

SMAGULOV COLLECTION



**SPECIAL ISSUE OF BULLETIN
OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE
FOR CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES**

The International Institute for Central Asian Studies was established on July 5, 1995, the outcome of a large-scale UNESCO Silk Road project. The idea for Institute's creation emerged during an international scientific expedition on the Central Asian steppe route; organized within the framework of the "Integral Studies of the Silk Roads: Roads of Dialogue" program, a major project of the World Decade for Cultural Development (1987-1997). Initially, Azerbaijan, Iran, Kazakhstan, China, South Korea, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkey, and Uzbekistan signed an agreement to establish the Institute. Mongolia joined IICAS in 2020.

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ISSN 1694-5794

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OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE
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32

PUBLISHED TWICE A YEAR

Founded in 2005

SAMARKAND
2021



International Institute
for Central Asian Studies (IICAS)
by the UNESCO Silk Road Programme

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CONTENTS

Editorial	5
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IN MEMORIAM

<i>Bakyt Amanbaeva</i> In memory of Yerbulat Smagulov.....	9
<i>Aliovsat Guliev</i> Practical field scientist and research theorist.....	11
<i>Emma Zilivinskaya</i> My friend Yerbulat Smagulov	13
<i>Tatyana Krupa</i> It isn't true that friend is die	22
<i>Zaure Smagulova</i> Yerbulat: Born under the Sign of the Sun!	27

CULTURAL STUDIES

<i>Emma Zilivinskaya</i> The features and layout of a building in the Otrar oasis	33
<i>Jangar Ilyasov</i> The "Kangar pottery" from the settlement of Karshovultepa in Chach	43
<i>Saida Ilyasova</i> Commonality of traditions of the material culture of the middle reaches of the Syrdarya river as exemplified by the Tashkent region and the South of Kazakhstan	53
<i>Aysulu Iskanderova, Munira Sultanova</i> Fine ware pottery of the Khwarazmshah period (12th – early 13th centuries)	62
<i>Tatyana Krupa</i> The conservation and study of organic archaeological materials (leather and textiles)	77
<i>Jamaliddin Mirzaakhmedov, Vyacheslav Kuleshov, Andrei Omelchenko</i> The Pottery Ensemble of the Samanid and Early Karakhanid Glazed Earthenware from Paikend	88

<i>Arnabay Nurzhanov</i> The medieval settlements of the Turkic states	101
<i>Pavel Petrov</i> The 13th century mints of the historical region of Almalyk	113
<i>Victor Pilipko</i> Imitation of the Ionic capitals from Nisa	125
<i>Zhaken Taimagambetov</i> Ancient encampment-workshop Kyzyltau in South Kazakhstan – a unique Paleolithic complex	130
<i>Emma Usmanova, Kanat Uskenbay, Mikhail Antonov</i> In search of the historical landscape of the Talas qurultai of 1269	137
<i>Sergey Yatsenko</i> The early 16th century garden of Abdallah al-Arab al-Yamani al-Hadramauti in the vicinity of medieval Sauran (Turkestan region)	145

HISTORIOGRAPHY ISSUES

<i>Olga Myakisheva</i> The history of the collection formation of Nestorian tombstones	155
<i>Valeriya Prischepova</i> A. N. Samoilovich's photo collections in the Kunstkamera collection.....	164
<i>Tatiana Starodub</i> Central Asia and Azerbaijan in the era of Islam based on archaeological materials. Reflections and suggestions	172

CHRONICLE

IICAS Activities in 2021	185
About the Authors	192
List of Abbreviations	193

EDITORIAL

THIS ISSUE of the *Bulletin* of IICAS is a special one. It is a thematic collection dedicated to the 70th birth anniversary of Yerbulat Akizhanovich Smagulov (1952-2019), an outstanding archaeologist and deep researcher of the late antique and medieval archeology of Central Asia. The initiative for such a publication comes from several renowned scholars – those who knew this bright and charming man very well, who recall his work, and who value his contribution to archeology and the history of this vast region of the world. Besides archeology, Y.A. Smagulov was engaged in such related disciplines as conservation and museumification of archaeological monuments, the reconstruction of historical landscapes, epigraphy, numismatics, and *tamgas*¹. He focused on promoting achievements in the field of archaeology and cultural heritage, defining protection zones, and "archaeological" tourism.

This essay collection consists of two main sections: The first – memoirs – contains personal recollections of friends, colleagues, and relatives prepared for the jubilee and an evaluation of the results of his work. There are several photos that captured him during numerous expeditions, scientific conferences, with people close to him, and with specialists whom he worked copiously and with pleasure.

The second and the third sections, which have become traditional for our journal ("Cultural Studies" and "Issues of Historiography"), include scientific articles covering a wide range of Yerbulat Akizhanovich's interests: From late antiquity Kangju, Chach, and Sogd to the archaeology and history of the late medieval khanates until their accession to the Russian Empire. Especially important for our late colleague were studies of pottery, medieval dwellings, handicraft manufacture, ancient pre-Islamic religion, and early Islam. The collection concludes with a timeline of the activities of the International Institute for Central Asian Studies in recent months.

Issue No. 29 of the *Bulletin* of IICAS contains an analytical review of Y.A. Smagulov's research activities prepared by the archaeologists A.A. Yerzhigitova

and S.A. Yatsenko. Defining his work between 1972-2019, they outlined the most important milestones in his career and outlined the scale of Yerbulat Akizhanovich's scientific heritage. They noted that under the influence of his mentors – Lev Borisovich Erzakovich (1936-1993), Vadim Mikhailovich Masson (1929-2010) and Karl Moldakhmetovich Baipakov (1940-2018) – he made the ancient and early medieval cities and fortresses of the oases of south Kazakhstan the focal point of his research. In 1996, he founded the Turkestan Expedition and concentrated on exploring the Turkestan oasis.

Y. A. Smagulov was the first to conduct large-scale excavations of important mudbrick sites. These included the cities of Sauran and old Sauran (Karato-be), Shavgar (Shoytobe), old Yasy/Turkestan with its early citadel of Kultobe, the significant pre-Islamic religious center of Sidak, and the Golden Horde's city of Zhayik. He explored and revealed them to the world. A significant topic of his work was the study of the early strata associated with the first state in the region—the "nomadic empire" of the Kangju and their descendants. He considered the history and culture of the Kangju in relation to both the oases to the south and the nomadic Sarmatians.

Yerbulat Akizhanovich struggled to create continuous protected areas around Sauran and old Turkestan in order to preserve historical landscapes. He paid much attention to the conservation and museumification of the sites under investigation for the promotion of science. Most of all, he was interested in the history of the planning of settlements and dwellings, the evolution of burial structures, and related rituals and crafts associated with pottery and non-ferrous metals and their tamga signs. A special place in his studies was occupied by the local pre-Islamic Mazdeism, its temple complexes at Sidak and Kultobe, and their comparison with the cultural material of their southern and eastern neighbors. He was a prominent scientist with a broad outlook, able to solve general questions of Central Asian history and culture based on local findings.

We hope that the publication of the "Smagulov Collection" will become not just a tribute to the memory of our untimely departed colleague and friend, but also another input to the further expansion to the pool of knowledge in which he contributed in every way throughout his creative life.

¹ **Ed. note:** A tamga is a mark of identification of either ownership or manufacture for an individual, clan, tribe, or even state found throughout Central Asia dating back to the Bronze Age. Such marks are often found on pottery vessels and coins, but also is still an identifying mark on livestock today.



Yerbulat Smagulov. 2015. Photo by E. D. Zilivinskaya

IN MEMORIAM

IN MEMORY OF YERBULAT SMAGULOV

IMET Yerbulat, whom we usually just called Bulat, during our student years. More precisely, the first to meet him was my friend, Gaisha Yesenalieva (Ibragimova), with whom we traveled together during our archeological expeditions with D. F. Vinnik. In our fourth year at university, she met with him at a student conference in Almaty, from which she returned home with numerous photos, many impressions, and enthusiastic stories about the participants, including Bulat. The next year, in 1974, I and Slava Gontar (who was working in paleoanthropology), came to the regional archeological student conference, which was held in Almaty. Since my report was devoted to the results of the latest research on the Burana settlement (with the blessing of D. F. Vinnik), I found myself in the medieval archaeology section led by K.M. Baipakov and L.B. Erzakovich who were assisted by senior students Bulat Smagulov, Alisher Akishev, Serik Azhigali, Madyar Eleuov, among others. It should be noted that they treated their duties responsibly and with noticeable pleasure, constantly taking care of us. We met with some of them that same year at the All-Union archaeological student conference at Moscow State University. After his graduation from the university, Bulat joined the Department of Archaeology of the Institute of History, Archeology, and Ethnography of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences (currently Kazakhstan's Institute of Archeology of the Ministry of Education and Science). I enrolled as a full-time postgraduate student at the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Archeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences (the present Institute for the History of Material Culture of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint-Petersburg). In the late 1970s, he came for an internship at the same institution. Since, at the time, he could barely navigate Leningrad, I became his guide through the city. The Institute and the Hermitage on Dvortsovaya embankment, the House of Books on Nevsky Prospect, the public telephone office on Herzen Street, and back to the post-graduate student's dormitory on Maurice Torez — this is the route I took him on during the first days of his stay in the city along the Neva. I remember that he once said that someday biographers would call this time "following Bakyt," which made me and Khasan Akhunbabaev, his roommate, laugh a lot.

During the 1980s, we usually met at conferences on medieval urban culture that were regularly held in

different regional cities. I particularly remember my meeting with Bulat in the summer of 1989 in Namanagan (Uzbekistan), during the All-Union archaeological conference on urbanization, organized jointly by the Institute of Archeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences (Moscow) and the Institute of Archeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR (Samarkand). There were many participants representing academic institutes and universities from around the Soviet Union, as well as scientific institutions from Moscow and Leningrad. Among them were both distinguished scientists and young specialists. Kazakhstan was represented by K.M. Baipakov and Bulat himself, who arrived a little later than the other participants. I remember that after the traditional questions concerning family, colleagues, and mutual friends, we moved on to discuss our professional activities. I knew that he was working on the sites of southern Kazakhstan, but he started talking about the medieval settlement Sadyr-Kurgan, the Chon-Kapka and Kara-Buura burial grounds located in the Kyrgyz SSR side of the Talas Valley. Being a native of these places, I was happy to join in on the topic and learned that for the second year he had been taking part in the excavation of the Chon-Kapka burial ground, located 3 km north of the village of Kirovskoe (now Kyzyl-Adyr) and near the gorge of the same name. This area had been discovered in 1988 by the local historian M.F. Tur. As it turned out, for two field seasons (1988-89), they studied this site together (the field studies continued in 1990). Bulat laid particular emphasis on the materials from Chon-Kapka as belonging to the Kenkol culture, closely connected to the Syr-Darya cultures, in the context of clarifying the northeastern borders of the Kangju passing through the Talas valley. At the end of our friendly conversation, I asked how Kazakh archaeologists happened to take part in the excavations of the site in Kyrgyzstan, but he quickly calmed me saying that "we, Kyrgyz and Kazakhs, do not need to divide sites."

In the 2000s, we continued to meet at various conferences and sometimes sent each other greetings as well as books, but we communicated more online. Once he invited me to a conference in Taraz, but I could not go and instead recommended my colleague, Aidai Sulaimanova, who later made several field trips to the sites investigated by the Turkestan Archaeological Expedition. She was succeeded by our



young archaeologists, Zhypar Tokkazieva and Askhat Dzhumabaev, who perceived Bulat not only as the head of the expedition and their mentor, but also spoke of him as a man capable of understanding and providing support during the most difficult of situations. His special attitude towards the participants in his expedition became evident in 2016, when we held an International Conference dedicated to the 1000th anniversary of Yusuf Balasaguni in Bishkek. Having been invited to the conference, he immediately presented me a list of his colleagues from the Otrar Museum and Shymkent. I agreed with all the candidates, except for one, a very young staff member of the Otrar Museum, who failed to inform us concerning the topic of his speech. However, Bulat argued that young people should be supported, and that this young man would always remember Bishkek, the conference, and us. Naturally, I had to agree and sent an invitation to this colleague as well.

During Bulat's stay in Bishkek, I took a moment to raise an issue of direct relevance to the topic of our conference – the identification of the Burana settlement with the historic city of Balasagun – an opinion recognized by most of the scholarly community, yet disputed by some researchers from Kazakhstan. In

response to my emotional monologue, he simply said that this is a well-known point of view based on factual material, supported by many experts, but those who disagree with it also had a right to their own opinion. After that, I had no choice but to transfer the conversation to another, more comfortable topic for both of us. But we returned to the topic of the Talas sites once again in 2017 in Samarkand during a conference on the Silk Road. It turns out that he saw numerous materials posted by the young local historian K. Choroev on various websites about the castle Kulan-Koruk. This castle is located in the upper valley of the foothills of the Talas Ala-Too Mountains near of the Ak-Tobe Talas settlement (historical Tekabket) north of modern of Talas. According to Choroev, this fortification could be the very fortress built by Shanyu Zhi Zhi in 36 BC which fell under the onslaught of Chinese and Kangju detachments. I had visited, studied, and filmed the site numerous times, as well as questioned V.D. Goryacheva about it. She said that P.N. Kozhemyako also noted its isolated context and differences of Kulan-Koruk from other sites, so he preferred to provide a general and superficial, generic interpretation as a castle in the Tekabket area. I retold all this to Bulat. He thoughtfully summarized

that it would be necessary to go and examine the site somehow, to which I replied that I would write back and, when we had time, certainly go and look at this site. It is very unfortunate that these plans could not be fulfilled because of our busy schedules. The last time we met in Almaty was 2018, when I handed him our publication following a conference in Bishkek. We never met again, though occasionally exchanged emails, the last of which was in June 2019.

My concluding memories of Bulat are of how I highly appreciated him as a colleague and friend, but

paid too little attention to him, which I regret very much. However, I take comfort in the fact that he remains in my heart and memory as an intelligent, strong, and bright man in which fate brought me together for which I am grateful.

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PRACTICAL FIELD SCIENTIST AND RESEARCH THEORIST

*“There are people who are like stars....
The man is gone, but his heart, which burned
during his life, continues to spread its
life-giving warmth, its pure immortal light...”*

THESE WORDS by the great Russian writer Konstantin Paustovsky are so close to the image of my friend that I want to begin my tribute with them. I was brought together with Yerbulat Smagulov through my scientific investigative trip to the medieval Kazakh city of Sauran. I was tasked as a specialist to study and evaluate the *kariz*¹ of Sauran, as there was no hydrological data concerning them².

The desolation of the once flourishing city of Sauran occurred because of the ordeal that fell to the Kazakhs during the Dzungar invasion (18th century). The evacuation of the population and the accompanying disrupted interregional economic ties led to the death of a number of Turkestani cities. Imme-

diately upon arrival in Almaty, Y. A. Smagulov, who was responsible for the archaeological investigation, briefed me about the area under study. From our first acquaintance, I realized I had met a bright, distinguished historian and a widely recognized authority in the field of agroecology. Our discussions and communication took a very interesting form. I remember well the respect with which those present treated Yerbulat Smagulov. He was not only a connoisseur of medieval history but also a very sensitive, affable, and quite unique scholar. We had hours-long talks not only about kariz, but also about the need for scholars and practitioners to understand each other and respect their opinions. He had a gift of listening attentively to his interlocutor, to think logically, discussing critically and philosophically on a given topic.

Through this research, first, I accumulated direct and indirect data concerning the groundwater in this area, especially on the upper side of Sauran, where the zone, which played a key role in feeding the kariz, is located. Second, some elements of the kariz hydrological system during this period were determined. Third, we conducted a brief visual analysis of the kariz systems in Sauran. Most significantly we clarified some issues and ways to rehabilitate the kariz in Sauran. Until our study, the Sauran kariz had not been

¹ **Ed. Note:** A kariz is a Persian term that describes an irrigation canal, often underground, that was first developed in the localities of Iran and Iraq dating as far back as the first millennium BC. In many Turkic sources, the word kanat is used.

² Guliev A. G., Kerimov A. M. (2017). Znachenie, ispol'zovanie i ohrana kyarizov v Azerbajjane (The Significance, Use and Safeguarding of Kariz in Azerbaijan), in: *Mezhdunarodnaya nauchnaya ronferentsiya, posvyaschennaya Godu ekologii, selo Solenoe Zaymische (Proceedings of the International Scientific Conference Dedicated to the Year of Ecology. Solyonoe Zaimische Village), Astrakhan, 18-19 May*. P. 252-255 (in Russian).

studied in terms of their hydrology and were missing necessary hydraulic data. Apparently, after the destruction of Sauran, the kariz were left to the mercy of nature until the present day. Due to the impact of the overlying groundwater, even at present, they are in danger of collapse. For an extended period, all the wells which the kariz accessed were filled with various sediments and buried by collapsing structures. These were known as *kyrk pilleh*, meaning “forty inclined steps.” These structures, as their name implies, form inclined stepped chambers and are characteristic of all medieval kariz. These underground chambers were used to direct water from the kariz to private households. The *kyrk pilleh*, were found in residential quarters (*mahalla*) or near mosques, were built of simple materials, whereas those in private properties at times had intricate architectural elements depending on the financial status of the owner. They were also used for refrigeration (maintaining a constant temperature of about +8° C), where they stored meat, dairy products, and vegetables. Such structures have survived to the present day in Azerbaijan and Iran³.

Vegetation serves as indicators of collapsed well sites which indicate the presence of groundwater. The current groundwater level is above the karez tunnels (known as *kure* or *lagym*). This makes it impossible to survey the kariz systems from the inside. The water galleries in this area also apparently lie below the modern groundwater level. Therefore, currently, medieval Sauran's water supply systems prove difficult to study. Without the use of special equipment, it is impossible to study these kariz archaeologically. However, it is assumed the “*kyrk pilleh*” chambers may contain the most valuable cultural materials⁴.

Investigation around the Mirtobe fortress revealed several kariz branches along various ravines and channels. The lines of kariz run along the east and west sides of the fortress. Closer to the city are numerous outlets of kariz wells, which often branch out in various directions. Four of them were thoroughly investigated with measurements taken of their water tables. The existence of underground streams were determined by the presence of vegetation.

Surface visibility identified the kariz branching into two directions. They were clearly identified lying the north of the current railroad. Enclosed pastures with taller grass allowed for the identification of the probable continuation of these two kariz channels.

The first and main branch proceeded in a straight line to the north corner tower. The second branch ran in a slightly curved line from the south side of the identified mosque to the fortress wall. This branch of the kariz extended onto the site of Sauran's shahristan (central ruling district) at right angles to the fortress wall. Inside the fortress walls, several deep and recent ditches were discovered, presumably on the site of wells or *kyrk pilleh*, with a gravel pit located next to one of them. Dozens of sunken, shallow hollows were noted on the site's territory. According to Y.A. Smagulov, this implied the presence of an extensive network of kariz within the city which provided each house, residential district, and public places with drinking water.

As a fellow scholar, I can say that the analysis in Turkestan, along with all this labor-intensive work would not have occurred without the presence my late friend, Yerbulat Smagulov. Long conversations concerning disputes about the cultural heritage of the Turks made it possible to clearly distinguish between empirical and theoretical approaches in both geology and history.

Our joint research with Yerbulat proved that a practitioner and a theoretical researcher are not enemies, but friends who cannot exist separately. Their strength lies in their mutual complementary knowledge. One skillfully supplies facts, and the other just as skillfully summarizes these facts.

My tribute is to this true Turkologist, who unforgettably loved his homeland.

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³ Guliev A. G., A. M. Kerimov (2017b). Kyarizy kak al'ternativnyi istochnik presnoy vody (Kariz as an Alternative Source of Fresh Water), in: *Minarodna naukovopraktichna Internet-konferentsiya (International Scientific and Practical Online Conference. Dubliani, 7-9 August. P. 299-306 (in Russian).*

⁴ Kasimov E. A. (1992). *Vodosnabzhenie srednevekovykh gorodov Azerbajdžana IX-XV vv. (Water Supply to Medieval Cities of Azerbaijan, 9th-15th Centuries).* Author's abstract. Baku (in Russian).

MY FRIEND YERBULAT SMAGULOV

WHEN THE LONG and gloomy Moscow winter ends and the first sunshine appears promising an early spring, I find myself dreaming of the same things in my dreams as in reality: The vast steppe, blazing with poppies; the hot wind with the smell of wormwood and sand; the *tepes* [hills] yellowing against the blue sky, *asars* [earthworks] and steep slopes of fortress walls. I call Bulat and hear his mocking and slightly squeaky voice on the phone: "Come over, of course." It's been that way for years.

I met Yerbulat in 2009. At that time, I had already been working in Kazakhstan for five years. As part of a joint expedition of Kyzylorda University and the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, I participated in the excavations of the Dzhankent settlement. Circumstances emerged in which I realized that I could no longer work in Dzhankent. I had a strong desire to stay and work in Kazakhstan, as I certainly liked it here, especially the archaeological sites. Therefore, I gathered our most recent publications on archeology (so as not to come empty-handed) and went to Almaty to the foremost Kazakhstani archaeologist at that time – Karl Moldahmedovich Baipakov. We knew each other, and I hoped that Karl Moldahmedovich would

find a way to utilize my talents. Before leaving Moscow for Kazakhstan, I met my friend Sergei Yatsenko, who suggested I stop by and see his friend, Yerbulat Smagulov, in Turkestan before heading to Almaty. He assured me that Yerbulat would be pleased to receive me at his large archeological base and shared all the contact information with me. Naturally, I very much wanted to visit Turkestan primarily because of the mausoleum of Khoja Ahmed Yasawi. Having contacted Smagulov, I set forth.

Yerbulat met me at the train station, took me to the camp, accommodated me, and asked me about my plans over a very plentiful and tasty dinner (Fig. 1). He suggested that we not rush off to Almaty, but rather see not only the mausoleum, but also the archaeological sites around Turkestan, in particular, famous Otrar, whose name I had known since my school years; the Otrar that marked the threshold Genghis Khan's invasion of Central Asia. Of course, I could not resist. Yerbulat launched us on a frantic schedule and every day I was taken on tours. He showed me Otrar, Sauran (Fig. 2), Karatobe (Fig. 3), Sidak, the Arystan Bab Mausoleum and, of course, the Mausoleum of Khoja Akhmed Yasawi with its entire complex of buildings surrounding it. All this was accompanied by professional and fascinating stories.



Fig. 1. 2009, lunch at the base. E. D. Zilivinskaya, Askhat and E. A. Smagulov are having lunch



Fig. 2. 2009 excursion to Sauran



Fig. 3. 2009, excursion to Karatobe

He convinced me that archaeological sites in Turkestan and its surroundings were full of such stories, and I had the freedom to work on any of them as a part of his expedition, if I wanted; and no Baipakov was needed for that. Eventually, I did not go to Almaty, especially since there was no time left after such an extensive tour. Yerbulat took all the books I had brought, explaining that he needed them more. Naturally, I gladly left them with him. And, in honor of my departure they slaughtered a lamb and cooked a delicious pilaf (Fig. 4).

The next year, I came to Turkestan, in May, I think, to be fully engaged in excavations. We lived at the camp not far from the train station. It's a wonderful old district of the city. The station itself is beautiful, built in the early 20th century in the Art Nouveau style. There were copper handles in the form of leopards adorning the doors. Today, they have put modern plastic doors and the handles disappeared somewhere. Bulat also told me that earlier in the station's construction, the building housed a huge oak cupboard also in the Art Nouveau style. This, however, I didn't notice, and now, there's some sort of stall there. A drama theater resides nearby. I kept suggesting we go there, but for some reason no one supported the idea. There was a bakery on the corner where

we bought fresh flatbread. The smell of fresh bread was so strong that my feet could not help but lead me there.

The house where the base office was located, while small, had an orchard and a vegetable garden. In the heat we slept right in the garden on beds with mosquito netting as the smell of mint penetrated the air.... Everything was fine, but the early *azan* [*adhan*] was shouted fifteen minutes before we awoke, and our dog, whose name was Obama, would wail loudly. Bulat always had dogs at the base, but only Obama stood out. He was big, rather ugly, and not really black at all, but black and white. He had a sidekick from the street who preferred to live in our yard instead of his house. The vegetable garden was their favorite spot, where both dogs slept. They also ran off with shoes, with one standing guard and the other taking the shoes out of the gate. One day Bulat, on his way back from town, caught Obama in the street with my boot in his teeth.

The camp house also had a big canopy, covered with grapevines, with a table where we ate lunch and drank tea outside (Fig. 5). In addition, I met wonderful people and archaeologists who worked at Bulat's expedition. First, of course, was Aisulu Erzhigitova, Bulat's deputy, invariable assistant, and faithful colleague. Undoubtedly, a great deal of the expedition



Fig. 4. 2009, lamb in honor of departure

rested on her shoulders. Yerbulat defined strategy and was responsible for the scientific component. Specific issues related to the finances and organization of the work were Aisulu's responsibility. Bulat set the agenda, and Aisulu successfully carried them out. She would often argue or even grumble, but she always accomplished her tasks splendidly. An excellent digger, she was also involved in the restoration of finds, and if necessary, she would sketch and paint illustrations. She was also wonderful at cooking and feeding us all at times if the cook was absent. I still remember her wonderful *manti!* However, when there was no cook, we all tried to pitch in and cooked a variety of dishes.

The expedition included Tatiana Krupa, a textile specialist, with whom we lived side by side for a month. At that time, she lived in Ukraine, but now has moved to Kazakhstan and successfully works in Pavlodar. Olga Nikolaevna Lushpenko, an experienced archeologist and fortification specialist, came from Tashkent. There was also a young archeologist, Askhat, from Kyrgyzstan and Alexei Kulish from Moscow. Alexei used to come on my expedition as a student and now is a researcher at the State Hermitage [Museum in St. Petersburg]. In general, Bulat knew how to make people excited about the work, and he always assembled a good team.

In those years, the field work was conducted on the site of Sidak. It was on this site that I learned to dig *pakhsa*. I had dug many sites with mudbrick architecture for a long time – both in the Volga region, and in Kazakhstan at Zhankent – but I had never worked with *pakhsa* and I fretted about it. Bulat taught me how to find and clear *pakhsa* walls with a tool called a *tesha* in Uzbekistan and *shot* in Kazakhstan. Before I left, Bulat spent two days sitting on a chair in the vegetable garden doing something. I was curious, but I didn't go near, as he was clearly hiding behind the growing mint. Then it turned out that he had bought a shot at the bazaar as a gift for me and was carving a commemorative inscription on the handle with a magnifying glass. I keep and carry this gift tool with me on all expeditions. Shortly afterward, I was sent to dig the necropolis of Zhalaly-ata near Karatobe. Smagulov left for ten days to Almaty, and I worked alone with the diggers, many of whom didn't speak Russian. It turned out, however, that working with them was a pleasure. Bulat intentionally picked out for me a highly professional team, so I only had to be told exactly what to do, and they knew how to do it themselves.

In general, the workers of the Turkestan expedition are a separate story. Most of them were from Chornak aul [village]. Some of them had been working at the excavations for decades. They worked hard and very professionally. True, Bulat strictly oversaw

them and could easily fire them for bad work and absenteeism. Therefore, excellent discipline prevailed along with very high productivity, although no one rushed. The workers obeyed me and respected me for some reason. There was a rather humorous incident in which they asked me if they could leave the site early to attend a funeral wake and they took me along. Since we did not always understand each other well, I did not know what I should do at the wake. So, I was staying in the section with the women, I didn't know anyone, and no one knew me. As it turned out, a car was waiting to take me home the whole time without my knowledge.

The next fall, I worked at the site of Sauran. This is my favorite site. Whenever I visit the Turkestan region, I try to see Sauran, but I never had the opportunity to dig on site. I was doing archaeological drawings of Sauran and once I let Bulat know that I could draw plans, from that time forward I have had less knife and trowel in my life and more tape measures, plumb bobs, pencils, and rulers. I wanted to dig, of course, but it just kept happening that there was someone to dig and no one to draw. I'm not much of a draftsman, but on Sauran I drew the best plan of my life, of which I am proud. This specific plan was part of a brick building, either a *khanqah* or a city caravanserai. Bulat and I spent much time discussing the building and arguing about its purpose. We stayed with Olga Nikolayevna at the base camp near Karatobe. The host built Smagulov a small adobe castle with towers for his base camp house. There was electricity, water, a gas canister for cooking; in general, all the conveniences and located not far from the excavation. We dreamed how this base camp would be expanded and improved. Bulat even showed me the foundation for a future house. Unfortunately, these dreams remained only dreams. The sponsor went bankrupt, and the base had to be mothballed, standing abandoned on the steppe.

Then, large-scale work began on the site of Kultobe in Turkestan. When I arrived in the fall of 2012, the cruciform building that was discovered had already been completely excavated, and work was ongoing in the adjoining areas. I managed to excavate one room, and then I had to measure and draw it along with all the other rooms. It's good that the main building underwent an instrumental survey.

Aisulu Iskanderova, an archaeologist from Karakalpakstan, worked in the expedition that year. She and I went to Kyzylorda together at the invitation of the Center for Archaeology at Kyzylorda University. They were celebrating some anniversary there and all the guests were taken on a tour of all the *ashrams* stopping at Balandy and Chirik-Rabat, where the expedition from Kyzylorda University was working at the time.



Fig. 5. 2012. So many women are on the expedition, but you have to ferment cabbage yourself

The base camp for this dig was already in another very spacious house with a large garden near the mausoleum (Fig. 6). There were many women on the expedition – two Aisulus, (Aisulu Yerzhigitova and Aisulu Iskanderova), myself, Ryskul from the Shymkent museum, and a cook. Yerbulat was in the center of this flower garden. True, there was also a driver, Serzhan (Fig. 7, 8). In the evening the ladies and Serzhan gathered around the TV set and watched some endless Turkish serial that covered a historical topic, I think the *Magnificent Century*. For some reason they laughed a lot.

Another memorable episode was when the "stars" visited Turkestan. Smagulov received a phone call and was asked to come and give a tour on Sauran. They didn't explain anything to him, and he didn't want to go. Nevertheless, he went, and I, of course, was dragged along since I very much wanted to go to my favorite ancient settlement. It turned out that some sort of motor rally was taking place through Sauran, with the participation of Kazakhstan's most famous pop stars. Karl Moldakhmedovich Baipakov came with them. All of this was filmed on television, and I got caught up in it, too, as I went along with Baipakov and Smagulov. We all took pictures together afterwards. Bulat said that the cook would poison

him if he didn't bring her pictures of her idols.

Then somehow, I was unable to come to the expedition for several years, although Bulat invited me every year. I do not enjoy excavating in the city, and they were digging Kultobe at the time. However, we still met at various conferences in Almaty (Fig. 9), St. Petersburg, Saratov, and Astana, always enjoying each other, with much conversation over debated scientific problems and future plans. When Bulat needed a reviewer for a new book, he messaged me. As usual, it was an urgent, urgent need. I honestly read the entire text in literally one or two days, and I also did the editing. It was not a drudgery at all because it was very interesting, sometimes even fascinating. We talked quite a bit about science. Bulat was always eager to seek advice from me, and so I from him, especially when it came to Central Asian archaeology.

In fact, one day my rather foolish questions helped him understand what he had actually found during the dig. The scenario was as follows: We were buying flatbread at the bazaar, and I noticed that they had a flower stamped in the center with the pattern differing from one baker to the next. I asked him how it was made, and Bulat began to explain that it was stamped with a tool with a wooden handle, much like a seal with a round base, into which iron pins were



Fig. 6. 2014 Conference in Almaty



Fig. 7. 2015. How good it is at the excavation site near Bulat!



Fig. 8. 2019 In Turbat. Dokey Taleev and Erbulat Smagulov

inserted in tight rows to form a particular pattern. Suddenly, he said, "Finally, I understand everything!" It turns out that during excavations they had found a cluster of the exact same type of copper pins with traces of wood at one end, and as a result of our excursion for flatbread, Bulat suggested that what actually was found were the remains of such a baking tool, known today as a *dukkah*. He later published the story in a book and bought a *dukkah* at the bazaar for me.

In 2015, I went with an expedition of the Russian Geographical Society to Kazakhstan. In fact, I was asked to organize an inspection of archaeological sites. We visited the sites in western Kazakhstan and the Kyzylorda region. Further eastward lay Turkistan and Astana. I asked Yerbulat to show our guests around Turkistan. He helped accommodate everyone at the hotel and took me to his base camp (Figs. 10, 11) and we talked there late into the night. Bulat gave a brilliant tour of the mausoleum and Kultobe. I personally showed the expedition Sauran, as someone who already knew it well enough. The expedition then moved on, and I stayed behind for a few days. With pleasure I worked at the excavation, excavated a crypt, which was constructed right into the fortress wall (Fig. 12). It was very nice to see the familiar faces

of the workers from the excavations at Chornak who still remembered me and cheerfully greeted me. It made me really want to return.

However, I wasn't able to return until three years later. Bulat always wanted me to come for one-and-a-half to two months, but I couldn't find that much time. Then, in late autumn, I decided to go for a couple of weeks, even more since Bulat wrote that he was digging a bathhouse and needed advice. By the time I arrived, there had been several days of frost and Yerbulat was already planning to conserve the excavation. However, my appearance postponed the plan. I finished cleaning the rooms and, of course, drew a schematic plan. It's such a pity we didn't have time to publish this bathhouse.

By 2019, I returned on a normal field expedition for more than a month in early summer. Everything was just as I like it: The steppe was all around me, the aroma of wormwood, and larks were singing. Also, the circle was complete. The dig was again near Karatobe, almost in the same place I had dug in 2010. Bulat had an interesting hypothesis. He believed that there was a large mosque (*namazgokh*) in this place. In the soil, a distinct quadrangle could be seen (Fig. 13). We dug an excavation trench at the corner where the walls should intersect. We could see a small mound and a



Fig. 9. 2019 Walk along the Moskva River

corner tower. We started digging and uncovered several rooms of what appeared to be a residential homestead. I enjoyed the excavation very much, but Bulat was disappointed. However, in the trench, which was laid across the supposed wall, masonry was visible in the profile. I wanted to expose the residence and the wall, but fate decided otherwise. However, I still hope that the pandemic, which has closed all the borders, will end, and I will return to Turkestan attempting to finish this excavation and confirm Bulat's hypothesis. It sounds fantastical, but I'm hopeful.

That dig season was also remembered for interesting weekend trips. Bulat liked to organize such events. And, in this case, he was driving his own car, which he fondly loved and called Bagira. We went to Syr Darya and even swam, though the water was cold. Another very interesting excursion was to Turbat, a place with amazing cruciform mausoleums (Fig. 14). I don't know anywhere else like it. And finally, we all went to Shymkent (Bulat, me and archaeologist Dokkey Talejev) for the wedding of Aisulu Yerzhigitova's daughter, or rather not the official wedding, but a "handover of the bride to the groom." The event was modest, for 300 people. Everyone was there including relatives, archaeologists, and workers from the excavation. Well, in general, a regular Kazakh wedding.

In the spring of 2019, I also took Bulat to Moscow. In Moscow a meeting of the Russian-Kazakh working group was held as well as a small conference. At my suggestion, Smagulov came on behalf of Kazakhstani archaeologists, and then stayed for a few days. The weather was beautiful, lilacs were in bloom, and their scent floated over the city. We walked in the city center, in Zaryadye Park (Fig. 15), on Red Square, in

Alexander Gardens, and we took a boat ride on the Moskva River (Fig. 16). We went to Tsaritsyno Palace, where it was wonderful in the beautiful weather (Fig. 17). And, of course, we went to Vorobyovy Gory to the university. Bulat told me how, as a student, he lived for several months in a dormitory in the main building of Moscow State University. He, as a successful student, had transferred from the University of Almaty to Moscow State University. However, the number of additional courses to be taken at the Department of Archaeology seemed completely unrealistic, so Bulat did not take any, and simply lived in the dormitory at his pleasure. Then he returned to Almaty.

I remember many things. So, it has turned out, that I wrote more about the everyday episodes, rather than about the science. But Yerbulat Akizhanovich Smagulov's contribution in the field of Kazakhstani archeology is so great that it is not an easy task to write about it. His numerous excavated sites, articles, and books speak for him. I wanted to remember Bulat as a person.

When the long and gloomy Moscow winter ends and the first sunshine appears promising an early spring, I want, as always, to call Bulat, and suddenly I remember that he is gone, and never again will he tell me in his mocking and slightly creaky voice: "Come over, of course..."

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Fig. 10. 2019 Moscow, Tsaritsyno

IT ISN'T TRUE THAT FRIEND IS DIE

*When horses die, they breathe,
When grasses die, they wither,
When suns die, they go out,
When men die, they sing songs.*

(Velimir Khlebnikov)

IT IS VERY difficult to write memories of friends and colleagues who passed away almost the day after you left them. This is exactly what happened to me in early October 2019, when the famous Kazakhstani archaeologist Yerbulat Smagulov, who led the Turkestan Archaeological Expedition of the Margulan Institute of Archaeology for many years, died.

At that time in 2019, after a break, I returned to Turkestan. It was due to a change of residence. I moved from Ukraine to work at Pavlodar Pedagogical University. Therefore, taking advantage of the opportunity, I was happy to visit the Turkestan Archaeological Expedition, which I have considered my home since 2009.

There were plans.... There was admiration for the accumulation of material during my absence.... Inspired by this trip, on October 2nd, I left for Pavlodar. Bulat, who was driving for the first time following his illness, took me to the train station and put me on the train. I never thought it would be the last time I saw him. But, that's exactly what happened. A few days later I received a phone call with the terrible news of the death of a dear friend and colleague.

My communication with Bulat can be divided into several categories.

First, I would like to remember how we met. One day I received a letter from my old friend and colleague Sergei Yatsenko, who spoke enthusiastically about a conference where he met Kazakhstani colleagues (including Bulat Smagulov). Knowing my interest in Asian topics, he introduced us.

However, as is well known, it is very difficult for an archaeologist, with all her desire, to go somewhere beyond her own expeditions. At that time, I was actively working in Crimea, at Chersonesus, and the work required much effort; so it was difficult to find free time to travel. But, Bulat and I began a correspondence, and from the first moments of our communication we realized that we had much to talk about. That's how our friendship began. From that time until today, many of his emails are still stored in my inbox....

It so happened that in 2008 I came with a team to work at the citadel of Chersonesos, realizing that the following year, most likely, I would not return

there again. Therefore, I informed Bulat about my intention to come to Turkestan. He got very excited, answering that he would welcome me at any time.

I have a letter dated April 25, 2009, in which Sergei Yatsenko and I reflected with anticipation about the possibility of a meeting in Turkestan. It's always great to meet friends and colleagues. So, I boarded the Kharkiv-Tashkent train. I had a three-day journey to Turkestan. I am not a fan of traveling long distances by train, but at the time it was the best option to transport not only myself, but also my large amount of work gear.

My trip was exceptionally interesting. There were six customs and border control checks, and wonderful traveling companions.... After this long road, a warm meeting awaited me on the platform in Turkestan which I will remember for the rest of my life. Those bright and pure emotions still fill me today. It is possible that thanks to that meeting, Kazakhstan itself became a country of sunshine and joy for me!

Bulat was an open and sunny man, generous and hospitable. His energy fascinated me from the first day of my acquaintance with him and his inquisitive scientific mind completed the picture. Yerbulat Akizhakovich Smagulov was my mentor in matters of both Central Asian archeology, as well as Turkic and Asian Studies. This fact is very important and awe-inspiring for me.

I have always had an interest in the East. But it so happened that I became engaged in Greco-Roman antiquity when I was a student and participated in archeological research of ancient Greek polities in southern Ukraine. For many years I specialized in Ukraine's most famous monument, the Tauric Chersonesos (Sevastopol, Crimea). In no way do I belittle the importance of this field for me. Today the knowledge and experience I gained provides me the opportunity not only to orient myself wonderfully in the historical intricacies of the history of the Central Asian region but also to look at my own country's history in a new way.

Acquaintance with the unique historical and cultural heritage of Kazakhstan and Yerbulat's personal help in doing so, marked a completely new period of my life.



Fig. 1. In the gurbkhana of K. A. Yasawi with the professor of the Ulughbek National University of Uzbekistan, O. Lushpenko and Y. Smagulov (2009)



Fig. 2. Y. Smagulov in Gobustan (Azerbaijan, 2017)

Familiarity with the excavations of Sauran and Sidak, Turkestan and Otrar, Taraz and other sites in Kazakhstan allowed me to compare them with the history of Ukraine. After all, in the settlements and fortresses of Ukraine even today one can find Eastern artifacts. It is often difficult to correctly attribute such cultural material without knowledge of specific features from this historically rich region.

I gave my impressions on this to *Vokrug Sveta-Telegraf* in the article "The Place of Tamerlane's Death."¹ The first bridge between the history of southern Kazakhstan and my native *Slobozhanshchina*² was the story of the fortress construction on Mount Kremianets at Izyum in the Kharkiv region by a native of Taraz. My interest piqued in connection with it during my archeological field trips to Izyum and its region between 2006-2007 when I led

a small archeological expedition to this region.

After working with the TAE in 2009-2010, I developed an understanding of the local regional history, which I expressed in my 2011 interview with Kazinform: "The roots of kinship go back centuries. According to the Ukrainian scholars a native of Taraz during the Golden Horde period built a fortress in the city of Izyum in the Kharkiv region."³ Years later, after living and working in Kazakhstan, these ideas (along with others related to this area), I eventually published in a number of scientific works.

A special memory includes the famous Turkestan mausoleum itself. Bulat provoked my interest in studying the old grave ledger of Yasawi. As a result, I managed to clarify the date the ledger was made

¹ Krupa, T. The Place of Tamerlane's Death. URL: <http://birlik.org.ua/page/otrar>. Consulted on 21.12.2011.

² Author's note: Slobozhanshchina refers to Sloboda Ukraine, the historical term for the north and northeastern part of modern Ukraine with its center in Kharkiv).

³ Skripnik G. The Roots of Kinship go Back Centuries: A Native of Taraz Built a Fortress in the City of Izyum in the Kharkov Region during the Period of the Golden Horde according to Ukrainian Scientists. URL: https://www.inform.kz/ru/korni-rodstva-uhodyat-v-glub-vekov-vyhodec-iz-taraza-vo-vremena-zolotoy-ordy-postroil-krepost-v-gorode-izyum-na-har-kovschine-versiya-ukrainskih-uchenyh_a2350827. Consulted on 11.02.2011.



Fig. 3. With Y. Smagulov at a scientific conference in Turkmenistan (2011)

from the tombstone of this great Sufi. In 2009, I even managed to visit the *gurkhana* of the mausoleum.⁴ Smagulov studied the tombstone, and our small group was able to get a closer look at this artifact.

But the trip to the *gurkhana* also gave me food for thought. Its design raised the question of additional research into the grave ledger needed to discover the design features of its construction. This question is still unexplored.

I have named only a few deeply held scientific questions, which I would never have been involved in if Bulat had not been a colleague and friend in my life. The breadth of his scientific views and his special vision for solving complex scientific problems have always amazed me! Scientific discussions and consultations with this man were always a special pleasure for me! After all, the ease with which Bulat shared his knowledge could not fail to impress me. At that time, I was "raw clay" in these matters.

Therefore, I absorbed his reflections and wed them to my own knowledge thus, discovering something new for myself.

In 2013, together with Alexei Zlatogorsky, the head of the "Volyn Antiquities" State Company of the Archaeological Protection Service of Ukraine, (with whom I am also connected by years of excellent scientific cooperation and friendship), and with Makka Karazhanova, the head of the Kharkiv city national public association of Kazakhs known as "Birlik" (I am still a deputy chairman in this public organization); we managed to host our Kazakh colleagues, including Yerbulat Smagulov in Ukraine.

This scientific conference in Lutsk introduced the Kazakh delegation to one of the brightest regions of Ukraine, Volyn. The conference had a significant impact. Scientific communication between Ukrainian, Polish, and Kazakh researchers was quite useful. Understanding the importance of interstate and interregional scientific cooperation while preparing to host our Kazakh colleagues; we began to design a creative research project called "TransEurasia," supported personally by the Ambassador Ex-

⁴ **Ed. note:** A *gurkhana* is a burial chamber or crypt in the Central Asian context.



Fig. 4. With Y. Smagulov in ancient Merv (Turkmenistan, 2011)

traordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Z.K. Turisbekov. However, this project has not yet come to fruition due to the well-known political problems in Ukraine that emerged in 2014.

My paths also crossed with Yerbulot Smagulov outside of Ukraine or Kazakhstan. These meetings were always warm and joyful, rich and constructive. There's much to say about Bulat Smagulov, because the scale of his personality was great. We all loved and appreciated him, and his passing was a great loss for us. But if we remember and promote his

ideas, he remains alive as a scientist. As long as we are able to remember, the man is alive! How not to recall the beautiful lines of the Russian poet Konstantin Simonov: "It isn't true that friend is die, // But next to you he cease to be".

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YERBULAT: BORN UNDER THE SIGN OF THE SUN!

“Human life is not so primitive, as to divide it only between dark and light sides. Millions of shadows and transitional shades lie between light and dark. And it is reasonable that a person learns to distinguish between them all his life.”

Haruki Murakami

**“Vision is not what your eyes see,
it is the image that your brain creates.”**

“Still, a family is a very long relationship”

I could not pass up the offer to write about Yerbulat. He meant too much in my life. The years of my youth, family life, and the beginning of my career were associated with him, and therefore, he occupied a significant place in my life as a person, as the father of my daughter, and as a spouse during a certain period of my life, which lasted 14 years.

The first wedding which I not only attended, but also helped to organize was that of my older brother, Mark Magau, which took place in the Kalamger Café in the Writers’ Union of Kazakhstan building. And therefore, this wedding was a most fun and meaningful event for me. In addition, on that day of the wedding on March 5, 1976, I first met Yerbulat. He gave the impression as being an outstanding, educated Almaty intellectual with the manners of a gentleman, which are rare to this day.

I, like many others, have always had a sense of respect for people who stand out from the crowd for their talents, intelligence, and knowledge. When we met, Yerbulat seemed to me to be one of these young people. I then learned from third parties that during his student years, he was the chairman of the student scientific association at KazSU. For some reason, it struck my imagination! In that same year, he went to Leningrad (now St. Petersburg) for an internship at the Leningrad branch of the Institute of Archeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, under the leadership of V.M. Masson. And then, he impressed me again, but this time with his letters, which he wrote to me from Leningrad. He had beautiful handwriting and could write a letter in such a romantic style that it looked like a small piece of literature. I remember constantly waiting for another letter from him, and when I found it in my mailbox, it caused me a storm of joy!

When I entered Yerbulat’s family, his father, Akzhan Smagulov, was a retired KGB colonel. Apparently, he was a professional and a “real partisan,” since I don’t recall him ever talking or even mentioning his work. At the same time, he was a very sociable person, a great optimist by nature, he never complained, never criticized anyone, and whatever he did, he did with a smile and with a cheerful mood. Akzhan-ata was a man of light souls; that is how he was called, Akzhan, which means “light soul” [in Kazakh]. He also, as they say, did not yearn for his granddaughters. He had four of them: Gulnara and Zina, daughters of Yerbulat’s elder sister Maria; Almira, our daughter; and Dania, the daughter of Naili, his younger sister. Atashka¹ was always ready to go for a walk or play with his granddaughters, and it was obvious that he really enjoyed it. Our daughter got sick easily when she was a child and, on the advice of doctors and with my father’s help, we managed for three years in a row to send her for a month’s treatment to the “Kazakhstan” children sanatorium which is in Kislovodsk. Our Akzhan-ata would get a voucher to a sanatorium located nearby and follow his granddaughter to Kislovodsk, so she would not feel lonely there. Such a resourceful, kind-hearted, and caring man was Atashka.

I remember a funny incident during our work with Yerbulat under the program of the “Kazakh-American Archaeological Expedition.” Archaeologist Jeannine Davis-Kimball from America, together with her husband Matt, organized, along with our archaeologists Serzhan Akhinzhanov and Yerbulat Smagulov, a Kazakh-American archaeological expedition to conduct excavations at the ancient

¹ *Atashka* is a diminutive term of endearment which is a hybrid Kazakh/Russian word meaning “granddad.”

city of Otrar in 1990 and also to conduct excavations near Talgar in 1991. In the summer, Jeannine Kimball brought 9-10 Americans who were not archaeologists, but simply came to participate in the excavations as amateurs. I worked as a translator on these expeditions. Once we invited her and her husband Matt to visit for lunch. When I introduced our Ata and just pronounced his title [as KGB colonel], our American guest Matt suddenly jumped up from his chair and saluted his enemy. All those present at the table were on edge and did not know how to react – whether to laugh or be surprised. Only Akzhan-ata smiled and made a remark to him that “one doesn’t put a hand to an uncovered head [i.e., salute out of uniform].” At that moment everyone relaxed and laughed. Matt was the same age as Atashka, and even though we knew the professions of all the other American members of the expedition, at the time, Matt never told us what he was doing before retirement. I think that the phrase “retired KGB colonel” caused an instinctive reaction from Matt, either as a military man or a man with a good sense of humor.

Yerbulat loved and knew how to create a comfortable home. He could make pieces of furniture with his own hands, such as a bedside table for a hallway, bookshelves, or a table. Working in Shaul’der in the Turkestan region, he learned from local residents how to cook real rice pilaf. It seems to me that I have never tasted such delicious pilaf since. I remember how, a few years after we separated, I caught myself thinking that I missed his pilaf. Once again, I am convinced of the accuracy of the statement “If a person is talented, then he is talented in everything.” If he hadn’t become an archaeologist, Yerbolat could have become a successful writer or a cook-whatever he did, he could have been successful.

Yerbulat was a very interesting conversationalist and distinguished by his unique humor. He had his own unshakable opinion on absolutely everything in life. He gave a detailed answer to any question, while creating the impression that he had prepared in advance and worked out the question. If he made comments, they were often fair, and it was amusing to listen to his extraordinary criticism. So, for example, when I was returning home from work in the evening, he met me with the phrase: “A woman came with a reticule!” I actually very rarely had to buy groceries for the home since we had two real men living in our house, Yerbulat and his father, both of whom were extremely thrifty and responsible. We were often visited by Yerbulat’s older sister Maria, a kind, hard-working, and caring person who lived and still lives in the village of Shilik, near Almaty. Every time she visited, she always brought delicious fruits and vegetables that she grew on her own land. The closest thing to Yerbulat during his entire life was Maria’s family,

about whom he never stopped worrying and caring.

And I also can’t help but mention Yerbulat’s mother. Coincidentally, after the birth of his younger sister Niley, she became seriously ill and at the time of our wedding had been ill for about 20 years. The wedding took place on July 14, 1979, three years after we met and two days before Yerbulat’s birthday. After returning from Leningrad in the summer of 1978, he invited me home to introduce me to his parents. I remember how Yerbulat took me to the kitchen, where his mother was waiting for me, and left us alone. I wore a red chintz dress with a geometric print, I had red semicircular clips in my ears and I wore bright red lipstick to match my dress. Apparently, I really wanted her to like me. At the sight of his mother, I regretted so much that I had dressed up in all red. On that day, and later, when I got to know her better, Yerbulat’s mother left me with the impression of a person of poise, tremendous willpower— a beautiful, intelligent, and wise woman who loved her son more than anything else in the world. It was Yerbulat’s mother who taught me how to cook, and by the way she taught me, I can judge how delicious her cooking was! The day after my visit, Yerbulat told me that his mother approved of his choice for the first time, which I was infinitely happy about.

During the summers, Yerbulat used to take our daughter Almira and me to Shaul’der. It was a village near the ancient settlement of Otrar, where there was an archaeological base with houses, a canteen, and a warehouse for storing finds. Although there were no basic conditions for a comfortable stay, I liked to go there much more than on foreign trips, where we were placed in five-star hotels. I associate Shaul’der with such words as “summer,” “heat,” “hot,” and “early mornings,” because at about 5 a.m. Yerbulat would leave by bus with his colleagues for the excavations. Another word was “tasty borsch” for lunch in the canteen and “starry, night sky,” which hung over us as we were lying on a trestle bed in the base camp yard; and “warmth,” which emanated from Yerbulat as he tried to provide more comfort for Almirka and me in these harsh field conditions. In fact, this “warmth” could always be felt when he was around, regardless of whether he was busy writing an article at home at his desk and concentrating on it, or when he directly devoted his free time to his family and spent it with us. According to the Jyotish [Vedic] horoscope, Yerbulat was born under the strong influence of the Sun, and therefore he simply radiated this energy of warmth. I daresay that everyone who had ever communicated with him or was near him for even a short time could feel this warmth, and especially, it seems to me, it was felt strongly in the last years of his life.

In relation to his daughter Almira, Yerbulat was and always had been a kind, loving, and caring father.

Often on weekends, we would all go sledding in the mountains together, go for a walk at the Medeo skating rink, visit the park, or go to the movies or the zoo. During vacations, which rarely coincided with our available time, he was the one to initiate our trips. So Yerbulat, Almirka, and I would go to Moscow, Leningrad, Riga, Sochi, or visit our relatives in Pavlodar. When I got married, I worked as a translator in the Alma-Ata branch of the All-Union Agency “Intourist.” And due to the nature of my work, I often had to accompany our Soviet tourists abroad or be with foreign tourists on tours to cities in the Soviet Union. I never, not for a moment, had any doubt in my mind as to whether I could or could not leave my daughter in the care of her father. When I think about it now, I realize that I trusted him as much as I trusted myself. He was a very reliable, caring father. At the beginning of 1983, when my daughter was only 2 years old, I was ordered to take a three-month advanced training course in Moscow, it was impossible to refuse, and dismissal was offered as an alternative. I went to the courses, and Yerbulat together with Atashka did an excellent job. Moreover, Yerbulat, to my great surprise and joy, without any warning (there was no cell phone service then!) somehow came to see me in Moscow for a few days just to visit me so we could take a walk together in Moscow. Of course, this could have been thanks to Akzhan-ata, who was looking after our 2-year-old daughter with Nailya in those days.

Yerbulat was his father’s son and became like his father, a loving and caring atashka. I realized this sometime later when our grandson was a little over a year old. When he had just been born in May 2012, probably because we had not lived together for a long time by then, Yerbulat took the news rather coldly. Shoria’s father is an Indian from Calcutta. At my news on the phone about the birth of his grandson, Yerbulat asked: “Well, do you want to tell me that Rabindranath Tagore was born?”² Later, however, his love for his grandson became an unforgettable and integral part of his life. Yerbulat was in the habit of inventing nicknames for his children. Thus, he often called Shoria “Mowgli.”³ Every time Yerbulat visited following his return from an expedition and spoke to Shoria on the phone, he would ask, “Mowgli, did you miss me?” I now think that, like many in this world, he lacked love. Yerbulat himself was a generous, benevolent man; able to show love, care, and attention to those around him, but whether he received all this in return remains a big question for me. True, Shoria also loved and loved his atashka very much, and for a

long time after Atashka left, we—Shoria, his mother Almirka, and I—remembered him almost every day. It’s very hard for all of us to accept the idea that we’ll never see him again, but life goes on and we must move on. Shoria’s biggest regret is that Atashka never had time to take him to Turkestan to show him his excavations.

**“Will you really never forget me?”
“Never. I have no reason to forget you.”**

If someone were to ask me now, “If you could live your life over, would you like to meet Yerbulat again?” I would definitely answer, “Yes!” There are no one hundred percent “good” or “bad” people in this life. Each of us combines both, and it all depends on our understanding of what is “good” and what is “bad.” It’s all very individual. I think that a big drawback of our society is that at no stage of education – neither at our school, nor at the university – do they teach us the most essential things in life: The human values of being happy, how to build relationships in a family, relationships between a man and a woman, how to aspire to personal growth, and knowing ourselves to some extent.

We have no one teaching us some basic psychological issues. As a result, problems grow like a snowball going downhill in everyday life. But, despite all the difficulties we faced and overcame along our own way, Yerbulat remains in my memory as a bright, benevolent, and unique person who continued to support Almirka and me until the end of his life. Yes, I had some hard feelings, we were young and foolish, and we ended up hurting each other a great deal. But for the most part, Yerbulat and I had a benevolent relationship, both during our time together and after. After five years of separation, I was able to “let go” of the offenses, realizing and accepting my own mistakes that I had made. And since then, I have had great respect for him as a person and as a consummate professional. The only thing that bothered me since that time was the state of his health, when at times he felt unwell.

“Some are good at what they do. And some are really good at what they do. There’s a huge difference between these two skills.”

Yerbulat Akizhanovich Smagulov devoted 45 years of his life to archeology and made an invaluable contribution to its development in Kazakhstan. He was marked by high professionalism, devotion, literacy, a huge capacity for work, scrupulousness in the performance of archaeological research, and writing of scientific publications. I, as a full-time and later freelance employee, worked from time to time with

² **Ed. note:** Rabindranath Tagore was an Indian polymath, poet, writer, and philosopher of the 19th-20th century.

³ Mowgli was the main character in the English journalist and writer, Rudyard Kipling’s *The Jungle Book* (1894).

Yerbulat at the Institute of Archaeology at the Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan from 1989 to 2012. I can say that archaeology was his true calling, and archaeological expeditions were places of rest and peace where he reached a state of complete satisfaction and self-realization as a talented scholar of archaeology. Yerbulat found his own niche in archaeology and was faithful to it for a long, yet fleeting period of time; from the student's desk, until the last moment of his life.

P.S.: It seems to me that if everyone found and occupied his niche in the sphere of his activity, as well as his place in society, and did not infringe on the space of others, this world would be a much better place and many more people would live happier lives.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank from the bottom of my heart, albeit belatedly, the Samarkand archaeologists for their hospitality and support they provided to Yerbulat in November 1990 during the defense of his doctoral dissertation. At that time, as far as I remember, the defense in Samarkand was attended by the legendary scientist and archaeologist Professor Vadim Mikhailovich Masson from Leningrad and the official opponent, Doctor of History, Yuri Fedorovich Buryakov, to whom Yerbulat did not fail to introduce me following his defense.

I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to Yerbulat's friend, an archeologist from Samarkand, who met and hosted us at his home. I remember he was always smiling and had a kind and very hospitable family. To my great shame, I have forgotten his name and now I have no one to ask. If you are reading these lines, thank you very much and I bow to you and your family!

For me, those days in Samarkand were unforgettable and some of the happiest and most joyful days of our lives together!

I wish everyone happiness and peace in your home!

Zaure Smagulova

MY FAVORITE ATASHKA

Atashka was the best person. As an atashka, he was a super-atashka. He was as warm as the sun, he loved everyone— my dad, my mom, my apachik,⁴ and me. Atashka always granted my wishes. Atashka was kind, he always helped everyone. He was a jack of all trades. Once Atashka told me: "Your atashka's a goldsmith." Then he fixed my toy.

One day he came, and no one was expecting Atashka that day, and my mother wasn't home. It was just me and Atashka, and I was so surprised that Atashka brought a huge box! And the box was full of tangerines, and in the middle, there was a big machine – a crane. I had wanted one for a long time, and bang! – my wish came true! Atashka always came so unexpectedly. Atashka was the best for me. When I went to sleep on top of Atashka and woke up in the morning, Atashka was already working. He loved his archeology very, very much. No one else was as good, only Atashka. It was a pity that Atashka always only came to us for a short time. I'll never forget the time we went for walks at the zoo. Atashka took me to the zoo, to the entertainment centers, and to walk around the city. It was so cool being with Atashka!

By **Shoria Vir Singh**, grandson, 9 years old

⁴ Apachik is a diminutive term of endearment which is a hybrid Kazakh/Russian word meaning "granny."

CULTURAL
STUDIES

EMMA ZILIVINSKAYA

THE FEATURES AND LAYOUT OF A BUILDING IN THE OTRAR OASIS

This article re-examines a multi-room building that was excavated in the 1970s in the vicinity of Otrar (southern Kazakhstan). The building dates from the 14th to early 15th century. Its walls and square floorplan, were constructed of large-sized, fired bricks. According to the author of the publication (S. Zh. Zholdasbaev) the structure was divided into 20 rooms by internal partitions. The central square room was surrounded by various sized rooms and configurations. The building was badly damaged by later period digging, so the internal structures were almost unpreserved. In the original publication, this building is interpreted as a mosque or madrasah. However, no signs of a cultic building can be connected to it. Likewise, in the central region of the Golden Horde in the Lower Volga, several manor houses with a similar layout were studied. Also square in plan, these houses were divided into three sections by meridian walls. The middle part consisted of a suite of rooms with a ceremonial hall in the center. The main entrance was located on the south side and in the northern section is found the place of honor for house's owner designated by a podium with a canopy. On the east and west sides, the hall was adjoined by multi-functional rooms. The main buildings of the richest estates had a similar layout. This similar layout from estates in the Golden Horde was borrowed from floorplans in Central Asia. The manor houses of Khorezm may have served as a model. However, the spatial organization of Golden Horde manor houses was organized according to Mongolian models. The building in the Otrar oasis is probably an example of such houses from Khorezm.

Key words: Otrar oasis, multi-room building, Golden Horde, manor houses, Khorezm, Mongolia, principles of planning, spatial organization.

Citation: Emma Zilivinskaya (2021) The Features and Layout of a Building in the Otrar Oasis, Bulletin of IICAS, 32 (Smagulov Collection). P. 33-42. DOI: 10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.33-42

Article link: <https://doi.org/10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.33-42>

EXCAVATION during the 1970s were conducted at the Bayilydyr settlement located 4 km southeast of Otrar (southern Kazakhstan). The results were published (Zholdasbaev 1980) and described numerous *tepes* [hills or mounds] (more than 20) of various sizes and heights (ranging from 0.2 to 0.8 m) located on the bank of a canal that flowed into the Arys River. Traces of later pits were also detected in the soil. One of the hills, called Danlybai *tepe*, was completely excavated. This *tepe* revealed structure with a square plan, 25 × 25 m, and 0.6 m high.

Excavations revealed of a multi-room building. The square plan with borders 19 m long was oriented along a north/south axis with a deviation to the west. The building's exterior walls were made of large-sized fired bricks (35 × 35 × 5 cm). Judging from the schematic drawing, the brickwork's outer and inner layers were composed of whole bricks with the space between the courses filled with brick fragments. The walls were 110 cm thick, but their present-day height

is only one course. The interior partitions between rooms were made of one row of bricks 35 cm wide with a height between one to three layers. The structure's floors were made of adobe.

The building's layout is quite interesting. According to the report's author, it consisted of 20 rooms (Fig. 1). The center contained a square room with dimensions 16.1 × 6.1 m. Accessible from the southwest¹ corner of the room labeled 18; its entrance was marked by a brick step measuring 1.15 × 1.7 m. Inside this room, designated as number 1, at a distance of 1 m from the presumed entrance was brickwork 2 courses in height. Based on the schematic drawing, each side of this brickwork was comprised of four courses, therefore, its dimensions were approximately 1.4 × 1.4 m.² According to the author of the report, it

¹ The text incorrectly states "southeast."

² The text indicates an area of 1 m²

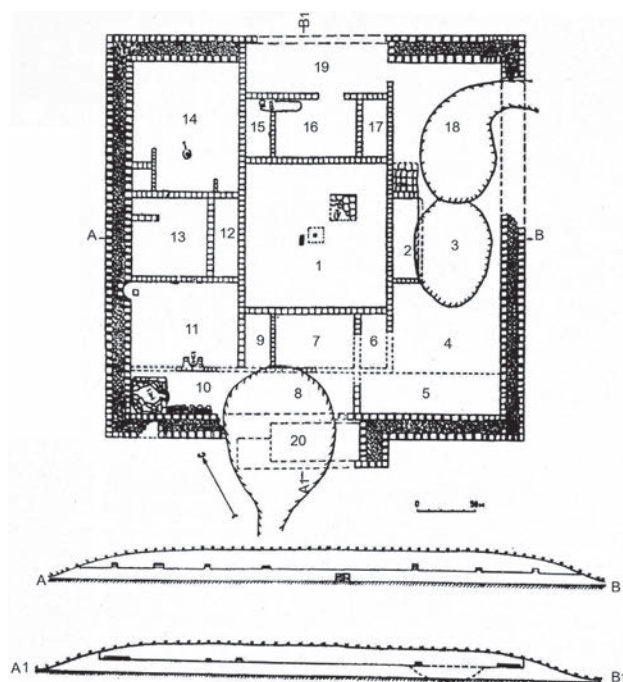


Fig. 1. Building in Bayildir, plan (Zholdasbayev 1980)

was interpreted as a table for oil lamps, since a *chirag* was discovered beside it (Zholdasbayev 1980: 172-173). The center of room 1 contained a circular structure made of brick fragments. This measured about 60-70 cm in diameter with a height of approximately 80-85 cm containing a hole in the center. The entire structure had a sunken floor with only the raised section with the hole being at ground level. According to the interpretation of the excavators, this brickwork served to support a wooden column which allowed them to assume that “the room had some type of roof” (Zholdasbayev 1980: 173).

Three rooms adjoined this central room from the north: room 16, measuring 3.45×2.65 m, and rooms 15 and 17, 2.65×1.1 m each, which flanked room 1. On the southern side was a similar complex of rooms (6, 7 and 9) with the same dimensions. The northern group of rooms could be accessed from room 19 (6.2×2.1 m), which, in turn, could be accessed directly from the street. Zholdasbayev, in one case, calls the entrance to room 19 the main entrance, and in another, an auxiliary entrance (Zholdasbayev 1980: 176, 178). A similar vestibule or an *iwana*³, room 20, was located on the south side. Its eastern and western walls contained massive pylons projecting 1.5 m beyond the facade of the building’s south wall. This *iwana*

led to room 8, which then led to the central group of rooms.

Three rooms in the interior extended along the southern wall. Another room (10), in the southwestern corner measured 4.7×1.75 m. In the western section of this room was a fireplace (1.3×1.3 m) with a circular fire pit 50 cm in diameter. The pit’s hole measured 15×20 cm. A shelf 2.2 m long, 50 cm wide, and 40 cm high was built next to the fireplace along the south wall. Further to the east was the vestibule, room 8 which was heavily damaged by a pit from a later period; along with room 5, that measured 6.5×1.75 m.

The building’s west wing had four rooms. North of room 10, room 11 measured a spacious 4.7×3.5 m. It contained a horseshoe-shaped fireplace (60×90 cm) and lay next to its southwestern wall. A circular depression with bricks on its floor was found in the northern corner. Presumably, a *khuma* (storage jar) had been buried there. Potsherds from glazed ceramic dishes as well as animal bones were found in the room, which indicated its auxiliary function.

Further to the north were rooms 12 (3.4×1.1 m) and 13 (3.4×3.4 m). In the northwestern corner of room 13, a wall described as a “destroyed back room” was exposed. Room 14 was the northernmost room in this group with dimensions of 4.7×5.5 m. A *tashnau*⁴ lay in the central part of this room. Fired bricks were found in the room’s western and southern corners which the excavators interpreted as a small storage room (Zholdasbayev 1980: 176). Glazed and unglazed pottery fragments were also found in this room.

The opposite east section of the building also had four rooms (4, 2, 3 and 18), mostly destroyed by later pits. However, presumably, the east section layout of the building was mirror-symmetrical to the west side.

