The other part served the Arabs as military leaders and officials of the caliph and his deputies, which distanced them from their traditional regional loyalties. When it became clear that it was not necessary to follow the traditions of centuries-old patriarchal relations with the communities, the new aristocracy including Turkic and Arabian elements openly opposed themselves to the people.

During the first decades of the history of the Arabian empire, especially in the 9-10th centuries, commanders and officials were rewarded for their military and civil contributions. They were given villages and even large rural districts. The same practice of distribution of lands and villages to religious establishments was widely developed too.

There is data showing that Khorezm was not an exception. From «Risale» of ibn-Fadlan we learn, that the Artahushmitan settlement (in the 13th century Yakut describes it as a big city) was the property of the vizier of caliph Muktadir ibn-al-Furat. But when in 921 al-Furat was in disgrace, the caliph took the manor back and gave it to an Ahmad ibn-Musa al-Khorezmi.

However, Khorezm being located at the edge of the caliph these processes took place at a slower rate. It is significant that if in Maverannakhr and Khorasan already by the 10th century the population both of cities and villages did not participate any more in wars and the army was made up entirely of hired Turkic nomads and praetorian guards of armed slaves («Guliams»), Khorezmians, according to all sources of the 10th century, continued to be soldiers, whose valor and military skill was emphasized in the sources (see below, Ch. 10). This is because of the preservation of a powerful layer of free farmers and handicraftsmen, and is important for understanding the military power of Khorezm during its new rise in the second half of the 10th century.



Chapter 10

THE TIME OF BILINI

Al-Biruni was born in 972/973, in the outskts of the («birun» - «external city») ancient capital of Khorezm - KiatFira). In 995 the young, twenty-three year old scientist had to leave h native land and found shelter with Kabus ibn-Vashmgir – the possess of Gurgan.

This fact of the early biography of Al-Birunwas connected with major political events in Khorezm. In 995 Abu-Abdlah Mohammed - the last Afrigid was taken prisoner and killed by Mamurbn-Muhammad, his contender as emir of Urgench. Khorezm was incorrated under the authority of Urgench. Mamun accepted the ancient tit of Khorezmshah.

Probably adherents of Abu-Abdullah, the peole of his court were also victims of this political change. This was usualor that time, and Biruni was amongst those persons who went into exileAnyway, only under the second successor of Mamun ibn-MuhammadMamun II ibn-Mamun, approximately in 1010 did Biruni return home toecome the great Sogdian scientist Abu-Ali ibn-Sina (Avicenna), a membeof the court «Academy» of Mamun II and first adviser of the Khorezmah.

The domination of Urgench had a long prehiory, due to the place this northwest center of Khorezm held in the system foreign economic and political relations of the Khorezmian state.

There are many historical and archaeologid remains from the 10th century allowing us to conclude that the countrat that time experienced rapid economic development.

First of all this is reflected in the rapid owth in the number of Khorezmian cities. If we compare the number cities of Khorezm in sources of the 8th and 10th centuries, we shall so this.

Tabari in his story about the conquest of Khorezm by the Arabs in 712 says that there were only three cities in Khorezm - Kiat (Fir), Khazarsp and, probably, Urgench.

Al-Istarhi in 930-933 wrote in his listing of cities that Khorezm had thirteen cities: Khorezm (Kas), Dargan, Khazarsp, Khiva, Hushmisan, Ardahushmisan, Safardaz, Nuzbar, Kardaranhosh, Kardar, Barategin, Mazminia, Jurjania.

The author Hudud al-Alam listed nine names of cities in Khorezm (Kas, Hushmisan, Nudzhaban, Gurgandzh, Kardnazhas, Badminia, Deh-i-Karategin, Kardar, Khiva), omitting such significant centers as Dargan and Khazarsp, i.e., if we add these cities the figure will be close to the number given by Istarhi.

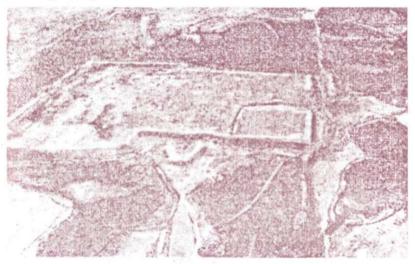


Fig. 82. Yangi-kent from the air

And, lastly, al-Makdisi in 985 listed thirty-two cities in Khorezm: on the right bank Kas, Gardman, Ayhan, Arzakhiva, Nukfag, Kargar, Mazdahkan, Dzhashira, Sadvar, Zarduh, Barategin, Madkaminia; on the left - Jurjania, Nuzvar, Zamahshar, Ruzund, Vazarmand, Vaskahanhas, Rahushmisan, Madamisan, Khiva, Kardaranhas, Khazarsp, Dzhigirbend, Dzhaz, Dargan, Dzhit, small Dzhurdzhania, the second Dzhit, Sadfar, Masasan, Kardar, Andarastan. Besides this are Shurahan, Has, Nuzkat, Darsan, Dzhuvikan, Amir, Barabsar, Vardara.

If we take into account that at least Shurahan at that time, according to all available information (including archaeological, see Fig. 83), already was a city, it is possible al-Makdisi's figure should be raised to forty.

Though it is difficult to consider all these lists (especially of Tabari) as irrefutable, the tendency reflected in them is confirmed by archaeological data: if in the 8-9th centuries there was a very insignificant increase in the number of cities, in the 10th century this quantity increased due to a radical shift in the economic structure of the country. If in ancient times, before the 3-4th centuries A.D., on the territory of «the lands of ancient irrigation» in southern Karakalpakistan there were nine settlements of a city type (Bazar-kala, Djanbas-kala, Kurgashin-kala, Kyrk-kyz, small Kyrk-kyz, Toprak-kala, big Guldursun, Kavat-kala, Duman-kala, Eres-kala), then in the early Afrigid period of the 5-6th centuries, there were only two left (Toprak-kala and Kyrk-kyz), and in the late Afrig period, i.e., during the Arabian conquest, there are no cities, only a small town near Berkut-kala fortress. By the 10-11th centuries the life in Kavat-kala, Guldursun and Narindzhan began to revive.

The archaeological material gives us a key to understanding the reasons for this process: ceramic remains testify to the new thriving craft industry in cities. The 9th century does not give us authentic data on the distribution of slip-glazed ceramics in Khorezm (in 8th century Khorezm and Teshik-kala remains, and in the later fortress 136, we could not find any ceramic remains). But in the 10th century we have a lot of them.

Slip-glazed ceramics with decorations in brown, red, and yellow tones on a white or yellowish background were most typical for this epoch like in Maverannahr, Iran and Azerbaijan. We found a lot of slip glazed flat bowls with the bottom in the form of a disc and decorated with vegetative and geometrical patterns on the internal surface.

Slip-glazed ceramics are not usually characterized by richness of forms and decoration. For the 10th century we see big white-clay figurines with a straightnimbus, without a clear neck and rich wavy ornament, high-necked jugs of various forms and sizes, with flat handles, mugs and kitchen boilers made from gray clay etc. Excavation by M.V.Voyevodsky in Zmuhshir in 1934, and finds of A.I.Terenozhkina's and our finds in the ruins of the «Old city» Narindzhan (the «New city» of Narindzhan belongs to the 13-14th centuries) gave us especially rich ceramic material of the 10-11th centuries.

Fig. 83. Ruins of Shurahan from the air

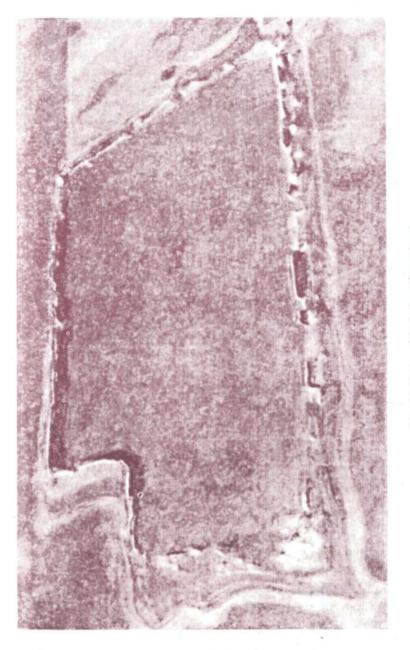
This city has an interesting layout. It shows a city typical for the early Middle Ages of Khorezm. It has a regular rectangular layout surrounded by ruins of walls covered with sand with towers located at the bottom of a high hill where there are ruins of Mazar and Hanak (hostel of dervishes) Narindzhan-baba, with its most ancient part dating to 14thc. This hill represents the rest of a large fortress of the Afrigid time where a small town appeared in the 10th century.

Other cities of Khorezm of the early Middle Ages will be characterized below for both their external shape and a great number of finds and take us back to the 12-13th centuries But in a number of these cities, Kavat-kala and Guldursun on the right bank, Zmuhshir and Puldzhai - on the left, we came across earlier material, first of all ceramics of the 10-11th centuries It is important to note, however, one essential circumstance: some of the cities (we determined for Guldursun, Kavat-kala and Zmukhshir) were built in the 10-11th centuries on abandoned ancient cities so as to use the ancient, well preserved fortifications as the basis for the medieval defense system. In Zmuhshir and Kavat-kala and in other sites, the base of the walls has ancient laying from large square adobe bricks 40x40x10cm of different heights. Higher layers of pahsa (air brick) are typical for the Middle Ages.

It was even more interesting with Guldursun. The ancient walls with typically high and narrow embrasures were preserved here to their full height and till now provide the basic body of the fortification. However the internal wall of the shooting gallery (as happened with other monuments) was destroyed earlier and the embrasures were plastered and on the outside wall there was a thick layer of pahsa. Now, when the internal plastering has fallen off, the yard of the fortress looks rather original: numerous ancient embrasures face the inside of the fortress while the outside of the wall has a smooth, even surface.

The comparative analysis of the layout of the cities of medieval Khorezm allows us to correct the concept of Zhukovsky-Bartold-Yakubovsky¹ about the development of a medieval Central Asian city. According to this concept, a city developed around a fortress (kuhendiz, ark), which formed a shahristan, i.e., a city in the true sense of the word, and then due to the growth of outskirts surrounding the city – rabads, as seen in the 11th century, the pulse of economic and public life passes to the rabads, and the shahristans fall into decay.

¹ A.Y.Yakubovsky. Feudal society of Central Asia and its trade with eastern Europe in the 10-15th centuries MIUTT. I, pages 4-5.



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In practice the situation was much more complex, and this pattern can be clearly seen only in some cities of Central Asia. Now we can remark on some other lines of development of the cities which are much more distinctive than the above-mentioned.

The cities that originated in the 8-9th centuries developed as settlements or fortified rabads at the foot of fortresses. We can see this in the example of the small town Berkut-kala and especially the «Old city» Narindzhan.

The cities that originated in the 10th century and later as Guldursun, Kavat-kala, Janlyk-kala, Daydan-kala, etc., do not have an ark and consist only of a shahristan with unfortified outskirts around them or less often fortified ones like Guldursun. We did not notice any attributes of decline of shahristans and the implementation of their functions by rabads. Even such a city as Khiva left the limits of the medieval shahristan only in the 18-19th centuries. Untill today it has preserved the typical early medieval crosswise layout².

No doubt the growth of cities is one of the most important features of the general economic growth of the country and the renewed strengthening and expansion of economic relations of the city civilization of Khorezm with surrounding deserts and remote foreign countries.

Arabian sources give us a bright picture of the economic activity of Khorezm in the 10th century. The surrounding steppes of present Turkmenistan and western Kazakhstan and the Volga region - Hazaria and Bulgaria and further and the extensive Slavic world of east Europe become the arena of activity of Khorezmian merchants, as it was centuries ago.

Istahri gives us information about the beginning of the 10th century: he says that «Khorezm (madina) is a fertile city, with plenty of food and fruits, but there are no nuts there; there are many goods produced from cotton and wool which are sold in remote places. The citizens are rich and like to show their courage. They are more scattered than other citizens of Khorasan and many of them travel; in Khorasan there is no big city with a large number of inhabitants... There are no gold and silver mines and nor jewelers in their city; they are rich from trade with the Turkic and the breeding of cattle. They get many interesting things by trading with the Turkic.[...]»³

² Y. Gulyamov. Monuments of the city of Khiva. Tashkent. 1941, page 7.

³ MITT, I. 180; BGA, I. 305.

An anonymous Persian author at the end of the 10th century in his essay «Hudud al-Alem» writes:

«Kiat is the main city of Khorezm, a gateway to the Turkestan of Guzs, a depot of goods of Turkic, Turkestan, Maverannakhr and Hazars, a place of gathering of merchants... The City is very rich. Coverlets for pillows, quilted clothes, cottons, felt, rubhin (a sort of cheese)» are traded there.⁴

Al-Makdisi give us especially interesting data.

His description of items exported to the countries of the caliphate from the provinces of Khorasan includes the longest list, which is from Khorezm:

«From Khorezm - sables, gray squirrels, beavers, steppe foxes, martens, foxes, beavers, ermines, dyed hares, goats, wax, arrows, the white bark of poplars, caps, fish glue and fish teeth, castoreum, amber, kimuht (a sort of leather), honey, hazelnuts, falcons, swords, chain armor, birch, Slav slaves, rams and cows - all this from the Bulgars. Grapes, a lot of raisins, cookies, kunzhut, striped cloth, carpets, blankets, exquisite brocade, «mulham» coverlets, locks, dyed cloth, bows which could be drawn only by the strongest people, special cheese, whey, and dried fish were produced there. They build and furnish boats as well».⁵

This list is extremely interesting. First, it gives us the assortment of crafts exported. According to Istahri and Hudud al-Alem, Khorezm is mainly an agrarian and cattle breeding country and at the same time the center of trade between the countries of the East, Turkic and the Volga region: in particular it is the largest market of slaves. Together with northern raw materials, local agricultural products and textiles were exported. Al-Maksidi listed metal processing (locks), weapons (bows), and the ship-building industry.

On the other hand, the abundance and variety of items imported at the end of the 10th century «from Bulgars», i.e., from the countries of eastern Europe, testifies that the economic activity of Khorezmians was expanding.

The growth of trade with eastern Europe expanded the role of the city in Khorezm, which became the natural center of this trade. Urgench - the extreme northwest outpost of Khorezmian civilization - was put forward as a crossroads on the way through the deserts of Ustyurt in the West to the docks of Mangyshlak in the northwest and on to the lower Emba and

⁴ MITT, I. 216: Hudud al-Alem, 25b.

MITT, I. 202; BGA, II. 325.

further to the Volga. In the south, it led through the Kara-kums to Dzhurzhan. It was the shortest way from Iraq and Iran to eastern Europe.

«It is the biggest city in Khorezm after the capital; it is a place of trade with Guzs, and from there caravans depart to Jurjan, to the Hazars, to Khorasan» writes al-Istahri.⁶

The author Hudud al-Alem states that «Gurgandzhs is a city which in ancient times belonged to Khorezmshah, and now it has its own king. The king's name is «emir of Gurganch»; the city is very rich, it is the gateway to Turkestan, a place where merchants meet».

Neither Istahri nor ibn-Fadlan, who lived in Urgench, preparing for the difficult journey through Ustyurt, says a word about the independent governor of this city. We also notice this in the historical literature of that epoch. Mamun-ibn-Muhammed was the first independent governor of Urgench, who in 995 again united Khorezm, but already under the hegemony of its western capital.

The prosperity of Urgench cannot be understood outside the general historical and political context. As we have seen the relations with Hazaria became stronger in the 8th century, and they were not broken even when political, religious and cultural borders appeared between Khorezm and Hazaria. After the exile of the Jewish Kavars, their place in Hazaria was filled by Moslem-Khorezmians first of all acting as mercenaries in the service of Kagan in Hazaria.

In the beginning of the 10th century in Itil-Hazaran the capital of Hazaria there was a populous Muslim Khorezmian colony with a core group of ten thousand Khorezmian mercenary Moslems, the so-called Al-Arsia, the elite heavy cavalry of the Hazarian Kagan.

Not only in Itil, but also in Bulgar there was probably a large Khorezmian colony. This place was specified by ibn-Fadlan when he described the funeral ceremonies of the Bulgars. He described the rite celebrated in Bulgar on the death of «a Moslem man or a Khorezmian woman».

Along with the colonization and economical activity of Khorezm on the Volga, Khorezm was an active political force in the 10th century Ibn-Haukal describes the campaigns of Khorezmians to the borders of the Bulgar empire from whence they returned with booty and slaves.

The campaigns of Khorezmians to remote Bulgar will not surprise us if we take into account that the sources of the 10th century unanimously

⁶ MITT, I. 178, BGA, I. 299.

give us the image of Khorezmians not only as courageous travelers and merchants, but also as fearless and experienced soldiers successfully battling with their neighbors - Turkic and Oguz.

«They bravely fight with Guzs and beat them» writes Al-Istahri.

«They are hospitable people, they like to have a meal, they are brave and strong in fight; they have special characteristic features and surprising properties» says Al-Makdisi.

«The people are fighters for their beliefs and are also martial» Hudud al-Alem tells about the citizens of Kiat.

«The population of Urgench is known for their belligerence and skill in bow shooting» says the same author.

The war with the Oguz was part of the daily life of Khorezmians of the 10th century – marked by customs and even ceremonies. Biruni describes the Khorezmian holiday Fagburia – the «coming out of the king» dedicated to the approach of autumn when the king of Khorezm left his residence on the traditional winter campaign against the Oguz driving them away from the borders. ⁷

The Khorezmian professional soldiers who trained in such severe conditions in the beginning of the 10th century became rulers of the destinies in Khazarian Kagan.

But this struggle was not easy. Trading, colonization and political success in the Volga region was achieved by continuous wars with strong contenders – the northern neighbors of Khorezm, Turkic Oguzs whose territory laid on the way from Khorezm to the Volga and who were at a stage of political consolidation and development at the same time and who also wanted to be leaders in the Volga territories.

In 922 ibn-Fadlan stayed at the residence of Atrak - the military leader of the western Oguzs, the son of Katan (somewhere in the area between the northern Ustyurt and Emba). Atrak kept him waiting for a long time, probably to communicate with the governor of the Oguz. There was a suspicion among Oguz leaders that the embassy of the caliph had the intention to establish a union with the Hazars to attack the Oguz.

It is significant, that Atrak calls the Bulgar king Almush, the son of Shilka, to whom the embassy actually went, his son-in-law.⁸ This tells us;about the political relations of the Oguz and Bulgaria at that period.

