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CULTURAL STUDIES

VLADIMIR RUZANOV

BRONZE AGE METALLURGY IN THE CENTRAL ASIAN INTERFLUVE

Abstract: *The metallurgical centers of Tazabagyab, Dasht-i-Kumsay, Kairakkum, Dalverzin-Chust-Burgulyuk and North Bactria were identified based on data produced by spectral and morphological-typological studies of tools, weapons, designs, and dress articles. The original impulses have been determined to emanate from ancient copper industries on today's Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Russia. The external and internal connections of these metallurgical centers have been studied and the chemical analysis of alloys was established (i.e. the use of such materials as tin, lead, arsenic, tin-lead, lead-arsenic bronzes, complex multicomponent tin-antimony-arsenic, and tin-lead-antimony-arsenic alloys, as well as pure copper and tin), which were used by local craftsmen to produce tools and accessories. Research has identified ore mines (i.e. deposits at "Vozrozhdennoe," Naukat, Varzik, Karnab, and Gaurdak ore fields, etc.) located in the mountain areas of the Kyzylkum, Zirabulak-Ziaetda, Zarafshan, South Chatkal, and Qurama. The chronology and dating for metallurgical forges have been subject to analysis. The Turan metallurgical province, formed in the late 2nd millennium BCE had been was identified at sites in present day Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and southern Kyrgyzstan.*

Key words: *forge, metallurgy, alloys, deposits, Bronze Age.*
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IN THE STEPPE ZONES of Eurasia during the 2nd millennium BCE, complex ethnic processes occurred associated with migration of cattle breeding tribes. These processes also covered Central Asia. Thus, steppe cultures territory expanded southward. Tribal groups including the Catacomb, Petrovo, Andronovo (Alakulians and Fedorovans) and Srubnaya (or "Timber-grave") cultures, as well as the Multiroller ceramics culture, participated in these relocations (*Avanesova* 2013). While agricultural tribes of the East that migrated north from their ancient southern regions are traceable, they were not as significant as the relocations of the steppe peoples. At approximately the same time, cultures identified by their painted, molded ceramics formed in Central Asian "Mesopotamia," which formed special sedentary agricultural zones in areas inhabited mainly by steppe tribes. Metallurgists and foundry workers from these cultures encountered each other, which led to the exchange of technological and cultural achievements.

Metallurgical production normally occurs in areas with access to ore and, even more importantly, places favorable for ore field development. Based on geological data regarding the central and northern zones of the Central Asian Interfluve, local mining areas are rich in copper, tin, and polymetals. Judging by the similarity in chemical analysis of many products from ancient sites with ores from local fields, one can speak of their development during the Bronze Age, which made local production economically independent of remote or foreign metallurgical centers.

In the second half of the 2nd millennium BCE, a breakthrough occurred technologically in metallurgical development in northern Central Asia. The result was no significant lag between the northern and southern industries, as is traceable for previous periods. From the end of the 2nd to the first half of the 1st millennium BCE, local metallurgical centers were equal in terms of their technological development. Apparently, this is why in Central Asian, the Bronze Age ended simultaneously, specifically the 7th century BCE, although there is a significant chronological variation in the initial dates of the Bronze Age onset from one various historical and cultural area to another. For example, in the eastern half of southern Turkmenistan, the Bronze Age began in the 22nd century BCE. – much earlier than in Uzbekistan

and Tajikistan, where the early Bronze Age dates to the 18th–17th centuries BCE. (*Ruzanov* 2013: 237). Therefore, in the cultural and historical areas of the territory under consideration, the Bronze Age periods differ from each other in duration and exist within the limits of 7–15 centuries.

In previous studies pertaining to the most ancient metallurgical industries in the northern regions of Central Asia, researchers mainly considered historical and chronological issues, which were most often solved by morphological and typological analysis. In chemical and metallurgical terms, metals were understudied at that time. At present, more than 600 copper-bronze items from northern Bronze Age cultures have undergone spectral analysis. Analyses for some of these items have been published (*Bogdanova-Berezovskaya* 1962; 1968; *Kuzmina* 1966; *Ruzanov* 1980; 1982; 2000; 2010; 2016). Artifacts were studied obtained during archaeological surveys of mines and sites with traces of copper smelting, as well as geochemical characteristics from large copper, tin, and polymetal deposits (*Klunnikov* 1933; *Shcherbakov* 1935; *Golubin* 1955; *Ismailov* 1975; *Baimukhamedov, Efimenko* 1976; *Buryakov* 1974; *Vinogradov, Mamedov* 1975; *Uzbekistan Geology* 1998; *Ionin* 1935; *Litvinskii* 1950; *Litvinenko* et al. 1994; *Nasledov*1961; *Pruger* 1986; *Rusakov, Korolev* 1935; *Cierny* 2002; *Carner* 2013; *Parzinger, Boroffka* 2002). Geochemical data comparison with the chemical composition of these artifacts made it possible to identify the original ore sources and to identify potential mining and metallurgical areas for copper mining. All this information has enhanced knowledge in the field of Central Asian ancient metallurgy. Thus, it became possible to adjust the previous viewpoints describing the development of the region's copper-and-bronze industry in the early metal era. Briefly, they boil down to the following:

A rich copper-tin ore base in this Central Asian "Mesopotamia" contributed to the formation and successful development of its own metallurgical industries during the Bronze Age. It is characterized by the materials from five forges: four metallurgical centers – Tazabagyabsky, Dasht-i-Kumsay, Kairakkum, Dalverzino-Chust-Burgulyuk, and one North Bactrian metalworking center. The centers used metal geologically related to deposits located in the Kyzylkum, Zirabulak-Ziaetda, Zarafshan, and Kurama mountains and the southwestern spurs of the Chatkal mountains. The southern metalworking center, which existed in ancient northern Bactria, worked with imported raw materials, the sources of which were Afghanistan, southeastern Turkmenistan, and the northern regions of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan (*Ruzanov* 2013: 270).

Tazabagyab metallurgical center. Production activity of this center was characterized by materials from the steppe tribe sites that existed in the second half of the 2nd millennium BCE in the Akcha-Darya delta, the lower reaches of the Zarafshan River, in the Kyzylkum and Zirabulak-Ziaetda mining and metallurgical regions of western Uzbekistan. The following facts speak for the autonomous nature of this forge. First, is evidence for the existence of this area's own metallurgical industry (e.g. droplets of smelted copper, clay smelting ladles, fragments of ceramic crucibles, vessels, and slag) and metalworking (stone casting molds). Second, the artifacts' forms and their modifications are characteristic of this forge. Third, are the traces of ancient copper and tin deposit development located near Tazabagyab culture settlements.

The forge masters mainly used copper from nearby ore deposits located in the Kyzylkum and Ziaetda mountains, as well as imported metal from the north, specifically, the Andronovo and Srubnaya cultures. Judging by the saturation from the collection of the binary tin bronzes (more than 80% of these items were made from this alloy), local casters, obviously, knew no lack of tin. This metal, scarce at that time, was mined in Zirabulak-Karatyube-Zarafshan and, possibly, in the Bukan-Tamdy-Auminzatau mining and metallurgical regions, with knwn cassiterite deposits. Yet, at an early stage of their activity, the Tazabagyab masters borrowed tin and tin bronzes from west Kazakhstan population. In addition to tin alloys, the forge casters used tin-lead alloys, lead, and pure copper.

Under the influence of the Andronovo impulse originating from western Kazakhstan and the southern Urals, this forge maintained close metallurgical ties with the craftsmen from the Parkhai-Sumbara metallurgical center and the Murghab-Kopetdag metalworking center which functioned in southern Turkmenistan during the 2nd millennium BCE. Facts indicate that local metallurgists supplied copper and tin mined in the Kyzylkum and Zirabulak-Ziaetda mountains as well as alloys containing tin made from these metals to the south of Turkmenistan and Iran. In addition to these southern connections, the center maintained contacts with the northern steppe, specifically in Kazakhstan and to the east in the middle Zarafshan River basin.

The collection from the Tazabagyab center included tools, weapons, and their decorations (Fig. 1). Many items find comparison to sites among the steppe tribes of Kazakhstan and Eurasia, dating from the third quarter of the 2nd millennium BCE. Together with objects with steppe forms, decorations of the ancient oriental type were made in the forge. These included pins (a stone casting matrix for casting of bi-spiral finials) and wire pendants with relief knobs at their base (the Khak complex, Sumbar I burial ground) of the Late Bronze Age.

Dasht-i-Kumsai metallurgical center. The burial grounds of Dasht-i-Kozy, Muminabad, Kumsay, and Tuyun — certain burials of the steppe tribes — concentrated in the upper basin of the Zarafshan River in western Uzbekistan and central Tajikistan belong to this center, as well as in the Tursunzade and Khovalin regions in southwestern Tajikistan. Researchers associate their emergence with the migration waves of the Andronovo tribes from the late 2nd to early 1st millennium BCE from Kazakhstan, first to the basin of the Zarafshan River and further down south to southwestern Tajikistan (*Pyankova* 1989: 138; *Vinogradova* 2004: 104).

As compared to other centers in this region, this one has several unique features. First, the grave goods from local burial grounds are only jewelry and grooming artifacts. Tools and weapons were not found in the burials. In this regard, it is difficult to establish the real specie-related and typological composition of metal artifacts that could be produced in this metallurgical center. This situation makes it difficult to make a true assessment of the morphological similarity of the inventory as compared with the metal from other cultures and sites. Yet, the simultaneous nature of the sites for this center with the Shamshi, Sukuluk, Issyk-Kul, Dalverzino and other northern hoards of Central Asia—which, like the burial grounds, existed in the late Alakul, Fedorovo and Alekseevo-Sargarino times— allows one to make an assumption about their possible cultural unity and similarities morphologically and typologically of their metal inventory. In this regard, based on the species and typological composition of the cultural material, it can be assumed that the Dasht-i-Kumsai craftsmen made socketed axes with a comb, knives and daggers, adzes, chisels, hammers, wedges, sickles, fishing hooks, and arrows (Fig. 2). By the way, such an idea was brought up in one of T. M. Potemkina's articles, who conducted a detailed analysis of the grave goods from the Dasht-i-Kozy burial ground. The lack of tools and weapons in this and other contemporary burial grounds from the steppe Bronze Age in the Central Asian Interfluve area, this author connects with the scarcity of metal caused by the these sites' remoteness and isolation raw material sources and metallurgical centers of central, eastern and southern Kazakhstan of the Late Bronze Age (*Potemkina* 2001: 67–68)[1].

The second feature involved the use of various tin-containing bronzes by Dasht-i-Kumsai masters such as tin, tin-lead, complex tin-antimony-arsenic, and tin-lead-antimony-arsenic alloys (and rarely used arsenic bronzes and pure copper). It should be noted that the share of tin-containing alloys in this forge accounts for 97% of the items in the collection, which is the highest indicator in the metalworking of other steppe-type forges in Central Asia.

The third feature is that for the first time within this region the metallurgists of the Dasht-i-Kumsai forge started to use tin-based alloys (tin 74% or more) for casting jewelry (beads), which, in fact, can be attributed as pure tin.

The ore base of the Dashty-Kumsai focus was polymetallic deposits enriched in tin, antimony, arsenic, and lead, located in the Jilau-Taror, Koninukrinsky-Mushiston, Semichsky and Iskander-Kul mining regions. The similarity of the geochemistry from the ores in these deposits with chemical characteristics of metal from the Dashty-Kumsai chamber indirectly indicates their development during the Bronze Age. Some of them bear traces of ancient developments and remains from metallurgical production (*Litvinenko* et al. 1994: 64–67).

The presence in these artifact collections from these culturally diverse northern and southern sites in Central Asian "Mesopotamia," made of tin-antimony-arsenic and tin-lead-antimony-arsenic alloys, were characteristic of the Dasht-i-Kumsai forge and indicates its versatile metallurgical connections. Thus, the masters of this forge maintained contacts with the cultures who made steppe bronze and stucco painted ceramics, as well as the ancient Eastern tribes that lived in the Fergana and Gissar valleys and the Tashkent and Surkhandarya regions. By exporting metal, the center influenced production development in the Kairakkum metallurgy centers (at the end of the 2nd millennium BCE) and Dalverzino-Chust-Burgulyuk (early Dalverzino stage and early phase Burgulyuk I), as well as in the North Bactrian metalworking center (late phase Sapalli culture development – Molalin and Bustan periods). At the same time, on can observe influences in the opposite direction on the forge from northern and southern cultures, which manifested both in the artifact morphology (mirrors with a side handle) and in metal chemical composition.