Based on the pottery from the main excavation and cultural material from the accompanying excavation trenches, the building dates between the 14th-15th century. The report’s author interprets this complex as a mosque or madrasah. In his opinion, “in plan and orientation it is identical to the late religious buildings that are found throughout southern Kazakhstan and Central Asia” (Zholdasbayev 1980: 178), and he compares it with the mosques-madrasahs of the 18th-19th centuries. He considers his interpretation supported by written sources which maintain that many madrasahs and mosques were built in Otrar and other cities. Zholdasbayev writes: “The following arguments favor the theory that this is a mosque. First, at that time it was necessary to disseminate Islam as quickly as possible. The construc-

³ Ed. Note: An *iwana* (Persian/Arabic) is a rectangular-shaped space or hall usually with three sides common in Central Asian architecture, often the part of a threshold.

⁴ Ed. Note: A *tashnau* was for sanitation purposes used to drain dirty water after washing hands or dishes.

tion plan of the Khoja Ahmed Yasawi mausoleum [in Turkestan, Kazakhstan] provides evidence since this building's plan in Otrar is almost identical. Second, according to its internal layout, yet, despite its smaller size, the Otrar complex is similar to the Central Asian and south Kazakhstan mosque-madrasahs built during the 18th-19th centuries," (*Zholdasbayev* 1980: 181).

Yet, there is not a single mihrab in the entire supposed "mosque-madrasah" complex, even though the mihrab is the main, and indispensable, element of a Muslim religious building. For a mosque, the layout of the building is not as important as the presence of a Qibla-oriented prayer niche. Specifically, this is evidenced by the presence and layout of structures such as *namazgoh*⁵ mosques, which have only one wall with a mihrab (*Kochnev* 1976) or steppe mosques, known from ethnographic studies, in which the mihrab is indicated by bushes planted in the soil to form of a niche directed toward Mecca. In the author's opinion, the mihrab "was not provided because of the small size of the complex" (*Zholdasbayev* 1980: 178). This explanation seems rather absurd since a mihrab niche can be made even in the smallest room of which there are numerous examples.

Based on the mosque-madrasah hypothesis for this building, *Zholdasbayev* attributes his interpretation to the premises of the building under investigation. In his opinion, the central room is a prayer hall while the small rooms 2, 6, 9, 12, 15, 17 were for students, that is future clerics. Rooms 3, 4, 7 were attributed as being classrooms, and pilgrims were received in room 16. The room with the tashnau served for ritual ablutions before prayers, or a *takhoratkhana* in the Central Asian Muslim context (*Zholdasbayev* 1980: 178). These assumptions are groundless and are *Zholdasbayev's* fantasy. While the rooms that measure 2.65×1.1 m and even 3.4×1.1 m certainly provide sufficient space for an average-sized person to reside, this is unlikely domestic space. It is equivalent to living in a wardrobe. The only thing that can be agreed upon is that rooms with fireplaces (10 and 11) could be used for cooking.

I also cannot agree that the layout of this building was typical for a mosque and madrasah. No mosque with a similar layout is recorded in either Central Asia or Kazakhstan between the 10th and 14th centuries. Usually, such buildings were single or multi-domed one-hall buildings divided into naves by rows of columns or buildings with an extensive courtyard (*Khmelnitsky* 1992, 60-103; *Khmelnitsky* 1996, 70-128; *Mankovskaya* 1980: 102-121; *Mankovskaya* 2014:

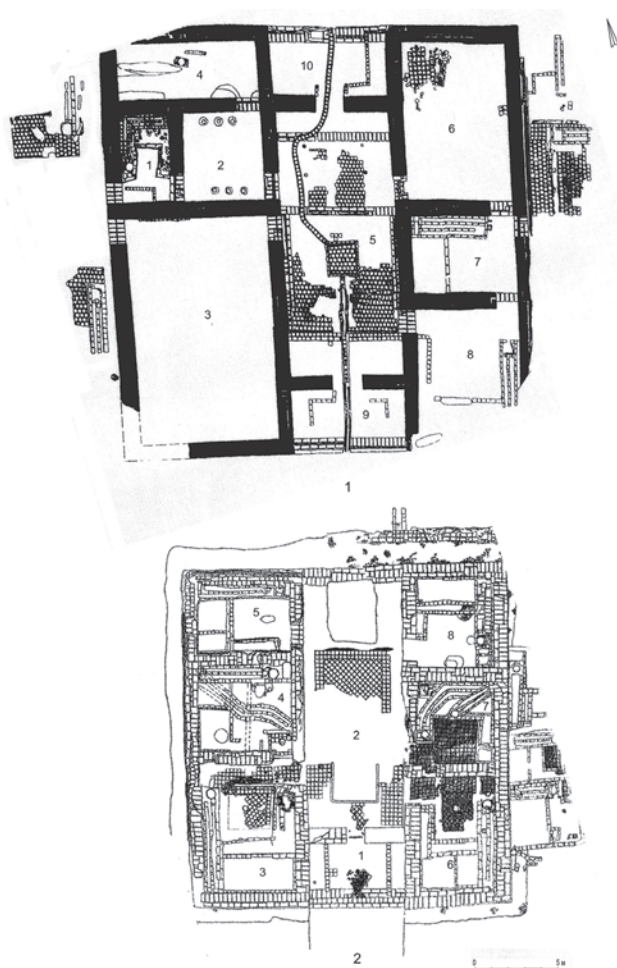


Fig. 2. Manor buildings at Selitrennoye settlement: 1 – manor 1; 2 – estate 2 (*Zilivinskaya* 2019)

240-259; *Baipakov* 2012: 13-29). Even the modest and small-sized mosque in the rural settlement of Zhalpaktal in western Kazakhstan had a basilica-specific layout (*Maryksin* 2014: 112-114; *Zilivinskaya* 2016: 293-297). Madrasahs in the East were usually characterized by an inner courtyard surrounded by a group of other rooms (*Hillenbrand* 1994: 173-253; *Khmelnitsky* 1996: 260-277; *Baipakov* 2012: 31-37). The comparison with the later buildings from the 18th-19th centuries is, in my opinion, incorrect, especially since specific examples are not given. The statement about comparing the identity of the modest building in Bayildir with the magnificent monumental building of the Khoja Ahmed Yasawi mausoleum-*khanqah*⁶ also seems dubious. The only similarity is the central room, but this type of layout was very common for various categories of buildings.

⁴ Ed. Note: A *namazgoh* is any location consecrated for prayers by Muslims.

⁶ Ed. Note: A *khanqah* (Persian) was a building specifically for gatherings of a Sufi brotherhood (*tariqa*), usually for a spiritual retreat.

Meanwhile, in the Golden Horde region of the Lower Volga, several manor houses have been studied which in plan are actually very similar to this building and date to the same 14th century, that is, the era of the Golden Horde. (*Zilivinskaya* 2008: 8-43, 96-98; *Zilivinskaya* 2014: 120-125).

The central house of estate 1 at the Selitrennoye archaeological site (identified as Saray, the Golden Horde capital near modern Astrakhan) has almost an exactly square floorplan with dimensions 23.8×24.2 (Fig. 2.1). Its remaining walls are constructed of two rows of large-sized mud bricks ($50 \times 22 \times 7$ cm), one row with headers and the other stretchers. The building is divided by two southern walls that separate three rows of rooms. In the center of the middle row is found a large rectangular hall accessible from the courtyard through vestibule rooms on its northern and southern sides. L-shaped *sufas*⁷ extend along the walls in the vestibules. In the northern and southern parts of the hall, the floor is higher than in its central section. A podium paved with fired bricks was built on the northern platform of the floor with remnants of wooden pillars that previously supported a canopy. The hall floor's center section was also paved with brick and a square pool constructed in its center. Water entered the pool by a channel that ran from the courtyard through the southern vestibule under the floor paving and exited through a similar channel running to the north.

On both the east and west sides, the central hall was surrounded by rooms with various functions. In the northwestern section of the building was a group of three living rooms (1, 2, 4), which were connected via a passage, as well as to the central hall and courtyard. To their south was an extensive, non-residential room (room 3), whose floor was paved with fired bricks. Two passageways led to the hall and outside the building. The western row of rooms consisted of an identical non-residential room with a brick floor to the north (room 6) and two rooms with *kans*⁸ and *sufas* (room 7, 8). All three rooms were connected by passages running along the eastern wall that formed a single block. This eastern block was connected to the central hall by two passages from rooms 6 and 8 adjacent to room 7 on both sides. Room 7 was connected to the outer yard. Thus, the rooms surrounding the central hall in phase I comprised four separate sections.

After 20 or 30 years, the house underwent numerous alterations. The empty rooms were sub-divided

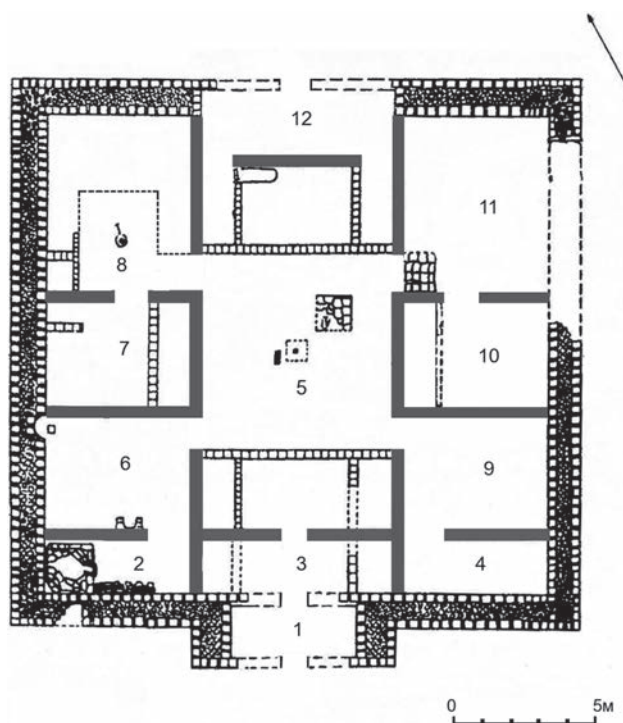


Fig. 3. Building in Bayildir, plan with elements of reconstruction

and turned into living space. Some of the rooms were connected only with the central hall while the other part was only connected to the street. From the 1360s – 1370s, the estate fell into disrepair; the hall was abandoned, and the pool was filled with refuse. From the 1380s - 1390s, the estate was totally destroyed, replaced by an extensive necropolis on its site.

The mudbrick house labeled estate 2, located in the same area of the city, had a similar layout and was built in the same style (Fig. 2.2). The building was square, but somewhat smaller (20×19.5 m). The rooms were arranged in three rows with the only entrance in the center of the southern wall that led to a vestibule paved with fired bricks and with raised *sufas* extending along the meridional walls. A large reception hall (14.4×5.9 m) lay to the north of the vestibule and the floor was decorated in a brick pattern. A podium, formed from a tightly packed mass of earth, was built near the northern wall.

Three living rooms were situated along western and eastern sides of the rooms. They were grouped as follows: two northern rooms (rooms 5 and 8) were isolated and connected only to the central hall; the southern and middle rooms were adjacent and also connected to the central hall. Room 3 to the southwest, and room 6 to the southeast were the most ceremonial amongst these residential room. Their walls with *sufas* along three sides were covered with white plaster. The floors were paved with brick patterns af-

⁷ Ed. Note: A *sufa* is a raised platform, or shelf that often lines walls in domestic dwellings in Central Asia.

⁸ Ed. Note: A *kan* is a traditional heating system in peasant houses in Eastern Turkestan and Northern China.

fixed with *ganch*⁹ mortar. In the floor's center was a tashnau, surrounded by a border of turquoise-colored tiles. The rooms' internal structures were arranged symmetrically and this principle was maintained throughout the estate's existence. Rooms 4 and 7 located in the middle of the rows functioned as both residential and auxiliary space as evidenced by the numerous ovens and *tandoors*¹⁰ found within them as well as their modest decor. Initially, their layout also had a mirror-symmetrical arrangement, but later the interior was rebuilt several times, and this symmetry was broken. Rooms 5 and 8, in the northern section of the house, were comprised of ordinary residential space and mostly neglected. Unlike estate 1, the central hall remained an organizing center connecting all the rooms until the structure's abandonment. Several rooms were extended with mud and wooden walls that adjoined the eastern wall of the main house. These were probably servants' quarters.

The similarity of the layout with the Selitrennoye manor houses allows a completely different interpretation of the Bayildyr building plan and its functional purpose. First, it should be noted that not all one-row-wide brick walls need be internal partitions. In particular, the existence of rooms with a wall width of about 1 m seems doubtful. Only corridors that connect rooms usually have this width, but here these types of walls connect nothing. Most likely, some of the narrow walls are sufa walls or other internal structures. Based on this interpretation, we can study the layout of the Bayildyr building, which had 12 rooms (Fig. 3).

The main entrance was on the south side. Two 1.5 m long pylons were constructed in the center of the south wall, which formed the east and west walls of an iwan (room 1). From the iwan it was possible to enter the vestibule, room 3, in which 1.1 m wide sofas were built along the meridional walls.

Then extensive room 5 was divided into three zones. In the floor square in the middle with a 6.1 m side. In its center, a brick structure with a hole extended under the floor. The previous interpretation as a base for a column supporting the roof is completely unconvincing. Examples of fixed columns constructed in this way are unknown to me. They are usually placed on a flat platform of a sunken foundation or on a base. This structure is most likely a water-absorbing basin, or tashnau, made not from a ceramic vessel, but of fired brick fragments. A tashnau with a brick

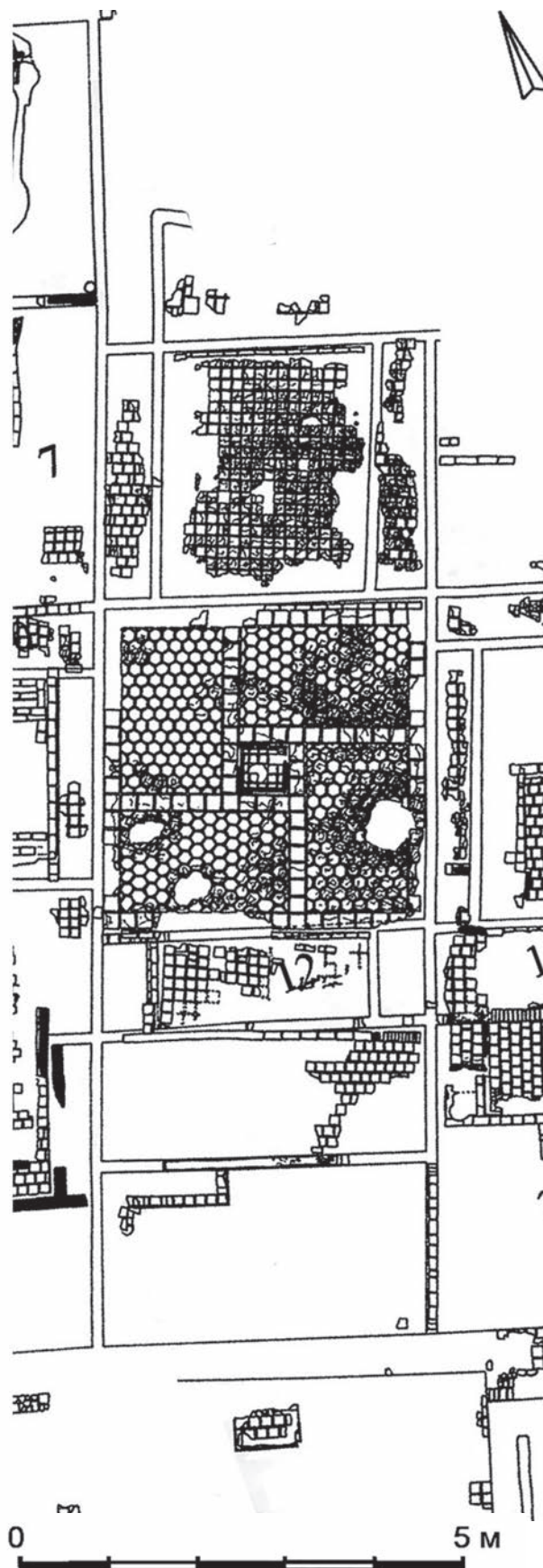


Fig. 4. The central part of the estate building 3 at Selitrenny settlement, plan (Zilivinskaya 2019)

⁹ Ed. Note: *Ganch* used in the Central Asian context denotes building material used as plaster, mortar, or a levelling coat in construction found on monumental buildings particularly to decorate surfaces.

¹⁰ Ed. Note: A *tandoor* is usually a dome-shaped oven made from ceramic and plaster used for cooking and/or heating.



Fig. 5. Central hall of the estate building 3 at Selitrenny settlement (Zilivinskaya 2019)

basin in the floor center of a main hall was investigated in a palatial building in estate 3 on the Selitrennoye site. A similar tashnau was constructed in the hall of manor 4, although not in the floor's center (Zilivinskaya 2019: 125-126, 129, fig. 132, 135, 141, 146). The southern section of room 12, as in the Selitrennoye houses, may be a section of floor from another level or another design, and sufas were made along the east and west walls. An honorable seat for the estate's owner could always be found in a hall's northern section in such buildings. It is possible that a podium was also made in this building, on both sides of which contained passages leading to the northern vestibule (room 12).

On the east and west sides of the central suite were four rooms with various purposes. On the building's west wing is better preserved. The southernmost room had a small, narrow room (2), the western section of this room contained a large cooking oven. A narrow sufa was built next to it that served as a counter for dishes. The next room, 6, also had a fireplace and a submerged khum. It is likely that both rooms were used for cooking and food storage.

Further north lay room 7 with a 1.1 m wide sufa attached to its eastern wall. The section of the wall parallel to the room's northern wall probably also supported a sufa. The northernmost room in this group was the spacious room 8. In its southwestern corner, the two mutually perpendicular walls containing "storage rooms" have been preserved. The wall run-

ning along the main western wall is most likely for the western sufa. A tashnau built in the floor; was shifted slightly to the south relative to the center of the room. Since a tashnau is usually located in the center of the floor, and not in front of a fireplace, as stated in the report (Zholdasbayev 1980: 176), it can be assumed that the sufa in the room was U-shaped, attached to the western, northern and eastern walls of the room. A cellar could indeed have been built in its southwest corner.

The east wing of the building was severely damaged by later digging, but most likely, at least during its first phase, it was mirror symmetrical to the east one. The rooms' interiors have not been preserved. Only a sufa was known to be attached to the western wall in room 10.

Unfortunately, no data exists on the passages connecting the rooms. The publication does not indicate the sections from the inner walls' height, so we can only assume the location of the doorways based on the layout's general logic (assuming that it was symmetrical) and in comparison with the Selitrennoye houses in which the residential block of rooms were connected to the central hall. Southern rooms 2 and 4 could not have had exits to the vestibule (room 3) since their sufas extended along the eastern and western walls. Consequently, passages could have been made in their northern walls. In room 2, the passage could only have been located in the eastern part of the northern wall, therefore, in room 4 the same would

be true, except it would be in the western wall. Passages are most often sliding. Rooms 6 and 9 were very likely connected to the hall (5) by sliding passages along their northern walls. In rooms 7 and 10, *sufas* were built along the walls separating them from the hall, so the doors in them most likely opened to the northern rooms. Rooms 8 and 11, in turn, could be connected to the central hall by sliding passages along their southern walls. In this layout, therefore, two residential blocks lay on each side of the hall, consisting of two rooms.

Golden Horde houses with a front hall located on a building's central axis appear in manor houses of this type including the most prestigious of buildings (Zilivinskaya 2019: 140-141). In the Lower Volga region, these kinds of multi-room buildings, which are actual palaces, have been investigated. One such palace excavated at the Selitrennoye site is the largest known manor building from the Golden Horde period (Zilivinskaya 2019: 126-128). This multi-room house had outer walls made of fired bricks with half-timbered interior walls. Due to its partial destruction, its dimensions can only be roughly estimated. It was 32.5 m long and its width probably did not exceed 40 m. The central section was occupied by a suite of ceremonial rooms starting from a wide entrance with steps (Fig. 4). The doorway led to the lobby that contained L-shaped *sufas* followed by a distribution vestibule connected via two passageways into the central hall.

The hall's plan was rectangular and extended along a north-south axis which measured 15.8 × 9.4 m. Its southern section had a raised platform paved with bricks on lime mortar. In the hall's center section were narrow *sufas* extending along the walls. To the north was another raised platform larger in area than the southern one. From the east and west of this platform, passages led to the northern rooms. *Sufas* surrounded the decorated floor on all four sides; in the center of the floor was a large *tashnau*¹¹ (Fig. 5). The floor was paved with two types of tiles. First, were large square slabs placed as a border along the edge of the floor, a square bordered *tashnau* lay in the center with paths running from the corners of the square that formed a cross-shaped design. The space between these paths was filled with hexagonal brick tiles with the space around the *tashnau* laid with ordinary bricks. The walls of the hall were decorated with large mosaic panels consisting of gilded polychrome figures. Two more rooms lay to the north of the hall, and probably on the south side as well, which would have been the vestibule and *iwan*.

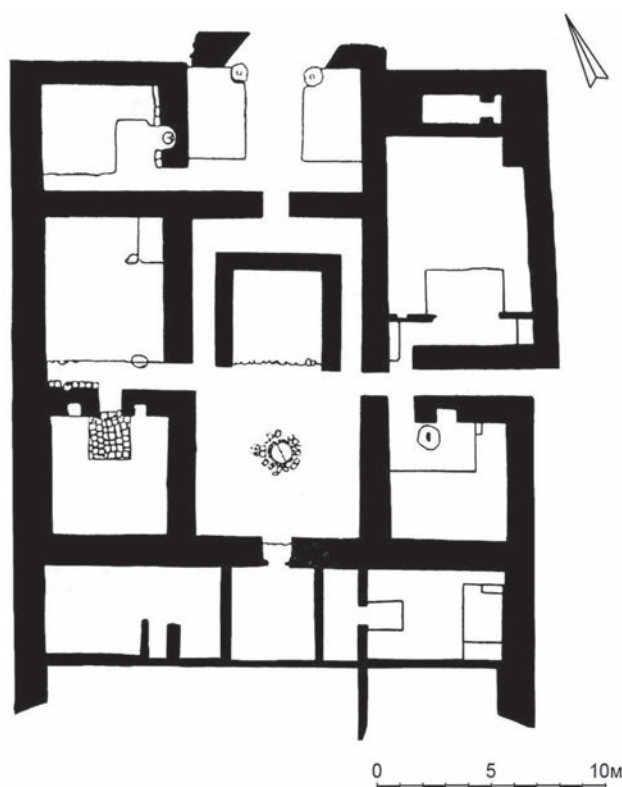


Fig. 6. Building on the Akchiy settlement, plan (Zaurova 1977)

Rooms arranged in rows along a north-south axis adjoined the ceremonial section of the palace from the west and the east. In total, about 35 residential and auxiliary rooms were examined. In addition to the usual rooms with a *sufa* and a *kan*, a home bakery with several *tandoors*, a pantry with millstones for grinding grain, a bathroom, and a children's room, or nursery, were found. The nursery was identified by the many children's drawings that were scratched on the plastered walls. The rooms were connected to each other via corridors and attached vestibules.

Palace buildings of a similar layout with a central main hall were examined at the Akhtuba archaeological site in southern Russia (Plakhov 2008). Similar buildings are also known in Central Asia. Specifically, is the palace complex from the 14th-15th centuries on the Akchiy archaeological site (Fig. 6) in Kyrgyzstan (Zaurova 1977: 106-127). It seems to me that our building from the Otrar oasis can be compared with such buildings.

The building layouts with a central hall from the Golden Horde examples generally have many comparisons within Central Asia, the place from where it was probably adopted (for more on this see, Zilivinskaya 2019: 154-165). Several houses with a similar layout have been excavated at the archaeological site at Krasnaya Rechka in Kyrgyzstan (Kozhemyako 1967: 53-90; Baipakov 1986: 154). These houses were

¹¹ Ed. Note: A *tashnau* is a drain for water with an absorbing well under it.

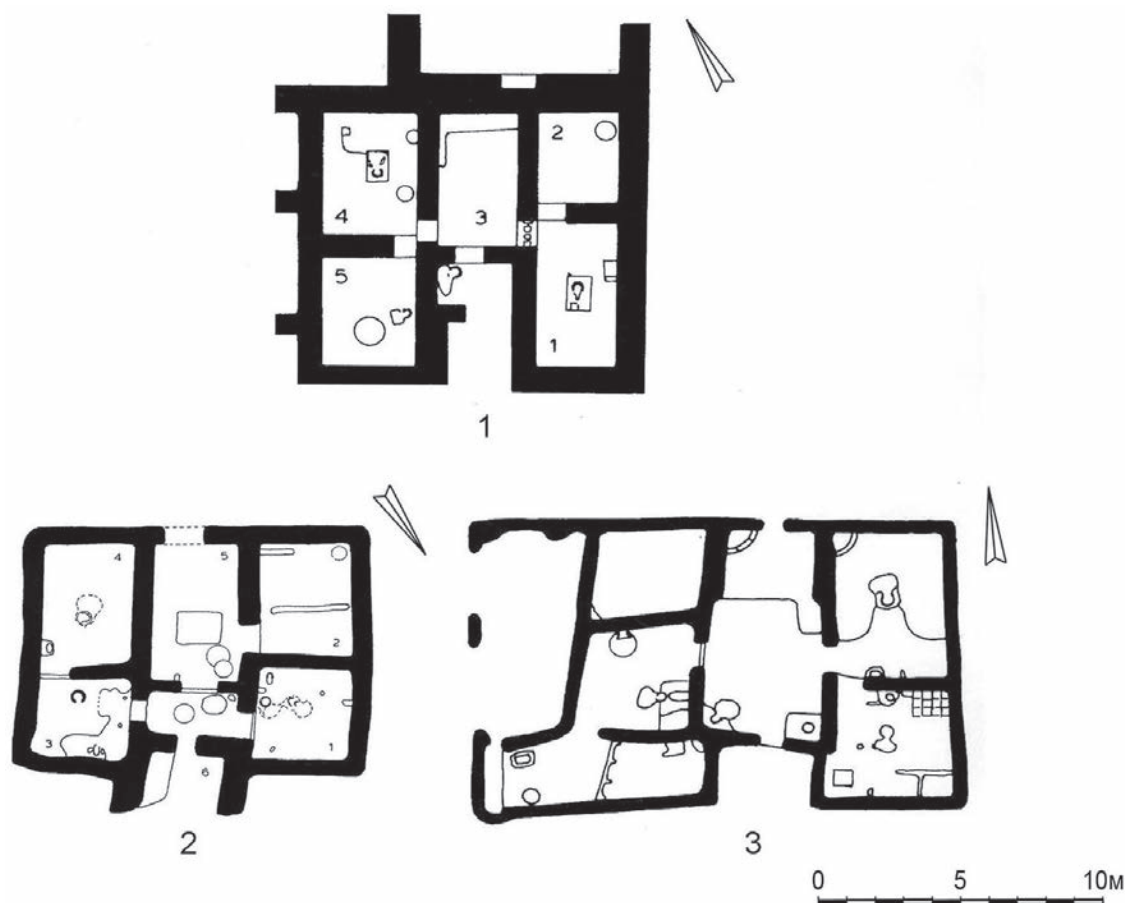


Fig. 7. Manor houses of Khorezm: 1 - house number 2 in the Daryalyk-kul tract; 2 - house number 2 in the Aygeldy tract; 3 - house number 18 in the Akcha-Gelin settlement (Nerazik 1976)

owned by wealthy elites and date to the 10th-12th centuries. In plan they are almost perfectly square. The structures' entrances lead to a small vestibule, which is connected to the hall with a narrow corridor. Sofas were extended along the walls of the hall, and the walls were decorated with carved alabaster panels and plaster painted in various colors. Along the building's perimeter are residential rooms, also facing the central hall. The author of the excavation report interpreted the hall as a ceremonial room for the reception of guests (Kozhemyako 1967: 85, 86).

There are similarities between Golden Horde houses of this type and the rural manor house of Khorezm from the 12th-13th centuries. (Nerazik 1976 74-81, 89-90, 94-96). Among these buildings, E.E. Nerazik described houses with a central hall and houses with a central corridor (Nerazik 1976: 182-183). The first type is represented by houses with a centric plan whose basic composition comprised a square or rectangular central hall. The manor houses of Khorezm had a central hall that usually did not exceed the size of its other rooms. Functionally, it served as either a distribution vestibule, corridor, or utility room with fireplaces. Based on its propor-

tions and room locations, the houses "with a central corridor" more resemble the Golden Horde houses (Fig. 7). Walls divided them into approximately three equal parts. The rooms' middle line was marked by a very elongated, wide corridor with entrance vestibules on each side. The remaining rooms, as in the Golden Horde houses, were located on both sides of this corridor and connected to it, making their structure identical with the above example. The rooms labeled "corridors" by Elena Nerazik were identical in their location and proportions as their "central halls." This inaccuracy of defining a wide elongated central room as a corridor was noted by Sergey Khmel'nitsky. He suggested calling these type buildings, three-part plan houses (Khmel'nitsky 1997: 100-103). These include houses of the Kavay-Kala oasis (No. 1, 43, and 60); the house designated No. 2 at the large residential complex in the Daryalyk-kul area; and houses 2 and 18 at the Aigeldy site of the Akcha-Gelin settlement (Nerazik 1976: 77-79, 94-95, 97-99, 133-134; Khmel'nitsky 1997: 100-106).

Despite their distinct similarities in layout, there are several differences between the Golden Horde and Khorezm houses, such as the use of different build-

ing materials (mud brick as opposed to *pakhsa*, or rammed earth) and different interior designs. But the main difference is the perceived organization of the building space. In the Golden Horde, manor house entrances faced south and their central axis ran along a north-south line. The manor houses of Krasnaya Rechka had their main entrances on either the west side (house No. 1) or the northeast or northwest sides (houses No. 3 and 5) (Kozhemyako 1967: 55, 77, 85). In the rural estates of Khorezm, the corridor had a north-south or northwest-southeast orientation; but the main entrance of the two were either from the southern and southeastern sides (house No. 60 at the Kavat-Kala oasis, house No. 1 at Daryalyk-Kul, house No. 18 at Akcha-Gelin); or north and northwestern sides (house No. 43 at the Kavat-Kala oasis, building No. 2 at Aigeldi) (Nerazik 1976: 74, 79, 90, 94, 97, 133). In house No. 41 at Kavat-Kala, the corridor extended in a latitudinal direction with the main entrance on the west side (Nerazik 1976: 79).

The central room's function was also different. In Khorezm, the central hall or corridor was used as a utility or distribution room, while the guest room (*mekhmonkhana*) was located in one of the side rooms. In the Golden Horde, the central room served as a ceremonial space and representative part of the building, or a hall for large receptions although ceremonial rooms were also among the other rooms for lesser events. Perhaps, these small halls were similar in purpose to the *mekhmonkhana* of Central Asian houses. As for the central hall, in all manor houses, the main entrance was on the south side with the owner of the estate's seat (designated with a *sufa* covered by a canopy or ceremonial *iwān*) was placed on the north side.

Such spatial organization in residential buildings was a typical Mongolian tradition. Even today, Mongolian yurts are still placed with a door to the south, and their northern section is considered the most honorable (Zhukovskaya 1988: 16). The ceremonial halls of palace buildings in Mongolia had a similar structure based on the ceremonial receptions described by William of Rubruck and Marco Polo (*Puteshestviya v vostochnye strany* 1957: 159; *Marco Polo* 1999: 133-135). In Mongolian palaces, the entrance was on the southern side, and the raised platform where the owner of the house sat was on the north side. Guests and family members sat in places along the sides. According to Rubruck, the center of the hall had a representative fountain in the form of a tree made of precious metals pouring forth wine. Marco Polo described a golden bowl supplied by a barrel of wine. Thus, the spatial organization of the ceremonial hall in the manor houses of the Golden Horde corresponds to that of the Mongolian royal palaces. Construction techniques and architecture of

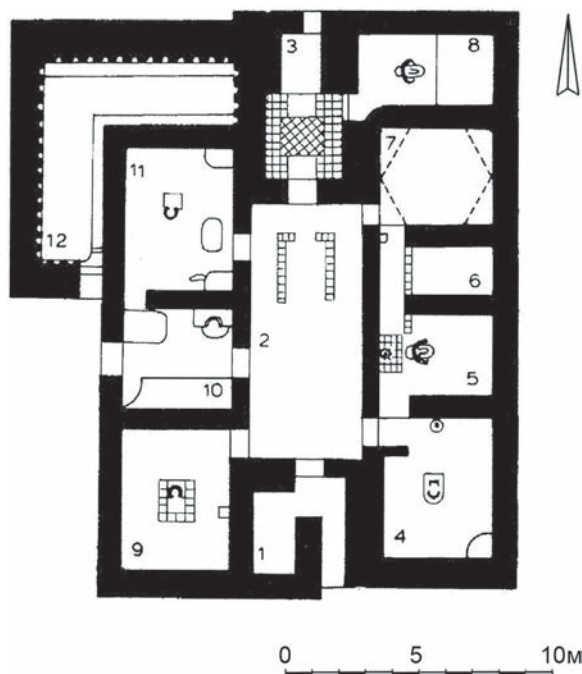


Fig. 8. Manor house No. 43 of the Kavat-kala oasis in Khorezm (Nerazik 1976)

these Mongolian palaces adhered to Chinese traditions (Minert 1990), while those of the Golden Horde followed Central Asian traditions.

Indicative was the redevelopment in one building with a central corridor at the Kavat-Kala oasis (house No. 43) during the Golden Horde period (Nerazik 1976: 80-82). In pre-Mongol times, the building's main entrance was on the north and led to an ornately decorated vestibule that connected an elongated distribution hall. In the hall's southern section was an exit to the courtyard proceeding through a small vestibule. Between the 13th-14th centuries, the structure was rebuilt with the passageway traversing through the front northern lobby and the building connected with the street only through the small and narrow southern lobby. In the hall's northern section, a U-shaped structure with fired brick walls was erected (Fig. 8). Elena Nerazik interprets this structure as the "place of honor" for the house's owner (Nerazik 1976: 82). The assumption is that this U-shaped wall imitates the ceremonial *iwān*. A similar structure was discovered in the ceremonial hall of the Akchiy estate (Fig. 9). Thus, taking the Central Asian layout for its basic design, the Mongols reworked it and adapted it to their ideas concerning building structure and the spatial organization of rooms intended for official celebrations.

Therefore, during the Golden Horde period, manor houses with a central hall designed for receptions and various official events were built not only in the central region of the Golden Horde of the Lower Volga, but also on the territory of Khorezm.

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JANGAR ILYASOV

THE “KANGAR POTTERY” FROM THE QARSHOVUL TEPA SETTLEMENT IN CHACH

During archaeological excavations of the medieval sites of the Tashkent, Turkestan, and Otrar oases, a group of pottery was discovered which is distinguished by a characteristic finish including inscribed geometric and floral decorations, slip, and a glazed finish. It received the scientific designation “Kangar” and dates from the mid 7th to the mid 9th centuries. Despite the significant corpus of the “Kangar” pottery accumulated to date, and its expressive texture—of interest not only from the viewpoint of archaeological typology and chronology, but also in terms of art history—yet, no special studies have been devoted to this pottery type of early medieval commercial art. During excavations undertaken at the Qarshovul Tepa settlement in the Tashkent region’s Chinaz district, in the ruins of a small fortified town on the right-bank terrace of the Chirchik River, researchers discovered several vessels belonging to this particular group under consideration. According to the pottery and coin finds, the upper layer of the site dates to the late 7th-early 8th centuries, with a destruction layer probably attributed to Arab troops under the command of Qutayba ibn Muslim during his campaign against Chach/Shash and Fergana in 713-714 AD, and, again, by the invading army of the Tang Empire under the command of Gao Xianzhi in 749 AD, at which time the ruler of Chach was executed. The article publishes descriptions of pottery vessels that complement our understanding of the Kangar pottery, and thus proposes to specify its date, limiting it to the late 7th-early 8th centuries.

Key words: *The middle Syrdarya, Chach, Qarshovul Tepa, Kangar pottery*

Citation: *Jangar Ilyasov (2021). The “Kangar pottery” from the Qarshovul Tepa Settlement in Chach, Bulletin of IICAS 32 (Smagulov Collection), 43-52. DOI: 10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.43-52*

Article link: <https://doi.org/10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.43-52>

MY PERSONAL acquaintance with the remarkable scientist, Erbulat Akizhanovich Smagulov, occurred in Tashkent in 2007. Later, we had several more meetings and interesting conversations, including within the preparatory framework and writing for the IICAS international project *Tamgas of Pre-Islamic Central Asia* (TPICA 2019), initiated by Smagulov. Now, one comes to the bitter realization that this communication far from exhausted either our general scientific or human interests. Fortunately, he published a significant number of books and articles that play an important role in the study of the middle Syr Darya River region, including the Tashkent oasis. This makes it possible to continue this scholarly dialogue. I dedicate this modest work concerning an interesting pottery typology, which bears the generally accepted scientific designation of “Kangar” pottery, to the blessed memory of this scientist and friend who passed away so early.

The pottery type considered herein has been dis-

covered at several settlements in the Otrar, Turkestan, and Tashkent oases. Apparently, it was first mentioned as a special pottery group in the publications from stratigraphic Excavation 1 on the central hillock of the Otrar settlement. The authors noted its discovery on the 7th-8th century floor layer. It appeared to have been somewhat roughly worked by hand and comprised about 8% of the revealed pottery. Pots, mugs, and lids predominate, as they were decorated using a geometric herring bone belt pattern drawn with a stylus, sometimes in combination with semi-circular, vertical, and oblique lines. The researchers indicated that similar pottery types are known from the middle and upper horizons of Shaushukumtobe (*Akishev, Baipakov, Erzakovich* 1972, 89, Fig. 42:14, 42:16, 42:17, Fig. 43:6, 43:17, Fig. 44:7, 44:8, Fig. 45:10, 45:11, Fig. 46:8, 46:9), i.e., within the Tashkent oasis. These materials were found and published by E.I. Ageyeva. The publishers of the Otrar materials noted that the site’s red-glazed decorated pottery, on the basis of its de-



Fig. 1 Top plan of the Qarshovul Tepa settlement by G. P. Ivanov (updates by J. Ya. Ilyasov)

cor, resembled the pottery of the “swamp” settlements from the lower reaches of the Syr Darya River and the upper horizon of the Dzhetysar sites, yet differed from them by the absence of toothed handles.

L.M. Levina, characterizing the pottery from the Tashkent oasis settlements, notes the appearance of some novel features and forms including the observation that most pots were lightly glazed using a thick, reddish-brown, dark brown or black slip. Additionally, many pots with a thick red or reddish-brown slip are decorated on the shoulders and body with an ornamental belt formed by shallow and wide stamped stripes with a herring bone pattern, or a solid or combined belt with open triangles, festoons, or scallops (Levina 1971 147, Fig. 51:1, 51:77, 51:79, 51:88, 51:90).

The pottery group was first referred to as *Kangar* or *kangarian* by K. M. Baipakov, whose 1986 publication discussed some of the cultural material from the Kuyruktobe excavations (this site was equated with the city of Keder, the capital of the Otrar oasis during the 10th-11th centuries). He noted that in the 7th-8th century layers a locally produced pottery collection featured this novel style. It consisted of jugs along with mugs with one or two toothed handles and coated

with a dark red and black slip with geometric patterns and a lattice work design inscribed with triangles and semi-oval garlands. Based on the materials from the abovementioned stratigraphic trench produced in Otrar, Baipakov dated the Keder materials between the 7th to early 9th centuries. He also provided data on the upper layer discovery from Dzhuvantobe of a pot and a jug (near the Borzharsky burial ground at Arys) covered in inscribed geometric patterns with a bright red-slipped overglaze, declaring them identical to the “local group of pottery with new stylistic features from the Kuyruktobe excavations,” that is, as the Kangar or kangarian group (Baipakov 1986, 58, Fig. 12). The first high quality reproductions of Otrar pots were published by Baipakov and L.B. Erzakovich in their wonderful album *Ceramics of Medieval Otrar* (Baipakov, Erzakovich 1991, 44-45).

These pottery samples are within our area of focus, along with the pottery groups found at other medieval towns from southern Kazakhstan, such as Altyntobe, Zhuantobe/Dzhuvantobe, Kuyuk-Mardan, Shoytobe (Smagulov 2011a, 64, Fig. 9:5; Baytanaev, Ergeshbaev, Suleimenova 2011, 88; Zheleznyakov 2011, 92, Fig. 1:5; Baytanaev, Ergeshbaev, Suleimenova 2013, 77, Fig. 2:41, 2:52; Avizova 2014, 448-449,



Fig. 2 Earthenware pot (table ware)
(photo by J. Ya. Ilyasov)



Fig. 3 Earthenware pot (table ware)
(photo by J. Ya. Ilyasov)

Fig. 6; Avizova 2016: 33, 34-35, Fig. 9:13; Smagulov 2017, 174, Fig. 17:4, Fig. 21-22).

In the published materials from excavations at Tashkent and the surrounding region, one can also find this same pottery type (Ageeva 1968, Tab. VI-VIII; Levina 1971: Fig. 51:1, 51:76-79, 51:88, 51:90; Abdullaev 1975, 148, Fig. 7, 124; Ilyasova 1997, Tab. 3:9; Sheyko, Ivanov, Ilyasov 2019, Fig. 9:1-4).

The previous researchers—our Kazakhstani colleagues Baipakov and Smagulov, who unfortunately, left us one after another for a better world—designated pots, jugs, mugs, and lids within this “Kangar” or “kangarian” pottery group. I would like to add to this list one more type that E. A. Smagulov successfully and keenly studied, in particular what Smagulov referred to as oil ceramic incense burners. (I would rather call them ceramic oil lamps based on their applied usage.) These vessels, including zoomorphic examples, have a tightly closed mouth with a bowl or reservoir containing a hole closer on the edge to insert a cotton wick wound around a long, dry wooden stick (or splinter).¹ In his work on incense burners of southern Kazakhstan, Smagulov published several items, which in terms of their decor, are quite consistent with the characteristics of the “Kangar” pottery. Garlands were used in their decoration, along with slip, burnishing, and relief patterns consisting of flutes, lattice, and herring bone patterns (Smagulov 2013, Fig. 3, Fig. 4, Fig. 7-9; Smagulov 2011a, 66-69, Fig. 11; Smagulov 2011b, 36, Fig. 1:1, 1:4, 1:5, Fig. 2:1, Fig. 3:2; Smagulov 2017, Fig. 64:5). He noticed this feature in one of his last works, but only in relation to two zoomorphic vessels from Altyntobe and Konyr-

tobe in the Otrar oasis (Smagulov 2017, 145, Fig. 62:1, 62:2, Fig. 63:1); concentrating on these vessels’ classification by shape. In our opinion, other oil lamps can be safely placed within this ceramic group which is the focus of our interest. Among these are a conical vessel with handle from Konyrtobe/ Kuyuk-Mardan; a conical vessel from Zhuantobe on the Arys River; as well as a conical vessel without a handle found near Shaushukumtobe in Chach and kept in the Shymkent Regional Museum. This latter vessel was repeatedly published due to the presence of a *tamga*² on it (Smagulov, Yatsenko 2010, 203, Fig. 6; Smagulov 2017, 147, Fig. 64:2; Arenova 2018, 99, top image; Yatsenko, Smagulov 2019 219, Fig. 2, Fig. 4:2, col. ill., P. 140). Another conical-shaped ceramic oil lamp with a handle of the “Kangar” type pattern was found in the Dzhuantobe citadel’s upper layer dated to the early 8th century. (Baytanaev, Ergeshbaev, Suleimenova 2013, 77, Fig. 2:52).

So, despite the rather significant corpus of excavated “Kangar” pottery and its expressive texture—interesting not only from the viewpoint of archaeological typology and chronology, but also in terms of art history—still no special studies exist devoted to this pottery type from early medieval commercial art,³ at least, none that the author knows. Many publications reproduce these vessels via drawings that fail

² **Ed. note:** A tamga is a mark of identification of either ownership or manufacture for an individual, clan, tribe, or even state found throughout Central Asia dating back to the Bronze Age. Such marks are often found on pottery vessels and coins, but also is still an identifying mark on livestock today.

³ We cannot fail to note one extremely daring interpretation of the “Kangar” pitcher from Kuyryktobe: by K. M. Baypakov and G. A. Ternovaya believed that this vessel depicts an Avestan deity - the goddess of justice Arshat (Baypakov, Ternovaya 2001: 227-228, Fig. 5). It seems to us too peremptory.

¹ Several simpler decorated oil lamps of this kind were found during the excavations of Karshovultepa. A special work will be devoted to this category of items.



Fig. 4 Pot fragment (photo by J. Ya. Ilyasov)

to fully convey the items' appearance which also reduces their possible identification, comparative analysis, and appreciation for its aesthetic value. Perhaps, for this reason, as it seems to us, the "Kangar pottery" has not received its due attention from researchers. In order to encourage this concept, we are going to now publish finds from the Qarshovul Tepa archaeological settlement, located on the right bank of the Chirchik River in the Chinaz district of the Tashkent region, 40 km due southwest of Tashkent, coordinates 40°58'25.10"N and 68°54'35.11"E.

The settlement was first examined by G. V. Grigoriev in 1934 during his exploratory work on the right bank of the Chirchik River (Grigoriev 1935, 47). In 1968, the Bozsui detachment from the Institute of History and Archeology (Ya.G. Gulyamov and G. Dadabaev), conducted work whose results, unfortunately, were not published (Buryakov, Kasyrov, Rostovtsev 1973, 57). In 2008, the archaeologist, K.A. Sheiko, undertook small excavations.

Since 2010, regular excavations at Qarshovul Tepa have been conducted by a detachment from the Caravanserai of Culture for the Academy of Arts of



Fig. 5 Pot fragment (photo by J. Ya. Ilyasov)

Uzbekistan⁴ with the financial support of the Society for the Exploration of EurAsia (Hergiswil, Switzerland). The site comprises a sub-rectangular hill elongated from the northeast to southwest with the southern section eroded by the river (Fig. 1). The surviving area measures about 6 hectares with a height between 12-15 m from its foundation. Several excavation units sought to determine the site's internal layout and fortification (Sheiko, Ivanov, Ilyasov 2018, 266-269; Sheyko, Ivanov, Ilyasov 2019, 261-282). The archaeological research has demonstrated that this fortified town was abandoned no later than the 8th century AD. The upper construction horizon buildings were subjected to a devastating fire, resulting in collapsed ceilings and calcined walls. Repairs were conducted on top of the resulting conflagration layer and with newly plastered floors and walls. These buildings, however, were also abandoned after a short time, and construction never recommenced. No glazed ceramics were found on site, which indicates that by the 9th century it was completely abandoned. We believe that the upper layers of Qarshovul Tepa date between the late 7th-early 8th century. Numerous coin finds at the floor level and within the soil fill also correspond to this date. Chach coins were found belonging to several groups, distinguished according to their corresponding tamgas. Such tamgas take the form of "deer horns" (group 5, according to the classification by V. D. Shagalov and A. V. Kuznetsov); a fork-shaped tamga (group 6); a lyre-shaped tamga (group 7), and some others. All of them fit chronologically within the 7th-8th centuries. (Rtveladze 2006, 54-55, 88, 95;

⁴ The leader of the detachment is K. A. Sheiko, members - G. P. Ivanov, Dzh. Ya. Ilyasov (project coordinator).



Fig. 6 Pitcher (photo by J. Ya. Ilyasov)

Shagalov, Kuznetsov 2006, 187, 199, 269, 291-292).

Presumably, the fire that destroyed the structures from the upper building horizon can be associated with the campaign of the Arab commander Qutayba ibn Muslim, who undertook a campaign against Chach/Shash and Fergana in 713-714 AD. According to the brief data provided in *The History of the Prophets and Kings* by al-Tabari, "... Qutayba came to Kasan, a city in the Fergana region. He was joined by the troops that he had sent to Shash, and they had already conquered it and burned most of it down" (*Tabari* 1987, 143-144; *Tabari, Hinds* 1990, 206/1257; *Bolshakov* 2010, 111). After the defeat perpetrated by the Arabs, the town's surviving inhabitants tried to restore its life, covering the conflagration layers with new flooring and new walls; but in 749, at the invitation of the Ikhshid of Fergana, the army of the Tang Empire invaded Chach under the Korean commander, Gao Xianzhi. According to the *Tang Shu Chronicle*, the ruler of Shi or Chach was executed, and the cities and villages, presumably, were destroyed (*Bartold* 1963, 253; *Bolshakov* 1980, 132; *Ibn al-Athir* 2006, 21/V, 212). Apparently, these events in the middle of the 8th century led to the town's complete abandonment.



Fig. 7 Pitcher (photo by J. Ya. Ilyasov)

A set of dishes of the "Kangar" type was found predominately within the conflagration layer, as well as in the upper restoration layer of Qarshovul Tepa's final habitation. These finds make it possible to supplement the list of forms identified for this pottery group by the previous researchers.

At Qarshovul Tepa, earthenware pots for dining (Fig. 2-3), pots (Fig. 4-5), jugs (Fig. 6-7), mugs (Fig. 8-10) and bowls (Fig. 11, 12), have been discovered.

What we designated as earthenware pots are two vessels found in the conflagration layer in room 16 at dig P-3 in the building adjacent to the so-called platform on the north side of the excavation (*Sheyko, Ivanov, Ilyasov* 2019, Fig. 9:3, 9:4). A more detailed description is in order. These large pots have relatively thin walls with a spherical body, an everted rim and four handles – two of which are attached to the rim and sloping shoulder of the vessel and the other two are annular and located on the shoulder. The shoulder of one of these large earthenware pots is decorated with a lattice design with diamond-shaped cells inscribed in the wet clay. The lattice is bordered from the base by a double-horizontal strip which smoothly extends downward, bypassing the site where the handles are attached. Below this strip, one row of zigzags are drawn with this same double line. The pot is coated both inside and outside with a red slip along its mouth. Due to uneven firing (cooking fire?) parts of the pot have a dark-gray color (Fig. 2). The second large table ware pot has a neck that slightly stands out and with higher set of ring-shaped handles (only one has survived). These handles have a jagged shape characteristic of the "Kangar" group. On the vessel's shoulder at the same level as the handles, is a lattice pattern; the double line enclosing the bottom of the lattice is drawn horizontally without deviating down-



Fig. 8 Mug (photo by J. Ya. Ilyasov)

ward. Zigzags with double lines are placed below and make up two horizontally placed rows of diamonds (Fig. 3). Both vessels are not fully preserved; the mouth of the second measures 29 cm diameter.

At dig P-8, fragments from a closed pot were found with decorative grooves running above and below the rim. At its base, the pot is decorated with three rows of oblique notches, a lattice design and a double-lined “garland” border from below. Still lower are imprinted images of a tree (?), and double lines with a curl at the end proceeding down from the garland (Fig. 4, 5). The pot was covered with a red slip, but it turned dark-gray because of overfiring or due to use.

Several fragmented jugs from the group in question were found. Two will be described that have the best preservation. The first, from dig P-3 (Fig. 6), is the upper part of a pitcher with a grooved neck, toothed handle, and oblique lines and semicircles drawn along the body. The second, from dig P-4 (Fig. 7), is part of vessel’s body with oblique notches that form a horizontal strip of herring bone design and zigzags. In addition to the decorative patterns, the jug has a tamga applied over wet clay prior to firing (Ilyasov forthcoming). Both vessels were covered with an orange-colored slip and then glazed.

Three mugs can also be attributed to the group in question. Two of them have the typical ring-shaped, toothed handle and are decorated with notches and “garlands,” covered with a reddish-orange slip, then burnished. On one mug, the notches form a horizontal strip with the herring bone pattern (Fig. 8);⁵ on the second, which was found in room 15 at P-3 (Sheyko,

⁴ Dig P-8, room 4. This pot was broken during a pogrom, and it is clearly seen that part of it turned black during a fire (Fig. 8).



Fig. 9 Mug (photo by J. Ya. Ilyasov)

Ivanov, Ilyasov 2019, Fig. 9:1, 9:2), a relief bead at the base of the neck has crossed notches (Fig. 9). The third mug, has a coated gray slip (due to overfiring, overbaking?), and is decorated with lattice design featuring diamond-shaped cells (Fig. 10). All three vessels have a tamga under the handle applied prior to firing (Ilyasov, forthcoming).

Finally, plates (bowls) with a convex, or rounded, base, have their inner surfaces filled with a rosette, consisting of a central rounded projection or circle and two rows of “petals.” These can be attributed to the “Kangar” pottery group. Two such discovered bowls (Fig. 11, 12) both have tamgas inscribed before firing (Ilyasov, forthcoming).

Some parallels and comparisons are now in order. We failed to find the abovementioned earthenware pots with four handles in any publications, however, at the Zhuantobe settlement in the Turkestan oasis where the previous finds of “Kangar” ceramics are known in the upper layers; a so-called pot-shaped vessel was found which, by its shape, is a variant to our pots, differing only in the absence of handles and a less pronounced rim (Arenova 2018, 112, top image). The second vessel from Zhuantobe – a two-handled pot – is also similar in shape to our pots (Arenova 2018, 112, bottom image). In the meantime, the decoration on the Zhuantobe finds is more like the decor of our mugs. The items in this collection date to the 7th-9th centuries which corresponds to the dating proposed for the “Kangar” pottery by Baipakov in 1986. Later, in the album surveying the pottery of Otrar, Baipakov and Erzakovich date it from the late 7th-early 9th centuries. (Baipakov, Erzakovich 1991, 44-45).

A similar pot (Fig. 4, 5) in shape and decoration comes from the upper layer of Shaushukumto-

be (Zhaushikum) in the Chardara/Shardara region (Chach region) (*Levina* 1971, 147, Fig. 51:88).

Kangar jugs, or their handles, were discovered at the Aktepa Yunusabad site in Tashkent (*Ilysova* 1997, Tab. 3:9) and at the Shoytobe site, identified as medieval Shavgar, a settlement 5 km southeast of Yasy/Turkestan (*Smagulov* 2017, 174, Fig. 17:4, Fig. 21, 22).

The mugs of Qarshovul are similar to those of Otrar, however the protrusions on the handles are sharper on the latter ones (*Baipakov, Erzakovich* 1991, 44).

Plates (bowls) with rosettes at the bottom are among the finds from Shaushukum-tobe. These were found complete with the conical oil censer without a handle mentioned above (*Arenova* 2018, 99, top image; *Yatsenko, Smagulov* 2019, 225, Fig. 4:5). In another possible example, it is difficult to determine on the basis of its schematic drawing whether a bowl from the Tashkent oasis, published by G. I. Bogomolov (*Bogomolov* 2011, 101, Fig. 4:4), belongs to the group under consideration. A bowl with a rosette was found among the cultural material from Zhuantobe as well. (*Arenova* 2018, 104, top image).

Thus, at Qarshovul Tepa from the 7th-early 8th century strata, a group of pottery which can be confidently attributed to the group designated by K.M. Baipakov as “Kangar” pottery was discovered.⁶ This collection is typical for the sites at the Otrar, Turkestan, and Tashkent oases during this period, i.e. the regions of the middle Syr Darya (Jaxartes) River, which in the past were comprised the indigenous lands of the Kangyu. Although, L.M. Levina attributed this typology to the Kaunchi III period, which she dated from the 6th-early 8th centuries (*Levina* 1971, 184, Fig. 59, 340, 346); yet more convincing to us is Yu. F. Buryakov’s chronological sequence placing the Kaunchi III period between the late 4th to early 6th centuries, while the mid 6th to the mid 8th centuries, according to the materials from Chach/Shash, designate the so-called Minguryuk archaeological complex (*Buryakov* 1982, 80–86). Although Buryakov does not specifically mention the pottery type under our consideration; its presence among the finds at the Chach settlements is beyond doubt. Thus, it refers to the region’s Turkic period, which began in the mid 6th century when the regions of Kazakhstan and Central Asia incorporated the First Turkic Khaganate (551-630 AD). If from the mid 6th century the gradual Turkization of the middle Syr Darya River population started to occur—that is, the descendants of the Kangyu who lived in the areas of the Otrar-Karatau



Fig. 10 Mug (photo by J. Ya. Ilyasov)

and Kaunchi archaeological cultures—then, the mid 7th century is, perhaps, when this pottery typology, referred to by Baipakov as the Kangar type, emerged. He emphasized that this group, identified within the Otrar oasis, is also characteristic from archaeological sites along the middle reaches of the Arys River – locations also of Zhuantobe and the Borizharsky burial ground (*Baipakov* 2009, 125). However, this pottery group is also represented at archaeological sites of Chach, as demonstrated by the finds from Shaushukumtobe (*Ageeva* 1968, Tab. VI-VIII); and from Kanki (*Abdullaev* 1975, 148, Fig. 7, 124); as well as Aktepa at Yunusabadsky (*Ilysova* 1997, Tab. 3:9), into addition to the artifacts published here from Qarshovul Tepa (see also *Sheyko, Ivanov, Ilyasov* 2019, Fig. 9:1-4). Therefore, if relying on the notion of “Kangar” pottery and following in Baipakov’s steps; one should conclude that “the middle reaches of the Arys River with its settlements of Shortobe, Zhuantobe and Karaspan also are included in the possessions of the Kangyu Tarban” (*Baipakov* 2009, 125-126), then it is sensible to include the Chach region among these possessions as well. The concept of Baipakov’s Kangyu Tarban convincingly included a more extensive region. S.G. Klyashtorny demonstrates the same opinion when he writes: “... it is definitely confirmed that the residence of the Shash ruler during the second decade of the 8th century was Tarband; and Shash itself was not limited to the Tashkent oasis, Isfidzhab, and Otrar; but also as part of their possessions included the entire region of the middle reaches of the Syr Darya River” (*Klyashtorny* 2003, 208).⁷

We do not know yet whether the “Kangar” pottery was produced in one center, or in the several towns

⁷ In this regard, the system of two headquarters or residences

⁶ The periodization of the pottery of southern Kazakhstan by E. I. Ageyeva the 5th - 8th centuries were referred to as the Kengers period (*Levina* 1971: 219, 222).



Fig. 11 Bowl (photo by J. Ya. Ilyasov)



Fig. 12 Bowl (photo by J. Ya. Ilyasov)

where its finds are known to researchers. Currently, not enough data has been gathered. Of course, it can be assumed to have been brought to Chach from the Otrar or Turkestan oases. However, this interesting variety of pottery most likely was produced locally forming yet another expression of the commonality across ancient cultures that developed in the middle reaches of the Syr Darya River during the Kangyu era lasting for centuries despite ethnopolitical change. Such examples are demonstrated in artifacts from the Karakhanid period in Ilak (Ilyasova 2020, 134-136).

The “Kangar” pottery belongs to the category of tableware and, considering the oil lamps, also to the category of ritual. Although sometimes used as a kitchenware – demonstrated by a pot found standing on charcoal at the Zhuantobe site with corresponding decoration and filled with the remains of boiled rice (Zheleznyakov 2011, 92).

We believe that “Kangar” pottery dating requires further specification. While generally dated to the 7th-8th centuries since at Zhuantobe and Qarshovul Tepa, it was unearthed from the top strata with evidence of conflagration. Baipakov believed, while relying on the materials from the stratigraphic dig at Otrar, that it survived until the mid 9th century. However, it is possible that the “Kangar” pottery found in 9th century layers was redeposited during the digging of middens and other earthwork operations; especial-

of the Kangyu rulers – the winter residence in Bityan and the summer residence in Fan’nei, mentioned in the *Han Shu*, comes to mind (Hulsewe, Loewe 1979, 124-126). Probably, the Turkic rulers of Chach – the *tuduns* – adhered to a similar custom in this region, therefore; the seat of the Chach ruler, depending on the season and other circumstances, could be both in Tarband/Otrar and in Chach/Minguryuk.

ly given that such pots often remained virtually intact in the conflagration layers and could be reused following enemy attacks. Thus, the book on the Otrar pottery, a “Kangar” mug was published, dated to the 9th-10th centuries. (Baipakov, Erzakovich 1991, 90). Yet, it is almost identical to the mug from excavations at Kuyuk-Mardan, found in a middle construction horizon with a widely accepted date between the 6th-8th centuries. (Avizova 2014, 445, 448-449, 452; Avizova 2016, 34-35, Fig. 13). We are not confident that this decor style could have been used from mid 7th to mid 9th century without any change whatsoever, a period of two hundred years. Apparently, based on the objective data, it is preferable to date the “Kangar” pottery within a range of narrower limits, i.e. the second half of the 7th to the first half of the 8th centuries, which corresponds to the later (or second) stage of the Minguryuk archaeological complex for the Chach sites (Buryakov 1982, 86). Presumably, further finds within the stratified layers of the Tashkent, Turkestan, and Otrar oases would provide further clarification.

If we consider the Kangars/Kengeres as Turkic descendants of the Kangyu who later became part of the Pechenegs (Klyashtorny 2003, 209-215, 226-228); then their attributed pottery can be considered as the common heritage of both the Kangyu and the new rulers of the middle Syr Darya (Jaxartes) River basin, specifically, the Turkic tribes. In other words, this cultural material’s emergence is one of the first results of ethnocultural symbiosis which became a dominant trend throughout Transoxiana’s medieval history associated with the arrival of new waves from the Turkic population, resulting in its embodiment in the crafts and commercial art produced in the household and fine ware pottery that occupied a most important place in people’s daily lives.

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SAIDA ILYASOVA

COMMONALITY OF TRADITIONS IN THE MATERIAL CULTURE FROM THE MIDDLE REACHES OF THE SYR DARYA RIVER AS EXEMPLIFIED BY THE TASHKENT REGION AND SOUTHERN KAZAKHSTAN

The middle Syr Darya River basin is one of the most interesting and complex regions both culturally and historically. To the south, it includes the Tashkent oasis, with the Turkestan and Otrar oases to the north. The similarity of their material cultures can be traced back to ancient times. Domestic Hearth-altars from the small archaeological site of Shodmalik-ota demonstrate that, along with the region in today's southern Kazakhstan and historical Chach (modern Tashkent, Uzbekistan), it is now possible to incorporate medieval Ilak within this common area. While the hearth-altars do not have complex decoration, their form and function perfectly coincide with the richly decorated specimens from Otrar, Kuyruktobe, and Sauran. During the 8th-9th centuries, the site referred to as Kostobe, (Kazakhstan), featured corrugated-shaped sufas (raised interior ledges). A podium found at Shodmalik-ota, decorated with similar corrugated patterns is another example of this décor's use for interior design and the latest example chronologically, dating to the 11th century. Decor elements identified at Shodmalik-ota such as these corrugations; modestly carved decorations along the sides of a niche; and a fragment of carved terracotta decor all indicate the structure's ceremonial status and suggest similarity with the artifacts from southern Kazakhstan. On the surface of the sites of Shodmalik-ota and Imlak (equated to medieval Tunket, the capital city of Ilak), several bronze/copper items have been gathered such as small indoor statues and remains from a belt ensemble including several belt buckles with Arabic inscriptions. These artifacts find close analogies among the artifacts from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, demonstrating the spread of a uniform style during the Karakhanid period. The new examples published in this article confirm the commonality of material cultural traditions among the archaeological sites of the middle Syr Darya River basin.

Key words: Middle Syrdarya, Ilak, Shodmalik-ota, Tunket

Citation: Saida Ilyasova (2021). Commonality of Traditions in the Material Culture from the Middle Reaches of the Syr Darya River as Exemplified by the Tashkent Region and Southern Kazakhstan, Bulletin of IICAS, 32 (Smagulov Collection), 43-52. DOI:10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.53-61

Article link: <https://doi.org/10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.53-61>

I WAS honored to meet Yerbulat Smagulov in my family's home in 2015, as he traveled through Tashkent. At the time, we happened to discuss the results of our excavations at Mingurik and his work at Kultobe. Unfortunately, we never got to see each other again. Now, each new day convinces me there are an increasing multitude of questions regarding our common, or somewhat overlapping, subjects that we could still discuss together. Alas! One is compelled to look for answers to those questions in his numerous publications, rather than in the live dialogues with this eminent scholar.

The middle Syr Darya River basin is one of the most interesting and complex regions both culturally and historically. It encompasses several locations. To the south, it includes the Tashkent oasis, with the Turkestan and Otrar oases to the north. Its material and spiritual culture reveals a deep stratum of integrative ties between sedentary and nomadic ethnic components (Buryakov 2010: 202, 205). Its common traditions can be traced back to ancient times. New excavation results provide more and more facts pertaining to identity and mutual influence via discovered objects from the material culture.

Mingurik and Kultobe

The 2008-2009 excavations at the archaeological site Mingurik in Tashkent revealed a cruciform structure whose date and function produced varying interpretations and opinions among the site's researchers (*Filanovich, Bogomolov, Ilyasova* 2009: 56).

Ye. A. Smagulov, who initiated excavations of a cruciform structure at Kultobe (Turkestan), interpreted these kind of buildings in various ways; sometimes favoring a cultic function (*Smagulov, Yerzhigitova* 2019, 11), while at other times referring to the structure at the Kultobe citadel as a cross-shaped castle (*Smagulov* 2019: 23, Fig. 3, 4). The period of

construction for its earliest buildings at the Kultobe citadel date to the first centuries BC. Although in an article from 2017, he cited a date range between the first centuries B.C. to first centuries A.D. (*Smagulov* 2017a: 312).

The latest publications on Kultobe clarified its dating based on the pottery finds with the cruciform building constructed no earlier than the 1st to 2nd centuries AD with the castle appearing during the first half of the 2nd century AD. (*Torgoev, Kulish, Erzhigitova* 2020: 119). This dating option is drawing closer to the dating of our cruciform building at Mingurik – the 3rd to 4th centuries AD (*Bogomolov, Ilyasova* 2010: 178).



Fig. 1. Shodmalik-ota, Dig No. 1, earthenware hearth-altar, view from the west (photo by S. R. Ilyasova)



Fig. 2. Shodmalik-ota, Dig No. 4, earthenware hearth-altar, view from above (photo by J. Ya. Ilyasov)

Hearth-Altar

Mazar Shoabdumalik-ota (or Shodmalik-ota) is located about 40 km from Tashkent by way of the Akhangaran highway on the valley's right bank of the Akhangaran River. An unnamed *tepe* (hill or mound) is located to the southeast. Excavations began in 2018 by the Akhangaran detachment of the Institute of Archeology (now, the National Center of Archeology) of the Academy of Sciences for the Republic of Uzbekistan with the financial support from the Tashkent regional branch of the Oltin Meros International Charitable Foundation.

A round, ceramic hearth with a flat-bottomed reservoir was discovered in the center of the settlement, directly under the plow zone at Excavation 1 (Fig. 1). Its diameter measured 72 cm, with a rim 8 cm wide and an inner diameter of 57 cm. The hearth's basin is 3.5 cm deep. Its base is broken with a large fragment lying upside down. Large potsherds from *khums* (storage jars) and cooking pots were found nearby (*Ilyasova* 2020: 134-136; *Ilyasova, Wulfert* 2020: 112, Fig. 3).