⁷ Al-Biruni, text. p 236.

⁸ Ibn-Fadlan, 65.

The Turkic empire finally disintegrated in the middle of the 8th century and this entailed the formation of local political associations of steppe tribes, with the most western of them being the barbarous state of the Oguz Yabgu in the 10th century the center of it in Yangikent located on the lower side of the Syr-Darya. It is familiar to us already as one of the Hunn-Turkic ancient settlements on the ancient delta of this river, refortified and reconstructed in that century.

Ethnically the Oguzs of the 10th century are a further development of the intermarriage of native Aral area tribes of Massaget-Alan origin with elements from the east. While the Hephthalites are the product of intermarriage of Massaget-Alans with Huns, the Syr-Darya Oguz represent the ethnic renewal of the same Hephthalites mixed with Turkic elements who came here from Semirechye in the 6-8th centuries.

It is impossible to see any break between the Hephthalite and Oguz periods in the cultural history of Syr-Darya cities. The culture of the Oguz of the 10th century is the direct development of Hephthalite culture of the 5-6th centuries

The Oguzs of the 10-11th centuries do not represent a homogeneous ethnographic group at all. The structure of the Oguz includes names of the tribes listed by Mahmud Kashgari. Thus such Oguz tribes as Duker and Yazyr are probably splinters of the ancient Indo-European population of the Aral region – Tohars and Yases (As, Asian, Yats); the Oguz tribes Bayaut (Bayat), Bayandur, Kai - according to all available information are tribes of Mongolian origin, together with Huns and Turkic in the 4-8th centuries when they came to the territory of Central Asia. The Oguz includes also a tribe Pechenegs, well-known from Russian history, though also Turkic, but originally not mixed with the Oguz and speaking a language close (according to Mahmud Kashgari) to the language of the Volga Bulgars, i.e., belonging to that ancient branch of Turkic languages which include the Chuvash language and which, probably, are the vestiges of the Hun period of the formation of the Turkic system of languages.

The name Oguz has a variant form Ogor, confirmed by Byzantine sources in the 6th century, that allows us to assume the presence of another ethnic element in the structure of the Oguz and one more ethnic component which gave the name to the union of the Oguz tribes – Ugr – the tribes of the eastern branch of the Finno-Ugric group whose modern

⁹ See our «Cities of Guzs», SE, 1947,№3. See above, Fig. 82.

representatives are, on one hand, Khanty and Mansi (Ostyaks and Woguls) of the trans-Ural area, and on the other hand – the Hungarians (Magyars). The name Magyars was confirmed for the northeast Aral region in the 9th century when they waged a struggle with the Pechenegs and the mysterious Naukards – a name which obviously is the Alani equivalent of the Turkic «Yangikents». The descendants of the eastern Magyars subsequently participated in the ethnogeny of the Bashkirs whose name is a natural variant of the name Magyar, and in the ethnogeny of Uzbeks who still have a tribe in their structure called «Madzhar».

The Oguz of the 10-11th can be characterized in detail because of archaeological data; this concerns only Oguz territories of the 10-11th centuries, but tells us what is most important – about their political center.

The Oguz of the 10th and beginning of the 11th centuries appear to be a people who has preserved the old traditions of a settled people and the system of cattle-breeding, agricultural and fishing of their ancestors, close to the economy of the Hazars as in the letter of king Joseph - the most interesting Hazarian document of the middle of the 10th century, the eve of the collapse of Hazaria. Al-Idrisi¹⁰ and Mahmud Kashgari - the most informed writer of the end of the 11th century described the abundance of cities in the lands of the Oguzs.

«The cities of Guzs are numerous, they stretch one after another north and east» says al-Idrisi. Mahmud Kashgari lists Oguz's cities on the Syr-Darya, showed and the basin of the lower Syr-Darya as the territory of «cities of Guzs».

The governor of the state resides in the city of Yangikent, known in Arabian sources under the name Kariat-al-Hadis, and in Persian as Deh-i-Nau, all three names having the meaning «new settlement», probably a translation of the ancient Sarmato-Alani name Nau-kerde which we meet at Al-Masudi in his description of events at the end of the 9th century

However the 10th century brings major economic changes in the life of Oguz: Ibn-Fadlan tells about the presence of a nomadic cattle breeding aristocracy among western Oguz whose herds sometimes consisted of tens of thousands horses and hundreds of thousands of sheep.

Probably the fast increase of cattle concentrated in the hands of a tribal aristocracy far exceeding subsistence needs finds its explanation in those economic processes we tried to explain earlier for Khorezm and for

¹⁰ MITT. I, page 220.

other areas of Central Asia - the rapid development of craft industry in the city and trading going far beyond local markets.

Old attitudes of a division of labour between steppe and oasis developed in previous centuries as part of the military hegemony of steppe powers over settled tributaries («tats») and was expressed in direct military robbery, mass slavery and the withdrawal to the steppe of craftsmen and the agricultural population of the oasis¹¹ after the 9th century when the northern boundary of the Samanid state was stabilized. These attitudes received a new lease on life: the steppe aristocrat came to the cities not as a conqueror but as a peaceful merchant who stimulated the development of the cattle breeding which was already part of the exchange economy.

This led to deep internal segregation of steppe tribes: the nomadic cattle breeding aristocracy opposed itself to the settled population of Oguz cities – the «Yatuks», a term for the first time mentioned by Mahmud Kashgari, but which survived into the 20th century in Kazakh as «Jtak» - a «settled poor man» who has no cattle for migration».

Interest in the expansion of nomadic lands and conquest of new places for bases for wintering in the habitual conditions of a deltoid lake-marsh landscape pushed the Oguz's aristocracy into wide foreign policy activity. In the one and a half centuries between 880 and 1030 there is continuous growth of the Oguz state including both new tribes and tribal unions with the rights of allies.

The longest and most persistent struggle was between the Oguz and the strong union of Pechenegs.

In the second half of the 10th century the eastern groups Pechenegs were included, however, as an internal element into the structure of the Oguzs union, completing its ethnic consolidation. One of the groups was the Irtysh Kimaks-Bayandur tribe that according to data of the 10th century belongs to the structure of Kimaks, and according to Mahmud Kashgari belongs to the basic Oguz tribes.

By the second half of the 10th century the country of Oguz becomes very huge: in the southeast it borders the provinces of Taraz (nowadays Jambul on the river Talas) and Shaha (Tashkent); in the south it covers the basin of Kuvan-Darya and Jany-Darya; in the north, it includes the basin of Sary-su, Chelkara and Irgiz, in the northwest it comes to the foothills of the Urals to the Bashkirs; in the west it adjoins the Volga region

¹¹ See «The tyranny of Abru». IZ. III. 1938.

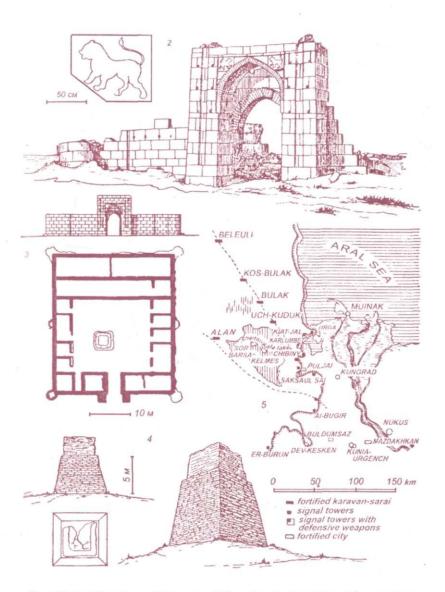


Fig. 85. Fortifications of Khorezm. 10th and beginning of the 11th centuries 1 - ruins of the fortified caravanserai Beleuli; 2 - image of a lion on tympanum of Beleuli portal; 3 - layout and reconstruction of the facade of Beleuli; 4 - ruins of signal tower – Saxaul-sai; 5 - scheme of the fortifications, signaling towers and caravanserais of the northwest border of early medieval Khorezm and trade routes to eastern Europe.

possessions of the Hazars. In the southwest the possessions of the Oguz cover a significant part of Ustyurt. This primitive barbarous empire was a serious threat to the economic relations of Khorezm and caused it to move from defensive to offensive politics, from diplomatic to military activity in the northwest.

Archaeological monuments of the northwest outskirts of Khorezm discovered and surveyed by us in 1946 hinted at the intense struggle with the Oguz. Along the territory of the lower Amu-Darya the plateau of Ustyurt and the Chinka (breakage), there was a chain of Khorezmian fortifications built in the 10th century These fortifications are combined with an original system of signaling towers with lights, probably part of a light signal system. Each such tower, built of cut stones stands at the edge of Ustyurt, above the slope. All towers are well seen, being perfect reference points in this district even now. The chain of fortifications begins at Urga cape: further they go lengthways to Chinka in the south at a distance of about 20 kilometers, from each other, making a united system for light signaling about the activities of hostile steppe tribes, so that information could be transferred to Urgench from any place of the Chinka within a half an hour. Small stone forts are located on the plain and on rocks flanking the slope from the side of the valley. A cavalry would have had to squeeze into the narrow space between the steep breakage and forts and could be detained by a small garrison allowing time to raise the alarm all over the country.

The international situation of Khorezm in the north, on the lower Volga had echoes in the east.

The battle-hardened infantry of Russian prince Sviatoslav in 965 near Belo Vezha (Sarkel)¹² defeated the armies of the Hazars. Kagan died in the fight, the «sacred king» of Hazaria. Probably the defeat was so crushing that the Hazars could not organize further defense.

Having occupied the Volga-Don portage, Russian armies passed across the Volga, smashing and subordinating the cities of Hazaria, and the still weak Volga Bulgaria.

However this campaign was not the ultimate goal of the political plans of Sviatoslav. Having destroyed Hazaria and having secured Sarkel in the west, he protected himself from an unexpected attack on the part of the

¹² The location of Sarkel – see K. V. Kudryashov (location of the Hazarian city Sarkel IAN, SIF, $1947, \dot{N}_{2}6$, page 536, compare with map on page 542).

Hazars and with his dominion over the Volga-Don route, he started a campaign towards the Danube.

The attempt to create a huge Slavic state with its center in Pereyaslavetson-Danube as we know was not successful. The victories over the East were also not for long.

Khorezm could not easily accept the change of the political situation in the Volga region. The destiny of Hazaria was under the strong influence of Khorezm which had by now accepted Islam. The fate of the Volga Bulgars was also of interest to Khorezm and, above all, to the emirs of Urgench whose position was defined by its economic relations with the Volga region.

The situation became aggravated because the Oguz were on the Volga and at the borders of Bulgaria. The inclusion of the possessions of Hazars and Bulgars into the structure of the new barbarous empire of Yangi-kentyagbu threatened not only the property of Khorezm on the Volga but also the existence of Khorezm as an independent state.

We see that Khorezm actively enters the war for the «Hazarian inheritance».

By comparing sketchy, but significant writings of Arabian authors, we can restore the general sequence of events as follows.

Ibn-Miskaveikh and Ibn-al-Asir inform us that in 965 the Kagan of Hazaria, being attacked by a Turkic people, asked for help from Khorezm. The condition of this help was acceptance of Islam by the Hazars. The Hazars, except for Kagan, adopted Islam and Kagan adopted it when the Khorezmians repulsed the Turkic.

The date of the event completely coincides with the date of the campaign of Sviatoslav. But because it is unlikely that the Russians cooperated with the Turkic, this news probably should be interpreted as follows: the Oguz interfered in Hazaria from the east simultaneously or right after the armies of Sviatoslav. The Oguz acted under the ancient political name of the Turkic. Under this name (as «tork») they for the first time become known to Russians. The ancient texts do not say whether there was an allied agreement between the western and eastern enemies of the Hazars. However the simultaneity of the events supports this assumption, and as for the events connected to the Volga campaign of Vladimir (985), who continued the politics of his father, Russian history directly testifies about the union of the Russians and the Oguz that was one of the elements of the eastern politics of Sviatoslav.

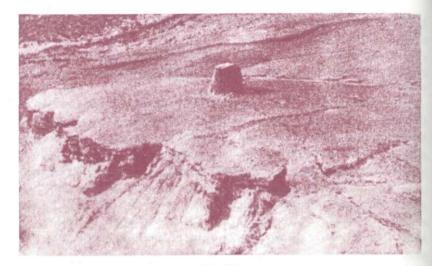
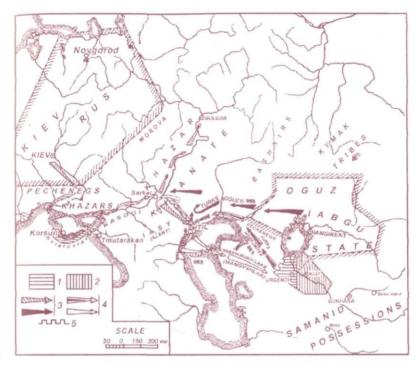


Fig. 86.



Fig. 87.

Fig.s 86-87. Stone towers on Ustyurt plateau (from the air and ground level)



Map 4. Khorezm, Hazaria and Russia in 965.

1 - empire of Khorezmshahs; 2 - Urgench emirate; 3 - movement of armies of the Russian-Oguz coalition, 4 - movement of armies of the Khorezm-Hazar coalitions

According to Ibn-Haukal the fugitives from Hazaria appearing at Mangyshlak among whom there was the successor or pretender to the Kagan throne asked for the help of Khorezm against these Turkic, for at that time the armies of Sviatoslav had begun their southwest campaign.

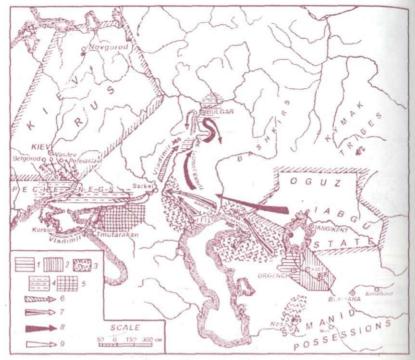
Help came from the emir of Urgench; this was his first military expedition.

According to Al-Makdisi (manuscript C): «The possessor of Jur-Aljnia sometimes governs the cities of Hazaria»¹³.

This message shows that the struggle was not easy and it was necessary to renew campaigns repeatedly.

It is clear that already by the beginning 970, the Volga regions of Hazaria were under the subordination of Khorezm – more precisely Urgench.

¹³ MITT, I. 209.



Map 5. Khorezm, Hazaria and Russia in 985-997.

1 - Urgench emirate; 2 - empire of Khorezmshahs; 3 - areas depending on Khorezm; 4 - allies of Khorezm; 5 - areas depending on Russia;
 6 - campaigns of Russians; 7 - campaigns of Khorezmians;
 8 - campaigns of Oguzs; 9 - campaigns of Pechenegs

Other sources, also rather sketchy, confirm the events of the middle of the 980s.

Al-Makdisi in another chapter of his book says: «I heard that Al-Mamun invaded them (Hazars) from Jurjania, he beat them and converted them to Islam. Then I heard that the tribe from Rum which is called Rus, invaded and conquered their country». ¹⁴

The form in which the author informs us about these events is interesting in itself. It is reminiscent us of the story of ibn-Haukal the events of 965.

The author does not explain these events in the usual dogmatic form where authentic facts of the past are related as part of the literary tradi-

¹⁴ Garkavi, page 252. Marquart, Streifzuge, pages 3-4.

tion. There is also no reference in the oral tradition, as well as in literature references, which is usual in Arabian literature. The author talks about current events without rumors or embellishments.

Therefore the hypothesis of Garkavi and Marquart interpreting Al-Mamun as the Abbasid caliph of the beginning of the 10th century Abdullah Al-Mamun, is completely inconceivable, all the more so since the Arabian historical sources provide rich enough material both on the history of the Arabic-Hazarian wars, and for the biography of Al-Mamun, and they do not mention this event anywhere.

There is no doubt that Al-Mamun Makdisi is the emir of Urgench Al-Mamun ibn-Mohammed, who in 995 united under his authority upper and lower Khorezm and founded the second dynasty of Khorezmshahs who superceded the ancient Siyavushids and Afrigids.

The events described by Makdisi, in the form in which he tells about them, directly concern the time when the book was written in 985-986. They cannot be about the beginning of the 10th century, or the campaign of Sviatoslav.

Another source of Makdisi quoted by us where he states in the present tense that «The cities of Hazaria are sometimes governed by the ruler of Jurjania» takes us to 985 to the persistent struggle of the Urgench emir for domination over Hazaria.

There is a question: How to coordinate the chronological sequence of events in the text of Makdisi: first the conquest of Al-Mamun, then the conquest of the Russians?

The answer is found in Russian annals of 985 The events there should be considered in close connection with the events of the first years of the reign of Vladimir. As well as Vladimir's campaigns against the Lyahs (Poles) which resulted in the retaking of aboriginal Russian «cherven cities» (981), against Viatich (982), Yatviag (983) and Radimid (984), the campaign of 985 against the Kama Bulgars¹⁵ was his struggle for the inheritance of his father, the restoration of Kiev, weakened as a result of the conflicts in 973-980.

¹⁵ It is completely impossible to see here a campaign of Bulgarians on the Danube as was recently suggested by M. V. Mavrodin. The context of the annals is contradictory because the text mentions «Bulgarians of Boh miche belief» and writings of Jacob Mnikh and the life of Vladimir, and the existence of Turks in the western campaign of Russia, which was impossible at that time.

It is difficult to see the Turks of the annals text as Vladimir's mercenaries. We should bear in mind that there was no direct territorial contact between Oguz-Turks and Russia, after the armies of Sviatoslav left the Volga. The southern and southeast borders of Russia were occupied by western Pechenegs who were hostile to Torks. After episodic mentions of Torks in 985 they again appear only in 1054, simultaneously with the first mention of the Polovets.

In this case we can assert that in 965 there was a military union between two powerful states - Russia and the barbarous empire of Yangikent Yagbu, whose borders met on the lower Volga, near the Volga-Don portage, from where the allied armies moved upstream on the Volga. 16

The joke about «captives in boots» certainly cannot explain the reasons for the hasty establishment of peace and Vladimir's returning to Kiev. The Russian-Bulgarian treaty designating recognition of the sovereignty of Bulgaria and the refusal of Vladimir to claim this part of the inheritance of Sviatoslav was certainly caused by more serious reasons latent in this joke masking the final political failure of the Russian-Oguz coalition against the Bulgars despite obvious initial military success.