[1] It is believed that the reason for the lack of tools and weapons in the Dasht-i-Kumsai tribal burial grounds from the steppe bronze period could be due to a metal shortage containing increased hardness necessary for this product. As for the alloys used in the Dasht-i-Kumsay forge, they were smelted from predominantly polymetallic ore deposits enriched by a number of elements, in particular tin (15% or more). Such a high impurity content, passing from ore to metal, reduced copper's technical properties I that they made it soft. Such copper has good casting and is an excellent source material for making jewelry and grooming artifacts (i.e. mirrors), widely represented in the burials of the above sites. therefore, obviously the craftsmen took care and did not include both whole tools and weapons in the grave inventory, which could be re-used in producing various products used in economic activities.

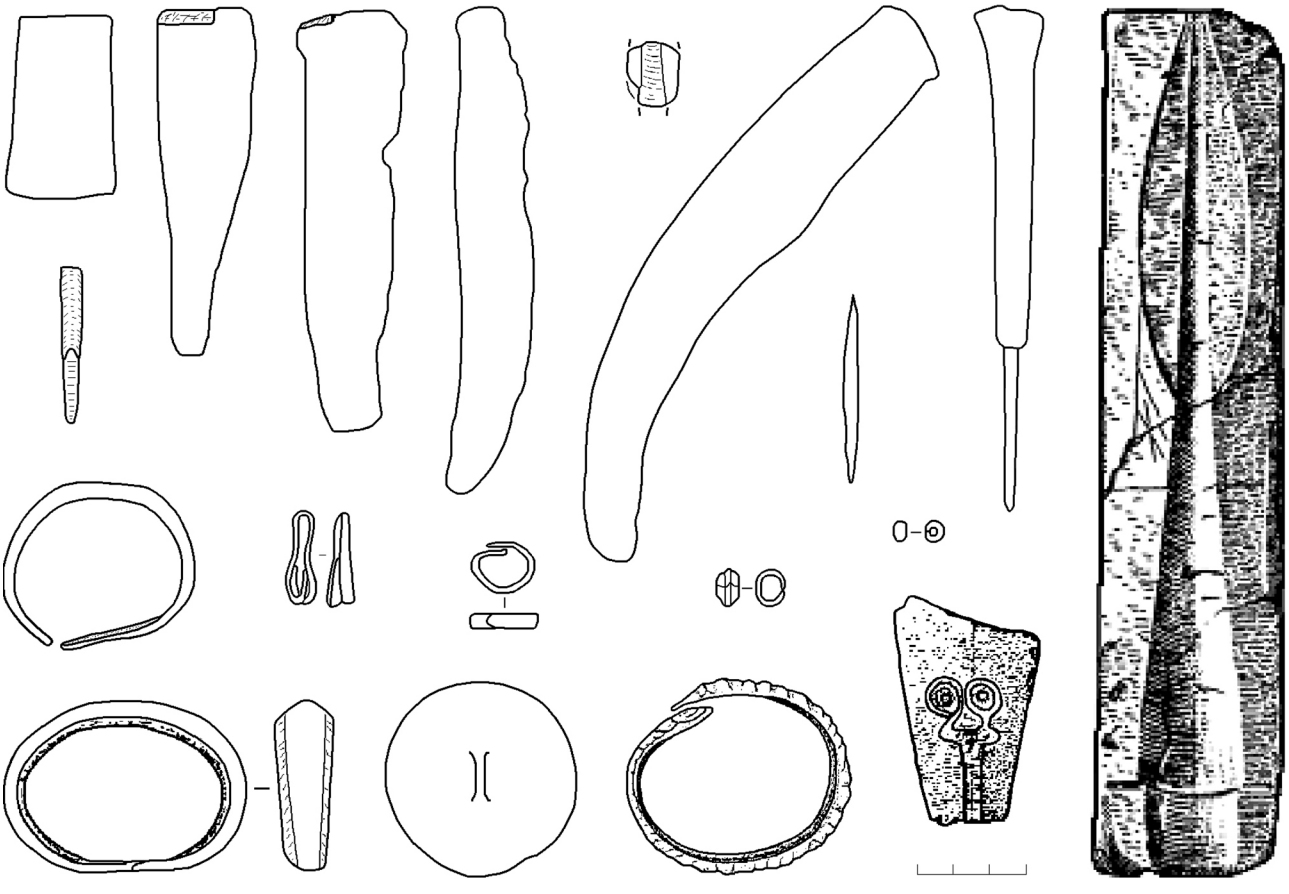

Fig.1. Types of metal products, stone casting molds for casting spearheads, and pinheads from the Tazabagyab metallurgical center (Tazabagyab culture). Bracelets and stone molds according to M. A. Itina (1977)

The steppe population of Kazakhstan bronze age took an active part in the formation of the Dasht-i-Kumsai focus.

Kairakkum metallurgical center. This center united the sites of the Kairakkum culture, located in the Kairak-Kum region in northern Tajikistan. Production was located in the Supe-Tau mountain range on the right bank of the Syr-Darya River in the Kuraminsky mountains (*Litvinsky* et al. 1962: 172). In those settlements and their nearby camps, many discovered copper smelting points were left by the Kairakkum tribes as determined by the slag fields. The center functioned during the last centuries of the 2nd to the early 1st millennium BCE during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age.[2]

The presence of imported goods in the Kairakkum culture testifies to the close relationship of their masters with the eastern Kazakhstan and northern Kyrgyzstan steppe culture populations. Kairakkum metal casters maintained contacts with the steppe tribes, who left burials near the village Iskander and in the Aurakhmat lead-silver mine in the Tashkent region. The connections of this forge also extend southward to the steppe tribes of the Bronze Age, who lived in the upper basin of the river Zarafshan River.

The Kairakkum metallurgical center had a typo-

[2] B. A. Litvinsky believed that "... on the territory of Kayrak-Kum there was only one metallurgical center Kayrak-Kum." The functional area of metallurgical production for the entire culture, according to Litvinsky, was much larger. In his opinion, its centers were based around ore, including copper and polymetallic deposits in the south Chatkal and Kuraminsky mountains, as well as copper deposits in the Nurata mountains (*Litvinsky* et al. 1962: 195). Comparisons of the chemical composition from artifacts with geochemical data narrowed down geographically the chamber's ore base making it possible propose that the main source for ore deposits were cuprous sandstones localized in the Kuraminsky mountains. In this regard, one can refer to only one metallurgical center from this culture which existed within the limits of the Supe-Tau ridge. In addition, it is noted that new dates are proposed by researchers for the early developmental stage of the Kairakkum culture. Thus, according to G.P. Ivanov, this stage should not be dated to the second half of the 2nd millennium BC, as suggested by B. A. Litvinsky (*Litvinsky* et al. 1962: 231, 258), or the last third of the 2nd millennium BC (*Ivanov* 1999: 17). Based on chemical-metallurgical and typological comparisons, this author proposes that the beginning date of Kairakkum metallurgy should be recalculated from the 8th to possibly 12th centuries BC.

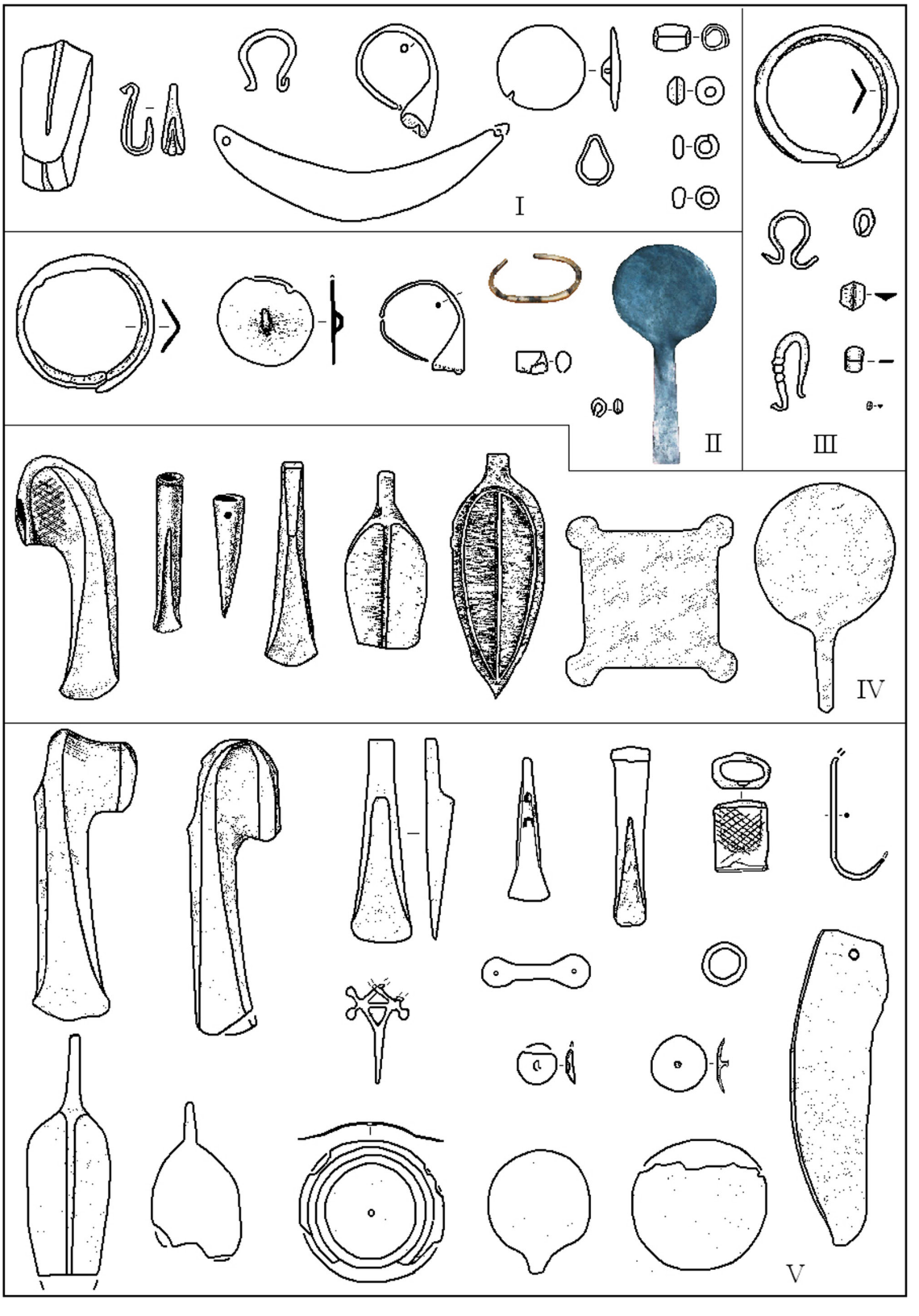

Fig. 2. Types of metal products from the Dasht-i-Kumsai metallurgical center (burials of Dasht-i-Kozy, Muminabad, Kumsai) and their contemporary steppe tribe hoard items from Central Asia. I - Dasht-i-Kozy burial ground, II - Muminabad burial ground, III - Kumsai burial ground, IV - Sukuluk hoard, V - Shamshi hoard. Sukuluk hoard items according to E. E. Kuzmina (1966), from the Kumsai burial ground according to N. M. Vinogradova (2004)