At Dig No. 4, another "hearth-altar" was unearthed, also with a flat-bottomed ceramic reservoir, 70 cm in diameter, 10-12 cm deep, with sidewalls 15 cm wide (*Ilyasova* 2020: 134-136; *Ilyasova, Wulfert* 2020: 112-113, Fig. 4, 5). At its base is a hole 10-12 cm in diameter and slightly offset from the center. The reservoir is partially recessed in a wall covered with fired plaster, and preserved to a height of about 30 cm. The plaster is decorated with circles painted when the clay was wet and has two round relief moldings with a depression in the center (Fig. 2, 3).

In the upper layers of excavation pits P-1 and P-4, as well as in the archaeological remains, several other fragments from flat-bottomed vessels were discovered made from refractory clay and covered with a slip. These vessels appeared to have been quite massive and had no stamped or engraved designs with the exception of three potsherds (Fig. 4).



Fig. 3. Shodmalik-ota, Dig No. 4, earthenware hearth-altar, view from the west (photo by J. Ya. Ilyasov)

The category of round hearths during the 11th-12th centuries which formed a flat bowl (commonly referred to as a *trough*, *dishpan*, or *pan*, by Karl Baipakov), were richly decorated with floral and geometric patterns, and are repeatedly encountered during excavations of fortified sites in southern Kazakhstan (Otrar, Kuyruktobe, Sauran) (Baipakov 1986: 151, Fig. 36-38). Baipakov categorized them as purely utilitarian heating devices, in which their decorative design echoed a past with previously relevant meanings which, although preserved in form, lost the meanings in the present. Yet, he noted that in the 12th centu-

ry strata of Otrar and Kuyruktobe they are, in effect, quite numerous, with no exact comparisons for this category of vessels found among the artifacts from the pre-Mongolian period in the other Central Asian archaeological sites. Baipakov suggested that the sections with high relief and cones, in particular, two cones called *chiga* (breasts) on the tandoors (furnace/oven) of the Yagnobi ethnic group in Tajikistan; may have served as a reminiscence of the anthropomorphic nature of these earthenware hearths (Baipakov 1986: 151). Perhaps this same interpretation is possible for the round, high relief sections on hearth ves-



Fig. 4. Shodmalik-ota, earthenware hearth-altars, fragments (photo by J. Ya. Ilyasov)

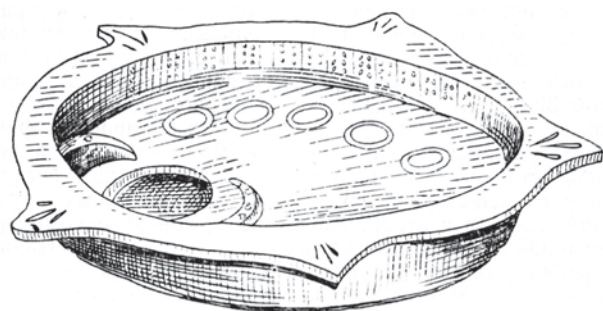


Fig. 5. Kanka, hearth-altar
(from Brusenko, Galieva 1979)

sels from Dig No. 4 of Shodmalik-ota (Fig. 3.) (Ilyasova 2020: 134-136; Ilyasova, Wulfert 2020: 113, Fig. 4b, 5).

Important conclusions and generalizations about the hearth-altars were drawn by Smagulov in his publications (Smagulov 2011a, 338-352, Fig. 13-20; Smagulov 2017b, 317-335, Fig. 1, 4-7). In particular, he formulated the concept that small ceramic hearths and altars convey an image served as models of local religious buildings or temples that existed during the pre-Islamic period (Smagulov 2011a: 344; Smagulov 2017b: 331-332).

For a long time the question of these small hearths remained open. However, in one of Smagulov's later articles, he made an interesting observation. At the Karatobe site, under the 12th-13th century strata, near a hearth-altar, yet another earlier stratum was documented in which a hearth-altar, built from clay, was also located on the floor level. Thus, compelling evidence was obtained that earthenware altars were a local phenomenon and continued the tradition of the early floor-mounted clay, hearth-altars, but in a different, more obvious manner (Smagulov 2017b, 322). The floor-mounted ceramic altars were characteristic for every dwelling and played the role of spiritual center, involving the performance of certain rituals within the family's intimate sphere (Smagulov 2011a: 348). A direct analogy to *kuyruk* and *altyn* hearths from 7th-10th century dwellings are chronologically older (as well as synchronous) to hearths in the houses and crypts of the Jetasar culture. It was these hearths that, under state ideological oppression, appeared in dwellings to be replaced by the semi-circular hearth-altars from the destroyed sanctuaries of Sogd, Chach, Khorezm, and Kangyu-Tarband. The latter are clearly located only in the Syr Darya region and the adjacent regions of Sogd. The origin of these altars' shape (horseshoe-shaped or semi-circular) apparently originated from Sarmatian cults in antiquity. The continuation of the tradition of hearth-altars, according to Smagulov's conclusions, is found in the altars of the "Jigirbent" type and in the Otrar terra-

cotta altars from the 11th-12th centuries (Smagulov 2011b: 78-79).

Smagulov adds that these hearth-altars appear unique from among the finds in other Central Asian regions and are found as neither integral nor fragmentary items in neighboring cultures. Apparently, their existence is a type of ethnographic feature for the local urban culture of the region during the 10th-12th centuries, a strictly "Syr Darya phenomenon" (Smagulov 2011a: 348; Smagulov 2017b: 317).

The decorative features on the hearths from Shodmalik-ota are rather modest, but the hearth at Dig pit P-4 is decorated with a panel featuring relief designs. The bottom section of hearths from Kazakhstan have a circular 8-14 cm diameter hole some distance from the center. Upon excavation, one commonly finds in the hole's pit a portion of a small ceramic pot made of refractory clay (a small cup or pint-sized pot), which served as a container for permanently smoldering coals. This small pot with coals during use served as the center for a small open fire (Smagulov 2011a: 349). Two fragments from small pots made of refractory clay with a significant admixture of grus (or granite sand) found at Shodmalik-ota apparently confirm this.

In Chach, at the Kanka site, are also finds containing earthenware hearth fragments with a round hole somewhat displaced off the hearth's center. They are decorated and equipped with distinctive handles which possibly, according to the researchers, served as portable pans (Brusenko, Galieva 1979: 96, Fig. 32) (Fig. 5). These integral "pans" found at Kanka are richly decorated with a round hole off set from their center (Fig. 6). One of them, found near the hearth appeared to perform two functions, according to A. A. Gritsina: that of "serving the hearth," and for heating the room (Gritsina 2016: 143, Fig. 16:1, 16:2). We believe the interpretation that these as portable pans is not entirely correct since the presence of a hole in their bases contradicts their stated function. Instead, a "hearth-altar" is the best designation since their shape and décor especially symbolized the niches in walls from the so-called *capellas*, or chapels, which were addressed during rituals.

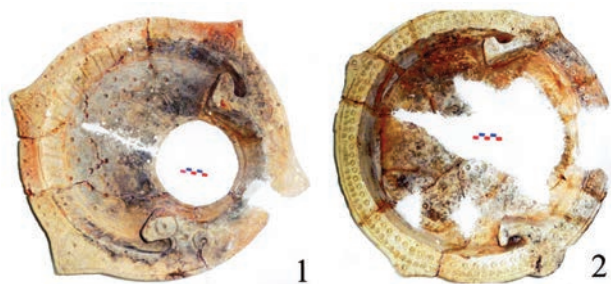


Fig. 6. Kanka, hearth-altars (from Gritsina 2016)



Fig. 7. Shodmalik-ota, Dig No. 6, rm. 3, remains of a podium with corrugations (photo by J. Ya. Ilyasov)

Plate-shaped vessels with rim diameters between 80–85 cm and made of fired clay with a considerable attenuating inclusions were repeatedly encountered in Tunket, Abrlyg, and Namudlyg (*Buryakov* 1972: 99, 102). However, the Chach artifacts were found in an industrial layer, immediately next to blacksmith kilns. Of note is that these Chach finds, unfortunately, escaped the attention of E. A. Bulatov.

Finds made at the small site of Shodmalik-ota demonstrate that, in addition to southern Kazakhstan and the Chach (Tashkent) regions, it is now possible to include medieval Ilak — located in the southern foothills and mountainous section of the Tashkent oasis — into the area in which hearth-altars experienced widespread use. They are devoid of rich decor, but their form and function fully coincide with the richly decorated specimens from Otrar, Kuyruk-tobe, and Sauran. One example from Shodmalik-ota was located not in the room's center, but next to a wall, and, in this case, the modest decor in its rounded section was compensated by elegant décor along the back wall containing rows of circles and two protrusions within a ring of similar circles, evoking associations with femininity.

Ye. A. Smagulov noted that in the Syr Darya regions, inhabited mainly by Turks, a special situation developed, even in the sedentary urban environment, with the gradual ousting of the ancestral faith during

the 9th through 11th centuries. It is presumed that these earthenware altars, which appeared during the 11th century, reproduced the structure and decor of public worship buildings which had vanished by that time. Thus, the practice of public rituals moved into the sphere of private dwellings (*Smagulov* 2017b: 324). Smagulov conceptualized that archaeological studies focused on the lower and middle Syr Darya region would increasingly find sites where such altars were distributed (*Smagulov* 2011a: 346, note 25). Our finds confirm the accuracy of these views expressed by our recently deceased and esteemed colleague.

Architectural elements

This commonality of traditions is also acknowledged in the architectural elements in the regions under consideration. At Shodmalik-ota, Dig No. 6, building remains from the Karakhanid period were investigated (*Ilyasova, Ivanov*: forthcoming). In the excavation's northwestern section, remains from two rooms had indications of a strong conflagration including charred wooden beams and calcined walls. In room 3, at a depth of 4.55 m from the datum point, a floor surface was revealed paved with large format fired tiles ($50 \times 35 \times 4$; $51 \times 51 \times 6$; $53 \times 51 \times 4.5$ cm) (Fig. 7). From the east, the pavement was bounded by a groove, after which the nature of the pavement



Fig. 8. Shodmalik-ota, Dig No. 6, rm. 4, niche, view from the north (photo by J. Ya. Ilyasov).

changed and, instead of large slabs, small-format bricks ($29 \times 11 \times 5$ cm) were used. This suggested that the rooms had been separated by a wooden partition door, evidenced by only iron braces and a double-hook chain found on the floor. The chain consisted of an oval-shaped link ($7.5 \times 4-4.4 \times 1.3$ cm), 3 figure-eight-shaped links ($7.3 \times 2.5-3.5 \times 1-1.2$ cm, $8.5 \times 3.1 \times 1-1.2$ cm) and rings with a pair of straight rods extending from them, with one rod's end bent at a right angle ($12.3 \times 4 \times 1.7-1.9 \times 0.6-1-1.5$ cm), and the other rod's end broken off (Fig. 10).

In room 3, near the northwestern wall, a podium, decorated with corrugations and constructed from 2 adobe bricks placed on their headers and connected at an angle to create a triangular base; was plastered together with five layers to form even semi-columns. On the corrugations, adobe bricks had been laid in one row, forming a shelf or a type of table cover, measuring 14 cm thick. The podium's surface had been plastered with evidence of burning. Part of the podium was unfortunately destroyed. It proceeded under the excavation's western baulk with 5 unearthed corrugations, although the original total of grooves is unknown. The total length of the revealed section of the facade was 1.5 m. It was 52 cm above the floor and the corrugations were 25 cm in diameter. The structure's total height was 66 cm meaning it was too high to be a *sufa*.¹ More likely, this was a podium or table, where dishes or some other objects could be placed. The presence of the podium/table also explains the arrangement of a bench next to it, a narrow *sufa* lined with fired bricks on its surface.

Room 4 was only partially excavated in a triangular space between the northern edge of the excavation unit and the room's southeastern wall. A 65 sm-wide niche was located in this wall 1 m from the conven-

¹ **Ed. Note:** A *sufa* is a raised ledge along the interior walls of a structure that often served as a counter for serving and/or storage of food, or other household functions.



Fig. 9. Shodmalik-ota, Dig No. 6, rm. 4, niche, pattern on the plaster (photo by J. Ya. Ilyasov).

tional boundary with room 3 (Fig. 8). On the walls, along both sides of the niche's edge, a pattern of floral curls was scratched or engraved in the uncured plaster (Fig. 9).

Architect Z. G. Shardenova noted that the use of decorative corrugations, which is widespread in decorative design for building exteriors of this period, is rarely found with interior decor. Corrugations were known to her only from 8th century archaeological remains in Penjikent (modern Tajikistan) and at an 8th-9th century site of Kostobe (modern Kazakhstan), where corrugated *sufas* were found. The special design of these *sufas* may be associated with a special status for these rooms (Shardenova 1994: 73, Fig. 2; Baipakov, Shardenova, Peregudova 2001, 68-70, 191, Fig. 28, 29, 30). The podium revealed at Shodmalik-ota is another such example utilizing corrugation grooves for interior design and chronologically is the latest example since it is dated to the 11th century.

The corrugated hall at Kostobe had a niche carved into the southern wall. This arrangement of decorated niches in rooms with a formal function was a widespread technique in Eastern architecture (Shardenova 1994: 76). Home altars were discovered in southern Kazakhstan at the sites of Kuyruk-tobe and Altyn-tobe dating to the early medieval period and notewor-

thy for their combination of everyday and cultic functions. The altar consisted of two parts – its niche and its podium. It is possible that revered images were placed in an altar’s niche; while, according to Smagulov, the altar’s podiums probably held lamps and incense burners (Smagulov 1992: 35, 37).

The described rooms unearthed at Shodmalik-ota, are currently only partially excavated, which certainly complicates their interpretation. Nevertheless, their uncommon character is beyond doubt, as indicated by the use of corrugation design, the modestly carved decor along the sides of the niches, and a fragment of carved terracotta decor discovered in one of the pits (Fig. 11). To provide further conclusions, excavations must continue, however some of the identified parallels with southern Kazakhstan archaeological remains do appear representative to us even at this point.

Metal items

Several bronze items were collected on the surface at Shodmalik-ota during excavations (Ilyasova 2019: 20–23). By comparison, archaeological remains obtained in recent years at the Imlak excavation—a site generally equated to Tunket, the capital of Ilak — have also yielded small, copper/bronze objects primarily from belt ensembles. Since most of these artifacts do not have a stratigraphic provenance, similar materials found in neighboring regions are indispensable for their pertinent classification.

In Smagulov’s publications, bronze items from Sauran and Aktobe are widely prevalent –

particularly spoons, knives, bells, bronze pendants, as well as belt filigree pieces (Smagulov 2011a: 272, 274, 281–285, Fig. 40, 42–43, 49, 52–53, 55). These important materials, with identified analogies from the Ilak and Shodmalik finds, include heart-shaped filigree pieces, spoons, bells, and pendants.

A special monograph on the materials of the archaeological site at Krasnaya Rechka (Baipakov, Ternovaya, Goryacheva 2007) examines examples of the bronze items. These findings, too, were predominantly collected from the surface at the site situated in northern Kyrgyzstan. These also have comparisons with our artifacts, including belt buckles and belt filigree pieces. A detailed study undertaken by Asan Torgoev on belt decorative designs from the Karakhanid era (Torgoev 2013), has immensely facilitated the task of working with these finds. It should be noted that neither Chach nor Ilak are mentioned in these reference works in the regions where such finds have been ample. To fill this information gap, here are some of the finds from Tunket.

Several belt filigree pieces, for example, have Arabic inscriptions and their shape and hand leave no



Fig. 10. Shodmalik-ota, Dig No. 6, iron chain with hook (photo by J. Ya. Ilyasov)



Fig. 11. Shodmalik-ota, Dig No. 6, fragment of architectural decor, carved terracotta (photo by J. Ya. Ilyasov)

doubt about their belonging to the Karakhanid period. On three similar belt buckles, we can see the popular formula of “*al-mulk li-llah*” – “Power/Kingdom belongs to Allah”² (Fig. 12, left). Identical pieces from Osh and Krasnaya Rechka were published by Torgoev (Torgoev 2013: fig. 4:4, fig. 5:11). An inscription on another Tunket belt buckle, judging by the position of this inscription, adorned the end of a narrow vertical strap and reads “*Al-mulk li-llah bara/katun*,” meaning “The power belongs to Allah, blessing” (Fig. 12, right). A similar buckle was found on the surface at Shodmalik-ota (Ilyasova 2019: 21). Likewise, a similar filigree piece, also published by Torgoev, originated from one of the archaeological sites in the eastern the Chu Valley, possibly Ak-Beshim, Burana, or Krasnaya Rechka. It appears that the translation of the inscription on this buckle by A. D. Pritula, has omitted the last word as it was written separately, (Torgoev 2013: ill. 5:5). A bronze belt-tip clasp from stratigraphic pit 1 at Otrar has been repeatedly published (Akishev, Baipakov, Erzakovich 1972: 61, Fig. 17; Nastich 1975, 97–105). In his day, O. G. Bolshakov translated it as follows: “The

² Inscriptions translations (in Russian) and epigraphic comments by J. Ya. Ilyasov.



Fig. 12. Tunket, belt buckles, bronze
(photo by J. Ya. Ilyasov)

Statehood is from Allah,” which allegedly reads in Arabic: “*Al-mulk li-llah*”, but then V. N. Nastich re-specified its date and inscription transliterating it as “*Min Allah al-daraja*” or “from Allah is a degree” (Nastich 1975, 97-98, Fig. 1, 2). In the article by A. I. Torgoev, photographs of a belt buckle with the same inscription made with a hand like that of the Otrar find were published, but quoted the transcription written by A. D. Pritula, given here, differently as follows: “*Min Allah ad-Daulat*” translated as “The State is from Allah”

(Torgoev 2013: 4:1, 4:3). According to J. Ya. Ilyasov, the reading by Nastich is more accurate.

Two differently sized buckles should also be highlighted. They feature similarly engraved decor, which apparently are part of the same belt ensemble decorated with plates (Fig. 12, bottom). Torgoev emphasized that such engraved pieces appeared precisely during the Karakhanid period, and published buckles like those from Tunket showing a decoration “in the form of a central medallion with a winged figure in the center and four slightly curved amygdalae extending from the central medallion.” These examples came from Krasnaya Rechka and Osh (Torgoev 2013: 381, 385, No. 22, fig. 2:25, fig. 6:2, 6:3). A similar filigree piece fragment was found at Sauran in the Turkestan district of southern Kazakhstan, (within the region of this article’s consideration) (Smagulov 2011a: Fig. 53:6). The belt ensembles from the Karakhanid period obviously were standardized and widespread within Central Asia and specifically in the area known today as southern Kazakhstan.

Thus, this article’s newly published examples add yet another piece of evidence toward the commonality of traditions in material culture from the middle Syr Darya basin archaeological sites, repeatedly revealed by researchers in this region.

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FINE WARE POTTERY OF THE KHWARAZMSHAH PERIOD (12th - early 13th centuries)

The vigorous growth of the pottery industry during the Khwarazmshah period is evidenced by the remains of pottery kilns discovered in the towns and rural settlements in the region dating to the 12th-13th centuries. At the Khwarazm sites of the period under consideration, glazed pottery items are noted for their significant size, high quality craftsmanship, and significant number of imported pottery finds. The glazed pottery items are very diverse in their shape, size, purpose, decoration, and quality of glaze. They are distinguished by their compact typological categories with a consistent set of characteristic features. These glazed vessels were richly decorated. All the varieties of decorative motifs used in the various types of glazed pottery vessels are subdivided into the major groups: floral-geometric, epigraphic, zoomorphic, and anthropomorphic. These glazed vessels demonstrate that during the Khwarazmshah period, the school of pottery of the southern Cis-Aral Sea region was enjoying a boom, in effect, on the way to its most significant height. For the glazing of the earthenware and Kāshān ware products, transparent lead and potash-based glazing were predominately utilized along with an occasional thick, tin glazing. In addition to transparent glaze, colored glazes of green, yellow, and turquoise were used. The innovation of this period involved the introduction of turquoise-colored glaze. The principles of compositional art pattern constructs were mainly centric, radial, and concentric.

Key words: Middle Ages, Khwarazm, art pottery items, typology, ornamentation, glaze, Khwarazmshah period, medieval towns, pottery production, pottery industry, graffiti

Citation: Aysulu Iskanderova and Munira Sultanova (2021). Fine Ware Pottery of the Khwarazmshah Period (12th - early 13th centuries), Bulletin of IICAS, 32 (Smagulov Collection), 62-76, DOI: 10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.62-76

Article link: <https://doi.org/10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.62-76>

DURING the 12th and early 13th centuries Khwarazm continued to be a major trade and economic center of its oasis. The Khwarazmshahs pursued a broad policy of conquest and by the early 13th century expanded their territory from the Syr Darya River (Jaxartes) in the north to the Persian Gulf in the south, from Azerbaijan in the west to the Indus River in the east. Huge tangible assets were brought to the capital of the empire, Gurganj (modern Köhne-Urgench), and monumental architectural structures were constructed. Medieval sources report that Gurganj and other towns were comfortable settlements connected by trade and craft centers via transit routes with various centers of eastern Russia, the Caucasus, Transoxiana, and the Middle East (Al-Kazvini Zakariya, Yakut al-Hamawi, An-Nasafi – see *Buniyatov* 1986: 101-104). Khwarazm itself played an important role as an intermediary in international trade. Along with luxury goods for the feudal elite, glazed pottery was imported that included celadon, luster ware, minai ware and «gran-de-ri». However, imported products were expensive, available only to

a few, which led to the establishment of high-grade glazed pottery production in certain urban pottery centers of Khwarazm. Additionally, the widespread development of urban culture contributed to the emergence of a new production technology. Often imitations of imported items were produced as more advanced and developed technology emerged. We know that the urban centers of Transoxiana (Bukhara, Samarkand) (*Mirzaakhmedov* 1999: 298-304) and Southern Turkmenistan (Merv) (*Pugachenkova* 1960: 84-86) produced luster ware pottery during this period. Products made using this technique, though having some visible flaws, were also found at the sites of western Khwarazm (*Kdyrniyazov* 1989: 75).

At the Khwarazm sites of this period, glazed pottery items are noted for their mass quantities, high quality of craftsmanship, along with the presence of frequently imported pottery vessels.

The intensive development of pottery production in the Khwarazmshah era is evidenced by the remains of pottery kilns found in the urban (*Vakturskaya* 1959: 264, 267) and rural settlements of the 12th-13th cen-

turies (*Nerazik* 1976: 73). During the excavation of pottery kilns and handicraft shops, furnace refractories were found containing tripods for pottery firing, pins, polishes, and molds. Among the pottery finds' collection from the "southern settlement" of Mizdahkan, is a vessel in which the outer side of a semi-disc-shaped base from a red clay bowl has imprints of the firing tripod and the sintered brown glaze obtained from touching another bowl during production.¹ The glaze stains may have been smeared while drying the pottery vessels as the bowls were stacked one atop the other. Here, in the "southern settlement" of Mizdahkan, several specimens of gray-clay pottery and many fragments of glazed pottery were found in the transitional phase from the disc-shaped to the ring shaped base. A researcher on this area of Mizdahkan, Sh. Kdyrniyazov believes that this quarter of the city belonged to the last stage of the life of the Gyaur-kala settlement, that is, the pre-Mongol period at the end of the 12th-early 13th centuries (*Kdyrniyazov* 2003: 32-36).

During the course of the excavations performed on the sites of Janpyk-kala, Shasenem, Mizdahkan, Toprak-kala Kungradskaya, Bograkhkan, Greater Guldursun and the surrounding rural settlements, numerous pottery fragments were found that characterized the glazed pottery of this period. The glazed pottery vessels are very diverse in shape, size, purpose, ornamentation, and quality of glaze with which the items were covered. The pottery vessels inside and along the outer edge were coated with transparent, yellowish, or greenish glaze on top of a light or cream-colored slip. The inner side of the glazed pottery vessels was decorated with a fine underglaze engraving ("graffito") and painting, consisting of combinations of geometric foliage and abstract ornamental curls and drips (*Vakturskaya* 1959: 316). At the same time, it was during this period that kashan ware pottery appeared with new ornamental compositions that were much different in design from the decor of glazed earthenware pottery. Kashan ware pottery appeared in Central Asian in the 12th century and was made from high silica content materials (SiO_3) with various types and ingredients. N. S. Grazhdankina, who studied the chemical composition and production properties of the Khwarazm glazes, noted that the Khwarazm kashan pottery had "high silica content, containing 89 to 93% silica" This type of chemical composition was steadily upheld in subsequent years, as late as in the 14th century, and was transferred to those regions of Transoxiana where similar raw materials were available as those of Khwarazm" (*Grazhdankina* 1989: 72).

The emergence of kashan ware pottery constituted a great advancement for the pottery industry. It differed from the group of clay products by means of its manufacturing technology and by the variety and elegance of shapes and ornamentation.

In the 12th-13th centuries, penetration into Khwarazm of glazed products from countries of the Middle East went even further. The vessels from Iran stand out among such items with their golden luster paints. High-grade imported pottery had a constant and active influence on the formation of artistic tastes among medieval craftsmen. Khwarazm potters adopted the art of luster production from the potters of Transoxiana and Iran. Celadon also arrived from China. As a result, the Khwarazm pottery school, interacting with the neighboring historical and cultural regions, adopted some varieties of deocorative paintings that found numerous comparisons to the pottery of Transoxiana (Bukhara, Samarkand), and Southern Turkmenistan (Dekhistan/Misrian). Yet, given certain common features, the Khwarazm pottery school always had its unique peculiarities. By that time, a well-established local production tradition of glazed pottery had been formed. The Khwarazm craftsmen perceived and creatively modified the shapes and glazes brought from outside. Based on the achievements of previous times, they used a new system of technological and artistic decorative techniques. As a result, during the Khwarazmshah era, this special, local style was developed, which, by general appearances was close to the whole of Central Asia but with its individual characteristics. According to N. N. Vakturskaya, a researcher of pottery production of medieval Khwarazm, the glazed products of this period were "technically the most advanced of all medieval glazed pottery; they were much more diverse than the commonly glazed items both previously made and those produced later (in the 15th-17th centuries)" (*Vakturskaya* 1959: 315).

Technology and Typology

Glazed pottery of Khwarazm during this period was distinguished by its compact typological categories with a consistent set of characteristic features. The products were made of a high quality, well-mixed clay. The excavated sherds are reddish to cream in their color. The pottery along its inner and outer edges was coated with transparent, yellowish, or greenish shades by glazing over a light-colored or cream-colored slip. Colored glazes were also used. On the inside of a vessel, glazed pottery items were decorated with fine engraving ("graffito"). Polychrome underglaze painting was utilized. As in the previous eras, the leading forms of open vessel pottery items had a disc-shaped base, but vessels also appeared that transitioned from the disc-shaped base to the ring-shaped

¹ Kazakhstan State University collection. MO-2002, YuP, p. 12/9.

base. Along with the rich design of the inner surface, the outer surface, for the most part, was covered only with a slip.

Samples of glazed pottery dating from this period were found during archaeological excavations at Kavat-kala, Daudan-kala, Zamakhshar, the Shasenem settlement, Greater Guldursun, Janpyk-kala, Kerder (Khaivan-kala) and Mizdahkan. The glazed pottery from Khwarazm found at these sites are united by their stylistic proximity between these sites' decorative features and their production attributes. Although they were found in different towns, they date from the same period of the 12th to early 13th centuries.

Glazed pottery from this period can be subdivided into the following groups: bowls, platters, small plates, jugs, lamps, and infant chamber pots (*tuvaks*). One of the points that attracts attention is the absence of glazed plates during the period under review. Often only gray-clay and black-slipped plates were produced. For example, at the settlements of Janpyk-kala and Kavat-kala, these type of plates are discovered in mass quantities. Particular attention should be paid to the decorative style and production process used for these plates. Approximately 75 to 80% of these gray-clay plates with black-burnished ornamentation portraying a smooth object on a flat surface have disc-shaped bottoms with three low protruding pod bases. The absence of glazed plates during this period occurred for a variety of reasons. It may have been a transitional period in the structure of pottery production; a modification in the nature and typology of pottery; the economic situation; or the influence of other neighboring cultures that had ties with Khwarazm in the 12th-13th centuries. However, it should be noted that during this period the large *lyagan* type pottery vessels appeared.

Bowls. These vessels are the most numerous of the pottery groups. They vary by the shapes of their rims and bodies and the bowls are divided into the following types:

Type 1: This type designates a bowl with a large disc-shaped base and hemispherical sidewalls with a diameter of 7.5 cm and 0.5 to 1.1 cm thick. They are coated with a light-colored slip and transparent glaze (Fig. 1:1). They are decorated with an overglaze and painted with a brush in red and dark brown colors. At the base, in the center, is a round design framed by a parallel white and brown strip. The resulting fields are decorated with clear red dots. In turn, brown dots, along with smaller white dots, are inscribed in each of the cells. As a result, a grid is formed in the center of the vessel and in each cell there are red, brown, or white spots. The bowl's body is divided into four sections by a thin, red vertical line. Each section contains a stylized floral design depicted in brown paint.²

For example, in the ornamentation of a bowl from the Mizdahkan, floral-geometric motifs and a radial-centric composition were used. This lattice design with drawn lines was previously found in the glazed pottery from Khwarazm, but in this instance the lattice-work was formed with the help of multi-colored dot-like spots. These unearthed bowl samples with the latticework design allow us to determine the rich color palette and observe variations of this type of pattern. Such examples are found at the Shasenem settlement. One of these bowls (Fig. 1:2) with a disc-shaped base is coated with a light slip and a thin layer of transparent glaze. It is decorated with underglaze painting with a dark brown lattice and dark green spots within the intersecting stripes and red-brown spots in the center of the cells (*Rapoport* 1958, Figs. 13, 12).

Type 2. Many of this type of glazed vessel were found at the Guldursun settlement (*Dospanov* 1993: 22-23). These included glazed bowls characterized by hemispherical sidewalls which transition into a straight rim with the abovementioned ring-shaped base. They have a yellow glaze and are decorated with overglaze engraving and green and light brown paint. A painted floral design adorns the base and the center of the bowl. Typically, the size of the base's diameter varies between 8 to 8.5 cm and the vessel's mouth measures between 20 to 22 cm with a height between 9 to 9.5 cm.³ (Fig. 1:3). This bowl's shape is an intermediate phase between the pottery vessels of the Khwarazmshah and subsequent Khwarazm-Jochid cultures. Later, bowls and platters appeared with their characteristic sidewalls and high circular bases.

By the middle of the 12th century bowls with turquoise-colored glaze on a high transitional ring-shaped base penetrated Khwarazm. Bowls from Kavat-kala, Zamakhshar, and Daudan-kala have a similar glaze and shapes.

From the collections in the State Museum of Arts of the Republic of Karakalpakstan named after I. V. Savitsky a bowl discovered in the western part of Janpyk-kala is coated with a double-sided blue (turquoise) glaze.⁴ It is hemispherical in shape with a straight rim and ring-shaped transitional base. Engraved triangles surrounded by a dark turquoise outline surrounds the edge of the bowl that is filled with stylized floral designs. These triangles divide the bowl's surface into three equal elliptical sectors which results in a concentric composition of partitioned walls into independent ornamental stripes. In

² Karakalpakstan State University collection. MO-2002, YuP, p. 8/12.

³ The State Museum of Arts of the Republic of Karakalpakstan named after I. V. Savitsky collection, kp. No. 36711, inv.No. 661.

⁴ The State Museum of Arts of the Republic of Karakalpakstan named after I. V. Savitsky collection. DZh-K-88, R-7. Inv. No. 1012, KP 41081.

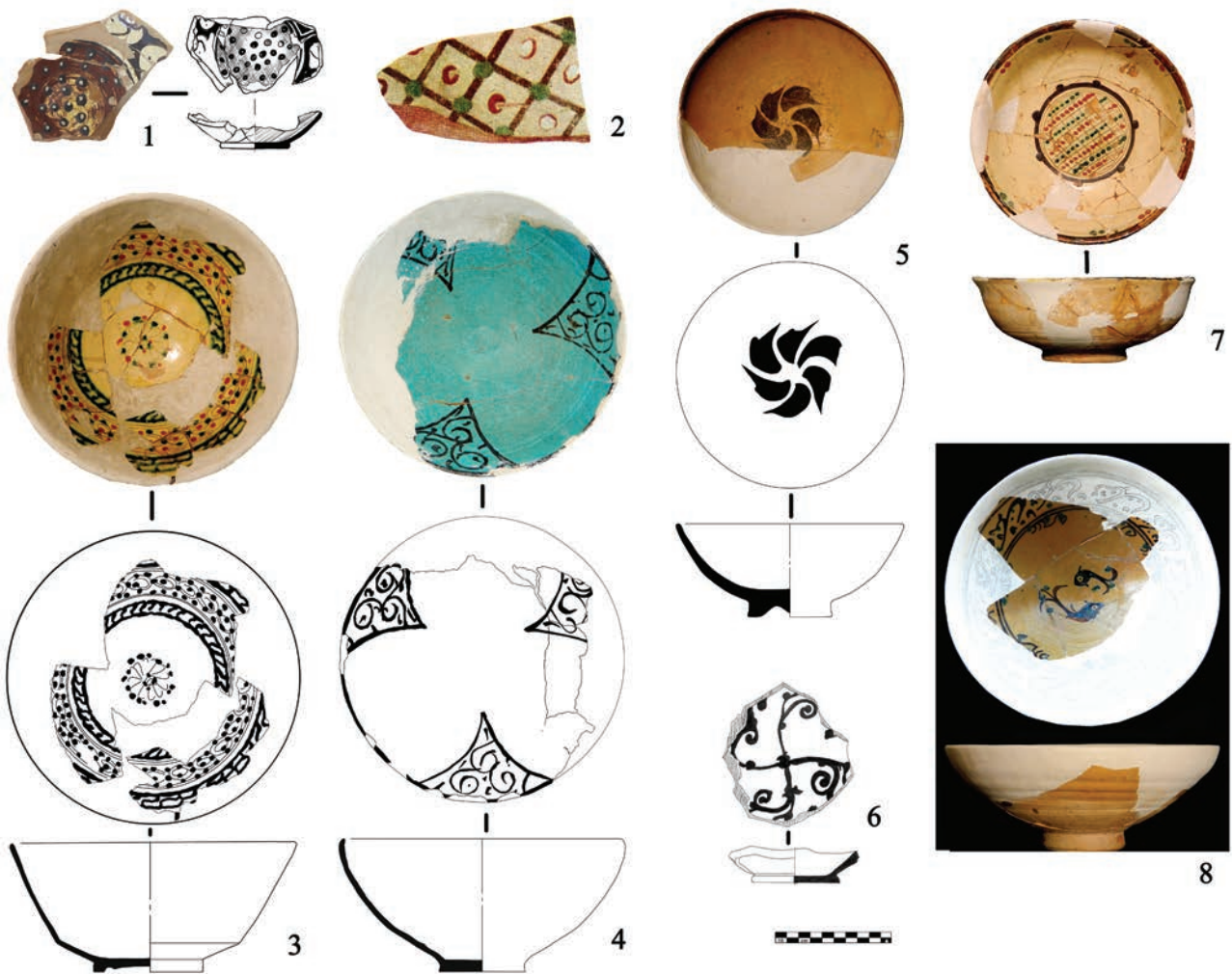


Fig. 1. Bowls. 1-2, 6 - Fund of the Karakalpak State University named after Berdakh; 3-5, 7-8 - Fund of the State Museum of Arts of the Republic of Karakalpakstan named after I. V. Savitsky

this case, the inner surface is free of ornamentation, but the boldly underlined ovoid lines of the triangle visually create a silhouette of a three-petaled rosette (Fig. 1:4). An analysis of these abstract, yet consistent, geometric designs in the applied art of the peoples of Central Asia demonstrates that these triangles (known as *tumarcha* in Uzbek, *dogajik* in Turkmen and *aishik* in Karakalpak) had a common attribute—the protection from evil spirits—and served as talismans. Thus, these designs probably had a cultic role (Zhdanko 1958: 383, 395 Fig. 16; Atagarryev, Byashimova 1977: 142).

Type 3. At the beginning of this period, there was a continuation of vessels coated with a transparent, yellowish, or greenish glaze and applied over a light-colored (white or cream-colored) slip. However, vessels with yellow glaze became brighter. This predominated among the artifacts of the 12th to early 13th centuries. Many such vessels of this type were discovered at Kavata-kala which are now stored in the

GKM Museum and the State Museum of Arts of the Republic of Karakalpakstan named after I.V. Savitsky. One bowl, found at Kavata-kala, is coated with a double-sided transparent yellow glaze. This bowl with hemispherical sidewalls extending from the base has a rim that flows from a curve into a straight line. It has a sub-triangular, slightly everted rim. In the center, at the base, is a nine-petal flower within a circle. The contours of the petals are highlighted with engraved lines in reserve, and the petals themselves are made with green brush strokes. The upper part of the sidewall, below an everted rim, is decorated with an underglaze green line border with a bulbous rosette on top. On the outer sidewall, closer to the rim, are vertical lines drawn obliquely with an inclination to the right.⁵ Another variation of this type of bowl has a

⁵ Karakalpakstan State Museum of Local History (GKM) collection. KVK-71, Inv. No. 55-34/1, Inv. No. 54-30/4.

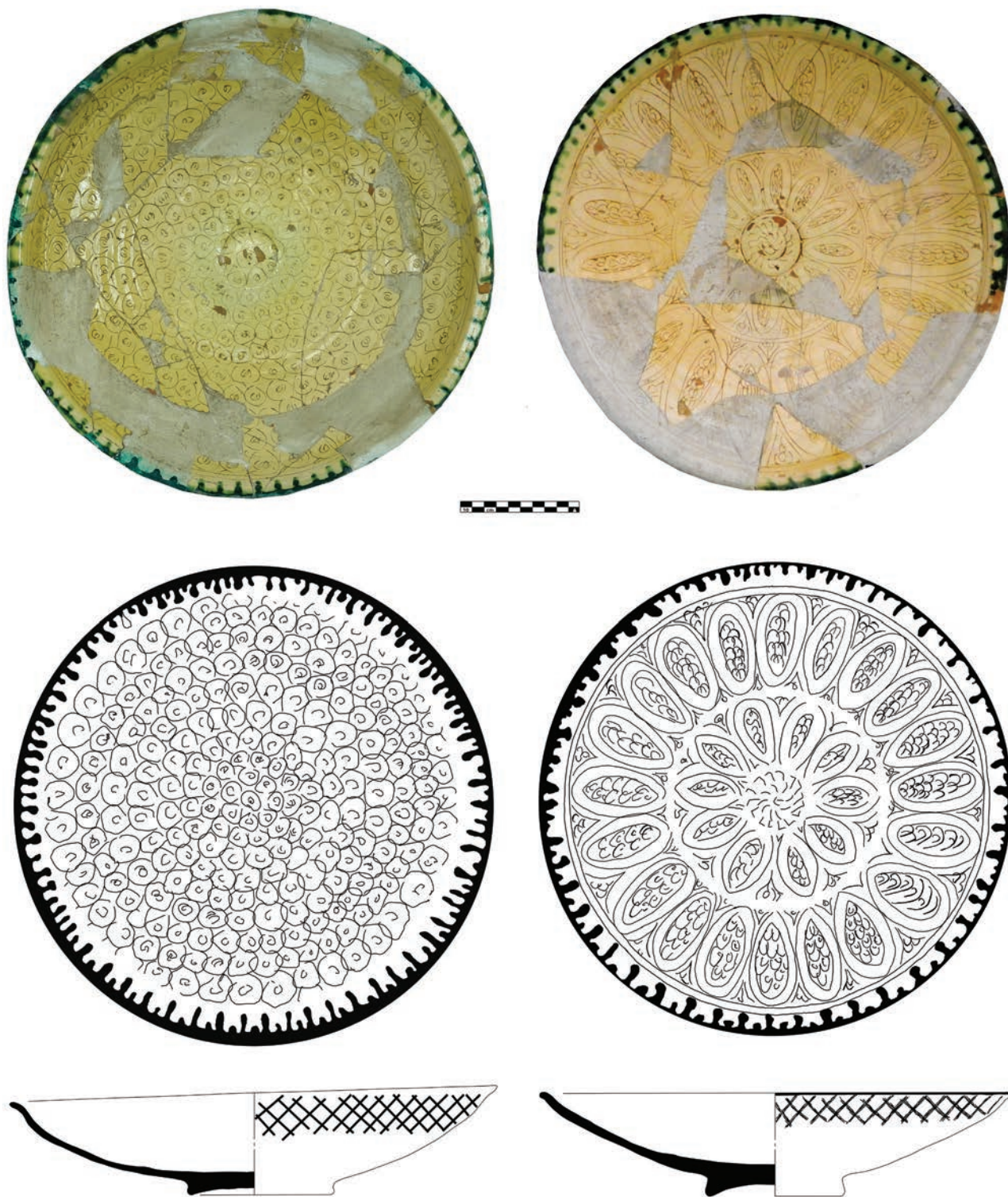


Fig. 2. Dishes. Guldirsin.
Fund of the State Museum of Arts of the Republic of Karakalpakstan named after I. V. Savitsky

green glaze. Another has a design in the form of vertical lines with a right-leaning inclination on sides of the bowl and the field has a transparent underglaze, engraved geometrical design. The geometric pattern consists of grids, semi-ovals, circles, and wavy “dash-es.” The potter additionally adorned the ornamental

composition by using a stylized floral design with bi-foil and trefoil leaves.⁶ An example of one such bowl,

⁶ Karakalpakstan State Museum of Local History (GKM) collection. Inv. No. 63-37/1., Inv. No. 53-29/IV; Inv. No. 53-29/1.

stored in the collection of the State Museum of Arts of the Republic of Karakalpakstan named after I.V. Savitsky, is coated with a transparent, yellowish glaze on top of a white-cream-colored slip. The concentric composition, built around the principle of dividing the side and base with independent circular geometric designs, is decorated along the side and base with a circular green border made with concentric and intersecting oblique lines. On the base and the body itself is a pattern of large dots in red, brown, and green. Similar bowls, except for bowls from Narynjan and Zamakhshara (*Vakturskaya* 1959: Fig. 27:2, 27:7), were found during excavations at Shah-Sanem in 1952 (*Rapoport* 1958: 415. Fig. 13:8, 13:12).

Platters. One of the most common forms in the pottery collections from the 12th to early 13th centuries were platters. They differed from the bowls because the platters had a larger mouth diameter, a stout body, and truncated-conical diverging walls. The rest of the morphological attributes were like those of the bowls. These products are classified into three types.

Type 1. This type of platter is characterized by a truncated-conical body with a low sidewall. The rim is straight and raised along the sidewalls. The design has a continuous compositional motif and a floral and geometric design with a dynamic and continuous character. The predominant floral motif consists of shoots, leaves, and branches that cover the entire surface of the pottery. Painting was done with brown and green pigments over a white background under a transparent, yet slightly yellowish glaze. On the platters of this type, usually in the center of a circle, parallel arched lines are combined with brown speckled dots.⁷

Type 2. The shape of this platter type is quite close to the Type 1 standard. The platter has a high, transitional base and the body and the lip expands extensively upward with an everted edge. These platters, found in Guldursun, are coated with a dull, yellow glaze, and are decorated with floral-geometric patterns (Fig. 2:1-2).⁸

Type 3. This type is represented by a large, flat body, whose side extends into an inverted rim. The vessel sits on a ring base. The edge is decorated with a wide, red stripe (0.8 cm wide). The platter has a centric composition at the base, in the form of a five-petal flower made in red paint with a 3 mm wide concentric circle, or "graffito," surrounding it.

The vessels of this type were found in Mizdahkan's southern settlement dating to the 13th century. Such

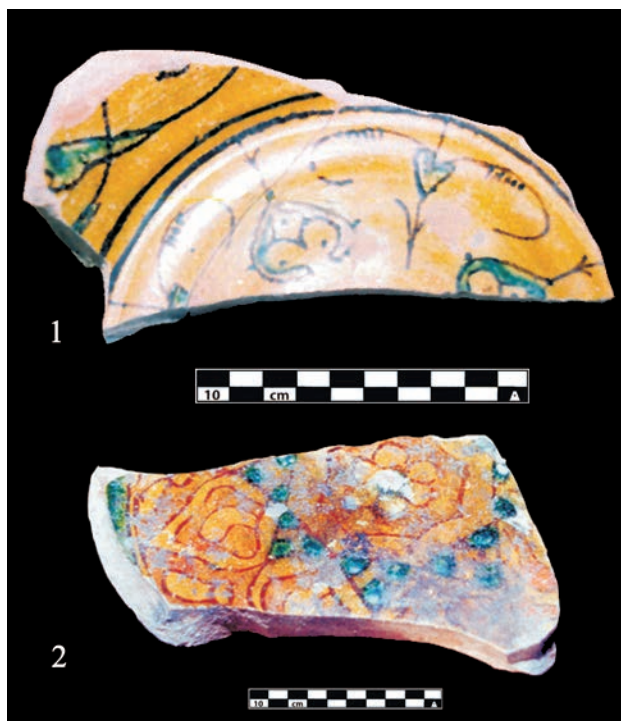


Fig. 3. Bowls. Mizdahkan. Fund of the Karakalpak State University named after Berdakh

bowls have diameters between 29-30 cm at the mouth of the rim; 12-12.5 cm at the base; 1.2 cm height; and with sidewalls 0.5 to 1 cm thick.⁹

Bowls. In the 12th to early 13th centuries these types of bowls were made in small quantities and are rarely found. A small number were discovered in the vicinity of Kuhna-Was, Kavat-kala, Zamakhshar, and Mizdahkan. These flat-bottomed conical bowls were characterized by an everted, horizontal rim. The rare manufacture of these glazed bowls is explained due to the widespread use of non-glazed, gray-clay vessels whose production was extensive starting from the 12th century..

This type of flat-bottomed conical bowl was found in the vicinity of Kuhna-Was. It had an everted rim with external thickening that formed a shoulder-like rim and was coated with glaze on both sides of the body. On the inner side along the base were floral and zoomorphic patterns surrounded by a white stripe with brown outlines. Along the sides, against the brown background of the bowl, a brown plant shoot with large leaves adorned in green dots were filled with small brown dots. Along the edge is an inscription made in italics that reads *naskh*. The outside of the bowl has a floral pattern made with brown paint and enhanced with large green dots (*Vakturskaya* 1959: 318). This bowl differs from the one described

⁷ Karakalpakstan State Museum of Local History (GKM) collection. AK-79, KVK-11/21; Inv. No. 59-33/XVI.

⁸ The State Museum of Arts of the Republic of Karakalpakstan named after I.V. Savitsky collection. Guldursun-90, p.1, KP 42840, Inv. No. 1186; kp 42841 inv 1189.

⁹ Karakalpakstan State University Collection. MO-2002, YuP, p. 10/30-38.



Fig. 4. Jugs. Fund of the State Museum of Arts of the Republic of Karakalpakstan named after I. V. Savitsky



Fig. 5. Vessels for special purposes. 1-2 - Lamps; 3-4 - Tuvaki.
Fund of the State Museum of Arts of the Republic of Karakalpakstan named after I. V. Savitsky

above due to its abundant ornamental motifs; the drawings are not interrupted; and they show a continuous compositional character.

During excavations at Mizdahkan, fragments of red clay bowls with one-sided yellow glaze were found (Fig. 3:1-2). In the center of one of them is a floral design of stems and leaves. Between them are 4 bulb-shaped designs inside of which is a three-lobed palmette. Floral designs in the form of intertwining bulbs are located along the side of the bowl (Fig. 3:1).¹⁰

Jugs. Along with the manufacture of open vessels, new processes were mastered as part of the glazing technique for tall, more closed vessels during this period. This category of vessels is less common than open-type vessels (i.e. bowls, platters). Most jugs that have been found are fragmented forms (potsherds), with the total number of whole forms being few and insignificant. This may be because many non-glazed, closed-type vessels were in everyday use.

During excavations at the sites of Greater Guldursun and Mizdahkan, new glazed jug specimens were found. A single specimen of a wide-necked jug found at the site of Greater Guldursun has a blown truncated-conical body with thick walls and a semi-circular base (Fig. 4:1). The jug has a low neck and its shoulders are placed at an angle to the sidewall. The flat, vertical handle's lower part is attached to the jug's body, and the upper part to the rim. It is coated with a double-sided transparent yellow glaze and has an overglazed ornamentation. The floral painting is made with green and light brown pigments. It is decorated with an underglaze engraved pattern. Rows of horizontal lines are under the rim and wavy patterns found along the shoulders underneath the lines. (Dospanov 1993: 37 Fig. 1). Excavators discovered a hoard of copper coins wrapped up in heavy muslin cloth in a jug of this type. The coins were identified as minted by Sultan Ala-ad-Din Muhammad (1200-1220) (Dospanov 1993, 27). In terms of its shape, this jug has analogies among the jugs of Sogd (Shishkina 1979: Table LXIII, 4) and southern Turkmenistan (Atagarryev 1974: 85-86) dating to the 12th-13th centuries.

Another jug from Kavat-kala is of interest. Found in 1970 in a peasant's room of the pre-Mongol period in estate No. 4 (Fig. 4:2), the body of the jug has a horizontal carination created when the lower half of the jug was connected to the upper half. The cylindrical neck has three rows of horizontal bead appliques under the rim, a characteristic rarely found in wide-necked jugs. The body is ovoid-shaped and on its surface are corrugated, vertically-ribbed lines that narrow towards the base of the vessel. This jug has an ring base and is coated with a dull, opaque light

glaze with an admixture of mother-of-pearl. The vessel, judging from its preserved part, had a flat, vertical handle. It is 19 cm high and its mouth has a diameter of 8 cm. Its base is 7 cm in diameter and 1.5 cm high. The sidewall ranged from 0.4 to 0.8 cm thick.¹¹

Another example, judging by its fragments, had an ovoid shape with an inexpressive neck and a flat, disc-shaped base coated with a turquoise-colored glaze (Fig. 4, 3).¹² As noted above, during this period in Central Asia (specifically, Southern Turkmenistan, Chach, and Khwarazm), glazed pottery coated with green, yellow, and dark brown glaze were predominant. Additionally, as researchers have correctly noted, during the 12th century, pottery with turquoise-colored glaze first appeared (Atagarryev 1974: 82; Shishkina 1979: 33; Brusenko: 1986, 61). Apparently, in Khwarazm, pottery with turquoise-colored glaze became widespread during this 12th-13th century period. Archaeological excavations at Mizdahkan have yielded significant pottery material dating to the 12th-13th centuries including several fragments of turquoise-colored glazed pottery. Of special note is kashan ware pottery which is coated with turquoise-colored glaze. One example is the specimen of a kashan ware jug housed in the State Museum of Arts of the Republic of Karakalpakstan named after I.V. Savitsky collection. The jug differs from the previous types due to its high, narrow neck and swollen, spherical body. It is coated one both sides with a turquoise-colored glaze, but has no decoration. This jug has a ring base and the sub-cylindrical rim is everted. The rim's junction with its high neck is decorated with a disc-shaped applique. The jug measures 26 cm high. Its mouth's diameter is 6.5 cm, its base is 8.5 cm in diameter and 1.3 cm high. (Fig. 4:4).¹³

Lamps. Along with tableware, during excavations of the 12th-13th century medieval strata, lamps (known in Russian as a *chirag*) have been found. Their shapes vary markedly and are characterized with a high oil reservoir with an open mouth and a vertically-placed rim on a flat base. It usually possesses a long spout with facets. Opposite the spout, a small leaf-shaped thumb-guard is attached which is often decorated on the outside with embossed floral designs.

A group of lamps in conjunction with fine ware pottery was discovered in domestic space in the suburbs (*ribats*) of Kavat-kala, Zamakhshar, and Daudan-kala (Vakturskaya 1959: 319), as well as Shase-

¹⁰ Karakalpakstan State University Collection. MO-87, KV-I. p. 39.

¹¹ The State Museum of Arts of the Republic of Karakalpakstan named after I.V. Savitsky collection. Kp. 3772/1, Inv. No. 204.

¹² The State Museum of Arts of the Republic of Karakalpakstan named after I.V. Savitsky collection. Kp. 2996, Inv. No. 733.

¹³ The State Museum of Arts of the Republic of Karakalpakstan named after I.V. Savitsky collection. Kp. No.2993/36, Inv. No. 635.

nem (*Rapoport* 1958: 413), which date to the 12th-13th centuries. In general, the shape of the lamps changed during this period through the acquisition of above-described characteristics: a faceted spout and a high reservoir with a handle with the attachment of a leaf-shaped thumb-guard. Similar *chirag*-lamps are often found on the sites of medieval settlements in southern Turkmenistan (*Atagarryev* 1974: 84–85), Shash-Ilak (*Buryakov* 1961: Table V, 1, 5), and in the Chu Valley (Chuy Valley 1950, Table LXXXII, 7–8, 10).

Infant chamber pot (tuvaks). In the 12th-13th centuries, *tuvak* pots¹⁴ appeared with a tall cylindrical body, a flat base, and a widely everted rim (*Vakturskaya* 1959: Fig. 31:17). The shape of these vessels is consistent and its profile is the same and because they were heavy, only a flat base was used (Fig. 5:3–4). Ethnographic literature records that the name of this vessel evolved into being called a *tubek* and was part of a baby cradle (*besik*) (*Zadykhina* 1952: 171. Fig. 16:6). Until the 14th century, *sumaks* were often made of glass (*Vakturskaya* 1952: 181. Fig. 6; *Rapoport* 1958: 426. Fig. 2).¹⁵ However, the fragility of glass items eventually led these to be manufactured from clay and wood. The limited practical use of the *tubek* pots was, perhaps, the reason why they began to be coated with a green monochromatic glaze without ornamentation. Up to the present day, *tubeks* and *sumaks* are an integral characteristic of children's cradles for many of the peoples of Central Asia.

Ornamentation

Glazed products were richly decorated. All the variety of ornamental motifs used in decorating various types of glazed pottery can be subdivided into the following main groups:

Floral-geometric patterns. The bowls with these designs are characterized by several compositional variations. When making open-type vessels, the primary focus was on the central decoration, therefore, this centric composition was the most widespread in Khwarazm starting from the 12th–13th centuries. Typical of this group was a circle decorated with a lattice design and framed by parallel white and brown stripes forming a rounded space. Dots of red, brown, and white were painted inside this circle after which the vessel was coated with transparent glaze. A similar ornamental latticework is known from Afrasiab (*Shishkina* 1979: Table XLI, 2–3), Eski-Akhsi (*Ilyasova* 1986: Fig. 3) and Shash-Ilak (*Buryakov* 1961: Table

IV, 9; *Brusenko* 1986: Table 34:15). Researchers attribute the origin of this lattice motif as early as the middle of the 11th century in Shash and the 12th–13th centuries in Sogd. Another variation of this design is applied as an engraved grid with a combination of simple lines and curls. The edge of a bowl, found in a 12th century house in Narynjan, is decorated with double parallel engraved lines with descending shaded triangles (*Vakturskaya* 1959: Fig. 27:6). A framing green stripe extends along the rim and is colored with large dark green dots. A lattice engraved design for a bowl from Zamakhshar is no less characteristic (*Vakturskaya* 1959: Fig. 27:3). On the sidewall of the pot are engraved ornamental lines that create a concentric pattern. Reticulated diamonds are engraved on the first decorative thin line which is divided into sectors by vertical brush strokes. The second line located along the rim's border, has thin vertical engraved lines which are also colored with green and red dots (*Vakturskaya* 1959: Fig. 27:3, 6). The most common patterns included strokes, jagged triangles, and braided ribbons. These are often found on monochrome engraved items. One of the vessels is decorated along with an engraving of paired horizontal lines and zig-zag-like closed triangles. It creates a “sliding” effect. Oblique, thinly incised lines were drawn between the jagged triangles. The other lower line is divided into squares by a vertically incised line. Each cell has alternating patterns of green and yellow. The vessel is coated with a double-sided lemon-yellow glaze and the clear engraved designs stand out glamorously under a transparent glaze.¹⁶

The decor of this bowl also fits nicely in its stylized floral design with shoots painted white. At the end of each shoot is a three-petal palmette, made with brown and green dots, or specks located in between the palmettes.¹⁷ Prototypes of this motif with a branch and a multi-petal palmette on a straight oval trunk are found in the ornamentation of Khwarazm pottery from the 9th–10th centuries, specifically in Zamakhshar (*Vakturskaya* 1959: Fig. 12: 3, 5). In contrast, however, the predominance of petals are not observed in the latter example and the silhouette patterns with palmettes are simplified with the creation of only a schematized floral ornamentation.

One interesting find included a platter fragment with an engraved “braided” band or ribbon pattern complemented by oblique strokes on a white background. A Kufic inscription is on the outside of the platter's edge. It is clearly and exquisitely applied in dark brown (black) on a white background, yet, nev-

¹⁴ **Ed. note:** These pots were used under a hole in a traditional cradle (*besik*) to gather human excrement.

¹⁵ **Ed. note:** This was a pipe that channeled urine into the chamber pot.

¹⁶ Karakalpakstan State University Collection, MO-2002, YuP. p. 12/34.

¹⁷ Karakalpakstan State University Collection. MO-2002, YuP. p. 12/11.

ertheless, has a stylized, pseudo-epigraphic character in that the double alefs are formed into two-leafed buds between the capital letters of the Arabic script. This transformation of vertical alefs and other letters is based on materials from Sogd (*Shishkina* 1979: 54-55) and Chach (*Brusenko* 1986: 54) and was prevalent from the 11th century. O. G. Bolshakov, a researcher of Arabic inscriptions on Central Asian glazed pottery, notes that “in the 10th-12th centuries the trunks of parallel characters turn into an epigraphic design, or, perhaps, are already a design” (*Bolshakov* 1963: 82 Fig. 10).

Thin line engraving, called “graffito,” belongs to the earliest technique in this method of ornamentation. On bowls and platters from the 9th-12th centuries, floral geometric patterns were applied with a very thin cursory line most often with a concentric pattern. By the 12th-13th centuries, drawings on pottery with “graffito” designs had thick lines. Fragments of bowls and platters decorated with this type of decoration have come from recent excavations in Mizdahkan.¹⁸ Made with a thickly engraved line, this practice was most widespread between the 13th-14th centuries. Analysis of some long-standing geometric patterns shows that among them the most common were triangles, rhombuses, concentric circles, dots, oblique lines, grid squares, and radial stripes. All types of geometric patterns are, to a certain extent, united by their motifs with the decorative and applied arts of Central Asia, the Transcaucasus, and the Far East. Some scholars are prone to argue that the appearance of “graffito” is associated with the imitation of metal engraving, transmitted with a painting technique that obscures the main drawing applied by a linear outline (*Kverfeldt* 1947: 49; *Shishkina* 1979: 56; *Atagarryev* 1986: 124-125).

One of the most frequently encountered elements of ornamental decor found on glazed pottery from 12th-13th century Khwarazm is a variety of floral designs. In the center, a multi-lobed rosette is widely used to decorate a bowl, which occupies almost the entire central part of the vessel. A specific bowl with a peculiar ornamental pattern was found in the southern settlement of Mizdahkan (item no. 12), that contained a circular, swastika-shaped ornamental rosette formed with brown stems whose ends are twisted in a swirling movement of curls (Fig. 1:6). The free space between the stems is filled with deliberately applied large green dots. The main drawing is centered with one side elongated and twisted to the right in a quatrefoil pattern. This design appears to symbolize an effect of perpetual motion. As an independent design in glazed pottery, this feature appeared as early as the

9th century. (*Zhuraev* 1997: 162-167). Similar motifs were widespread throughout Central Asia during the 9th-11th centuries. (*Lunina* 1962, 270; *Shishkina* 1979: 58; *Brusenko* 1986: 56-57). This same central composition also appeared in Khwarazm pottery during the 10th-11th centuries (*Vakturskaya* 1959: 289. Fig. 11:2, 11:3). Eventually, highly artistic versions of a vortex rosette appeared. The rosette was depicted against a light-colored background in the form of a blooming, multi-petal flower. It created a visual effect of perpetual motion within a circle. By the 12th to early 13th centuries this vortex rosette, according to our research, had a floral design that gradually evolved and lost its previous shape. It was presented in a stylized manner with the petals and stems carefully applied and their ends curved in the form of palmetto-like curls. Elements of *islami*-type (i.e. arabesque) floral designs, shoots, and leaves are no less stylized.

The floral design of this version includes a pattern in the form of thin shoots from which curls of narrow stems extend in different directions from the center. They are connected in the center by a rosette resembling the shape of a heart. Between these is a pattern with a bulbous medallion, which retains its internal symmetry. The style of this painting creates the pattern a top-to-bottom orientation. The inner surface is also decorated with plant shoots. An example comes from a flat-bottomed bowl found at Mizdahkan which has a design made on an underglaze, dark yellow background (Fig. 3:1).¹⁹

Among the ornamental motifs of glazed pottery, decor with a concentric belts is very common. The center contains a rosette design within an oval or rectangular shape. A concentric belt applied with dark brown paint over a light-colored slip under a transparent lemon-yellow glaze covers the field of the vessel. Medium-sized bowls from Mizdahkan (mouth diameter: 18–22 cm) with a straight or everted rim, are decorated with a concentric belt along with parallel lines on the walls and crossed by vertical and horizontal lines with brown specks. A jagged stripe with large dots is also painted in brown. On the sides of an example from another hemispherical bowl from Mizdahkan is an ornamental belt painted in dark brown and red. This wide stripe is decorated with a pattern of rarely intersecting radial stripes and singular curls or checkmarks. The rim of the bowl and the sides were painted red on the outside with semi-oval festoons drawn on them.

Epigraphic ornaments. 12th-13th century glazed pottery from Khwarazm with epigraphic inscriptions are not common. In addition to the above-described fragment from Mizdahkan, exam-

¹⁸ Karakalpakstan State University Collection, MO-2002, YuP. p.10/30-38.

¹⁹ Karakalpakstan State University Collection. MO-87, VK-I, p.39.

ples are known from several other published fragments (*Mambetullaev, Kdyrniyazov* 1982: 92; *Vishnevskaya* 1958: 264; *Dospanov* 1993: 41 Fig. 29). Based on these materials, one discerns that by the 12th century a consistent form of writing Arabic well-wishes had developed in which extremely stylized rows of a continuously repeating, incomplete word (as noted from the counted letters with *mim*, or *alef* types) are transformed and made using the italic *naskh* technique of calligraphy (*Vakturskaya* 1959: 316-318). This consistent method of decoration was adopted by potters throughout Central Asia beginning in the 12th century (*Shishkina* 1979: Tab. LII, 2). There are several reasons for this. In the 12th-13th centuries luster ware pottery based on *kāshān* ware was becoming widespread. Vessels from this group—along with floral, zoomorphic, anthropomorphic patterns—contain Arabic and Persian inscriptions, which were widespread among imports. During the Khwarazmshah period, Khwarazm became a location of vigorously developed trade between East and West. Visiting merchants brought mainly luxury goods for the feudal elite of their societies. Imported glazed vessels were among these items. Numerous samples of imported pottery items with epigraphic patterns are known from the cultural material of Shemakha-kala, Zamakhshar, Kavāt-kala (*Vakturskaya* 1959: 324, 326; *Iskanderova* 2002), Kyzyl-kala (*Khozhaniyazov, Kdyrniyazov* 1989: 91-112; *Iskanderova*: 2015, 25-47; *Iskanderova* 2016: 24-43) and the rural settlements of the western Khwarazm (*Nerazik* 1976: 99, 190; *Kdyrniyazov* 1989: 75-76). Inscriptions and epigraphic designs in calligraphic handwriting were made legibly on these vessels and mainly consisted of sayings or verses. This required a high level of skill. However, this kind of pottery was not available to the general public. It was designed for the upper strata of the feudal society. Perhaps the mass consumer, or commoner, was satisfied with clay vessels decorated with an inscriptional imitation. In the 12th-13th centuries large, inexpensive stamped earthenware appeared with short lines or with the repeated Arabic letters of *mim* and *alef*. Another possible reason could be that during this period stylized decoration was characterized by filling the maximum amount of a vessel's surface with all kinds of abstract plant motifs and patterns.

Zoomorphic and anthropomorphic designs. These designs are more commonly known from imported items. They contain images of peacocks and fantastical creatures such as sphinxes, half-griffins with wings, riders on horses, women, etc. In local Khwarazm pottery from the 12th-13th centuries, zoomorphic images of various birds and fish are frequent. This is typical on vessels from Janpyk-kala, Kavāt-kala, and Mizdahkan. Ethnographic studies of oral folk art re-

cord a number of preserved legends which associate names of towns and states with the certain species of birds and fish. The fish theme stands apart. For the inhabitants of the lower delta of the Amu Darya (Oxus) River, fishing was one of the main means for making a living. During archaeological excavations in the cultural strata of medieval settlements, bones and fish scales from various species have been discovered which were processed by specialists-ichthyologists. This has made it possible to establish the types of preferred fish used for consumption (*Tsepkin* 1986: 117-121; *Pavlovskaya* 1982: 122-125; *Yagodin* 1986: 73-109).

Anthropomorphic images during this period are completely absent from Khwarazm pottery. This was due to the Islamic orthodoxy of the local population.

Thus, glazed pottery finds during the 12th-13th centuries at the sites of Khwarazm testify to the area's expansion along with the distribution, mass production, and large quantity of glazed products. Glazed pottery finds from the pre-Mongol period, apart from the central towns and capitals, appear concentrated in the southern (Kavāt-kala, Zamakhshar) and northwestern (Kerder, Mizdahkan) sections. However, finding glazed pottery production centers is a very difficult task. Only in Zamakhshar was the production of such pottery established (*Vakturskaya* 1959: 263, 267). Possibly, Mizdahkan had its own independent pottery production (*Kdyrniyazov, Torebekov* 1994: 13, 18; *Kdyrniyazov, Bauetdinov* 2001: 52-56; *Torebekov* 2003, 68-72). Another center for glazed pottery production is Kavāt-kala since hundreds of fragments from glazed pottery vessels were found at this location. Pottery items with a variety of shapes and sizes were reconstructed from these fragments. They constitute a fine ware and tableware collection from the 12th-13th centuries.²⁰ The Kavāt-kala pottery vessels were coated with a transparent lead glaze, but also contained vessels with green and turquoise-colored glaze.

In general, these glazed pottery items demonstrate that during the Khwarazmshah period, the school of potters from the southern Aral Sea region flourished and experienced illustrious prosperity. For the glazing of earthenware and *kāshān* ware products, transparent lead and potash glaze was used predominantly with the occasional use of a thick, tin glaze. Along with transparent glaze, colored glaze was used in green, yellow, and turquoise colored palettes. An innovation of this period was the emergence of the turquoise-colored glaze. Most of the vessels were coated with a light-colored slip making it possible to

²⁰ Karakalpakstan State Museum of Local History (GKM) collection. The Kavāt-kala sub-collection.

have an even coating of glaze and a variety of backgrounds for painting on the vessels.