From comparison of writings of Nestor and Makdisi it is clear that the most probable reason which prevented Vladimir from benefiting from this initial success was Khorezmian armies taking the field in union with their coreligionists, the Bulgars, against the rear communications of Vladimir in the area of the Volga-Don portage.

The other events connected to the new documents concerning «trying out faiths» certify the establishment by Vladimir in about 986 of direct diplomatic relations with Khorezm, and also the tradition of Nestor, preserved till today, of the connection between the Bulgars and Hvalis-Khorezmians.

¹⁶ Here as well in relation to the campaign route of Sviatoslav we disagree with the traditional reconstruction. Repeated references by opponents of the annalistic manuscripts to Kama Bulgars and the military improbability of Tork cavalry against the Bulgars on the Oka and Volga rivers, moreover along the bank, are contradictory. Movement from the Volga-Don area portage upstream across the Volga meant a wide-open space opened to the coordinated actions of fleet and cavalry. This way was tried several times in the Caspian campaigns of the Russians. Lastly only our reconstruction, confirmed by the mention of Vladimir by Jacob Mnikh, makes clear that the Bulgars and Hazars were the object of campaigns.

The form of messages of Makdisi about these events are interesting. The conquest of Khorezm by Mamun, which was probably not the first campaign of Khorezmians after 965, preceded the campaign of Vladimir, who again passed with his Russian army through western and northern parts of Hazaria. Makdisi has no data on the second expedition of the Russians from the lower Volga after the first one of Sviatoslav.

Now one of the most interesting moments of the history of international relations takes place – the process of the final formation of the Kievan Russian state.

Right after the return of Vladimir to Kiev from his unsuccessful campaign against the Bulgars, the annals inform us of the following: «In the summer of 6494 (986) the Bolgars of Bohmit belief came and said: «You are a prince, wise and smart, and believe in our law and worship our Bohmit». The next year (987) Vladimir's embassy went to the Bulgars with the purpose of converting to Islam.

This story from the annalistic legend about «trying out faiths» has been substantiated in connection with one of the latest discoveries in the history of relations of Russia with the East.

The Arabic text recently discovered by V.F. Minorskiy on the affairs of India in London from the book of the Central Asian doctor-scientist of the I1-12th century Sharaf al-Zaman Tahir Marvazi contains a very interesting excerpt devoted to a description of Russia. ¹⁸ See the full passage:

«And as to Russia, they live on the island in the sea, and the size of the island is three days march in any directions. And there are trees and forests; it is also surrounded by a lake. And they are very numerous and live by the sword. And if one of their men dies, having left daughters and sons, the property passes to his daughters, and the sons are given only a sword and told the following: «Your father acquired his property by his sword, follow him in this».

And thus they were brought up until they became Christians in the 300th year. And when they became Christians, the religion dulled their swords, and the belief closed the doors of employment, and they returned to a difficult life and poverty, and their means of subsistence decreased.

Then they wanted to become Moslems, to be allowed to attack and fight in the sacred war, thus to return to what was earlier.

¹⁸ Marvazi, page 23 (text), 36 (translation), 118-119 (comments).

Then they sent ambassadors to the governor of Khorezm, four persons close to their king; because their king is independent and they called their king Vladimir (Wlad.mir) just as the king of Turks is called hakan and king of Bulgars - b.t.ltu.

And their ambassadors came to Khorezm and passed on the message from them. And Khorezmshah was glad of their decision to adopt Islam and he sent people to them to train them in the laws of Islam. And they adopted Islam.

These people are strong and mighty and they walk to far countries to attack and also travel on boards on the Hazarian sea and they seize boats and plunder the property and travel to Kustantinia [Constantinople] by the sea of Pontus.

And once they traveled by the Hazarian sea and became for a while possessors of Berdaa.

Both their courage and bravery are well known, so one of them is equal to several of any other people. If they had horses and were horsemen, they would be a great scourge for the people».

Except for introductory phrases about the «Island of Russians» and conclusions going back to earlier sources, the entire context is completely original and, by the data contained in it, goes back to the end of the 10th or to the beginning of 11th century It is possible that the primary source of Marvazi is a composition by Al-Biruni which has not reached us (Minorskiy argues that Marvazi depends on Al-Biruni) called «the History of Khorezm». And if that is the case, then we cannot doubt the scientific accuracy of the author of the text.

Let's discuss three basic original links of the story: 1) about customs inherited from the Russians; 2) about the conversion of Russia to Christianity before Vladimir; 3) about relations of Russia with Khorezm and acceptance of Islam.

V.F. Minorskiy¹⁹ and B.N. Zahoder²⁰ tend to interpret the first part of the story as a stereotyped anti-Christian lampoon. I cannot follow them here. Except for the general tendency, here there is nothing banal in it. The customs of inheritance described by Marvazi are extremely interesting from the ethnographic point of view, throwing light on some ancient

¹⁹ Marvazi, 118-119 (comment).

²⁰ B.N. Zakhoder. Another early Muslim note about Slavs and Russians 9-10th centuries IVGO, 1943, № 6, page 39.

elements of the social order of pre-feudal Russia. The form of inheritance described by Marvazi is proved by comparative and ethnographic analysis. At the base of it is one of the typical forms of transition from matriarchal to patriarchal norms of inheritance.

The story about tendencies against Christians in the Kievan state finds its confirmation in some data of the annals and this in turn allows us to understand the essential moments of the internal sociopolitical history of Russia on the eve of conversion to Christianity.

During the 10th century in the political life of Russia we can observe two strong tendencies of political development reflecting the struggle of the two main ways of life of the semi-barbarous elements of the Kiev empire – military-slaveholding and feudal-serfdom. It would be extremely dangerous to schematize this process, for it is impossible to speak about this epoch and special classes of slaveholders and feudal lords, different from each other and standing against each other, just as it is impossible to compare these two orders of life with the still very strong primitive-communal, patriarchal-tribal regimes.

All these systems are closely bound together: slaveholding and feudal elements are present in the economy of all representatives of the family-tribe aristocracy, who are still far from being released from bonds of patriarchal-communal relations. It is possible to speak only about the prevalence of tendencies, about groups of aristocracy which are interested in development of this or that form of exploitation and in the use of elements of communal traditions.

Igor and Sviatoslav basically headed those public elements who are more interested in realization of the military-slaveholding tendency of development.

On the contrary, in the person of Olga we see the glaring representative of the opposing tendency. If Igor and Sviatoslav arranged great aggressive enterprises, battling with their squads thousand of kilometers away from their native land, «in the summer of 6455 (947) Olga went to Novgorod and assigned tributes and rents on all grounds. Olga's politics were directed to the strengthening of authority over the eastern Slavic tribes, the settlement of a system of feudal taxation of Slavic smerds, the organization of a grand ducal domain. Even during the legendary heroic period of her biography reflected in the bloody saga about revenge against the Drevlians, she carried out the destruction of the old aristocracy and

the enslavement of the agricultural population of the eastern Slavic tribes nearest Kiev. Olga's foreign policy was clearly reflected in 955 in her trip to Tsargrad - not with a warrior fleet as was the case with her husband, but in her peaceful mission which ended with the christening of the princess.

The establishment of peaceful relations with the earlier feudal states, accompanied by acceptance of their religion is typical for the politics of the «feudal party» not only for Russia. In many respects this process was similar in Hungary. We can also find its parallels in the history of the Central Asian barbarous states of the 6th and the subsequent centuries in their relations with China. ²¹ Below in the analysis Khorezm-Oguz relations of the 11th century, we will discuss similar facts.

It is not difficult to find an explanation of this: the feudal way of development, while progressive, was at the same time much more difficult due to the strong resistance of communities and tribes, because the process of increasing class antagonisms was directed against their own people to a much greater degree than the ancient military-slaveholding way of development, with a feudalized aristocracy opposed to an enslaved people. We know a number of examples from the history of Central Asia of the 6-8th centuries

We know about the powerful antifeudal movement of communities and the appeal of the still too weak feudalized aristocracy for help from external forces, which was often rendered as direct armed intervention. The opposition of ancient family-tribal religions to the advanced feudal ideology and the mighty church was an important element of this struggle during the formation of feudalism.

By adopting Christianity Olga strengthened the idea in 945 that Igor's troops served «Christian Russia» helped by Perun - the assistant of the sacred Lilya in Kiev

The process of turning to Christianity should have caused a strong hostile reaction in an environment dominated by the old, military-slaveholding party as reflected in the story of Marvazi about the pernicious consequences of accepting Christianity for the well-being of Russia. It is certainly an anti-Christian lampoon, but originated not from Oriental and Muslim sources but from the Russian environment.

²¹ On these questions see our work «Military democracy and the problem of «genetic revolution», PIDO, 1935, № 78, page 207.

The policy of Vladimir is more complicated and contradictory than the politics of his predecessors, and it is clear that time was on the side of the «feudal party». While the first period of Vladimir's reign was an attempt to continue the politics of Sviatoslav in new conditions connected with the sharp strengthening of anti-Christian tendencies, from 987 the situation sharply changed. One of the episodes of this change was reflected in a story by Marvazi. The attempt to strengthen heathenism, marked in the annals of 980, and the persecution of the Christians reflected in the story about the bloody massacre of two Varangian-Christians doomed to be sacrificed to the gods (983), and, lastly, the vacillation towards Islam (986) are links of the same chain.

In Islam Vladimir could look for an ideological weapon of reconciliation of the irreconcilable contradiction of two spheres of interests of the Kiev aristocracy which had reached their culmination: the doctrine of struggle for belief, and the prospects of union with the countries of Islam which promised successful military expansion against the old enemy – Byzantium. The system of Islam as a religion could assist in the solution of internal problems connected to the final consolidation of the feudal-serfdom system.

The unsuccessful campaign against the Bulgars which brought Vladimir into direct contact with Khorezm was the push that defined this essential zigzag in the development of Vladimir's politics.

However it was only a zigzag. The very modest and expensive success of the campaign against Korsun showed the impracticality of the military union with Khorezm. It could not assist in the mitigation of internal contradictions in the Kiev state, like the ambitious expeditions of Igor and Sviatoslav. On the other hand time has shown the unreality of the ideological part of the plan to make Russia Islamic. Islam, with its foreign cult language, could not compete with Christianity, which already at that time had a centuries-old tradition in southern Slavic countries close ethnically and culturally to Russia, with Slavic writing and literature which was clear to every Russian.

Vladinir took a courageous and correct decision: to break with Islam (because the domination of Islam would mean turning Russia into the instrument of eastern Muslim countries and preserving the military-slaveholding structure) and finally turn to Christianity and to feudalism.

There are grounds to believe that the nine-year war between the Russians and Pechenegs of 988-997 began immediately after acceptance of

Christianity by Russia. In this war the Pechenegs acted as the advancing party, compelling Vladimir hastily to build defensive lines near Kiev. Al-Bekri tells us about the conversion of the Pechenegs to Islam at that time under the influence of Khorezmian missionaries. Rather interesting is the fact that further information disappears in the annals about the Russian-Pecheneg struggle in 997, the year of the death of Khorezmshah Mamun ibn-Mohammed.

This suggests that the Pecheneg offensive was a direct hostile action of Khorezm, hoping to push Russia from the sphere of Khorezmian interests on the Volga, a response to the change in the religious and diplomatic concerns of Vladimir.

The war was terminated by the successor of Mamun. On the one hand, as always in those days, the change of the governor inevitably brought

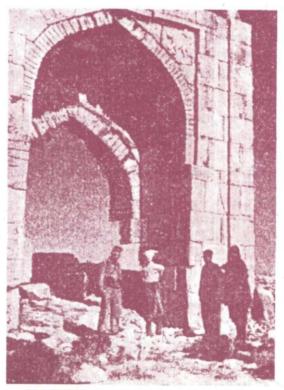


Fig. 88. Beleuli (general view of the portal)



Fig. 89. Beleuli. Details of the portal

internal political problems to the foreground; on the other hand the task put by Mamun was already resolved: Khorezm had already preserved its positions on the lower Volga, with a strong Pecheneg buffer between Russia and these Volga possession being created.

Our archaeological work of 1946 gave us interesting material showing how serious and long lasting were the military-political actions of Khorezm on the Volga.

With the help of air reconnaissance southeast of Ustyurt we found a road going from Urgench to the lower Emba. The road was equipped with caravanserais built of stones and it had wells with stone facings. The road went approximately along the line of the route of Ibn-Fadlan in 922.

A magnificent building known nowadays under name Beleuli was the most outstanding among other caravanserais on this «road of Khorezmshahs». It was standing near four hewed stone wells each of which was enclosed in rectangular fencing from stone plates of 8x8-6x8 meters.

Inside the perimeter wall, near each well, there was a trough cut from a stone block. The building of the caravanserai was an impressive construction from carefully squared stone, a yellowish limy tuff-shell rock, with square layout, with round decorative turrets on the corners and a high stone portal executed in flat relief, in the ancient «Sasanid» manner, with sculptures of lions in tympanums on both sides of the lancet arch.

The internal layout of the building represented a rectangle of walls, with two hujras (small rooms) and several big halls in the back part of the building. There was a small yard in front of the portal with traces of a well or pool covered with earth.

Ceramic material collected at the ruins is not expressive – these are fragments of yellow-brown and gray early medieval vessels (unglazed), closely recalling on of Khorezmian ceramics of the 10-11th centuries. We did not find any slip-glazed ceramics at all. These finds confirm the specified dating, i.e., the 10-11th centuries. The percentage of glazed vessels in Khorezm was insignificant at that time, but in the 12th century they appear in huge quantities.

Architectural analogies also lead to the 11th century. Though Central Asia does not yet know stone buildings, among buildings build of baked brick both in the layout, in the form of the portal, and the structure of the arch, the closest to Beleuli is the well-known caravanserai of the 11th century, Rabat-I-Malik, near Bukhara (1078).

Below we shall see that the historical conditions of the second half of the 11th century completely exclude such ambitious building activity by governors of Khorezm which had just become a remote province of the Seljuk state, and recently survived double defeat. Only the second half of the 12th century created favorable conditions for such activity, but the ceramic material and formal features of the building exclude this date. We can thus date this construction in Beleuli to the end of the 10th century – to the time of Mamun ibn-Mohammad, or to the beginning of the 11th century – the time of Mamun II ibn-Mamun.

Beleuli is a magnificent monument of early medieval Khorezmian architecture and a monument of decorative sculpture. The most ancient monument of that kind in Central Asia is the road built by Khorezm-shah called «the big imperial road» going to the Volga. It is no worse than the «imperial roads» of ancient Persia, and allows us to speak about the importance of Khorezm in the 10th and beginning of 11th centuries in the Volga region, about the formation of a strong Horezm-Hazar empire which was cut short by the dreadful events of the middle of the 11th century connected with the Seljuk conquest.

Victories in the 980s in Povolzhye (Volga river region) determined the political events in Khorezm of 995 – an episode of internecine war between two remote princes somewhere in the far corner of «the Muslim

world». Having become the capital of the powerful the Aral-Volga region state, Urgench acted accordingly in Central Asian affairs, while the empire of the Samanids was experiencing the last stage of its agony. The deep feudal disintegration process, the autocracy of deputies of the provinces who defied the authority of the last Samanids, the fast growth of power of the state governed by the Turkic Sebuk-Tegin Gaznian who once was a slave, the deep social crisis depriving the Samanids of any internal support – all prepared the successful conquest of Maverannakhr by the Turkic khan Bogra-khan from the dynasty of the Kararanids in eastern Turkestan.

In 992 the Samanid Nukh ibn-Nasr, having lost his capital Bukhara, went to Amul (Charjuou), where he tried to organize a struggle against his conquerors.

Both governors of Khorezm helped him. As a reward for the help Nukh gave them two large possessions in Khorasan: Khorezmshah Abu-Abdullah-Muhammad received Abiverd, the emir of Urgench Manun ibn-Muhammad got Nesa. According to Bartold this act was directed against the rebellious governor of Khorasan Abu-Ali. It is significant that latter implicitly defered to Nesa Manun, but refused to let representatives of Abu-Abdullah enter Abiverd. Tested in political intrigues, Abu-Ali was not taking into consideration the will of his nominal suzerain, and with this action recognized the new political force in the north of Central Asia, union with which later was useful to him.

Gardizi relates that the rebellious Abu-Ali, who was in 995 defeated by the army of Sebuk-Tegin, acted as the vassal and military leader of Nuha, first fleeing to Rey, then trying to return to Nishapur, but he was captured by Mahmud – the son of Sebuk-Tegin and, went with a small group to Khorezm, under the protection of Mamun. However near Hazarasp he was seized by the armies of Khorezmshah and was taken to Kiat. This determined the final outcome of the struggle between both Khorezmian states: the armies of Al-Mamun took Kiat city, and released Abu-Ali, who was accepted by Mamun in Urgench city which thus received the last captured Afrigid. Mamun ordered that his old enemy be killed, and he united under his authority both halves of Khorezm, accepting the ancient title Khorezmshah.

All these bloody military events, distant campaigns, the complicated political intrigues of Mamun I, resulted in a brief reign by his eldest son Ali

ibn-Mamun followed by the brilliant period of the reign of his other son Mamun ibn-Mamun.

Accession to the throne of Mamun II was connected with the life of Al-Biruni.

In 1010, the shah called the exile home. He made him his attendant by appointing him first political adviser.

At the same time Biruni became a leading member of a brilliant circle of scientists of the court «Academy» of Mamun, and Abu-Ali ibn-Sina (Avicenna) was invited by Khorezmshah from Bukhara. This ingenious scientist, doctor and philosopher had a huge influence on the development of european natural sciences.

The «Academy» of Mamun also included the doctor Abu-Al-Hasan Hammar, philosopher Abu-Sahl Masihi and a number of other, less well known scientists.

The «Academy» of Mamun was not a casual whim of the educated Khorezmshah. Khorezmian science long before this time held an outstanding place in the history of science of the East. We know little about the science of pre-Muslim, ancient and Afrigid Khorezm. But close analysis of monuments allows us to assert that already at that time the natural sciences had reached a high level of development in Khorezm: the exact canons of architectural proportions, careful building calculations, grandiose irrigational constructions, areas carefully leveled, the Khorezmian calendar and detailed astronomical terminology described by Biruni, the richness and variety of mineral paints in the decorative paintings of Toprakkala, magnificent ancient glass - all this would not have been possible without the development of geometry, trigonometry, astronomy, topography, chemistry, and mineralogy. Long trips of Khorezmian merchants described by Arabs and Chinese would have been impossible without the development and accumulation of geographical knowledge. And when later, Afrigid Khorezm was included into the Arabian caliphate, its scientists at once took the highest place among founders of so-called «Arabian science» - Arabian only by language, standing as a kind of Latin of the East, and in practice created by the scientists of Iran, Transcaucasia, Asia Minor, Central Asia and subsequently Spain.