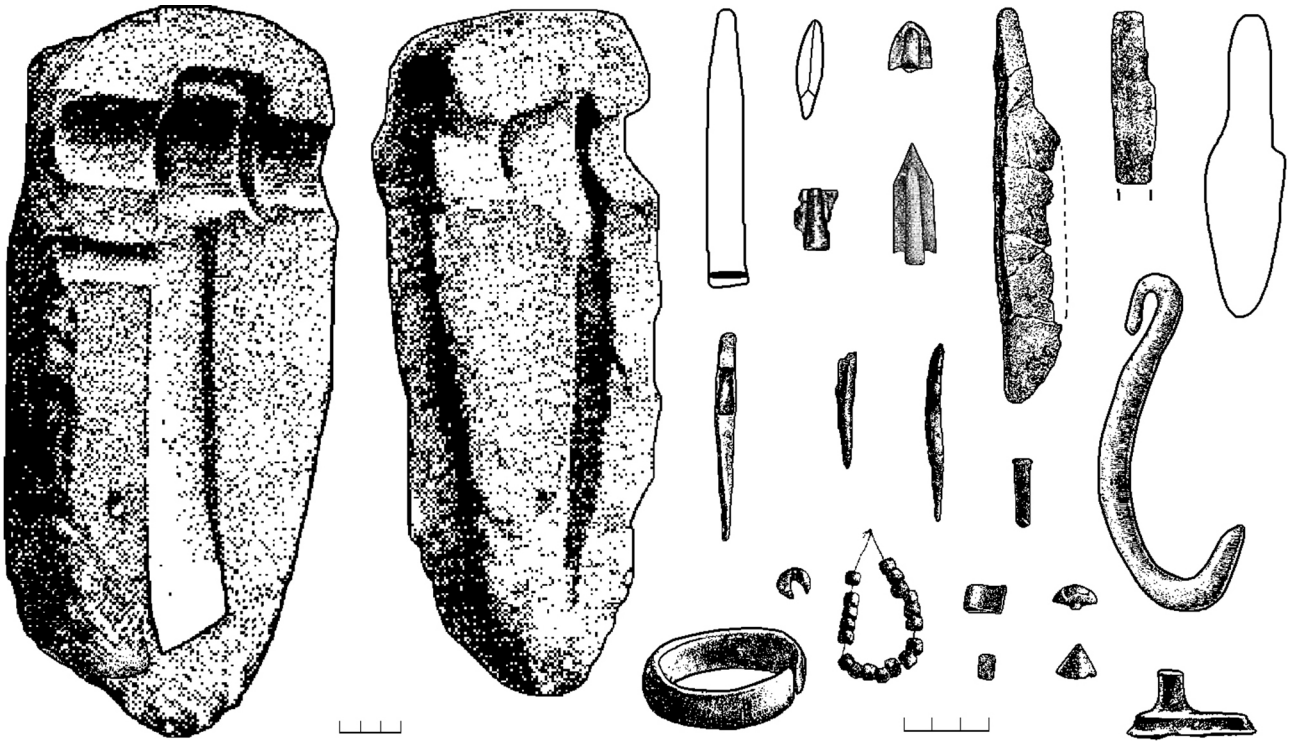

Fig. 3. Types of metal products, stone molds for casting axes and rock picks (mattocks) from the Kairakkum metallurgical center (the Kairakkum culture). Single-edged knives, arrowheads, a bracelet, a mirror, beads, and stone molds for casting socketed axes and mattocks according to B. A. Litvinsky (*Litvinsky* et al. 1962)

logical impact on metalworking from the tribes of the Chust and Burgulyuk cultures. This influenced the production of the steppe population in this area, which existed in the Zaravshan middle river basin, where this author asserts to be metal originating from Kairakkum.

This center's craftsmen used a variety of artificial alloys including tin, lead, tin-lead bronzes, as well as imported multi-component tin-antimony-arsenic, and tin-lead-antimony-arsenic alloys. In addition to these, pure copper was often used.

The base for ore deposits were located in the Kuraminsky mountains. Among them were the Naukat deposit of cuprous sandstones, near the of the Kairakkum culture sites. Copper from Naukat was used only by Kairakkum craftsmen and did not enter other cultures. Obviously, it was local in nature. In the forge, copper was often used and mined from the Varzik copper deposit. In addition, Kairakkum craftsmen used imported metal, apparently of Kyzylkum origin. However, it played a secondary role in the local population's development. In the Kairakkumk culture, tin alloys were used less frequently than in other Central Asian steppe cultures. Judging by the chemical indicators, they came mainly from the Dasht-i-Kumsai metallurgical center. Imports of tin bronzes from the Semirechensk metalworking center were located here in a small amounts.

Judging from the typological composition of metal tools and ornaments (Fig. 3), the impulse leading to the emergence of the Kairakkum focus came from production centers that functioned in today's Kazakhstan and northern Kyrgyzstan.

Dalverzino-Chust-Burgulyuk metallurgicall center. This forge connects the Chust and Burgulyuk culture sites based on stucco painted ceramics common in the northeastern Ferghana Valley and the eastern Tashkent region. It was characterized by industries that functioned in the Chust culture and the Burgulyuk culture (the early period of Burgulyuk I) in 14th–7th centuries BCE.

The goods produced by the early phase Dalverzino and Burgulyuk masters (14th–9th centuries BCE) reflected features inherent in their metalworking by the various schools. Here one can identify these item's shapes created under the southern influence emanating from ancient Eastern tribes, and the influences coming from the steppe bronze cultures. All this was reflected in their heritage's typological compositions and gave the Dalverzino-Burgulyuk metal a mixed character with elements of metalworking from the Iranian-Afghan and Eurasian metallurgical industries (Fig. 4).

In this study, forge metallurgy during the late phase of its development (8th–7th centuries BCE) was characterized by metal artifacts from the Chust

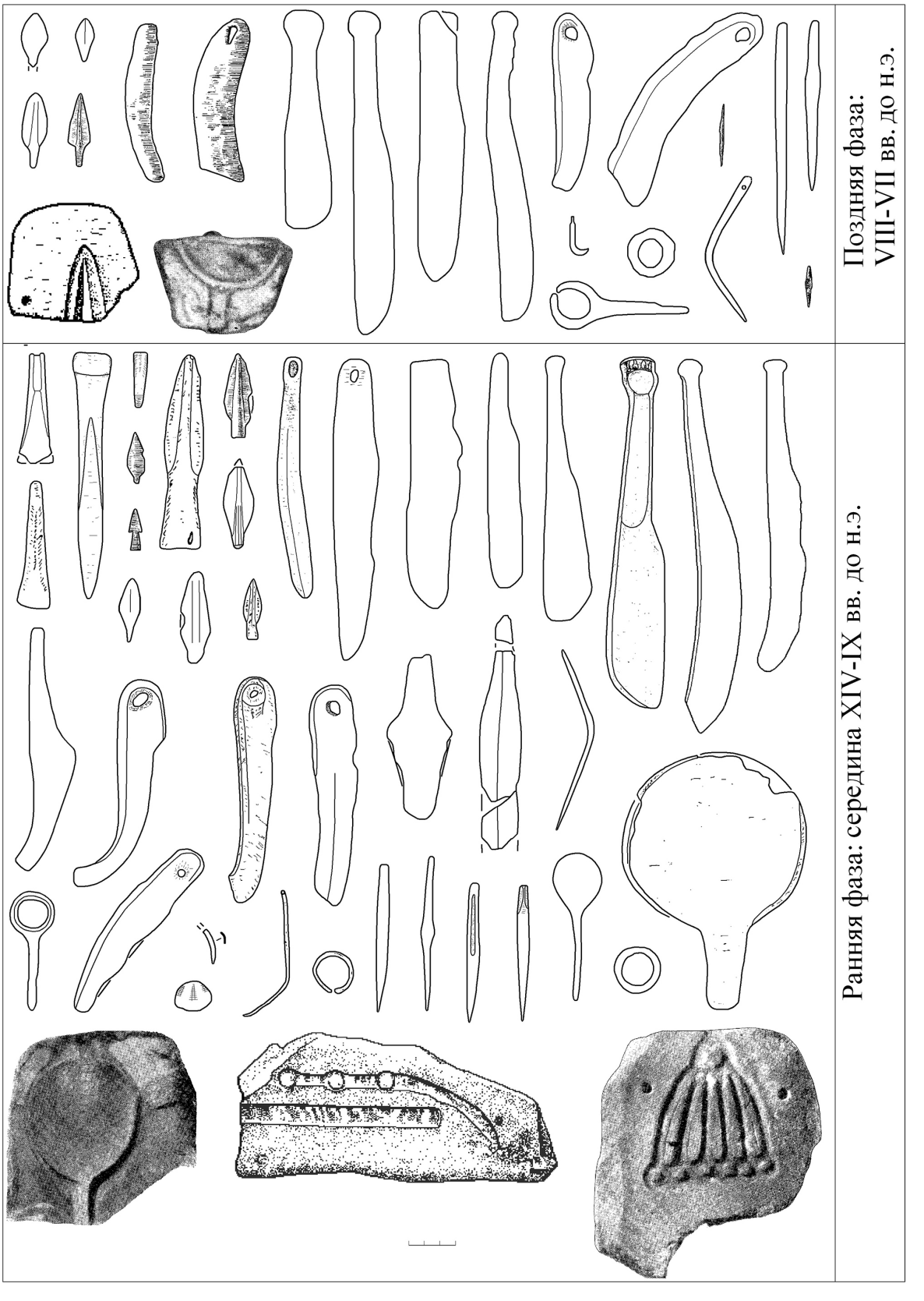

Fig. 4. Types of metal products, stone casting molds for casting spearheads (?), mirrors, jewelry, and cheek-pieces of the Dalverzino-Chust-Burgulyuk metallurgical center (Chust and Burgulyuk cultures). Late-phase arrowheads and stone casting molds according to Yu. A. Zadneprovsky (1962); late-phase single-edged knives according to E. E. Kuzmina (1966)

settlement. During that period, the production volume and typological product variability were reduced, the production of adzes, chisels, and double-bladed knives stopped. The forge maintained close ties with the Kairakkum metallurgists and the Kuchuk culture tribes.

The forge casters were familiar with tin, lead, arsenic, tin-lead, lead-arsenic, and tin-antimony-arsenic bronzes. Also, in foundry practice, local craftsmen used pure copper, billon, and lead.

Forge production was based on raw material sources located in the Chatkal (specifically the southern spurs) and Kuraminsky mountains. In the early period, metal was mined in the Vozrozhdennoye deposit in the Chatkal-Koksu metal-bearing zone, which played an important role in forge production. Most likely this deposit was discovered by the Petrine culture tribes. The mine was also exploited by the Andronovites during the Alakul and Fedorov periods and possibly by Burgulyuk culture metallurgists. The second raw material source widely used in the late developmental phase was Varzik copper sandstone deposits located near the Chust settlement. The exact location of the third ore source, whose metal was also found in the Kairakkum forge and other Ferghana Valley and Taskent region steppe cultures has not yet been established. Perhaps it was also located in the Ferghana-Tashkent region. Craftsmen used imported metal from northern and central Tajikistan and western Uzbekistan.

Metullrugy origins in the Dalverzino-Chust-Burgulyuk metallurgical center probably should be sought among the ancient Eastern tribes, such as the Sarazm culture.

North Bactrian metalworking center. This forge's production was characterized as coming from the ancient eastern Sappalli culture tribes of southern Uzbekistan and southwestern Tajikistan (*Ruzanov* 2013). Two distinct phases can be established in its development. In the early phase (17th-15th centu-