A great achievement for the 12th pottery industry was the appearance of *kāshān* ware, which differed little in their profile with its variety and graceful shapes. However, during the 12th-13th centuries while the quality of earthenware items remained high, they also became diverse in both shape and thickness of the vessel walls. During this period, pottery was most often coated with bright yellow and green glaze.

As previously mentioned, decorative engraving with a “graffito” type pattern was widely used during this period. The emergence of engraved pottery came about from the need to replace more expensive vessels made of precious metals. This engraving process was often done with green and bright lemon-yellow glaze. It created a brilliant transparent color when placed on a white slip. The vessel was glazed on both sides down to its base or tray. Researchers of such vessels surmise that these forms imitate hammered metal vessels with a yellow and cold dark-green tint. The most common designs were engraved “curls,” “spirals,” and “latticework.” In pottery decor, latticework is found in various forms in centric and concentric compositions. Sometimes the craftsman placed a green spot with a rosette to enhance its decorative effect.²¹ The multi-petal rosette occupied the central feature of the bowl and was the main composition which subordinated the rest of the decorative elements to itself. On the side of the bowl, a plant design created a narrow border utilizing stem shoots with a bold line. The composition was completed with a wavy line border containing dots, specks, or triangles applied using a single color. Flower petals on Khwarazm pottery from this period had an oval shape.

In general, one of the favorite motifs in 12th-13th century pottery involved the portrayal of buds and shoots from a stem. These buds, interconnected by thin threads of the stems, personified blooming youth and spring. In Islamic art and in the gathering of the Muslim faithful, green is associated with paradise (Qur’an 76:21).

Medieval potters skillfully used a combination of not only realistic colors, but also stylized, realistic designs. Among the Mizdahkan finds, the lower portion of a bowl on a red clay base is of interest, as it sits on a transitional base with a hemispherical body.²² It has one-sided yellow glaze with dark brown paint on top of the slip and the well of the bowl has no central pattern. From the center upwards, four narrow branches extend radially with stylized brown shoots. Brown,

elongated rhombuses with raised white speckled dots were placed between them. A similar design – relief dots – is most typical for pottery from of the 13th-14th centuries, however, similar design elements based on new materials from Mizdahkan also appeared as coming from the 13th century.

The pottery collection under our consideration obtained from various sites allows us to draw some conclusions regarding glazed pottery decoration types in Khwarazm. In the 12th-13th centuries there is a variety of glazed pottery ornamentation which includes geometric, floral, epigraphic, and abstract motifs. Zoomorphic and anthropomorphic motifs are not abundant, but rather, are more often known from imports. *Kāshān* ware vessels with luster painting are distinguishable by their brilliant use of clear patterns. Compositions with images of birds and people are often found in these luster ware vessels (*Khozhaniyazov, Kdyrniyazov* 1989: 91; *Iskanderova* 2002: 87–89).

The compositional principles that the artisans followed were mainly centric, radial, and concentric patterns. There was also a vortex composition comprised of various curls and spirals. Vessels were mainly coated with yellow, green, and occasionally brown glaze on top of a white slip. *Kāshān* ware pottery with turquoise-colored glaze began to spread; however, finds having turquoise-colored or light blue glaze on potsherds from this period are rare. In general, the pottery vessels were coated with high quality glaze while vague contrasting stains and streaks almost disappeared.

A comparative analysis of the design motifs from Khwarazm with the material from neighboring regions demonstrates much commonality. The same decorative elements in the various compositions, in particular, the multi-sided star, a jagged strip along the edge, triangles, rhombuses, squares, braided ribbons, a wavy dash and others are examples. These same elements are found in the glazed pottery of Dekhistan, Samarkand, Bukhara, and Tashkent (Chach). Yet, Khwarazm pottery differed from the pottery produced at other centers in their decorative techniques, design motifs, composition, and color selection. Specifically, engraving elements such as zigzags, oblique strokes, spirals, and latticework on a background are embossed and shaded. In other varieties, the “graffito” decor, made in white or red over a light-colored slip, is enhanced with small dots. Most of the above designs were perceived by the population of Khwarazm as having the protective features of an amulet, and each with their own meanings.

Along with previously known designs, the pottery of the 12th-13th centuries introduced the use of stamped designs. Usually, these designs are found on bowls with a loessal-clay sherd. They were often coated with light and dark green glazes. It should be

²¹ Karakalpakstan State University Collection, MO-2001, YuP, p. 12/41.

²² The State Museum of Arts of the Republic of Karakalpakstan named after I. V. Savitsky Collection, MO-2002, YuP, p. 4/33.

noted that with the appearance of turquoise-colored glaze in Khwarazm, there were also design motifs in which individual parts were colored in turquoise or pale blue, in addition to cobalt glaze. Researchers have rightly noted that this type of pottery was most widespread in Khwarazm and the Lower Volga region during the 13th-14th centuries (*Fedorov-Davydov* 1994: 146; *Kdyrniyazov* 1989: 82).

In summary, when describing the main forms of glazed pottery from the 12th to early 13th century Khwarazm, they are characterized by a standard-

ization of shapes, sizes, and decor which indicates a high-level pottery industry for the production of glazed ware during the era of the great Khwarazmshahs. Another significant feature of the period involved innovative technological methods used for the manufacture of glazed tableware; the development of colorless transparent glaze; making use of dyes; the appearance of *kāshān* ware pottery; the importation of pottery from other lands (celadon, luster, *minai*, *gran-de-ri*); and the development of new principles of pattern (centric, radial, vortex, concentric, etc.).

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TATYANA KRUPA

THE CONSERVATION AND STUDY OF ORGANIC ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIALS (LEATHER AND TEXTILES)

The publication examines the process of conservation and study of archaeological organics from the excavations of the Turkestan archaeological expedition of the A.Kh. Margulan at the sites of Sidak and Sauran in 2009.

Key words: *archaeological textiles, Sidak, Sauran, archaeological skin, archaeological organics, conservation of archaeological organics*

Citation: *Tatyana Krupa* (2021). The Conservation and Study of Organic Archaeological Materials (Leather and Textiles), *Bulletin of IICAS*, 32 (Smagulov Collection), 77-87,

DOI: 10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.77-87

Article link: <https://doi.org/10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.77-87>

IN 2009-2010, as a result of our cooperation with the Turkestan Archaeological Expedition of the Margulan Institute of Archaeology (headed by E. A. Smagulov, PhD in History) two types of organic archaeological materials were studied.

The **first type** were leather fragments (PVI 09) (Fig. 1) found during excavations of the upper, most recent, horizon from the “lower site” of the Sidak fortress (TAE-2009, Sidak, Excavation 6, VSG) and dated to the 7th-8th centuries (more likely, the first half of the 8th century).

The **second type** were textiles associated with excavations from levels VI and VII of Excavation 1 (Sauran-2009) and, based on the most common and other representative materials, is dated to the 15th-16th centuries.

The work was conducted by the archaeological expedition in the town of Turkestan, Republic of Kazakhstan. Subsequent processing of these textile samples was done in the conservation workshop of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography of the Sloboda Ukraine at the V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University in Kharkiv, Ukraine.

Preservation of organic archaeological materials is one of the most topical issues related to general conservation practice worldwide. Leather and textiles from archaeological sites stand out as the most challenging materials in this large field of endeavor. These materials are already unique due to their rare occurrence in archaeological finds.

Existing techniques for cleaning such artifacts are far from perfect. Specialists are forced to find new techniques that meet the requirements for working

with specific materials. The criteria behind selecting cleaning methods are those that best spare the material and are not harmful for laboratory personnel and the environment.

As a result, we selected a technique we developed to clean a 12th century silk brocade unearthed from the digs of the “Merry Grave” in the Kharkiv region of Ukraine (Krupa 2005b, 165-168). It utilizes the application of the Amway Home L.O.C. Multi-purpose Cleaner. This particular solution has previously been used to work with various types of historical artifacts (Lyashenko 1999: 127-129). Given our control samples’ good preservation condition, we selected the optimal percentage solution of L.O.C. mixed with water.

According to the manufacturer, the cleaner consists of fresh coconut oil with the addition of amino acids. The solution’s oil base undoubtedly contributes to the necessary plasticization of organic materials. Special mention should be made of the action of the amino acids. This type of organic acids contain one or more amino groups. Amino acids are natural components for any protein compounds. Consequently, the primary plasticization (i.e. partial restoration of a fabric’s plasticity as a result of washing) is the effect of both the coconut oil, contained in the preparation, and, certainly, the amino acids. This occurs due to the good hygroscopic properties of silk.

The cleaner’s manufacturers claim that their product has bactericidal properties. This was also confirmed in E.V. Astakhova’s research (Astakhova 2005: 10-11) when working with samples from the “Merry Grave.” The need to stabilize fungi when working with archaeological organics (as is well known, exist-



Fig. 1. Skin at the time of discovery



Fig. 2. Skin at the start of the study

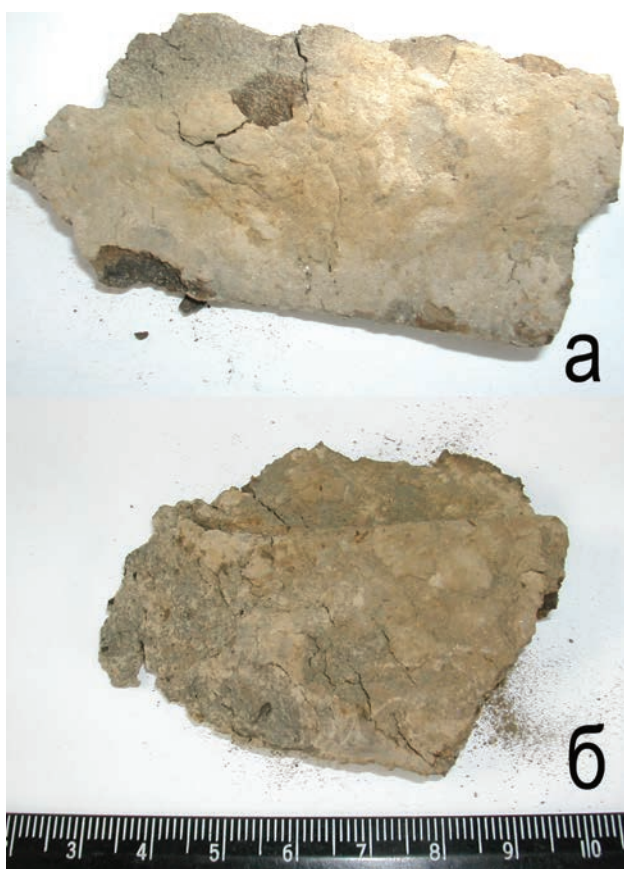


Fig. 3. Control samples of leather before cleaning.
a). Sample 1; b). Sample 2



Fig. 4. Control samples of leather after cleaning.
a). Sample 1; b). Sample 2

ing techniques imply the use of thymol, nipagin and other substances) is of high importance for the further preservation of artifacts. As is testified by a visual inspection of the textiles, the destructive processes on fabrics were not observed (Krupa 2005b: 165-168; Krupa, Efanov 2005: 13-14; Krupa 2007: 70-75). It should be noted that this technique has subsequently been used to clean and plasticize archaeological textiles and leather samples from a variety of historical eras and has always proven to produce positive results (Krupa 2005a: 66-75; Krupa 2008: 215-268; Krupa 2012: 299-314; Krupa 2013: 136-139; Krupa 2019: 141-170; Krupa 2020: 141-142). It should also be emphasized that the artifacts obtained for the work were extracted from the archaeological excavation in a standard way, i.e., together with the surrounding soil, followed by cleaning in laboratory conditions (Krupa 2000: 124).

The condition of the unearthed leather can be defined as satisfactory. It was deteriorated, fragile, and soiled with humus (Fig. 2). The decision was made to conduct a test cleaning of two leather samples (Figs. 3:a, 3:b) to identify the exact preservation condition of the artifact, and determine the possible range for further conservation and restoration measures (Figs. 4:a, 4:b). Consequently, it was revealed that the deterioration process of this material was advanced;

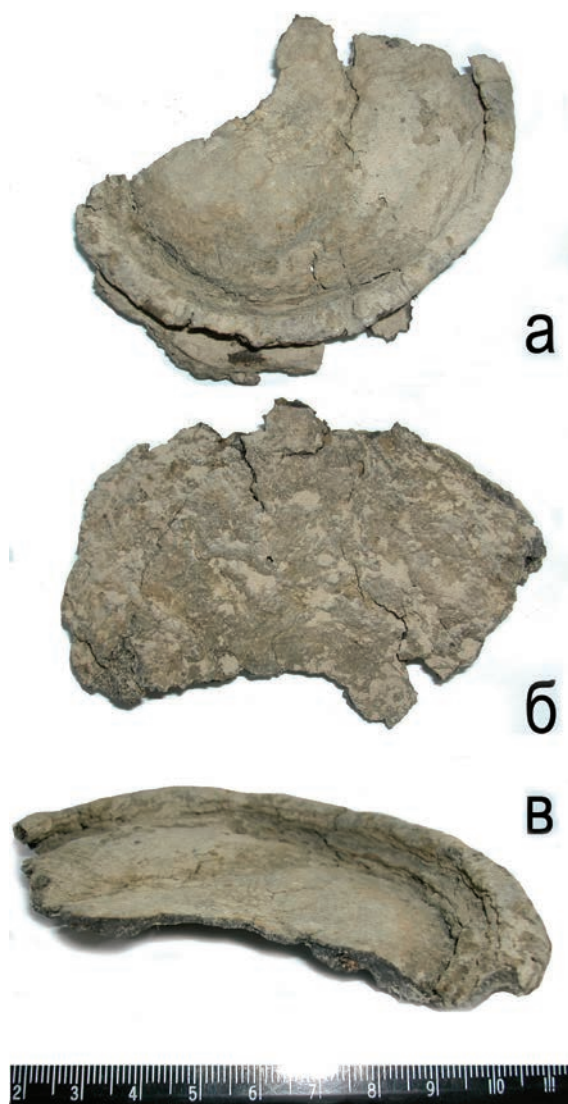


Fig. 5. A fragment of leather with an annular pallet (?)
 a. View from the right (outside) side;
 b. View from the left (inside) side;
 c. Sectional view



Fig. 6. A fragment of leather with traces of a seam
 a. View from the right (outside) side;
 b. View of seam marks and organic residues
 in the aisle of the seam;
 c. Sectional view

therefore, the implementation of the possible conservation and restoration techniques required a continuous cleaning process, plasticizing, and mounting of the leather. The condition of the leather steadily stabilized. Its preservation can be ensured by maintaining a stable environment by preventing decreases in temperature and humidity.

Among the discovered materials of the **first type** from Sidak, two preserved fragments with traces of highly specific processing are worth highlighting.

Leather fragment with a ring tray (?). Among the fragments, a special one with a pronounced ring tray stands out (Figs. 5:a, 5:b, 5:c). The tray's diameter along its outer edge is 8.5 cm (fig. 5:a). Its height along the inner edge is 0.6-0.7 cm (Fig. 5:c).

Leather fragment with traces of a seam. (Figs. 6:a, 6:b, 6:c). This artifact constitutes two preserved

rows of parallel seam holes (Fig. 6:b), located on the leather rollup, measuring 2.0-2.1 cm wide (Fig. 6:a) and 0.3-1.0 cm thick (Fig. 6:c). The distance between the rows of the seam measures 0.5 cm. The seam's pitch is 0.5-0.6 cm. There are traces of organic ma-



Fig. 7. Monitoring the collection of textiles from the Sauran excavations in 2009 at the National Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan



Fig. 8. Group 1 textile conglomerate before conservation



Fig. 9. Group 1 textile conglomerate after conservation



Fig. 10. Group 2 textiles before conservation

terial in the seam spacing, possibly decayed wood (fig. 6:b). It is possible that this material was for the particular purpose of reinforcing (stiffening) the soft leather item with a wooden structure.

All the discovered leather is thick (0.4-0.6 cm), and the raw material and processing were of a high quality. The leather material's upper layer contains a dense structure and was well treated.

In our opinion, the craftsmen used the upper layer of the cattle epidermis because the skin is dense and thick. Such leather needed a high-level of quality tanning which was provided by pit tanning.

Unfortunately, the scarcity and fragmentary na-

ture of the discovered materials and their poor preservation condition prevents an accurate identification of this leather's function. It can be assumed that this item from Sidak was the fragment of a household item designed to hold liquid or loose products. Both the thickness of the item's walls and the various technological features (the ring tray (?) and possible traces of cutting, sewing, and the unique reinforcement of the item with wood) provide possible clues.

During the archaeological investigation at the Sauran site in 2009, **archaeological textiles** were also found. These textiles contain five groups of conglomerates of fabrics, fibers, and ropes (or cords) with sig-



Fig. 11. Group 2 textiles after mechanical cleaning from soil



Fig. 12. Cord with a knot from group 2 before duplication



Fig. 13. Fabrics from group 2 before duplication



Fig. 14. Cord with a knot after duplication



Fig. 15. Group 2 tissues after duplication



Fig. 16. Group 3 textiles before conservation



Fig. 17. Group 3 textiles after mechanical cleaning from soil



Fig. 18. Group 3 textiles after duplication



Fig. 19. Group 4 textiles before conservation



Fig. 20. Group 4 textiles after mechanical cleaning from soil



Fig. 21. Unfolding textiles of group 4 (photo in progress)

nificant contamination from humus and corroded copper products. The clay soil contained inclusions of small stones, bones, pottery, and charcoal. The pH-level of the soil is neutral.

The condition of these textiles was stable. Some samples have even retained their natural plasticity. Some visual observations are as follows: 1) The ropes were made of a coarse, vegetal raw material such as hemp (or grass-cloth plant combination (?)) and the raw material was comprised of coarse fibers. 2) The cloth material was made of fine cotton fibers and this raw material was well-treated.

Our task was to carry out a cycle of conservation measures (cleaning, plasticization, and mounting of the textiles) to ensure further preservation of the finds and the subsequent study of their materials.

The process of conservation work on these textiles proceeded as follows:

1. Primary mechanical cleaning of the textile from the conglomerate soil.
2. Wet (L.O.C. solution) cleaning of the textiles.
3. Natural drying.
4. Plasticization of the textiles.
5. Natural drying.

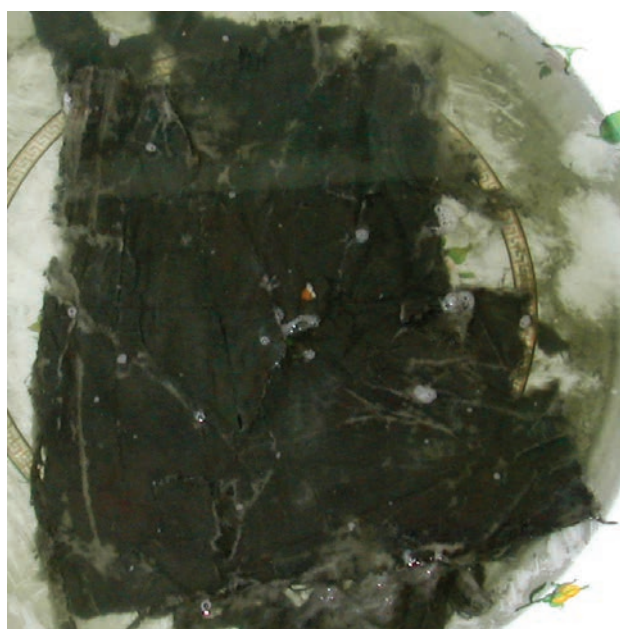


Fig. 22. Cleaning the fabric of group 4 from copper corrosion products (photo in progress of washing textiles in a 5% citric acid solution)

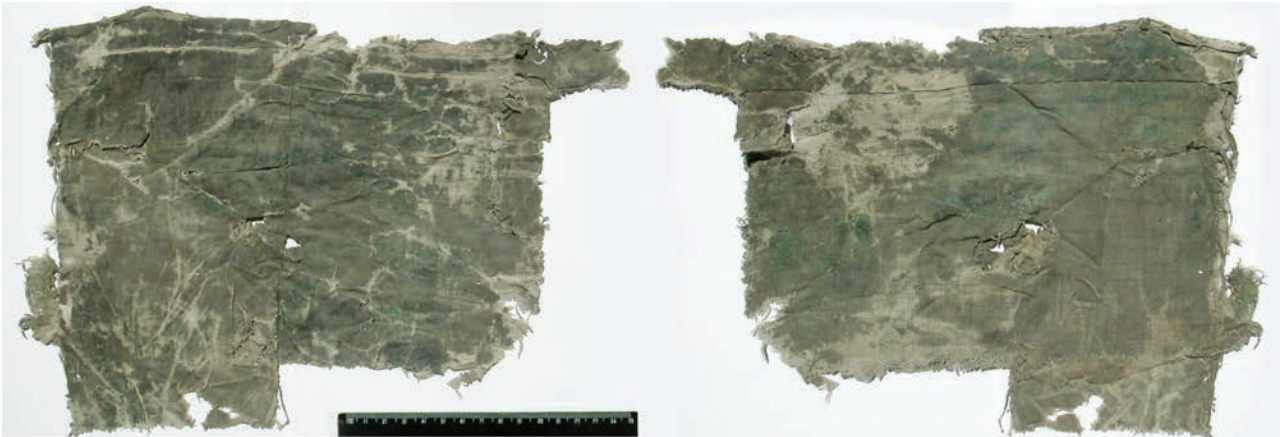


Fig. 23-24. Group 4 textiles after conservation (conditionally right side)



Fig. 25. Group 5 textiles before conservation



Fig. 27. Fragment of a product made of plain weave fabric with traces of seams and an edge (photo in progress)



Fig. 26. Group 5 textiles after mechanical cleaning from soil

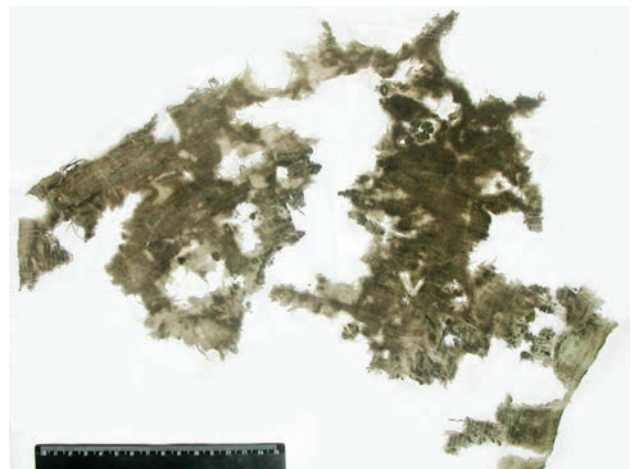


Fig. 28. Fragment of a product made of plain weave fabric with traces of seams and an edge after conservation



Fig. 29. Fragment of a product made of three pieces of plain weave fabric connected by a preserved seam (cleaning, photo in progress)



Fig. 30. Fragment of a product made of three pieces of plain weave fabric, joined together by a preserved seam after conservation



Fig. 31. Fragments of plain weave fabric after conservation



Fig. 32. Cleaning the fabric of subgroup 1 of group 5 from copper corrosion products (application of compresses with 5% citric acid solution, photo in progress)

6. Conservation and mounting of the textiles.
7. Natural drying.
8. Preparation of passepartout and labels.

Considering the well-preserved condition of these textiles, we selected the optimal percentage solution of L.O.C. in water. A conglomerate of the fabric and remaining soil was placed in the cleaning solution.

The initial exposure time was 12 hours. Next, the fabric was rinsed, and the solution was changed for subsequent exposures at 12 hour intervals followed by subsequent rinsing, mechanical cleaning, and straightening of the textile, then, the items dried naturally.

The mounting of the textile on a base fabric was performed in two ways:

1. Using a 6% alcohol solution of A45K,
2. A combined technique consisting of mounting on a backing fabric with the use of a 6 % alcohol solution of A45K and dry mounting (pinning with a needle).

Following conservation, the specimens were placed in a passepartout made without glue and fitted with frames. On April 14, 2021, we had the opportunity to monitor the preserved condition of the materials (Fig. 7), which are currently in permanent storage at the National Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan [NMRC, No. 32049-32054]. After 11 years (it was conserved in 2010 in the field laboratory of the Turkestan Archaeological Expedition), the textile showed a stable and good state of conservation. Neither visible changes of the artifacts, nor obvious traces of degradation were detected. This indicates that the selected conservation technique and subsequent museum storage was correct.

Group 1. Sauran-2009, 2008 Excavation. Level VI. This group was from a compressed textile conglomerate (Fig. 8) with humus and corrosive contamination. These fragments were mechanically cleaned of soil and wet cleaned with L.O.C. (Fig. 9).

Group 2. Sauran-2009. Excavation 1, Room 6 (courtyard), Well from Levels VI-VII [NMRC, nos. 32049, 32051]. These were separate fragments of ropes with a coarse fabric and fragments of textiles with abundant humus contamination (Fig. 10). After mechanical removal of the soil (Fig. 11), the sample was cleaned with L.O.C., dried, plasticized, and mounted.

Two types of textiles can be distinguished in this group.

1. A cord with a knot (Fig. 12).
2. Several fragments of plain-weave fabric (Fig. 13).

The mounting of the cord with the knot was made using a hybrid technique (Fig. 14). The selection of the technique in this case was determined by the extreme dilapidation of the cord. Several other cord fragments, due to their poorly preserved condition, fell apart in the course of conservation. Therefore, three attempts at infiltration of the cord with a 6% solution of A45K were undertaken, followed by dry mounting on the backing fabric using a needle. Textile mounting of this group was performed with 6% A45K solution (Fig. 15).

Group 3. Sauran-2009. Excavation 1, Room 6 (courtyard), Well from Levels VI-VII [NMRC, no. 32050]. This sample was comprised of individual fragments of coarse fibrous ropes and small fragments of poorly preserved fabrics with abundant humus

contamination (Fig. 16). Mechanical cleaning of the samples from the soil (Fig. 17) was followed by cleaning with L.O.C., drying, plasticizing, and mounting. The fabric fragments completely disintegrated in the course of conservation.

Mounting of the cords was performed using a hybrid technique (Fig. 18). The choice of technique in this case was determined by the extreme dilapidation of the cords. In this regard, we undertook infiltration of the cord three times with a 6% solution of A45K, followed by dry mounting on the backing fabric with the use of needles.

Group 4. Sauran-2009. Excavation 1, Room 6 (courtyard), Well from Levels VI-VII [NMRC, No. 32053]. This sample was a conglomerate of textile and soil (Figs. 19, 20) with significant staining from corrosive copper products. Work on the corrosive contamination and restoration of plasticity of the fabric required 14 days of laborious round-the-clock work. While restoring the plasticity of the fragment (a water-based solution using L.O.C. with standard exposure; natural drying; treatment of the fabric by exposing for 1.5 hours with L.O.C.; followed by rinsing and natural drying), we simultaneously and gradually unwrapped the fabric (Fig. 21). After alignment of the fabric and partial restoration of its plasticity, cleaning proceeded to remove the copper corrosive elements (an application of the 5% water-based solution of citric acid followed by rinsing and cleaning of the fabric with microscalpels) (Fig. 22).

Following this procedure, it was established that the Group 4 textiles consisted of a fragment made of two types of plain-weave fabric that were sewn together from several fragments and interlaid with cotton (a quilted product). The seams and selvages were well preserved (Fig. 23, 24). Considering that mounting this textile on the backing fabric would limit access to all the information contained from this discovered material, it was decided not to mount it.

Group 5. Sauran-2009. Excavation 1, Room 6 (courtyard), Well from Levels VI-VII [NMRC, nos. 32052, 32054]. This conglomerate of textile had abundant soiling from humus (Fig. 25). After mechanically cleaning off the soil (Fig. 26), the material was rinsed with L.O.C., dried, plasticized, and mounted.

Three subgroups of textiles can be distinguished from this group.

1. A fragment from a piece of a plain weave fabric with traces of seams and selvages (Figs. 27, 28).

2. A fragment of a plain-weave, three-part textile product connected to each other by a surviving seam (Figs. 29, 30).

3. Fragments of plain-weave fabric (Fig. 31).

The fragment from plain-weave fabric with trac-

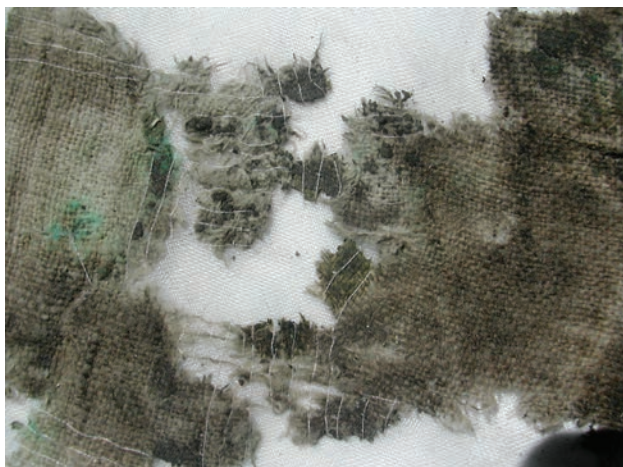


Fig. 33. Fragment of a product made of plain weave fabric with traces of seams and an edge: reinforcing problem areas with a needle

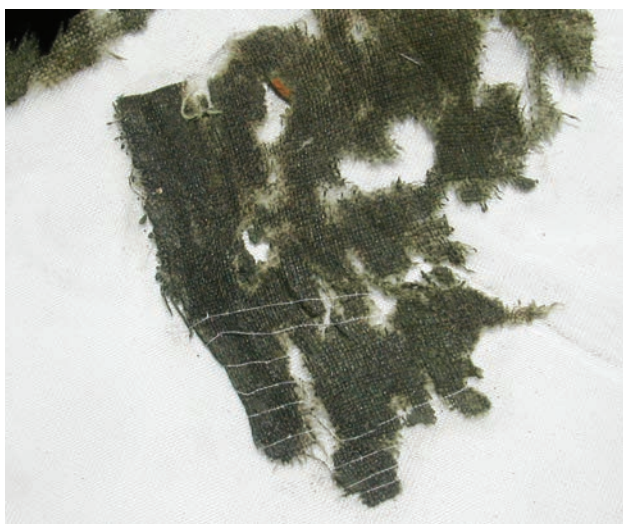


Fig. 34. Fragment of a product made of three pieces of plain weave fabric, connected by a preserved seam: reinforcing problem areas with a needle



Fig. 35. Fragment of a product

es of seams and selvage had abundant contamination from corroded copper fragments which were removed by soaking the fabrics in a 5% solution of citric acid (Fig. 32) and mechanically cleaning it with microscalpels.

Mounting of textiles of the first and second subgroups was performed by a hybrid method (Figs. 28, 33, 30, 34). The choice of the method in this case was determined by the extreme dilapidation and satisfactory plasticity of individual sections. It should be noted that one of the three stitched fragments was not mounted on the backing fabric to ensure access to the available information (Fig. 35). Mounting of fabrics from the third group was performed with a 6% solution of A45K (Fig. 31).

As a result of the measures undertaken, the archaeological artifacts were completely cleaned, plasticized, and mounted on backing fabrics. After conservation, additional chemical-technological and optical-physical studies of selected micro-samples of the items were carried out.

It was revealed that the rope samples were made of hemp. All other textiles were cotton including absorbent cotton. There was no dye in the textiles. The fabric was white (light grayish) in color.

Unfortunately, due to the limited amount of material under study, it is difficult to say what the exact identity or function was of these artifact remains. However, the traces of the cut (in which details made by straight lines – either lengthwise or crosswise – as well as diagonal can be seen) and the construction containing absorbent cotton, along with neat joints with “over the edge” seams and a pitch of 0.3-0.4 mm, indirectly indicate that these are fragments are from a shoulder-length robe. It is also possible that the cords found are part of this clothing (e.g., a belt?).

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THE POTTERY ENSEMBLE OF THE SAMANID AND EARLY KARAKHANID GLAZED EARTHENWARE FROM PAIKEND

This article discusses the results of archaeological excavations in the Paikend (Paykand) urban site located in southwest region of Bukharan oasis (Uzbekistan) that was abandoned in the Middle Ages owing to a lack of water in the lower reaches of the Zeravshan River. Paikend was situated at a two-day caravan trip from Amul-Farab, the crossing point on the Amu Darya River where ancient trade routes, coming from China, the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and India converged. Owing to its wealth and active involvement in international trade it was also called “The City of Merchants” in historical sources. The first archaeological research at the site was conducted in 1914, but systematic excavations began in 1981 with the commencement of work by the joint Bukhara Archaeological Expedition of the State Hermitage Museum and the Institute of Archeology of Uzbekistan.

Studies, which are still ongoing, discovered structures from the medieval period that included a mosque with a minaret in the citadel; residential quarters in both the shahristans (administrative seat of the ruler(s)); a bazaar at the southern city gate; a network of streets; water supply and wastewater disposal systems; caravanserais in the suburbs, etc. In 2015, a midden site not far from the southern gate of the city became a new object of excavation. It was formed during the second part of the 10th to the early 11th century when the inhabitants began to abandon the city. Along with other finds, there were many fragments of glazed pottery vessels characteristic of the period as found throughout the Middle East. This was determined by the political and cultural unity of the region in the period of the Samanids and the early Karakhanid period. A large number of glazed pottery vessels, as well as finds of kiln furniture corroborate the existence local production in Paikend of the relevant examples of white-background and polychrome earthenware.

Key words: *archaeology, Middle Ages, Bukhara oasis, Paikend settlement, glazed earthenware*

Citation: *Jamaliddin Mirzaakhmedov, Vyacheslav Kuleshov, Andrei Omelchenko (2021). The Pottery Ensemble of the Samanid and Early Karakhanid Glazed Earthenware from Paikend, Bulletin of IICAS, 32 (Smagulov Collection), 88-100, DOI: 10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.88-100*

Article link: <https://doi.org/10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.88-100>

PAIKEND, located in the lower reaches of the Zarafshan River, was one of the largest medieval towns in the Bukharan oasis. Its origin and prosperity were determined by its location on the main highway of the Great Silk Roads, leading through the capital town of Bukhara to the crossing to the Amu Darya in the Farab-Amul region. In this area, trans-Eurasian communications intersected; stretching from Eastern Europe and the Nomadic steppe through Khorezm to Bactria-Tokharistan and India and from the Yellow Sea through the oases of Inner Asia to Fergana, Chach (Tashkent), Sogd and further west, to Iran and the Middle East (Fig. 1).

Early medieval Chinese chronicles record Paikend under the name Bi (Baykand in Arabic sources), a

town that was a vassal dependency to the principality of An (Bukhara). It is noted that Paikend did not have a ruler, its inhabitants, comprising 100 families (Bichurin 1950. Volume II, 272), were governed by a council of trade magnates. Thus, from the end of the 580s into the 7th century, Paikend was actually the first merchant republic of Central Asia (Frye 1954, 18; Belenitsky, Bentovich, Bolshakov 1973, 150; Adylov 2015, 146).

In this era, its urbanization increased with the total area within the walls encompassing about 18.5 hectares, out of which the citadel incorporated up 0.9 hectares. The area in front of the citadel was 0.6 hectares, Shahristan I occupied 11 hectares, and Shahristan II was 6 hectares by area.

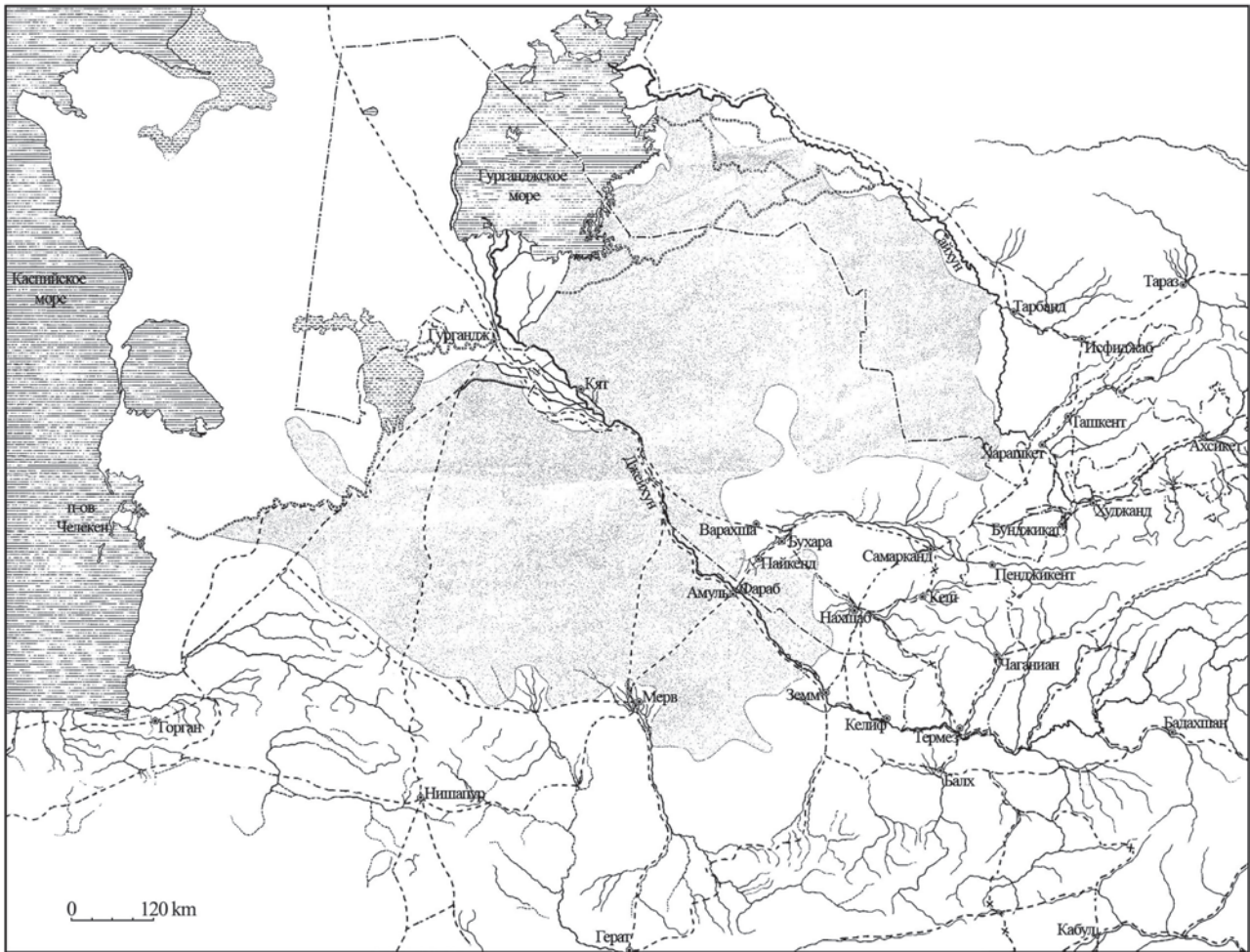


Fig. 1. Archaeological map of Central Asia in the Middle Ages

The site, protruding far into the steppe outside Kampir-devor, the oasis wall of Bukhara during the 5th-9th centuries; was of great importance as the main, well-fortified point on the approach to the central region of the oasis from the side of the then existing crossings of the Amu Darya (Oxus) River. The proximity of the town to Merv, the metropolis of the medieval East and the main stronghold of the Arab conquest of Maverannahr (Transoxonia), made it the place of numerous clashes during the period of expansion of Islam in Central Asia, a period spanning for almost 150 years. Sources speak about the numerous well-fortified rabats or ribats (suburban districts) located around the town, where, in winter young warriors gathered from each village of Bukhara to resist the raids of Turkic nomads who had not yet been converted to Islam.

The Bukharan historian, al-Narshakhi, emphasized the wealth of the Paikend merchants whose commercial interests extended from China to Byzantium (Narshakhi 2011, 31). The main goods of the trans-Eurasian trade during the Middle Ages, judging by the sources and finds in Paikend (Kuleshov, Sap-

arov 2016, 65–67), as well as throughout Sogdiana (Shavkunov 1990, 73), were silk and furs. These expensive products were the basis for Paikend’s prosperous commerce which also stimulated the development of the local crafts, serving the needs of the residents of the town and the surrounding areas as well as its merchant caravans.

The local natural conditions contributed to the prosperity of the pottery industry in the medieval Paikend (fig. 2). In particular, the availability of water resources and certainly fuel. A vast lake lay to the south of the town, “Mavza-i Baykand” along “Khu-dud al-Alam,” “Bargini-Farokh” (Big Reservoir) along an-Narshahi, “Bahr al-Bukhara” (“Bukharan Sea”) all labeled on Ibn Haukal’s map (Mukhamedzhanov et al. 1988, 19-20). During this period, together with the outskirts and the rabads, the Paikend area occupied more than 70 hectares (Fig. 3).

According to archaeological research, from the second half of the 10th century and especially in the first half of the 11th century the oasis started drying out intensively. The delta channels of the Zarafshan only reached Paikend intermittently, and thereafter,

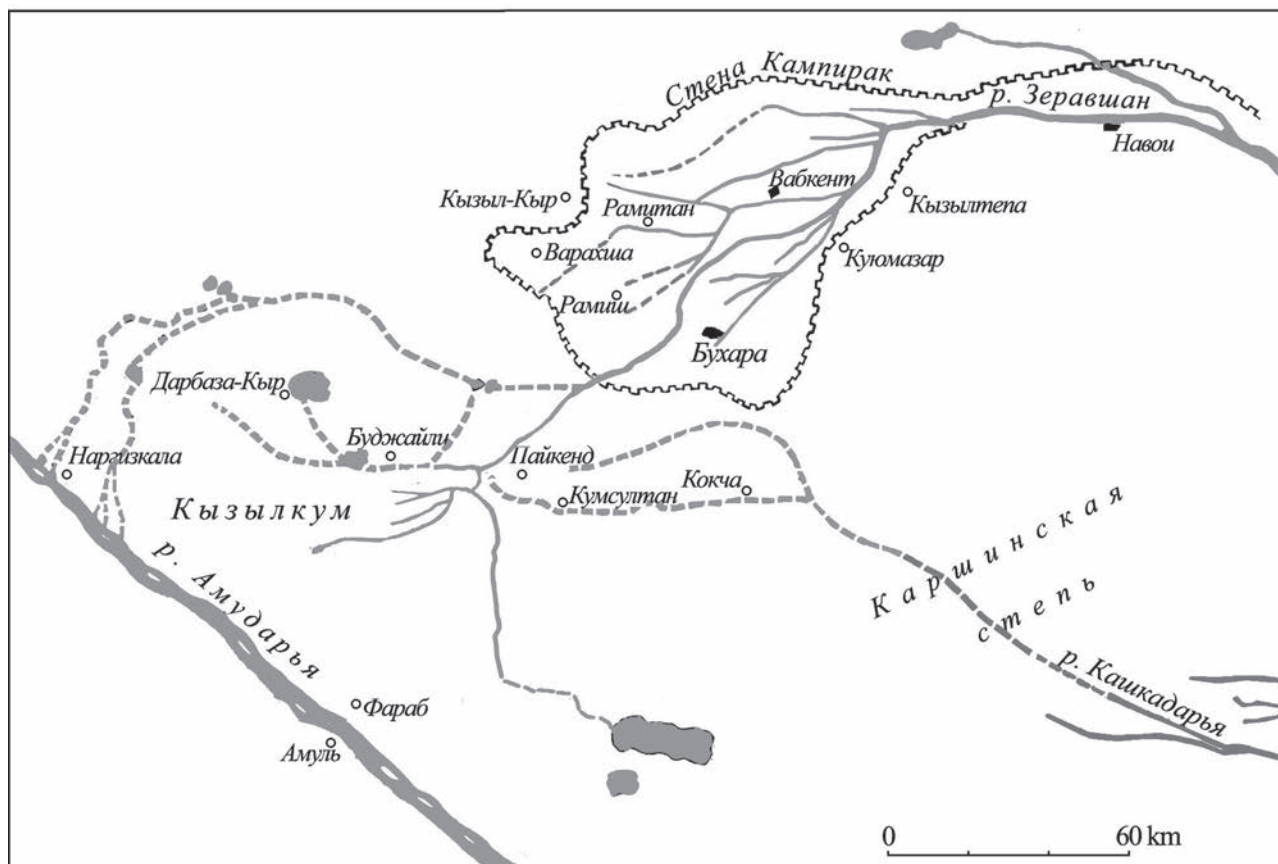


Fig. 2. Schematic map of the irrigation system of the Bukhara oasis and the oasis wall of Kampyr-devor (according to A. R. Mukhamedzhanov)

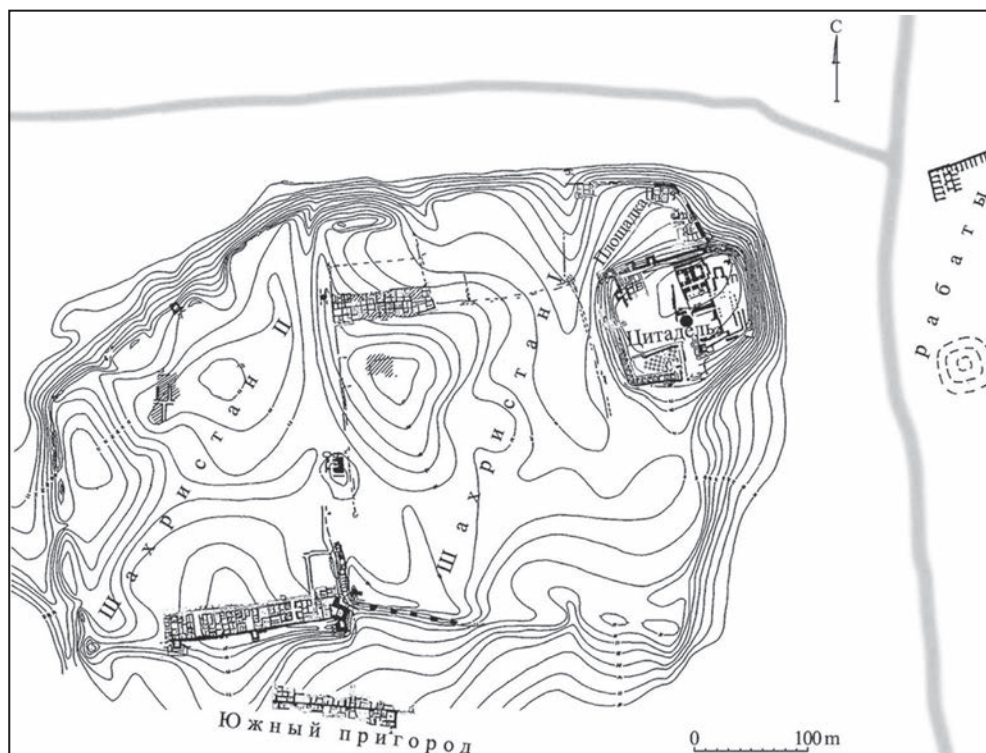


Fig. 3. Total station survey of the Paikend settlement with the nearest suburbs

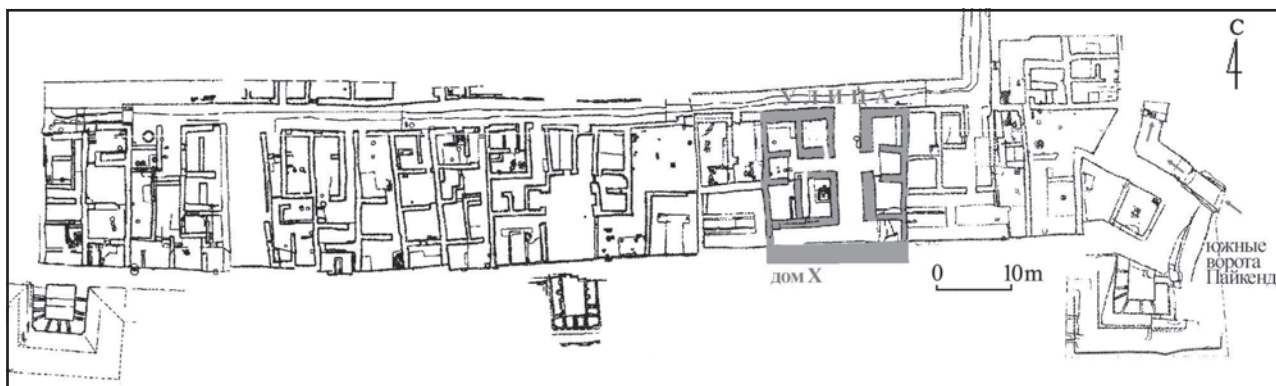


Fig. 4. The settlement of Paikend. Shahrastan II. The plan of the residential quarter at the southern fortress wall along the upper construction horizon. I. K. Malkiel's excavations

they completely ceased to reach the Paikend uplands. The evidence of the dramatic struggle of the townspeople for water, for the very existence of the town, are the numerous deep wells built in various parts of the site including along the beds of the completely dried-out channels of Zarafshan. To the north of the settlement, on agricultural plots which once adjoined the settlement, irrigation ditches did not have their usual design in some cases but they were rather interconnected lines of large earthenware *kuburs*, whose manufacture required special skills from the potters of those times.

Starting in the first half of the 6th century, the town was increasingly abandoned in waves by its residents who moved into the depths of the oasis where there was still many free flooded lands. The same applies to the districts where handicraft production was located.

An attempt by the famous Karakhanid ruler, Arslan Khan, in the first quarter of the 12th century to bring vigor and life back to the Paikend micro-oasis by digging a new canal proved unsuccessful. Apparently, then in Bukhara, a quarter of their settlers, known as "Poikandi," was being formed, a term which existed up until the early 20th century.

From the second half of the 7th century (apparently, due to short periods of the influx of the Zarafshan's waters into the previous lower reaches), periodic stages of habitation of minor areas in the suburbs occurred, but not in the town itself. For the pre-Mongol period, this primarily concerned the Rabat-Caravanserai 4, which most likely, was associated with the continued functioning of traditional stops along the caravan route from Khorasan into the depths of Transoxiana (D. Mirzaakhmedov, S. Mirzaakhmedov 2013, 57-60).

Frequent mention of Paikend in the sources aroused early interest in the town amongst the European and American researchers of the 19th century, for example, V. Tomashek, I. Marquart, and R. PumPELLI. But the decisive role in the study of Paikend

belongs to the St. Petersburg oriental studies school. V. V. Bartold made a great contribution to the primary steps in the study of the settlement. His student, a graduate of the Faculty of Oriental Languages of St. Petersburg University and Secretary of the Turkestan Circle of Archeology Enthusiasts, Mr. L. A. Zimin, sketched an approximate plan, estimated by sight, and carried out the first excavations on the settlement in 1913–1914.

In 1939–1940, Paikend was investigated by the Joint Zarafshan Expedition, undertaken by the Hermitage, the Institute for the History of Material Culture (Leningrad), and the Uzbekistan Committee for the Protection of Antiquity and Art Monuments (A. Yu. Yakubovsky, M. M. Dyakonov, V. A. Shishkin, V. N. Kesaev, S. K. Kabanov, N. P. Kiparisova). At the same time, the first excavations began at the site of Shahrastan II (Mukhamedzhanov et al. 1988, 5-6). Two works were thus devoted to the results of the studies of the medieval earthenware (Dyakonov 1949; Kondratyeva 1961).

Regular excavations at the site were resumed in 1981 by a Joint Bukhara (Paikend) Archaeological Expedition, undertaken by the Institute of Archeology of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan and the State Hermitage.¹ They still are ongoing and are being conducted on all parts of the site.

The period between the 9th and early 10th centuries was the peak of prosperity for Paikend, when the town continued to function as an important transfer point on the way to Khorasan as well as a being a large trade and craft center. The population increased, the dispersed settlement suburbs expanded significantly to include rabats, bazaars, caravanserais with warehouses, pottery quarters (some with brick kilns), other craft workshops, residential compounds with public baths, and district mosques.

In the citadel section of the town, investigations of the Bukhara expedition revealed the remains of a

¹ Later, with the participation of employees of the Bukhara State Museum-Reserve.



Fig. 5. The settlement of Paikend. Shahrستان II. Residential quarter at the southern fortress wall.
Photo: I. K. Malkiel



Fig. 6. The settlement of Paikend. Shahrستان II. Photo of the general view of the ceramic landfill

large cathedral mosque from the 9th-10th centuries, which was mentioned by al-Mukaddasi. Nearby, the base of a monumental adobe minaret, 11 m in diameter, was discovered.

The poorly preserved residential buildings of this period were explored by the Bukhara expedition in the north of Shakhristan I in Paikend. Most of the pottery fragments were obtained from the *badr-ab*-type wells and special pits with stowed potsherds, and these items belonged to the unglazed group of earthenware (Smirnova 2015, 249-266). In Shahrstan II, at the southern gate, a bazaar was investigated with shops that apparently belonged to food merchants, *tabibs* (healers), one repairman of stone cookware, a bone carver, and a blacksmith (Torgoev 2008, 383-386).

The remains of a pottery shop were found on the other side of the street, in a residential area, part of which was studied for its entire length of 130 m by a detachment of the Bukhara expedition led by I. K. Malkiel in 1998-2003 (Figs. 4, 5). Fourteen of the households of this quarter, (dating from the 10th to first third of the 11th century) adjoined the southern wall of the fortress of Shahrstan II, which had already ceased to function, but then served as a “quarry” of high-quality clay for the potters. In one of the rooms of house No. 10, a kiln that produced glazed earthenware was discovered (MBAE - *Proceedings of the Bukhara Archaeological Expedition IV*, 63, fig. 79, 128). In house No. 8, judging by the hidden shell rocks in a chest as well as the stocks of semi-finished products; a craftsman lived and worked there who made earthenware with stamped designs (MBAE - *Proceedings of the Bukhara Archaeological Expedition II* 2002, 78, fig. 175-185). The potter’s neighbor was an artisan associated with metal working. The southeastern part of the quarter was occupied by public buildings. One of these (26.5 × 17 m) apparently was a town hall with a mosque. Others, encompassing an area of almost 450 sq. m. and 262.5 sq. m., might have been small caravanserais and hotels. During the excavation of the buildings, a significant quantity of glazed earthenware was discovered (MBAE - *Proceedings of the Bukhara Archaeological Expedition III* 2002, 51-72, 76, 87, 98-103, figs. 57-59, 80, 81, 85, 115; MBAE - *Proceedings of the Bukhara Archaeological Expedition IV* 2003, 73-75, figs. 70, 71, 75, 94, 95, 98, 116-118; MBAE - *Proceedings of the Bukhara Archaeological Expedition V* 2003, figs. 62, 67, 69, 71, 72, 76, 79-81).

In 2016, research in the east side of the quarter resumed. On the other side of quarter street “1,” a large landfill site was discovered which was formed after the abandonment of this area. The investigations were carried out within the range of a 4.5 m wide strip formed by two brickwork lines leading a northerly direction. The sun-dried mudbricks 32-36 × 26 × 9 cm

appear to have been laid on the facades (Fig. 6), that is, there was possibly a small square and/or another street leading northwards. In excavation No. 1, measuring 5.2 × 4.5 m, which was located closer to street “1,” waste dump deposits reached 1 m in width. Two pits to the north (3.5 × 3.5 and 2 × 2 m) showed a decrease in width to only 0.25 m.

The deposits represent a somewhat homogeneous soil, extremely saturated with earthenware fragments, ash lenses, and calcined areas. Such a large amount of broken earthenware suggests that it may have been dumped there on purpose. A similar situation was repeatedly noted in other areas of the Paikend residential areas of the high Middle Ages. Later, these “reserves” were repeatedly used for filling under the foundations and flooring of rooms as well as for repairing street pavement beds. The earthenware sherds were an extremely convenient insulating material, protecting the streets pavement from moisture accumulation and preventing the rise of salts.

Ninety percent of the finds from the landfill site were fragments of unfinished earthenware, among which were missing parts of khums (storage jars), but there were also many broken lids, mugs, flasks, and jugs. The wall of one of the jugs was used for applying an Arabic-style inscription in ink which was possibly the work of an apprentice. Fragments of stamped earthenware typical of Paikend pottery were discovered in significant numbers. This distinguishes it among the industries of other Sogdian cities and was associated with the presence of close contacts with north Khorasan where this type of tableware decoration was very popular, as evidenced by the materials from Merv (Lunina 1962, figs. 33-61, 65-72).

Earthenware coated with a dense dark green glaze was, as it were, a trademark of Paikend,² fragments of which were most often found among the glazed samples at the dump site. Unique among these is a sample from a platter with a wide rim containing repeating palm-like imprints along the T-shaped edge (Fig. 7: 4). However, there are also numerous fragments of glazed items – platters, bowls, cups, and jugs – with other methods of surface decoration. Their coloring and designs are quite diverse (Figs. 7-10). The landfill finds are immensely variegated, but chronologically can obviously be subdivided into two groups: 1) the end of the 9th to the middle of the 10th century; and 2) the end of the 10th to the first third of the 11th century. This is consistent with the periods identified in the neighboring regions of Sogd (Shishkina 1979; Vishnevskaya 2018), Chach (Ilyasova et al. 2016), and Fergana (Anarbaev 2013, tables XLV – LI). Also in-

²This is not described in the article, as it is represented mainly by the same types which are considered in specialized publications (Kondratyeva 1961; Mirzaakhmedov 1998).



Fig. 7. The settlement of Paikend. Shahrستان II. Samples of irrigation ceramics of the late 9th - mid-10th century from the landfill

dicative are the multiple analogies with the materials of Nishapur (*Wilkinson* 1973, 121, 122–54, 124–126, 146, 147–5, 150–12, 17, 151–19, 153–40, 228–24, etc.), which was determined by the political and cultural unity of the Middle East during the existence of the Samanid state.

1. The earliest in the group of the first period, (i.e. from the end of the 9th to the middle of the 10th centuries), is a rare type of earthenware in this set, painted in green or bluish-green over an opaque alkaline white glaze (Fig. 7: 1, 2). More widespread, however, are platters with a shiny lead glaze ornamentation with streaks of green, yellow, and brown colors over a white slip. It is believed to imitate the tri-colored *sancai* pottery which was very popular in Tang China between the 7th–9th centuries. Starting the 10th century, schematic stylized vegetal patterns etched on top of the slip appear on the pottery (Fig. 7:5–8). This tradition, in turn, came from the west, specifically the Middle Eastern centers of earthenware production. Platters with similar designs are widely represented in the synchronous complexes of Byzantium and Transcaucasia. Its exact color was comprised of a warm nature, symbolizing the sun, greenery, and the “supernaculum” or drips.

In Paikend, these platters are represented by examples of dishes of various sizes and shapes, mainly on a disc-shaped concave bottom and a hemispherical body with a rim bent slightly inward. The latter indicates that they were usually used for food mostly comprised of liquids (*S. Mirzaakhmedov, D. Mirzaakhmedov*. 2014, Figs. 1–5).

The next two fragments of hemispherical dishes can be attributed to the white-background type, with the characteristic border ribbon-like stripes with oval and rhombus patterns along the vessel crown and a jagged line along the rim (Fig. 7: 9–10).

The next group includes platters and a cup (Fig. 7:11–13) with disc-shaped and disc-shaped-concave bottoms decorated with ovals or hearts on a white or black background. Among the widespread hemispherical table cups are items decorated with ornithomorphic motifs (Fig. 7:14, 15).

Also shown are fragments of various red-background pottery items (including closed vessels) whose design is made with a special technique (fig. 7:16), evidently in imitation of metal coinage and drawn with dark brown and red paint applied over a white slip. The relief of the background to the white surface between the lines of the pattern and in the form of numerous pinpoints complement the decor. Such items can be attributed to ceremonial types of earthenware from the 10th century.

2. The second most recent group of glazed tableware from the end of the 10th to the first third of the 11th century are comprised of platters, bowls, cups,

and jugs mainly with ring bases. Along with hemispherical pots (Fig. 8:8), truncated-conical specimens are widespread (fig. 8:6); platters with curved walls, bowls, and cups have been noted (Fig. 8:4, 5, 6, 7).

All the pottery backgrounds are colored white with a glittering lead glaze. The inner surface is formed by vortex rosettes surrounded by circular lines and stylized climbing vegetal shoots (Fig. 8:1, 2, 3); filling from ovals (fig. 8:6); or bouquet patterns (fig. 8:7). Along the rims of individual items are ribbon borders with stylized plant and geometric ornamentation (fig. 8:4, 5); large floral motifs (Fig. 8: 8); and an epigraphic design is found on the shoulders and the sidewalls of table jugs (Fig. 8:9).

The color palette and design, in contrast to the previous period, is significantly standardized, mainly brownish-black and red colors were used. The decoration of the vessels became sterner, with an emphasis on pure white backgrounds.

A characteristic feature of the tableware of this period are small, drilled holes which served to hold them together in case of pottery fractures (fig. 8: 2). This served as another indicator of the gradual impoverishment of the middle-income population which was associated with the onset of the era of the silver crisis (*Mirzaakhmedov* 2011: 189–190).

An interesting group of glazed earthenware from the landfill is represented by fragments of bowls and platters with epigraphic and pseudo-epigraphic inscriptions. By the nature of the graphics, they also fall into two chronological stages: 10th century (Fig. 9:1–9) and the end of the 10th to the first third of the 11th century (Fig. 9:10–17).

One of the fragments of the inscription is made with a flowering Kufi (Fig. 9:9) and, judging by comparison, could be part of the *Takhmid formula* “Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds, gracious, merciful.” Another fragment apparently was part of one of the proverbs attributed to Imam Ali: “Willingness to work protects against sadness. Calmness is the key to well-being.” This fragment (Fig. 9:7) and its reconstruction (Fig. 10) both find a complete match in a bowl from Nishapur found in the Brooklyn Museum collection (<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/open-collection/objects/125981>).

At the same time, the italics inscription on a fragment of another white-background cup (Fig. 9:6) is similar to the inscriptions on pottery items from Samarkand (*Shishkina* 1979, Fig. LIII, 4) and Chach (*Shash*) (*Ilyasov, et. al.* 2016, No. 350).

Inscriptions in various colors and styles with the word “al-yumn” (happiness, well-being) are not uncommon. On a fragment of one small cup (fig. 9:8) with underglaze painting on a light-colored background is a very small, elegant, and applied to the inner mirror closer to the bottom. Similar ones have

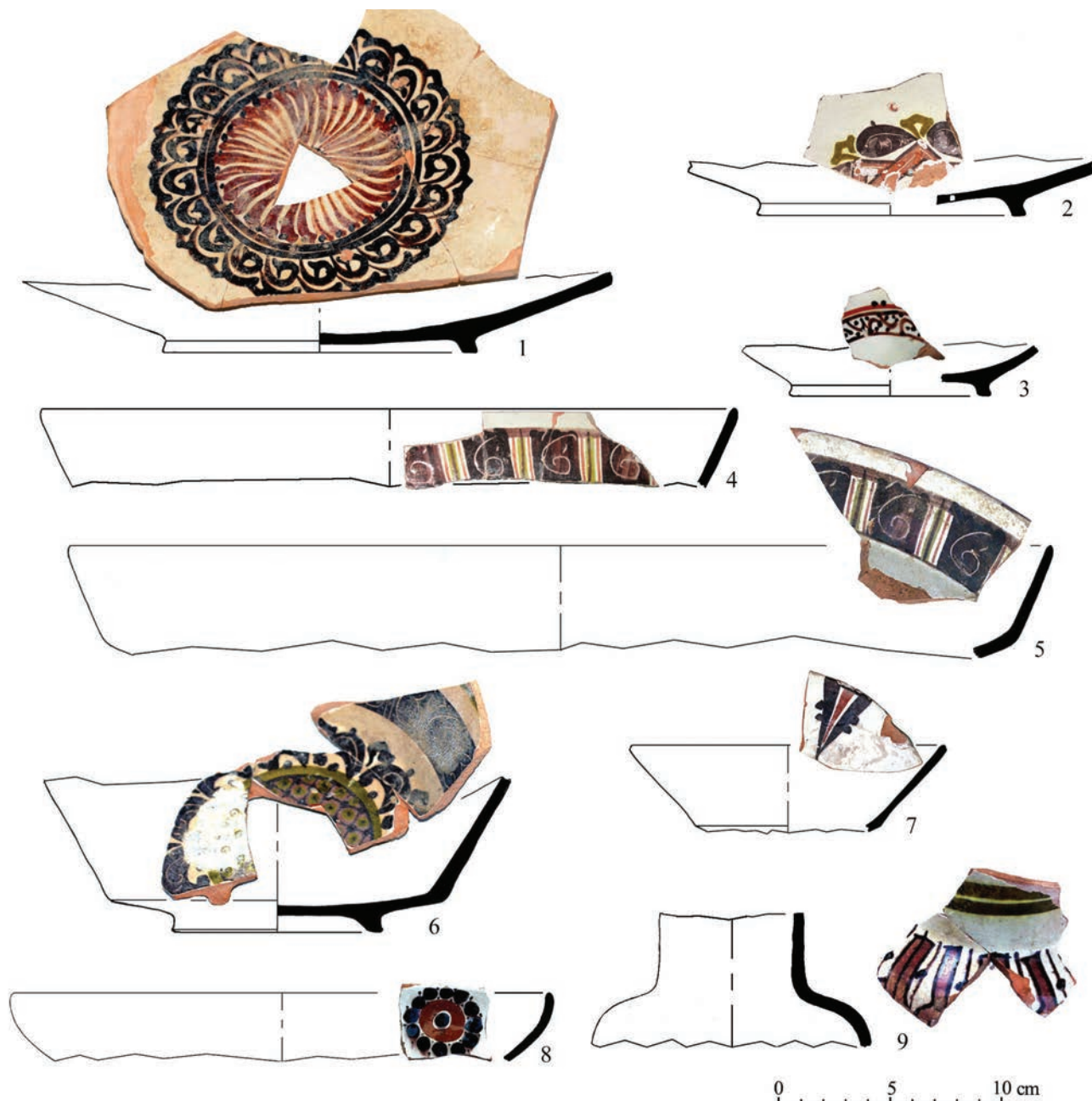


Fig. 8. The settlement of Paikend. Shahristan II. Samples of irrigation ceramics from the end of the 10th– first third of the 11th century. from the landfill

been discovered previously during excavations of a residential quarter nearby (*MBAE - Proceedings of the Bukhara Archaeological Expedition I*: Fig. 160, 7; *MBAE - Proceedings of the Bukhara Archaeological Expedition IV*: Fig. 98, 8). More schematic inscriptions are found on both open and closed vessels.

A large volume of glazed pottery fragments decorated in the “Samarkand” style, characterized by the presence of repeated inscriptions on pottery vessels of different shapes allow us to speak with a considerable degree of confidence about the manufacture of not only pottery with dull green glaze, but also polychrome earthenware including those with epig-

raphy. The existence local earthenware production somewhere nearby is indicated by the finds of kiln refractory furniture such as pins of various lengths and diameters, “rocker arms” and *sepoj* (Fig. 11).

In general, the rest of the glazed earthenware found at the midden site can be attributed to the 10th and early 11th centuries. It is in many respects identical to its simultaneous Samarkand style (*Shishkina* 1979: XLV, 2; LII, 1; LIII, 4; LVII, 5; LXIV, 1; LXIII, 4; LXV, 3; LXX, 8; *Shishkina* 1986: 19, 4; 20, 7; 25, 1; 29, 4; 37, 2; 42, 1; 46, 5; 50, 2; 53, 12).