The life and activity of the famous founder of «Arabian» mathematics and mathematical geography belongs to the end of the 8th beginning of the 9th century – the Khorezmian Mohammed ibn-Musa al-Khorezmi, his name being the source of the mathematical term «algorithm» (the con-

mon solution of any mathematical sum), and one of the words of the title of the mathematical treatise «al-Jabr» becomes algebra. Al-Khorezmi, was not only a mathematician, but also astronomer, geographer and historian. He held a high post at the court of the Abbasid caliph Al-Mamun. It is generally recognized that his work carried out the synthesis of Indian algebra and Greek geometry which lies at the source of modern mathematical science.

But was this only the individual creativity of Al-Khorezmi? The history of the ancient and Afrigid cultures of Khorezm discussed by us on previous pages allows us to assert that Al-Khorezmi is strong not only in his personal mathematical genius, but also that he was guided by centuries-old traditions of Khorezmian mathematics, evolved on the grounds of the practical needs of irrigation, travel, construction and trade, much as the wall paintings of Toprak-kala, relying on the best traditions of Greek and Indian culture. Al-Khorezmi introduced this mature Khorezmian mathematical science to the semi-barbarous Arabs, then to the European scientific world in Latin translations.

There is information that the geographer Al-Khorezmi participated in the embassy of the caliph to Hazaria – a role appropriate for a Khorezmian of the 8-10th centuries, and there are grounds to believe that it was he who founded the geography and ethnography of eastern Europe and who subsequently represented the world of Arabian geographical works in this part of the world. According to the authoritative recognition by V. V. Bartold, ²² his book «al-Kitab Surat al-Ard» - the book of «Images of the world» marked the beginning of Arabian geographical science.

The history of Khorezmian science reaches its culmination point in the creativity of Al-Biruni. Sciences like astronomy, geography, mineralogy, ethnography, history and poetry were all part of his vast learning. A number of treatises in different branches of science issued from his pen. He proved himself as an outstanding intellectual and first class researcher, and also as an independent thinker pointing to new ways in science. He acknowledged the validity of the geocentric and heliocentric pictures of the world, which was an outstanding advance in comparison with the concept of Ptolemy which dominated the thinking of Arabian scientists. His historical-geological theories on the history of the landscape of the northern Indian lowland and the history of the change of flow of the Amu-Darya

²² Hudud al-Alem. Page 8.

far trip the opinion of science of that time, coming nearer to modern science conceptions. We have the early work of Biruni «al-Asar al-Bakiat» - the atise about the chronologies of nations of the world-presenting testing to the extraordinary breadth of erudition of the Khorezmian scienting presenting a real treasure of data on the history of culture, philiphy, astronomy, and religion of various peoples.

freatise on mathematical and descriptive geography – the «Canon of Nd» and a brief guide to determining one's location using geodetic and graphical data, are still awaiting publication. A work of Biruni on minogy was recently published. The remarkable «History of India» by Biruissued by Zachau, testifies to his deep knowledge of language and cust of the country, the rich Sanskrit scientific literature, geography and ory of India, and is a brilliant sample of an historical-ethnographic mortaph without equal in medieval literature. «The history of Khorezm» by pai has not reached us; it is lost, but according to excerpts in works of Paki and the study by Biruni of chronologies, it was a work of paraint value.

pecial historical work of Biruni which has not reached us was deve to the revolt of Mukkana - one of the largest national movements

in Cal Asia of the 8th century.

rably, a special role belongs to Biruni, as well as Al-Khorezmi in the devement of geography and ethnography of eastern Europe, in the acquance of the countries of the Muslim East with Slavs and other Eastropean peoples. There are grounds to believe that due to Biruni, Arapr the first time learned about the Varangians-Normen and peoples of «country of gloom», the population of the European and Asian Arcfegions.

mi did not live long in his motherland. The «Academy» of Mamun

was short-lived

w series of dreadful political disorders approached.

head of the new early feudal despotism that replaced the government the state of the Samanids, Mahmud Ghazni – a descendant of Turflaves-guardsmen, who subordinated all the territory of present day hanistan and Iran – also tried to impose his rule on Khorezm. In 101 ordered Mamun II to send the well-known scientists collected at the t of Khorezmshah to Ghazna. Mamun had to obey. However the sciers did not express any great desire to go to the court of the ignorant int, and Abu-Sahl Masihi and Avicenna escaped from Khorezm.

The first died in the desert; the second disappeared in Gurgan, then in Hamadan and Ispahan.

The destiny of Biruni is not known. According to one source he obeyed the order of Mahmud; according to another he did not obey and remained in Khorezm.

However the revolt in Khorezm prepared through the intrigues of agents of Makhmud in 1017 resulted in the death of Mamun and the submission of Khorezm to the Gaznian conqueror. Therefore Biruni arrived in the capital of Mahmud already as a captive. The last thirty years of the great scientist's life were spent passed in the court of sultan Mahmud.

Altuntash – a protege of Mahmud who replaced Mamun on the Urgench throne was also a former Turkic slave-guardsman. As a powerful but devoted vassal of Gazna, he began to carry out an independent policy in relation to the Samanids but in many respects his politics were similar to those of Mamun I.

At the time of Harun – the successor of Altuntash, Khorezm proclaimed its independence from Gazna. In the same 1034, both Khorezm and Gazna became the victims of the aggressive movement of Turkic tribes, headed by the influential family of the aristocratic Oguz Seljukids.

We are leaving the state Oguz yagbu from Yangikent as it uses to become the most powerful contender of Khorezm in the struggle for hegemony over the Aral-Caspian steppes.

In the first half of the 11th century this state, having suffered defeat in the struggle against Khorezm, fell into sudden sociopolitical crisis.²³ The basic driving force of these events was the conflict of interests between the large cattle breeding aristocracy interested in development of trade relations with the oases and cities of Central Asia and the «Yatuks», the settled inhabitants of Oguz cities who wished to preserve the ancient system of life. Only faint echoes have come down to us of this struggle which, it seems, was acute. The nomadic aristocracy and the groups of tribes eager to expand their graizing lands began unauthorized migration from the territories of the state of Yagbu to Muslim owned lands – to the Karahanids near Bukhara, to Khorezm, under the protection of Harun, and further a field to Khorasan. This led finally to the conflict between the aristocracy and Yagbu Ali of Yangikent and his son and co-ruler Shah-Melik – the governor of Dzhend.

²³ See «Cities of Guzs», page 85.

At first this struggle developed favorably for the Shah - Malik, and the Oguz insurgents headed by Seljukids had to escape to Khorezm.

But disaster followed. The Seljukids defeated Shah Malik and forced him to retreat. His center of power transferred to Khorasan where the Seljukids seized in a number of cities, and in 1040 defeated the armies of Mas'ud Ghazni in a battle near Dendanakan (between Merv and Serakhs), seized the power over all the possessions of the Gaznevids and established the basis of the Seljuk empire.

Mas'ud sought an alliance in the struggle against the Seljukids with their old enemy – Shah Malik and gave him the idea to go to Khorezm. In early 1041 Shah Malik seized authority, having expelled Ismail - the successor of Harun, and ruled over the Oguz-Khorezmian empire till 1044, which for a short time became so strong in developing events, that Maudud - the third King of the Ghaznevid dynasty who replaced Mas'ud in 1042 recognized Shah Malik as his suzerain.

This was something the victorious Seljukids, naturally, could not accept in the light of these decisive events. In 1044 the armies of the Seljukids conquered Khorezm, compelling Shah Malik to take flight. He tried to continue the hopeless struggle in Iran but soon died there. The state of Khorezm ceased to exist.

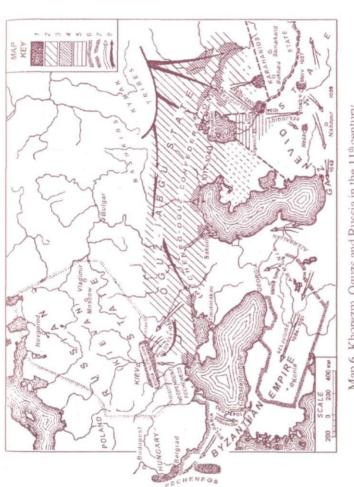
The subsequent fifty years were a dark period in the history of Khorezm. From the chronicle of Mirhond we learn that in approximately 1065 there was a large revolt in Khorezm against the Seljukids headed by Fagfur, Dzhazi and al-Kavshat, followed by the retaliatory expedition of Seljuk sultan Alp-Arslan.

The name of the first of leaders of the revolt is interesting: Fagfur (the Arabian transcription of the title Bagpur - «the Son of god [sun]») - as we saw the title of the secular king and military leader in the times of the Afrigids. It is possible that this was a last attempt to restorate the old dynasty.

Another thing to remember is that in the 8th century this title was carried by leaders of the antifeudal movement of communities and that the events of 1065 were the last gasp of antifeudal movements of the early Middle Ages.

Alp-Arslan suppressed the rebellion and restored the sovereignty of the Seljukids in Khorezm. Khorezm remained a remote province of the state of Seljukids for some decades.

During the second half of the 11th century there were several governors, including Seljuk princes. However, the might and brilliance of the



Map 6. Khorezm, Oguzs and Russia in the 11th century

1 - areas of settlements of migrated Oguzs and Pechenegs; 2 - state of Oguz Yagbu in the first half of the 11th century; 3 - centers Oguz-Pecheneg settlements; 4 - Khorezm; 5 - border of the Byzantium Empire; 6 - border of the Byzantium empire before the movement of Oguzs; 7 - migration of settlements and aggressive campaigns of Oguzs and Pechenegs, 8 - resettlements and campaigns of Kimakek tribes huge empire created by the conquerors, stretching from Kashgar up to Asia Minor, concealed the many reasons why it did not last long. The processes of consolidation of the feudal economy ended at the time of the Seljukids.

At the time of their predecessors the military-feudal system developed rather slowly, covering only the ruling layer of the society, and public relations were burdened by pre-feudal vestiges. During the period of Seljuks the feudal landed property constructed on the system of feudal investitures (ikta ') penetrated every layer of the society. Iktadar or Muktai, the imposer of taxes, becomes the basic figure of the ruling class; the dependent peasant settled on ikta' lands was obliged to pay duties for holding the land and was the main source of taxation. The army, machinery of state, the central and local administration - all were based on the system of ikta', which caused centrifugal tendencies in the state. Countless Seljuk princes and military leaders become independent sovereigns in various parts of the empire, and already by the beginning of the 12th century the authority of the supreme Seljuk sultans was conditional.

One of the first vassal states of the Seljuk empire where the governors, vassals and protégés of the Seljukids secured hereditary authority was Khorezm and rulers once again assumed the ancient title of Khorezmshahs.



Chapter 11

THE RISE AND FALL OF KHOREZM

The 12th century was a period of slow but steady rise of the political power of Khorezm, as it quickly recovered from the serious consequences of the events connected with the Seljuk conquest. Kutbeddin Mohammed I ibn-Anushtegin (1117-1127) was Altuntash the former slave-guardsman and the protégé of powerful Turkic governors of Iran and Central Asia. As Altuntash he pursued politics with great skill and vigour the course of traditional Mamunids.

In the first actions of Mohammed we can see the prototype of what later achieved full realization in the politics of his son, grandson, greatgrandson and great-grandson. He resolutely and successfully repulsed attacks of united Turkic tribes of the Aral region and parts of the broken Yangikent state of Yagbu, and organized campaigns to Mangyshlak by the old Khorezmian roads to the Caspian Sea.

The brilliant reign of his son Atsyz (1127-1156) is filled with tremendous events. He maneuvered between the dreaded external forces like his suzerain, the last «Great Seljuk» Sultan Sanjar and the Kara-kitais – the eastern conquerors who trespassed into Central Asia. Sometimes he recognized the suzerain of Sandzhar and sometimes openly rose in rebellion against him, quite often allied with the Kara-kitais, the enemies of Sandzhar, paying tribute to them while maintaining the formal sovereignty of the Seljukids over Khorezm.

At the same he persisted in the politicy of «collecting of the lands» that economically gravitated to Khorezm: he placed Mangyshlak under the supervision of Khorezm, probably creating some of the cities which belong to this time. He subordinated Dzhend to himself. By the end of his reign the sovereignty of Khorezm extended from the Caspian Sea up to the lower and middle Syr-Darya, uniting all the northwestern part of Central Asia.

The grandson of Atsyz, Alaeddin Tekesh ibn-Il-Arslan (1172-1200) was an outstanding figure too. If Atsyz had laid the foundation of actual independence and great-power politics of Khorezm, Tekesh was the real founder of the Khorezmian medieval empire. In 1194, in a decisive battle, the armies of the Khorezmishah defeated the army of the last Iranian Seljukid Togrul, and asserted the sovereignty of Khorezm over Iran; in 1195 the Baghdad caliph Nasir was defeated by the Khorezmians and recognized the authority of Tekesh over eastern (Persian) Iraq. The successful campaigns to the East against the Kara-kitais opened the way from Bukhara to Tekesh. Probably the vague statement of Garnati about the forty-year struggle of the Khorezmshah with the Alaeddin and Guzs for the city of Saksin in the lower course of Volga, most likely at the place of the old Khazar Itil, belongs to the period of Tekesh.

Alaeddin Mohammed II the son and the successor of Tekesh was the last of his father's line (1200-1220). He carried on a successful struggle with the Kara-kitais, took Samarkand and otrar (at the middle course of the Syr-Darya), extended his authority deep into Ghazna (in the south of Afghanistan), subordinated western Iran and Azerbaijan, and carried out a courageous campaign far into the territory of Deshti-kypchak (present Kazakhstan).

The war ended with the collapse of the Kara-kitai empire. Mohammed appropriated the title «the second Alexander». At his court 27 subordinated governors or their sons heralded the dawn beating on gold drums as his hostages.

Mohammed planned to destroy the Abbasid caliph, the nominal suzerain of the Muslim world, weakened in military-political terms, but still retaining significant traditional ideological influence. To caliph Nasir he opposed his protégé, the one who had been put forward from descendants of Aliy the fourth caliph, «the son-in-law of the prophet» thereby being allying himself with the Shiah groupings, who had been hostile to the Abbasids for a long time. Mohammed's army undertook a campaign to Baghdad, which failed due to the onset of an early winter that closed passes, and because of the news about the advance of Mongolian armies at the borders of the Khorezm Empire.

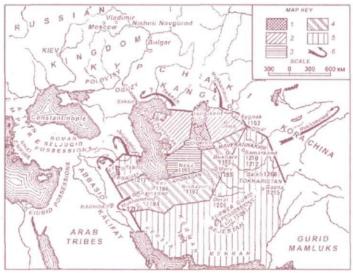
This was the basic shape of the foreign policy of the Khorezm empire of Atsyz –Tekesh till the moment of its dramatic fall under the impact of Mongolian hordes.

The external events hide deep processes of the rise of economic power of medieval Khorezm.

Looking at these events, we feel the bones of the skeleton of this huge feudal monarchy: the huge irrigation works, the newly recovered hundreds of hectares of fertile lands, the construction of boundary fortresses at the rim of deserts – the fortifications of strategic and trading roads to Khorasan and Maverannakhr in the depth of the deserts of Deshti-kypchak, the new thriving city life, the crafts, the trade and the magnificent and rich development of art of the «Khorezmian Renaissance» which exerted a strong influence on all further history of art culture in Central Asia, Iran, and Volga region.

Yakut, the well-known Arabian traveler and geographer, and the author of several volumes of the geographical encyclopedia, unique among the medieval geographical literature of the entire world, visited Khorezm before the Mongolian invasion.

Yakut writes «I do not think that somewhere in the world there are lands so extensive and inhabited as the Khorezmian lands, and at the same



Map 7. Expansion of the state of the Khorezmshahs in the 12-13th centuries 1 – territory of Khorezm during Kutbeddin Mohammed I (till 1127); 2 - same, adjoined by Atsyz (1127-1156); 3 - same, adjoined by II-Arslan (1156-1172); 4 - same, adjoined by Tekesh (1172-1200); 5 - same, adjoined by Mohammed II (1200-1220);

6 - campaigns of Khorezmshahs

time these people have to live in difficult conditions. Most settlements of Khorezm are cities with markets, basic supplies and shops. Only a few settlements have no marketplaces. All this is under general safety and full serenity».

In another source he states «I do not think that in the world there is a city similar to the capital city of Khorezm in terms of wealth and size as well as in the size of the population and their propriety and religious observance». ²

The writing of Yakut is authoritative as he is known to have traveled around most of the Muslim world.

Irrigational constructions of the «Great Khorezmshah» epoch can be especially well tracked in the area of the «the lands of ancient irrigation» southwest of Khorezm in the basin of the huge dead channel of Chermenyab. This channel being the continuation of the modern channel Gazavat, in the early Middle Ages, in the Afrigid and Mamun times, it reached only the city of Zamahshar (the present Ancient settlement Zmuhshir).

In the 12th century this channel was restored 70km further into the desert and reached the ruins of Shah-Senem with extensive agricultural areas around it and many monuments.

Life in the irrigated lands of the basin Gavhor developed rapidly. In the vicinity of the ruined Kavat-kala fortress are excellently preserved monuments of that epoch. It is now a dead oasis with stunning ruins stretching from the ruins Dzhildyk-kala up to Kavat-kala and further to the north approximately one third of the distance between Kavat-kala and Toprak-kala.

This line of takyrs stretching for 15 kilometers along the dry channel of Gavhor, and 2-3 kilometers wide, was entirely covered with ruins of fortresses, palaces and unfortified country manors scattered among the well-preserved layout of medieval fields, contoured with strips of distributive and irrigating channels.

We have registered over ninety country manors on a strip of 8km directly adjoining Kavat-kala. If we compare the population of the area at Kavat-kala fortress with the Afrigid - Berkut-kala where in an area of 35km there are about 35 manors it is easy to conclude that the density of the population increased approximately twice over!

¹ Yakut, II, 481; MITT, I, 419.

² Yakut, II, 486; MITT, I, 421.