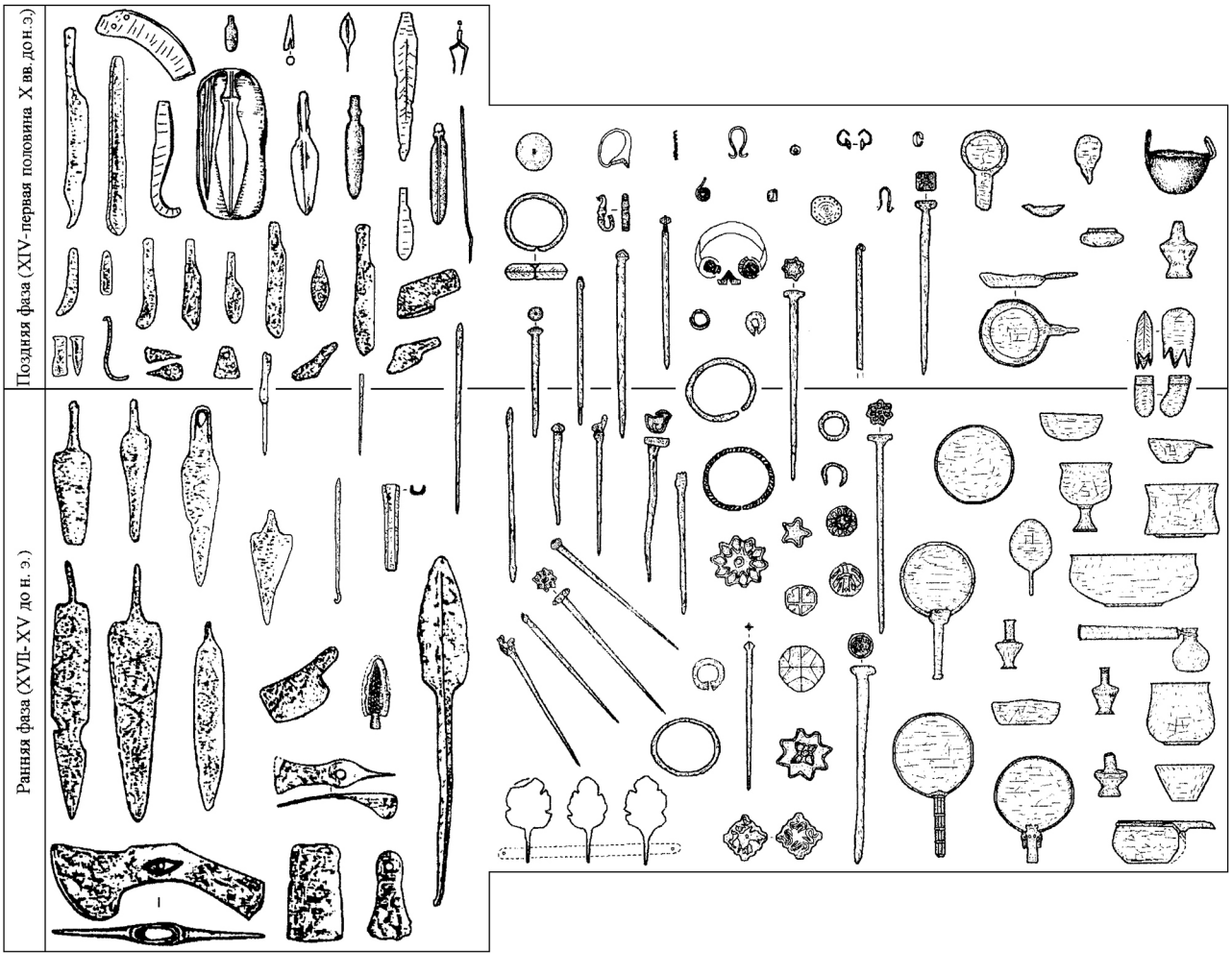

Fig. 5. Types of metal products from the North Bactrian metalworking center (Sapalli culture). Vessel, grooved bracelet with horns and pendants with late-phase bell according to N. A. Avanesova (2010)

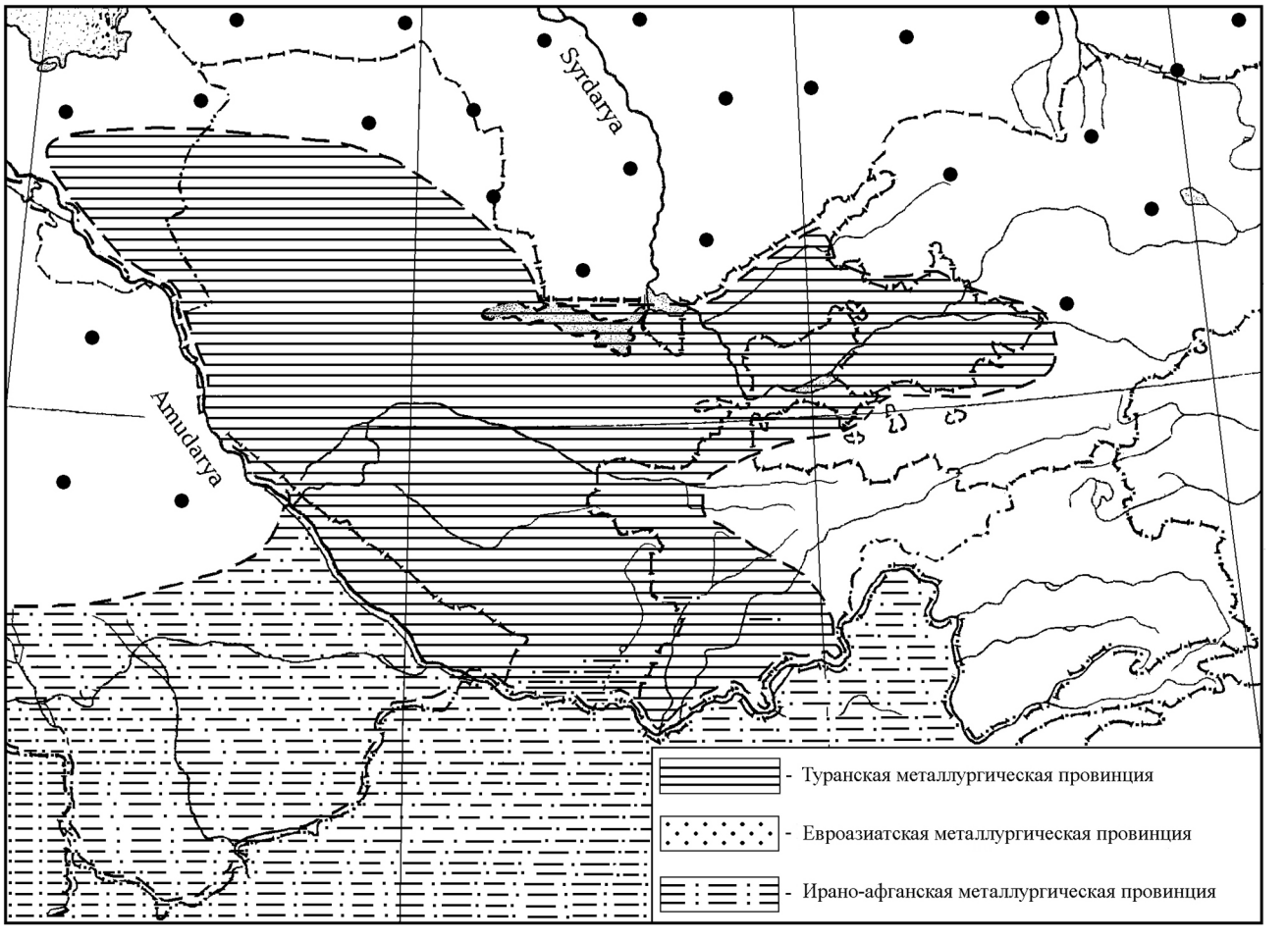

Fig. 6. Metallurgical provinces in Central Asia in the second half of the II-beginning of the I millennium BC

ries BCE), the forge was part of the Iranian-Afghan metallurgical province. At that time, it maintained close ties with the Seistan Metallurgical Center, the Murgabo-Kopetdag metalworking center, and the miners-metallurgists who obtained copper from the Kyzylkum mountains. In the late phase (14th – mid 10th centuries BCE) connections reoriented. At present, it is believed that influences from the south Turkmenistan and Afghan metallurgical centers was weakening and contacts with the cultural and historical community of the Andronovo steppe cultures— who used metal mined in the deposits of cuprous sandstones in the Kyzylkum mining and metallurgical region— were becoming more frequent. Yet, ties with the Dalverzino-Chust-Burgulyuk metallurgical center was strengthening.

Metal from Afghan sources dominated forge metalworking during the early phase of its development. Northern copper – particularly Kyzylkum deposits – were rarely used at this time. One metal was associated with deposits of cuprous sandstones located in southeastern Turkmenistan (Gaurdak ore basin) and the Ferghana-Tashkent mining and metallurgical region. During the late developmental metalworking phase of the forge, binary tin bronzes predominated, while the proportion of pure copper decreased. Lead, arsenic, and lead-arsenic bronzes were rarely used. Yet, complex tin-antimony-arsenic alloys appeared coming from the Dasht-i-Kumsai metallurgical center.

The changes observed in the second production phase at the north Bactrian location occurred because of the cultural and trade relation reorientation from south to north. This resulted in an increased flow of metal associated with the Ferghana-Tashkent and Kyzylkum ore sources. Yet, blister copper deliveries from the southwest were falling, specifically from southeast Turkmenistan and Northern Afghanistan. Probably, in connection with strengthening ties of Central Asian steppe culture tribes — who intensively developed cassiterite deposits in the late 2nd millennium BCE — during the late phase, one can observe an increase in items made from bronzes containing tin.

Two impulses played an important role in the forming this concentration. One came from the west

and was associated with the metalworking by the Murghab tribes of southern Turkmenistan functioning during the 2nd millennium BCE where a significant predominance of pure copper over other types of alloys, including tin bronzes, is recorded. The second impulse came from a metallurgical center located somewhere in Seistan in Afghanistan. It was this second impulse greatly influenced the technology using the alloy formulation in the forge, in particular tin bronzes. The main flow of tin ligature to the Sapalli culture masters in the early developmental phase came from this location.

In the late 2nd millennium BCE, the north Bactrian metalworking center left the Iranian-Afghan metallurgical province and became the southeastern outpost for the Turan metallurgical province. This is signified by changes that occurred both in the typological composition (Fig. 5) and in the chemical and metallurgical forge production indicators.

All these centers under consideration actively interacted with each other and their external connections extended to the Ancient East (Iran, Afghanistan), Eurasia (Kazakhstan, Russia), and eastern Turkestan (Northwest China). They played an important formative role for the Turan metallurgical province, which existed during the late 2nd millennium BCE in today's Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and southern Kyrgyzstan (Fig. 6).

Yet, the Parkhay-Sumbar center of metallurgy (late 5th-2nd century BCE) and the Murgab-Kopetdag metalworking center (late 3rd century BCE) functioned in Southern Turkmenistan during the 10th century BCE of the ancient Eastern type, which were part of the Iranian-Afghan metallurgical province (*Ruzanov* 2013: 284), as well as the Semirechensk metalworking forge, which operated in 12th-9th centuries BCE in Northern Kyrgyzstan and southeastern Kazakhstan (*Kuzmina* 1966: 98; *Degtyareva* 1985: 24). The last forge, together with the Eurasian steppe culture metallurgical, constituted the Eurasian metallurgical province of the Late Bronze Age (*Chernykh, Kuzminykh* 1989: 267).

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BAKHTIYOR ABDULLAEV

ON THE PROBLEM OF THE EILATAN CULTURE IN ANCIENT FERGANA

Abstract: *This article presents scientific developments and conclusions obtained as a result of studies conducted by previous researchers to unwit the problems of the early Iron Century of the Fergana Valley, as well as a comparative analysis of the archaeological artifacts of the region accumulated in the twentieth century and identified in the process of new field research (Koshtepa-2, Khanabad-1 and others) allow the following conclusions: from the era of the Late Bronze and the Early Iron Age in the valley in parallel there were nomadic (Kairakkum and Eilatan, 11th-3rd century BC) and sedental (Chust and Shurabashat, 14th-1st centuries BC) cultures. The difference between them is traced not only in craft products associated with these cultures, but also in the traditions of urban planning. Also, to determine the discrepancies in the concept of the sequence of the ancient cultures of Fergana, there is an analysis of ceramic vessels of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age, as well as some of the stone products. According to the results of the analysis, economic property and the tools of labor of nomadic and agricultural crops corresponded to their lifestyle. Despite the mutual cultural ties of these crops were observed from the Age of Late Bronze, the strengthening of the synthesis or assimilation processes between the nomadic and agricultural crops of the region occur only from the middle of the first thousand BC.*

Key words: *Eastern Fergana, Early Iron Age, nomads, sedentary, handicrafts, irrigation, urbanization.*
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THE EARLY Iron Age is one of the most problematic aspects for ancient history in the Fergana Valley. The main reason involves referring to the Eilatan culture as sedentary, as well as uncertainty as to its place and significance to the Shurabashat culture within the consistent developmental system of ancient cultures in this historical and cultural region. The latter problem was covered in a previous article (*Abdullaev* 2018a); therefore, the results of critical and comparative analysis from a wide range of literary sources and ceramic collections related Eilatan cultural formation and developmental stages will be discussed in this article.

This article's central focus is the definition of nomadic culture in Fergana, which greatly changed the historical, political, and socio-economic nature of events during the period under examination. The results of most studies conducted in the 20th century in the region clearly indicate the presence of culture bearers, both farmers and nomads, who were part of the overall process of evolutionary development for Fergana's ancient society. However, the scholarly literature covers only the early stage of ancient Fergana's history; specifically, the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age's initial stage. In the later period, only the agricultural culture is studied comprehensively, while nomadic cultures are presented as peripheral, fragmentary, and subordinate to the former. At the same time, historical processes both in the world and particularly in Fergana point to the decisive role nomadic cultures played in the formation and development of the ancient society's spheres such as agriculture, urban planning, and centralized statehood formation.

The article's objectives include an analysis of academic and theoretical conclusions by previous researchers in revealing the essence of ancient cultures during the early Iron Age; a comparative analysis of archaeological artifacts (handicrafts and architecture) identified at the archaeological sites from this period; specifics as to the role and place from representatives of early Iron Age cultures related to the formation and development of the early centralized state of Fergana; and an analysis the ancient Ferganian (Davan) state's goals and results from their internal policy aimed at the economic and socio-political development of the region.