The date of this collection is specified by coin finds obtained on site, mainly the fals minted in

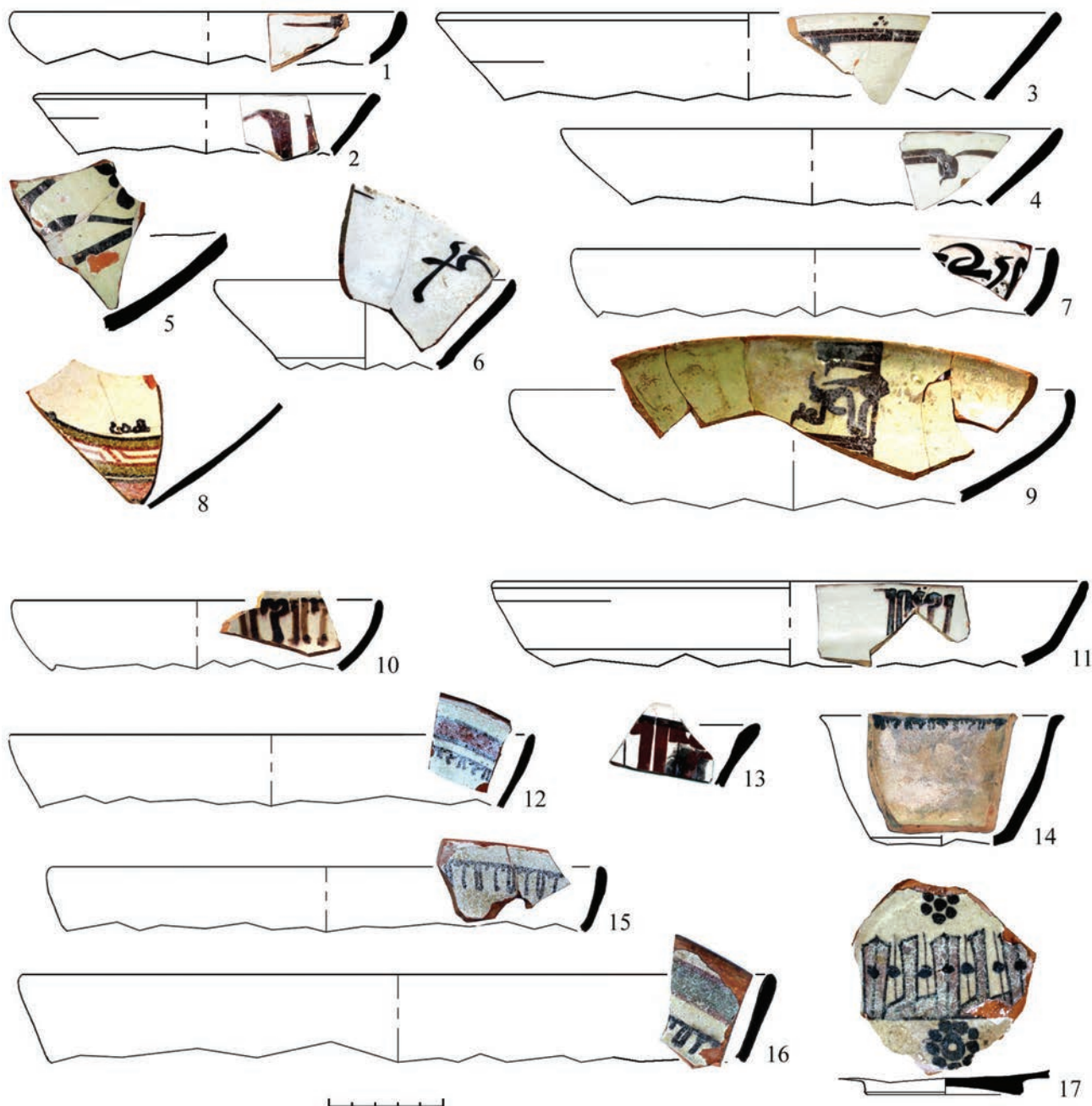


Fig. 9. The settlement of Paikend. Shahristan II. Samples of irrigation ceramics with epigraphic and pseudigraphic design X (№ № 1-9) and the end of 10th - the first third of the 11th century. (№ № 10-17)

Bukhara³ which are attributed to the second half of the 10th to the early 11th century. As observations in other parts of Paikend demonstrate, at this time the town was increasingly desolate and the last islets of its habitation were concentrated at the southern gate in the abovementioned block and the southern suburb.

The formation of the trash landfill on the opposite side of the street from the wealthy quarter in a densely populated part of the town can also be considered as interesting information for understanding the peculiarities of urban development during this era. Similar phenomena of the gradual occupation in the shahristans and the once-luxurious urban areas with

both pottery and brick-burning industries (Shorakhimov 1974: 84), as well as the expansion of mazars (mausoleums) and even the addition of burial-memorial dynastic mausoleums (Brusenko, Buryakova, Filanovich 1975), as, for example, to the north and south of Afrasiab, became “a tendency characteristic of the pre-Mongolian shahristan. The center of town life was moving to the rabads while the shahristan became empty and the abandoned territories were occupied by pottery workshops” (Rtveladze, Tashk-

³ As defined by Viacheslav S. Kuleshov and A. V. Kulish (State Hermitage).

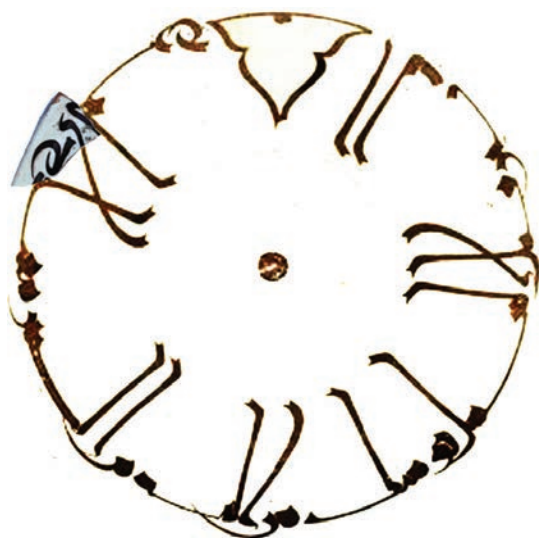


Fig. 10. The settlement of Paikend. Shahristan II. Reconstruction option (Fig. 9:7) of one of the inscriptions



Fig. 11. The remains of the stove supply

hodzhaev, Fedorov 1974, 154). The same was typical for the internal shahristan of Bukhara (Mirzaakhmedov 1999, 298) and the shahristans of Paikend (Mirzaakhmedov 1998, 116; Mirzaakhmedov, Sultanova 2012, 170). But in the latter case, there was less the general tendency during the Karakhanid era to resettle townspeople from crowded town quarters to more watered and green dwellings with courtyards in the rabads (fortified suburbs) as the process of gradual resettlement of the Paikend population into the interior of the oasis was a reaction to evaporation of the lower reaches of the Zarafshan (Mukhamedzhanov et al. 1988, 145).

In general, to date, approximately 12% of the Paikend area has been excavated along the upper building horizons pertaining to the 9th-11th centuries inside the citadel walls. Along with Samarkand, Termez, and Akhsiket, it is one of the most well-studied medieval towns in Central Asia. Each season's excavations bring new, interesting finds and expands our understanding of the daily life of the Paikend people, their handicraft skills, and trade contacts.

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Fig. 12. Coin finds

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THE MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENTS OF THE TURKIC STATES

This article examines aspects of urban culture that existed in the southeastern territory of Kazakhstan during the medieval period. Aspects of urban culture are considered via the example of the Kastek archaeological site. The medieval settlement of Kastek-1 is located 2.5 km from the modern village. It lies on the left bank of the Kastek River at the foot of Mount Suyk-Tobe found at the geographic coordinates of 43°03'03.54"N; 75°59'09.11"E at an altitude of 1296 m above sea level. During the first decades of the 7th century, cities appeared along the route of the Great Silk Road, which traversed southern Kazakhstan and Zhetysu. Some of these settlements were formed at the initiative of the Turkic kaganates, others were founded by the Sogdians as trading posts. The size of the sedentary and urban population increased until the beginning of the 12th century. Thus, beginning in the 6th to 7th centuries various states emerged such as the Turgesh, Karluk, and Karakhanid kaganates which included populations involved in a combination of cattle breeding and agriculture. Their accompanying growth and expansion resulted in the emergence of villages and cities in the region. For many centuries, the medieval city of Kastek was one of the centers of all three of these states: the Western Turkic Kaganate, the Karluk Kaganate and the Karakhanid state. Cultural materials obtained from historical and archaeological research prove that an oasis of urban culture from these Turkic states existed in this region incorporating both cities and the steppe culture involving agriculture and cattle breeding which developed into a single political, economic, and socio-cultural complex.

Key words: South Kazakhstan, Kastek, Zhetysu, dwelling, ceramics, armor, weapons, Turkic mythology, chess

Citation: Arnabay Nurzhanov (2021). The Medieval Settlements of the Turkic States, Bulletin of IICAS, 32 (Smagulov Collection), 101-112. DOI: 10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.101-112

Article link: <https://doi.org/10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.101-112>

THE ORIGINS of the ethnocultural relationships of the Zhetysu peoples with the civilizations of the East and South date back to ancient times. They were started in the II century BC, when under the Chinese emperor Wu-Di in 138 BC Zhang Jiang's embassy was sent to Western Turkestan (*Bichurin* 1950: 160), after which they were carried out for a long time. In the Usun-Kanguy period (2nd century BC – 5th century AD) and during the period of the Western Turkic Kaganate (6th-8th centuries), they were carried out in the form of an exchange of gifts (*Bichurin* 1950: 191).

In the 7th century while maintaining a short route from Western Turkestan to Eastern through Fergana and Kashgar, ties with China along the northern route through Zhetysu are activated, for in Fergana there were troubles at that time (*Bartold* 1964: 267, 269, 272-284). And in Zhetysu in the rates of the khans of the Western Turkic Kaganate, located in the former Usun possessions, there was an increase, which could not but attract merchants here. During the reception of the Buddhist pilgrim Xuan Jiang by the kagan in 629, the ambassadors of the Uighurs were also in the

tent (*Bernshtam* 1948: 32). Relations with China did not stop even during the period of political domination of the Karluks in Zhetysu (8th-10th centuries). The Great Silk Road at that time was in the hands of three Turkic peoples: the Guzes who settled from the Caspian to Ispidzhab, the Karluks who lived in Zhetysu and the Toguz Oguzes who occupied Eastern Turkestan up to China.

For several centuries the Shu-Iley valley was the center of the urban culture of the Turkic states. The latter is proved by toponymic and hydronymic names that have preserved the transformed sound of the names of the first kagans (ataturks) – the founders of the ancient Turkic state. So, the name of the first kagan – Bumyn (Chinese – Tumyn) was preserved in the hydronym of the Ili River, which now flows through the territory of Western China and Kazakhstan and flows into Lake Balkhash. This hydronym is undoubtedly reconstructed as “El-eli” or “Il-ili” runic inscriptions in the sense of “tribe”, union of tribes, state. Moreover, N. Ya. Bichurin directly connects the name of Ili Bumyn with the name of the Zhetysu river and comments it this way:

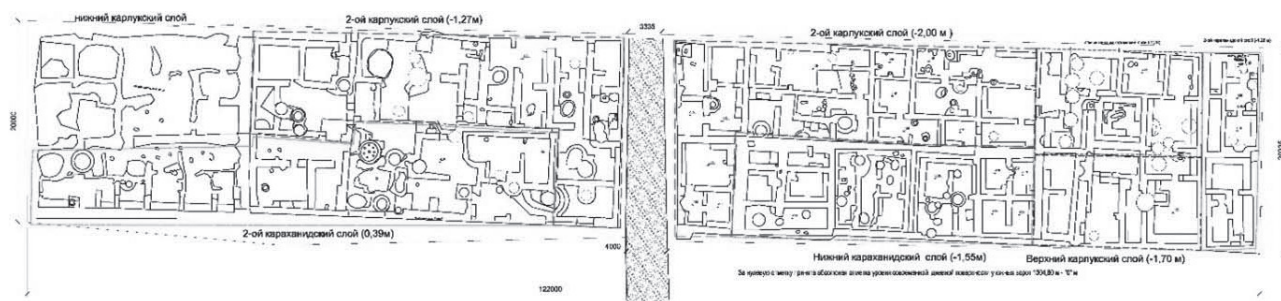


Fig. 1. Kastek settlement plan

“Ili-khan means “khan from the Ili river” (*Bichurin* 1950: 227). After the death of Bumyn in 552, the throne of the Turkic ale was occupied by his son Kolo, who ruled for only a year (died in 553), but who managed to take the name of Isigi Khan (*Bichurin* 1950: 28), we associate the lakab (throne name) with a hydronym Isik-Esik (Lake Issyk). From the next hydronym, the Kegen River, comes the Lakab of Mukan Khan (reign 553-572) – the younger brother of Yesigi Khan. His name is known as Muyui (Mukhan) – khan Kigin (*Bichurin* 1950: 227-228).

The Ile / Zaile Alatau begins to the south of the Ile River. The western part between the right bank of the river Shu and sands bordering the lower reaches of the river. Ile is called the Shu-Iley mountains, some parts of which are called Kulzhabasy, Khantau, Kozybasy. They have numerous passes that are convenient for wheeled transport. The road connecting the Ile and Shu valleys passes through the Kordai pass. Another route passes through the Kastek pass, connecting the Ile valley with the Issyk-Kul basin and the Shu valley.

The Kastek pass has served since ancient times to connect the Shu and Ile valleys (*Bartold* 1978: 38). The mention of this pass was preserved in the sources of the XV century, describing Timur’s campaign. In 1375, Timur’s army marched from the Ile valley to At-bash through the Kara-Kasman (Kastek) pass (*Umurzakov* 1978: 81-83).

The medieval settlement Kastek-1 is located 2.5 km from the village. Kastek, on the left bank of the Kastek River at the foot of Mount Suyk-Tobe. Geographic coordinates: 43°03′03.54″N; 75°59′09.11″E, at an altitude of 1296 m above sea level (Fig. 1).

The central part of the monument is a sub-rectangular area somewhat raised above the general surface, oriented with corners to the cardinal points. The size along the north-south line is 210 m, east-west - 150 m, which is 4 hectares. It is surrounded by a fortress wall, which looks like a swollen rampart up to 15 m thick, up to 4 m high. On the crest of the rampart, one can see the depressions and hillocks of 14 towers. Around the rampart on three sides, in addition to the eastern, can be traced the hollow of the former ditch 0.5-2 m deep and 3-4 m wide, on the eastern sides the

city was located on the high bank of the river, the rest of the buildings was not recorded there. The entrances are opposite each other in the middle of the walls (Fig. 2).

Living quarters, with all individual differences, are of the same type. Their interiors are decorated with sofas of different heights (from 30 to 60 cm in height) on 2 or 3 sides of the premises: in the center of the room there is an ordinary floor hearth on a low platform of rectangular outlines. A small tandoor (diameter – 30 cm, preserved height – 35 cm) was arranged in room No. 12 in the sufa next to the fireplace. In the southeastern corner of this room, on the sufa, there is an oval “podium” for the altar. Along the eastern wall there is a “utility site”, which is a small irregularly oval-shaped floor area covered with high-quality plaster. In the middle of the section there is a round hole, possibly for installing a vessel. Such “utility sites” are noted in almost all living quarters of excavation No. 2. The arrangement of sites differs in individual features, since they may contain two holes for the installation of vessels (*Nurzhanov* 2014: 268-291). Sometimes these sites are fenced off from the main room by a small wall.

Dwelling in medieval cities was varied, depending on the wealth and social status of its owner. The complex of buildings included premises of a variety of purposes: ceremonial halls, bedrooms, domestic sanctuaries, grocery storerooms, treasury stores, rooms for servants and guards, kitchens, courtyards for recreation and household needs.

The houses of wealthy townspeople were more comfortable to live than castles. The organizing center was the courtyard, around which there were 10 or more rooms for various purposes. The total area of such a house sometimes exceeded 200-300 m². It was distinguished by a rich interior decoration, high construction skills. The rooms were illuminated by windows with alabaster bars, the cells of which were filled with glass discs, sometimes in a color combination. The doorways were formed by arches, and it is clear from the nature of the rubble that some had vaulted ceilings, and some were flat.

Another type of dwelling in Kastek-site was the



Fig. 2. Aerial photography of the Kastek settlement

houses of ordinary citizens. As evidenced by the materials of the excavations, the architecture of these houses remained unchanged for several centuries. It was utilitarian, since it was created proceeding from the family's wealth, its everyday needs and the type of occupation. One-storey flat-roofed dwellings were blocked in compact blocks, divided by streets. Several of these "apartments" were grouped around a common courtyard, from where there was an exit to the street. Courtyards and walkways to the street were covered with flat stone slabs or fragments of burnt bricks.

The layout usually consisted of 1-3 adjoining rooms. The first entrance was from the hallway and dining room, and the living room. In winter, food was also prepared here. Sometimes, in warm weather, the kitchens were arranged outside. The premises varied in size and plan configuration. The layout consisted of several narrow rooms connected by an axial corridor. With such a layout, which was very common in ancient and medieval Central Asia and Kazakhstan, the corridor served as a light courtyard. The rooms had sofas, couches, niches in the walls for household utensils, floor hearths in the form of round recesses in the middle of the floor. The floors are adobe, plastered with several layers of clay.

Thus, the dwelling acts as a common source - the prototype of the architecture of public (temporary collective dwelling), cult (dwelling of the gods), burial (dead dwelling) structures. The architecture of the

dwelling reflects the material and everyday needs, the social status of the family in a society with certain ideological and aesthetic stereotypes, but it is always a microcosm of the mythological representation of the universe (*Bernshtam* 1950).

At the southeastern wall, 40 cm thick, there is an altar with two semi-oval steps (Fig. 3). The height of each step is about 30 cm. The lower step is extended more than the upper one, it retreats from the wall by 1.45 m. The width of the lower step is 1.5 m, the width of the upper step is 1.10 m. On the upper plane of the altar there is a depression in the form of a bowl made of baked clay with a diameter of 40 cm. The surface of the bowl is decorated with inclined carved lines. On both sides of the cup-shaped depression there are two pineal protrusions about 8 cm in diameter. At the entrance to the room there was a ceramic vessel with a broken top, the diameter of the wide part of the vessel body is 35 cm. On the floor near the altar there is a hearth with a diameter of 52 cm. The southern corner of the room is cut by a pit, coming from the upper horizon. Room 1 is connected by passageways with rooms 2 and 3. The entrance to room 2 (3.10x3.5 m) is 77 cm wide. A sofa 80 cm wide is stretched along the northern wall. There is a sofa with a size of 2.7x1.85 m in the room 3 (5.20x3.9 m) near the south-eastern wall. There is a round recess with a diameter of 1.6 m on the sofa.

In one of the premises of the Sidak settlement there was an altar in the form of an elevation ad-



Fig. 3. Two-step altar

joining the wall with a niche, in the other there was a semi-oval altar in the center and a sufa along the walls. In the design of the altar, paired protrusions are noted. Yerbulat Smagulov compared the ledges with the “altar” tiles located in front of the hearths in the Jetasar crypts, and with “hearth stands” or “barbecue grills” decorated with images of the horned animals’ heads. The appearance of “hearth coasters” refers to the first stage of the Kaunchi culture, that is, to the first centuries BC. Finds of such things are also noted on the monuments of the early Middle Ages. According to the author, the “stands” “served as attributes of the altars,” design details that impart a certain “sacred meaning” (Smagulov 2004: 90-99; Smagulov 2005: 489)

In ritual practice, different types of altars were used. Focus (hearth) refers to the underground gods, ara – to the earthly, altare – to the heavenly. Altar (lat. Alta ara) means a high altar. The clay stepped altar from room 1 of the Kastek-1 architectural complex presents three stages of the universe, embodied in the structure of the World Tree. The floor hearth is associated with the “lower world”, with the “middle” and “upper” worlds – two steps of the altar. The staircase in the mythological tradition was an analogue of the path to Heaven – the Axis of the World, the World Pillar, the Tree of Life (Eliade 1963).

The main material from the excavations and collections of the Kastek settlement is ceramics.

A ceramic jug with molded lugs, in the center of which holes were made, was found at Kastek-1 in 2015 (Nurzhanov 2017) (Fig. 4). It is well preserved and also belongs to the layer of the 10th–11th centuries. The vessel is covered with a brick-colored engobe. Its height is 49 cm, the thickness of the bottom is 2.5 cm. The swollen body of the jug narrows towards the bottom, the neck narrows slightly up-

ward. The bent rim passes into a drain, the edges of which are bent inward on the sides. Convex eyes are attached to the top of the drain. One eye with a diameter of 18 mm has been preserved; in the middle of it there is an apple of the eye in the form of a depression with a diameter of 2 mm. At a distance of 1.5 cm below the rim, the upper part of a knee-shaped handle, 4.8 cm wide, is attached to the jug. Two parallel convex stripes run along the handle. The lower part of the handle is attached to the body, its flat end wraps around the shoulder of the jug, it has a pointed shape and resembles a “hood” of a cobra with edges decorated with a pattern of horizontal lines formed by rows of dots. In the center of the “hood” there is a cross, also made of point impressions. A convex rim 0.3 cm wide runs along the bottom of the neck of the vessel, the second such rim is located 2.5 cm lower. Between the rims in the front of the jug, closer to the middle, two signs are depicted: on the right - a cross, on the left – a cruciform figure, which is made up of two parallel intersecting lines formed by dotted indentations. Below the convex rims, at a distance of 2.5 cm, three stripes are drawn in double lines, between them there are two stripes of a wavy pattern made with a comb with three teeth. The shape of the corolla with sticky eyes imitates a snake’s head.

The serpent, represented in almost all mythologies, is a symbol associated with fertility, earth and female productive power, water and rain, on the one hand, and the hearth, fire (especially heavenly), as well as the male fertilizing principle, on the other (Fraser 1996).

The cross is one of the most common symbols, often embodying the highest sacred values. To explain this phenomenon, it is necessary to involve knowledge of various sciences. In fact, it concentrates in itself all human knowledge, and this is another manifestation of its universality.

The ancient Turks emphasized their obedience to Tengri-khan using the most ancient symbol, the sign of the versatile cross “aji”; it was applied to the forehead with paint or in the form of a tattoo. It symbolized the concept of room - the world from where everything begins and where everything returns. There is heaven and earth, up and down with their patrons. Rum swims in the endless ocean on the back of a huge fish or turtle, crushed for greater stability by the mountain. Begsha’s serpent rests at the base of the mountain. From time to time in the room flashes like lightning, a cruciform vadshtira – “diamond”, by analogy with Buddhism, a symbol of indestructibility. During excavations of the steppe city Belendzher in Dagestan, the remains of temples and preserved ancient crosses were discovered. Archaeologists found the same crosses on gravestones from Lake Baikal to the Danube – on the land of the historic Desht-i-Kip-

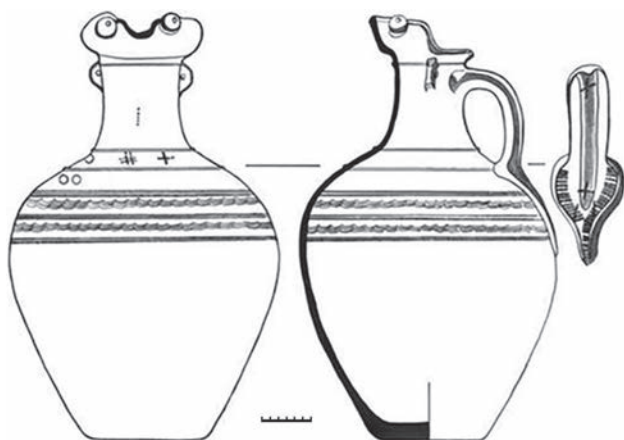


Fig.4. Ceramic vessel with the image of a snake (cobra) and a cross

chak. Archaeologist M. Magometov, who investigated the remains of the Kipchaks ancient temples, describes his findings as follows: they are located in the center of the mound groups and are small in size. The broken internal outlines of the building recreate the shape of a versatile cross in plan (Religii mira 1996: 216). In addition to strength, indestructibility, the cross, apparently, symbolized the crossroads, where the paths of the world converge. In contrast to the rules accepted by world religions, in Tengrism, temples were built in honor of deities or ancestor spirits with one interior, designed only to preserve their symbols.

Four unusual ceramic vessels of the 10th – 11th centuries were found at Kastek-1. with handles and spouts. They differ in design details, but have one functional purpose (Fig.5).

Two vessels are better preserved. The bodies, smoothly expanding from the rim, taper towards the bottom. The lids are attached to the rims and form one whole with the vessels. Trapezoidal through openings are made on the bodies. The design of the vessels dictates the way they are used. Tightly attached covers overlap the mouths. “Spouts”, despite the through holes, were not used for draining. According to analogies, the fragments cut out before firing could have been lids covering the openings. Earlier, the vessel of 2013 was considered as an credenza (Nurzhanov, Ter-novaya 2014).

In the Indian tradition, a vessel with a lid was ritually identified with the earth (body) and the sky (lid) (Antonova 1986: 45). The unification of the parts into an undivided whole is probably associated with the concept of a sacred marriage of heaven and earth, the result of which is fertility and life itself. The fertilizing function is conveyed in the phallic symbol – “spout”.

The holes in the ceramics, which have no practical purpose, give rise to speculation about their ritu-

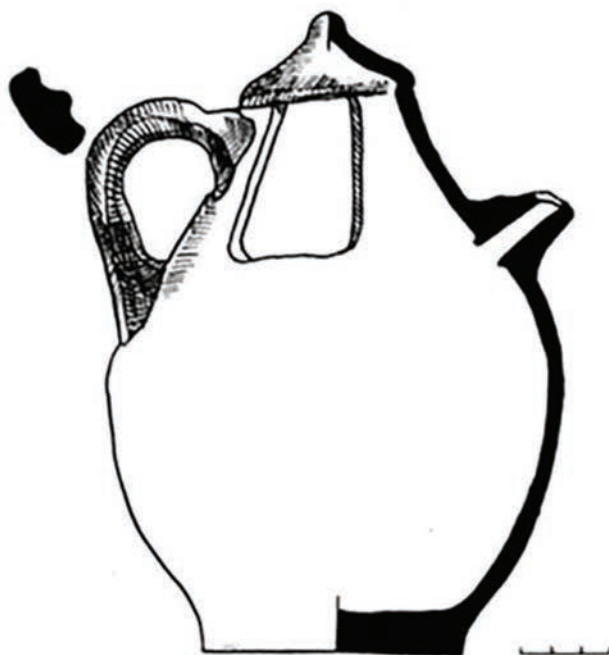


Fig.5. Ceramic credenza vessel

al significance. A vessel with a blocked mouth was a container with an internal free, empty space, which in the cult object was not literally empty. It was filled with a certain substance that reflects the semantic content of a thing. Some objects were supposedly put into the opening of the vessels from Kastek-1. By analogy with the finds in the holes of the altars, the venerated places of dwellings (under the threshold,

in the area of the hearth), it could be coins, seeds of fruit trees, grains, wool, etc., that is, what was supposed to be revived, multiplied. This was facilitated by a certain substance, symbolically emanating from the “spout” denoting the phallus (Nurzhanov, Ternovaya 2014). E. V. Antonova noted that the dishes of ancient farmers were seen as a receptacle for food, as the body was a receptacle for the soul, its appearance should have resembled humans and animals (Antonova 1986: 38, 54).

Among the vessels found at the Kastek-1 settlement, there is a shape resembling a duck (“murgobi”). Finds of 2019 include a 7×5.5 cm plum fragment in the form of a ram’s head.

The ram belongs to the widespread zoomorphic images found on the sites of the lower and middle Syr-Darya. For many years of archaeological research, a collection of ceramic products has been collected here with the embodiment of this animal or its characteristic feature - horns (Baipakov, Yerzakovich 1991: 20). The early chronological group of items dates back to the first centuries AD until the 7th century, the following items are attributed to the periods of the 8th – 12th, 13th–14th centuries, the later group of items – to the 15th–18th centuries. The earliest images include an aquarius plum in the form of a ram’s head, found during excavations of the Tompak Asar monument in the lower Syr-Darya, in layers dating from the second half of the 1st millennium BC (Baipakov 1980: 32–33).

In 2014, an earthen vessel with a drain in the shape of a wolf’s head or a demonic creature with zoomorphic features was discovered at the Kastek-1 site (Fig. 6). His eyes are made in the form of sticky flat circles with pupil holes in the middle (Nurzhanov, Ternovaya 2014a; 2014b). The finds in the Talas Valley include a metal pear-shaped vessel of the 11th–12th centuries, the neck of which is supposedly crowned with the head of a wolf. Some similarities in the de-

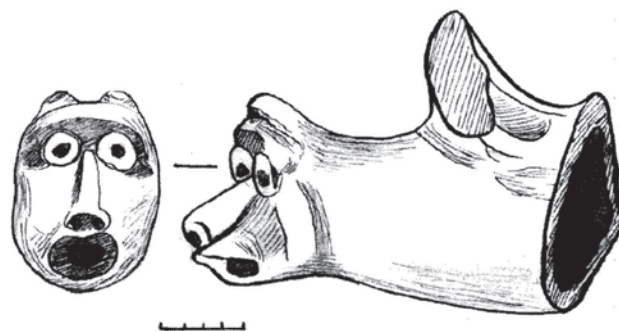


Fig. 6. Fragment of a vessel with the image of a wolf

picture of the head and details of the “face” on the outlet of the vessel from Kastek-1 can be seen in the decoration of the red-watering jug from Kuyryktobe in the 10th–11th centuries. This drain is made in the form of the head of a horned satyr from the suite of Dionysus (Baipakov, Ternovaya 2005: photos 55, 56, 68, 69; Baipakov, Erofeeva, Kazizov, Ternovaya 2018: photos 163)

An interesting find from the cultural layer of the site is a long (225 mm) bone rod of light yellowish color, dense and massive. Found in room No. 6, dating back to the 10th century, in the second building layer. It has a slightly elongated plano-convex part of the head measuring $36.5 \text{ mm} \times 10.5 \text{ mm}$, a neck that turns into a tetrahedral ($6 \times 5 \text{ mm}$ in the middle and $6 \times 5.5 \text{ mm}$ at the end) handle. The head has a front flat side with two double-sided paired filiform, shallow, neatly made cuts along the length of the head. Along these two paired lines, 5 cylindrical holes-cells with a diameter of 2.5 mm and a depth of 3.5–4 mm are arranged in a chain. The holes on the head are not fully drilled. The bottom of the holes collectively forms the face of the oblong pocket. Double-row 10 holes are closed at the lower and upper ends of the head with two holes identical in diameter and depth, but perforating holes (Fig. 7).



Fig.7. Toothbrush



Fig. 8. Chess figure

The opposite side of the head is somewhat convex and smooth, has a third incision line 25 mm long along the sagittal line, but wider and deeper, passing and forming a back wall with a comb projection along the central part of the pocket along the length of the head, which is also a slightly beveled bottom 5 cylindrical paired cells. Trace research data indicate that the item was made by hand – there are frequent intermittent notches from the cutting tool over the entire surface.

As for the question of the functional purpose of the studied subject, we believe that it definitely served as a toothbrush; tufts of hair, most likely of animal origin (horse hair), of course, were not preserved. One of the confirming versions in favor of this version

is that the handle of the object in the middle part is deformed on the front side as a result of the regular force of the human hand during brushing the teeth.

The closest analogies to our find are known among the bones of Karakorum – the most important urban center of the pre-ancient Mongolian state of the era of its highest rise (*Levashova* 1965: 310-312, Fig. 164: 1, 7, 8). The find of a toothbrush from layer XI is of interest. Its base had the shape of a narrow massive spatula with a long cylindrical handle. On the scapula, there are two longitudinal rows of 11 perforating holes located in carved grooves. From this side, apparently, the bristles of the brush protruded, while the reverse side was smooth, well polished, like the whole object. Overall length – 10.8 cm; blade length – 3–3.5 cm, width – 0.6 cm; the thickness of the handle is 0.4 cm (*Levashova* 1965: 310, fig. 164: 1).

In the medieval Arab world, the concept of oral hygiene is believed to have been introduced by the Prophet Muhammad. The Arabs brushed their teeth according to the established ritual using a stick of aromatic wood with a split end like a brush and toothpicks from the stem of an umbrella plant. Many hygiene rules proposed by Muhammad that exist today are known from the works of the Muslim theologian of the last century Ibn Abidin: “Teeth should be brushed with a natural brush if: 1) they become yellow; 2) if the smell from the mouth has changed; 3) after you got out of bed 4) before prayer; 5) before bathing” (*Ibn Abidin* 1423/2003: 123).

One of the unusual finds is a chess piece carved from ivory. The figure is made as a zoomorphic stylization of the bird Rukh (analogous to the “bishop” figure). This testifies not only to the intensive economic contacts of the inhabitants of the present region with other sedentary agricultural civilizations, but also to the presence of a game culture and the prevalence of playing chess among the Turks of the Middle Ages (Fig. 8).



Fig. 9. Medical instruments (scalpel, forceps)



Fig.10. Fragment of the plumbing system

Most researchers are inclined to believe that the beginning of the game was laid in India. Iranian historians cited facts in favor of the Persian origin of such games, which then penetrated into the Greco-Bactrian kingdom (Northwest India).

The name of the game “chess” is of Arab-Persian origin and goes back to the Persian “shah” (king) and the Arabic verb “mat (a)” (died). (*Gizhytsky* 1970: 15).

Entering into the dispute about the ancestral home of the chess game, orientalist K. E. Cherevko noted that the earliest mention of protochess is contained in the Chinese classical book “Mencius” (4th century BC). According to the historian Ban Gu (32-92 AD), in South China, chess was called “zi”, and in North China – “i”. There were several varieties of zi,

among which 0 “star zi”, where celestial bodies were implied in the game, just like in modern chess, which penetrated into Western Europe through the Arab world. The idea of playing chess was carried over from astrology (*Cherevko* 1991: 46-48).

This game in Sanskrit was called “Chaturanga” – a four-part army (chariots, elephants, cavalry, infantry).

“Chaturanga”, formed during the 2nd-4th centuries AD in Northwestern India, penetrated into Tokharistan, which was part of the state of Cushon (from the II century BC to the 2nd-4th centuries AD), and then into other regions of Central Asia, where it received not only a wide distribution, but also further development.

Turkic ethnomedicine included surgical techniques (instruments such as scalpel and forceps). It can be assumed that surgical operations were performed to open and suture soft tissue, as evidenced by the hole for a medical thread (most likely made from animal skin) on the top of the forceps (Fig. 9).

Since ancient times, agriculture has played an important role in the life of the population of South-East Kazakhstan. In the Bronze Age, most settlements were located on the banks of small steppe rivers or streams flowing from the mountains. Fields and vegetable gardens were located next to them in the floodplains of the rivers. Later, various tribes also engaged in both cattle breeding and agriculture. Archaeologists have proved that in the south of the country around the 2nd-3rd centuries AD agricultural tribes lived. Engaged in agriculture, they used irrigation systems in the form of irrigation ditches and canals. The gorges of the Zhetysu foothills are stretched in the north-south direction, which protects the bottom soil along with plants from the scorching rays in the morning and evening hours of a sultry summer. This creates favorable conditions for agriculture in the foothills. “The best meat is on the bones, and the best land is among the mountains,” says popular wisdom. In rain-fed (non-irrigated) agriculture, crops are moistened by soil moisture and rain, mainly spring. The very name of this type of farming comes from the Iranian “bakhor” – spring (*Murzaev* 1975). Looking at ancient irrigation systems, it is physically impossible to grasp it from one point. Only a visual inspection of ancient irrigation ditches today takes many hours. The hard work of the farmer, including the excavation of the land, sowing, irrigation, possible weeding, protection from weed, harvesting, repair and cleaning of irrigation ditches, required the participation of many people. It remains to be assumed that the fields, along with all the corresponding responsibilities for their cultivation, were divided between different groups of people of the Kastek settlement. Kilometer-long aqueducts and a developed irrigation network iden-



Fig. 11. Armor plates

tified to date are not the only evidence of highly developed irrigated agriculture. Other agricultural tools were also found at the excavation site (Fig. 10).

The study of the collection of metal objects revealed a large series of agricultural tools, the set of which speaks of the high technique of agriculture. Including forged and cast plowshares, ketmen.

Weapons are represented by spearheads, javelins, arrows, and armor plates. According to their functional purpose, spears belong to the piercing polearms of close combat (*Mandelsham 1956*). The length of the feather is 8-15 cm, the diameter of the sleeve is 3-4 cm. The socket part of the tool has a "belly" formed as a result of the closing of the iron: a "closed seam". The spear was an indispensable accessory for a heavily armed rider, belonged to the favorite and one of the main weapons of medieval nomads. In the Arabic written sources, it is especially noted that the spear of the Turks is short and hollow. And short spears pierce with more force and are easier to carry. According to ethnographic data, the spear (*tuu, naiza*) played a certain role in the funeral and memorial rite of the Kazakhs and Kirghiz (*Fielstrup 2002*).

During the excavations of the Kastek-1, 2 types of armor plates were discovered (Fig.11).

Type 1. Plates with a rounded upper edge and a subrectangular lower edge. The length of the plates is 7.0-7.5 cm, the width is 2.5-2.7 cm, the thickness is 0.1-0.3 cm, slightly tapering at the base of the plates. Distinctive features: the presence of hemispherical protrusions in the upper part and significant thickness. Each plate is provided with twelve holes.

Type 2. A plate with a rounded upper edge and a subrectangular lower edge. The dimensions of the plates: length 9.5-10 cm, width 2.3-3.0 cm, thickness 0.1-0.2 cm. Distinctive features: often slightly concave at the top.

The knives is one of the most widespread categories of accompanying inventory. All knives are quite the same type: single-edged, petioled, straight back, and the blade is sometimes concave. The width of the

blade is 1.5-2.0 cm, and the length is 12-14 cm. When passing to the petiole, there is a protrusion on one or both sides.

Arrowheads. Iron arrowheads belong to the petiole division, which are divided into types according to the shape of the feather. The most common are three-bladed nibs with different feather shapes. Three-bladed arrowheads with minor changes (at the end of the 1st – the beginning of the 2nd millennium AD they become more massive) were used during the entire second half of the 1st millennium AD. Some of them have holes in the blades, it is believed, to enhance the rotation of the boom in flight. Written sources also report about the hit of a spinning Turkic arrow. Many arrowheads are equipped with hollow balls, whistles, each of which, as you know, could serve as a coupling, and also produced a piercing whistle when the arrow was flying. As a rule, three-bladed tips are equipped with whistlers (Fig.12).

During archaeological work on the 2nd construction horizon (dating from the 9th-10th centuries), a small number of glass fragments were discovered. Among them is a fragment of a cylindrical neck and a part of the body. The body is cylindrical, tapering upwards. The diameter at the base of the neck is 7.5 cm. The diameter of the upper part is 3 cm. The upper part of the neck is decorated with a glass strand with oblique notches. The neck rim has not survived (Fig. 13).

The cut of the upper part of the neck determines its thickness, equal to 0.3 to 0.5 cm. The height of the neck is 11 cm. The vessel was free blown. A large number of bubbles characterizes its low quality. The glass clarification process, which removes gas bubbles, was not carried out. The capacity of the glass furnace was not sufficient to bring the temperature to more than 1000 degrees. The color of the glass is light olive, translucent. There are many bubbles of different sizes and shapes inside the glass. On the neck, the bubbles have an oblong shape, indicating that the shape of the neck was stretched during blowing. There are also traces of



Fig.12. Arrowheads

twisting on the neck. The glass surface is covered with a thin iridescent film. The glass test contains traces of untested particles in the form of undissolved metal impurities contained in the sand. They appear as dark and black spots inside the glass. Two fragments of the pallet have survived.

They clearly show that the shape of the pallet was oval with a small cone-shaped elevation in the center. The diameter of the pallet is 14 cm. A small fragment of the body measuring 5.4x10 cm has also survived. On the arc of this fragment measuring 10 cm, its radius was determined 20 cm. The remaining fragments of the body were also identified, their radii ranged from 6 to 8.7 cm. It follows from this that the largest diameter of the body is 20 cm.

Bone remains of animals are numerous materials collected at the Kastek site.

The main part of the identifiable bone remains of the Kastek site is made up of the bones of domestic ungulates. Most of them are horse bones (42.3%). The second place in terms of the number of bones is taken by cattle (34.5%). These data are recalculated taking into account the fact that small ruminants in the studied material should occupy no more than 8% of the total number of bones.

This is due to the fact that the discovered talus bones of the small ruminants, which are a large group, represent the remains of a playing set, and are not associated with the economic activities of the ancient population. Apparently, cattle were bred to obtain milk raw materials, as evidenced by the data on the age composition of the animals. The horse was probably used as a draft or riding animal, playing a secondary role in human nutrition. The available material is



Fig.13. Neck of a glass decanter

not enough to draw unambiguous conclusions about the pastoral traditions of the population who left this monument. Very few small (undetectable) bone fragments were found in the cultural layer of the site. We associate this circumstance with the peculiarity of the selection of bone material from the soil during excavations. For the same reason in the available collection the number of bones of small ruminants may be underestimated.

Medieval Zhetysu is one of the largest cultural

and historical regions of Kazakhstan, where the most interesting ancient toponymy has been preserved, including those related to urban culture, with ancient caravan routes. Because of archaeological research, a number of issues of archaeological and historical geography have been resolved, data have been obtained on the development of a kind of civilization here. Here the cities and the steppe, agriculture and cattle breeding developed in a single political, economic, economic and cultural complex.

Thus, many of these cultural values developed precisely in the Middle Ages, within the framework of the Turkic kaganates and urban subcultures developed in them. The features of the uniqueness of the urban culture in Zhetysu stood out all the more brightly, the more the paths of political and cultural development diverged from its close and distant neighbors. This is a new task for the study of the culture of the Kastek settlement, as well as a comprehensive study of the culture of the region as a whole.

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THE 13th CENTURY MINTS IN THE HISTORICAL REGION OF ALMALKYK.¹

The study of the numismatic heritage of South-East Kazakhstan made it possible to find the minting of unusual coins marked with the name of the Almalyk mint. Moreover, these silver coins are amazing not only for their special external design, but also for the indicated time of issue: 627, 628 and 630 years. Until now, these coins were not known and were not published, since they were never found in Almalyk, located in Xinjiang. It was believed that minting in Almalyk began only in 637 A.H. The finds of these coins are associated exclusively with the ruins of the medieval city of Ilibalyk (now the village of Ucharal not far from Zharkand). Given the high degree of locality of silver money circulation in the Mongol Empire, especially in the first thirty years, we can confidently consider this discovered numismatic material as a product of the local emission center. That is, the toponym Almalyk on the coins as the name of the mint meant not only the name of the city, but also the region. Ilibalyk was also part of this region. In addition to these coins, unique identical silver dirhams of Almalyk with the years of issue 631 and 636 were found in the study area. The location of the mint for their minting is currently impossible to establish. But we do not know of similar coins found in Xinjiang. For comparison, the work presents images of the types of coins of Almalyk, broken in the 13th century exclusively in the city of Almalyk (PRC). In addition, a comparative analysis of the external design of some types of dirhams of different mints of the first twenty years of the existence of the Chingizid empire with the dirhams of the 620s was carried out. from Ilibalyk. It is shown that the production of Almalyk is typologically in no way connected with the production of Almaty, and that both of these coin production are independent and geographically separated.

Key words: empire of Chingizids, state of Chagataids, Ilibalyk, 13th century, South-East Kazakhstan, numismatics, dirham

Citation: Pavel Petrov (2021). The 13th century Mints in the Historical Region of Almalyk, Bulletin of IICAS, 32 (Smagulov Collection), 113-124. DOI: 10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.113-124

Article link: <https://doi.org/10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.113-124>

UNTIL recently, it was believed that the Almalyk mint was situated in the capital of the Chagatai Khanate, Almalyk (now in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the Peoples' Republic of China, 15-18 km from the Chinese-Kazakhstan border). It began to function in the 13th century no earlier than 637 AH²/1239-1240 AD (Baipakov, Nastich 1981: 48-49). The early signs of doubt that the coins were struck exclusively at the mint only within the urban area arose when a dirham from 643 AH/1245-1246 AD was discovered in 1974 in the Otrar hoard, completely replicating the Almalyk type³ (see photo table 1/12), but with a different name

for the mint attributed in the coin's legend (Baipakov, Nastich 1981: 54). The study of the numismatic finds from the medieval settlement of Ilibalyk in Kazakhstan (Petrov, Baipakov, Voyakin, Eresenov 2014) led to the discovery of a completely new type of Almalyk dirham with coinage years dating 627-630 AH/1229-1233 AD. This research article's primary focus is on the introduction of the earliest coins from the Almalyk region's among the Chinggisid collection into the scholarly nexus; and to study and trace the typological connections of other coins with those of Almalyk from the entire 13th century.

On the lands of today's Kyrgyzstan, near the city of Bishkek, at the medieval settlement of Kara-Jigach (equated with medieval Tarsakent), a coinage center

¹ This article was supported by grant funding provided by the Science Committee of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2021-2023 under the research funding project No. AP09261233.

² AH: anno Hegirae ("In the Year of the Hijra").

³ The type criterion selected for this research is the cartouche on

each side of the coin and the arrangement of the inscriptions, as well as the presence or absence of tamgas on the coins. The name of the mint and the year of the coinage are not fundamental features of the types, for purposes of this research.

of low-grade silver coins was previously discovered, including coins bearing the name Almalyk, with the *tamga*⁴ of Kaidu Khan, with the word *Mam* written in Tibetan letters (*Petrov, Kamyshev* 2020). The Tarsakent archaeological site in the Chuy Valley is located considerable distance from Xinjiang's Almalyk, and, thus, hard to imagine that it was part of the Almalyk region. Most likely, however, this data reveals the reality of close control (both political and economic) over the life of the town by the khan's authorities. Historical events during the period may explain the reasons. Could it be that after the loss of Almalyk (in Xinjiang) in 670 AH/1271-1272 AD, its role as one of the capital towns was, perhaps, passed on to Tarsakent following its liberation from Kublai Khan's rule in the early 670s AH/1270s AD? The Tibetan word *Mam* on the coins was inherited from previous coinages, minted on behalf of *Ordu al-a`zam* (The Great Horde). This name identified the coins' issuer conducted by the Khan's administration (*Petrov* 2006: 19-22). But if the Tarsakent minting of the local low-grade and light-weight coins on Almalyk's behalf is, instead, evidence of closer control by the authorities or of their presence at the settlement; then Ilibalyk was definitely part of the Almalyk region and could easily mint coins on its behalf. The use of a regional or provincial name as the name for a mint is not unusual. For example, the names of the regions of Chach (i.e. Shash), Parab and Khwarezm are regularly found on medieval coins, despite the fact that names of their capitals were respectively Tashkent, Otrar, and Urgench. Psychologically, it is more difficult to perceive mint names such as Samarkand, Bukhara, and others as identifying not merely cities, but also provinces or regions. This same perception is the case related to the place name for Almalyk on Chinggisid coins of the 13th century. Nevertheless, the absence in the finds at the Almalyk settlement in the Xinjiang region in general of coins between 627-630 AH is significant since during the 13th century, and especially in its first two decades, coin circulation was local in nature, or clustered (including minted silver coins). This allows us to make the following inference: *Since the largest number of the single finds of the silver dirhams under investigation was discovered on the site of Ilibalyk, it was here that the mint for their coinage was located during the early 13th century.* This postulate will be valid until a medieval settlement with single finds (not included in a hoard) of exactly this type of coin in significantly larger quantities has been discovered. These singular finds on settlement sites determine the usage of a particular coin in circulation.

So, a closer examination of these silver coins from Almalyk is in order. Their images are shown in photo table 1 with the same item numbers as the textual description. If the description does not indicate its "origin," this means that this item was documented by K. M. Baipakov as random finds by people from the local community (Usharal, Panfilov district, Kazakhstan) and a photograph was sent to the author of this research article. In the field, it is rarely possible to measure weight and dimensions of a coin, which is why the dirhams' measurements are not included.

The Chinggisid Empire

Type I.

No. 1. Almalyk. Anonymous. Without tamga. 627 AH/1229-1230 AD.

Photo table 1/1. *Not published to date.*

Obverse: In the center of the cartouche field, in large signs the legend read:

الله

On top of the cartouche is a vignette with a long trunk separating the 2nd and 3rd characters of the word.

The Cartouche: Two double linear rims separated by a circular legend.

Peripherally in the circle the legend reads:

ضرب هذا الدرهم بسكة المانع سنة سبع و عشرين و ستمائه

Reverse: In the cartouche field (a triple linear bezel; the middle one, however, is wide) the legend reads:

الله / الامام / لاعظم

No. 2. Almalyk. Anonymous. Without tamga. 628 AH/1230-1231 AD.

Photo table 1/2. *Not published to date.*

Obverse: In the center of the cartouche field, in large signs the legend reads:

الله

On top of the cartouche is a vignette with a long trunk separating the 2nd and 3rd characters of the word.

⁴ **Ed. Note:** A tamga is a brand, identity, or ownership mark found throughout Central Asia, and still in use today, dating to as early as the Bronze Age in Central Asia. It was found on many forms of cultural material such as pottery, handicraft items, and even livestock. In this context, it was also often found on coinage.

The Cartouche: Two double linear rims separated by a circular legend.
Peripherally in circle the legend reads:

ضرب هذا الدرهم بسكة المالع سنة ثمان و عشرين و ستمائه

Reverse: In the cartouche field (triple (?) linear bezel, the middle one, however, is wide) the legend reads:

الله / الامام / لا اعظم

Ye. A. Davidovich mentions a small, thick Almalyk coin displaying the year 628 AH, however, the author of this article cannot acknowledge that the legends on this coin differ significantly from the legends on the coinage of 638 and subsequent years (Davidovich 1972, 38, 95). V. N. Nastich did not see such coins and only referred to the information by Davidovich, just like, in effect, the author hereof earlier (*Baipakov, Nastich* 1981: 47, f.n. 39; *Petrov, Baipakov, Voyakin* 2014: 141).

No. 3-4. Almalyk. Anonymous. Without tamga. 630 AH/1232-1233 AD.

Photo table 1/3-4. *Not published to date, but image No.4 was placed on Z/255027 (h=1.66; d=18).*

Obverse: In the center of the cartouche field in large signs the legend reads:

الله

On top of the cartouche, is a vignette with a long trunk separating the 2nd and 3rd characters of the word.

The Cartouche: Two double linear rims separated by a circular legend.

Circle No. 3 reads:

ضرب ... المالع سنة ثلثون و ستمائه

Circle No. 4 reads:

... المالع سنة ثلثين و ستمائه

The legend of the year's numerals in No. 4 is barely visible, therefore the ending of the tens position and the first signs of the hundreds position have been read subject to assumptions. Quite possibly an alter native reading is as follows:

ثلثون مائه (!)

Reverse: In the cartouche field (which is not visible) the legend reads:

[الله] / الامام / لا اعظم

No. 5-6. Almalyk. Anonymous. Without tamga. Year is lost (620s up until 630 AH).

Photo table 1/5-6. *Image No. 5 was previously published without attribution (Petrov, Baipakov, Voyakin, Eresenov* 2014: 70, No. 70; photo table 33).

Both coins are of the same type as dirhams No. 1-4, but are missing the year legend.

All of these coins were found at the Ilibalyk archaeological site. Apart from the integral ones, the author is aware of four fragment-finds of such dirhams. This is certainly not all the finds of this same type of silver coin found at this archaeological site. However, outside the immediate vicinity of the site, I know of no single find of this nature.

Noteworthy is this small group of coins is an unusual surface morphology that include small fractures. The vague legend outlines, coupled with the preserved traces found on the tear of the coins from their casting risers, all speak in favor of the implementation of mold casting. It is not yet clear whether these coins are the result of a larcenous economy or otherwise, but these finds were also discovered exclusively within the Usharal settlement.

Type II.

No. 7-8. Mint not specified Anonymous. Without tamga. Year not specified A coin fragment.

Photo table 1/7-8. *Not published to date*

Obverse: In the center of the cartouche field (single-line rim), in large signs the legend reads:

الله

On top of the cartouche, is a vignette with a long trunk separating the 2nd and 3rd characters of the word.

Reverse: In the cartouche field (a circular linear rim) the legend reads:

No. 7 - ... الا / لا اعظم

No. 8 - الامام / لا اعظم

As is the case in the group of coins from Nos. 1-6, we can expect finds of more dirhams, marked 629 AH and even, possibly, earlier than 627 AH; then, for the next typological group of coins from 631-636 AH, only the potential dirham finds dated to the years 632 to 635 AH are to be expected.

Type III.

No. 9. Almalyk. Anonymous. Without tamga. 631 AH/1233-1234 AD

Photo table 1/9. H=2.20; d=21. Published (Petrov, Baipakov, Voyakin 2014: 141, photo table 39, Fig. 357; Petrov, Alimbay, Beltenov 2020: 61, No. 21, Photo at p. 347). Stored in the Collection of the Central State Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Almaty, KP 257.

Obverse: In the center of the cartouche field (the circular rims are not clearly visible) the legend reads:

الا اله الا / الله محمد / رسول الله

Above the legend and just under it, along the vignette.

Reverse: In the cartouche field (circular linear rim) in the center the legend reads:

العادل / لا اعظم

Above the letter ع in the word *al-a`zam* is a stylized trefoil. In a square shape along the four sides with the base facing the legend are the fields that read:

ضرب هذا (!) / بالمال سنة / احد و ثلثون / و ستمائه

A circle is on top of the letter ب (*ba*) in the word *darb*.

No. 10. Almalyk. Anonymous. Without tamga. 636 AH/1238-1239 AD

Photo table 1/10. Not published to date.

Obverse: Completely similar to No. 9.

Reverse: Completely similar to No. 9, except for the coinage year. In a square shape along the four sides with the base facing the legend are the fields that reads:

ضرب هذا (!) / بالمال سنة / ست و ثلثون / و ستمائه

A circle is on top of the letter ب (*ba*) in the word *darb*.

Comparing Types III and I from among the full-weight dirhams, one has the impression that at the top of the field on the reverse side of Type I, the upper circle on coins No. 9-10 was replaced by the word *Allah*. Type III is fundamentally different from the coins of Type I on both the obverse and the reverse sides. Even though the dirhams from 631-636 AH are not known among the finds in Xinjiang at the Almalyk site or its vicinity, and the finds described here were made in southeastern Kazakhstan, we cannot yet attribute their coinage to the mint at Ilibalyk. First, we know of only two finds of Type III coins (precisely the ones described above), and this is extremely insufficient for locating the related mint. Second, Type III is fundamentally different from Type I, which we currently attribute to the Ilibalyk mint, albeit it bears the name of the region of Almalyk. Third, the reverse side of Type III served as a model for the layout and content identification for the reverse side legends found on Type IV coins (No. 11, photo table 1 and then in photo table 2). Type V and VI (photo table 2), whose minting occurred at the Almalyk mint in Xinjiang is beyond any doubt. The images of dirhams from the Almalyk mint (and of other mints) are given in photo table 2.

Type IV.

No. 11. Almalyk. Anonymous. Without tamga. 637 AH/1239-1240 AD

Photo table 1/11. Z/261970 (h=2.10; d=20).

Obverse: In the center of the cartouche field, in two lines the legend reads:

عاط / عليه

The cartouche consists of three rims, separated by two circular legends.

The innermost rim (framing the center of the field) is a single line, with a double line separating the circular legends. The innermost circular legend reads:

الا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله الناصر [الدين الله؟]

The outermost circular legend contains the issue details is partially visible, and reads:

... [الدر] هم بسكة المال سنة سبع و ثلثين و ستمائه

Reverse: In the cartouche field (circular linear rim) in the center the legend reads:

العادل / لا اعظم

Above the letter ع in the word *al-a`zam* is a stylized trefoil. In a square shape along the four sides with the base facing the legend are the fields that reads:

ضرب هذ (!) / بالمالع سنة / سبع و ثلثين / و ستمائه

A circle is on top of the letter ب (*ba*) in the word *darb*.

The central field legend on the obverse side cannot be read unambiguously, thus, the proposed variant “He who stamped it – (?)” is extremely dubious (*Baipakov, Nastich* 1981: 53). In our opinion, the possibility is that this is a highly distorted phrase that occurred after multiple striking repetitions from a Fatimid dinar, actually reads “*extremely high*” (*Baipakov, Nastich* 1981: 52). Perhaps the original copy of the Fatimid dinar (precisely in the center of the obverse side) used for copying by a local engraver was not of the highest quality, which prevented them from correctly copying the inscription unfamiliar to the engraver.

Type IV coins existed until 643 AH/1245-1246 AD inclusive, i.e. until the year of the death of the ruler of the Khanate, Chagatai, the son of Genghis Khan. This type is characterized with the obverse side repeating the design and, in part, the content of the legends from golden dinars of the Egyptian Fatimids at the end of the 11th to the second half of the 12th century (*Baipakov, Nastich* 1981: 52).

No. 12. Almalyk. Anonymous. Without tamga. 643 AH/1245-1246 AD

Photo table 2/12. The Otrar hoard, 1974 (Petrov, Baipakov, Voyakin 2014: No. 301).

Obverse: Same as that of No. 11. The outermost circular legend contains the issue details and is visible. While the legend only partially readable, that the outermost circular legend clearly begins with the following words:

بسم الله

Reverse: In the cartouche field (circular linear rim), in the center the legend reads:

العادل / لاعظم

Above the letter ع in the word *al-a`zam* is a stylized trefoil. In a square shape along the four sides with the base facing the legend, the fields read:

ضرب [هذ] / بالمالع [سنة] / ثلث و اربع ون / و [ستمائ]ه

A circle is on top of the letter ب (*ba*) in the word *darb*.

Also in 643 AH, coins appeared (although so far they have only been recorded as being struck in one specific year), whose design precisely repeats the above design with the same content from the legends, and the arrangement of the words within them from the Almalyk dirhams, however, a different mint is specified:

توق or تولق or تويق

The exact reading for this mint's name has yet to be established. The first such coin of this type was discovered by V. N. Nastich in the Otrar hoard of 1974. It is unequivocal that this coin was struck in one of the localities of Almalyk region. Perhaps this is one of the citadels on the outskirts of Almalyk, whose name in the original sources is given as *تريق* or *ترلق* (*Baipakov, Nastich* 1981: 54).

No. 13-14. (?) تو ل ق Anonymous. Without tamga. 643 AH/1245-1246 AD.

Photo table 2/13-14. No. 13, The Otrar hoard of 1974 (Petrov, Baipakov, Voyakin 2014: No. 299); No. 14, this coin's photo was sent from a collector in China with courteous permission to publish it.

Obverse: In the center of the cartouche field, in two lines the legend reads:

عالم / عليه

The cartouche consists of three rims, separated by two circular legends.

The innermost rim (framing the center of the field) is a single line, a double line separates the circular legends, the outer one is not visible.

The innermost circular legend reads:

الا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله الناصر [ملك]؟

The outer circle contains its release information and is visible

بسم الله ضرب هذ (!) الدرهم بسكة تويق (?) سنة ثلث و اربعين و ستمائه

Reverse: In the cartouche field (circular linear rim) in the center reads:

العادل / لاعظم

Above the letter ع in the word *al-a`zam* is a stylized trefoil. In a square shape along the four sides with the base facing the legend, the fields read:

ضرب هذ (!) / بتويق (?) سنة / ثلث و اربعين / و ستمائه

A circle is on top of the letter ب (*ba*) in the word *darb*.

Both coins are minted with one pair of identical stamps, which made it possible to read the circular legends in full. On the obverse in the inner circular legend, following the name *an-Nasir*, is a strange construction of three letters, reminiscent of the spelling of the word *malik(?)* instead of *li-din Allah*.

Obviously, this is the second reliable piece of evidence, after Ilibalyk, of a silver coin minted in a location outside the capital city, Almalyk, from the Chagatai Khanate, somewhere in the Almalyk region.

the next coin type (Type V) began to be struck starting in 645 AH/1247-1248 AD. It differs in design from the previous type only on its obverse side.

Type V.

No. 15. Almalyk. Anonymous. Without any tamga. 653 AH / 1255-1256 AD

Photo table 2/15. The Otrar hoard of 1974 (Petrov, Baipakov, Voyakin 2014: No. 305).

Obverse: In the center of the cartouche field the legend reads:

المالغ

The cartouche consists of three rims, separated by two circular legends.

The innermost rim (framing the center of the field) and the outermost rim are single lines, while the middle one is double (separating the circular legends).

The innermost circular legend reads:

الا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله الناصر

The outermost circular legend contains the issue details, is partially visible and reads:

بسم الله... [بِسْمِ] المالك سنة ثلث و خمسين و ستمائه

Reverse: In the cartouche field (circular linear rim) in the center the legend reads:

العادل / لا اعظم

Above the letter ع in the word *al-a`zam* is a stylized trefoil. In a square shape along the four sides with the base facing the legend, the fields read:

ضرب هذا (!) / بالمالك سنة / ثلث و خمس (!) / [و ستمائه]

There is no circle on top of the letter ب (*ba*) of the word *darb*.

No. 16. Almalyk. Anonymous. Without tamga. 661 AH/1262-1263 AD.

Photo table 2/16. The Otrar hoard of 1974 (Petrov, Baipakov, Voyakin 2014: No. 309).

Obverse: Similar to No. 15, but in the innermost circular legend follows the name *an-Nasir li-din Allah*. In the outermost circular legend, respectively, the year 661 is spelled out in words.

Reverse: The year is specified as follows:

... احد و ستون و ستمائه

A circle sits above the letter ب (*ba*) of the word *darb*.

This type existed until ca. 668 AH/1269-1270 AD, which means it remained unchanged during Güyük Khan's reign; the interregnum with the regent, Oghul Qaimish; Möngke Khan; and even beyond him.

From the period following the *Quriltai* in the Talas valley held in 668 AH /1269 AD and the formation of the Chagatai Khanate in Almalyk, we documented a new type of dirham fragment find (not shown here) designated Type VI. But soon after the arrival of Nomukhan, Kublai Khan's son, with an army at Almalyk and up until 677 AH/1279-1280 AD inclusive, no coins have been found from the Almalyk mint. In the following year, 678 AH, Type VI silver coins began to be minted in Almalyk (or continued).

The Chagatay Khanate

Type VI.

Nos. 17 and 18. Almalyk. Anonymous. Tamgas of Kaidu Khan and Buqa Temür, the ruler of the Chagatay Khanate. 678 AH/1279-1280 AD and 681 AH/1282-1283 AD.

Photo table 2/17-18. No. 17 - Z/24236 (h=1.66; d=18.6); No. 18 - Z/194019 (h=1.56; d=18.5).

Obverse: In the center of the cartouche field the legend reads:

المالغ

Above the word Almalyk is the tamga of Kaidu Khan. The Cartouche and the contents of the circular legends have not changed in comparison with Type V.

Reverse: In the cartouche field (circular linear rim) in the center the legend reads:

العادل / لا اعظم



Phototable 1. 1 – 627 AH; 2 – 628 AH; 3 and 4 – 630 AH; 5 – 6 [30?] G. x.; 6 – the year is lost; 7-8 – fractions of the dirham without the year and the name of the mint. Almalyk Mint (in Ilibalyk). 9 – 631 AH; 10 – 636 AH Almalyk mint (emission center -?). 11 – 637 AH Almalyk (in Xinjiang).



Phototable 2. 12 - 646 AH Almalıy (in Xinjiang). 13-14 - 643 AH mint (؟) تو لىق in the Almalıy region; 15 - 653 AH; 16 - 661 AH; 17 - 678 AH; 18 - 681 AH Almalıy (in Xinjiang); 19 - 6 [9] 8 yrs. mint? (in the Almalıy region). 20 - 699 AH Almalıy (in Xinjiang).

Above the letter ع (ayn) in the word *al-a`zam* is the tamga of the Chagatayd ruler Buqa Temür (Petrov, Baipakov, Voyakin 2014: 52-53).

The legends' positioning and contents have not changed, except for the numerals of the year.

This type, as such, did not change anymore among the dirhams of Almalyk. Soon the tamga of Buqa Temür was replaced by the tamga of Duwa. At the end of the 680s AH, the year on the reverse side of the coins began to be written in numerals (the earliest discovery dating to 688 AH/1289 AD). In 699 AH/1299-1300 AD, the year was recorded in numerals and in words on the obverse side in the circular legend (see photo table 2/20. Z/143640; h=1.6, d=22).

A very unusual coin is known to have been minted in the Almalyk region in 698 AH. The name of the mint has not yet been properly discerned.

No. 19. (؟) قر المر الله (؟) Anonymous. Tamgas of Kaidu Khan and of one of his relatives. 698 AH/1298-1299 AD.

Photo table 2/19. Z/12061 (h=1.6; d=19.5).

Obverse: repeats the obverse side of coins No. 17-18. The outer circular legend is fragmentary.

Reverse: In the cartouche field (circular linear rim) in the center the legend reads:

العادل / لاعظم

On top of the letter ع (ayn) in the word *al-a`zam* is a stylized trefoil and a tamga of a relative of Kaidu Khan. In a square shape along the four sides with the base facing the legend, the fields read:

ضرب هذا (!) / بال قر المر الله (؟) / سنة ثمان / و تسعين ستمائه

There is no circle on top of the letter ب (ba) in the word *darb*.

Since the place name is not known, reading it also causes difficulties. The first word may begin not with the preposition *bi* (= *in*), but may rather be the letter س or ش:

ش or س, example. There is also no certainty concerning the accuracy of how the second word is to be read.

No. 20. Almalyk. Anonymous. Tamga of Kaidu Khan. 699 AH/1299-1300 AD.

Photo table 2/20.

This coin differs from the previous coinages (Nos. 17-18, for example) in that, on the outermost circular legend of the obverse side, the year is indicated in numerals.

After 681 until 698 AH on the reverse side of the coins above the letter ع (ayn) in the word *al-a`zam*, the tamga of the Chagatayid ruler, Duwa is found. This article, however, does not propose to present all the variants of Almalyk coins from the 13th century known to date.

In one way or another, all the coins from among the 13th century dirhams enumerated here, not minted in the city of Almalyk, are extremely rare and, apart from Type I, are known in only 1 or 2 examples (Nos. 12 and 19). That is, the operation of these mints was not regular, but carried out periodically. The Almalyk capital mint remained in regular operation for almost 70 years, featuring a conservative attitude by the authorities toward changing coin types. The typological range demonstrated cannot be regarded as diverse. The Almalyk regional coinage after the 620s AH retained the central mint's coinage types from the Chagatai Khanate on a required basis. Even small coins of low-grade silver minted in Tarsakent during the 670s - 680s AH repeat the coin types of the capital Almalyk to a greater extent, albeit on reduced scale. For example, the obverse side still retains two circular legends and in the field's center above the word Almalyk is the tamga of Kaidu Khan. On the reverse side, the legends retain their location and contents, however, instead of the tamga of the representatives from the Chagatai clan, the word *Mam* is placed in Tibetan letters with the year on the sides, where indicated, shown in digits (Petrov, Kamyshev 2020: 276, Nos. 7-13).