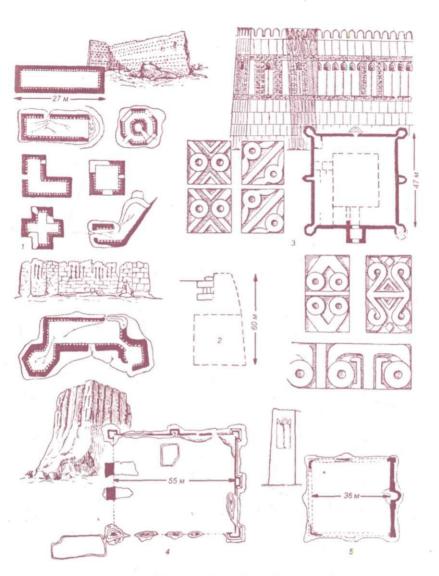


Fig. 90. Monuments of Khorezmian culture of the 10-13th centuries: Kavat-kala and other monuments

1 – types of Kaptar-hana (pigeon loft); 2 - layout of one of the manors of Kavat-kala oasis; 3 – layout and ornaments of the façade, fortress№3 (Fig. 1-3 (12-13thcc.); Naib-kala; 5 - Buran-kala№2 (Fig. 4 and 5 (10-11th centuries)



Fig. 91. Medieval artefacts of the Khorezmian culture

1 - alabaster omaments of internal walls, Kavat-kala palace; 2 - rose window of carved wooden door, Kavat-kala palace; 3 - ceramics and stone boilers from Kavat-kala and other monuments of the oasis; 4 - Fragments of millstones (Kavat-kala);

5 - metal ornaments (Zmuhshir); 6 - slip glazed ceramics (Narindzhan); 7 - slip glazed ceramics (Zmuhshir) Fig. 1-4 (12-13th centuries; Fig. 5-7 (10-11th centuries)

The analysis of the group of buildings in Kavat-kala gives a good picture of the structure of Khorezmian society of the 12-13th centuries The center of Kavat-kala is a small city-fortress with the ruins of the palace building richly decorated with carved piecing. Along the channel near the fortress there are four castles showing characteristics of this epoch; they are square fortifications with rectangular ledges of portals, with conical arches, with cut decorative turrets on corners. The fortresses do not have donzhons (upper level rooms); living premises are located along walls with a wide yard inside. The walls of the fortress are thin and have no serious defensive value. In some fortresses these walls are covered on the outside with a fine carving on crude clay forming effective decorative panels.

Around the fortresses there are numerous manors of small landowners and peasants surrounded by short pise walls. The manors closely adjoin one another and have irregular outlines determined by the arrangement of roads and ditches. At one of the walls of the manor there is a house with many rooms having the characteristic layout of the rural architecture of present day Khorezm. The house has two main premises or groups of premises divided by a wide covered entrance passage (in a present day Uzbek manor it is called dalis), an opening at the niche of the entrance and limited on both sides by face planes of the main premises. The walls were built of airbrick.

Each manor included an original building, either adjoining the house or located separately. This long narrow and high building, as a rule with traces of inlaid floor and many niches on the inside, gives the impression of a «Kaptar-khana» (dovecot), a local building term. However, our excavation has shown that these were not dovecots at all but inhabited premises, probably corresponding to the «Mehman-khana» - guestrooms - of the modern Uzbek house. The bays had only decorative value and according to Ibn-Batuta, who described such a «guest room» in the house of the Urgench kaziy, were covered with curtains and were used to keep decorative glass and metal utensils.

Most of the Kaptar-khana are of rectangular layout, but there are also other types: angular Kaptar-khana of various shapes - which were located in the corner of the manor, while Kaptar-khana with turrets adjoins the facade of the manor and simulates a wall of a small fortress. In other areas other layouts can be seen, as, for example, many-sided and crosswise Kaptar-hana, near Kzylcha-kala at Chermen-yab.

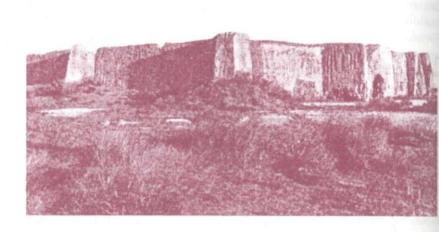


Fig. 92. Ruins of fortress, Kavat-kala №3

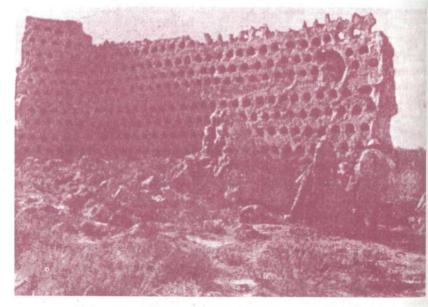


Fig. 93. «Kaptar-khana» near Kavat-kala

Probably Kaptar-khana should be considered as the remote decorative vestige of the Afrigid dwelling tower - donzhon. The high two-storied buildings rising above the buildings of manors gave the rural architectural presence of the Khorezmshah epoch of the early Middle Ages.

The walls of Kaptar-khana on the outside were quite often covered with clay carving or with a number of thin half-columns – a further decorative modification of half-columns of Afrigid architecture.

The picture of a mature feudal settlement revealed itself: a small town – the residence of a prince or governor of the rustak, fortresses of large feudal lords and unfortified manors of small landowners and peasants give us a convincing picture of the feudal hierarchical partition of the society. In the Afrigid epoch a peasant lived in a small fortified fortress similar to the fortress of an aristocrat, being still equal in rights with the owner of the big fortress, later there was a great difference between the manor of a feudal lord and the manor of a peasant.

It is significant, however, that the fortress of a feudal lord is only a decorated «fortress». There is a decorative degeneration of the private fortification - the growth in political centralization making unnecessary the former strongholds of the aristocracy.

An absolutely different picture emerges of the state fortification. The big fortresses such as Guldursun, Kavat-kala and Zamahshah tell us about the progressive development of fortification of the large Afrigid fortresses. The barriers before the walls, double lines of external towers flanking the approaches to the wall, powerful buildings in front of the gates, more often having a semicircular layout, with the entrance located in such a way that the enemy attacking it would turn with his unprotected side to the wall; all this testifies to the persistent search for new defensive methods, and the large size of the fortresses created by the government of Khorezmshahs is evidence of its power.

Many cities of this epoch showed features of the medieval Central Asian city which have survived up to the 19-20th centuries: the crosswise layout of the main streets with a centering building like in Daudan-kala, for example, the cathedral mosque. In general, the city has a rectangular outline, but, as opposed to former times, such a layout is applied in districts, instead of in a preliminary plan of construction of the city, which grows spontaneously, causing significant deviations from the rectangular layout.

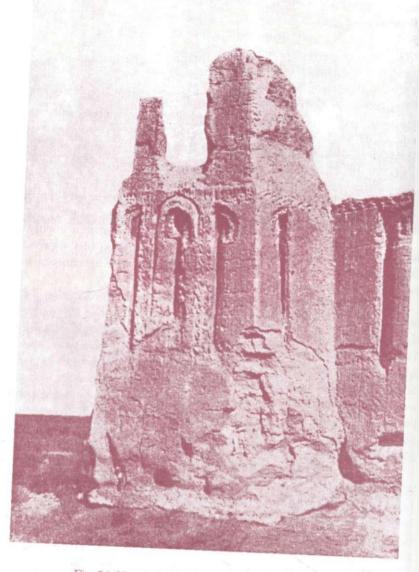


Fig. 94. View of «Kaptar-khana» near Narindzhan



Fig. 95. Monuments of medieval Khorezmian cultures. Fortresses of the 12-13th centuries 1 - Kavat-kala; 2 - 4 - Big Guldursun

Ceramic and other household materials of the monuments of the 12-13th centuries give us an idea of the thriving applied arts.

The «reisk» and «kashan» multi-color ceramics, along with mass monochrome and painted turquoise slip-glazed utensils and slip-glazed gray and black vessels with rich relief ornament, reflect the same stylistic tendencies as the architectural monuments, with their magnificent decorations, bays, half-columns, carved clay and mended panels.

The culture of the aggressive farmers of the Afrigid epoch which had few colors was in the distant past. It was replaced by the refined civilization of «great Khorezm sheiks» blossoming in the cities and unfortified settlements under protection of the mighty walls of fortresses erected by a state responsible for defense.

However the glittering picture of medieval Khorezmian culture of the 12-13th centuries cannot ignore the tragic events of 1218-1230.

Khorezm of the 12-13th centuries is a developing feudal monarchy with all the strengths and weaknesses peculiar to a feudal monarchy of the West or East. The political centralization process was progressive, but involved a bitter struggle between various hierarchies of feudal lords; first of all between the layer depending on landowners and the large feudal lords, sovereign princes who were not satisfied with their role at the solemn «Dawn of Iskander» in the Urgench palace, even if the drums had been made of gold.

The situation in Khorezm was complicated further by the role of nomadic tribes and their feudal-tribal aristocracy, something that western monarchies did not have to deal with.

The Khorezmian heavy cavalry that was so effective in the Khorezm and Hazaria of the 11th century had long ceased to support the authority of Khorezm sheiks. As in the Samanid and Seljuk Empires a large role in the Khorezmian army was played by the guards of «Gulyams» (slave-guardsmen). In the 12-13th centuries the basic military force of Khorezm sheiks was composed of hired and allied Turkic contingents - mainly Kingly and Turkmens headed by princes, relatives of the ruling dynasty.

During the 12th century Khorezmshahs would regularly marry daughters of aristocratic families of these tribes. It was something like a constitutional Khorezmian empire. It was essential that while the governor of Khorezm carried the ancient Khorezmian title «Khorezmshah» and Arabian «sultan», the first wife of the Khorezmshah acted under the ancient

Turkic «Hatun». Thus, the Khorezmian empress was the carrier of the supreme sovereignty of empire in relation to Turkic tribes.

Hatun in some cases acted as elector after the death of the Khorezmshah, nominating one of his sons to succeed the throne.

An especially important figure for Khorezm was Turkan-hatun - widow empress, the wife of Tekesh and mother of Mohammed, the influential leader of the military-aristocratic «Ancient Khorezmian» party at the court of Mohammed. She had a court to rival that of Khorezmshah; she decided appointments of high-ranking officials, and at her discretion vetoed orders of the Khorezmshah. She was surrounded by various representatives of the military aristocracy of the Turkic tribes and military leaders of the Khorezmshah.

Contradictions in the ruling clique of the empire especially increased during Mohammed's reign.

The end of the Khorezmian empire resulted in pushing the initial core (Khorezm) into the background, to the far northern edge of the state. The rich centers of Iran and Maverannakhr, previously the old capital Karahanids - Samarkand, appear from an economic, military-political and social point of view much more suitable centers for the huge state whose basic interests spread to the Middle and Near East, and Muslim military elements and trading cities become the basic social support of the imperial authority. This motivated Mohammed to move the capital to Samarkand; but Turkan-hatun was opposed to this decision.

In Khorezm, due to its rapidly developing economy, successful wars, and thriving trade at the time of «Great Khorezmshahs» there was a relative increase of prosperity and, accordingly, a lessening of class contradictions on the periphery of the empire. This was followed by the decline of the well-being of people caused by long wars and extensive tax collections by the Khorezmshahs for soldiers and allies in newly acquired lands, not to mention direct robbery of the population by the victorious Khorezmian armies. The same events motivated the local aristocracy to compensate for external losses by increased exploitation of the peasantry and handicraftsmen and, accordingly, to aggravation of the class struggle.

The events of the beginning of the 13th century in Bukhara are a good example of this struggle. Before joining the Khorezmian empire Bukhara represented an original, feudal-theocratic state headed by a hereditary dynasty of spiritual feudal lords - the «sadrs», relying on city aristocrats. Handicraftsmen led by Sindzhar a master shield-maker rose against the

Sadrs. He managed to seize power. According to Dzhuveyni, Sindzhar ignored the city aristocracy in full neglect - proof of his democratic politics.

In 1207 Khorezmshah Mohammed acted with the aid of the aristocratic party and took power in Bukhara. According to Dzhuveyni, «the son of the shields seller received tribute from the deserts».

Yakut (I, 296) testifies about bitter struggles in the religious society and at the opposite end of the empire of Khorezmshahs: in Isfahan - in western Iran and in Rhea –northern Iran: «Also at this time and before it there was devastation in its vicinity (Isfahan) owing to frequent religious struggle between shafiits and hanafits and continuous wars between both parties, and every time one group won, it plundered the quarter of another, burnt and devastated it».

«And these ruins you can see», wrote Yakut in Rhea, «in the quarters of Shiites and Hanafits, and the quarter known under the name Shafiit, and the smallest of quarters of Rhea; and no Shiite or Hanafits remained, except for those who hid their religion. And I found all their dwellings built underground; the gates leading to their dwellings are extremely dark and hard to pass; they have done this owing to frequent attacks of armies. And if they had not, they probably would not have survived (in Rhea)».

Bartold and especially Yakubovsky³ managed to show that the religious trend mentioned by Yakut based on this epoch was due to certain social groups: Shafiits united the feudal lords and city aristocracy, Hanafits depended on city handicraftsmen, and Shiism was widespread among peasants. We see, thus, in the story of Yakut, proof of open civil war between the feudal-merchant top layer and the city masses acting in union with the peasantry in the war that brought Rhea to the full destruction of democratic groupings.

We have to take into consideration the Ismailit movement and the traditions of the early Middle Ages of the Karmates which experienced a new popularity in the 12-13th centuries. This movement headed by the remnants of the semi-feudal semi-patriarchal aristocracy of rural communities and backward mountain areas built itself on the discontent of countrymen. Being based on the fortresses spread in the various corners of the country, Ismailits repeatedly seized power in extensive areas of eastern

³ C.C. Bartold. The history of peasant movements in Persia. Collection in honor of Kareev «From the far and near past», page 61: A.Y. Yakubovsky. The feudal society of Central Asia and its trade with Europe in the 10-15th centuries MIUTT. I, page 34.

Iran, and played a considered role in the history of the last tragic decade of the Khorezmian Empire.

These circumstances were a source of military-political weakness of Khorezm in its fatal struggle against the Mongolian conquerors.

The Mongolian invasion burst onto the scene when the process of consolidation of the empire was at its height, when the effects of Mohammed is unifying actions were still being felt, and when the above-mentioned contradictions were especially acute. The ruins of Iraq devastated by the armies of Khorezmshah and the caliph were still smoking, and the surviving inhabitants hid in earth houses. The palace of «Malik Sindzhar» was still standing in Bukhara, and the proud lords of yesterday continued beating gold drums in the palace, contenders of the «second Alexander». The blood of the last Samarkand Karakhanids killed by Mohammed had not dried and the intoxication of the victorious Turkic commanders and soldiers of the Khorezmshah had not passed, and they behaved as the victors of the united lands of Khorezm. The apportionating of Kara-kitai inheritances between Mohammed and Kuchluk khan who conquered eastern Turkestan and Semirechye had not yet finished, and the fatal struggle between Khorezmshah and Nasir, caliph of Baghdad, was at its very height when the first prospecting groups of the dreaded army of Chingis-khan appeared on the eastern border of Khorezm.

Here we will not dwell on the history of the formation of the Mongolian state. We shall mention only the most essential moments necessary for understanding how events developed that defined the destiny of Khorezm. We have seen the sources of military-political weakness of the Khorezmian empire in its collision with the Mongols. What was the source of the strength of the latter?

The Mongolian state was founded as a result of the long social struggle among the Mongolian tribes, the most backward tribes of Central Asia, who in the past constituted the remote periphery of the ancient Central Asian semi-barbarous Turkic, Uigur and Kirghiz empires. Mongols were only very superficially affected by the influence of these powerful political associations and preserved their barbarous socioeconomic structure, only slowly and gradually disintegrating under influence of the growth of productive forces.

The struggle preceding the establishment of the Chingis-khani empire is a reminder of the class struggle during the formation of the Turkic Kagan in the 6-8th centuries A.D. and even the Hun empire of the 3rd cen-

tury B.C. Here, as well as there, the powerful tribal aristocracy, vassals to China, stood against free soldier-nomads more and more enslaved by the aristocracy, looking for the way out of the crisis by the realization of military-slaveholding tendencies of development, and by external expansion.

Chingis-khan came from the lower classes of the tribal aristocracy. He was the son of a small tribal leader. After the death of his father stronger relatives plundered his propriety. A typical military adventurer, in the beginning - the leader of a predatory gang. Chingis used the discontent of the destitute broad masses to win the struggle against powerful opponents. He created a strong centralized military-slaveholding state and followed a policy of expansion the success of which was the necessary condition of his own existence.

Chingis-khan carried out a system of ambitious military and administrative reforms which broke with the family-tribal association of the Mongols and transformed the Mongolian people into a monolithic, well-organized army in which the ancient family-tribal principle of organization was replaced by a militia-territorial system with division into dozens, hundreds, thousands, and tumans (10 thousand), being simultaneously both military-mobilization and administrative units. The basic principle was not new, but few of his predecessors were able to carry out the reforms with such iron resolve. The backwardness of the Mongols in the skilful hands of the reformer became a powerful force: the family-tribal aristocracy was still too weak to resist the politics of Chingis. The traditions of barbarous unity and the relatively weak development of class antagonisms among the Mongolian people were widely exploited by Chingis in his unifying politics. His genius as a commander from the very beginning led to constant success both in his military enterprises and when faced with any serious internal opposition.

In his military reforms, Chingis-khan combined the unity of the Mongols with the best achievements of Chinese military science, the most advanced for that epoch.

The excellent organization of his staff, in particular with regards to spying, both strategic and political, wide use of Chinese siege artillery, brilliant development of tactical and strategic reserves – all this raised the army of Chingis-khan in military matters far above the armies of his enemies. The knightly army of the Khorezmshah, with magnificent individual fighting qualities of individual soldiers and military leaders, but poorly organized, and torn by internal contradictions, clashed with the Mongo-

lian army led by the single will of the commander and working as a welloiled machine.

The completely new strategic principle in the approach to nomadic wars played a huge role in Chingis-khan's victory in the western campaign. Unlike his predecessors, Chingis saw the importance of be siegining the enemy's fortified fortresses. Khorezmshah Mohammed's main strategic mistake was not to consider this strategig innovation, a mistake which decided the outcome of the war.

Having a significant advantage in numbers (according to the estimation of contemporaries and recent researchers, the Mohammed's soldiers numbered about 300 thousand persons while Chingis-khan could not have had more than 100 thousand), Mohammed did not choose to engage in decisive battle, as suggested him by some of his advisers.