I. Initially, the idea that the Eilatan site belonged to an agrarian culture was proposed in the 1930s

by B.A. Latynin. During that period, archaeological studies of the early handmade painted ceramics in the Fergana Valley were not yet at a sufficient level with the main reason for confusion being a similarity between the Eilatan finds and the handmade painted pottery of the Anau culture (Turkmenistan) which was more well-known at the time (*Latynin* 1956: 90-92). Later, from resulting archaeological excavations in the western part of the valley, patterns characteristic of the Chust culture were identified in the ornamentation of some pottery vessels belonging to the Eilatan culture. This allowed researchers not only to confirm Latynin's conclusions about the agricultural origin of the Eilatan culture, but also to conclude the existence of a genetic relationship between these cultures (*Hamburg, Gorbunova* 1957: 87; *Gorbunova* 1962: 42-43; *Gorbunova* 1961a: 190, Fig. 6, *10-11*). To some extent, the discovery of a handmade painted bowl—characteristic of pottery from the Aktam burial ground attributed to the Eilatan culture—obtained from the upper layer of the Ashkaltepa site from the Chust culture in eastern Fergana also contributed to the consolidation of this idea (*Zadneprovsky* 1962: 44, Fig. 17). However, these studies' results over the next 40 years suggested the inconsistency or, more likely, the fallacy of B. A. Latynin's conclusion. In a similar regard were the results from Yu. A. Zadneprovsky's 1962 monograph that analyzed the scientific literature and revealed, at first glance, an almost imperceptible error. Zadneprovsky's article, published after almost three decades after Latynin's, maintained that the Eilatan vessel found at Ashkaltepa did not emerge from the Chust cultural layer, but from a poorly preserved undercut grave dated to the subsequent Eilatan culture *(Zadneprovsky* 1990: 88). Nevertheless, N. G. Gorbunova, even in the late 1990s, claimed that the Ashkaltepa burial belonged to "purely agricultural" settlers of the Eilatan culture (*Gorbunova* 1996: 140).

Research results conducted over the last 90 years show that the overwhelming majority of archaeological sites dated to the Eilatan culture are burial grounds, with the only exceptions being the Eilatan archaeological site in the lower layers at Symtepa in Fergana and Sarvantepa in the Andijan region. This is in addition to the individual pottery fragments from this culture obtained from the lower layers of 20 sites dated to various periods in the ancient history of Fergana (*Zadneprovsky* 1960: 29, 30, 33, 38, 40-44; *Zadneprovsky* 1962: 151, 153, 162; *Zadneprovsky* 1993: 20; *Gorbunova, Kozenkova* 1974: 98, 102-103; *Gorbunova* 1979: 23; *Matbabaev, Gritsina* 2000: 106; *Ivanov* 2006: 124; *Anarbayev, Maksudov, Kubaev* 2015: 33, 34-36; *Matbabaev, Khoshimov* 2021:119). Thus, it is probable that the arguments supporting the Eilatan culture's agricultural origins were rather tenuous and required more weighty confirmations from researchers since the search for settlements and cities from this culture continued through the 1950s to 1970s. A number of field studies were undertaken to support the hypothesis "that the Eilatan culture is an agricultural one." In the valley's east, expeditions were headed by Yu.A. Zadneprovsky, and in the region's west and southwest by N.G. Gorbunova. However, only burial grounds from this culture and only settlements from the agricultural Shurabashat culture were discovered to the east (*Zadneprovsky* 1960: 169), while in the west and southwest only Eilatan burial mounds with no settlements were discovered (*Gorbunova* 1979: 23). For this reason, and supported by the results of this author's research (*Abdullaev* 2020a: 43-44; *Abdullaev* 2021: 3-11), it would be more accurate to classify the Eilatan culture as nomadic or that of nomads gradually transitioning to a sedentary lifestyle. Researchers also assert that similar socio-economic changes in nomadic societies occurred not only in Fergana, but also among nomadic cultures in Central Asia during the 4th-3rd centuries BCE (*Chernikov* 1975: 282; *Ivanov* 1996: 122).

Undoubtedly, the inclusion of this culture among the settling nomadic cultures is more likely, which is also supported by the results literary source analysis from several Eurasian nomadic archaeological sites. The latter demonstrates that demographic growth along with insufficiently stable grazing lands for all the nomadic cultures led to a gradual transition by a certain part of their population to a sedentary lifestyle. The peak of this process in the Fergana Valley occurred in the middle of the 1st millennium BCE.

Nevertheless, during the 1960s, some researchers did question the conclusion that the tribes of the Eilatan culture were sedentary and agrarian. Based on the results of a comparative study from most archaeological and written sources available at that time, the conclusion that the Eilatan sites belonged to the Saka nomadic tribes was substantiated (*Litvinsky* 1960: 92, 94; *Litvinsky* 1976: 53, 54). This is also reflected in a separate chart developed by B. A. Litvinsky who, unlike other contemporary archaeologists, dated the sequential development of these ancient Early Iron Age cultures in Fergana, including the Eilatan culture, "as representing yet another known *agricultural (?)* culture" (author's italics) (*Ivanov* 1999a: 168, 188, Fig. 1, 22). Research data on the Ancient East, as well as the Fergana Valley (Chust and Kairkum cultures) largely suggests the coexistence of nomadic and sedentary cultures (*Briant* 1982: 408). This allows one to assume that the place of the "unknown culture" in Litvinsky's periodic system must be occupied by the Shurabashat agrarian culture since no other similar agricultural cultures have been found in Fergana!

The results of the above study indicate the need to make some changes regarding the concept of the

consistent development of the ancient cultures in Fergana. Probably, for this reason N.G. Gorbunova in some articles expresses an opinion corresponding to the idea of B.A. Litvinsky (*Gorbunova* 1976: 29). Nevertheless, she did not exclude Eilatan from the sedentary argrarian cultures; moreover, she published another critical article denying the coexistence of the Shurabashat culture, for a certain time, with the Eilatan, which was supported by Yu.A. Zadneprovsky and P.P. Gavryushenko, a young researcher at that time (*Gorbunova* 1977: 54-55). In her opinion, the Shurabashat culture appeared in the last centuries of the 1st millennium BCE and existed until the first centuries of the 1st millennium AD, although the studies criticized by her show earlier periods of the existence of the Shurabashat culture.

Thus, in 1962-1968, P. P. Gavryushenko fully studied the Kulunchak fortified settlement in the east of the valley with an area of 0.5 hectares, substantiating that it belonged to the Shurabashat agrarian culture. According to a comparative analysis of the finds, the settlement dated from the 5th to the 2nd centuries BCE. Also, based on the results of the comparative analysis, it was revealed that several items (ceramics, stone tools, etc.) from Kulunchak farms were somewhat like those in the Chust culture. At the same time, it is noted that pottery vessels belonging to the Eilatan culture were found at Kulunchaktepa and, according to their analysis, representatives of the Shurabashat and Eilatan cultures coexisted for a certain period (*Gavryushenko* 1970: 16-17, 19).

Ideas similar to the second question were indirectly supported by the results of extensive analyses of the pottery from the Shurabashat monument, where, almost from the first stages of the development of the site, a collection of handmade vessels characteristic of the Eilatan culture and the so-called "Eilatan wheel-thrown tableware" was revealed, in which this tableware was much more dominant (in a ratio of 60/2) than the red-slip wheel-thrown tableware (*Zadneprovsky* 1962: 137-138; *Gavryushenko* 1970: 16-17). The first of the above researchers, who introduced the term "Eilatan culture," specially conducted numerous archaeological excavations in the Osh region (Kyrgyzstan) at the Early Iron Age sites, hoping to identify any site or settlement associated with this culture. However, the conducted research resulted only in burial grounds belonging to the Eilatan culture, and all discovered settlements belonged to the Shurabashat culture, which was the basis for admission that these cultures had co-existed (*Zadneprovsky* 1960a: 169; *Zadneprovsky* 1962: 154-162). Also, according to Zadneprovsky, who worked on the monument for many years and gave the name to the second agricultural culture, N.G. Gorbunova's conclusions on "the dating of the Shurabashat complex to a time almost 500 years later does not correspond to reality" (*Zadneprovsky* 1993: 21). Since, according to the results of his field research, the Shurabashat site was dated to the 5th (4th)-1st centuries BCE (*Zadneprovsky* 1962: 169). It should be noted that when summarizing the conclusions of most of the field studies conducted by Zadneprovsky in Fergana's east at Early Iron Age sites, he had no other option but to use the phrase with an axiomatic meaning *in the understanding of N.G. Gorbunova* (author's italics) as "Eilatan-shurabashat" (*Zadneprovsky* 1960a: 50, 169).

Nevertheless, the problem of dating Shurabashat culture to the Early Iron Age, as well as questions about the entire concept's revision concerning the continuity of ancient cultures in Fergana, remained closed until the late 1990s.

In 1999, G. P. Ivanov gave a theoretical conclusion to the dispute related to the Eilatan and Shurabashat cultures, which by then had lasted more than half a century. Specifically, new directions concerning the sequence of Fergana's ancient cultures were developed around a generalization of all field studies conducted during that time and through the results of comparative analyses of material finds. According to Ivanov, the Shurabashat culture succeeded the Chust culture, and the former existed simultaneously with the Eilatan culture (*Ivanov*, 1999: 19). This, in this author's opinion, suggests an earlier date for the formative stages of these cultures, which is the task of the latest research. Nevertheless, accounting for Eilatan's nomadic culture as formed during the final stages of the Chust agrarian culture; it is necessary to date it to at least to the 7th-3rd centuries BCE, which would be closer to reality. This last suggestion is also indirectly confirmed through comparative analyses of pottery fragments found at sites in the Fergana and Sogdiana historical and cultural regions dated to the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. Thus, this requires a revision when dating the Eilatan culture (*Barartov* 2001: 175, 177, Table. 2; *Isamiddinav* 2002: 187, fig. 159, 195). Secondly, the Eilatan culture actively maintained relations with representatives from the agricultural Shurabashat culture. As a result, the painted ornaments on ceramic dishes from these cultures were mutually influenced with each of them featuring combinations of elements and styles from both (*Zadneprovsky* 1962: 137-138; *Gavryushenko* 1970: 16-17, 18; *Ivanov* 1999: 19; *Abdullaev* 2018a).

Historically, active communication between nomads and highly developed agrarian cultures were initiated by the former. Of particular interest is the opinion of N.G. Gorbunova: "... it is the *livestock breeders* (*author's italics*) that launched permanent contacts with the tribes surrounding Fergana, similar to some extent in the type of economy they practiced" (*Gorbunova* 1996: 138). Additionally, as shown above,

research by her other contemporaries indicated that nomads initiated close relationships with sedentary cultures as well. For Central Asia, vivid examples are the migratory patterns of the Andronovo nomadic cultures in Eurasia during the 2nd millennium BCE to the southern borders of Central Asia and their assimilation with (or absorption by) the population of the Sapalli culture. The penetration of northern pastoral tribes into the territory of ancient Bactria (southern Uzbekistan, southwestern Tajikistan and northern Afghanistan) and their influence on indigenous sedentary tribes were noted based on the results from several studies (*Sarianidi* 1977; *Francfort* 1989; *Vinogradova* 2004; *Avanesova* 2010). The last of these abovementioned researchers summarized the conclusions of previous scholars, emphasizing that the influence of these settlers on the local cultures was multifunctional and extremely effective. According to her conclusion, the formed relational systems were based on the following: 1) direct interaction between cultures with a simultaneous transition to a sedentary lifestyle; 2) migration of individual groups from the west and north (Ural-Kazakhstan region) to the south as a consequence of trade and exchange relations dictated by available raw materials on different territories; and, 3) possible occupation as a result of desertification. Most of the intercultural relations included regular contacts for the exchange of goods (*Avanesova* 2013: 28).

It should be noted that similar processes took place in Fergana because of nomadic migrations in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (*Litvinsky* 1960: 287; *Baratov* 2001: 161). However, due to the lack of new approaches in classifying artifacts and updated research conclusions concerning the chronology of ancient cultures based on these approaches, these theoretical developments are not tenable for the Fergana region. Consequently, the old approaches to the region's study are still present and, as a result, a number of problems arise regarding the absolute dating of these ancient cultures.