Curiously, Type No. I, served as a prototype in the formation of coin types in several other mints, not in the 620s AH, but at least by the 630s AH and even later; such as at the Karakorum mint in which a similar type was found with the year 635 AH/1237-1238 AD (2006). Of course, the obverse side's cartouche (photo table 3/23) differs significantly from the obverse-side cartouche on Type I, but, the field's center has the word *Allah* also written in large sized letters, and the vertical of the top vignette is located between the two letters ل (lam). Under the word *Allah*, is a word written in Uyghur letters. The reverse side is arranged somewhat differently with a circular legend and the name of the mint is placed at the top, above the legend in the center of the field in Arabic, with a vignette placed at the bottom. Nonetheless, this type from the Karakorum mint is very similar to the early Almalyk Type No. I. A significantly more similar type are the 631 AH dirhams from the Pulad mint (photo table 3/22). If considering only the legend's arrangement and cartouches, then the dirhams from the Pulad mint's distinctive feature is just the placement of the mint's name on the reverse side at the top of the



Phototable 3. 21 – year not specified, mint not specified. Al-Ordu al-Azam. 22 – 631 AH Pulad. 23 – 635 AH Karakorum. 24 – 635 AH Imil. 25 – 688 AH Almalyk.

coin's field, with the vignette placed at the bottom. It should be noted that the Pulad mint did not belong to the Chagatayids, as did Karakorum's coin production. Relatively close to Pulad, to the north in the Tarbagatai Mountain foothills, operated the Imil mint, which belonged to the Ogedayids. The coins of this mint date to 635 AH/1237-1238 AD (photo table 3/24) and are not very different typologically from the coins produced in Pulad, yet, on the obverse side instead of the word *Allah* the legend of *Tengri kuchundur* and the tamga of Ogedei were placed on them. The reverse side is arranged in the same way as the coins from Pulad. But by the exterior, the Imil dirham is easily distinguishable from the dirhams of both Almalyk and Pulad.

Apart from these coins, is another coin type with a tamga attributed to Güyük Khan (photo table 3/21). The obverse side also contains the word *Allah*, written in large sized letters in the field's center with a vertical stroke drawn from the upper vignette passing right into Güyük Khan's tamga. In fact, the Chinggisid tamga was never intertwined with any vignettes, since it would change its configuration, interfering recognition. For this reason, the author suspects that these coins may not bear the genuine tamga, but rather alludes to the purported issuer's tamga (thus, it is counterfeit). Below the word *Allah*, is a word in Uyghur script. A similar word is placed on the reverse side under the two-line inscription of *al-Ordu al-a`zam*. In this case, Ordu al-Azam does not designate the mint, but refers to the issuer, that is, the Khan, since only he rules the empire, being the true owner of all the uluses (khanates), who had the "Greatest of the Hordes" (Petrov 2006).

There are several varying opinions regarding the place where these coins might have been minted. One suggestion interprets the "Uyghur word" as meaning "Korum." Consultation regarding this word's interpretation was provided by P. O. Rykin.⁵ The word, written in Uyghur script...

"...defies unequivocal reading. ...only one thing is clear, however; the inscription *cannot* contain the word *qor[u]m*. The toponym *qara qorum* or *qorum* is found on monuments with Uighur-Mongolian writing (for

example, the 1254 edict of Möngke Khan and the Sino-Mongolian bilingual chart of 1347), but the word is written in a completely different way with the *w* written in the second syllable and the standard final allograph of *m*. The legends clearly show that the last letter of the word is not *m*, but *r*, and either a medial allograph *r*, or a combination of *c* and *y* may be written in front of it. I tend to favor the second of these variants. At the beginning of the word, *w* is clearly visible, in front of which is either a ‘fork with a crown’ (that is, a marker of a vowel opening), or a somewhat blurred *q*. Hence, the following word variants are possible: **ochir/*uchir*, **oĵir/*uĵir*, **qochir/*quchir*, **qoĵir/*quĵir*, **yochir/*yuchir*, **yoĵir/*yuĵir*. None of these variants provide any convincing interpretation.”

Regardless, it appears that this is not a place name. Apart from this coin, is another type of silver dirham (photo table 3/23; Z/22777) with a Uyghur word under the word *Allah* on the obverse side. Rykin noted that “reading [the word] as *qor[or]m* is quite tempting, but it would be more like fitting the unknown to match our expectations. The ending of the word is blurry, and it is not clear what the last letter is. While at the beginning, something like a double *waw* is visible (unless the first letter is a very distorted *q*). Perhaps this is due to some idiosyncratic features of the coinage.”

It should be noted that, on the coin, above the word *Allah* the word *Korum* is written in Arabic letters. Thus, it is extremely unlikely that the same word would be repeated at the bottom of the obverse side.

At one time D. Kolbas published an article in which she considered possible variants of interpreting Uyghur words on the obverse side of similar coins (Kolbas 2013). Her research demonstrated that these words are not associated with toponyms.

That means, coins classified under number 21 (photo table 3) do bear no indication as to the mint’s name, but in view of their large number among the finds in Xinjiang, it might be quite safe to assume that they were struck in the region of Beshbalik. If, nevertheless, these coin types belonged to the time of Güyük Khan, or later—but before the rise to power of Möngke Khan of the Tului clan— then a certain design influence of the first issues from the 620s AH by the Almalyk mint may be found in coinage decor of other mints over approximately the next 20 years. The original design from the first issues of Almalyk dirhams should be noteworthy.

It seems necessary to address the notions of some numismatists, who fail to understand that the Almatu mint is, “in effect,” not identical with Almalyk. Each mint had its own number of coin types, replacing each other in sequence. Starting in 627 AH/1229-1230 AD until the end of the 13th century, all coins from the Almalyk regional mints had a single typological series that can be traced by its characteristic design with its rather conservative attitude toward changes in coin design over time. Typologically, the coins of Almatu do not in any way have a connection with the typological series of Almalyk! Therefore, this premise alone unequivocally rejects all far-fetched opinions that dirhams with the name of the *Almatu* mint in the 680s AH were products from Almalyk. This error of just such an assumption becomes obvious once the subject matter pertaining to Almalyk numismatics begins to be compared with Almatu.

To date, three years of dirhams minted at Almatu have been discovered: 684 AH/1285-1286 AD, 685 AH/1286 AD, and 686 AH/1287 AD (Petrov, Baipakov, Voyakin 2014, 121-122). In the spring of 2021, during construction work on a cafe along the road in the Sikhym district (in the suburbs of Shymkent, (Kz.)), a silver Chagatayid coin was accidentally discovered (photo table 3/25). Its photograph was sent to the author in exchange for the right to publish it. This dirham’s design, based on its set of tamgas and their arrangement—even though the mint’s name was not preserved since the section of coin containing its name was missing—clearly indicates that this dirham is from *Almatu*. It fully fits the typological range of coins from the *Almatu* mint and is marked with the year of 688 AH, extending the operation of this mint by another two years (thus, dating the mint’s total known operation between 684 to 688 AH).

Chagatai Khanate

No. 25. [Almatu]. Anonymous. Three tamgas: Khan Kaidu, his relative Ogedeid (not symmetrical) and, apparently, one of his sons (two parallel lines). 688 AH/1289 AD.

Photo table 3/25. *Published for the first time, a new type according to the reverse side. Same coin Z/275468. H=1.86. D=20. Accidental find a worker during construction operations.*

Obverse: Cartouche: two linear rims separated by a circular legend.

In the center of the cartouche field are three tamgas. The circular legend is extremely fragmented.

Reverse: In the cartouche field (a dual circular linear rim) in the center the legend reads:

الملك (؟) / الاعظم

On the sides (with the base facing the center of the coin) on the right is the inscribed legend - ضرب, the top

is missing; on the left the legend reads, سنة; at the bottom the year is given per *abjad* reckoning: خفح (688 AH).

Almatu had its own original typological series of coins both in terms of design and tamgas used, which cannot be confused with the Almalyk typological series and its corresponding set of the tamgas used there. The chronological sequence of tamga usage and their appearance on the full-weight dirhams of Almalyk during the 13th century has almost completely been traced in this research article. They do not correlate in any way with the set of the tamgas of the Almatu mint. That is, the Almatu mint was an independent coinage center, which had nothing to do with the coinage of the Almalyk region.

The author expresses his sincere gratitude to P. O. Rykin for his active participation in such a complex undertaking in attempting to read words written using the Uyghur alphabet on the coins under research.

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VICTOR PILIPKO

IMITATIONS OF AN IONIC CAPITALS FROM NISA

This article examines a large architectural décor fragments discovered during the excavations at the Parthian fortresses of Nisa (Turkmenistan), a sites included on UNESCO's World Heritage List. The find is a terracotta piece imitating an Ionic-type capital. Although these types of decorations on the walls from Parthian structures in Nisa were previously known from 20th century excavations, this new artifact differs in weight, is roughly rendered, and might seem of minor importance. It is not clear how much later it was made in relation to the other finds. Its significance is found in the reality that such details were not unique for "lower-status buildings." The tradition of their manufacture probably survived for an extended period with, undoubtedly, several architectural objects decorated in a similar way within Nisa's necropolis.

Key words: New Nisa, necropolis, Parthian architecture, capital, Alexander Marushchenko, YuTAKE

Citation: Victor Pilipko (2021). Imitations of an Ionic Capitals from Nisa, Bulletin of IICAS, 32 (Smagulov Collection), 125-129. DOI: 10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.125-129

Article link: <https://doi.org/10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.125-129>

IN 2012, during the Nisa Archaeological Expedition from the Institute of Archaeology for the Russian Academy of Sciences, in one of the medieval middens (a well-defined garbage pit), in the context of other corresponding materials, a large fragment from a terracotta "capital" was discovered. It clearly belonged to the Arsacid period. It is probable that common townspeople who often dug deep holes within their dwellings, discovered this artifact as they were digging. At the time, they may have kept it as a curiosity for a while, and then threw it into a garbage pit as an unnecessary item.

The first types of these artifact finds in New Nisa go back to 1936, when local farmers claimed the land for their household needs from the northeastern part of the archaeological site. Archaeologist Alexander A. Marushchenko promptly inspected the site and conducted quick controlled excavations. He cleared a "red wall," which was a vertical plane painted reddish-brown. Its base had an imitation stepped stylobate; and above it contained modeled slender columns crowned with terracotta tiles. They conveyed the outline capitals with an Ionic order (Fig. 1). One tile was preserved *in situ*; the other two found during clearing adjacent rubble (Fig. 2). Immediately south of the wall, a burial chamber was excavated containing a rich, yet highly disturbed burial. According to Marushchenko, the burial was arranged according to Zoroastrian rites – the bones were already cleaned

and placed in a chamber covered with a canopy with numerous gold plaques. Marushchenko assumed that the crypt was located inside a large room, part of which was the aforementioned "red wall." A coin of Orodes II (57-37 B.C.) was found in the chamber and led him to date the tomb to the second half of the 1st century B.C. The archaeologist regarded this tomb as a necropolis for Parthian nobility (Marushchenko 1949, 182). In his opinion, the tombs of the Parthian kings were located on the site of Old Nisa. (Pilipko 2001: 408-409).

Marushchenko's excavation results were published in detail (Pugachenkova 1949: 201-259). The YuTAKE team who continued these excavations discovered that the red wall plane with half-columns decorated not the interior, but rather the facade of the building (Vyazmitina 1949: 153-156). G. A. Pugachenkova suggested that this rather large building could have been a memorial temple. Based on the building's stratigraphic position terracotta tiles' architectural analysis with imitation capitals, she concluded that the most probable date for the building was the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C. (Pugachenkova 1953: 159-167).

The next Ionic imitation capital was also discovered by Alexander Marushchenko, and this time not at New, but at Old Nisa, during the excavations of the dubbed "Buildings with a Square Hall" (hereafter abbreviated BWSH). However, the discovered fragment



Fig. 1. New Nisa. Red Wall, capital tile in situ. Photo: N. M. Bachinsky, 1936. Photo archive of the IIMK RAN



Fig. 2. New Nisa. Capital tiles from the excavations of A. A. Marushchenko. State Museum of Turkmenistan. Photo: R. G. Muradov

was badly damaged, the volutes were lost, and the researcher interpreted it as the upper part of a memorial stele in the Roman style (Pilipko 2001: 410). Further excavations of the BWSH and its environs made it possible to discover new, more complete artifacts of this type and to interpret them precisely as imitations of Ionic capitals (Fig. 3). In my opinion, these “capitals” were sculpted from raw clay, then painted. They belonged on the semi-columns from the lower tier of the BWSH walls (Pilipko 2001: 272, fig. 192).

Work on the northeastern stratigraphic excavation at New Nisa was resumed by this author in 2009 and continued for the next ten years, yet is still far from completed. Due to the quarantine imposed since 2020, the excavation has been suspended. Thus far, only brief preliminary information on this cycle of studies has been published (Pilipko 2015: 207-209; 2017).

The 2012 find belongs to the category of imitation Ionic-type capitals. This piece was molded using clay mortar with an abundance of chamotte and small inclusions of plant particles. After firing, the cross-section of the ceramic acquired a reddish-brown color. Its outer surface is grayish-yellow when dry. The feature is generally fragile and the chamotte particles

easily crumble. The surface is covered with numerous small pit marks.

About two-thirds of the “capital” has survived, but since it is symmetrical, its entire shape can be confidently restored. Compared to the abovementioned finds, this item was large, measuring $35 \times 20.5 \times 10$ cm. The “capital’s” lateral planes bear traces of being

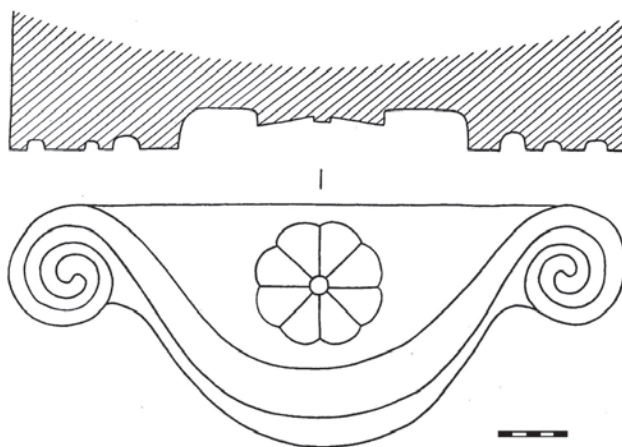


Fig. 3. Old Nisa. Imitation of an Ionic capital. Reconstruction (Pilipko 1996: 43-44, tab. 29)



Fig. 4. "Capital" of 2012. General form. Photo: R. G. Muradov

formed in a mold, thus, it was not a custom-made, but rather an object of mass production. Four main elements comprise the capital's outline. The base is a rectangular shaped bar with a cross-section of 12×10 cm. This is followed by a sinusoid terminating on the sides with volutes of one and a half turns. A four-petalled rosette is roughly carved into the central depression of the sinusoid. The entire object is crowned with a shelf 3 cm high. It is about 26 cm wide (Fig. 4, 5). Its outline could be rectangular or, trapezoidal if one includes the capital tiles. In the upper plane of the left preserved part of the shelf, is a depression left by a nail with a quadrangular cross-section. This small detail allows us to assume that the entire plane of the wall on which this "capital" was mounted had a wooden (?) frame, which made it possible to hold a rather large amount of weight.

Longitudinal markings are clearly traced on the lateral planes, indicating the use of the mold. However, it is difficult to make such a conclusion about the front side since it is severely damaged. It is more likely that the design in this section was hand-carved, and rather crudely.

A comparison of the current example with the "capital tiles" from the red wall demonstrates that, despite the careless manufacture of the former, both follow the same pattern, presenting an easily recognizable outline of an Ionic capital (*Litvinsky, Pichikyan* 2000: 156-168). Their differences can be traced in the quality of execution. The "capital tiles" is a deliberately graceful stylization, undoubtedly made by a highly-skilled craftsman. The 2021 "capital" is

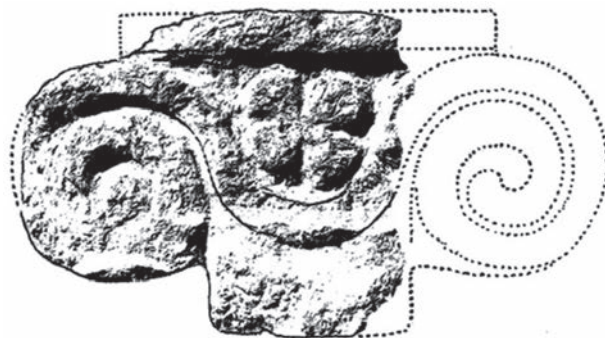


Fig. 5. "Capital" of 2012. Reconstruction

brutal handicraft work. This is no longer a tile, but a voluminous thing. The different volumetric solution of the products also led to different ways of affixing them. The tiles have special holes for nailing them to the wall. On thick shelves, fasteners can be traced in the upper plane. It is possible that the use of the cornice, in this case, was combined with the partial deepening of the “capital” into the wall.

The chronological relationship of the items under consideration cannot yet be accurately established, since the 2012 large “capital” is one of the random

finds. The “capital tiles” from previous finds belong to one of the oldest buildings on the site, and the newly discovered artifact might appear less significant. However, it is not clear how much later it was made. Its most important value lies in its details concerning this type, which were not unique items inherent only in “lower-status buildings.” The tradition of making them probably lived on for an extended period. Within the confines of the necropolis of Nisa, there were undoubtedly several architectural structures decorated in this way.

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ZHAKEN TAIMAGAMBETOV

THE ANCIENT ENCAMPMENT-WORKSHOP KYZYLTAU IN SOUTH KAZAKHSTAN – A UNIQUE PALEOLITHIC COMPLEX

The article contains a brief overview of the Paleolithic site of Kyzyltau, discovered by a joint Kazakh-Russian complex archaeological expedition in 1995 in the Zhambyl region of Kazakhstan. The uniqueness of the object lies in the fact that hundreds of thousands of stone products of the Paleolithic era are concentrated on a huge area of several tens of kilometers. On one square. m. there are up to 800 or more stone products.

Key words: geomorphology, Paleolithic, nucleus, artifact, patina, side-scrapers, stone, raw materials, denudation

Citation: Zhaken Taimagambetov (2021). The Ancient Encampment-Workshop Kyzyltau in South Kazakhstan – a Unique Paleolithic Complex, Bulletin of IICAS, 32 (Smagulov Collection), 130-136. DOI: 10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.130-136

Article link: <https://doi.org/10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.130-136>

THE KAZAKHSTAN region is an interesting archaeological area. In recent decades, a joint Kazakh-Russian archaeological expedition has discovered and investigated a large number of monuments dating to various stages of the Stone Age. The predominately arid conditions in most of southern Kazakhstan during the Pleistocene impeded the process of active sedimentation. As a result, the overwhelming majority of Paleolithic sites do not have a stratified cultural layer and artifacts at these sites lie on the surface. Such sites include the Kyzyltau Paleolithic complexes in the Zhambyl region located on the northeastern slope of the Maly Karatau Ridge. Here, in a tens of square kilometer area, is a concentration of many stone artifacts.

Based on a detailed technical and typological analysis of stone items, we have identified four cultural and chronological technocomplexes reflecting different epochs of the Early Stone Age, and the tendency of their development is readily traceable. A relationship has been established between the degree of artifact surface preservation and the time during which they had been on the surface, thus, exposed to destructive processes.

The paleolithic complexes of Kyzyltau are located on the denuded plain adjoining the Maly Karatau Ridge from the north which is characterized by the development of low yet, often quite long-standing,

small hills, ridges (cuesta-like scarps), due to the outcropping of separate more stable horizons of Lower Carboniferous deposits, including siliceous rocks. This zone is characterized by the strongest erosion of the surface plain, which led to exposure of a large area of siliceous strata, later used by ancient people as a raw material source. It is here that the Akkol, Borykazgan, Tanirkazgan, Kainazar, Kyzylshoky, and other localities, discovered by Kh. A. Alpysbaev, are situated. (Alpysbaev 1979: 17). The most massive artifact accumulations are confined to lakes, salt marshes, takirs,¹ and low relief areas. This is probably due to the presence of fresh water during certain periods and the exposure of siliceous rocks by some temporary water streams.

The Kyzyltau archaeological material is represented by collections from Site 1 (25 m²) (10,536 specimens); Site 2 (18 m²) (4,709 specimens); collections made in the vicinity of Site 2 (42 specimens); as well as collections from archaeological Points 1–30 (824 specimens). (Derevianko et al. 2003, 44). The sites are relatively flat areas on which one meter-square grids were traced, oriented by the cardinal points, and where an exhaustive survey collection of archae-

¹ Ed. Note: A *takir* (takyr), (Kazakh for “smooth or bare”) is a geological feature found in the deserts of Central Asia with a shallow depression containing heavy clay, similar to a salt flat.



Fig. 1. View of the location of the Kyzyltau artifacts. Photo: Zh. Taymagambetov

ological material was completed. When choosing a location for the sites, the following conditions were considered: a large concentration of items and the absence of overlapping loose deposits; as well as minimal linear displacement of the finds. The collection of the finds was conducted on each square meter (1 × 1 m) separately, while the precise location of the most demonstrative finds was recorded on detailed top plan drawings. The collection in the surrounding area of Site 2 and from archaeological Points 1-30 occurred selectively, with the preference given to the most expressive items.

Given the varying degrees of surface preservation, stone artifacts were divided into four main groups: strongly deflated, moderately deflated, slightly deflated, and non-deflated (the last group was not considered for this article).

The Kyzyltau complexes study results yielded a collection of 16,111 specimens. In the collections from the first site, there are practically no materials with a strong degree of deflation but the group of non-deflated finds is well represented. The collections from the second site produced a different picture. There is a significant collection of strongly deflated artifacts,

while non-deflated items are rare. The comparison of complexes with different degrees of deflation within each site suggests that there are significant differences between the complexes. Yet, there is a significant similarity between complexes with the same degree of deflation identified at the sites and archaeological points.

The complex of strongly deflated products. Archaeological materials with a strong degree of surface deflation numbered 2,283 specimens which is 15 % of the total number of artifacts.

Primary splitting. This is characterized by a primitive technique in the preparation and use of the primary rock materials. The cores or nuclei are characterized by minimal preliminary working. Of particular interest are the nuclei, in which the large removal of the stone material affects almost the entire shear plane; these artifacts should, apparently, be considered as an early manifestation of the Levallois traditions of stone working. The most numerous group is made up of debris and fragments. The plates are few here.

Secondary processing. A total of 43 items with a secondary finish were analyzed. The transformation of the original blanks into tool forms was carried out by

ball-striking, retouching, and excised removal (denting). Among the tool making methods, retouching or flaking predominates. In all cases, they are characterized as steep, scaly, and multi-faceted.

Toolkit. This is represented by a small collection. The concept of a toolkit only comes from the materials collected near site 2 and from those points. A total of 40 items were collected. A significant part of the collection is represented by retouched flakes with of side-scrapers as predominant, among which single longitudinal, double angular, side-scrapers on the cleavage plane, single transverse straight, double longitudinal straight, toothed and notched tools, and tools with a “spike” stand out.

In general, characterizing the industry represented by strongly deflated material, it should be acknowledged that it is based on the archaic technique of splitting the rock materials aimed at obtaining blanks in the form of flakes. The typological basis for the toolkit is made up of side-scrapers. The site’s location at the rock’s raw material source and many nucleate forms and production waste, with a negligible set of tools, allows us to assert that these materials establish the stages of stone processing which are typical for a workshop. This technocomplex probably reflects the early technological traditions of the Stone Age and belongs to the Mousterian era.

Until now, the technical-typological and chronological interpretation proposed by Kh. A. Alpysbaev for the complexes’ archaeological material located on the northeastern slope of the Maly Karatau Ridge remains controversial. The most ancient localities, according to Kh.A. Alpysbaev, constitute a chronological group, “dated to the Shelley-Acheulean period of the Lower Paleolithic or ESA [Early Stone Age]” (*Alpysbaev* 1979: 5). Their geological age is adopted as corresponding to the Early Pleistocene. This group includes such sites as Akkol, Borykazgan, Tanirkazgan, and Kemer I-III. Almost all archaeological remains were collected on the surfaces of remnant hills. When describing the collections, the author did not use the system for dividing the obtained material according to the degree of deflation, although he notes that the finds were subjected to wind and chemical erosion. The artifacts are classified into seven morphological groups: “Bilaterally processed chopping tools; tool-disks; hand choppers; unifaces; flake tools; flakes; nucleus- (core) shaped pieces and production waste” (*ibid.*). The archaism common for all products and the primitive processing by striking are noted. The above-mentioned monuments and complexes of Kyzyltau are confined to the same resource base associated with the outcrops of siliceous rocks, and are located in the same natural and climatic conditions, which allows us to draw direct analogies among them. Based on the characteristics of the Kyzyltau Mousterian complex, as well as

on the description of the artifacts by Kh.A. Alpysbaev and their drawings; it can be assumed that the finds of Borykazgan, Tanirkazgan, etc., are products of primary cleavage and correspond to pieces of raw material with traces of approbation, nucleus-like fragments, preforms, nuclei, and chips. The tools are represented by a small collection, predominately scraper-shaped items. These complexes are most likely the workshops where raw material selection and testing took place. Later, from the suitable pieces of stone, cores were formed here from which several flakes were removed. The question of chronological interpretation remains open, perhaps the collections of these sites are represented by material from different times.

In contrast to the highly deflated Kyzyltau complex, a completely different Early Paleolithic industry is represented by the materials from sites in the Koshkurgan-1 and Shoktas-1 travertines located on the southwestern slope of the Karatau temple. Based on the technical-typological analysis of the rock material, and a series of dates obtained by ESR dating, the researchers of these sites distinguish the Koshkurgan-Shoktassky micro-industrial complex of the Early Paleolithic, dated in the chronological range between 500-300 thousand years ago. (*Taimagambetov, Mamirov* 2012: 165).

There are some differences between the early technological complex of Kyzyltau and the complexes of heavily deflated products of Semizbugu at archaeological Points 2 and 4 (Northern Balkhash region). These differences are associated with the significant presence of Levallois elements in these complexes, both in the technique of primary cleavage and in the tool kit (*Derevianko et al.* 2000: 73; *Derevianko et al.* 1993: 69).

Of particular interest are the Paleolithic complexes of the Mugalzhar Mountains (northwestern Kazakhstan), whose archaeological materials illustrate the late Acheulean line of development (*Artyukhova et al.* 2001: 27). Comparing the Kyzyltau complex with the Mugalzhar complexes 4 - 6, one can find features characteristic of both sites. The complexes are workshops at the outlets of raw material or feedstock, where a full cycle of the feedstock processing took place. In the primary cleavage in both cases, a significant role is played by single-platform mono-frontal cores, from which flakes were obtained. Plates are represented by an immaterial quantity. The typological basis of the tools is made up of side-scrapers and toothed-notched tools. The difference between the Kyzyltau industry and the Mugalzhar complexes lies in the absence of bifaces in Kyzyltau, as well as in the less developed Levallois technology of stone splitting/cleavage.

The most difficult issue is dating the Kyzyltau complex, represented by highly deflated artifacts. Comparison with the Early Paleolithic industries



Fig. 2. Heavily deflated Kyzyltau products.
Photo: Zh. Taymagambetov

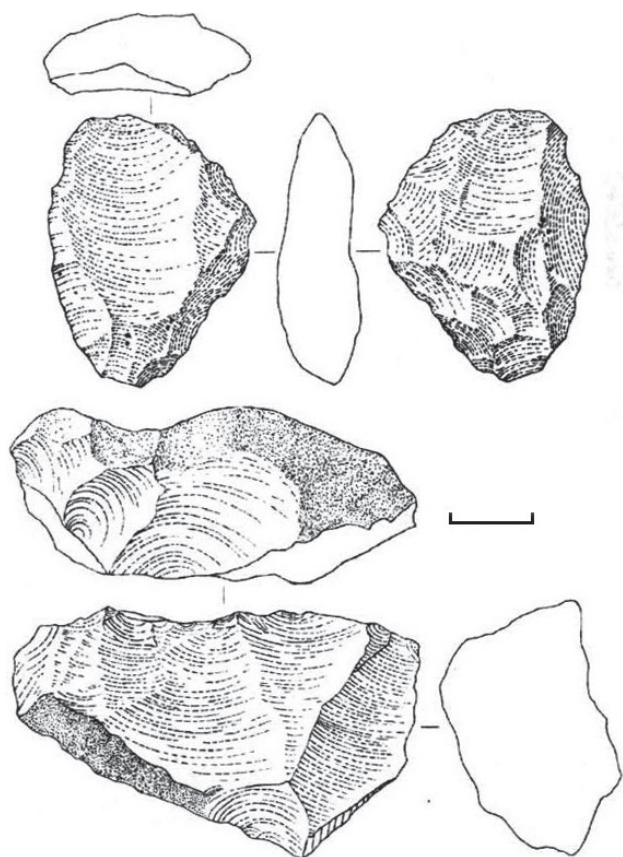


Fig. 3. Heavily deflated Kyzyltau products

Primary cleavage. Core-shaped items comprise 442 specimens. Among them, single-platform mono-frontal longitudinal items dominate. The cores are aimed at obtaining a series of large and medium-sized short flakes. The technique of primary cleavage from the moderately deflated group is represented by orthogonal, parallel, subparallel, and Levallois cleavage principles.

Secondary processing. A total of 110 recycled products were analyzed. The transformation of the original blanks into tool molds was conducted by retouching, striking, excised removal (denting) (in isolated cases, methods of deliberate thinning of the blank were used by applying stone dressing), as well as singling out the “spike” with a chisel chip.

Toolkit. This contains 58 specimens. Almost all the tools were made of large and medium-sized chips. The most numerous group was comprised of retouched stone flakes. The side-scraper tools occupy a prominent place among the collection including the most dominate which have single longitudinal straight lines. A group of tools with a notched working element or a “spike” appears quite representative. Combined tools are few in number. Noteworthy is the presence of cleaves with Levallois morphology.

Thus, considering the industry of moderately deflated products, it is noteworthy that, in comparison with the earlier complex, there is a significant change in the primary cleavage system towards a qualitatively higher technological level. This is due to both more thorough preparation of the nucleate molds and the use of the Levallois technology. This change in stone cleavage strategy is supported by the results of the analysis of the chipping industry primarily expressed by a significant increase in the proportion of faceted striking pads. It is most likely that this industry should be attributed to the Middle Paleolithic. Given the location of the complex directly at the raw material outlets — the waste predominance from primary cleavage and the small and inexpressive toolkit — the material should be considered in the context of workshops at the raw material outlets.

Kh. A. Alpysbaev attributed the sites of Tokaly I-III, Degerez, Darbaza III, Suleimensay I and IV, and Daurenbek to the “Acheulean-Mousterian period” of the Paleolithic era; sites also located on the northeastern slope of the Maly Karatau Ridge. Typologically, the archaeological material obtained from the above-mentioned complexes was divided into two-sided processed coarse chopping tools comprised of hand choppers, disc-shaped forms, tools such as jibs, cores, tools on flakes, and flakes without processing, etc. (Alpysbaev 1979: 69). Comparing these materials with the complex of medium-deflated products from Kyzyltau, it can be presumed that the artifacts interpreted by A. Kh. Alpysbaev as two side processed items –

from the Central Asian-Kazakhstan region does not allow us to speak with precision about the chronological position of the complex Kyzyltau’s highly deflated artifacts within the frames of the Lower Paleolithic. At this stage of research, the question remains open.

Complex of moderately deflated products. A total of 5,559 artifacts have a moderate degree of deflation (36.5 %).



Fig. 4. Medium deflated products of Kyzyltau.
Photo: Zh. Taymagambetov

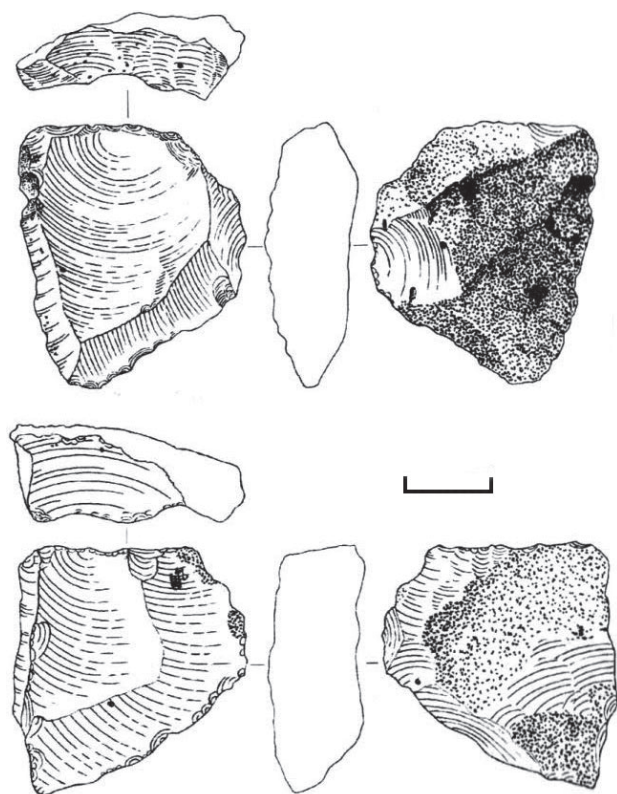


Fig. 5. Medium deflated Kyzyltau products

hand axes, and disc-shaped forms – are core-shaped products (preforms, cores, core-like fragments). The question of the chronology of A. Kh. Alpysbaev's published materials remains open.

The industry represented by moderately deflated materials from the Semizbugu localities, (points 2 and 4) was attributed to the Middle Paleolithic. When comparing these materials with the Kyzyltau Middle Paleolithic complex, significant differences can be identified in a number of features. First, the Semizbu-

gu industry exemplifies the more advanced Levallois stone-cleavage technology. The Kyzyltau collection contains Levallois cores, but the Levallois technology identified there occupies a subordinate position. Second, in the Semizbugu industry, along with cores of Levallois morphology, cores of the prismatic principle of cleavage are widely represented which are missing in the collection of the moderately deflated artifacts from Kyzyltau. Third, a more representative tool kit is noted compared to the Kyzyltau complex, wherein a large collection is made up of tools from the Upper Paleolithic appearance. Fourth, the collection of Semizbugu contains bifaces (*Derevianko et al. 2000: 112; Derevianko et al. 1993: 83*).

Complex of slightly deflated products. The collection of slightly deflated items encompasses 3,164 specimens (20.8 %). These include core-shaped items, 102 specimens (3.2 %), and chips, 3,062 specimens (96.8 %).

Primary cleavage. This group of weakly deflated artifacts is represented by parallel and sub-parallel cleavage methods. The presence of orthogonal and Levallois cores, and the manifestation of early face and prismatic cleavage methods is notable.

Secondary processing. This group with secondary processing was analyzed and totaled 63 items. The transformation of original blanks into tool forms was carried out by retouching, chipping, excised removal (denting), and trimming. The predominant type of secondary processing used here was retouching.

Tool Kit. This is represented by a small collection totaling 22 specimens. Most of the tools were made on large and medium-sized spalls. Of note is that sometimes preference was given to chips when choosing blanks that had been realized much earlier than the secondary processing. The most abundant are flakes with traces of retouching. Among the side-scrapers, tools with a “nose” emerged. Analyzing the industry of the complex from the slightly deflated items, according to technical and typological indicators, these can be attributed to the turn of the Middle and Upper Paleolithic Eras. The presence of both Mousterian and Upper Paleolithic archaeological material in the industry probably indicates a gradual transition from the Mousterian to the Upper Paleolithic. A similar transition can be traced at the technological complexes from the Semizbugu locations (archaeological points 2 and 4) whose characteristics are given above. Probably, the Early Upper Paleolithic also includes the finds from the lower layers of the Chokan Valikhanov encampment.

The Upper Paleolithic era remains the least studied period in the Kazakhstan region. The Upper Paleolithic sites of Kazakhstan are mainly represented by artifact complexes with surface scatter. Among those objects that are stratified, the Upper Paleolithic era is illustrated by finds from the Valikhanov encamp-

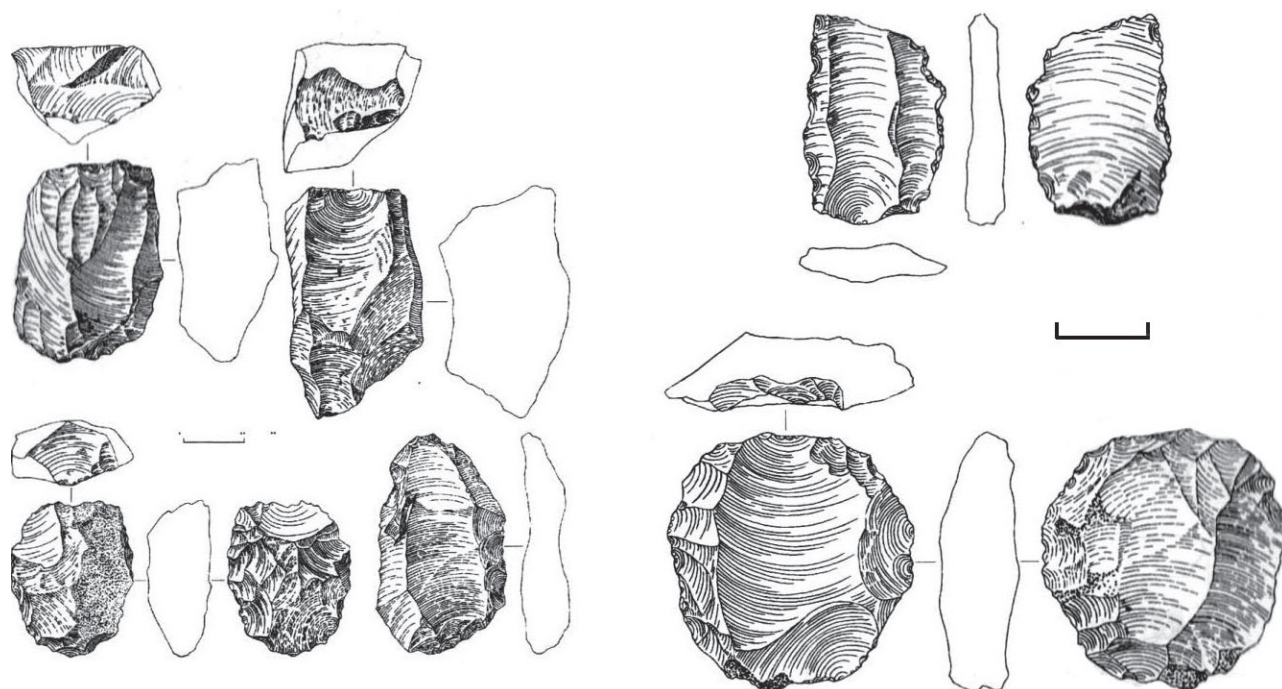


Fig. 6. Weakly deflated products Kyzyltau

ment, Ashisay, Maybulak, and Ushbulak (*Taimagambetov* 1990: 37; *Taimagambetov, Ozherel'yev* 2008: 18; *Shunkov et al.* 2016).

Significant differences at the Upper Paleolithic complex of Kyzyltau are observed in the industry of the weakly deflated items at point 2 in Semizbugu. This is mainly revealed by the presence of the Levallois morphology cores from among the other cores and by the rather widespread use of the prismatic and face principle of cleavage. It is important to note that no bifaces exist in Kyzyltau, which, in turn, are well represented in the Semizbugu collection.

All epochs of the Early Stone Age are present in the southern Kazakhstan region – from the early stone age to the late stone age. The occupation of this region by ancient people was facilitated by favorable paleogeographic and paleoclimatic conditions during certain periods of the Pleistocene epoch. Perhaps the most favorable conditions for ancient man to live in this area were during the periods of climate humidification. The availability of fresh water in combination with a source of readily available, high-quality raw materials for artifact production created ideal conditions for human habitation in the foothill plains of the Karatau ridge.

Based on cultural material analysis at the Kyzyltau complexes, it is possible to hypothesize about the presence of four complexes of different periods. They differ from each other by the various technological preparation traditions and use of rock feedstock. The time differences between these technocomplexes is also evidenced by the different degree of artifact preservation. Since all the artifacts came from the same natural and climatic conditions and were made from the same raw material source, we can speak with a certain degree of confidence about the relationship between the degree of surface artifact preservation and their relative age.

The site's exact location at the raw material outlets along with the great quantity of core molds and production waste with a negligible set of tools in the industries, leads to the conclusion that the rock processing stages characteristic of a workshop can be identified in the materials of these complexes. This conclusion allows us to consider the Paleolithic complexes of Kyzyltau as workshop sites at the raw material outcrops. Technological and typological analysis provides the basis to assert that the same line of rock industry development can be traced here over a long chronological period – from the Early to Late Paleolithic.

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EMMA USMANOVA, KANAT USKENBAY, MIKHAIL ANTONOV

IN SEARCH OF THE HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE OF THE TALAS QURULTAI OF 1269

This article offers the authors' perspective on the reconstruction of the location of the Talas Qurultai (or Congress) held in 1269. A peaceful solution to the conflict between the descendants of Genghis Khan was proposed during this Mongol Empire assembly in the Talas Valley. This important event determined a new political order in Eurasia, expressed in the emergence of new state alliances: the Uluses of Jochi, Chagatai, Ögedei, Kublai, and Hülegü. Scholars P. N. Petrov and A. M. Kamyshev suggested that the Yangi Taraz mint was located near the Pokrovskoe II archaeological site (the modern settlement of Chon Kapka, Kyrgyzstan) based on the numismatic finds from the Talas Valley. The location of the Chagataid town of Yangi Taraz of the 13th-14th centuries, associated with the name of Kaidu Khan, the leader of the Talas Quriltai, is thus determined to be in the area close to the mint. This information made it possible to formulate a hypothesis about the location of the Talas Quriltai as being in the area close to the settlement of Pokrovskoe II. The article also describes the origin and significance of quriltai in the history of the Mongol Empire. The reasons for the organization of the Talas Quriltai and its significance in the history of the peoples of Central Asia are discussed in this work. The symbolic atmosphere of the Talas Quriltai is conveyed through interpretation of significant events such as the number of days, the exchange of cult objects, and oath-taking by the khans. The authors' map offering "A Reconstruction of the Routes of the Khans to the Talas Quriltai of 1269" is presented according to modern-day natural features and geographical locations of inner Eurasia.

Key words: *Talas Quriltai, Talas Congress, Kaidu Khan, Ulus of Jochi, Yangi Taraz*

Citation: *Emma Usmanova, Kanat Uskenbay, Mikhail Antonov (2021). In Search of the Historical Landscape of the Talas Qurultai of 1269, Bulletin of IICAS, 32, P. 137-144,*

DOI: 10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.137-144

Article link: <https://doi.org/10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.137-144>

“There was an agreement and an oath that next time we would not oppose each other and would not invent tricks and intrigues. We ate gold so that he ruled his property, and we ours”

(Rashid al-Din 1946: 83)

HISTORICALLY, the geographical toponym for Talas became a generic and appellative name for the Talas Qurultai of 1269, the last all-Mongolian congress, at which peace was concluded among the Chingizids on behalf of the houses of Jochi, Chagatai, and Ögedei. As a result, from a legal standpoint, the borders of Jochi,

Chagatai, and Ögedei's possessions were established and two new Tuluud uluses were recognized: the Ulus of Kublai and the Ulus of Hülegü. On the banks of the Talas River, the reality of the collapse of the Mongol Empire was secured by a contractual oath among representatives of the Chingizids and all apparent contradictions regarding the supreme power in the empire were resolved (*Mirgaleev 2019, 47, 49*).

This article proposes to reconstruct the territory of the all-Mongolian congress by designating it as “the historical landscape of the resolution of the military conflict.” Beginning in 1251, the pre-Qurultai events in the territory of the Mongolian Empire were in the context of internecine feuds and the situation was characterized by intra-dynasty struggles, which led to the natural collapse of the empire (*Jackson 2017, 71; Bartold 1963, 573*). A peaceful resolution to the conflict was proposed during the meeting of the golden clan of the Borjigin – the descendants of Chingghis Khan – in the “spacious and rich grass” of the Talas valley.

*The work was carried out under the grant of the Ministry of Culture and Sports of the Republic of Kazakhstan No. BR10164218 “Traditional Rituals as a Manifestation of a Remembering Culture: Resources and Strategies of the Symbolic Capital of the Steppe of Eurasia.” We express our gratitude to A. G. Yurchenko for providing us advice when we was writing this article.

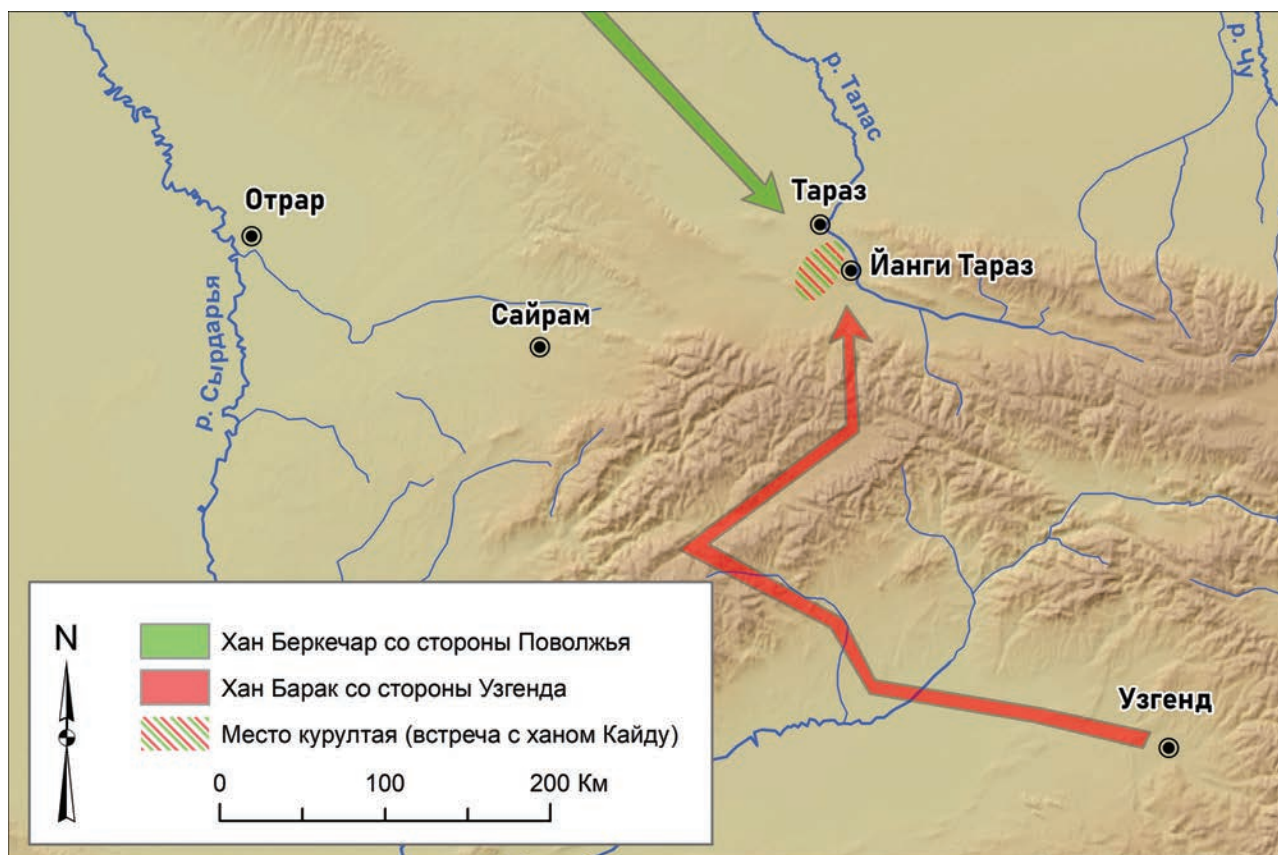


Fig. 1. Map of "A Reconstruction of the Routes of the Khans to the Talas Qurultai in 1269." Author: M. A. Antonov

Forerunners of the Talas Qurultai

Khan Ariq Böke

The beginning of internecine military conflict was laid shortly after the death of the fourth supreme Khan, Möngke, in August of 1259 (Atwood 2004, 362-365). In May 1260, Kublai, the brother of the deceased Khan, fearing the actions of his other brother Ariq Böke, convened a Qurultai in the city of Kaiping (Shangdu, northern China), where he was proclaimed the Supreme Khan of the Empire (Rossabi 2009, 93). This qurultai took place outside the original nomadic camps of the Golden clan (Jackson 2017, 71), and not all representatives of the clan of Chinggis Khan were present. So, his opponents, in June 1260 in Mongolia, convened another qurultai, at which Ariq Böke was proclaimed the Supreme Khan (Barthold 1963, 573; Dalai 1983, 34-35). The struggle between the two khans ended in 1264 with the defeat of Ariq Böke (Barthold 1963, 575; Dalai 1983, 37). For his trial, Kublai wanted to convene a qurultai, but it did not take place since in 1266, Ariq Böke died (Rossabi 2009, 108).

Khans Kaidu (Haidu) and Baraq.

After the defeat of Ariq Böke, Kublai's main opponent was Kaidu (Haidu), the grandson of Ögedei (Biran 1997, 197; Atwood 2004, 444-445). However, before Kublai, Kaidu would have to defeat his opponent in the Chagatai ulus, Baraq. Initially, success was on the side of Baraq, but the troops of the Golden Horde, led by Berkechar, the uncle of Khan Möngke Temür, arrived to help Kaidu. The Jochid army numbered 50,000 soldiers. This united army defeated Baraq, but, apparently, to prevent the devastation of the main towns of Maverannahr, Kaidu decided to negotiate and sent his ambassador to Baraq. In the spring of 1269, the parties gathered in the "meadows of Talas and Kenjak and, after a week of feasts, on the eighth day, held a council" (Rashid al-Din 1946, 70-71).

The Term "Qurultai" in the Mongol Empire

This term, apparently, was first mentioned in *The Secret History of the Mongols* and rendered "yeke qurilta" (Rachewiltz 1972, 174: 12009) (in

modern Mongolian, “their khuraldai” or literally as “the Great Qurultai”). Rashid al-Din refers to it in Persian as “*Qurultai-i buzurg*” (Rashid al-Din 1952, 44). The emergence of the qurultai as a congress of the nobility is associated with the unification of the Turko-Mongolian tribes at the turn of the 12th to 13th centuries (Atwood 2004, 462). The first Mongol Qurultai was convened in 1206 at the headwaters of the Onon River in which Temüjin, was proclaimed “Chingghis Khan.” The creation of the Great Mongol State was also announced there (Rashid al-Din 1952, 150; May 2018, 39, cited from Ohsson 1834). In a letter from the third Ilkhan of Iran, Ahmad Töğöldör (1282-1284) (Jackson 2014, 661-662), to the Egyptian sultan Sayf ad-Din Qalaun, the well-known definition of a qurultai is given: “We have convened a qurultai, that is, a meeting in which the views of all brothers, children, important emirs, military leaders, and captured officers were presented” (Krymsky 1896, 109; *History and Historiography*, 2006, 167-202). “The election of Khan Guyuk (1246-1248 approx.), according to the Franciscan, John de Plano Carpini, calls it a “solemn meeting.” The 13th century Armenian historian, Vardan, mentions the Mongolian word *khurultai* and explains its meaning also as a “solemn meeting.” Chinese authors called it the “great assembly.” In *The Secret History of the Mongols* it is first referred to as a “Great Family Council” (para. 154). By 1240, the *History* refers to it as the “Great Seim-Khuril” (para. 282).” (Yurchenko 2012, 25-28; Rashid al-Din 1952, 38, note 6; Tucker 2006, 337). The “solemn meeting” was usually timed to coincide with a specific astral point of the year based on the seasonal and calendar holidays of the Mongols, which gave the event a special, sacred significance (Yurchenko 2012, 14-15, 20). When “... the first days of spring came, all the princes and emirs headed from [all] sides and edges to the old yurt and the great headquarters.... The entire population mentioned above was occupied for three days with pleasures, gatherings, and entertainments. Then they started talking about the affairs of the state and about the reign” (Rashid al-Din 1960, 18-19). This qurultai referenced by al-Din ended with the election of the great khan Ögedei to the throne (Yurchenko 2012, 21).

A qurultai of the Mongol nobility in the sense of a “clan congress” or “council of all kinfolk and service aristocracy” (Vladimirtsov 1934, 99, 100) was convened for various reasons of a political and social nature (Biran 1997, 29, 134 note 37; Sultanov 2001, 40, 66; Seleznev 2013, 9-15).

A qurultai was not only for the election of khans, but its social essence also consisted in *collective discussion* (authors’ emphasis) of pressing issues and decision-making, which served as a fundamental socio-political element in the Mongolian state.

Reasons for Convening the Talas Qurultai.

The sequence of events for this “conference holiday” in Talas was significant in the context of the negotiations of the ruling princes (Bartold 1963, 578-582; Karayev 1995, 22). Some researchers believe that the convocation of any qurultai was always associated with the act of electing a new khan, and, therefore, the purpose of the Talas Qurultai was to proclaim Kaidu as khan. This error is reflected in the study of Michal Biran (Biran 1997, 28-29). Academician V.V. Bartold writes about this: “... our sources say nothing about the proclamation of Haidu [Kaidu] as the head of the clan, about the rite of ascension performed on him over the “white felt,” that is, the proclamation of a khan” (Bartold 1963, 583). This same fact, based on a written source, was stated by the Kyrgyz historian, O. K. Karayev (Karayev 1995, 25). According to the historian Jamal al-Karshi, Kaidu ibn Kistay [Khashin] was proclaimed khan in September 1271 (*Jamal al-Karshi al-Mulhakat bi-s-surah* 2005, 124).

What were the true reasons for the convocation of the Talas Qurultai is unknown. Perhaps, there were two issues to consider that generated the inherent tensions of the political system that Chingghis Khan left as a legacy to his family (Jackson 2017, 71). The first question is related to the needs of the pastoralist society to establish the territorial delineation of pasturelands. The second – based on the Turko-Mongolian way of inheriting power – involved the confusion around the law on primogeniture, which the Mongols did not practice.

These reasons of a political and economic nature demanded a solution. The truce turned out to be the main condition for maintaining relations between the heirs of Chingghis Khan: “... we will ask for peace ...”, said Kaidu to his supporters (Rashid al-Din 1946, 70). Apparently, due to the fateful nature of this qurultai involving relations between the Chingizids, there is no consensus among historians as to the location of where it was held. According to the Persian historian Vassaf, the qurultai took place not on the banks of the Talas, but in the Katvan steppe near Samarkand, the Dasht-i Katvan. Scholar Timothy May refers to the Talas event as the “Katwan World” (May 2017, 265). The Persian historian Rashid al-Din wrote that the qurultai took place on the Talas plain, which is true, since “... Kaidu, as victor, had to convene a qurultai in his domain ...” (Bartold 1963, 582).

For seven days the princes feasted; on the eighth day decisions were made “in accordance with the spirit of Yasa and the steppe traditions” (Bartold 1963, 583). The princes exchanged clothes and cups with each other, “drank an oath” and swore allegiance and “justly summer and winter pastures” were divided

(*Rashid al-Din* 1946, 70). Territory was designated – a yurt for each ruling house, the main rules of conduct were drawn up “... to live in the mountains and steppes, not to approach towns, not to let their herds out on arable land, not to take anything from the inhabitants except taxes ...” (*Bartold* 1963, 583).

The main protagonists of the “tribal congress” were Ögedei ds Kaidu and Kypchak, Juchid Berkechar, Chagataid Baraq (*Rashid al-Din* 1946: P. 70), and each side received their own benefit (*Bartold* 1963, 582-583).

The Symbolism of the Pictorial Events of the Qurultai

In 1269, the Talas Valley witnessed the last all-Mongol qurultai in the history of Chingghis Khan's Empire. The first “tribal meeting” took place on the banks of the Onon River in which Temüjin became Chingghis Khan; and 63 years later, the final meeting of the descendants of the Great Khan took place on the banks of the Talas River. This latter event, signals a farewell to the union of the state created by the fortitude and military talent of Chingghis Khan. Perhaps that is why there is a degree of special symbolism in this last “great family council.”

The traditional time is spring, when the Mongols prayed and sacrificed to the territory's spirits and their ancestors (*Atwood* 2004, 462). *For seven days the princes feasted; on the eighth day decisions were made “in accordance with the spirit of Yasa and the steppe traditions”* (*Barthold* 1963, 583). The celebration, which lasted seven days, could include sacrificial libations and cultic rituals, alien to the Islamic mentality, and, perhaps, therefore, symbolically designated by Rashid al-Din as a “feast.” The clear presence of the number *seven* in the recorded report of the qurultai indicates a pronounced ritualistic context of the Congress. It is known that the qurultai was associated with the rituals of the astral seasons and usually lasted three or four days (*Yurchenko* 2012, 14-15). During this last qurultai, the number *seven* is clearly indicated, which is a sacred number in world cultures, including the Turko-Mongolian culture. The *seven* stars of the Big Dipper are represented among the Mongol peoples as the *seven* gods of Tengri. The number *seven* expresses ideas concerning mythological space. The symbolism of the number *seven* reflects the system of kinship of the nomads referred to as “Seven Grandfathers” (*Jety-ata* in Kazakh and Kyrgyz); with another meaning being “Seven Ancestors” reflected in the eternally revered ancestral number of generations among the nomads. Relatives up to the seventh generation were considered close and were collectively responsible for each other (*Galimzyanov* 2015, https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Жети_ата)

The next symbolic act during the qurultai involved the exchange of gifts. “... The princes exchanged clothes and cups with each other ...” (*Rashid al-Din* 1946, 70). In traditional culture, the exchange of gifts belongs to one of the most important behavioral archetypes (biological memories), whose social and magical essence is expressed in eliminating alienation, neutralizing hostility, and furthering openness in relationships while ensuring a stable connection between people through a visible object. “The exchange of gifts is, first of all, an essential, energetic exchange” (*Surganova* 2009, 4). In the tradition of nomadic peoples, the exchange of gifts was a stable element of relations that promoted cooperation, friendship, and coexistence (*Yurchenko* 2012, 110) between individuals and groups. “People in archaic and traditional culture were more interested in the magical side of the gift as a guarantee of trust and good intentions, rather than just the economic aspect of the gift, contained in its material value” (*Surganova* 2009, 184).

The exchange of clothes and cups at the Talas Qurultai between representatives of the Chingizids from different houses was a sign of reconciliation and joint decision-making. Clothing as a personal covering of the body and a fabric (which, according to the figurative expression of the Kazakh proverb “*Oramal tone bolmaidy - zhol bolady*” [“A gift in the form of a scarf will not become a fur coat, but will become a road”]) symbolized an exchange gift which was a “part of oneself.” This conveyed the attitude of friendliness between the wearers of the clothing (*Surganova* 2009, 183).

The exchange of cups (in this case, bowls) demonstrates the purity of the drink without malicious intent to poison. Among the Turkic and Mongolian peoples, a vessel with fermented drink, usually mare's milk, was used during sacrificial ceremonies. Among the medieval Mongols, libation with wine was also known. A sacrifice to the ancestral spirits in the form of a libation with a fermented drink could well have occurred during this seven days of the so-called feast. Its obligatory stage was a collective meal with a “circular bowl” ritual, which was of a social and magical nature, uniting all partakers into one whole, energetic principle. A mutual treat among the Mongols consisted in the indispensable drinking from a common bowl which was passed in a circle and replenished as the drink was consumed (*Yermolenko* 2004, 61–63).

It is possible that this action referred to by Rashid al-Din as “the exchange of cups” was a symbolic ritual of the “circular bowl” known among the Turks and Mongols. It possibly arose as a means of assuring the ritual meal participants that there were no nefarious motives of poisoning, but later, it became a custom

that signified the most important element of the qurultai – the taking of an oath.

They “... drank the oath” and swore allegiance, “justly summer and winter pastures” were divided, the territory was designated - yurts (?) to each ruling house, the main rules of conduct were drawn up “... to live in the mountains and steppes, not to approach towns, not to let their herds out on arable land, not to take from the inhabitants anything but taxes ...” (Barthold 1963, 583). “According to their ritual and custom, they ate gold and agreed that henceforth they would settle in the mountains and steppes and would not wander around the towns” (*Rashid al-Din* 1946, 71).

The allegorical expression “they ate gold” (in Arabic, *zarkhurdand* - authors’ note) has an important symbolic meaning and means they *swore on gold*. In Persian sources from the Mongolian period, the ritual appears under the figurative expression “to eat gold” (*Yurchenko* 2012, 83). A guarantee of security at the Mongolian court was an oath given on gold. It is believed that the oath of drinking water into which gold was dipped three times was established by Chingghis Khan. Most likely, this custom was introduced into Mongolian diplomatic practice via the Cumans, which was a traditional practice of this Turkic tribe. “The oath on gold firmly entered imperial usage, but since it was an alien element, the authority of Chingghis Khan, a figure completely mythologized by that time, was needed to legalize it” (*Yurchenko* 2012, 81-82). The ritual code of the “oath on gold” was understood by all “citizens” of the Mongol Empire. They believed in the power and significance of the oath to fulfill the obligations of the treaty (*Yurchenko* 2012, 85). Thus, the Talas Qurultai ended with the adoption of an oath which solved problems related to the distribution of power and the distribution of the khan’s territories.

The Significance and Political Outcome of the Talas Qurultai.

In modern historiography, viewpoints vary concerning the results of the Talas Qurultai. According to some historians, the Qurultai of 1269 consolidated the collapse of the Mongol Empire and laid the foundation for the new independent states (*Mirgaleev* 2019, 47-49). According to others, the Talas Qurultai pursued the goal not to divide, but rather, to preserve the empire (*Pochekaev* 2017, 35).

Under the rule of the Eternal Heaven, the traditional Tengrian motto of Chingghis Khan, new states appeared on the world map in the global sense of the word and were as follows:

1. The Ulus of Jochi (which later historians

referred to as the “Golden Horde”) extended from the Altai to the Danube. In fact, this involved two separate uluses: Batu’s ulus in the west and Orda’s ulus in the east.

2. The Ulus of Chagatai, located in what is commonly known as Central Asia.

3. The Ulus of Ögedei (historically, it is also known as the “state of Kaidu,” located in eastern Turkestan and Central Asia).

4. The Ulus of Kublai (often referred to as the “Yuan Dynasty” or “Yuan Empire” in the Chinese manner) located in China and Mongolia.

5. The Ulus of Hülegü (often referred to as the Ilkhanate) located in Iran, Iraq, Azerbaijan, and Anatolia (*Mirgaleev* 2019, 49).

The Location of the Talas Qurultai

Talas and its districts belonged to Kaidu. His possessions stretched from these locations toward the east and included Zhetysu and beyond to the Tarbagatai mountains. The possessions of his rival Baraq lay to the south, whose headquarters was in Uzgend in the Fergana Valley (see Appendix 1). It is unlikely that Baraq came alone. He was undoubtedly accompanied by some kind of detachment. Where exactly the Jochid, Berkechar, came from is difficult to say, but certainly from the Volga region (Fig. 1). His army consisted of 50,000 soldiers and even if some part of it returned to the Golden Horde, it is likely that enough warriors remained to rule out any unforeseen circumstances. It is necessary to add that detachments from the Kaidu along with Kypchak or Cuman warriors were certainly a part of this army. It can be assumed that the number of participants in the qurultai was impressive, numbering several thousand.

The Chingizids’ military detachments and the personnel who served them for eight days occupied a large portion of the Talas steppe which certainly included water sources and pastures for horses. According to Mongolian traditions, herds of milking mares were specially allocated to provide the numerous participants and guests of the qurultais with provisions (*Yurchenko* 2012, 41-42). Obviously, the Talas Qurultai took place not in an oasis, but on the steppe along the banks of the Talas River, as *Rashid al-Din* states, in the “meadows of Talas and Kenjak” (*Rashid al-Din* 1946, 70).

Simultaneously, it is most likely that the economic and craft workshops of the city were involved during the qurultai providing its participants with provisions, pottery, and other utensils. The Talas Valley was one of the inner regions of the Chagatai ulus. The Mongols took captive artisans to this location who satisfied the economic and cultural needs of the nomads (*Petrov*,

Kamyshev 2019, 277). During the Mongolian era, two cities known as Taraz existed in the Talas River valley: Ulug (Greater) and Yangi (New) Talas. Which was the sought after Taraz, under the possession of Kaidu Khan?

The modern political boundaries in this region do not reflect the boundaries of that period and Kaidu's ulus occupied a vast geographical area encompassing southern and southeastern Kazakhstan along with northern and northwestern parts of Kyrgyzstan, with its central nomad camps apparently located in the valley of the Talas River.

P. N. Petrov and A. M. Kamyshev have attempted to pinpoint the location of the city of Taraz during the Mongolian period based on the available numismatic materials. They expressed an opinion that during the Mongolian era the ancient city of Taraz (on the site of the modern city in Kazakhstan) had fallen into decay, and the existing coinage from the Mongolian period belongs to the city of Yangi Taraz which was located in the Talas Valley of Kyrgyzstan (*Petrov, Kamyshev* 2019, 266-282). It was the accumulated concentration of coins that indicated the primary mint site along with the presence of coins from the Chagatai ulus. They found that the largest concentration of Chagataid coin finds was on the right (southern) bank of the Talas River extending approximately 1.5 x 4 km along the riverbank.

According to these scholars, during the period of Mongol rule, the Yangi Taraz mint was located in the area of the Pokrovskoe II archaeological site (the Chon Kapka settlement), in modern Kyrgyzstan. After the Mongol conquest, Yangi Taraz was "restored" at approximately the end of the 1230s or the beginning of the 1240s. "Copper and silver coins with the name of the Taraz and the Yangi Taraz mint of the 13th and 14th centuries were struck specifically in Yangi Taraz ... (*Petrov, Kamyshev* 2019, 276). William of Rubruk, passing through Taraz in 1253, wrote that in the Chu-Talas interfluvial handicraft industries (such as the mining industry) had developed and was a location where some captive Europeans worked in the 1230s. Most likely, he was referring to "New" or Yangi Taraz (*Petrov, Kamyshev* 2019, 277).

Based on the numismatic research, Petrov and Kamyshev have made several preliminary conclusions, while they left the prerogative in deciding the exact location of the city of Yangi Taraz up to archaeological research:

- The Yangi Taraz mint was located in the area of the ruins of the site designated Pokrovsky II and might possibly be located not in Yangi Taraz itself, but nearby in a minor settlement while the minting of the coins was credited to the toponym of the larger town or region.

- The Mongolian city of Yangi Taraz of the 13th-14th centuries was located in the Talas Valley, on the territory of modern Kyrgyzstan.

- The study of the coinage from the Chagatai ulus in the context of the medieval narrative sources contributed to their determination of the existence of two cities, taking into account their epithets of Ulug (Greater) Taraz and Yangi (New) Taraz.