Instead he dispersed his forces in fortresses, having allocated large strategic reserves beyond the Amu-Darya obviously counting on the fact that the Mongolian armies spreading over unprotected settlements for plurdering purposes then when weakened and demoralized and then the strong garrisons of the fortresses supported by the main forces would be ready beyond the Amu-Darya and would easily destroy the conquerors. He did not foresee of the Mongols' siege tactics. The plan of Mohammed was typically feudal in its principles. People were deliberately left as victims to the conquerors.

This plan was quite good in war with the usual enemies – Kara-kitai, Kypchaks, Gurs or the armies of caliph Nasir. But this plan was completely unsuitable against Chingis-khan. Despite an heroic defense of some of the cities (Hodzhent, Otrar, later the capital of the empire Urgench), one by one, they fell. The attacked cities such as Otrar, Yangikent and Hodzhent, including the flanks of the defense front of the Khorezmshah, did not offer serious resistance.

The choice of where to focus the main impact was not accidential: the recently annexed rich cities of ancient Sogd were the weakest link on the eastern periphery. Their trading relations with Central Asia and China involved strong groupings among the trading class with close connections to the Mongols and interest in the success of the latter. This «fifth column» of venal traitors played a fatal role in events. The so-called «Otrar catastrophe» served as a causus belli of 1218 – when a big group of Moslem merchants (mainly from Bukhara) who arrived from Mongolia with a message from Chingis were executed by Kairhan Inalchih, the

Khorezmian governor of Otrar, who with good reason suspected them of espionage, thereby forecasting the terrible events of 1220-1230.

The attack on Bukhara isolated the strong garrison of Samarkand which was soon subjected to the same fate and divided the possessions of the Khorezmshah and confronted Mohammed with the victorious enemy whose front detachments soon reached the Amu-Darya. At the same time the amazing success of the enemy served as a signal of the disintegration of the huge army of Mohammed and the unleashing of all the contradictions in his state. Mohammed's attempt to create a new base for defense in his western territories failed: he did not receive any support from the vassals, and twenty thousand troops under the best commanders of Chingis – Dzhebe and Subutay – pursued him to one of the Caspian islands where he died. The empire collapsed. Khorezm, according to Dzhuveyni, «remained among countries like a tent with cut ropes».

The heroic but fruitless ten year struggle of the last Khorezmshah Jelaleddin to rescue the state is one of the most tragic and majestic pages of the history of this epoch. Having attained the throne despite in the intrigues of a worthless court clique headed by Turkan-hatun and Ozlagshah, Jelaleddin's brother, the pretender to the throne Jelaleddin, supported by kypchak perty, made Ghazna, at the extreme southeast of the Khorezm empire, the center of resistance.

Covered with the glory of victories over the Mongols he arrived having been compelled to flee Urgench due to intrigues of relatives preparing to murder him. His name is connected with the rout in 1216 of the advanced detachment of Mongols at Irgiz; upon fleeing Urgench he defeated a large detachment of Mongols at Nesa (near present day Ashgabat) who blocked the roads to Khorezm. He gathered a large force in Gazna and won the battle near Pervana against the Mongols, for the first time in military history having opposed bow shooters to Mongolian cavalry, tactics only used by Englishmen much later. Chingis-khan was compelled personally to march against Jelaleddin with his main forces. In a fierce fight on the banks of the Indus (November, 1221), when the military success of Jelaleddin was on the wane, Chingis-khan introduced tactical reserves in the fight and managed to break down the enemy. Jelaleddin entered the fight with armies weakened by betrayal and the desertion of armies of nomadic military leaders who engaged in looting.

On the banks of the Indus a tragic scene took place. Jelaleddin did not have a ferry, and he lost his eight-year old son who was taken prisoner by

Chingis and killed. Jelaleddin ordered that the child's mother and all his wives be killed to relieve them of the shame of captivity. On a horse the Khorezmshah rushed into the river and under the arrows of Mongols passed on to the Indian bank.

Jelaleddin stayed in India for three years which were full of fights and political intrigues. Having gathered all his strength in 1224 he again entered the struggle for restoration of his power in Khorezm. He reached Kerman at the extreme southwest of the Khorezmian territory where the Mongols had not yet penetrated and restored his authority there. He restored sovereignty over Fars, east of Iraq and Azerbaijan. The main possessions of Khorezm in Central Asia, in Khorasan, and Khorezm itself were laying in smoking ruins. In the west Jelaleddin tried to create a new base of resistance. He was met with delight by the inhabitants of the Iranian cities where the Khorezmians had been engaged in dreadful fights and unbelievable campaigns in the mountains and deserts and entered in a celebratory triumphal procession.

The destructive forces of feudal disintegration had done their work. Governors of the Khorezmshah in the remote provinces plotted against him. Assasin-ismailts began hostile actions.

Atabeg of Azerbaijan, Seljukid sultans of Konya, and the caliph of Baghdad were concerned with the neighboring famous commander and prepared attacks from behind. They used words proclaiming Jelaleddin a unique shield of Muslim civilization against barbarian pagans, but in practice they were ready to stab him in the back at the first opportunity.

Jelaleddin delivered some more crushing blows to the Mongols, again showing his force and military genius. But he could not consolidate these victories. He was compelled to flee into the country, as constant threats to the integrity of the state arose.

These events affected Jelaleddin as a statesman. A talented commander, the most brilliant of knights of the East, he reminds us of the glorified king-knight of the medieval West – a senior contemporary of Richard the Lion Heart. But Jelaleddin appeared to be a weak politician and absolutely worthless diplomat. Political plans were suggested to him by advisers, but he could not take advice, and destroyed the plans when they apparently were close to realization.

Having failed to achieve union with the Christian state of Transcaucasia by diplomatic means he got involved in an unnecessary and harmful war with Georgia, passed through it with fire and sword, leaving a terrible memory among the Georgian people about his short-lived sovereignty. He was not able to show enough flexibility in relations with caliph Muntasir and especially with the Seljukid and Ayubid emirs of Syria, Armenia and Asia Minor who were ready to recognize his hegemony. He began military actions. Marx writes in chronological extracts: «The battle (near Helat) continued for three days; the main forces of Mohammedans in Asia died to the advantage of the Mongols».

After another defeat at the hands of the Mongols Jelaleddin was not able to gather sufficient armies after the events of Helat, and with a small detachment he disappeared in the mountains of Taurus and there, in 1231, he died, murderered by a Kurd who took revenge for his brother who was killed at Helat.

Despite all the negative sides of Jelaleddin's actions, contemporaries thought much of his heroic efforts to clear his native land of Mongolian barbarity.

According to the contemporary Ibn-al-Asir, even many years after his death, peoples of the Muslim East did not believe in the death of their hero. There was a legend that he was alive and gathering new forces at a secret place for a decisive attack on the Mongols. But the hopes were vain. When Mongolian Hulagu hordes appeared in Iran, Iraq, Azerbaijan, and Georgia, nobody was able to resist the barbarians. The gloomy night of the bloody Mongolian slavery spread its wings over the countries of the Middle and the Near East.

The development of the first feudal monarchy of the East was interrupted. Khorezm was devastated, Urgench and other cities were leveled to the ground and their inhabitants were either killed or taken in captivity to Mongolia. Thousands of hectares of fertile lands, especially on the right bank of the river, lay in desolation.

The core of the Khorezmian empire was divided between two barbarous powers – Ulus of Jurchi (left bank) and Jagatai (right bank).

The «lands of ancient irrigation» of the right-bank Khorezm are proof of these terrible events. The rustak of the Kavat-kala fortress, the great ruins of Guldursun stand as a dark monument to the Mongolian invasion which has seen no equal before or since. And when in the beginning of the 14th century, Ibn-Batuta went from Khorezm to Bukhara to the east of Kiat, in the rustaks of Gavhor, he did not meet any settlement, not even in the heart of Khorezm, between Urgench and Kiat.

⁴ Arch. ME, V. page 222.



Chapter 12

THE SECRET OF UZBOI

(from the diary of the expedition in 1947)

The Persian geographer of the 14th century Hamdallah Kazvini, in his description of the Caspian Sea, said that «Jeyhun (Amu-Darya) which used to run into the Eastern sea, located opposite the country of Yazhudzh and Madzhudzh at about the time of the Mongols, has changed its flow towards the [Caspian] Sea».

The same was reported by the 15th century Hafizi Abru, who speaks rather improbably of the disappearance of the Aral Sea and the flowing of the Syr-Darya into the Amu-Darya by 1417.

In the 17th century the well-known Khorezmian khan and historian Abulghazi tells about the same events at the beginning of the 16th century; that at that time the Amu-Darya flowed near Urgench to the southwest up to the eastern rim of the Balkh mountains and from there turned west and ran into the Caspian Sea.

«On both banks of the Amu-Darya from Ogurchi [the natural boundary near Krasnovodsky bay], according to Abulghazi, there were cultivated lands, vineyards and groves... There were no limits to the population and prosperity».

Abulghazi claims in another sources that 30 years prior to his birth, i.e., in 1573, the river changed its present channel and the current to the Caspian Sea stopped. The Khiva chronicle of Munis (19th century) refers this event to 1578.

Analysis of this evidence, as well as earlier materials by V. V. Bartold the greatest Russian historian-orientalist lead to the conclusion, that data on the ancient current of the Amu-Darya to the Caspian Sea preserved by ancient authors and Makdisi belong to mythical times long before the 10th

century indicate that the river ran, as now, into the Aral Sea, but that between the 13th and 16th centuries it flowed into the Caspian Sea, filling the ancient channel Uzboi coiling along the eastern slope of Ustyurt and the southern slopes of the Balhan mountains from Sarykamysh to Krasnovodsky bay.

The legend about the recent flow of the Amu-Darya into the Caspian Sea brought by Turkmen ambassadors to Russia enthralled Peter the Great and this was one of his reasons for sending the expeditions of Bekovich-Cherkassky to the eastern bank of the Caspian Sea and to Khiva; the expedition was assigned to find a way to establish a direct water route to India.

The problem of the origin and age of the Uzboi, the well defined ancient channel crossing the western part of the Kara-kum desert excited researchers for a long time. Historians and geographers, geologists and irrigators, scientists and laymen have devoted many pages to this problem.

When we speak about this today, two points of view can be well defined: one of them, the historians' view is based on Bartold's reasons we mentioned above; another, shared by geographers and geologists, was reflected in a monograph by A.S.Kes¹ and in summary works on paleontology geography of the USSR written by I.P.Gerasimov and K.K.Markov.²

The authors of these works represent the last word in modern Soviet geographical science based on long and versatile field research, and come to the conclusion that there was no basis to posit the existence of the Uzboi as a river. The Uzboi due to its size could never be the main channel of the Amu-Darya. The well proven paleontological history of the formation of the Uzboi valley shows that the well defined river channel was formed after the Hvala transgression (overflow due to geological layer shifts) of the Caspian Sea, and the termination of the water flow goes back to the last geological shift of the Caspian Sea as confirmed by the Cardium edule L. mollusk remains found in the sediments at the bottom of the Lower Uzboi.

The time of this geological transgression cannot be defined exactly. However the majority of modern paleo-geographers put the history of the Sarykamysh-Uzboi systems in the quaternary period. Gerasimov and Markov write on this matter as follows: «The epoch of the Hvala trans-

A.S. Kes. Bed of Uzboi and its genesis. TIG AN USSR. XXX, 1939.

² I.P. Gerasimov and K.K. Markov. Quaternary geology. M., 1939. Same by them. Glacial age on the territory of the USSR, M. - L., 1939.

gression and the time of existence and functioning of the Aral-Sarykamysg-Uboi systems can be considered more or less simultaneous with the last (Valdai) congelation in the north of the USSR».³

A.S. Kes is more cautious in this question. She writes that «now the question of the time of termination of flow in Uzboi is not clear, or even whether it existed during historical time or not» though obviously she is inclined to give a negative answer.

The decisive word in the dispute between historians and geologists undoubtedly belongs to archaeologists.

«Studying the Uzboi ruins» according to A.S. Kes is undoubtedly of great interest. It is very important to establish the former purpose of these monuments and time of their construction. It is possible that these data would give many interesting and completely unexpected results for resolving the problem».⁴

In the beginning of October 1947 our expedition tried to contribute to the explanation of the Uzboi problem.

The monuments on Uzboi were repeatedly described by travelers, by such great researchers, as Konshin, Obruchev and others. Soviet geographers and geologists such as B.A.Fedorovich and A.S. Kes collected a significant amount of flinty instruments on takyrs of Uzboi relating to the late Neolithic and Bronze Ages, probably the 4th – 2nd millennia B.C. Only one of these monuments was visited by an expert archaeologist.

In our investigations we tried to look at the whole problem: we decided to put aside the monuments of primeval culture and to focus our attention on the problem of the history of Uzboi valley from the times when there were buildings which have been preserved. This restriction enabled us to rely entirely on our airplane, on a combination of visual air prospecting, photography of monuments, and landings at the most interesting of them.

In Uzboi-Sarykamysh province we chose a site already familiar to us:the ruins of the old Vazir – Dev-Kesken where we made a detailed archaeological and architectural description of these ruins and the large medieval city of Shemaha-kala located nearby.

October 3-4 were devoted to flights above Erburun, the natural boundary adjoining Vazir on the west to Ustyurt, up to Assake-Kaudan where

^{3 «}Glacial age», page 435,

⁴ Channel of Uzboi, page 110.

we discovered ruins of a small stone fortress – contemporary with late medieval Vazir. We returned to our base through the northern edge of the Sarykamysh basin.

«October 5. At last, we (M.A. Orlov, pilots CENTURY Gedda and M.Dubovoi and I) took off for our decisive flight to the south, near Uzboi, up to the bend at Ak-Yalinsk. All evening was devoted to careful study of the route. The weather made us worry a little: the sun set in crimson clouds. At dawn on the southern and western horizon there was a haze, foretelling a strong wind. It is silent on the plateau. Perhaps, everything will be all right. At 9:38 the planes take off. At 9:45 we crossed Daryalyk, the wide meanderings of the old channel, the gray bottom overgrown with saxaul, the gray bank covered by small bushes. As was the case yesterday there are traces of the layout of late medieval fields and canals.

9:55. In front of us there are meanderings of the former river-bed of Daudan. It is a very flat, feebly marked channel going from the east and bending southwest. Along the bank of Daudan there are no traces of irrigation.

10:03. The channel crosses our course, sometimes goes to the left. On the right, between the Daudan and Daryalyk rivers we see fields and gardens.

10:09. On the left side we see the outlines of the Tarym-gai heights. 5 minutes later, the landscape below has changed. Instead of the gray clay plain overgrown by rare bushes there are smooth white takyrs with small sandy barchans. No traces of culture there.

The weather obviously is not favorable. For already 20 minutes on the right, beyond the haze we can hardly see the heights of Buten-tau. The yellow-gray haze comes quickly in front of us. The wind grows stronger every minute throwing the plane up and down.

After a few minutes we break through a sand storm and sink in the whirling mist. The leading plane is hardly visible.

The earth and the sky are disappearing. The planes are battered ruthlessly. After a few more minutes we try to break through to the south. We hope the storm will not last long. But it becomes clear soon, it is useless to hope for this, and we have to return.

10:20. The simoom follows us. The west, the east, the south - all is covered with whirlwinds of sand and dust scudding northeast. The sun is not visible. Ahead of us, in the north, a sandy haze covers everything.

There are no reference points ahead; we navigate exclusively by compass, the mad wind batters us.

Almost an hour in this chaos of wind and dust not seeing anything around us. At last, right ahead of us we see white fragmentary breakages of the southern part of the Dev-Kesken cape of Ustyurt. The wind has taken us far to the right. We are turning west lengthways of Chinka and at 11:25 we landed at our aerodrome. The wind was so strong that people in the camp did not hear our approach, and only the mechanic on duty at the aerodrome and the driver met us. All were worried for us because the storm lasted so long in Dev-Kesken. The wind was ripping out the floors in the tent. We weighted them down with stones. We had some tea and discussed the results. Uzboi obviously does not want to reveal us its secret. The weather was not good and there is hardly any hope for improvement of it by tomorrow. For aerial photographing we need absolutely clear weather.

We decided to try tomorrow but now at Dev-Kesken.

October, 6. The weather is rather gray but we cannot delay – time passes. At 7:45. we take off and follow the route. We pass over familiar places at 823 m.

We are over the western edge of Tarym-gaya. Ahead of us we see the top of Koi-Kyrlan covered by the bright sunlight. Under us there is a flat

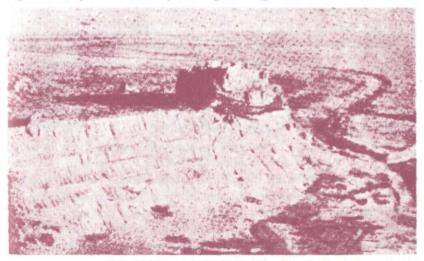


Fig. 95a. Citadel of Dev-Kesken (Vazir)

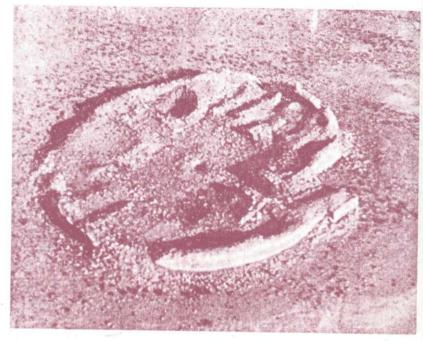


Fig. 96. Dev-kala from the air

plain closed on the south by Zengi-baba, on the north by Tarym-gaya and Gyaur-kyr, on the west by Kanga-kyr. From the east there are traces of the old channels by passing Kanga-kyr on the north and on the south running into the gray dead space of the Sarykamysh lowland.

We pass over Kanga-kyr, come out to the open land of Zaunguz Karakums. The plain dead gray and brown and further on – sand.

Below us there are threads of caravan roads; on one of them we see a caravan of 15-20 camels walking in a chain.

The weather improves up with every minute. The visibility is better and better. There is a spot familiar to us – the stone disk of Dev-kala surveyed by us in 1939, the round fortress of the 12-13th centuries erected from cyclopean stone plates. We circled above it for aerial photographing. At 8:55 we landed on a rubbly plain near the fortress.

We rapidly examined it. My companions have not been here since 1939. At 9:30 we took off again. We went over the caravan road in the direction of the first ruins of Uzboi, Yarty Gumbez, marked on the maps.