In the last eight years, comparative results of handmade painted pottery from Koshtepa-2 (2014-2019), Khanabad-1, and Khanabad-2 (2020-2021) along with similar artifacts from other sites in Fergana, also show that the Eilatan and Shurabashat cultures began at least from the middle of the 1st millennium BCE and lived in close contact (*Abdullaev* 2016a: 11; *Abdullaev* 2016b: 5; *Abdullaev, Kambarov* 2021. B. 237, 247). In this regard, the common use of results from the natural sciences along with modern technological analyses practiced by world and Uzbek archaeology is of particular importance. This will strengthen the research results, since, along with pottery, samples of paleoanthropology, paleozoology, paleobotany, paleo-metallurgy etc., can be subjected to modern technological analyses. Undoubtedly, these results will contribute to clarifying the absolute dating of ancient cultures as well as solve a number of problems pertaining to newly studied sites.

II. The main incentive for most researchers in referring to the Eilatan culture as agricultural, in this author's opinion, is the presence of "unusual" handmade painted pottery for everyday use. However, this can be explained by several indirect realities arising from their nomadic lifestyle. The latter is very clearly illustrated in the work of German art historian Karl Einstein, published in 1931.[1] He concludes that "[nomads] were too little taken into account by researchers... because they were outside the already developed, so-called, classical zone." According to Einstein, nomads had a high status among the creators of new art forms. The origin of eclecticism in nomadic art was not defined by K. Einstein as a type of aesthetic relativism. Rather, he associated it with the need for magical order of replacing the former "spirits" with new, "alien spirits" which they had assimilated during migrations, while "their own," former spirits lost their power and could no longer effectively perform their functions. Thus, K. Einstein placed the art of nomads into a double time dimension in which "the acrobat of temporary states acted as a carrier of future forms, which simultaneously rejected the already known and appealed to the well-forgotten past, extracted by them from the depths of memory. The nomad was the carrier of displacement, rupture, and separation; but at the same time restored the continuity of time. This indicated that the nomads were, thus, agents of transmission for other people's memories. The ability of reincarnation inherent in the nomadic art, as associated by K. Einstein, was with the proximity of the latter to the world of animals and nature. Such a close connection allowed one to transform constantly and endlessly into another and within it" (*Kalinowski* 2013: 196-199).

This information indicates that nomads, based on their lifestyle, were innovators for their time and always were on the path toward updating their worldview. Consequently, the art of nomads is a style that formed only in the process of migrations. The latter was directly reflected in the adoption and ornamentation of handmade painted pottery, where "old" and "new" symbols intertwined, dissolving into each other. These concepts was also revealed in this current author's research even before being acquainted with the work of K. Einstein (*Abdullaev* 2018a: 10-11).

In the 1960s, researchers, when discussing forms and ornamentation for cooking, dining, and ceremonial items, observed that—unlike large vessels from

[1] This article uses an annotated translation (*Kalinowski* 2013).

the Chust and Shurabashat cultures— pottery in the Eilatan culture was mainly represented by small, compact handmade bowls and jugs (*Zadneprovsky* 1960b: 40-41; *Gorbunova* 1961b: 43, Fig. 1; *Gavryushenko* 1970: 16-18). These observations also indirectly showed that the bearers of the Eilatan culture led a nomadic lifestyle. Ivanov, a scholar who came much later than the abovementioned researchers, engaged in a theoretical analysis of this problem and concluded that a distinct difference existed between the ornamentation of almost all the handmade painted ceramics in the Eilatan in contrast to the pre-existing Chust cultures, which completely negated their sequence and, more so, the continuity between them (*Ivanov* 1999: 14). Simultaneously, a comparative analysis of pottery examples from the nomadic culture of Kayrakkum (11th-7th centuries BCE) with other cultures in Fergana from the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, led Ivanov to the following conclusion:

> "... in these *Eilatan* (author's italics) ceramics are a significant number of elements that make it similar to the late Kayrakkum collection. In all four types of Eilatan pottery (using the classification by Yu.A. Zadneprovsky),[2] the forms characteristic of this collection are evident. Especially striking are the coincidences with pottery of the first and fourth types, which are the most numerous in the composition of Eilatan pottery. They provide massive coincidental similarities with groups III and V from our classification of Kayrakkum pottery. In many cases, the matter is not in vessel similarity, but rather identity of form, manufacturing technique, and ornamentation" (*Litvinsky* 1962: 256).

Therefore, considering such a conclusion, it is more appropriate to discuss the genetic connection of the Eilatan culture as not associated with the Chust agrarian culture, but rather with the nomadic Kayrakkum culture. In this regard, the opinion of Ivanov concerning the formation of the Eilatan culture is worth noting:

> "By the 7th century BCE, new pastoral tribes that had previous experience with the people from northern Bactria penetrated into the valley. These tribes mixed with representatives of the local Kayrakkum culture, creating a new Eilatan-Aktam culture, in many respects the culture of the Saka circle. Apparently, representatives of the new culture controlled the whole of Fergana" (*Ivanov* 2017: 11).

The continuity between the Chust and Eilatan cultures also fails to correspond chronologically. Of note is the status of a so-called "sedentary people" as representatives of the Eilatan culture based on the discovery in some burials from Aktam and Kungai, previously mentioned, which contained individual examples of handmade painted pottery with designs that are not traditional for this culture. While the design color and background pottery items remained the same, the patterns corresponded to the painted motifs on the handmade vessels from Chust and Dalverzin. This latter example, in turn, allowed researchers to conclude that there is a genetic link between the Chust and Eilatan cultures. However, in this author's opinion, the situation was associated with criteria other than these cultures' genetic kinship, and this, most of all, corresponded to the special worldview of these nomadic cultures as presented above by K. Einstein.

First, it is more likely that nomads were more interested in establishing active relationships with the Chust culture farmers – initially the Kayrakkum people (*Litvinsky* 1962: 255, 256-257, 288-289; *Litvinsky* 1963: 127); and then, the people of the Eilatan culture since the second largest agrarian economic output was the sedentary and developed craft of livestock breeding which allowed the Chust and then Shurabashat cultures to always have a steady supply of food reserves in the event of bad harvest or extreme winter. Meanwhile, the main source of rapid economic development among nomads was free range livestock breeding which involves constant summer and winter migrations. However, such extensive farming was limited by the size of pastureland on the one hand and the inability to feed huge herds during harsh winters on the other. Thus, there were always special neighborly relations between agricultural and pastoral cultures which allowed mutually strengthened trade relations recorded in Fergana and Central Asia, as well as around the world. This idea is demonstrated by handicraft examples handicrafts from one culture to that of another. For Fergana, similar facts are known in the relationship between Kayrakkum and Chust cultures (*Litvinsky* 1962: 256-257; 289). Such relationships between the Eilatan and Chust cultures were only a continuation of the previous ones (the Kayrakkum-Chust people), which indicates that they partially coexisted for a specific time. In this case, it is surmised that this raises the necessity to push back the date of the formative period for the Eilatan culture. Considering that this process corresponds to the late stages in Chust culture, it would be more realistic to date the Eilatan culture strictly between the 7th-3rd centuries BCE, and not approximately to the 7th(6th)-3rd centuries BCE.

Second, the Eilatans actively maintained the con-

[2] *Zadneprovsky* 1960b: 33-40, fig. 4-11.

Fig. 1. Easel bowl

tinuation of these mutual cultural and economic relations with the Shurabashat culture, whose lifestyle had a direct connection to agriculture. Thus, along with other related economic spheres, these relations were especially manifested in pottery production in east Fergana where painted patterns on dishes from these cultures led to mutual influence and the transition of design elements from one to another, as well as the use of each other's pottery (*Gavryushenko* 1970: 16-17, 18; *Ivanov* 1999: 19; *Abdullaev* 2018a).

It should also be emphasized that during archaeological excavations on the sites from the Andijan region near the western foothills of the Tien Shan (Honobod-1 and Honobod-2) in 2020-2021, vessels were discovered with handmade painted pottery and hemispherical wheel-thrown bowls. Some of the latter examples had vertical and pointed rims on a flat base made of light-yellow clay containing variegated, fine sand. In the vessel's lower quarter, the yellow slip was preserved (fig. 1). The products' uniqueness is that these vessels were recorded in the Aktam burial ground for the first time and identified as pots by researchers (*Ginzburg, Gorbunova* 1957: 85-86, fig. 30, *23a-23b*). A comparative analysis of these finds shows that vessels with a similar shape were also recorded on the Shurabashat site (*Zadneprovsky* 1960: 23, 24, Fig. 8, *2*; *Zadneprovsky* 1962: 124, 129, Fig. 27). However, in this case, while having an external similarity in form, the vessels were painted with a red slip and handmade ones identified as bowls. One bowl from this collection had a cruciform *tamga* with rounded ends at the base. The historiography of Central Asia, records several studies on this engraved sign, defined as a tamga, to denote private property of nomads (*Abdullaev* 2019. 108-109). For Fergana, the earliest such signs on vessels come from the archaeological site of Eilatan (*Oboldueva* 1981: 188-189, Fig. 2, *8*).

In terms of the mutual influence of cultures, comparative analysis provides results from pottery fragments of Shurabashat-type handmade painted vessels. These are recorded in the lower cultural layers at Koshtepa-2 in Andijan's Kurgantepa district. The potsherd's designs consisted of a rhombus filled with an oblique checkered pattern. Such patterns, according to researchers, had a specific meaning and represented a schematic symbol for the "tree of life," developed during the initial emergence of polities from the ancient East. This pottery collection analysis is presented in the current author's earlier article (*Abdullaev* 2018a), in which potsherds from both Shurabashat and Eilatan cultures were discovered among the pottery collection from an excavated room's floor and an associated household storage pit. This example probably indicates much closer ties between these cultures than just cultural or trade relations.

Due to field research during 2020-2021, a large handmade painted pottery collection was gathered at the Khanabad-1, in which each traditional diamond design was decorated on the inside with specific elements (fig. 2) belonging to both the Shurabashat and Eilatan cultures. This site belongs to burial grounds categorized from the Eilatan culture whose cultural material consisted of bowls and basins with characteristic shapes and bright painting, mostly made on a "cloth stencil" with the subsequent discovery and removal of cloth traces. The first group of vessels measured 6-8 cm with a mouth diameter between 16-21 cm. The second group's height ranged from 9-11 cm with a rim diameter of 22-26 cm. Also, during field excavations at the Khanabad-1 cemetery in 2021, two handmade painted cups, including one with a vertical, flat handle with a through hole for hanging the vessel with a thread (made from horsehair) (fig. 3). Both had the aforementioned design motif. They also possessed a hemispherical shape and are 4.5-5 cm high, with the widest part of the body measuring 5-6 cm in diameter.

The pottery ornamentation from the Khanabad-1 is painted with dark brown or dark red slip on a light

Fig. 2. Hand-made painted bowl, ornamented with the symbol "tree of life"

Fig. 3. Hand-made painted cups: a – without a handle; b - with handle

or light red background. The pattern covers the entire body's surface except for the vessels' bases. The painted design's main motif consisted of horizontally joined rhombuses with occasional triangles (usually 3 or 4) located in the body's center and filled with various geometric and floral patterns. In Fergana, this tradition for such vessel ornamentation continued into Late Antiquity and appeared on the outer surface of red-slip wheel-thrown pottery with inscribed geometric patterns and enhanced by several technological developments and innovations which were especially popular in the last centuries of the 1st millennium BCE and in the first centuries AD (*Baruzdin* 1961: Table III, *1, 3, 5*. Table VI, *3*. Table XI, *1-3, 5-6, 8, 10*. Table XI, *1-2, 4-10*. Table XIV, *1, 4, 7*; *Litvinsky* 1972: Table 12. 14; *Gorbunova* 1979b: 140, Fig. 7; *Gorbunova* 1990: 186-187, Fig. 4-5; *Abdulgazieva* 1997: 16, Fig. 3;*Abdullaev* 2018a: 7; *Abdullaev* 2020: 94, Fig. 2, *1-2*).

As mentioned above, the diamond-shaped design was a schematic representation of fertility with historical roots in the Middle East and somewhat later spread among Chust culture. However, one researcher has discussed that the image of the "rhombus" was also a symbol for female embodiment of nature – the goddess of fertility – since the Palaeolithic (*Fettich* 1958: 122). Similar diamond-shaped images were also found on petroglyphs in Uzbekistan, specifically, the Nurata mountain range in the Samarkand region (*Khizhanazarov, Kholmatov* 2012: 53) as well as Siypantash in Kashkadarya. In the Chinese chronicles, women in the Davan state were depicted as having a privileged position. Thus, this data appears to substantiate one hypothesis that the region's ancient inhabitants worshipped a female image representing the fertility goddess (*Gorbunova* 1986: 181).