- The "capital" of the Taraz in the Chagatai ulus was most likely Yangi Taraz, and not Ulug Taraz, which could not claim to be a capital city. The definition of Yangi, or New, emphasized the characteristic of new construction of the town (*Petrov, Kamyshev* 2019, 277-279).

Apparently, Yangi Taraz is the very Taraz in which "Kaidu ibn Kistay ibn Kaan al-Kabir Uktay ibn Chingghis Khan became the khan ... of the country, who sat [on the throne] at the end of Muharram 670 [September 1271] in Taraz" (*Jamal al -Karshi al-Mulhakat bi-s-surah* 2005, 124). The Mongolian Khan needed money both in ingots and minted coins to fulfill his distributional and ruling functions (*Petrov, Kamyshev* 2019: P.278). The mint and the town of Yangi Taraz, were, most likely, in close vicinity to one other.

In search for the location of the Talas Qurultai of 1269, these coins played the role of "navigator." The proposed hypothesis includes the search for the site of the Talas Qurultai region starting from the modern archaeological site of Pokrovskoe II (the Chon Kapka settlement in modern Kyrgyzstan) moving westward further along the Talas valley to modern Taraz in Kazakhstan. An interdisciplinary study of the area with the definition of the main indicators of the historical topography such as military camp sites, water resources, road communications, sacred natural objects, the size of the area, etc., will help establish the true location of the last general assembly of the khans of the Mongol Empire where the inviolability of the borders was determined by an oath given from each of the Chingizids. The main symbolic ideological directive of Chingghis Khan's empire was observed: "By the power of God, all the lands, from those where the sun rises and ending with those where it sets, were granted to us" (from the letter of the Great Khan Guyuk to the Pope of Rome from 1246) (quoted by John de Plano Carpini by *Klyashornyy, Sultanov* 2009, 195).

Appendix 1. Explanation to the map "A Reconstruction of the Routes of the Khans to the Talas Qurultai in 1269" (Fig. 1).

Taking into account modern natural objects and geographical locations, it is possible to trace Baraq's route. If his military detachment led by him left of

Uzgend, then, most likely, they moved west along the left bank of the Karadarya River and crossed the Naryn River. Then they bypassed the Chatkal ridge from the southwestern side or crossed it through the Chapchima pass. From there, along the river Baraq moved to the northeast, crossed the Talas Alatau through the Kara-Buura pass. However, to the west there were two more nearby passes, the Korum-Ter and east of Kurama-Ter. In this reconstruction, the Kara-Buura pass was chosen since a modern road passes at this location. Perhaps this convenient pass was popular also in the Middle Ages. Then, Baraq and his detachment moved north towards Yangi Taraz (the modern settlement of Chon Kapka, Kyrgyzstan). The routes of the remaining Chingizids – the participants of the qurultai – are conditionally presented on the map in the direction of their main meeting point in the Talas Valley.

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SERGEY YATSENKO

THE EARLY 16TH CENTURY GARDEN OF ABDALLAH AL-ARAB AL-YAMANI AL-HADRAMAUTI IN THE VICINITY OF MEDIEVAL SAURAN (TURKESTAN REGION)

This article comments on the preliminary results from the analysis of a series of aerial photographs along with a ground survey of an outstanding cultural monument in Kazakhstan — the garden that belonged to an influential Sufi sheikh of Yemeni descent located near the medieval city of Sauran. Despite its importance and excellent preservation, the monument has yet to be excavated. Our joint project with E. A. Smagulov failed to receive financial support in 2015. A series of plant pollen analyses from the garden's soil which was taken from an irrigation ditch has not yet been organized. Two phases for the residential estate have been identified, first, one from the 15th century and the other from the early 16th century (illustrations 5-6). Initially, a group of families from the sheikh's relatives, who had several small gardens, probably lived at the site. Soon afterward, Sheikh Mir-i Arab created a fortified house with a treasury and a large 800 x 470 m garden nearby. It was divided into a southern section with the rows of fruit trees and a northern section containing a flower garden (bustan). In the center of the southern section was a reflective pool and to the south lay an area for recreation and the reception of visitors. In 1515, this sheikh's residence was destroyed by his political opponents. The surface of the garden has hardly been disturbed since that period and it is a uniquely preserved site in the western part of Central Asia.

Key words: 16th century gardens, aerial photo layout, Sheikh Mir-i Arab, medieval Sauran, southern Kazakhstan, research prospects

Citation: Sergey Yatsenko (2021). The Early 16th Century Garden of Abdallah al-Arab al-Yamani al-Hadramauti in the Vicinity of Medieval Sauran (Turkestan Region), , Bulletin of IICAS, 32, P. 145-152, DOI: 10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.145-154

Article link: <https://doi.org/10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.145-154>

AMONG the many plans of my friend, Erbulat Akizhanovich Smagulov, he showed particular interest in our jointly planned excavations of a *singularly well-preserved medieval garden in Kazakhstan*. Information about this garden along with its owner, reached our day initially through the efforts of the early 16th century writer, Zainiddin Mahmoud Wasifi (1485-1551) and his collection entitled *Astonishing Events* (Wasifi 2010). The garden attracted this author's attention for its vastness and intricate hydraulic facilities. It belonged to one of the most influential clerics of Central Asia, a sayyid of Yemeni descent, Abdallah al-Arab al-Yamani al-Khadramauti (Mir-Arab), who soon became the spiritual father of Ubaydullah Khan (1512-1533). One of his residences and, apparently, previously that of his relatives, was located one parasang from the town of Sauran. Eventually, P. I. Lerch identified the small,

fortified estate of Mirtobe, with its adjacent farm plots located 2.5 km northeast of the walls of Sauran with that of the Mir-Arab estate (Lerch 1870: 14) (Fig. 1). A detailed description of the appearance of the Mirtobe estate ruins was presented by E. A. Smagulov in his book entitled *Drevnii Sauran (Ancient Sauran)* (Smagulov 2011: 53–61). It was based not only on the collection of artifact remains and the measurements taken, but also on a series of high-quality hang-glider aerial photographs taken just before sunset by R. Sala of the Margulan Institute of Archeology in the mid-2000s.

In 2015, we planned to start joint work on the site with the main focus being the reputed Mir-Arab garden. Unfortunately, our detailed project (*Budget Application* 2014), with the additional support via related requests made by the Director of the Institute, Mr. B. A. Baitanaev, failed to receive the necessary

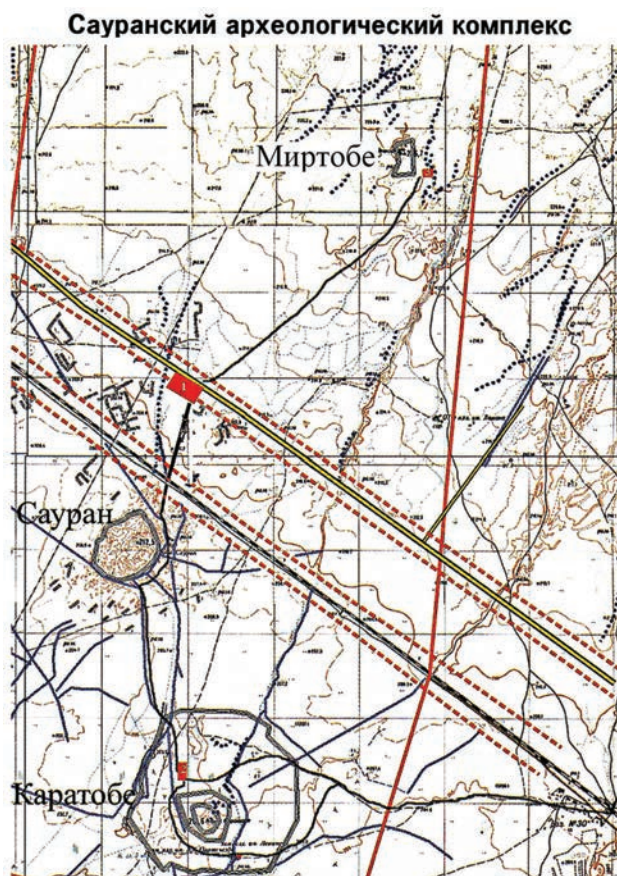


Fig. 1. Mirtobe among the sites of the medieval Sauran district (in Smagulov 2011)

governmental support. Professor of the Almaty Institute of Geology Oil and Mining, S. A. Nigmatova attempted palynological studies (analyses undertaken to detect pollen of the cultivated plants from the period) in 2015, but the scarce samples available at the time did not produce the sought-after results. In fact, today the main source of our information is still the series of high-quality aerial photos of this very extensive site. Although I first attempted to decipher them back in December 2014, since then, certain details have received fresh explanations. Not all the details of the paleo-landscape in these aerial photos today lend themselves to unambiguous “deciphering” (rather, this requires the long-awaited excavations). However, let me focus further on the most obvious visible features described during the measurements taken on the site.

The Mir-Arab garden, which arose in the early 16th century, was laid out in a large rectangle with an area of 33 hectares and surrounded by walls whose eroded sections measure 3 to 5 meters wide. Its hydraulic structures (canals, drainage ditches, etc.), as previously mentioned, attracted the attention of Wasifi. Indeed, this garden as an archaeological site and monument of landscape architecture has

several important features. First, it is the only well-preserved late medieval garden in Central Asia. Moreover, it creates a combined ensemble with the associated estate as a result of several unique historical and natural circumstances. In 1515, the estate of Mir-Arab was plundered by his opponents. Soon afterwards he moved to Bukhara and to other cities. By the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries another period of desertification began in the region. The Aksu river previously had gardens along its banks due to its flood plains (like most of the rivers flowing from the neighboring Karatay mountains). These arable land areas at this period were abruptly reduced. Fortunately, following the former garden and estates’ surface desolation, active industrial or agricultural activity was not conducted at the site with the exception of small herds grazing in the region. Small cattle-breeding farms still adjoin the area from the east, behind the ravine right up to the former garden. Second, is the series of high-quality aerial photos of both the Mir-Arab estate as well as his relatives’ manor not to mention that the site itself is conveniently located for research near the highway and next to the Sauran settlement under study. Third, both at the estate and at the former garden (Figs. 2-4), traces of two relatively short phases of habitation are clear which are easy to distinguish. Initially, in the 15th century, apparently as E. A. Smagulov supposed, was the estate of Mir-Arab’s relatives (seyyids from the Hadramaut mountain valley in Yemen). Then the next phase involved his periods of residency in Sauran. Both sites (the residential estate and the irrigated land plot) looked very different during both periods, and this is clearly seen in the aerial photos (Figs. 5-6). The earlier adobe buildings and walls of the estate are more thoroughly eroded.

Under the initial owners, a manor house with external fortifications was apparently built at the turn in the Aksu River whose cape rose to 7 meters above the floodplain terrace (Fig. 5). In addition to the defensive moats, external walls (preserved to a height of up to 0.7 m) are visible with a rectangular configuration encompassing an area of 13.3 hectares. On the eastern, foundational side, 8 towers are visible which protrude beyond the line of the walls by 6 to 7 meters. The distance between these towers vary from between 48 to 76 meters. A fortified entrance is located on the southern side of the adjacent town of Sauran. A water well was located inside. The residential complex itself was surrounded by a rectangular fence (61 x 53 m) with only traces of buildings inside. The fence had an entrance on the southeast side. Relatively minor garden lands were located to the northeast of the estate (their enclosures cannot be seen in aerial photos), and, undoubtedly, just as today on this site they served as lands for cattle-breeding. Indeed, on the site



Fig. 2. Mirtobe: Manor and garden. Aerial photo by R. Sala



Fig. 3. Mirtobe: Manor and garden. Aerial photo by R. Sala (in Smagulov 2011)

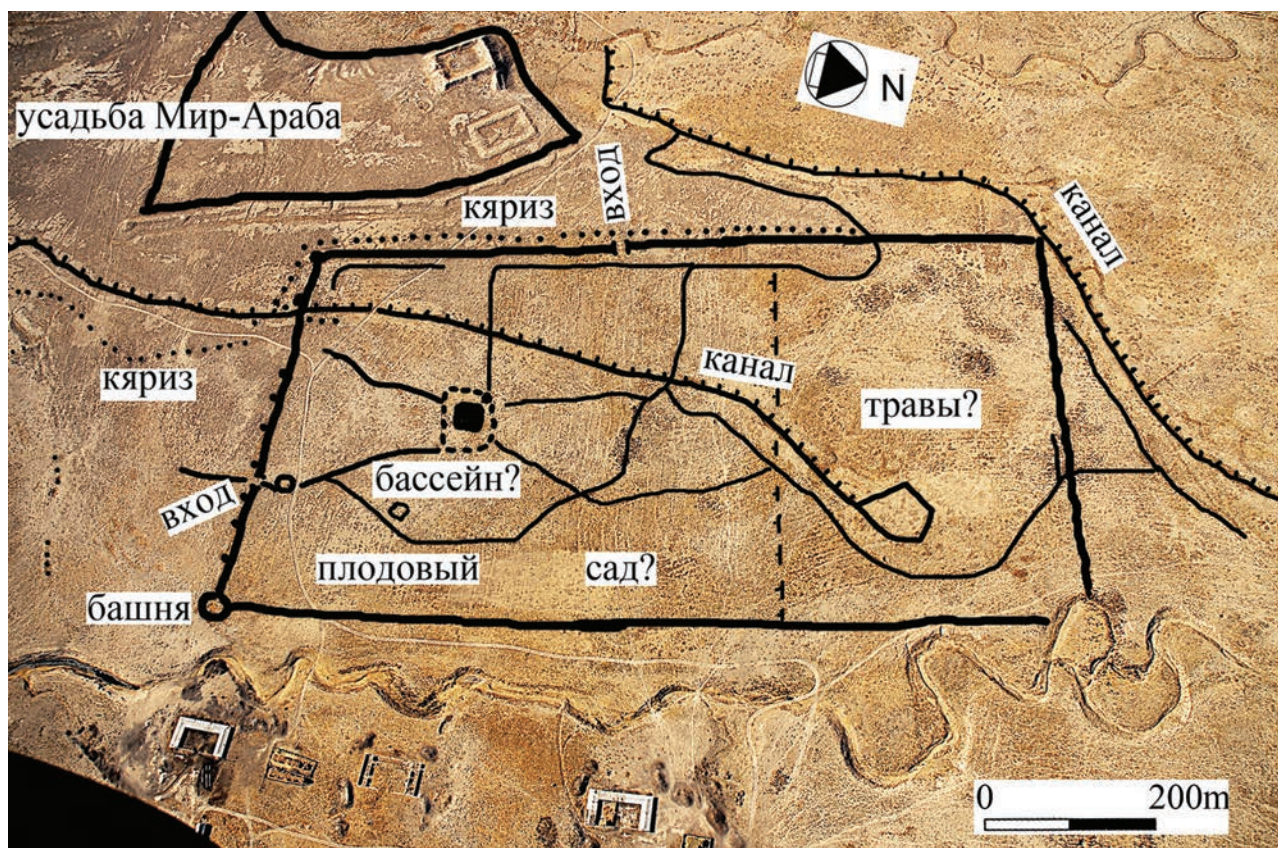


Fig. 4. Mirtobe: Manor and garden. Technical drawing by S. A. Yatsenko

of the future garden with its well-thought-out system of large parallel ridges of the same type, including to the north behind its fence, the aerial photo shows 4 isolated, albeit close to one other areas, with rows of rare parallel ridges for garden trees. The direction these ridges is different in each case and does not correspond to those in the future garden of Mir-Arab. Two larger sites are located northeast of the estate (the length of the farthest in a latitudinal direction is slightly more than 200 m). These are probably the gardens that belonged to smaller families who lived on the estate. This group of gardens was connected by two canals (ditches) leading southwest toward the Aksu river. Not far behind the ravine, on a hill to the east was the latitudinal line of a large *kariz* (Fig. 1). A branch of this canal, which was poorly preserved, apparently bypassed the future large garden from the south but was probably also associated with the owners of the estate.

The second, and better known historical period of the estate's habitation, is associated with Mir-Arab himself. He was a sheikh of the Naqshbandi tariqa (Sufi order), famously known as the spiritual father of Ubaydullah Khan who inspired the successful struggle against Safavid Iran and a great and wealthy man (Wasifi 2010; Babadjanov 1995; Juraeva 1985). During his time in Sauran, the outer walls of the

estate apparently were not seriously renovated. However, next to the previous residential complex on the northern edge a new wall was built very close in size and spatial orientation to the earlier one measuring 60 meters in length (Fig. 6). However, this house was now a true fortress containing 10 towers, including those on the sides of the entrance. Today's preserved height measures between 4 to 5 meters with rubble 5 meters thick. Such strong fortifications is not surprising since it was rumored that the sheikh's basement contained treasures filled to the brim with gold and silver. The site was devastated by the Mir-Arab's opponents in 1515. A ramp proceeded from the northeastern corner of the fortified house which turned into a path reaching the gate of the garden so loved by its owner and which is clearly discernable even today. The garden itself (Pers. *bug*; Arab. *jannat*), which was newly planted at that time, had a rectangular shape that measured 800 x 470 meters. It was surrounded by walls of various widths. Such an oasis of greenery from the neighboring hills must have looked very impressive (Fig. 7). Most splendidly, the garden wall was decorated from the south, or the side which faced the city. This southern side contained 9 towers protruding some 8 to 9 meters beyond the walls. The largest and tallest of these, located in the southeastern corner, was 8 meters in diameter

and probably housed the guards (cf. a similar well-preserved tower in the Persian garden of Fin founded by Abbas the Great at the end of the 16th century in the southwestern outskirts of Kashan) (Fig. 8). The other three sides contained no towers along the garden wall. Around the garden from the south and west (between the ravine in the east and the canal in the west) was a bypass irrigation ditch up to 4 meters wide. In addition, on the western side along the edge of the garden, an underground water irrigation network wing (kariz) was situated. It had two short entrances into the garden. Another underground water network from the northeast skirted the main tower of the fence. Inside the garden, irrigation ditches crisscrossed it in the form of irregular diagonals, resembling a letter X.

Approximately two thirds of the garden (except for its northern edge) was clearly used for numerous and valuable fruit trees which were planted perpendicular to the long side of the fence in a west-to-east direction. Trees were planted between forty irregular lines of irrigation ditches with a total length of 450 meters extending at equal intervals. (Cf. similar ridge rows with ditches are found in the Dovalatabad garden in Yazd. These were arranged by the local ruler in the mid-18th century) (Fig. 10). A reflective water pool was arranged on the central axis of the plot with the fruit trees. A rectangular depression measuring 30 x 25 meters is currently visible. Now its remains are only 0.7 meters deep. At the northwestern corner of this pool is a round depression (?). The influential owner and his visitors reached the pool through the path that extended from the garden's entrance along its western wall, which then turned along the west-east line to the water well. Between the pool and the garden's front southern fence was a triangular section about 200 meters long which was devoid of fruit tree ridges. It was bordered in the east by two small rectangular outbuildings. This site was clearly intended to receive guests. In its center was a rather wide longitudinal path. Since no traces of a large pavilion can be found, Mir-Arab must have received selected guests on a wooden platform under a canopy, or the pavilion was made of light material, without a solid foundation (cf., Wilber 1979) (Fig. 9). Undoubtedly, some type of shade or greenery (individual trees and small flower beds) was also present. As for the northern third of the early 16th century garden, (not including the small gardens of the Mir-Arab's predecessors) no obvious ridges can be found. This allows one to consider the northern section as containing a flower garden (*bustan*), where, according to Iranian tradition, flowers grew against a grass background (*alfalfa*) with interspersed trees (Fig. 11).

The Mir-Arab garden fits perfectly into the tradition of Persian-type gardens prevalent in

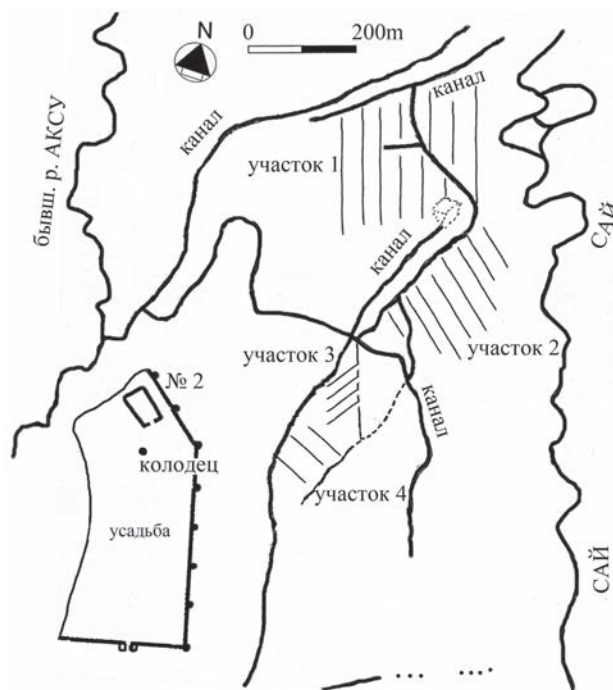


Fig. 5. Mirtobe: The first phase of the garden in the 15th century. Scheme by S. A. Yatsenko

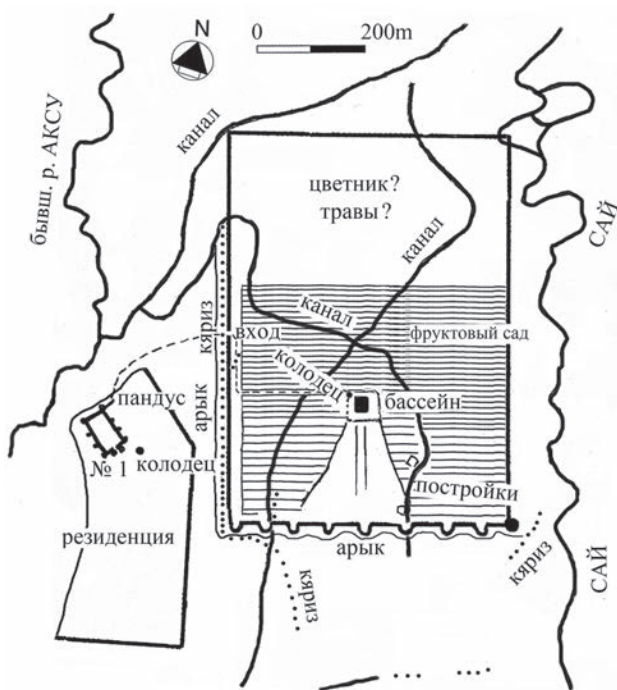


Fig. 6. Mirtobe: The second period of the garden in the early 16th century. Scheme by S. A. Yatsenko

the Islamic world (*The Persian Garden*; Khansari, Moghateder, Yavari 1998; Habhouse 2004; Golombek 2012). At the same time, only the southern or "fruit" section of the garden corresponds to the popular scheme of the Persian garden *char-bag* or *chahar-bag*



Fig. 7. Shahzade's garden, near Mahan, Kerman province, Iran. Photo by Hamid Sadegni



Fig. 8. Corner tower and fence of the Fin Garden near Kashan, Iran.
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/hessplayer/26952604284>



Fig. 9. A garden scene. Miniature of Mirza Ali, ca. 1545, by M. M. Ashrafi



Fig. 10. Garden beds and irrigation ditches around fruit trees. Dovlatabad Garden, Yazd, Iran. Author unknown

“four gardens”), in which the garden was divided by canals (irrigation ditches) into four main rectangular sections with various types of vegetation that often encircled a pool and a large pavilion (the latter could have also been located along the garden’s edge) (Pinder-Wilson 1976). This type of garden took shape during the emergence of the first “world empire” of the Achaemenids under Cyrus the Great, following the example of his palaces of the mid-6th century BC in Pasargadae (Stronach 1989: 475-487) and was reflected later in the Qur’an in the form of the four gardens of Paradise known as *Adi*, *Firdaus*, *Mava*, and *Naim*.

Alas, Mir-Arab’s garden has not yet been properly excavated archaeologically. Nevertheless, according to sources that arose earlier and synchronously with the garden in question, we can reasonably assume what type of trees, shrubs, and flowers could have grown there. Even at the end of the 6th century the famous Sassanian work *Khosrov, Son of Kavad and His Page* described the *best* flowers grown in Iran: First place was given to the Indian jasmine (“its smell is like the smell of gentlemen”); followed by the rose, basil, daffodil, gillyflower (*mattiola incana*), white lily, violet, and lotus (*Khosrov, Son of Kavad and His Page*, 2001). At the same time, violet, gillyflower and basil, judging by later evidence in Central Asia, can be considered specifically as Persian. In Central Asia for the first half of the 8th century in the suburban residence of the Sogdian rulers of Bukhara and Varakhsha; the tulip, daffodil, rose, peony, poppy, and jasmine flowers that grew in the region are recreated by the ceramic and gypsum carvings on the iwan of the palace (Tsvetkova 2013: 31). During Timurid times, which immediately preceded the garden of Mir-Arab, various sources mention roses, daffodils, lilies, tulips, peonies, anemones, gillyflower, marigolds, poppies, and lotuses against a clover background. The ensemble of ornamental and fruit trees and bushes was also quite definite. In the abovementioned Varakhsha, were pomegranates, cherries, and grapes. In the 10th



Fig. 11. Hamai and the Chinese in a flower garden. Miniature of the 15th century. Paris, private collection. Per catalog: An Illustrated Souvenir from the Exhibition of Persian Art. London, 1931

century, Muhammad ibn Jafar an-Narshahi named elm, pears, walnuts, cherries, and almonds as among the most important tree species for Bukhara’s main residences and, in particular, the palace at the gate of the Registan (*Narshakhi* 2011: 37-38). Cypress, poplar, pomegranate, cherry, apricot, almond, pear, and quince are repeatedly mentioned in Timurid sources (*Golombek* 2012; *Pugachenkova* 1987; *Clavijo* 1992). It is interesting to compare this data with the descriptions of traditional gardens of Bukhara in the 19th century (*Khanykov* 1843; *Yusupova* 2005).

It is hoped that this most interesting and very vulnerable site – the former garden of Mir-Arab – will be the subject of archaeological investigation before it is destroyed by modern human activity. Such investigations would be the fulfillment of one of the last important desires of Erbulat Smagulov who has left us for a better world.

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HISTORIOGRAPHY
ISSUES

OLGA MYAKISHEVA

THE HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION FORMATION OF NESTORIAN TOMBSTONES

This article provides the history of the formation of the archaeological collection of Nestorian tombstones in the Archeology Inventory of the Central State Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan. A historiographical review of the study of archaeological sites in Zhetysu (Semirechye) during the second half of the 19th to early 20th century is given. Also noted is the significant contributions of such famous scientists of the time as Ch.Ch. Valikhanov, N. N. Pantusov, F. V. Poyarkov, A.M. Fetisov, A. N. Bernshtam, V. D. Gorodetsky, and A. M. Zhyrenchin. The beginnings of this collection was established even prior to the museum itself. While studying the collection of Nestorian gravestones, one can trace the history of the creation of museums in Zhetysu. The discovery of the medieval Nestorian cemetery in the vicinity of Pishpek (modern Bishkek), Tokmok District, provided the impetus for the long-term cooperation in the study of Zhetysu by local historians Pantusov, Fetisov, and Poyarkov with the aid of the Imperial Archaeological Commission and the Russian Geographical Society. The article notes the contribution of I.A. Chekaninsky to the overall museum collection and categorization of the archaeological finds of the Kazakh Central Regional Museum. The Archeology Foundation has preserved to the present the archaeological inventory's catalog and subject file. The article briefly covers the creation of the Kazakh Central Regional Museum, which was later renamed the Central State Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The impact of natural disasters that occurred in Almaty on the life of the city and in particular on the museum collection during late 19th and early 20th centuries is also noted.

Key words: museum, collection, Nestorianism, tombstone, catalog, Zhetysu

Citation: Olga Myakisheva (2021). The History of the Collection Formation of Nestorian Tombstones, Bulletin of IICAS, 32. P. 155-163, DOI:10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.155-163

Article link: <https://doi.org/10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.155-163>

THE CENTRAL State Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan (hereinafter, the CSM RK) is one of the leading museums in Kazakhstan. The museum's archaeological collection includes materials on the ancient and medieval history of the country. The museum's archives are based on the collections of the so-called "museum," founded in 1831 at the Neptyuevsky Military School at the initiative of the Orenburg military governor, Count Pavel Petrovich Sukhtelen,¹ as well as the collections of the Semirechye Regional Museum, established in 1898 in the city of Verny (Almaty, the capital of Kazakhstan from 1929 to 1997) by members of the Semirechye Statistical Committee.²

The formation of the museum's archaeological collection has a long tradition and history directly

related to the formation of archaeological science in Russia from the 19th and early 20th century. In the second half of the 19th century, the interest among Russian scientific circles in archaeological research in Kazakhstan increased significantly. Members of the Russian Archaeological Society, the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, the Archaeological Commission, the Imperial Moscow Archaeological Society, the Turkestan Circle of Archaeology Lovers, and others were engaged in the intentional study of Kazakhstani antiquities at that time. On the pages of their publications, they published notes about archaeological finds or excavations in Semirechye (Zhetysu in Kazakh). In the study of Semirechye during the second half of the 19th to early 20th century, a significant contribution was made by researchers of that time that included Ch.Ch. Valikhanov, N.A. Abramov, N.N. Pantusov, F.V. Poyarkov, A.M. Fetisov and others. In fact, they discovered several unique archaeological sites, which, thanks to publication, became widely known in academia during the late 19th century.

¹ The State Archive of the Orenburg Region of the Russian Federation. F. 6. Op. 10. D. 385. Sh. 1.

² Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. 828. Op. 1. D. 1. Sh. 7-9.



Fig. 1. A. M. Fetisov and V. F. Poyarkov. Source: <http://tourkg.com/2013/05/istoriya-bishkeka-6.html/06/05/2021>

The history of the formation of Kazakhstan's Central State Museum collection is reflected in gathered statistics, references, and encyclopedic publications of that period, as well as in the works of museum activists. This includes V.E. Nedzvetsky, (Nedzvetsky 1905; Nedzvetsky 1914; Nedzvetsky 1915; Cultural construction in Kazakhstan 1965), N.N. Pantusov, A.N. Bernshtam, V.D. Gorodetsky, A.M. Zhirenchin, (Zhirenchin 1947, 18), A. Batalova, (Batalova 1938, 24-27; *Reports by Central Museum* 1923-24, 1925), E.T. Zhangel'din (Zhangel'din 1998b, 3-10; Zhangel'din 1998a, 36-41), S.A. Urashev, (Urashev 1998, 29-44), N. Alimbay (Alimbay 2004, 11-18), I.M. Samigulin and others who devoted their works to various aspects of the museum. (*Bulletin of the CMK*, 1930). Yet, the bulk of sources on the history of the CSM RK is still not published and remains stored in the scientific archive.

In 2011, a collection of documentary materials from Kazakhstan's Central State Archive was published together with the Scientific Archive from the Institute for the History of Material Culture of the Russian Academy of Sciences. It examined the Zhetysu archaeological sites from the middle of the 19th to the early 20th century (*Archeology of Semirechye* 2011). Based on these published documents, the collection's compiler, I. M. Samigulin, wrote an article on the topic.

A collection of epigraphic artifacts consisting of 19 stored Nestorian tombstones (CMK 21930/1-19) is of particular interest in the museum's archaeological inventory. This collection began to coalesce even before the founding of the museum. By studying the example of the Nestorian gravestone collection, one can trace the history of the founding of museums in Zhetysu.

Kazakh scholar and educator, Chokan Valikhanov, reported on the Nestorian sites of Semirechye in his work *Essays of Dzungaria*: "It is also remarkable that in this part of Asia there were especially many Nestorian and Monophysite congregations; and on Lake Issyk-Kul, the Syrian Jacobites, according to the Catalan map, had a monastery with the relics of St. Matthew. Christianity spread so extensively that it incurred several persecutions against itself; in the 14th century there were already several Muslim villages at Issyk-Kul, ... I could not make large discoveries, because the Kirghiz managed to destroy the last remnants of the surviving buildings, considering everything [archaeologically] as being the slightest [examples of] temples" (Valikhanov 1987: 272).

The first report about the medieval Christian graves near the city of Pishpek (modern Bishkek) came from V.A. Andreev, the topographer of the Boundary Department of the Semirechye Regional Board.³

Samigulin notes in his article that in conjunction with the medieval Nestorian cemetery's discovery near Pishpek, (Tokmok district) in 1884, N.N. Pantusov began his long-term cooperation with the Imperial Archaeological Commission. The following year, 1885, at the Semirechye military governor Major General A. Ya. Fridé's suggestion, Pantusov became an agent for the Commission for the Acquisition of Antiquities in the Semirechye region (*Archaeology of Semirechye* 2011, 18). As mentioned in the *Report on the Actions of the Imperial Archaeological Commission for 1885*:

The Commission found a very diligent employee specializing in the collection of Central Asian antiquities, the orientalist Pantusov, a senior official for special assignments attached to the military governor of the Semirechye region (*Report of the Archaeological Commission* 1891, 120). With the assistance of this Commission, it was possible to obtain several previously completely unknown tombstones with cross and Syriac inscriptions from the medieval Nestorian cemetery located near Pishpek in Tokmok district and dating to the 9th-13th centuries by our calendar. Further research into this cemetery, entrusted by the Archaeological Commission to Mr. Pantusov, may

³ Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. И-44. Op. 1. D. 37322. Sh. 72.

lead to interesting discoveries (*Archaeology of Semirechye* 2011, 18).

In this same year, the findings were reported by a doctor from the Pishpek military hospital, F.V. Poyarkov (Fig. 1). Over the course of his career he was elected a corresponding member of the Moscow Archaeological Society; a member of the Society of Natural Science Lovers at Moscow University; a full member of the Society of Omsk Doctors; as well as the Semirechye Statistical Committee. He authored a significant number of papers on the archaeology, ethnography, and anthropology of Semirechye, many of which are still relevant. He also conducted archaeological research and discovered ruins of ancient settlements and burial grounds near the city of Tokmok (*Archaeology of Semirechye* 2011, 18). In a letter published by the November 14th edition of the *Eastern Review* (No. 44), he wrote that 14 versts [14.94 km] south of the village of Greater Tokmok at the foothills of the Kyrgyz ridge, he saw a high tower, "Burana," among abandoned graves. At that spot, he also discovered about 20 stones with cross images and inscriptions in a language incomprehensible either

to him or to the locals (*Report of the Archaeological Commission 1891*, 120).

On September 11, 1885, the Archaeological Commission received news from Pantusov concerning a medieval Christian cemetery found near the town of Pishpek with many tombstones inscribed with crosses. Pantusov assumed that the inscriptions were made in the Syriac language. The Archaeological Commission decreed that he should conduct excavations at the sites of the inscriptions (Myakisheva 2014, 431-435).

That year, Pantusov conducted large-scale excavations of the two Nestorian cemeteries near Pishpek and Tokmok assisted by the horticulturist from the Pishpek state garden, A.M. Fetisov. Fetisov (Figs. 1, 2), was among the Semirechye researchers during the second half of the 19th century. He was a botanist and horticulturist, that complemented his main responsibilities with the Pishpek state garden. But, accompanying his main profession was a strong interest in the region's archaeology and ethnography. Fetisov discovered more than 180 species of plants unknown to science, and his work became widely known not

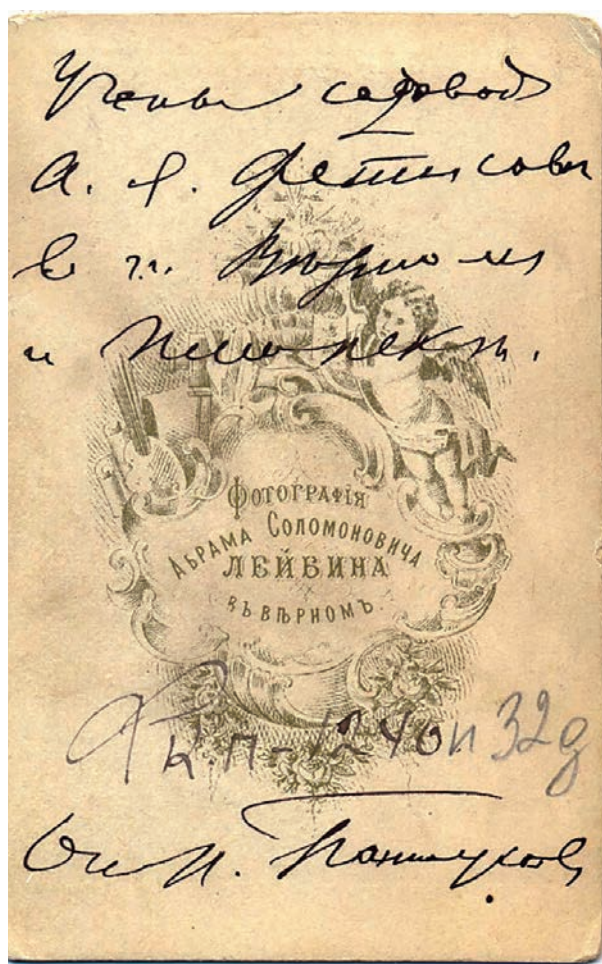


Fig. 2. Scientist-gardener A. M. Fetisov. Source: Funds of TsGM RK, TsMK FKP 1240

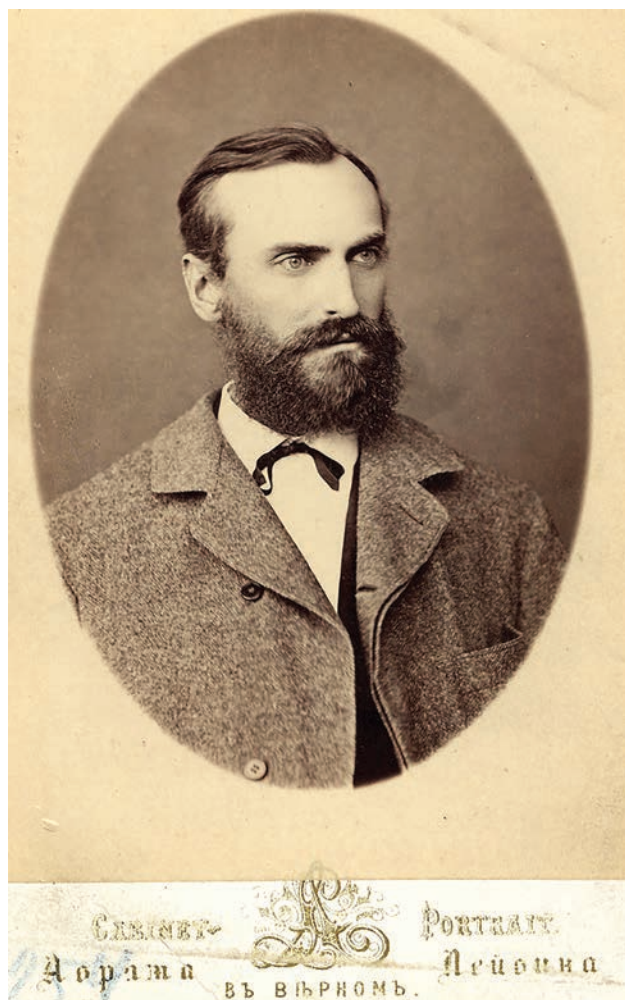


Fig. 3. N. N. Pantusov. Source: TsMK FKP 1389

only in Russia, but also abroad (Masson, Goryacheva 1985, 11-13). He also took photographs and prints of the tombstone inscriptions and presented them to the Archaeological Commission; later deciphered by Professor D. A. Chowlson of St. Petersburg University.

In 1886, the Archaeological Commission instructed Pantusov to study Nestorian cemeteries with the archaeological excavations entrusted to A.M. Fetisov. Samigulin notes that Pantusov's organizational abilities (Fig. 3) enabled him to fruitfully take advantage of his official position for the centralized collection of information on the Semirechye sites and the discovered cultural material. The archival documents contain information concerning his sources and methods for data collection and about site locations and dimensions which set a careful precedent among the local population in handling the antiquities of the region. He also reported about his acquisition of various items sent to the Imperial Archaeological Commission, museums, and research societies.

Pantusov's activity was not limited to his exploration and archaeological site research or collecting and sending various artifacts to the Commission. He also took care to preserve all types of cultural heritage; initiated the establishment of regulations by the Semirechye military governor which prohibited unauthorized excavations as well as the destruction and looting of archaeological sites.

The Archaeological Commission highly appreciated Pantusov's merits from his study of the sites of Semirechye. On June 1, 1894 the Commission elected him a corresponding member (*Report of the Archaeological Commission 1891*, 21). At Pantusov's initiative, in 1898, the Semirechye Regional Museum was established that included historical and archaeological departments. From its very first years the museum began receiving Kazakh ethnographic material. Pantusov constantly demonstrated great care concerning the museum's work. He provided the museum with his own archaeological and ethnographic collections including 151 copies of images and inscriptions from the Nestorian tombstones (*Report of the Archaeological Commission 1891*: 21).

During the initial stages of research on the Nestorian cemetery, the tombstones were sent to the Archaeological Commission. This was in response to a formal request in writing entitled "The Statement from Baron V. G. Tiesenhausen, Chairman of the Imperial Archaeological Commission to the Military Governor of the Semirechye Region, A. Ya. Fride." It was dated July 27, 1885, (No. 331) and concerned the transfer of an initial financial advance to Pantusov for the purchase of the antiquities.⁴

Starting from 1886, the steppe Governor-General G. A. Kolpakovsky and military Semirechye Governor Fride took measures to preserve the Nestorian sites:

The Nestorian Syriac inscriptions found in the Semirechye region are of great interest for paleography, linguistics, and especially for the history of the spread of Christianity among the Turkic tribes. Therefore, in the interests of science, it is highly desirable that the stones discovered in the region should not be destroyed, taken by anyone, or used for construction purposes; but carefully sent to the city of Verny [modern Almaty] where they should be collected in special storage.

At the same time, I humbly ask Your Excellency to invite someone interested in archaeological issues, for example Pantusov, to take the trouble to notify the Archaeological Commission, chaired by Count Bobrinsky, about the discovered copies, to take care of their preservation in Verny, and to fulfil without

⁴ Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. И-44. Op. 1. D. 37322. Sh. 54.

delay the requests of the Archaeological Commission regarding, for example, taking photographs of the stones, making prints or, if necessary, sending the originals themselves to St. Petersburg.”⁵

Despite the ban on export of the Nestorian tombstones, the archival documents provide evidence that they were still exported to the Siberian University, Tashkent, Omsk, Kazan, and according to a “telegram published in papers, up to 50 Tokmok and Pishpek gravestone inscriptions were brought to Verny to be sent to the Tomsk University without the permission of the Archaeological Commission; which his Majesty granted to monitor for the protection of ancient monuments.”⁶ Consequently, at present, some Nestorian tombstones from Zhetysu are to be found in the museums of St. Petersburg, Omsk, Kazan, Novosibirsk, and other Russian cities along with Tashkent (Republic of Uzbekistan).

In addition to the tombstones, the Archaeological Commission (St. Petersburg) received the following documents from Pantusov: Reports on the cemetery’s excavation with a topographic description of the cemetery; a description of tombstones with crosses; a description of his work plan; and a handwritten diary of his excavations accompanied by drawings and maps.⁷

The study of Nestorian cemeteries by the Archaeological Commission continued, and by 1892, Pantusov and Fetisov discovered more than 350 tombstones of which drawings were made and inscriptions copied (*Report of the Archaeological Commission 1891*, 310).

The year 1898 marked the establishment of the Semirechye Regional Museum with local historian V. E. Nedzvetsky as the first director and chief keeper of the collection. His zeal resulted in a significant increase in the museum’s collection; the systematization of the collected items; and the publication of several important scholarly works for our time. As head of the museum, Nedzvetsky made a significant contribution to its formation and development (Urashev 2008).

In 1902, at the initiative of the Statistical Committee, the Semirechye branch of the Russian Geographical Society was established in Verny. Active participation in the work of the RGS and study expeditions of the region were undertaken by the abovementioned

Nedzvetsky (who was also Secretary of the Statistical Committee), along with soil scientist L. I. Bessonov, S. S. Neustroev, and artist N.G. Khludov.

In 1905, the museum moved from its previous premises to a six-room building on Talgarskaya Street. In 1913, the museum moved again to Kopal’skaya Street in Verny. By 1917, the museum was separated from the Statistical Committee and at one time it was under the jurisdiction of the People’s University, but later was transferred to the National Economic Council. In 1918, the Military Stanitsa Museum merged with the Semirechye Museum. In 1920, V.D. Gorodetsky became the museum head (*Bulletin of the Central Museum of Kazakhstan* 1930, 9). He conducted much work on the formation of the Zhetysu Museum’s collection. Gorodetsky, an inspector of the Semirechye public schools, had previously graduated from the Faculty of Oriental Languages at St. Petersburg University. Back in October 1886, at the request of Professor V. M. Florinsky from Tomsk University, he examined the ruins of the Burana Tower and provided a detailed description which was published by V.M. Florinsky in his work on the prehistoric sites of the primitive Slavs. Gorodetsky visited Burana again in the autumn of 1888 in which he clarified and supplemented his previous description, also published by Florinsky in “Topographic Information about the Mounds of the Semirechye and Semipalatinsk Regions” (Florinsky 1889, 15-31). This publication also contains a review of Gorodetsky’s records of archaeological sites made during official trips around Semirechye (Florinsky 1889, 15-31; Mason, Goryacheva 1985, 13-16; Proskurin 2006, 100-101). He compiled summary data on archaeological sites, mounds, human settlements, and ore mines, among others, and provided their brief descriptions (Savelieva 1976, 236).

In the 1920s and early 1930s, work related to the accumulation of cultural material continued. The Almaty regional State Archive has preserved Gorodetsky’s petition on behalf of the museum dated May 5, 1924 to the Turkestan Committee for Museums “to allow the museum to excavate under the guiding obligation through implementation of the rules issued by the former Imperial Archaeological Commission.” The Committee determined that the organization of such excavations was undesirable.⁸

The Semirechye Museum gradually became one of the most important cultural institutions of the region: “Currently, the museum has the opportunity to print its catalogue and establish an exchange with other museums, both Russian and foreign, and is honored with visits by travelers arriving in Verny. The

⁵ Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. И-44. Op. 1. D. 37322. Sh. 168-169.

⁶ Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. И-44. Op. 1. D. 37322. Sh. 151-152; Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. И-44. Op. 1. D. 37322. Sh. 173-174.

⁷ Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. И-44. Op. 1. D. 375. Sh. 42-43.

⁸ State Archive of Almaty region. F. 187. Op. 1. D. 21. Cer. 2. Sh. 132, 121.



Fig. 4. A. I. Chekaninsky. Source: https://diesel.elcat.kg/uploads/monthly_02_2011/post-136982-1298632566.jpg 05/06/2021

activity of the museum was so fruitful that the local authorities could not but admit it, namely those who could not, or rather, did not want to support it with money.”⁹

In 1920, the Kazakh Central Regional Museum was established following a decree by the government of the Kazakh Autonomous Republic (then based in Orenburg, capital for the autonomous region). At that time, part of the collections of the Orenburg Provincial Museum was transferred to the newly formed Central Regional Museum.¹⁰

Another researcher, I.A. Chekaninsky, played a large role in the collection and inventorying of the archaeological material (Fig. 4). A corresponding member of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, in 1911 he entered the Moscow Archaeological Institute as an archaeologist and ethnographer.¹¹ Much later he would write in a questionnaire: “At the Institute, I trained specifically to research the field of prehistoric archaeology and ethnography... for the purpose of focusing my knowledge on the coverage of Siberian prehistory and its modern ethnographic composition” (Dyatlenko 2009, 51).

In 1921, he was seconded to the Regional Department of People’s Education by order of the commander of the Semirechye Front of the Red Army, where he was appointed head of the Historical, Archaeological, and Ethnographic Department of the Semirechye Regional Museum. “Here, in addition to gathering archaeological collections, I worked on popular historical and archaeological topics with Red Army students and with guided excursions for workers and peasants” (Dyatlenko 2009, 51). In May of the same year, the Semirechye Department of the Geographical Society and the Regional Museum, included him in the Komgosor (Committee of State Structures) Expedition as an ethnographer-archaeologist for work in the Chu Valley, including Lake Issyk-Kul. As the head of the department, Chekaninsky maintained the museum’s documentation in which he compiled a catalog of the archaeological collection. This also included the collection of Nestorian tombstones (Fig. 5), compiled in a subject file (Fig. 6).¹²

110-II

Department of Archaeology

Gravestone

Height 38 cm, width 34 cm

A 3 a 3 b 3 The inscription is not deciphered.

Found (taken) in an ancient Christian cemetery together with No. 96-109.

From F. Poyarkov

Group II.

107-II

Department of Archaeology

Gravestone

Height 23 cm, width 24 cm

Only the lower section with the lower part of the cross has been preserved.

Found (taken) from the ancient Christian cemetery (Nestorian) together with no.

From F. Poyarkov

Group II.

It should be noted that Almaty (the abovementioned, Verny) located at the foot of the Ili-Alatau Mountains in southeast Kazakhstan is a seismically active region (designated a 9-point zone). In 1887 and 1910, the city was subjected to a 9-point earthquake, which completely destroyed the museum collection. The archive has preserved a note from Pantusov, as mentioned, the senior official of special assignments under the Semirechye military governor dated June

⁹ Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. 44. Op. 1. D. 54921. Sh. 14.

¹⁰ History of the museum <http://www.csmrk.kz/index.php/about-muz-menu/mnu-history-muz>, 27 November 2020.

¹¹ Central State Archive of the Kyrgyz Republic. F. 954. Op. 1. D. 10.

¹² Central State Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Storage department. General Catalogue of History, Archaeology and Numismatics No. 21, 1922. Inventorying Department. F. Op. 5. D. 8. Cer. 1. (12.1).

4, 1887 and addressed to the Imperial Archaeological Commission about the dispatch of materials from the excavations of Nestorian cemeteries that were not damaged during the earthquake in Verny in May. It states that, on May 28, 1887, the city of Verny suffered a terrible catastrophe: "A strong earthquake destroyed the whole city to the ground, we live on the street and in gardens with great inconvenience. Therefore, I will find it possible to send to the Commission all the materials on excavations at the Nestorian cemeteries near Tokmak and Pishpek that I could only preserve and find in the mud of the ruins. Together with this, I submit to the Commission: 1) things from the graves of the Pishpek Christian Nestorian cemetery with a special inventory, and I ask you to inform me about their receipt. These things should be separated from the ones I sent earlier, belonging to the Pishpek cemetery; 2) three photographs of one of the stones of the Peri-Pishpek Nestorian cemetery. Following this, several authentic stones will be submitted to the Commission from the last cemetery, which can be sent by mail."¹³

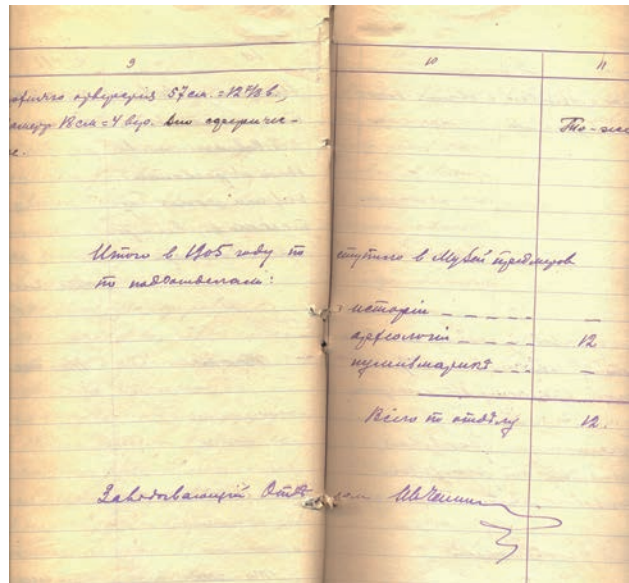
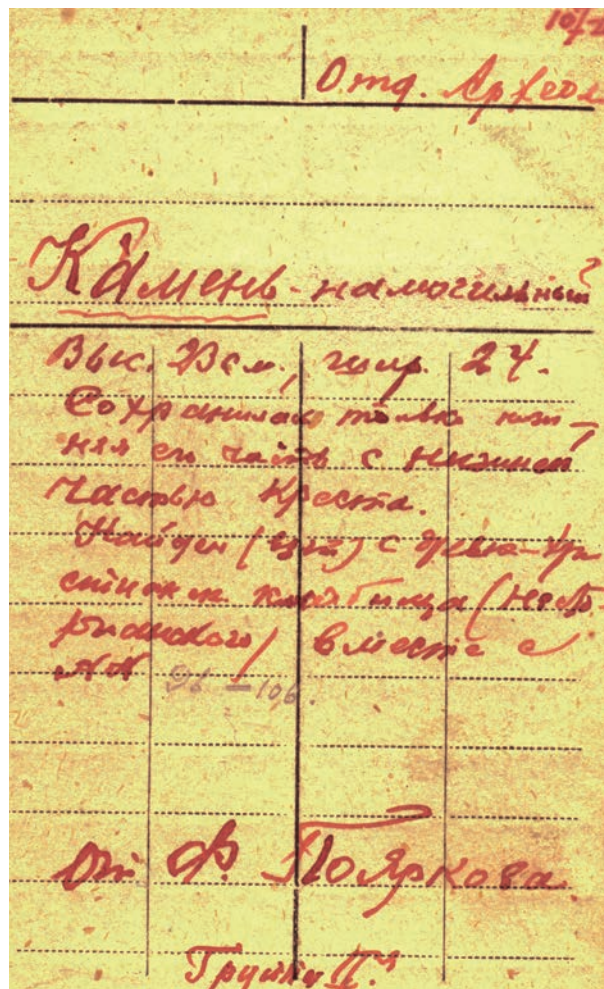
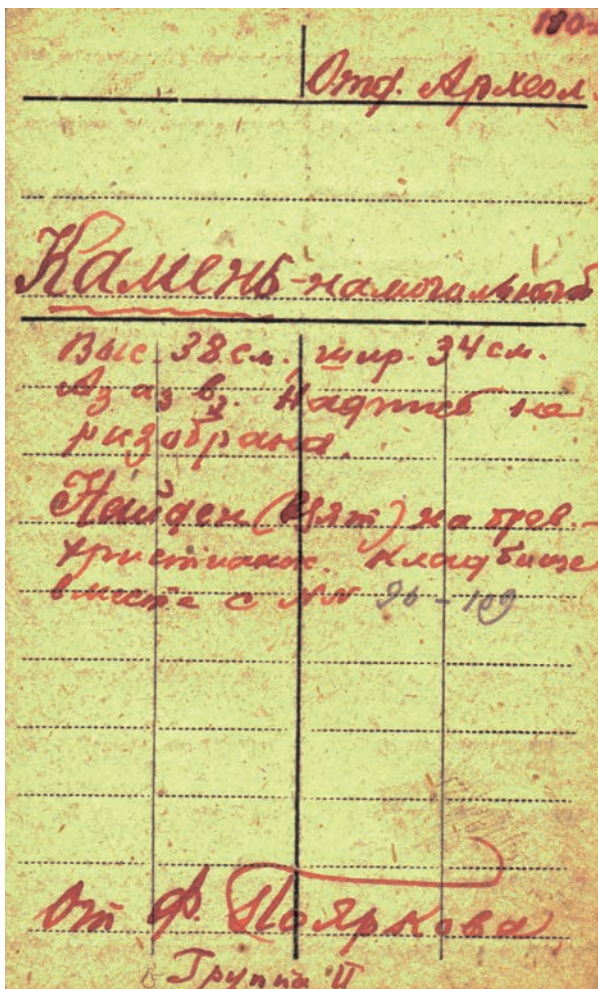


Fig. 5. Signature of Chekaninsky. Catalog of the archaeological collection for 1922 Source: archive of the accounting department of the Central State Geological Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan



Il. 6. Object cards of Nestorian tombstones. 1922 Source: Foundation of Archeology of the Central State Geological Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Mountain rivers flowing through the Almaty region also pose danger in the form of mudslides (water containing stones, mud, uprooted trees, etc.). Thus, in July 1921, the city of Almaty suffered another catastrophe. V.D. Gorodetsky published an article in the *Bulletin of the Central Museum* (No. 1), which described the condition of the city of Alma-Ata (Almaty):

"It is famous for those terrible catastrophes that have already shaken us to its foundations twice – the earthquakes of May 28, 1887 and December 22, 1910. Recently, on July 8, 1921, a new, third catastrophe engulfed it, and this time from a direction no one expected – from the shallow, small mountain river the "Little Almaatinka" (*Gorodetsky* 1930, 23). "Mud spread everywhere in a wide layer, filling neighboring courtyards, streets, creeping into houses, basements, cellars, etc. Possessing enormous strength, carrying stones weighing hundreds of poods,¹⁴ the mud stream broke fences, tore out and overturned gates, pushed through house doors and windows and filled everything everywhere with its wet, cold mud" (*Gorodetsky* 1930, 27).

He noted in the article the moment the main stream broke through along Kopalskaya Street, which passed through the fence of the district museum:

"Here it destroyed the fence and gate, demolished the storeroom with all its contents, moved the wooden hut from its place and carried it without damage [intact] to the corner of the yard, and demolished large cast-iron Chinese bells and stone rams. One of the rams was found near the hay market; its weight is [approximately 150 kilograms]. The destroyed garden of the museum was littered with a dirt layer up to 1 meter thick with a dozen stones weighing up to 1.5 tons" (*Gorodetsky* 1930: 27).

Despite this series of natural disasters, Almaty, survived and became the capital of the Republic of Kazakhstan (until 1997), and has developed economically and politically; now, the second most important city in Kazakhstan.

The cultural material accumulated through the activity of the Semirechye (Zhetysu) Central Museum of Regional Studies of Kazakhstan formed the basis of the archaeological collection of the Central State Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan.¹⁵ In July 1929, the Central Museum of Regional Studies of Kazakhstan completely moved to the city of Alma-Ata (now Almaty) and occupied the building of the Ascension

Cathedral.¹⁶ On July 13, the meeting of the Museum Council decided to rename the Central Museum of Local Lore of Kazakhstan to simply, the Central Museum of Kazakhstan (*Bulletin of the Central Museum of Kazakhstan* 1930, 9; Alimbaj 2004, 11-18; History of the Museum).

Thus, from the collection of Nestorian tombstones, 19 items were preserved in storage by 1930. Only in 1987, when the Central State Museum moved to a modern building, did work began on the inventory for the entire archaeological collection. The collection of Nestorian stones was noted and assigned the modern inventory numbers in the inventory journal for the Central Museum of Kazakhstan, 21930/1-19.

¹⁶ The Ascension Cathedral was built in 1904-1907 by engineer Andrey Zenkov according to the project of architect Konstantin Borisoglebsky. The original designs of this multi-story building ensured the reliability of the structure during the earthquake of 1910. It was built entirely of wooden parts connected to each other by metal fasteners. "Though grandiosely high," Zenkov wrote about the cathedral, "it was a very flexible structure. Its bell tower swayed and bent like the top of a tall tree and worked like a flexible beam." Only the bent cross reminds one of the earthquake it faced. It is one of the tallest wooden churches in the world and is also an example of earthquake-resistant structures. It is included in the list of historical and cultural monuments of Kazakhstan of significance to the Republic.

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¹³ Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. И-44. Op. 1. D. 375. Sh. 91.

¹⁴ Editor's note: A pood was the equivalent of 16.38 kg.

¹⁵ V.D. Gorodetsky, Archive of the Institute of Archaeology of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. Op. 2. D. 4. Cer. 1. On 175 sheets.

- encii, posvyashchennoj 170-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya N.M.Przheval'skogo [N.M. Przhevsky and Russian Devotees to the Study of the History and Culture of Central Asia. Materials of the Scientific-Practical Conference Dedicated to the 170th anniversary of the Birth of N.M. Przhevsky]. 26-27 iyunya 2009 g. // Pod red. akad. V.M. Ploskih. B.: KRSU; Ilim, (in Russian).
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VALERIYA PRISCHEPOVA

A. N. SAMOILOVICH'S PHOTO COLLECTIONS IN THE KUNSTKAMERA

Academician Alexander Nikolaevich Samoilovich is renowned as a prominent orientalist and Turkologist. Much less well known are his accomplishments as an ethnographer, collector, and photographer who expanded the collections of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography for the Russian Academy of Sciences (MAE RAS). In 1908-1909, the MAE RAS received four photo collections from A.N. Samoilovich (almost 190 photographs and negatives). Unpublished photographs from this collection show traditional Turkmen costumes, hats, dwellings, outbuildings, dervishes, and musical performers. These visual museum materials broaden our knowledge about the life, customs, and material culture of the population from the Khanate of Khiva.

Key words: photo collections, collector, snapshot, photo negatives, Central Asia, Khiva Khanate, museum, image, the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography

Citation: Valeriya Prischepova (2021). A. N. Samoilovich's Photo Collections in the Kunstkamera, Bulletin of IICAS, 32 (Smagulov Collection). P. 164-171. DOI: 10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.164-171

Article link: <https://doi.org/10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.164-171>

ACADEMICIAN Alexander Nikolaevich Samoilovich is well known as an orientalist and Turkologist. Much less well known are his accomplishments as an ethnographer, collector, and photographer who expanded the collections of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography for the Russian Academy of Sciences (MAE RAS). While working as a Privatdozent at the university, Samoilovich continued his research and collaborated with several scientific institutions, including the MAE. He was invited to the museum as an orientalist consultant to study ethnographic collections. Samoilovich also was an indispensable member of the Radlov Circle, which operated at the museum. From 1910 to 1915, he was Secretary of the Department of Ethnography for the Russian Geographical Society while simultaneously participating together with W. I. Lamansky as editor for *Living Antiquity* magazine, while being one of the most active authors of numerous articles and reviews.

Samoilovich, as a linguist-orientalist, devoted much attention to ethnographic studies. During repeated visits to Central Asia, he collected and commented on excerpts from Kyrgyz legends and folk-

tales, as well as riddles by the Trans-Caspian Turkmen, Turkmen conspiracies, legends, and tongue twisters.

In 1901-1909, Samoilovich provided the MAE with four photographic collections (almost 190 photographs and negatives; Nos. 1350, 1397, 1398, 1490. MAE RAS). He supplied the museum with a collection on the Teke, Ersari, and Salar Turkmen tribes from Merv and the Cheleken Island (MAE RAS, No. 1397 MAE RAS). One of the photographs shows an Ersari man with his two wives, one a Sakar and the other a Salar (MAE RAS MAE No. 1397-16). Other photographs in the collection include traditional Turkmen costumes, headdresses, dwellings, and outbuildings. In 1908, Samoilovich presented to the MAE negatives of the Khiva and Turkmen populations, including images of dervishes (MAE RAS, No.1350-24-26). The following year, he presented a collection of photographs of Turkmen and Uzbeks, following a visit to the Khiva Khanate (MAE RAS, No.1398). Those included portraits of Uzbek women in national costumes, a dervish in full dress, photographs of yurts, musical instrument performers, local transport vehicles, as well as domestic scenes.

During his Central Asian expeditions, Samoilovich, whose multifaceted scientific interests are difficult to enumerate (Abramzon 1974: 69-197), visited *auls* (villages), observed local traditional life, and

¹ A. N. Samoilovich's materials, which he often signed as "A. Sam-ch," were published in almost all issues of *Zhivaya starina* [*Living Antiquity*], especially in 1907.



Fig. 1. No.1350-10. "View of Petro-Alexandrovsk." A.N. Samoilovich. 1901-1908. Syr Darya Oblast. Petro-Alexandrovsk (Uzbekistan. Karakalpak Autonomous Region. Turtkul). MAE RAS

tried, though an amateur photographer, to record travel impressions. While studying such a unique original source as these museum items, it is always interesting to know what attracted a collector's attention.

In the proposed review of these photo collections Samoilovich handed over to the MAE on the peoples of Central Asia, one can attempt to consider some of the subjects from these historical images.

In 1901-1908, during his repeated visits to Central Asia, he took several pictures of Petro-Alexandrovsk (modern To'rtko'l, Uzbekistan), including views of the settlement, buildings, and fortress walls, as well as the residents' portraits – this collection of Russians and Turkmen were unified under a single name "The View of Petro-Alexandrovsk." (Fig. 1).

This photo was taken from the bank of the historic Amu Darya River. On the opposite bank, one can see the high, stark walls of the fortress. A shaky pedestrian bridge, apparently interwoven with light supports made of tree trunks, hastily constructed across the river. In 1873, after the Khiva campaign, General K.P. von Kaufman founded near the ruins of the Khiva fortress, the Turtkul fortifications of Pet-

ro-Alexandrovsk, which later became the residence for the head of the Amu Darya Division of the Turkestan Military District. In 1920, the city was renamed Turtkul. Between 1925 to 1932, the town was the capital of the Karakalpak Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

In another photograph under the same name "View of Petro-Alexandrovsk," the collector portrayed Turkmen standing next to a yurt. Another photo, "Chaudorsky yard. Porsy District," (MAE No. 1398-6), he took in Khiva; depicts a yurt with a high felt dome and reed sides (Fig. 2).

At the beginning of the 20th century, Samoylovich captured the decline of the Khiva Khanate, which had been under the Russian protectorate since 1873. After the February Revolution of 1917, a self-defense detachment was created by the end of the same year and it was from here that the main group of the Red Army soldiers of Turkestan deployed. In 1918, the army of Junaid Khan, the leader of the Turkmen Yomuts, tried to capture Petro-Alexandrovsk, but the siege of the city ended in the defeat of the counterrevolutionaries (*Essays on History* 1964, 68).

In 1909, Samoilovich visited the Tekensky aul of



Fig. 2. № 1398-6. “View of Petro-Alexandrovsk” A.N. Samoilovich. 1901-1908. Syr Darya Oblast. Petro-Alexandrovsk (Uzbekistan. Karakalpak Autonomous Region. Turtkul). MAE RAS

Agyrbai and took a group portrait of three Russian ladies with a foreman and a *mirza* (Turkmen noble). In this scene, ladies in European dresses and hats are sitting on chairs, to the left of them is a Teke man in traditional costume. The lady in the center is holding a small child in her arms; the lady on the right has a bowl in her hand. A man in traditional dress stands behind them. Two children are sitting on the ground in front of the adults. In the background is a yurt with a reed wall and a wooden door. Another yurt was partially captured in the frame. In another shot, taken in the same village, a Teke family is posing in front of their yurt (MAE. No. 1397-14).

In several photographs, Samoilovich captured representatives of the local authorities. The picture entitled “Group portrait of Khiva men” captures Klych-niyaz, a *hakim* (governor) from the khan’s family and Colonel Batyr-bai; while another photograph shows the *hakim*, Ismail Khoja, governor of Porsy (a district in the Khiva khanate) with *nökers* (personal militia). The *hakims*’ position, as head of the local governments within the Khanate were often inherited, in some cases, across several generations (Fig. 3, 7).