There are heavy ridged sands with poor vegetation. The thin string of the road is twisting on the slopes. In one of the hollows in the sand we see the ruins. It is a big mausoleum with its dome destroyed and a dilapidated arch of the portal. The building is of baked brick, the rest of the dome is covered with turquoise majolica. As far as it is possible to judge, it is very close to the Kunya-Urgench group of buildings; it can be roughly dated to the 12 and 14th centuries. We go in a circle. Landing is impossible. At 9:50 we take the route to the Orta-kuyu wells and Uzboi. We pass above much heavier ridged and fine sands. We flew above one and then another caravan. We are landing. Turkmen welcomed the planes waving their black caps. We waved in answer to them.

Here is the Orta-kuyu, black takyrs with ripple marks of wells and some small caravans of camels and people. Again we exchanged greetings; the people gesture, obviously meaning an invitation to share a cup of tea with them; unfortunately, it is impossible. We go further over the sands. Ahead of us we see Kugunek mountain.



Fig. 97. The caravan near of Uzboi. View from the plane.

10:15. At last Uzboi! Here, at Kugunek the river bed is flat, with well expressed meanderings. There are no traces of irrigation anywhere! We pass above the channel. At 10:24 below us we see the traces of irrigation, but at the bottom of the channel! We also see precise outlines of fields outlined by dark lines of vegetation. At 10:26 again traces of fields in the channel, this time they are stretched over a significant distance.

At 10:27 we are over the Bala-ishem wells. Here again there are traces of fields at the bottom of the channel. On both sides of the channel there is a dead plain; a flat stony black and gray plateau on the right, to the west; dark yellow and brown sand with black and gray spots of takyrs on the left to the east». Outside the channel there are no traces of irrigation and ancient settlements. The river bed is more clearly seen further on where it is well defined: steep pinkish coastal terraces compressing the gray, sometimes bluish twisting ribbon of the Uzbo. The further we go, the more often we see small bogs and lakes reflecting the banks and our planes. The rims of the lakes are covered with a white salt crust.

10:40. On the left, east bank there is a stain of the well-known ruins of Talay-han-ata. We turned above it and at 10:47 landed on the white smooth surface of the takyr.

It was clear even before landing that of the two descriptions of the ruins the best was by Konshin. Talay-han-ata is the twin of Dev-kala. This was a round fortification of 60 meters in diameter with buildings grouped around the central yard and was of baked brick. The ceramics,

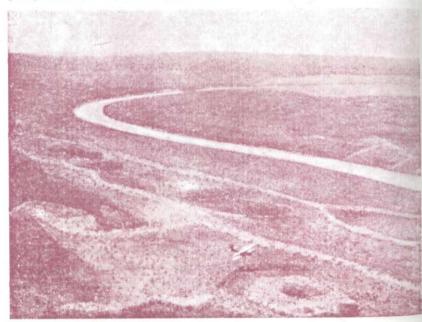


Fig. 98. Planes of the expedition above Uzboi

as well as architectural data, convinced us that this is one of the links in a chain of fortified forts – caravanserai of the 12-13th centuries built by sheiks of Khorezm on one of the basic trading and strategic roads connecting Urgench with western Khorasan. There was no hint of population or the slightest traces of irrigation.

At 12:15 we took off again and flew over Uzboi. The river at some places looks like it is covered with ice, though it is salt with some waterholes. At 12:22 we made several circles above the Kurtysh-baba and saw a group of adobe buildings near the wells with a cemetery near them consisting of low oval pise-walled fencings around tombs – the typical ancient-Turkmen mazar, no different from modern ones and probably still functioning.

There is no reason to land here. We crossed the channel of Uzboi, passed above the ruins at the wells of Bal-kuyu and landed. The survey shows that it is a small modern pise-walled construction.

There are remains of modern ceramics all around, splinters of faience and glass of the 20th century At 12:57 we fly up from the Bal-kuyu, return to Uzboi and make for the bend of Ak-kaya.

At the bottom of Uzboi again there are fields like at Bala-ishem. On the right of the channel there are barren lands of the gradually rising plateau.

There are no traces of irrigation outside the channel.

At 13:15 we are above the well-known «ak-yala waterline» the subject of discussion between Konshin and Obruchev. On the left bank of Uzboi there is a mound of remains of a ruined building. From there, a narrow reddish strip goes one kilometer northeast. It is the rest of a former drainage canal.

At 13:25 we landed near the «waterline», rather far away, on the right northern bank of Uzboi. We walk down to the site, now overgrown with bushes and covered by sand, a wide and flat channel.

On the eroded bank of Uzboi there is a swell of a pise-walled building. The base of it was built of large, square baked brick 30x30x5cm. To the south, beyond Uzboi there are two smaller mounds. Along the bank of the river, at a distance of 150m, there are separate fragments of early medieval household ceramics. But the most interesting is the «waterline». It is a narrow trench of the same baked brick, well preserved in some places. At its eastern end it finishes with an original hub – a conduit intake with a round hill near it, the remains of a watchtower. A bare extensive space adjoins it from the east. The area is surrounded by bushes and sandy hills.

Soon we understand that the gutter of the waterline has a significant inclination westward, towards Uzboi. This is confirmed by a wide deep ravine, the channel of Uzboi formed after the waterline ceased to operate. The water, which was not regulated, found its way in the same direction. The picture becomes clear enough. The ruins on the bank of Uzboi is nothing else but «sardoba» - a reservoir for water fed by rain and snow waters gathering on takyrs from where the water was taken into the reservoir. The character and the layout of finds around the reservoir allow us to conclude that in the early Middle Ages this place was a stopping place of caravans. All the data shows that during the functioning of the ak-yala waterline there was no water in Uzboi. It turns out that the version of Konshin was right.

At 14:58 we took of from Ak-yala. We went back over Uzboi again checking the previously recorded data. Again we are convinced of the absence of any attributes of irrigation and settlements on the bank of Uzboi, except for the above-mentioned fields at the bottom of the channel. To the north of Kugunek the channel has less defined outlines. At 15:58 we passed over the wells of Charyshly.

The traces of the channel finally blur. We passed above the strip of coastal swells of the ancient lake Sarykamysh and over the blackish plain of Sarykamysh hollow.

On the right traverse, behind the huge space of black takyrs there is Koy-Kyrlan, brightly illuminated by the sun.

The colors and relief below us changes but the land is still flat and lifeless. No traces of human activity. Only at 16:20, already near the present lake Sarykamysh, we noticed slight traces of culture; remains of nomad's tents and a clay wall around it. In four minutes we crossed the feebly marked traces of the ancient irrigation ditch going from west to east, two minutes later – a second one the same as the first.

At 16:35 we are above Sarykamysh. The blue mirror of water of the salty lake is shining in the north.

At 16:48 we approach the northern coastal swell of the ancient lake. Before us the height of Buten-tau already familiar to us on our flight on October 4. The character of the relief changes immediately. At the bottom of the mountains there are many large and small ditches, ruins of manors, buildings and fences. We are again above «the lands of ancient irrigation» of the Daryalyk valley, the region of the late medieval cities of Vazir and Adyk.

At 17:26, we land at the aerodrome near Dev-Kesken.

The results leave no doubts. In the dispute between geologists and historians the truth is on the side of the first. Bartold is not right. In the late Middle Ages there already was no water in Uzboi. The ruins at Uzboi are not the traces of former settlements as thought by Obruchev. These are the traces of an early medieval caravan road going from Urgench to western Khorasan almost on the same line of the modern caravan track from Khorezm to Kzyl-Arvat.

And in ancient times there was no agriculture at Uzboi. Water stopped flowing probably shortly before the beginning of agriculture in Khorezm. The vague legends told by Herodotus and Arabian authors and especially by Makdisi hint at this.

I remind the reader of the legend by Herodotus about the Akes river (Oks-Amu-Darya), which irrigated the valley belonging to the Khorezmians.

Some king blocked the river in the mountain passage with dams that caused the formation of a lake (obviously the Aral Sea) and the drying up of some areas including the territory of Uzboi. There is a story by Makdisi about an ancient Khorezmian king who re-routed the flow of the Amu-Darya which led to the desolation of ancient settlements on the Uzboi.

A.S. Kes in his monograph writes the following about Uzboi: «Such a change of the current (towards Sarykamysh - Uzboi) would bring the river flow to the lower delta leaving all the Khivan oasis, with its large population engaged in centuries-old irrigated agriculture, without water and without a source of subsistence. In connection with this a person uses artificial measures to salvage this unstable balance of nature and thus, perhaps, gives no opportunity for the river Uzboi to appear again». ⁵

These «artificial measures» consisted first of all in the system of artificial irrigation which from the start became an essential regulator in the history of this mercurial river which almost seems the work of humans.

Creation of the irrigational network was included in the national memory as the reason for the drying up of the Uzboi. There are reasons to believe that the huge consumption of water for irrigation led to the termination of the flow to Sarykamysh and the resultant drying up which stopped the flow of water into the Uzboi, which never renewed its flow subsequently.

Where does the legend come from about the «turning of the Anu-Darya» after Mongol times, told with such confidence by Abulghazi, sepa-

⁵ A.S. Kes. Channel of Uzboi, page 101.

rated only by one generation from the supposed secondary termination of the flow of water in the Uzboi?

The answer is clear. The turning of the Amu-Darya really happened but the river changed direction to the Caspian Sea. It was only the turning of one of the channels of the Amu-Darya – the Daryalyk into Sarykamysh lake. The story by Abulghazi refers not to Uzboi but to Daryalyk and to Sarykamysh. The banks of the Daryalyk down to the banks of the ancient Sarykamysh represent a full contrast to the lifeless desert of the coasts of Uzboi, showing everywhere the traces of intensive agriculture of the late Middle Ages.

A.S. Kes was right in emphasizing the legendary character of the story by Abulghazi who «forgot» to mention the huge Sarykamysh lake whose presence would be an indispensable condition for the drain of water into the Uzboi and which should lie on the geographical line described by him.

References about the actual settlement of the Daryalyk valley and the banks of Sarykamysh were mixed into legends summarized by Abulghazi, because in the 13th century part of the waters of the Amu-Darya flowed into Sarykamysh and there are legends about this real «turn of the river to the west» going back to prehistoric times.

In fact our flight over Uzboi gave us the best explanation of the genesis of the legend about Uzboi. In its appearance it was a real river, as though only yesterday it stopped flowing. There is water in the channel, not only in the lower but also in the middle Uzboi, sometimes for a length of dozens of kilometers, creating the illusion of a real river. But it not a river, only a system of lakes fed by rain and snow coming from the Ustyurt.

Probably Abulghazi was not so wrong in his story about the population of Uzboi in the 14-16th centuries I shall remind you of his words: «On both banks of the Amu-Darya up to Ogurchi there were arable fields, vineyards and groves. In spring people went to higher places; when there were flies, people who had herds left for distant wells which were located at a distance of almost two days of walk from the river; when the botfly season stopped they would come back to the bank of the river».

The excerpt mentions the nomadic Turkmen population based near the wells and lakes of Uzboi. Their traces were left in arable lands at the bottom of the Uzboi. The vineyards and groves really existed but they finished not at Ogurchi but near Sarykamysh.

⁶ Abulgazi, page 183.

The unsolved questions about Uzboi, I think, should not be the concern of historians but should remain for geographers, geologists and archaeologists of ancient times.

The questions relating to the Daryalyk and Sarykamysh are a real historical problem.

Now it is possible to mark the basic contours of this history.

. The Mongolian invasion destroyed the irrigation facilities of Khorezm and led to the destruction of the way of life which was established over two millennia on the Lower Amu-Darya. Excessive waters from the Amu-Darya had broken through to the west via the old channel of the Daryalyk to lake Sarykamysh.

Here, on the extreme western edge of Khorezm, at the end of the 13-14th centuries there was a new center of agricultural and urban culture. Its development was connected to Khorezm via the economic, political and cultural history of the Golden Horde.

The barbarian governors of this state were interested in using the cultural traditions of Khorezm. It was necessary to build new cities, capitals for the Horde khans on the Volga; it was necessary to organize the manufacture of consumer goods and luxury goods for the aristocracy of the Horde who made their wealth in predatory campaigns; they also needed bread, fruit and other agricultural products.

A.Y. Yakubovsky⁷ showed that the so-called «Golden Horde culture» in practice is nothing other than the culture of Khorezm imported to the Volga. All the legends about the high cultural level of the Golden Horde Tatars, cultivated in our country by the anti-Marxist school of Pokrovskiy, do not have any basis. All the external shine of the Golden Horde monuments was stolen just as the entire existence of this military, reactionary, predatory, semi-slaveholding barbarous power.

Urgench was necessary to the Golden Horde khans as the basic source of this stolen magnificence and had the opportunity again to rise from the ashes and to become a large craft and trade center.

Ibn-Batuta visited Khorezm in about 1340 and left us an account about the sharp reduction of the population in southern Khorezm; at the same time he admired the magnificence of Urgench and calls it the biggest and most magnificent of «Turkic cities». The archaeological monuments also testify to this. Among the magnificent monuments of Muslim architecture

⁷ See. A.Y. Yakubovsky, Ruins of Urgench...; same by him, Saray Berke.

of Urgench, for example, are the amazing mausoleum Turabek-khanym, "the big minaret" (height 62m), and the mausoleum of Najmiddin Kubra. They belong to the time of the travels of ibn-Batuta. Masters and artists of Urgench built the residences of the Horde prince Kutluk-Timur and develop the traditions of the art culture of Khorezm of the period of Khorezmshahs. However at the end of the 14th century, this short-llived blossoming of Urgench ended with the devastating invasion of Timur.

Shortly before this we can observe some signs of the political rewival of Khorezm. Taking advantage the decline and disintegration of the Golden Horde, which was accelerated by the battle at Kulikovskoe village;, the local dynasty of so-called «Kungrad Sufi» princes of the Turkic-Mongolian tribe of Kungrat was influential in Khorezm.

The attempts of the Khorezm «Sufi» to conduct independent pollitics caused Timur's jealousy. Five times between 1370 and 1388 he organized campaigns to Khorezm to subordinate it to himself because he had reasons to view Khorezm as a potential contender.

His last campaign led to the full destruction of Urgench: on its territory the conqueror ordered people to sow barley. After that, though life in Urgench revived again, this city never could restore its former value, and the ruins of the majestic monuments of the 14th century are located mear the small Turkmen city Kunya-Urgench - the regional center of Tashauz province, built after the October revolution on the territory of the market settlement with the same name.

Some cities surveyed by us along the Uzboi-Sarykamysh route thriived in the 14th century.

The ruins of the large city located near Old Vazir, on the eastern sllope of Ustyurt, are known now as Shemaha-kala.

It is an early medieval city-fortress surrounded by a rectangle of strong walls with huge towers. Probably the Mongols destroyed this city. The walls between the towers were destroyed, and a row of separately standing rectangular and round towers makes an original impression. But by the 14th century the city thrived again, though its fortifications were never restored. An amazing picture is seen of Shemaha from the air: we can see how the complex web of streets and lanes passes over the line of ruins of the ancient fortifications, as the city expands to the west, east and north. The layout of the post-Mongol cities was perfectly preserved. The walls of the houses were made of carefully squared stones, and rough stone

plates were preserved at the top. In the city center there is a cathedral mosque with a courtyard surrounded by several rows from which only step pyramidal bases were preserved. The other huge mosque is behind the city. There are well preserved craft quarters (potters' quarters with hills of potters' slag and iron foundries and smithies), and stone and brick mauso-leums surrounding the city. All this leaves an indelible impression. The gate of the city with a colonnade of a portico looks especially imposing.



Fig. 100. A stone capital from Shemaha-kala with a lion head

Near it we found a stone capital of one of the columns with volutes having masks of lions at the ends. Shemaha is extremely rich in finds. During the short period of investigations we collected hundreds of fragments of richly ornamented glazed utensils, faience, and porcelain with amazing ornamental motifs in unexpected abundance and of many colors. Further study of the ruins of Shemaha promises big discoveries. Probably the regular excavations will enable Shemaha to take its place among medieval monuments of Khorezm just as Toprak does among ancient ones.8

The city continued to exist, up to the 16-17th centuries, sharping with Vazir the role of remote western outpost of Khorezm. I

tend to see in it the city of Tersek mentioned in the description of events of the 16-17th centuries. The name of this city constantly appears together with Vazir, and the ruins are located ten kilometers from it. The finding of

³ In the vicinity of Shemaha-kala, on the cape of Ustyurt, in 1947, we found the burial mound Chash-tepe (see Fig. 102) – a huge concentration of mounds accompanied by surrounding mounds with entrances and rectangular yards on both sides. The group of buildings probably can be referred to the medieval period, though this cannot be said exactly without excavation.

two more cities – Adaka and Yangishehr, mentioned in the sources of the 15-17th centuries, is of great interest.

The name Adak is a Turkic word meaning «leg»; in topography it means «lower reaches» (of a river or channel).

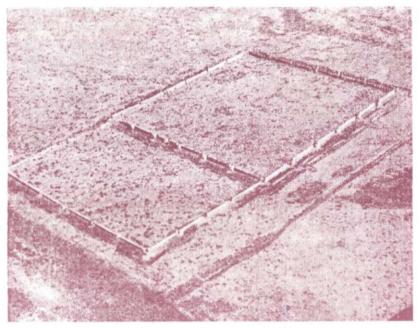


Fig. 101. General view of Ak-kala

According to sources, Adak was located on the way from Vazir to Khorasan and on the bank of an extensive reservoir which in a poetic story about the seizure of Adak by the Uzbek khan Sheybani in 1488 the author calls «Kara-tengiz» («Black sea»).

B.B. Bartold ⁹ admits it is possible to search for it somewhere at the exit ofthe Uzboi from the Sarykamysh lowland. But there are no ruins at all there. I am inclined to see Adak as a city that existed for only a short time, because in the description of events of the 16th century it is no longer mentioned anymore together with big ruins of Ak-kala or Akcha-kala located near the old channel of Kurudzha-uzyak, near the southeast edge of Butentau, very close to the ancient shore of Sarykamysh lake. It is the

^{9 «}Irrigation», page 92.

outermost city of the irrigational system of Daryalyk and deserves to be named Adak in comparison to other settlements.

Ak-kala - Adak, is a rectangular fortress enclosed by a ditch and perfectly preserved walls built from adobe bricks 24x24x6 cm of pahsa, with frequently located towers having two layers of small embrasures. Inside, along the walls there are adobe ledges – buttresses – a method known from the medieval walls of Vazir and existing in Khorezmian architecture up to recent times. From the east there is a rectangular suburb adjoining the city and enclosed by a similar but poorly preserved wall.

On the east of the city (as in Vazir) there is the layout of a magnificent park with a brick pavilion in the middle. Around the city near the channel there are many layouts of manors.