Another variation in Khanabad-1 pottery design is a from similar to sites in the western and southwestern parts of the valley. The design on top of horizontal rhombuses or triangles located in the vessel's center which are filled with variously applied geometric patterns and interconnected lines which curve downward (fig. 3, *a*; fig. 5). However, the interpretation of such lines remains unclear.

The design study of handmade painted pottery from the Khanabad collection shows that another consistent feature involved the pattern on the vessel's rim which is depicted predominately on the outside and partially on the inside. This pattern, like other elements of ceramic painting, tended to increase over time, but currently is divided into five types:

The first type consisted of interconnected triangles placed in a horizontal row with the triangles' base along the vessel's base (fig. 3, *b*; fig. 5; fig. 9) and

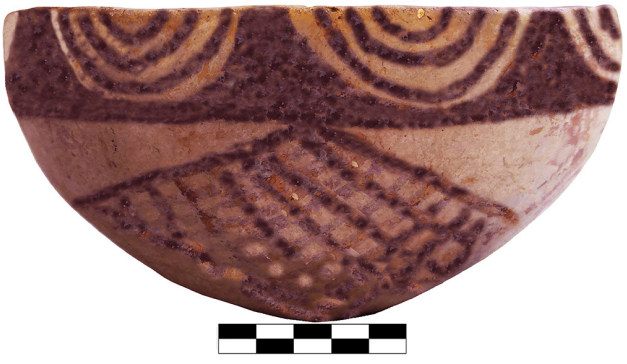

Fig. 4. Hand-made painted bowl with a crown-shaped decoration

is characteristic on Eilatan-type pottery (*Hamburg, Gorbunova* 1959: 12, 14; *Gorbunova* 1961a: 178, Fig. 6, *1-3, 5-7, 9*; *Gorbunova* 1961b: 43, fig. 8-10; *Gorbunova* 1962: 99. fig. 2, *13*). However, this smaller pattern is also found on Chust culture handmade painted pottery (*Zadneprovsky* 1962: 264, Table. XVII, *10-15, 48*; p. 265, table XVIII, *2-3, 20*) since it symbolized the earth's surface both for nomadic and agricultural cultures (*Ambrose* 1965: 14).

The second decorative type is represented by a horizontal row of triangles connected by a crown-shaped decor 5 cm wide (fig. 4). A comparison of this painting style shows this specific pattern is not found in the pottery collections uncovered at Aktam, Kungai and Sufan in west and southwest Fergana, indicating that it originated in the eastern region. The first and second design groups as a whole favor the appearance of a crown, but in the second case the crown comprised a combination of crowns, which perhaps indicated a dividing line between eastern and western tribes of the Eilatan culture, or the result of the synthesis between nomadic and sedentary cultures in the valley's east.

The third type of rim ornamentation as inscribed by the ancient designer involved placing two parallel lines connected by vertical dashes (fig. 2; fig. 6). A comparison of this design also shows it belonged directly to Fergana's eastern regions, since design variations were discovered on pottery collections from both the Shurabashat and Eilatan cultures (*Zadneprovsky* 1962: Table LVIII, *15*; Table LXXVIII, *2*).

The fourth type is represented by a ribbon formed by two parallel lines, 2-7 cm apart from each other infilled with an oblique grid (Fig. 7). This design element has its roots in the Late Bronze Age, in which a similar "ribbon" extended from the rim to the vessel's base (*Zadneprovsky* 1962: Table XII, *13*; Table XVII, *7-8*; *Matbabaev* 1999: 43-46, Table I-IV, *G13-17*).

The fifth type is represented by patterns which form horizontal lines in three rows along the vessel's edge (fig. 3, *a*; fig. 8). This was identified on a cup found within a special stone structure which had been lowered to a grave-chamber's level, one meter east of the interred body's head (grave M-2) at the Khanabad-1 mound.

Another distinctive pattern from Khanabad is the appearance of an eight-pointed "star" (fig. 9), which has comparisons with pottery from the Shurabashat culture. This is specifically in the form of depicted twigs (*Zadneprovsky* 1962: Table XLVII, *7, 16, 28*; Table LVIII, *14, 17*; Table LXI, *8, 12*; Table LXXVIII, *1*). There is no specific literature concerning the interpretation of this symbolic motif, therefore, this author suggests a working theory which can make a unique and rather indirect clarifying contribution. In the 18th century, German scholar G. K. Lichtenberg noted an effect of an electrical discharge on solid objects resulted in star-shaped and branched images appearing on their surface (*Koltovoy* 2017: 10, Fig. 1). The research into the so-called "Lichtenberg figure," named after this scholar, has endured to the present. Of course, an electrical charge with the highest voltage in nature exists in lightning, which for ancient people was considered a manifestation of divine power. When observing people struck by lightning, similar figures appeared on their bodies (*Troitsyna* 2021).

From the beginning of human history until recently, people have deified natural phenomena which were often repeated in nature (i.e. floods, storms, fires, thunderstorms, etc.). The most frequent phenomenon is the lightning strike with its resulting fires. Undoubtedly, people who observed this phenomenon considered them the gods' supernatural weapons, both in Central Asia and throughout the world. Perhaps because of this, the region's ancient cultures depicted these star and branch symbols on the pottery's surface.

One rare example of ceremonial pottery from Khanabad is a design element forming a circle at

Fig. 5. Hand-made painted bowl. A pattern of downwardly curved interlocking lines over horizontal diamonds or triangles

Fig. 6. Hand-made painted bowl. Pattern under the rim in the form of two parallel lines connected by vertical lines

the base of a bowl (fig. 10). Comparisons reveal that this design, like the abovementioned main section, is unique only to the local Eilatan culture variant and is absent from Chust and Shurabashat sites. Although the Shurabashat agricultural culture at these sites did have a design element with a horizontal row of interconnected rings decorating the vessels' rims (*Zadneprovsky* 1962: 304, Table LVII, *8*), they had no identified ring motif, logically completing the vessel's entire ornamental composition. The element's design interpretation has not been studied in the literature, yet, it can be indirectly explained also as a "Lichtenberg figure." Research reveals that when an electric charge strikes a solid object, lines appear on its front and back sides, forming different shapes. It can be assumed that ancient people would observe similar patterns on objects or the human body and subsequently introduced them as a pottery ornamental feature.

No doubt artifacts used by ancient people in everyday life also directly or indirectly indicate the way of life found in various cultures. Characteristics from pottery typical of nomadic and sedentary cultures have been provided. Yet, a distinctive feature of handmade painted ceramics from ancient Khanabad combines design elements from Chust, Eilatan and Shurabashat cultures. Thus, it is possible to suggest that active contacts occurred among them with such a relationship creating a synthesis between the latter two. Such socio-cultural processes were also cited in conclusions by previous researchers (*Abdullaev* 2017: 114), though probably not emphasized.

Other household implements include stone heels characteristic of the agricultural Chust and Shurabashat cultures but not found in either in the Eilatan site or the lower layers of the sites in Symtepa and Sarvantepa, or in the burial mounds (Aktepa, Kungai, Sufan) belonging to the Eilatan culture. The same is true concerning stone sickles whose origin, in most cases, date to cultural material from the late Bronze Age (Chust culture) and was extensively used by the Shurabashat culture (*Zadneprovsky* 1962: Table. XXV-XXVI. *Gavryushenko* 1970: 9). However, such tools are not mentioned in any of the examined Eilatan sites. One exception is the first discovery recorded at the Khanabad-1 burial mound, with the probable reason being the nomadic Eilatan people's direct and close contact with farmers of the Shurabashat.

III. Urbanization and urban planning involves a significant difference between agricultural and nomadic cultures (fig. 11). The Eilatan site provides a good example with no settlement layout identified, which, according to many researchers, appeared during the middle of the 1st millennium BCE. This city of nomads differed significantly from both the previous large and medium-sized cities of the Chust agrarian culture (Dalverzin 24 ha, Ashkaltepa 13 ha, Chust 4.5 ha) and the subsequent Shurabashat (Shurabashat 70 ha, Ooz-depe, Toton-depe 20 ha, Karadarya 10 ha, etc.). In this regard, the cities of nomads and farmers are distinct via another detail – the presence of many farm pits in the latter and their absence in the former (*Ivanov* 2013: 3).

According to studies completed since the 1960s up to the present, one remarkable fact related to the valley's Bronze Age history occurred during the later (and possibly the middle) stages of the Chust culture's transition from constructing large cities into mostly small (~ 0.5 ha) and even very small (~ 0.005-0.25 ha) settlements. (*Zadneprovsky* 1962: 84; *Zadneprovsky* 1981: 25). This conclusion, in the author's opinion, is based upon the period's economic and political context and characterized as follows: 1). Since Chust culture farmers did not perfect groundwater removal methods, this led to salinization of agricultural fields. Therefore, it is probable that this culture was forced to relocate every 50-100 years. Consequently, the large urban construction did not justify itself economical-

Fig. 7. Hand-made painted bowl. Pattern in the form of a strip filled with oblique mesh under the rim of the bowl

Fig. 8. Hand-made painted bowl with a pattern under the rim in the form of three parallel lines

ly; 2). In most cases, the Chust culture did not need products from nomads, because they, along with their agriculture and handicrafts, developed stable livestock breeding – the second most important factor in "food security." All this clearly indicates that Fergana's first farmers had sufficient experience in far-sighted, "multi-vectored," and planned agriculture.[3]

This state of affairs suggests that the nomads needed to be proactive themselves in establishing socio-economic, and at times, political relations with farmers. First, they were aimed at developing mutually beneficial trade based on an equal exchange of goods. Second, the nomads-relying on the presence of their fast and mobile cavalry-initially sought to establish relative suzerainty (within the framework of tributary status) in relation to Chust culture farmers. However, later, Shurabashat culture, as successors of the Chust culture, probably fell into complete political subordination to the Eilatan people. Thus, the farmers' status from the last stages of the Chust culture-Early Iron Age (8th-7th centuries BCE) up to the early stages of Antiquity (4th-3rd centuries BCE) during the Shurabashat culture-forced them to build small settlements.

From the middle of the 1st millennium BCE, at least in the eastern part of the region, methods to fight against arable land salinity were apparently already invented. Examine sites located along the ancient agricultural man-made "waterways," specifically, the Shahrikhansai and Andijansai canals, provide examples of material culture (handicrafts and architectural remains) from various periods which indicate regular, consistent, and evolutionary development of the agricultural settlements (with occasional stages of decline) for more than a millennia. Consequently, during this period, the ancient settled population across a very long chronological period intensively developed agriculture without fear of forced relocation in search of fertile lands. Although the Shurabashat culture also featured some relatively large cities-Shurabashat (70 hectares), Ooz-depe, Totondepe (20 hectares respectively) Karadarya (10 hectares) and others-they could not change the general appearance of the settled populations' ancient urban planning. Such a situation may signal the restoration of the former exalted status among representatives of the "aristocratic" class from the Shurabashat culture.

While all this is a working hypothesis, substantiating it would involve conducting new, comprehensive archaeological excavations with comparatively analysing materials from previous field and theoretical studies. Nevertheless, since the second quarter of the 1st millennium BCE, most agricultural settlement areas did not exceed 0.5-1 ha. This, in turn, shows the problematic and groundless claim that "Eilatan is the successor of the Chust culture."

Yet, due to the main construction criteria (i.e. shape and area) and socio-economic reasons (i.e. demographic development, as well as partial dependence on agricultural products and crafts from the settled communities); Eilatan culture corresponded more to the cities built by the nomadic cultures of Eurasia from ancient times up to the medieval period. Due to demographic growth, the Eurasian nomadic pastoralist population was regularly replenished within

Fig. 9. Hand-made painted bowl. Pattern in the form of an eight-pointed star above the junction of horizontal diamonds

[3] Certainly, several artifacts have been discovered in the Fergana Valley from the Eneolithic and Early Bronze Age (i.e. "Khak" and "Aflatun" treasures of precious metals, stone weights or amulets), but not a single agricultural site has been found from those eras. Therefore, the Chust culture is conventionally considered the first agricultural one.