The photographic materials of the MAE contain a curious photograph taken by Samoilovich in 1908 in

the Khiva Khanate (MAE No. 1398-30). In Porsy, among the Choudor Turkmen, the scholar managed to observe “that vestige of shamanism among the Muslim Turks, which the Kazak-Kyrgyz² call a *bakhsi*, and the Khiva Turkmen and Uzbeks call *porkhan*. ...I saw a man dressed in a woman’s red dress and with a red scarf on his head” (Samoilovich 1909a, 27).

Samoilovich devoted a separate research cycle to the description of folk entertainments, games, shows, performances of acrobats, buffoons, folk dancers, musicians, and actors (Samoilovich 1909b). The researcher was also interested in the variety of musical instruments (Shnitnikov 1913). In his publications and museum collection inventories, Samoilovich noted the almost complete disappearance of traditional musical instruments from the life of urban residents (Prishchepova 2000: 67). Samoilovich usually supplemented his collection descriptions with information from field observations. A collection’s cognitive value increases when it is recorded by the collector himself, especially a connoisseur of a given nation. When vis-

² Ed. Note: During the 19th century, the common appellation for Kazakhs in Russian sources was often Khirgiz or Khirgiz-Kaisak (Kyrgyz-Kazakh).



Fig. 3. No.1350-17. "Group portrait of Khiva men." A.N. Samoilovich. 1909 Khwarazm region. Khiva. Amu Darya Division, Turkestan Krai. MAE RAS



Fig. 4. No.1350-23. "Group portrait of Khiva men on horseback." Turkmens. Khwarazm region. Amu Darya Division. Turkestan Krai. 1909 A.N. Samoilovich. MAE RAS



Fig. 5. No.1350-31. "Musicians and singer." Turkmen. Khwarazm region. Amu Darya Division. Turkestan Krai. 1909. A. N. Samoilovich. MAE RAS

iting the Khiva Khanate, Samoilovich photographed three Turkmen musicians: Saud Bakhshi, a folk singer and storyteller who played a two-string dutar; and two of his accompanists who played bowed *gyrjaks* (Fig. 5).

Turkmen musicians, commonly called *bakhshi*, enjoyed universal recognition and respect. The names of the most famous of them were remembered and revered. It was believed that playing most musical instruments was associated with ritual and ceremonial practice, they believed that the art of *bakhshi* had magical powers. *Bakhshi* improvised, composed poetic songs, and chanted them. Their performances were called "one-actor theater." The performers were divided into storytellers and songwriters. Often the *bakhshis* united to form a type of trio or quartet. One of these trios is shown in the photograph taken by A.N. Samoilovich.

In Khwarazm, the predecessor state of the Khiva Khanate, Samoilovich took several photographs of a Khiva armed detachment, calling the photograph "Regular Cavalry." The horsemen, lined in a row carry rifles, with the barrels visible behind their shoulders. One feature of the Khiva army's structure

was the absence of an infantry, thus, it consisted of cavalry only. The local cavalrymen carried only cold weapons or outdated firearms. They excelled with sabers, spears, pikes, bows and arrows, and kept them in excellent condition. The Khivan army consisted of Uzbek and Turkmen *nökers*. *Nökers* were required to serve on their horses, remain independent, and possess weapons such as sabers and various types of guns.

In another photograph, "Irregular Cavalry in Ilalli," the researcher may have depicted a military unit that conducted a mounted police service. These *jigits* (young men) are shown in national caps and robes, with rifles. Detachments of Turkmen mounted militia were created in 1885 and by 1892 they were reorganized into the Turkmen irregular equestrian division, which was supposed to monitor the public order. Among these riders were sons of *serdars* (tribal noblemen). Perhaps, Samoilovich photographed just one of these groups of Turkmen mounted police to recreate some of the details of the history of Khiva troops, almost completely unexplored by ethnographers (Fig. 4, 8).

In 1908, while in Khiva, Samoilovich took several



Fig. 6. No.1350-33 “Puppet show performance.” Turkmen. Khiva. Khwarazm region. Amu Darya Division. Turkestan Krai. 1908 A.N. Samoilovich. MAE RAS

unique photographs during the performance of the local folk puppet theater. Unfortunately, the non-professional photographs poorly convey the details of the scenes which are important for a more complete understanding of the story behind the pictures. Currently, there are no special works devoted to the history of the Turkmen national puppet theater, specifically, the marionette theater. There are also few publications on puppet theater of this type within the Central Asia (*Perepelitsyna* 1959). Therefore, pictures at the beginning of the 20th century on this topic, even those taken by a non-professional photographer and of low quality, contain rare information and deserve special attention (Fig. 6).

In Samoilovich’s photograph, a long black fabric is stretched out on the street. Its lower part is slightly raised with the puppets standing visibly on the ground. Musicians sit on one side of the curtain, while the adult men on the opposite side are apparently spectators.

Later, in 1928, M. F. Gavrilov, a famous Turkologist, historian, and ethnographer, summarized the materials, observations, and technique of puppet making and the process of puppetry for the first time

along with information about the everyday life of the actors. He also wrote about the folk puppet theater’s repertoire in a book which has become a bibliographic rarity (*Gavrilov* 1928). Thanks to analysis from publications on this topic and data from a two-year expedition on “the remains of this ancient Uzbek folk entertainment” (*Gavrilov* 1928: 5), together with wonderful color reproductions by the artist V.A. Shishkin; it became possible to clarify the content of Samoilovich’s photos.

Based on survey data from former puppet artists, Gavrilov — who followed the advice of his teacher, A. N. Samoilovich, while writing his work—managed to identify that the puppet theater he examined was the only existing type of folk theater in the region of what is now modern-day Uzbekistan by the middle of the 19th century. Gavrilov attempted to trace the history of contemporary Uzbek and Central Asian puppet theaters through three or four generations, (i.e. 100 to 150 years), using the biographies of Sho-Muheddin Sho-Azimov and Tursun-bai Abdu-Jabbarov, a renowned hereditary musician and puppeteer.

According to Gavrilov, two types of folk puppet



Fig. 7. No.1398-25. "Hakim" the governor of Porsy Ismail Khoja with nökers. Turkmen. 1909 Khwarazm region Khiva. Amu Darya Division, Turkestan Krai. A. N. Samoilovich. MAE RAS



Fig. 8. No.1398-33. "Irregular cavalry in Ilyalli." Turkmen. Khwarazm region. Amu Darya Division. Turkestan Krai. 1909. A.N. Samoilovich. MAE RAS

theater for adults existed: “ghost tent” theater, involving performances with puppets suspended on strings (similar to European marionette puppets) and “hand,” or glove puppets, a type of Russian *petruska*. Gavrilov studied a range of issues in discovering, comparing, and distinguishing the theatrical techniques used in these two types of Central Asian puppet theater.

Thus, during the presentation of “hand” puppets, an actor placed the puppet on the middle finger, with the little finger and thumb threaded into the puppet’s sleeves. The “ghost tent” theater technique was completely different. This type of puppet theater was richer than that of the hand glove puppets. Gavrilov reported that the puppets moved around the stage using black thread, invisible against the background scenery of the same color, usually a 180 cm-long piece of cloth stretched outside. The ends of the thread were tied to a wooden stick, which the actor kept in hand while standing behind the curtain hidden from the audience, taking the puppet onto the stage. The lower part of the tent served as the stage, slightly open to a height of 60-65 cm. A theater might comprise several dozen puppets. These home-made specimens had their body, arms, and legs sewn from multi-colored fabric with their heads made predominately from wood that was then painted. The doll sizes reached an average of 50 cm in height (Gavrilov 1928: 15).

Based on Gavrilov’s descriptions, in 1908, Samoilovich apparently photographed a traveling theater troupe from a “ghost tent” theater with marionette puppets in Khiva. The actors were only men, even those performing female roles. They usually staged satirical plays with well-known plots. The permanent

actors could improvise during their performances.

Gavrilov noted regretfully that by 1928, “In recent years in Uzbekistan both types of theater are already very rare” (Gavrilov 1928: 11). Thus, Samoilovich managed to take these rare shots of the vanishing local life and photograph historical examples from the marionette-type theater.

Much later, Gavrilov was followed by A.L. Troitskaya who engaged in gathering data in 1936 on folk theater, including the puppet theater. (Troitskaya 1937: 163). She noted that the “hand” puppet theater was still widespread, encountered by members of the expedition. The “ghost tent” theater, however, had ceased to exist for six or eight years by then.

Samoilovich’s photographs are authentic material that has largely helped to reconstruct the cultural situation in the Khiva Khanate during the early 20th century. Thus, having reviewed some themes from Samoilovich’s early 20th century photo collections, which he transferred to the MAE, his enormous contribution to the study of the history and ethnography of Central Asia was not limited merely to his scientific research. Historical views of individual settlements; photographs of detachments of the Khivan army; rarely studied folk performances by bakhshi musicians, and especially pictures with performances from the traditional folk marionette puppet theater are of significant scholarly value.

Samoilovich’s personal observations on these rare photographs are extremely interesting and unique. These visual museum materials expand our knowledge of the past concerning the life, customs, and material culture of people from the Khiva Khanate.

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TATIANA STARODUB

CENTRAL ASIA AND AZERBAIJAN DURING THE ERA OF ISLAM BASED ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIALS: REFLECTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

The publication offered to the reader's attention is called out by the publication of the book "Islam", which concludes the five-volume edition of IICAS on the beliefs and religions of the states of Central Asia and Azerbaijan in the process of their development from ancient times to the present day. This article regards the coverage the writings by the authors of Volume V – scholars of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan – In the historical aspect, on the specific archeological examples and the monuments of events and results of changes and transformations of the material and artistic culture in countries of the former Soviet East in the era of the conquest of their territories by Muslim Arabs and their subsequent inclusion in the world of Islamic civilization. Each successive year of field and evaluative research provides new discoveries, which in the long term implies the publication of a second, expanded and supplemented edition, in which all volumes should include an article about Turkmenistan that is missing in this 2016-2020 five-volume edition.

Key words: Arabs, Islamization, Islam, mosque, madrasah, Islamic culture, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan

Citation: Tatiana Starodub (2021). Central Asia and Azerbaijan during the Era of Islam based on Archaeological Materials: Reflections and Suggestions, Bulletin of IICAS, 32. (Smagulov Collection), 172-184. DOI: 10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.172-184

Article link: <https://doi.org/10.34920/1694-5794-2021.32en.172-184>

THIS ARTICLE was inspired by the publication of volume five, *Islam*, which completes the foundational five-volume series by IICAS: *Religions of Central Asia and Azerbaijan, Vol V: Islam*. The preface to the first volume devoted to the most ancient traditional beliefs of the region actually addresses all five books in the series. Its authors – famous Kazakhstani scientists – Karl Moldakhmetovich Baypakov (1940–2018) and Galina Alekseevna Ternovaya – noted that this new series provides the reader an opportunity to become acquainted with the religious ideas of the heterogeneous and mobile populations of the territories under focus from a historical perspective, extending from the Stone Age to the present (Baypakov, Ternovaya 2016: 5).

In connection with the obvious appeal of the publication to modern times, it should be noted that each of the volumes preceding this fifth one on Islam in Central Asia was directed at the study of the religions and archaeological monuments of the distant past. Despite the differences in tasks and content, the concepts of “Islamization” and “Islam” serves as a boundary of sorts to which the train of history approaches, burdened and, at the same time, enriched by the evidence of the previous millennia.

So, on the basis of archaeological finds; painstaking and long-term study of architectural sites, the material and artistic culture, and with references to comparative studies of pre-Islamic and Islamic Kazakhstan, the authors of the chapters covering the history of beliefs and religious life in that country since ancient times already anticipated the subsequent ones in volume I. They made this important summary conclusion: in the process of Islamization, the population of Central Asia did not completely lose the spiritual heritage of their ancestors, but “existing in the conditions of Islam, the relics of pre-Islamic beliefs intertwined with the dominant religious worldview, acquired an Islamic shell, and were often perceived as elements of a new, Islamic worldview” (Baypakov, Ternovaya 2016: 8).

This idea's historical justification is also confirmed by Adkhamjon Azimbaevich Ashirov (the author of the chapter “Uzbekistan” in volume I) concerning the special role of Tengrism in the development of the ancient Turks' religious consciousness. According to his theory, the ideas about their primary god Tengri “created fertile soil for the adoption of Islam by the peoples of Central Asia” (Ashirov 2016: 206).

Basically, in each of the four volumes preceding the one on Islam, problems are touched upon, in one way or another, related to the issues associated with Islam and its spread in Central Asia. This undoubted interest is aroused through this concluding observation concerning the “ingrowth” and/or partial penetration of ancient rituals and cults into the more developed civilizations (and not at all concerning their untraceable and complete disappearance, as one might expect). In an article about the spiritual and material culture of Kazakhstan during the era of early religious revelation and prophecy (Volume II), Baypakov and Ternovaya note that the followers of “Zoroastrianism, Mazdaism, and Avestism,” continued to exist in the medieval urban environment during Islam’s stage of penetration and consolidation between the 10th-12th centuries. This observation is confirmed at the “sites examined by archaeologists: necropolises, religious buildings, interior décor, works of art, and features of religious rituals” (Baypakov, Ternovaya 2017: 11, 43).

Yet, unsupported by references to specific sources, “the assumption of the origin of Muslim mihrabs from the god Mithra¹ and cult niches of an earlier time,” which, according to the authors, was “repeatedly expressed by researchers” (unfortunately, their names and publications remain unnamed) begs the question. The reason given for such an unexpected assumption comes from room 8 in the 9th-10th century cultic complex excavated at the Lugovoye settlement.² Archaeologists identified the southeastern niche in this room as a mihrab (Baypakov, Ternovaya 2017: 51-55), which is impossible. Regardless of the direction in which the early Muslims previously prayed during the first 16 to 17 months following their resettlement in 622 A.D. to Yathreb-Medina – toward the sunrise or north towards Madinat al-Quds (the Holy City of Jerusalem) – this was no later than 624 A.D. the sacred orientation for Muslims, the *qibla*, became the Ka’bah in Mecca (Qu’ran 2:139/144; EI 1991: 136), located in relation to the countries of Central Asia in a west or southwest direction.

Gennady Igorevich Bogomolov and Amridin Ergashevich Berdimurodov, the authors of the chapter on archaeological cultures during the Zoroastrian era in the regions of modern Uzbekistan (Volume II of this series), concluded that during the Islamic Middle Ages “the previous religious views were not completely lost, but in a changed form ... retained their influence and became the basis of many traditional folk cults” (Bogomolov, Berdimurodov 2017: 167).

Unfortunately, the section on Azerbaijan, included in the common title for the entire five-volume se-

ries, is missing in Volume II. Although, in the northern (Caucasian) and southern (Iranian) sections, this country’s rich and heterogeneous culture dates back to ancient times. Zoroastrian temples at different periods have been preserved and/or restored. One example is the well-known *Atashgah* (“Place of Fire”) in Surakhany on the Absheron Peninsula, another is the Zoroastrian temple which preserves the ancient form of the classical *chartaq* near the mountain village of Khinali. It was once known from the description of the 17th century German scientist and traveler Adam Olearius, and now is a religious and architectural monument. In the West Azerbaijan Province of Iran is the picturesque archaeological and architectural site from two eras separated by many centuries – the Sassanids and Ilkhanate (the latter called this location the Arab-Muslim term *Takht-i Suleiman*, or the Throne of Solomon)— inside the Sassanid palace is a Zoroastrian temple complex, Atashkadeh (“House of Fire”), included on the 2003 UNESCO World Heritage List, which has been almost completely restored.

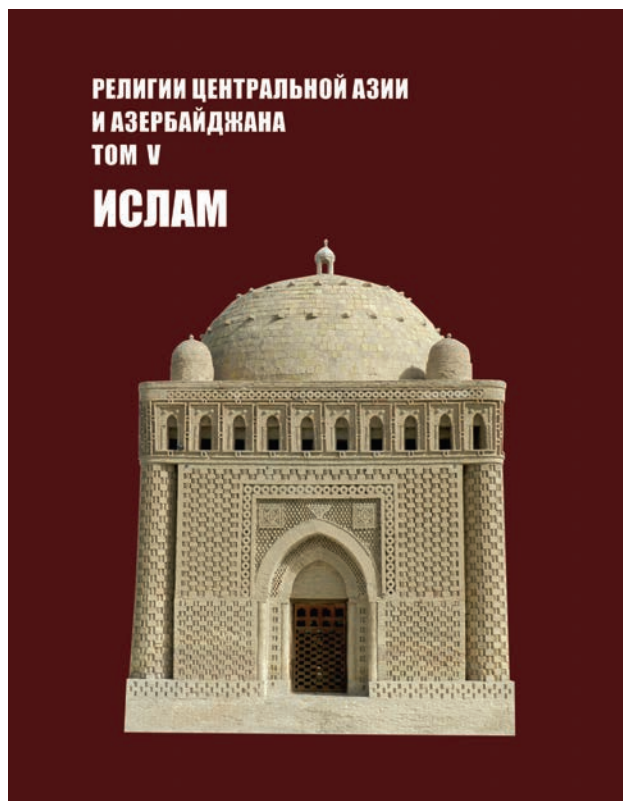
Issues directly related to the entire region’s Islamic future are also touched upon in Volume III, devoted to the issues of Buddhism’s spread in Central Asia. One particularly important point, is in relation to the second: Following the mosque in importance and prevalence is that of the Islamic institution of higher education and its accompanying architectural structures of the madrasah. Tatyana Germanovna Filimonova, the author of the chapter in Volume III on Buddhism in Tajikistan claims that “higher Islamic educational institutions, madrasahs, emerged in the 10th century and it occurred exactly in Central Asia” (emphasis added by T. S.) and “were genetically related to the vihara-sanghara”³ (Filimonova 2019: 169).

The idea of the Islamic spiritual school’s origin coming from the Buddhist *vihara* is not new; but when expressed here without alternatives is an axiom and not in line with the history of the madrasah as defined in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (EI 1986: 1125-1127) and it details the emergence and development of various types of Islamic architecture (BRE 2011. Vol. 19: 519-520). This idea the madrasah’s origins as an educational institution and architectural structure coming from a “Buddhist monastery” was rath-

³ The collocation “Vihara-sanghara” or such a phrase as this has no precedents. The first part is *vihara*, an ambiguous polysemic term, meaning a monastery which could be either in a cave or a building of an unprescribed shape. The second part is *sanghara*, which apparently contains a typo, would correctly be rendered, *Sangharama*, in Buddhism, which means a temple or monastery. This is the place, including its garden or grove, where the Buddhist monastic community dwells - the *sangha*. *Vihara* and *sangharama* are not synonyms and can hardly be combined into a dual notion where components duplicate each other that would define the same type of organization or structure.

¹ The word is probably missing - perhaps “from the sanctuaries of the god Mithra”.

² Lugovoye, now - the village of Kulan, Zhambyl region.



er cautiously expressed by Boris Anatolyevich Litvinsky, whom Filimonova references. On one hand, Litvinsky considered it possible that the design of a courtyard with four *iwans* (Arabic & Persian term for a hall without a front wall, covered with a vault or beamed ceiling on columns or pillars) as a significant argument in favor of the genetic connection between the architecture of the Islamic madrasah and the Buddhist monastery. He had only admitted the likelihood of occurrence of a madrasah in the region of Tokharistan (Litvinsky, Zeimal 2010: 119). On the other hand, Boris Litvinsky certainly underscored his opinion, shared by his co-author Tamara Zeimal: “We are far from the thought of equating a Buddhist monastery with a Muslim madrasah” (Litvinsky, Zeimal 2010: 298). The caution of researchers is fully justified due in part because no unified type of special monastic building has not been identified in the history of the architecture of Buddhist monasteries, and the structure, like that was excavated at Ajina-Tepa – with a complex plan, with two courtyards of different sizes and outlines, with the inner tunnel vaults connecting the corners - until does not find analogues. (Litvinsky, Zeimal 2010: 34, 99).

The situation is complicated in that the time and place for the emergence of Islamic theological schools as independent institutions is still subject to debate. The most common viewpoint is that madrasahs appeared in the Islamic world’s eastern half during

Great Seljuk Empire (1037-1194) as a Sunni reaction to the creation of scientific centers and libraries in Egypt during the reign of the Shiite Fatimid dynasty (909-1171). These libraries are known as *Dar al-Hikma* (Arabic, meaning “house of science”) and *Dar al-Ilm* (“palace of wisdom”) respectively (EI 1986: 1126). Robert Hillenbrand, professor at the University of Edinburgh, states that the earliest madrasahs found in written sources appeared in eastern Iran⁴ in the early 10th century and “were nothing short of state institutions operating in buildings specially designed for those purposes” (Hillenbrand 2000: 173). This position is sustained by the testimony of Jerusalem geographer al-Mukaddasi living during the second half of the 10th century, who—having visited almost all the Islamic countries of his time — admired the beauty of the *Madaris*⁵ of Iranshahr (EI 1986: 1126), or Greater Iran.⁶ The prototype for the madrasah as state institution and center for the spread of Sunni education and science could be, according to some researchers, the House of Wisdom (*Bayt al-Khikma*) founded in Baghdad by Caliph Harun al-Rashid (reign 786-809 AD) as a repository for the works of authoritative scientists, which was then revived by his son Caliph al-Mamun (r. 813-833). The House of Wisdom, or the Academy of al-Mamun, included a scientific library, and served as the center of the “translation movement” which describes the acquisition of knowledge accumulated during antiquity and further developed by the scholars of the Caliphate. Textual sources indicate that the famous 9th century mathematician and astronomer Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khwarizmi worked at *Bayt al-Hikma* “full-time in the service of al-Mamun” (Gutas 1998: 57).

Architectural sources for the madrasah remain an open question. The concept concerning possible origins and shape of a building functionally providing Islamic education and science as originating from the Buddhist vihara was expressed by Academician Vasiliy Bartold as early as 1918 (Bartold 1966: 112); however, it failed to receive ample support from the scholarly community. The French archaeologist, architect, and historian, Andre Godard, during research on the buildings of Bamiyan in comparison with other houses of Khurasan, concluded that the madrasahs adopted and developed their composition from Khurasan residential buildings with an inner courtyard and four iwans providing entrances on all four sides (Godard 1951: 5-6, Fig. 5). However, Islamic art his-

⁴ Eastern Iran, in European historiography, is the Iranian territories of Khorasan and the Sistan and Baluchistan Provinces, bordering Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, and Pakistan.

⁵ *Madaris*, plural form of *madrasat* (Arabic *medreseh*).

⁶ Greater Iran (Persian *Irān-e Bozorg*), historically are the territories that disseminated Iranian culture and language in Western, Southern and Central Asia as well as the southern Caucasus.

torian Ernst Herzfeld, previously concluded that “the iwan floorplan already had prototypes during the Ar-sacid, Parthian, and Sassanian periods, and fully developed during the Umayyad period” (*Herzfeld* 1943: 29-30). Besides, there are reasons to believe that early madrasahs did not necessarily use this four-iwan composition with the sides of the courtyard as its main axis. The gradual data collection from Arab and Persian textual sources convincingly demonstrate that early theological schools included libraries and auditoriums, but did not possess living quarters (BRE 2011. Vol. 19: 519-520).

This question over the genesis of madrasahs inevitably leads to the theme of Volume V which is devoted to the issues of spread of Islam in Central Asia and Azerbaijan along with the peculiarities of its development affecting local art and cultural material forms in the context of Islamic religious and statehood establishment. These forms owe their diversity and differences to the past religious heritage and confessions which did not just vanish into thin air. Among these were the certain role played by the monotheism of Judaism and Christianity considered in Volume IV, “which retained their positions even after the establishment of Islam” (*Baipakov, Ternovaya* 2018: 8). The information collected by Baipakov and Ternovaya from various sources demonstrates that, just as in other countries conquered by the Arabs, Muslims preferred not to destroy but use existing buildings for their own purposes. These existing buildings, both religious and civil for example, involved converting or rebuilding churches and synagogues into cathedral mosques (*Baipakov, Ternovaya* 2018: 10). British scholar of Islamic architecture Keppel A. K. Creswell, states that the reason for this was an indifferent attitude by the Prophet Muhammad toward the creation of any structures as expressed in a *hadith*:⁷ “The most useless thing that devours a believer’s wealth is construction” (*Creswell* 1958: 4).⁸

An example of this “indifferent,” if not negative attitude by early Muslims concerning the construction of any new buildings when the using existing buildings was possible is confirmed in the “*al-Jami al-Sahih*.” This was an authoritative collection from the Prophet Muhammad’s sayings compiled by the Bukharan native, Imam al-Bukhari (810-870 AD), one of the most revered Sunni theologians-*muhaddis*.⁹ According to one oral tradition in the collection, the Prophet said: “Verily, the slave (of Allah) will be

rewarded for everything he spends, except for (what he spends on) construction.” This viewpoint is supplemented and clarified in another saying: “Do know that in this hadith there is a wish... to distract a Muslim from the passion for construction and erection of buildings beyond need” (<https://hadis.uk/sborniki-xadisov/saxix-al-buxari/>: 1677, 1950).

The instruction not to do anything “beyond need” corresponds to one basic principle concerning Islamic aesthetics: utility, or expediency (*Al-Khallab* 1999: 60), whose effectiveness was clearly manifested in the early religious architecture of Islam (*Starodub* 2010: 19). Thus, Muslims did not reject the ancient tradition of re-using previously sacred objects and spaces from other religions. In pre-Islamic Western Asia, an ancient temple site traditionally became a place of worship for the new cult with the remaining buildings adapted or reconstructed in accordance with its new functions. Thus, the main shrine of Islam, the Ka’bah in Mecca, retained the simple cubic shape from the ancient pagan Arabian sanctuaries to which it belonged before Islam. Traditional veneration of primordially sacred places characteristic in the East provided for the creation of the two most important monuments from Islamic architecture. The first is the Islamic shrine that ranks third in importance behind the religious complexes in Mecca and Medina—the shrine of Qubbat aṣ-Ṣakhra (the Dome of the Rock)—built at the end of the 7th century in the center of Jerusalem’s ancient Temple Mount—kept numerous architectural remnants from ancient religious buildings. Another is the Umayyad Mosque or the Great Mosque of Damascus, which during the reign of Caliph Walid I (705–715), was rebuilt from an early Christian Basilica on a sacred plot that had contained an Aramean temple starting in the 1st millennium BC; followed by a Greek cultic complex and then center of the imperial cult of Jupiter of Damascus (*Starodub-Yenikeeva* 2004: 25–33, 52–54, 111–114).

These and other similar examples contradict some of the generalizations expressed in the preface to Volume V, dedicated to the history of the spread and peculiarities of Islam in Central Asia and Azerbaijan. This refers to the conclusions that, due to the forcedly short text of the introductory article, need clarification, since they introduce the modern reader into the complex and contradictory era of the spread and strengthening of the Muslim religion and ideology in the Mashriq countries, which is more than a thousand years away, but in some cases these conclusions do not coincide with the interpretations of other authors. Thus, the assertion that “the domination of the Arabic, which enjoyed the privilege of being a single means of interethnic communication in the boundaries of the emerging Muslim ummah, was maintained during the early caliphate and the so-

⁷ Hadith (Arabic story), a Muslim tradition about the sayings and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad.

⁸ Creswell cited this hadith with reference to *Kitab at-Tabaqat* by Ibn Sa’d (9th century), the author of a biography of Muhammad written in the second quarter of the 9th century.

⁹ A *muhaddith* (Arabic, sometimes translated “traditionalist”) was a researcher and collector of hadiths.

called Muslim renaissance” (*Mustafayev* 2020: 4) does not agree with the indication of the author of chapter on Tajikistan in the same volume, Larisa Nazarova Dodkhudoeva. She states (with reference to the works of researchers of Arab history and culture O. G. Bolshakov and S.M. Prozorov) that the “eponym of one of the four Sunni *madhhabs* [schools of thought within Islamic jurisprudence], the shaikh, imam, and faqih, Abu Khanifa an-Nu‘man ibn Sabit (699-767), allowed his followers to conduct sacred worship in their native languages.” Explaining her assertion, she writes “The choice of native language to comprehend the new religious reality was the most accurate tool to express one’s cultural identity and became a powerful incentive to attract the enormous human potential for Islam and, accordingly, the creativity of the people who had been the richest bearers of pre-Islamic cultural traditions (*Dodkhudoeva* 2020: 156).

Essential also is the need to clarify that the *mihrab* – the focus of holiness and the main distinguishing feature of the mosque – could not have arisen “in Muslim religious architecture as an alternative to the altar of a church” (*Mustafayev* 2020: 5). First, the mihrab never functioned as an altar, thus excluding it as a substitutionary choice with a correspondingly similar function. Second, it did not immediately acquire the flat arch-shaped niche. The polysemous Arabic word *mihrab* has the same root as *h-r-b*, the word *spear* (*harba*) which ancient Arabs regarded as a sign of power. The early Muslims utilized a shadow cast from a spear stuck vertically in the ground to determine the direction and time of prayer (BRE 2012. Vol. 20: 507-508). Early Umayyad coins depict a spear aiming at the zenith of a semicircular arch, which in Arab manuscript miniatures usually denoted the firmament, and, in this instance, perhaps alluded to an appeal in prayer to God and/or Allah entrusting the Caliph with the right to rule. Additionally, while common for ancient and medieval builders of the East; borrowing materials or inheriting floorplans, architectural ideas, structures, shapes, and details of a pagan temple, synagogue or church was never accompanied by the transfer of their sacred meanings to a newly created object from another religion.

Scientific research does not confirm the prevailing idea that the Sassanid Empire’s fall “entailed the collapse of the entire cultural environment associated with it,” or that “the creative genius of the Persians, Turks, Khwarezmians, and representatives of other nations could find universal recognition only subject to its expression in Arabic (*Mustafayev* 2020: 4). The inheritance of Sassanid cultural traditions – who at one time largely perceived by the latter as inherited from the Achaemenid empire which they themselves had destroyed – is evidenced by the surviving architectural monuments and art of the Umayyad (661–

749/750) and Abbasid (750–1258) states. The inheritance and poeticization of ancient legends in the literary work of Ferdowsi, Nizami, and Saadi vividly confirms the acceptance and development of Sassanid culture’s varying sides in the Muslim world. This is also found in the works of the scholars Mashriq, al-Farabi, al-Khwarizmi, and al-Biruni; as well as the vitality of traditional celebrations such as the Iranian and Turkic New Year (Novruz) dating to the Achaemenids and Zoroastrian eras (ca. 705-330 BC); or the obligatory ablutions before prayer and meals inherited by all Muslims from Zoroastrian rites.

The Islamic Arab conquest – the same struggle for territories, spheres of influence, and power characteristic throughout the history of mankind – were large-scale military and political campaigns. In Islamic history this is known as the era of “discoveries” – *al-futuh*.¹⁰ In various regions the appropriation of foreign lands occurred through different means usually only accompanied by destructive action only in the face of obstinate resistance by the local population toward the conquerors. However, regardless of the nature of *al-futuh*, the Umayyad and later Abbasid culture was largely inherited from Byzantine and Sassanian heritage. “Courtly lifestyle in the Umayyad capital,” as noted by the Arabist, historian, and literary critic Isaak Moiseevich Filshinsky (1918–2013), “no longer resembled the life in the Arabian principalities, but increasingly resembled the life of the Iranian capital during Sassanid times. ... almost all musicians and singers performed Arabic poems to the accompaniment of musical instruments and composed melodies for them [the Sassanids] (and thus, the influenced poetry, especially the new genres) were of Iranian origin” (*Filshinsky* 1985: 169). Thus, the Iraqi poet Bashar ibn Burd (714–783), Persian by birth, wrote poetry in both Arabic and Persian (*Kiktev* 2005: 149) and this is far from the only example in which writers during the Caliphate used different languages that appealed to their pre-Islamic literary heritage. A significant example is the widely known collection of fables and parables, *Kalila and Dimna*, which dates to an ancient Indian source translated from Middle Persian into Arabic by the Ibn Mukaffa (720–756), a native from a noble Persian family. In the 10th century, Iranian and Tajik poet Rudaki (about 850-941), rendered this collection in poetic verse translated into Farsi, the New Persian language based on the Arabic (*Chalisova* 2008: 506). From the 13th-14th centuries and beyond, the Arabic and Persian versions of *Kalila*

¹⁰ The term is known from medieval Arabic historians, works such as *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān* (*The Book of the Conquest of Lands*) al-Balazuri (ca. 820 - 892); *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* (*Book of Conquests*) al-Kufi (d. 926) et al.

and *Dimna*, more than any other literary work, was copied and decorated with colorful miniatures.

The fifth volume of the series, as the previous four, opens with a chapter about Kazakhstan, in which K.M. Baipakov and T.V. Savelyeva examine the history of the Arab conquests and Islam's dissemination in this vast, heterogeneous, and complex country (both geographically and ethnically) in the stream of the events concerning the entire region under review. The authors justly acknowledge the role of the Great Silk Road, international trade, and missionary work in the slow and ambiguous processes of Islamization (Baipakov, Savelyeva 2020: 10-17).

In their section on the monumental features of Islamic architecture during the second half of the 9th to the early 13th centuries (P. 18-30), Baipakov and Savelyeva acquaint the reader with the nature and scale of Kazakhstan's Islamic cultic and memorial architecture during this period characterized by the religion's spread and establishment. The sites considered in the chapter include treasures of world culture, specifically the mausoleum of Aisha-bibi and the *khanqah* and mausoleum of Khoja Ahmed Yasawi;¹¹ together with other not-so-famous, yet no less interesting, monumental structures. This survey allows one to obtain a broad scope of the nature and scale of religious construction in Kazakhstan during this era. In the chapter's remaining sections, Kazakhstan's Islamic architectural sites during the high Middle Ages that ushered in a new age are described and analyzed (P. 31-90). The article is distinguished by its textual richness and versatile scientific information supplemented with drawings, figures, photographs, quotes, and source references. The premature passing of Karl Moldakhmetovich Baipakov deprived he and his co-writer the opportunity to provide due attention to other areas of this people's creative artistry, to their original, bright, and variegated cultural history whose archaeological study is ongoing.

Bakyt Eltindievna Amanbaeva and Valentina Dmitrievna Goryacheva, who authored the chapters on Kyrgyzstan (P. 91-140), built their research on historical and literary material as well as on analysis of excavated and/or visibly extant monuments from the Muslim architecture; epigraphy (mainly inscriptions on gravestones, known in the Central Asian context as *kayraks*); and decorative art, such as painted glazed pottery. Of note are the very professionally described architectural sites that included a survey of construction equipment and materials, measurements, floor-plan features, design and decor, as well accompany-

ing illustrations – photographs, drawings, floorplans, cross-sections, and proposed structural reconstructions.

While consistently describing and analyzing specific manifestations concerning the spiritual and cultural life of Kyrgyzstan during the pre-Islamic and Islamic period, the authors arrive at an important conclusion: the country's incorporation into the world of Islamic civilization did not prevent the preservation of pre-Islamic traditions “in all spheres of medieval cultural and social life” (Amanbaeva, Goryacheva 2020: 139).

In addition, such issues raise objections expressed by Amanbaeva and Goryacheva to British historian and philosopher Arnold Joseph Toynbee (1889-1975) who authored the 12-volume world history *A Study of History* (published from 1934 to 1961). According to them, Toynbee while “Discussing early Islam's civilizational evolution,” he believed that this process was “a crude, barbaric version of the indigenous Syrian faith” (Amanbaeva, Goryacheva 2020: 94).¹² In the Oxford reprint of the original volume (Vol. 6) from this extremely interesting work by Toynbee, the only phrase containing the words “rude” and “Syrian” has a different content and meaning, he writes: “The new non-Arab converts adapted it to their own intellectual outlook, translating the crude and casual assertions of the Prophet into the subtle and consistent terms of Christian theology and Hellenic philosophy; and it was in this clothing that Islam was able to become the unifying religion of a Syriac World which had been reunited hitherto only on the superficial plane of politics by the sweep of the Arab military conquest” (Toynbee 1939: 557).

In the Russian translation of this Toynbee's work the phrase quoted by the authors on this chapter's survey is part of the text, the content of which emphasizes the complexity of the formation process on Islam as a religion and state ideology: “Nothing foreshadowed the success of Islam as an enterprise in which several previous religions – Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Nestorianism, and Monophysites – had all tried their hand without success. Of course, it was to be expected that the rude, barbaric version of the indigenous Syrian faith – and Islam had just such a character in the beginning – would initially be less attractive to Syrian souls than the more elaborated and already rejected alternatives (emphasized added). In these extremely unfavorable conditions, Islam should have met the same fate as Arianism, if the Islamic Umayyad dynasty implemented the same policy of church intolerance as the “arianized” Vandals, and began to impose Islam on its subjects” (Yerasov 1998: 136-137).

¹¹ The Mausoleum of Khoja Akhmed Yasawi in the town of Turkestan, in effect, re-created at the end of the 14th-15th centuries, is considered in greater detail in the section on the medieval architecture of Kazakhstan: pp. 44-45.

¹² The reference to Toynbee's work as being on pages 675-678 are likely a typo; in the original it is Index.

This same ambiguity concerning the processes of Islamization in Central Asia is convincingly shown by the example of history from Tajikistan in the chapter of the same name (P. 151-212) by Larisa Nazarovna Dodkhudoeva. Once defining the complexity of the task set before her, she deeply and thoroughly analyzes the information obtained by scientific research, as well as the information illustrated by the surviving archaeological sites and artistic culture about the absorption of Tajikistan into the Islamic world. Despite the chapter's small survey, the author, equally and comprehensively characterizes the sites from different periods into the complex context that intertwined the processes of Islamization with the formation of Sufism specific to Mashriq. Beginning with the Sogdian Castle on Mount Mug (*Dodkhudoeva* 2020: 153), known for its conquerors that detailed in the discovery of unique documents, Dodkhudoeva includes such sites from the 10th-12th centuries as the Muhammad Bashharo mosque-mausoleum (P. 170); the mysterious, legendary cult complex of Khoja Mashhad¹³ (P. 177-179); the palace in Khulbuk, which gave the world examples of unique carving and murals (P. 181-182); later, from the 12th-13th centuries, the Sheikh Muslih al-Din mausoleum in Khujand (P. 197); and many others. Yet, this survey does raise some objections. For example, it is difficult to agree with the definition (albeit containing a metaphorical connotation) of a mosque as a temple in which ritualistic activities take place, since for Muslims a mosque is any place of prayer and Islam's primary religious building possessing many functions; but without a credence-altar (BRE 2012. Vol. 20: 193-196), which defines the concept of "ritualistic acts" characterized by paganism to a greater extent. Questions are also raised by the meaning of terms such as *insaniya* (Arab for *humanity*) and "ethnicism," despite the obvious opposition of the first to the second and the latter's negative meaning (P. 157).

Among the works of art Dodkhudoyeva examines is the 10th-11th century carved wooden mihrab from the village of Iskodar (P. 160-162, ill. 4), which is of special interest and importance for the history of Islamic ornamental art and calligraphy.¹⁴ In addition to its magnificently carved decor, the mihrab is framed with Kufic script containing text that unites hadiths in meaning (in one of them Dodkhudoyeva notes direct borrowing from the Bible), with the two *ayahs*, or verses, being retold (Qu'ran 18:109; 31:27).

Along with her overview and analysis of Tajikistan's architectural, historical, and cultural heritage, Dodkhudoeva devotes attention to the documents of Tajik literature and writing, specifically manuscripts of a scientific and theological nature (P. 187-188, ill. 19); as well as book miniatures, including the deeply original school of miniatures developed in Darvaz (Pamirs) during the 18th century that illustrated the works of Tajik poets (P. 209, ill. 29).

Alphabetically, which is how the chapters of all five volumes of the series are arranged, the text about Tajikistan should have been followed by the chapter entitled "Turkmenistan." However, without explanation, a chapter about the country, albeit mentioned in the preface to Volume I, among the Central Asian regions united by the "cultural, ethnic and trade ties" from ancient times (*Baipakov, Ternovaya* 2016: 5), was not included in any of the five volumes of this new and uniquely structured scholarly work aimed at the archaeological reconstruction, and multifaceted history of beliefs and religions that largely determined the fate of the original civilizations in the former Soviet republics which arose in antiquity and the Middle Ages in the very center of Asia.

Meanwhile, it is in the region of modern Turkmenistan that settlements from the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age sites rich with documentary information along with material and art culture, were discovered and have been studied for decades. Convincing examples from these ancient civilization centers in the southern region of the "land of the Turks" are Namazga-Tepe (5th-2nd millennium BC) near the border with Iran and Altyn-Depe (3rd-2nd millennium BC) east of Ashgabat, discovered by YuTAKA under the direction in 1946 by Mikhail Evgenievich Masson (1897-1986). In 1972, in the Mary oasis, an expedition led by Viktor Ivanovich Sarianidi (1929-2013) discovered and began to explore Gonur-Depe, a city from the 3rd millennium BC with amazing structural preservation. It had a palace, various temples from a variety of cults and, according to the author of the report, a proto-Zoroastrian center. Due to its unique character, Gonur-Depe is an example of an unusually high level of urban cultural development from the Central Asian Bronze Age, by no means inferior to the famous cities of Western Asia such as Mari on the Euphrates and Babylon on the Tigris.

Sergei Pavlovich Tolstov organized the expedition decades prior to the excavations at Gonur-Depe in the years 1937-1991, (with a pause during World War II), in the region of ancient and medieval Khwarazm which incorporated parts of Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan. The expedition united researchers of various disciplines designated the Khwarazmian Archaeological-Ethnographic Expedition (KhAEE) from the Academy of Sciences.

¹³ Khoja-Mashad is a monument interpreted ambiguously by specialists and raises many questions, see: *Nemtseva* 1995, *Khmel-nitsky* 2001.

¹⁴ This mihrab is kept in the Republic of Tajikistan's National Museum in Dushanbe.

Tigran Konstantinovich Mkrytchev expresses regret in Volume III's preface from this series that "colleagues from Turkmenistan did not provide information about the Buddhist monuments of their country, although not very numerous, they arouse great interest in the general process of Buddhism's expansion in Central Asia" (Mkrytchev 2019: 4). This demonstrates that, Buddhism, as the earliest of the worldwide religions is represented in Turkmenistan via their little-known, and therefore especially noteworthy, archaeological sites.

It is difficult to overestimate the contribution to world culture provided by many years of research on such ancient states in the eastern part of modern Turkmenistan such as the Achaemenid and Late Antiquity sites in Margiana (ancient Persia's Margush) with its center in Merv. Margiana is mentioned in the Behistun inscription and is also known for its role in the Islamization of Khorasan with its a unique monument from Islamic architecture, and the mausoleum of Sanjar the Seljuk sultan of Khurasan (mid-12th century). Also impossible not to mention are the archaeological sites of Old and New Nisa in the region of Ashgabat and Dekhistan in the country's southwest; as well as Kunya-Urgench, one of the centers of the Islamic culture of al-Mashrik distinguished by its monumental structures from the 11th-16th centuries with their variety of forms and functions, the splendor of ornamental decor, the beautiful finds from both local and Iranian painted pottery types, handwritten manuscripts, and a sample from a book miniature with personified images containing the signs of the Zodiac. A significant number of Turkmenistan's sites are included in the UNESCO World Heritage List (Muradov 2010: 228).

The authors of the chapter entitled "Uzbekistan," Jamal K. Mirzaakhmedov and Sirodzh D. Mirzaakhmedov, like their colleagues, paid considerable attention to the Islamic conquest's history and Islamization of their country and its surrounding lands. However, their coverage of this complex subject mainly relied on materials by Alexander Yuryevich Yakubovsky (1886–1953) in his chapter "The Arab Conquest of Central Asia" from the first volume of the *History of the Peoples of Uzbekistan*, published in 1950. Saturated with archaeological facts and documentary evidence gleaned directly from the works of medieval authors, Yakubovsky's work is extremely interesting and has not lost its significance as a source for important facts and conclusions. Nevertheless, with all due respect to the memory and unconditional value of this authoritative scholar's scientific heritage, it should be recalled that decades of new documents and archaeological artifacts have been discovered and published following Yakubovsky's the work. A variety of new and rather ambiguous interpretations of

historical events have emerged, in particular for this period, which the Swiss orientalist and Arabist, Adam Metz (1869-1917) once defined as the "Muslim Renaissance" linking it with the early Abbasid caliphate (9th-10th centuries) and, primarily, with their capital Baghdad. It should be borne in mind that over the century that has passed since Metz lived, some works have appeared that expand and deepen our knowledge of the "translation movement" extremely important for the formation of Arab Caliphate culture, to which the chapter's authors paid special attention (P. 240-241). For example, intensive development of the Arab book culture started unfolding no later than the late 8th century with the creation of the House of Wisdom (Arab. *Khizanat al-Hikma*) – an intellectual center with a library – sustained by Caliph Harun al-Rashid. As Dimitri Gutas, professor at Yale University justly remarked, "The Greek-Arabic translation movement is a very entangled social phenomenon, and no circumstance, chain of events, or personality can positively be identified as its cause" (Gutas 1998: 7). Gutas also noted that the Caliphate's culture was multinational and "multi-focal," and in its initial period more related to the West than the East. According to him and some other researchers, there are reasons to believe that the Arabic and, most importantly, Persian poetry and rare manuscript collections, gathered by the founder of Baghdad, Caliph al-Mansur (754-775), was a kind of a foundation for *Khizanat al-Hikma* (Gutas 1998: 53-60).

A disproportionately large place in the chapter on "Uzbekistan" is devoted to a detailed description of the excavations and characteristics of the Paikend site as a historical and archaeological monument (*Mirzaakhmedov, Mirzaakhmedov 2020: 253-279*).

The historical part of this chapter's text has some discrepancies. For example, Gunde-Shapur was not an Indian "school of healing" (*Mirzaakhmedov, Mirzaakhmedov 2020: 241*), but rather the Sassanian intellectual and medical center in Khuzistan (Southwestern Iran) founded in the 3rd century by Sassanian Shapur I and populated by Christians – Greeks and Syrians. It is also erroneous to believe that the spread during the 11th-13th centuries of painted pottery in Central Asia was influenced from the "Turkic nomadic population" (*Mirzaakhmedov, Mirzaakhmedov 2020: 250*). Pottery items (products made of fired clay, a heavy material that breaks easily if in constant motion) is more typical of sedentary peoples. Making glazed pottery, especially painted vessels, is too complicated a process rendered practically impossible in nomadic lifestyle conditions. Not the Sogdians, but rather the Chinese "stood" at the origins of the Great Silk Road (*Mirzaakhmedov, Mirzaakhmedov 2020: 251*). The foundations of the "Silk Road" were laid down during the reign of Chinese emperor Wu-di

(141-87 BC) after the Chinese traveler and diplomat Chang Ch'ien advised the exchange of Chinese silk in return for Fergana horses. One of, if not the main reason, for the organization of new trade routes were the Hunnic tribes, which interfered with the Chinese trade. The Silk Road's decline centuries later associated primarily with the development of sea trade did not, however, affect the flourishing of Central Asian science and culture (including art) during the 15th century under the Timurids, especially under Ulugbek; or the 16th-17th centuries under the Safavids and Shaybanids. Convincing evidence for this is found in the architectural monuments along with the decorative and fine arts of Bukhara, Samarkand, and other cultural centers of Transoxiana, Khwarazm and Khurasan.

Tarikh Meirutoglu Dostiev, the author of the chapter "Azerbaijan" begins with a brief historical overview of the history of Islam's dissemination, which like the others in the region, followed the Arab conquest, but rather peacefully: "The process of Islam's acceptance by the Azerbaijan's population proceeded in a natural way, without any signs of pressure or violence," in accordance with the well-known Quranic verse, "There is no coercion in religion" (Dostiev 2020: 280).

Most of the chapter is devoted to the history of archaeological research, which the author identifies in three stages. First, from the 18th to the beginning of the 20th century, characterized by reconnaissance, description, and early scholarly research of Azerbaijan's Islamic cultural heritage as reflected in works by domestic and foreign scholars from that time. The second stage characterized by creating specialized scientific organizations and institutions; training national personnel; and initiating systematic studies of the country's cultural heritage, best exemplified by the formation of the Archaeological Society in Baku in 1918.

The third stage accompanied the collapse of the USSR and the creation of the Republic of Azerbaijan (Dostiev 2020: 285-287). Among many important studies, the author properly highlights the archaeological study of Icheri Sheher – the "Inner or Old City" of Baku with its unique architectural monuments located within its walls including the Palace of the Shirvanshahs, the Maiden Tower, and others. In 2000, Icheri Sheher gained UNESCO World Heritage List status.

In the section on "Religious Buildings" the author emphasizes the special importance of mosques, which he divides into four groups, not traditionally in terms of their architectural layout and structure, but "according to their functional and social significance." These groups were neighborhood, rural, cathedral, and provincial or national. According to his classification, "mosques were revered by all Muslims;

the Ka'bah, especially, had a special status" (Dostiev 2020: 288). This wording is not accurate since any mosque is revered by the believers manifested in the obligatory removal of shoes and ritual ablution before entering the *haram*, or the prayer hall with a mihrab. Besides, the Ka'bah in Mecca is not a mosque, but the main shrine of Islam, around which the *al-Masjid al-Haram* or Great Mosque of Mecca was erected and which is mentioned in the Qu'ran (17:1).¹⁵

A significant place within the chapter describes and analyzes specific architectural monuments. In the section "The Influence of Islam on Artistic Development and Artistic Craft" (P. 346-353) Dostiev surveys, for example, war horse- or ram-shaped tombstones as well as the portal or façade designs on a building typical of the Islamic world with skillful carving on stone or *gyazha*¹⁶. In the field of handicrafts, the author notes the introduction in Azerbaijan and development of the technique of lustre painting, that is the application of a ceramic dye with a metallic sheen over the fired glaze. Accompanied by photographs, drawings, and sketches, the architectural and artistic monuments allow one to trace the history of Azerbaijan's Islamic artistic culture whose formation, as the author notes, incorporated both local pre-Islamic traditions and processes along with ties and interfaces to other Muslim countries (Dostiev 2020: 353).

Summing up the reflections caused by acquaintance with the fifth, "Islamic", volume of this complex, difficult publication, directed to awareness a reader with the millennial cultures of countries of Central Asia and the Caspian regions of the Caucasus, which in the 20th century were part of one state, first of all it is impossible not to thank the initiators and performers of this unusual and, of course, important project, invested who lived a huge work in its implementation.

Yet, like any undertaking, this initial effort was not flawless since none of the five volumes, as noted above, contains an article on Turkmenistan. Meanwhile, Turkmenistan, like other states of the region, has specialists in these relevant fields of endeavor and renowned for their scientific accomplishments both in their own country and abroad.

The scientific research continues. Each subsequent year of research along with each field season brings new discoveries, and hopefully a second expanded, and amended, edition will together with all the other volumes include an article on Turkmenistan; and the volume on *Zoroastrianism and the*

¹⁵ For a definition and a brief history of the Ka'bah in Mecca, see: (BRE 2008, Vol. 12: 303). The electronic version is available online: https://bigenc.ru/religious_studies/text/2029939.

¹⁶ *Gyazha, gazha, ganch*, gypsum (from Arabic word), a white binder obtained by grinding and firing a stone-like rock containing gypsum and clay.

Beliefs of the Mazdaian Circle (Vol. II, 2017) will be supplemented by the currently missing chapter on Azerbaijan.

A remaining wish for all the volumes is the acutely felt gap from the lack of a glossary with a term's index, since the reader, especially those with little fa-

miliarity on the history and ethnography of the Middle East and Central Asia – with its particularities of religions and belief, whether departed into the distant past, or retaining modern relevance – is difficult to navigate and understand the abundance of ethnic and geographical terms without explanations.

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CHRONICLE

IICAS Activities in 2021

For the past two years, a project between IICAS and the laboratory Shejire DNA, have jointly worked on a study concerning the phenomenon of ethno-cultural population migration in early medieval Central Asia. In the future, results from these collaborative studies will undoubtedly become an important tool for understanding the genetic and anthropological history of ethnogeneses formation in Central Asia. Based on 2020 results, well-known anthropologist, Aleksey Nechvaloda, conducted work on the anthropological skull-based facial reconstruction via paleogenetic data for an individual who lived, according to radiocarbon analysis, in ca. 1150 AD in Lake Issyk-Kul's southern coastal region (Kyrgyz Republic). The Heinke comparative analysis method that was utilized and has shown its greatest affinity with a sampling of skulls from the Transbaikal Buryats and skulls from the Mongolian period. An anthropological facial reconstruction was performed based on a skull reflecting a Central Asian phenotype on an individual from Mound No. 28.



In 2017, the Salalah Guidelines for Management of Public Archaeological Sites were finalized, and the final draft was circulated to ICOMOS members before the 19th ICOMOS General Assembly. The Guidelines—incorporating part of the Recommendations of the First International Conference of ICOMOS on Archaeological Parks and Sites at a meeting held on February 23-25, 2015 in Salalah, Sultanate of Oman—have become one of the most authoritative documents containing organizational and functional principles and for archaeological parks.

While not claiming to be a regulation or standard, the Salalah Guidelines nevertheless contain a clearly formulated strategy for transforming archaeological sites into a valuable cultural and economic resource for nations and local communities with an important educational and recreational role.

Through the efforts of the team of the Secretariat for the International Institute for Central Asian Studies (IICAS), this document was studied and translated into Russian. This initiative's purpose was to promote understanding around the provisions of the document and to distribute it to heritage experts and practitioners for their professional practice.

The document can be downloaded at the IICAS website at the following link: <https://www.unesco-iicas.org/book/136>

The original document is available on the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) website: https://www.icomos.org/.../GA2017_6-3-3_SalalahGuidelines...

The fourth online meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the Silk Roads Living Heritage Network was held on **August 25, 2021**. Representatives from the following organizations attended the meeting: International Information and Networking Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region under the auspices of UNESCO (ICH-CAP); UNESCO Cluster Office in Almaty; UNESCO Tashkent Office; Korea-Central Asia Cooperation Forum Secretariat under the Korea Foundation; International Institute for Central Asian Studies (IICAS); UNESCO's International Fund for the Promotion of Culture; European Association of Folklore Festivals; and the National Commission of the Kyrgyz Republic



Round table dedicated to the 25th anniversary of IICAS

for UNESCO. The Preparatory Committee examined two documents: *Report on the Preparation of the 2021 Inauguration Event* and *Operational Issues of the Silk Road Living Heritage Network*. During discussion on agenda items, the establishment of the Silk Roads Living Heritage Network was outlined to coincide with UNESCO's International Decade for the Rapprochement of Cultures (2013-2022).

A round table devoted to the 25th anniversary of the International Institute for Central Asian Studies (IICAS) was held in the conference hall of the Pushkin Library in Samarkand on **September 13, 2021**. More than 50 researchers and practitioners from 19 countries participated in the event, including the Director of UNESCO Almaty Cluster Office, Ms. Krista Pikkat; and the Head of the UNESCO Office in Tashkent, Mr. Alexandros Makarigakis.

Director of IICAS, Dr. Dmitriy Voyakin, presented a report on the achievements, challenges, and prospective areas of international academic cooperation in Central Asian cultural heritage research. The presentation was followed by a series of thematic discussions in which participants exchanged views on

enhancing cooperation with Member States as well as international and regional organizations. Special attention was paid to the prospects for admitting new member states, and raising awareness of IICAS' activities on the regional and international level.

On **September 17, 2021**, within the framework of the International Cultural Forum "Central Asia at the Crossroads of World Civilizations," an international archaeological conference "Archeology and Tourism: Identifying Potential and Managing Heritage" was held in Nukus. The joint effort by the Ministry of Tourism and Sports of the Republic of Uzbekistan; the National Commission of the Republic of Uzbekistan for UNESCO; and the International Institute for Central Asian Studies (IICAS) participated under the guidance of the Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Mr. Aziz Abdukhakimov; and with the support of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Karakalpakstan. This event became the key to the success for such an important event for both the country and the region.

The conference became a platform for discussion concerning the study, preservation, use, promotion,

and sustainable management of cultural heritage; in particular, archaeological sites. The catalytic potential for archaeological sites in the development of cultural tourism at the national, regional, and international levels was in the focus.

Over fifty iconic specialists—well-known experts and practitioners in the field of archeology and heritage—were invited to participate in the events. During the plenary and panel sessions, presentations were made on both scientific and cultural exchange; the establishment of intercultural dialogue and cooperation; and the contribution of historical and cultural heritage for social and humanitarian science development.

The conference's format was designed to ensure direct communication between participants and the organizers. In particular, during the plenary session, moderated by the IICAS Director, Dr. Dmitriy Voyakin; the Vice Prime Minister Mr. Aziz Abdulkhakov answered several relevant questions asked by the participants.

The Central Asian Declaration on the Principles of Archaeological Heritage Management was unanimously adopted. The Declaration became the first strategic document of its kind developed in Central Asia and reflects the common vision of sovereign

governments and the academic community regarding safeguarding and promoting archaeological heritage.

On **October 18, 2021**, the International Institute for Central Asian Studies (IICAS) team participated in the international conference “New Uzbekistan and Regional Partnership in Central Asia,” co-organized by the International Institute of Central Asia (IICA) and the representative office of the K. Adenauer Foundation in Central Asia. The event was dedicated to the 30th Anniversary of Uzbekistan's Independence along with the other Central Asian states.

Over 20 prominent experts—scientists and practitioners—from Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Russia, China, and the USA presented reports during the event; which is undoubtedly of great importance to Uzbekistan and the entire Central Asian region. The conference was attended by university representatives, research centers and public organizations, including the Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies (ISRM) under the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan; National Institute for Strategic Studies (NISR) of the Kyrgyz Republic; Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies



During the breakout session of the International Cultural Forum in Nukus



Participants of the International Cultural Forum "Central Asia at the Crossroads of World Civilizations"

(KISR); Russian State University for the Humanities; Center for Central Asian Studies of the Shaanxi State Pedagogical University (PRC); Central Asia-Caucasus Institute (USA); and the Development Strategy Center (Uzbekistan).

Among the conference's spotlighted subjects included discussions around the achievements from the past 30 years made in Uzbekistan and throughout the Central Asian region. Close attention was paid not simply to issues of cooperation between countries in trade, economy, infrastructure, culture, and humanitarian and social dimensions; but to full-fledged regional integration in which common interests for the entirety of Central Asia will be in focus; and where sustainable developmental problems will receive practical solutions. The keynote theme of the discussions throughout the conference was the cultural and ethnic diversity of the region as a cornerstone of unity for the nations of Central Asia.

An orientation meeting for the Coordinating Bureau (CB) of the Silk Roads Living Heritage Network was held in online format on **20 October 2021**. Experts from nine Member States (Azerbaijan, Iran, Kazakhstan, Republic of Korea, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Tajikistan, Turkey, and Uzbekistan) as well as the International Information and Networking Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific region under the auspices of UNESCO (ICHCAP), and the International Institute for Central Asian Studies (IICAS) attended the meeting. Experts from

the member States, recommended by respective National Commissions for UNESCO, were informed on the following: (1) objectives of the Silk Roads Living Heritage Network, (2) the provisional program of the inaugural event, (3) a draft statute of the network, (4) draft rules of procedures of the CB meeting, (5) ICH festivals membership in the network, and (6) handicrafts workshop membership in the network. All draft documents are expected to be examined for approval during the first online meeting of the CB on 29 October 2021. The official inauguration of the Silk Roads Living Heritage Network was organized in Seoul on 28 October 2021 with participation of representatives from country's diplomatic corps accredited in the Republic of Korea.

On **October 23, 2021**, a guest expert meeting was held at the ancient Penjikent archaeological site in Tajikistan whose main purpose was to discuss a possible project for the conservation and restoration of these unique architectural complexes for the famous medieval town which is one of the components of the serial transnational nomination "Silk Roads: Zarafshan-Karakum Corridor." The meeting participants—Mr. N.K. Ubaidulloev, Director of the Akhmad Donish Institute of History, Archeology and Ethnography and researcher of the A. Donish Institute; Dr. Pavel Lourier, the State Hermitage (Russia); educators and researchers from the Panjikent Pedagogical University; IICAS representatives; and international and national experts—discussed numerous theoretical and

practical issues on conservation and restoration; including certain technical details for the project that seek funding. During the discussions, emphasis was placed on the regulations for providing preliminary information on implementing planned-for projects within the boundaries and buffer zones of World Heritage sites; to the World Heritage Center itself and its Advisory Bodies; and specifically ICOMOS, for their professional and administrative evaluation. The experts' discussions also focused on technical details of projects' HIA procedures in relation to the above-mentioned heritage sites.

On 26-27 October 2021, *The Margulan Readings 2021: An International Research Conference & Workshop* with a special focus on "The Great Steppe in the Context of the Ethno-Cultural Research" was held in Almaty, Kazakhstan. During the busy and engaging plenary and breakout sessions, 82 speakers presented their reports and presentations followed by related Q&A sessions.

Dmitry Voyakin, director of IICAS, delivered his talk on "New Directions in the Management of the Archaeological Heritage of Central Asia: Geo-cultur-

al Branding, Restitution, and Archaeological Parks," reflecting on the need to develop and adopt logical, systematic and, most importantly, relevant principles for the study and management of archaeological heritage. These principles should be aimed at qualitative development in public governance by increasing the existing system's efficiency in protecting and using historical and cultural sites, implementing world's best practices, and developing unhindered use of effective legal mechanisms to ensure conservation of archaeological heritage.

ICHCAP, in cooperation with the International Institute for Central Asian Studies (IICAS) and the Korea-Central Asia Cooperation Forum Secretariat, co-hosted inaugural events on 28-29 October 2021 at Dongdaemun Design Plaza (DDP) in Seoul and with online participation during the Korean Foundation's "Public Diplomacy Week."

On October 28, the Silk Roads countries' diplomatic missions (Azerbaijan, Iran, Kazakhstan, the Republic of Korea, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan) graced the opening ceremony by participating as founding members of the network. This was followed by the Living Heritage Forum which report-



Visiting expert meeting at the ancient settlement of Penjikent

ed case studies with experts from the nine Member States: Azerbaijan, Iran, Kazakhstan, Republic of Korea, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Tajikistan, Turkey and Uzbekistan under the theme of “Promoting a Culture of Peace and Facilitating Sustainable Development along the Silk Roads.” The Forum was moderated by Mr. Alexandros Makarigakis, representative of UNESCO.

After the public event on the following day, the first meeting of the Coordinating Bureau, the network’s governing board, was held in online in private session. The Coordinating Bureau, consisting of representatives from the nine countries and international organizations such as ICHCAP and IICAS, adopted the Statute of the Silk Roads Living Heritage Network and the membership list of the Silk Roads ICH festivals.

The large extent of medieval mosques and minarets allows for the consideration that these sites built by Kazakhstan’s nomads and semi-nomads were an original and generally unique part of the country’s historical, vernacular architecture. A draft list comprised of Kazakhstan’s medieval Islamic architectural sites demonstrates that their number significantly exceeds the number of surviving above-ground Islamic cultural buildings.

Unfortunately, most of Kazakhstan’s mosques and minarets have not survived to the present day. How-

ever, architectural traces, along with extant textual documents written by medieval Arab travelers, historians, and chronographers enable for the filling of some gaps in the study of these historical structures, raising hope for greater understanding.

In the autumn of 2021, experts of the International Institute for Central Asian Studies (IICAS), together with a dedicated UNESCO international experts’ team, sought to provide a timely identification and scientific documentation of the surviving archaeological medieval sites, specifically, the mosques and minarets of Kazakhstan. They commenced their work to identify, examine, and study these sites under the assignment from the National Commission of the Republic of Kazakhstan for UNESCO and ICESCO.

The work was conducted through applied innovative technologies so that site documentation utilized unmanned aerial vehicles and high-precision GPS-enabled systems, specialized software for graphic editing, 3D modeling, photogrammetry, and GIS-cartography.

The recommendations elaborated by IICAS in cooperation with international experts based on the research conducted thus far will make it possible to prepare properly substantiated proposals to preserve and use these site effectively. This work provides a future possibility, due to this dedicated task force, to design and deploy a strategy for possible inclusion of these monuments on the UNESCO World Heritage List.





On **December 10, 2021**, the 15th Session of the General Assembly of International Institute for Central Asian Studies (IICAS) was held in Tashkent. The IICAS General Assembly is formed of the Official Representatives of the Member States to the IICAS Agreement (as of 2021, there have been 11 Member States plus UNESCO). The Embassy of India in the Republic of Uzbekistan took part in the 15th Session of the General Assembly of IICAS in the capacity of Observer.

The General Assembly holds biennial regular sessions, where, apart from the IICAS governance and development agenda, draft decisions are submitted for debates as proposed by the IICAS Academic Council by way of shaping and approval of the Institute's Research Programme. The Research Program, in turn, is populated from among the grant funding applications selected by the IICAS Academic Council on the basis of transparent analysis.

At the end of the detailed and very extensive report delivered by the Director of the Institute, the participants of the 15th Session of the IICAS General Assembly acknowledged and welcomed the ongoing active development of the International Institute for Central Asian Studies and strengthening of its positions in the field of science and culture in the region of Central Asia.

The IICAS General Assembly Members and Observers Session was marked by an exposition of the new publications made under the auspices of the Institute, by the transfer of an extensive library collections to each of the Member States, and by the celebration of the 25th Anniversary of the Institute.

The Decisions of the IICAS General Assembly with regard to the adopted Research Programme for 2022-2023 will be announced on the IICAS website, on the official IICAS .

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ABBREVIATIONS

BRE	The Great Russian Encyclopedia
EI	Encyclopædia of Islam
IANT	Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences of the Turkmenistan
IEA RAN	Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow)
IMKU	Istoriya Material'noj Kul'tury Uzbekistana [The History of the material culture of Uzbekistan] (Tashkent – Samarkand).
IRGO	Bulletin of the Russian Geographical Society (St. Petersburg)
IVR RAN	Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg)
KGU	Karakalpak State University, Nukus
KSIIMK	Kratkie soobsheniya Instituta istorii materialnoy kultury [Brief reports of the Institute for the History of Material Culture].
MAE RAS	Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) at the Russian Academy of Sciences (St.Petersburg).
MBAE	Materials of the Bukhara archaeological expedition
MIA	Materialy i issledovaniia po arkheologii SSSR [Materials and research on archeology of the USSR] (Moscow – Leningrad).
NAN RK	National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan
NGH	Numismatics of the Golden Horde. Magazine. Kazan
OblONO	Regional Department of Public Education
ONU	Obschestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane [Social Sciences in Uzbekistan] (Tashkent).
PIFK	Problems of history, philology, culture (Magnitogorsk)
RA	Rossiiskaia arkheologiia [Russian Archaeology] (Moscow).
REM	Russian Ethnographic Museum (St.Petersburg).
SA	Sovetskaia arkheologiia [Soviet Archaeology] (Moscow).
TsGA RUz	Central State Archives of the Republic of Uzbekistan (Tashkent)
KhAEE	Khorasmian Archaeological-Ethnographic Expedition of the Academy of Sciences
YuTAKE	Yuzhno-Turkmenistanskaja arkheologicheskaja kompleksnaja ekspeditsija [South Turkmenistan Archaeological Complex Expedition] (Ashgabat).
Z/No zeno.ru	coin number in the <i>zeno</i> database

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Cover illustration: Yerbulat Smagulov (photo: *Emma Zilivinskaya*)

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