The ceramic material collected in Ak-kala as well as the architecture corresponds to the late layer of Vazir and Shemaha and supports our findings. We also found that this city is single-layered, not like Vazir and Shemaha and obviously lived in for only a short time.

However, I think that in the 16th century it still existed but was mentioned under another name – Yangishahar, literally «New city» from Turkic-Persian. Ak-kala was, in contrast to Vazir and Tersek, a new, developing city constructed on an uninhabited place. I think that the Turkic names Adak («leg» – «lower reaches») and Tersek («elbow» – «bend») – are originally only names of natural boundaries (Tersek-Shemaha is located in the very middle of a gulf which extends deep into Ustyurt) and that the proper name of Adak was Yangishehr – the sources on events of the 15th century transfer to the city the name of the province (I should remind the reader that not only early medieval authors, but also ibn-Batuta constantly says «city of Khorezm» instead of «city of Urgench»).

The history of the western, Daryalyk, Khorezm of the 15-16th centuries is an essential but brief historical episode. We know that in the 16th century and beginning of the 17th century this separate district, which appeared in the process of the feudal disintegration of Khorezm, was a district with an intensive mixture of Turkic (Turkmen and Uzbek) and other Turkic Khorezmian elements and played rather an important political role. Vazir in the beginning of the 16th century is the initiator and the center of popular riots against the Persians who had seized power in Khorezm.

Originally the new Uzbek dynasty of descendants of the Berke sultan centered its power in Vazir. The domination of Uzbeks over Khorezm extends from here and after that Vazir repeatedly appears as the competitor of Urgench, which several times had been the residence of the khan and the capital of the country. However the only author who left us a description of the city of Vazir, Anthony Jenkins, who was here in 1558, correctly predicted the destruction of the city and the surrounding area: «All this country uses water from channels of the Oxus, which causes



Fig. 102.A group of barrows, Chash-tepe (aerial photograph)

great depletion of this river; that is why it does not run into the Caspian Sea (read: Sarykamysh lake) as during past times. Very soon all this country will be ruined and become desert because of the lack of water in the river of Oxus». ¹⁰

The gradual revival of the irrigational network of the southern and central Khorezm, destroyed by the Mongolian invasion and Timur's pogroms, predestined the reduction of the quantity of water feeding the Daryalyk.

First it failed to reach the Sarykamysh, explaining the earlier decline of Adak, then a sharp lack of water in all areas supplied by the Daryalyk destroyed not only Vazir but also Urgench. It was necessary to make a full

¹⁰ Jenkinson, page 177.

reconstruction of the irrigational network, to construct huge channels directly to the main channel of the Amu-Darya, but in the historical conditions of the epoch this was impossible: in the 16th century the decline of Khorezm became apparent. It was divided into a specific possession of the Uzbek khans, continuously passing from hand to hand in a neverending feudal fight.

Vazir was in poor condition even in the 17th century, continuing to decline, as did Urgench, and was the base for dissatisfied feudal elements, pretenders to the khan's throne. At the same time the political center of the country passed to Khiva – the largest city of southern Khorezm. Finally, the most outstanding of the Uzbek governors of Khorezm, khanhistorian Abulghazi, in carrying out the resolute politics of centralization and neutralization of the oppositional feudal lords in the outlying regions, took the rest of the population of Vazir and Urgench to southern Khorezm where these immigrants create New Urgench, nowadays the capital of Khorezm province of the Uzbek SSR, the largest city in the Khorezmian oasis.

Thus, in the second half of the 17th century the process of the desolation of the Vazir area, the most early «lands of ancient irrigation» of Khorezm, came to an end.



CONCLUSION

Our travels have finished. Now we can look back at our journey. And first of all it is necessary to pay attention to the incompleteness of our data. «The annals of dead cities» of ancient and medieval Khorezm still intrigue us with their blank and unclear pages. But they exist nonetheless, even if imperfectly.

Artefacts speak where words are lacking.

Three big epochs of the history of Khorezm have passed before us, including two about which ten years ago we knew nothing or almost nothing. The historical picture of the third epoch, though generously covered by written monuments, was enriched with new details, allowing us to go deep into the meaning of events, to understand the secrets of the internal developments of a society disappearing behind the kaleidoscope of dates and names, appearing momentarily on pages of chronicles, and hidden behind the casuistic terminology of legal documents.

Now we see that the Khorezm empire of the 12-13th centuries destroyed by the Mongolian barbarians is not an ephemeral product of casual political alliances, nor a «colossus on clay legs» as the historians represented it. It could not resist the Mongolian invasion. But dozens of other states could not resist it either. Among them Russia and the powerful state of Transcaucasia, Georgia: Tamara's successors.

The destiny of Khorezm in many respects has much in common with these countries. In the 12 century, in Khorezm under Urgench, in Russia under Vladimir and in Georgia under Tbilisi, there was a process of economic development, a thriving of cities, the consolidation of a feudal monarchy, the successful neutralization of nomadic tribes on borders and their attraction into the orbit of political influence of an advanced state.

Here and there this process was stopped by the dreadful Mongolian catastrophe, bringing not only military destruction, not only the domination of the barbarous military-slaveholding state as a terrible octopus sucking the vital juices from the subjugated advanced countries. It also represented a return to earlier feudal underdevelopment, the strengthening of the feudal aristocracy, the cooperation with conquerors against one's own people and the use of the power of aliens for the realization of narrowly egoistical purposes, the revival of the most severe and reactionary, semislaveholding forms of feudal exploitation.

The further course of history shows that the rise of the Khorezmian empire was not accidental, that it corresponded to the progressive tendencies of the historical development of the peoples of Central Asia. Two powerful feudal associations arising in the 14th century headed by the dynasties of Mongolian origin, the Golden Horde and Timur's empire, to a certain extent develop and continue, both in political and in cultural spheres, the traditions of the empire of the Khorezm sheiks. Both the most brilliant Uzbek governor of Dzhuchi ulus and Timur can be called the true successors of Khorezmian sheiks.

The barbarian Mongols were not able to create a stable political association in the huge territory of their gains. The «Mongolian empire» collapsed into independent uluses already under the grandsons of Chingis. And these provinces showed stability only to the extent that the descendants of the conquerors managed to use already developed economic and political connections. Mongols everywhere acted as a parasitic growth on the body of local political associations where traditions went back to pre-Mongol times. The empire of Yuan used these relations in medieval China, the Hulagids used them with Iran.

The empire of Uzbek revived the expanded state of the first Mamunids and their predecessors – the Afrigids of the 8th century. The «Golden Horde culture» was described in the works of handicraftsmen of kingdoms and other cities of Povolzhye in the 14th century, and according to the results of research by Yakubovsky which we accept, were only a provincial variant of the culture of medieval Urgench.

The main, stable core of the empire of Timur territorially almost exactly coincides with the empire of Mohammed, the Khorezmian sheik. Its formation was the direct continuation of the process interrupted in 1218 by the Mongolian invasion.

Behind Timur's rule were the same social forces as those that were behind Mohammed; he had to deal with the same social contradictions as his predecessor. Both Mohammed – a native of Urgench, and Timur – a native of Shahrisyabz relocated their capital to Samarkand. Khorezmian art traditions received further development in the magnificent monuments of the Timurid's architecture.

But the contradiction between the main factions of the ruling class in both empire- successors, one of the fatal consequences of the Mongolian invasion, was the strengthening of the political influence of the steppe feudal-tribal aristocracy, the carrier of the most backward forms of economic and political relations, which reached even greater extremes than in the days of Mohammed, but with clear advantages for the benefit of those Turkan-hatun who were opposed to Mohammed.

Only the strong dictatorship of Timur suspended these destructive tendencies that were reflected with full force after death of the conqueror, when the century-long period of feudal wars, economic stagnation, and cultural reaction developed. Only the Great October socialist revolution and the brotherly help of the Russian people, who managed to overcome the fatal consequences of events of the 13th century, helped the peoples of Central Asia to get rid of that terrible legacy.

The process of consolidation of the Uzbek nation, with its roots in antiquity, found its source in the state of the Khorezmian sheiks. It finds its end in the state of the Timurids.

The effect of the alternating of Turkic and Indo-European influences in the Uzbek ethnogeny shows itself in Khorezm. According to information by Plano-Carpini, already in the 13th century, the Turkic language dominated among the Khorezmians. And while the preservation of the Persian language was typical for Bukhara and Kokand down to 19th and even 20th century as the language of rulers and the prevailing language of literature, in Khorezm already in the 17th century this language was no longer used.

Casting a glance back, we can see that the role of Khorezm as the main core of the first feudal monarchy of Central Asia was logical. The «Great Khorezmshahs» were backed by the economic force of Khorezm as a powerful agrarian and craft center, with centuries-old economic relations with the Turkic steppe and the countries of eastern Europe.

Behind the Khorezmshahs there was a thousand-year history of one of the greastest centers of ancient civilization. It was the core of vast slaveholding empires. It was like that even before the formation of the state of the Akhemenids and during the epoch that followed the Macedonian conquest. Khorezm had already begun to play a significant role again in world history at the beginning of the Middle Ages. We see Khorezm of the 8th century as the cradle of the Hazarian state, when echoes of the events of the internal history of Khorezm reach far away Hungary, where the remote descendants of Khorezmian fugitives challenge the right to the throne. Khorezm appeared as a strong pretender to the Hazarian inheritance in the Volga region, distributing its political influence on Bulgars and having hegemony even over the Russian Vladimir.

During our tour we saw how diverse and close were the ties connecting Khorezm in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages, in antiquity, and in the Middle Ages with the countries of the North Siberia and especially with eastern Europe. Trying to follow the path indicated in this matter by V. V. Bartold and A.Y. Yakubovsky in our material we tried to show how the historical destinies of the peoples of Central Asia and the peoples of the European part of our country, including the Russians, were intertwined. Going back to the Neolithic and Bronze Ages, these relations enter dark times during the formation of the basic ethnic systems of Asia and Europe. Hittite-hurrit, Thracian, Tohar and Scythian-Sarmatian problems stand at the source of Central Asian and east European ethnogeny.

These relations become particularly apparent between the 4th century B.C. and 1st century A.D. when without taking into account the role of Kangha of Khorezm, it is impossible to interpret scientifically the events of the history of the northern Black sea area connected with Sarmatian and Alami movements. During this period the influence of Khorezmian culture on these tribes increases with particular force, reflected in the history of development of their arms and tactics, which subsequently played a significant role in world military history, and in the history of the national clothes of peoples of eastern Europe, many elements of which go back to Khorezmian prototypes.

These relations continued during subsequent centuries, through the events of the Khorezmian-Hazarian unions of the 8-11th centuries and through the events associated with the Oguz migrations simultaneously ocurring in eastern Europe and in the Middle East, reflected in the Slavic Christmas carols of Khorezm Christians of the 11th century; in Russian-Hazarian-Oguz colonies of Urgench in the 13th century and in Russian fairy tales about the Hvala empire!

The work of our expedition, as well as the work of other groups of Soviet archaeologists has shown the weaknesses of bourgeois historians about the hopeless stagnation of the societies of the ancient East. Our work has shown how groundless the claims are that the ancient stage of historical development belongs only to western Europe while the East was doomed to stagnate in the vicious circle of prehistoric feudalism for ages. The history of Khorezm is revealed now before us as a history of transition from the primitive-communal system to ancient slaveholding, finishing in about the 8-7th centuries B.C (approximately at the same time as the ancient states of Greece were created) by the creation of the powerful Khorezmian state conducting a persistent struggle with Akhemenid Persia, preserving its independence in the brutal years of the Macedonian conquest, and rendering a powerful cultural influence on the tribes of eastern Europe.

We can see now that having reached the 3rd-4th centuries A.D. ancient Khorezm in the 5-6th centuries enters into a deep social crisis connected with the collapse of the slaveholding system accompanied by a sharp class struggle and barbarian conquests. These events are clearly reflected in the monuments: the events are reflected in the reduction of the irrigational network, the collapse of cities and crafts, the transfer of the center of gravity of public life to villages, the strengthened fortifications of private dwellings, destroyed and burnt fortresses and manors in which we found arrows stuck in the walls here and there and floors punctured by huge stones thrown by stone launching machines.

We see that in Khorezm, as well as in Europe, the 5-6th centuries opened a new epoch of history, the feudal history of the Middle Ages, when the structure of life and the character of the culture completely changed. Passing from one monument to another monument we noticed how after the deep barbarization of the early Middle Ages in the 10th century comes a new period of economic and cultural development. Canal's are restored, the cities revive, crafts and trade thrive again. In the 12th century there exist the preconditions for Khorezm to leave behind the period of feudal fragmentation and for its transformation into one of the earliest and most powerful feudal monarchies of the East.

The empire of Khorezmshahs took the first impact of the Chingiskhan hordes, sharing with Russia the great honour of rescuing western civilization. By studying the later monuments we see what a high price Khorezm paid for its role in these dreadful events.

Wandering in the dead silence of the desert along the lifeless oasis of Kavat-kala emptied by the invasions of Chingis-khan, around the empty houses and fortresses of the early 13th century almost untouched by seven past centuries, I involuntarily felt the spirit of this tragic epoch which suddenly destroyed the magic of the «Khorezmian renaissance».

The devastating military expeditions of Timur and feudal wars again and again snuffed out the glimmers of revival in separate areas of Khorezm in the 14-17th centuries until it became one of the stagnant backwaters of remote Central Asia known as the Khivan khanate.

Our expedition solved definitively the question that puzzled scientists for decades: to find the reasons for the destruction of the extensive irrigated and populated territories in the various countries of Near and Central Asia. With the help of the material on Khorezm we confirmed the results of expeditions to other areas of Central Asia. We proved that it was not because of natural-historical reasons (as others thought). It was not the drying up of Central Asia and change of current of the rivers, nor the encroachment of the desert and the salinization of the soil, but due to reasons hidden in the processes of social history, in the transition from the ancient to the feudal system accompanied by barbarous conquests with feudal wars and invasion of nomads as specified by Marx and now proven by documents. But what people destroy can be also recreated by them. This is shown by the history of Khorezm in our days.

The great October socialist revolution led the peoples of Khorezm out of the stagnation of the feudal and colonial slavery of the 13-14th centuries. The new, socialist Khorezm, the original successor of the great labor and cultural achievements of its distant ancestors, again appears on the broad historical field. The cotton-growers, builders of the nation's future, have undertaken an unprecedented struggle with the desert.

The water shining in the canal created by the people during the years of the Great Patriotic war is making the desert green, and it stretches away from the formerly «dead» oasis of Berkut-kala, the fortresses abandoned in the 8th century, which have stood untouched for more than 1000 years. Now there are vast fields and buildings of farms near the magnificent walls of the dead ancient strongholds.

The peoples of the Khorezm oasis – Uzbeks, Turkmens, Karakalpaks and Kazakhs – have entered into a period of new, unprecedented prosperity, leaving far behind the highest achievements of the ancient and medieval civilization of Khorezm.



ACCEPTED ABBREVIATIONS

Abulghazi-Aboul-Ghazi Behadour Khan. Histoire des Mogols et des Tatares. T. I. Texte. T. II. Traduction: par Desmaisons. St. Petersbourg, 1871

ArhME - Archive of Marx and Engels

AC - Archaeological congress

V.V. Bartold. Irrigation – V.V. Bartold. About the History of Irrigation of Turkestan. News of the Turkestan Branch of the Russian Geographical Society 4. Tashkent, 1902. V.V. Bartold, Turkestan – Turkestan During the Epoch of the Mongolian Invasion I-II. SPb., 1900. Al-Biruni. Chronologie Orientalischer Volker, herausg. von E. Sachau. Leipzig 1878; Al-Biruni. The Chronology of Ancient Nations, translated by E. Sachau. London, 1879

News. KazFAN - Bulletin of the Kazakhstan Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR VDI – Bulletin on Ancient History

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ZVO – Notes of the Oriental Department of the Russian Archaeological Society

ZIV AN – Notes the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR

ZKV - Notes of the Board of Oriental Scientists at the Asian Museum of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR

IAN, SIF - News from the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, History and Philosophy series

Ibn-Fadlan - Travels of ibn-Fadlan to the Volga. Translation edited by academician I.Y. Krachkovsky M. L., 1939 IVGO - News of the All-Union Geographical society

IZ - Historical notes

KSIIMK - Brief News of the Institute of History of Material Culture Academy of Science of the USSR

Lerch. Archaeological expedition –P. Lerch. Archaeological expedition to Turkestan in 1867. SPb., 1870

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MITT - Materials on History of the Turkmen and Turkmenistan. Pub. Institute of oriental studies of AS of the USSR

.MIUTT - Materials on the History of the Uzbek, Tadjik and Turkmen SSR. Bub. AS of the USSR. L., 1933

OAK - Reports of the Archaeological Committee

PIDO - Problems of the History of Pre-capitalist Societies (magazine, Pub. Sate Academy for the history of material culture. L.) PTKLA – Minutes of the Reports of the Turkestan Society of Enthusiasts of Archaeology (Tashkent)

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TIG - Works of the Institute of Geography of the AS of the USSR

TOVE - Works of the Department of the East in the State Hermitage

Works of UzFAN - Works of the Uzbekistan branch of the AS of the USSR

TSA - Works of the Department of Archaeology and Arts of the Russian Association of Scientific Research Institutes on Social Studies

SA - Soviet archaeology

SE - Soviet ethnography

Hudud al-Alem – Hudud al-Alem. Manuscript of Tumansky. With introduction and index of V. Bartold, L., 1930

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A.Y. Yakubovsky. Saray Berke – A.Y. Yakubovsky. Origins of the craft industry of the Saray Berke

YL - Language and literature

YS - Japhetic collection

BAIIAA - Bulletin of American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology

EI - Enzyklopaedie des Islams. Leiden, 1913-1938

ESA - Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua (Helsinki)

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SBWAW, PhHCl-Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philologischhistorische Classe

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ZDMG - Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft. Printed by the resolution of the Editorial-publishing Committee of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR

Editor of the Publishing house T.M. Podgornenskaya Technical editor M.L. Temerlin Proof-reader N.N.Morozov

RISO AS of the USSR № 3036. A-072443.

Publication. № 1547. Type of order № 416.

Permitted to be printed on 29/VII 1948.

Format 60X X92 ¹/16.

Print. I. 20 S + 10 inserts.

Issue 20,6. Circulation 10000

2nd printing house of the Publishing house of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Moscow, 10 - Shubinsky Lane.