Fig. 10. Hand-made painted bowl. Pattern in the form of a circle at the bottom of the vessel

the category of their impoverished compatriots, who were consistently placed in special settlements created within the framework of nomadic society, on lands suitable for agriculture or, at least gardening (*Pletneva* 1967: 181-182; *Perle* 1974: 271-274; *Davydova* 1978: 55-59; *Hayashi* 1984: 51-92; *Kradin* 2007: 126-127). Most of the population from such cities engaged in agriculture, stable livestock breeding, fishing, as well as hunting, as confirmed by archaeological evidence (*Davydova* 1985: 68-80). Of note is the small number of residential buildings that remained only in the inner city of Eilatan within a 20-hectare area, while the outer city with a 200 hectare area was a wasteland. Thus, it is likely that this city was built along the traditional nomadic migration routes with the accompanying conditions for producing additional agricultural and handicraft products by the "settled" population. This fulfilled the function of organizing a stopover for large livestock herds for specific periods and protecting them from theft.

In contrast to Eilatan culture forced urban planning, more than 50 cities and settlements in the Shurabashat culture were identified archaeologically as far back as the 1980s (*Zadneprovsky* 1994: 42). However, according to current data, that number is much larger. Yet, most of the Shurabashat sites as well as those attributed to the agricultural Chust culture incorporated an area of up to 0.5-1 ha, with a higher number of large and medium-sized cities. This situation, as previously noted, arose when the polity of the nomadic aristocracy from its possible original central city of Eilatan consistently penetrated into the cities directly located on Shurabashat culture's fertile lands for optimal leadership, pursuing an internal policy aimed at developing new irrigated arable lands via the construction of irrigation channels. This policy's consequence led to strengthening comprehensive ties between these cultures, enriching their economic traditions as well as creating common urban planning methods. This process probably resulted in large-scale as opposed to partial relocation of the nomadic nobility and workers to the large and central cities of the settled tribes. This, as a consequence, led to a rather rapid desolation of the Eilatan settlement, unlike several of the historically close central nomadic cities in Central Asia such as Kanka and Kalai Zohaki Maron, which had a longer history (*Suleymanov* 2000: 26-28).

Due to research results conducted in the valley, the mutual influence and synthesis of the Eilatan and Shurabashat cultures was also reflected in the region's architecture from Early Antiquity. In particular, the Mingtepa site, 100 km southeast of Eilatan, also had a double defensive wall framing the inner and outer cities. However, until the late 20th century, Mingtepa, unlike Eilatan, was thought to be rectangular in shape (*Bernstam* 1952: 25-28, Fig. 89); the result of a bad-quality topographic survey of the settlement. The corrected result was due to new topographic measurements taken in 2012 by an Uzbek-Chinese joint expedition revealing that the city was shaped as a parallelogram, similar in plan to Eilatan (*Matboboev* et al. 2013: 94, Fig. 1; *Abdullaev* 2020: 94). At the same time, unlike Eilatan, a citadel was discovered in the center of Mingtepa's inner city, which served as an administrative center and a religious structure which included a temple, as well as the remains of 14 large buildings, which, in this author's opinion, were the residences for representatives of the "Council of the Elders" (*Abdullaev* 2018b: 68; *Abdullaev* 2020: 89).

All these facts indicate that changes to the architecture from the Early Iron Age and Early Antiquity in the region brought together the socio-economic

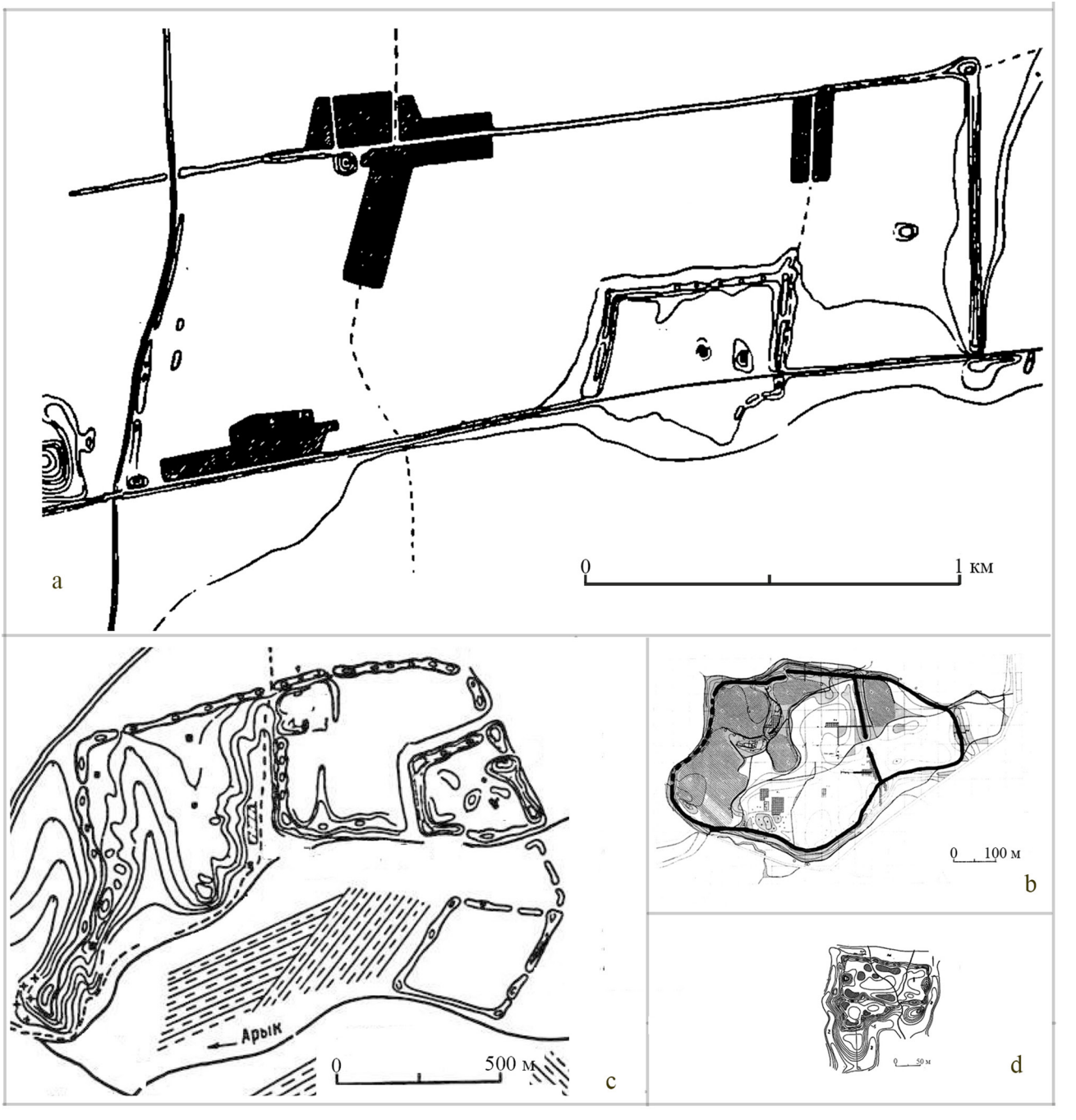

Fig. 11. Settlements of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (compiled according to Yu. A. Zadneprovsky): a – Eilatan site; b – site of ancient settlement Dalverzin; c – Shorabashat settlement; d – settlement of Karadarya

and cultural relations of the Eilatan and Shurabashat cultures under the leadership of the nomadic aristocracy, while strengthening the latter's role in the state.

IV. The conclusions presented above concerning the Early Iron Age in Fergana are directly related to historical reality in Central Asia. According to historians, the second half of the 1st millennium BCE-during the emergence of class society and the state - a kind of "unified political and economic organism" was created throughout Central Asia which united the world of nomadic and sedentary cultures. Researchers identified this as a fierce struggle by the settled and nomadic peoples in the region against the Achaemenid and later Greek-Macedonian invaders. (*Suleymanov* 2000: 52). Another scholar suggests this was the period symbiosis which occurred between the settled agricultural and semi-nomadic (pastoral) communities. However, it is impossible to discuss a single culture and give it a binomial name (*Zadneprovsky* 1993: 22). Yet, textual and archaeological

sources indicate that the Davan state was first in alliance with the semi-nomadic Kangju state followed by the Kushans (*Litvinsky* 1976: 55; *Koshelenko* 1979: 184). Also, according to several researchers' theoretical conclusions, the relationship between such settled and nomadic tribes formed during the Bronze Age and developed until the Late Middle Ages (*Litvinsky* 1962: 231; *Kuzmina* 1966: 93, 94; *Saltovskaya* 1978: 96; *Gorbunova* 1984: 101; *Askarov, Albaum* 1979: 72-74, Fig. 1, 5-6, 8-9; *Askarov* 2015: 185-189).

The results of this author's research indicate that not only cultural, but also kinship ties were formed between the agricultural and nomadic cultures in Early Iron Age Fergana. Such processes, despite their apparent mutual benefits, were initiated, as mentioned above, by the Eilatan culture's aristocratic elite. Both previous and modern researchers on Fergana agree, united by the idea that "the nomads retained control over the formation and development of the first centralized statehood in the valley" (*Gorbunova* 1984: 102; *Ivanov* 2013: 3-4).

Undoubtedly, such conclusions are based on the knowledge that nomads, by virtue of their lifestyle, were quite mobile and travelled long distances in a short time. Due to constant migrations through mountains, steppes, and lowlands, they were well aware of almost all short cuts and fords in rivers. Their natural strategic thinking concerning the terrain, as well as mobile cavalry, gave the nomad rulers great military power. In this regard, the capabilities of the ancient agrarian populations were much lower. Farmers made several discoveries aimed at the intensive improvement of labor and productivity in agriculture, but these processes were introduced only in various settlements and, at most, at a micro-oasis level.

All these factors had a direct impact on the region's socio-political and economic processes during the Early Iron Age through Early Antiquity. These presented realities from Fergana's past allow for the following conclusion: The ruling elite from the agricultural tribes were in a "vassal" position in relation to the nomadic aristocracy, who were in the position of "suzerain." However, more details are yet to be discovered for this question which awaits subsequent studies.

V. The first elements of statehood in the region formed during the Chust culture period. Some researchers desired to see a mature structure of statehood during the Chust culture, with its "central capital" (Dalverzin). However, in this matter, nothing more acceptable has been revealed so far than the statement of the scholar who introduced this culture into research when he identified factors such as "social stratification" and "emerging urban centers." (*Zadneprovsky* 1973: 18). There is no doubt that these processes in the Late Bronze Age were among the integral parts for the foundation on which the Ancient Fergana (Davan) state was formed, first mentioned in Chinese chronicles in the late 2nd century BCE. However, according to some modern studies, this statehood developed during the middle of the first century BCE, which has also been confirmed by new field studies (*Abdullaev* 2017: 116). The main lines of urban planning in the region, developing from east-to-west in the valley, are archaeologically recorded dating to that time. This situation, first, related to the progressive internal policy of the Ancient Fergana centralized state, aimed at large-scale artificial facility irrigation construction. These political and economic processes were based on developing new arable land for forming and expanding acreage for agricultural purposes, which led to the emergence of new settlements around state fortresses built along canals such as Andijansai and Shakhrikhansai. This process strengthened the handcraft production and, consequently, domestic and foreign trade.

According to geologists specializing in the Quaternary period, canal construction in the valley's upper reaches began 3,000 years ago (*Zadneprovsky* 1962: 74), but most of these huge artificial irrigation structures were introduced gradually. The first stage (5th-1st centuries BCE) include Andijansai and part of Shakhrikhansai. The second stage (1st-4th centuries AD) incorporated the second half of Shakhrikhansai. It is known that the early irrigation structures in the Late Bronze Age (Chust culture) took the form of small ditches (canals) extending up to several hundred meters long, which were created by connecting several ancient springs and small seasonal streams in the foothills. Only when the centralized state in Fergana developed did canals dozens of kilometers long begin to be built. Most of the ancient canals were built first in the eastern part of the valley on the territory where most Shurabashat culture sites were located and only by the second half of Antiquity was the western part developed. (*Berenaliev* 1975: 150-154; *Abdullaev* 2017: 116-117).

Such sites as Koshtepa-2 and Khanabad-2 appeared at least by the middle of the 1st millennium BCE, most likely, while constructing large artificial irrigation systems, such as Andijansai, Shakhrikhansai, Savayaryk, Uzgenaryk, Karasuv among others. According O. B. Berenaliev's research, mass construction of irrigation canals occurred in the valley's eastern regions where Shurabashat settlements were mainly documented and it was during the development of the Ancient Fergana state under the nomadic aristocratic leadership from the Eilatan culture. The construction of various canals and ditches by means of interconnected springs coming from deep rivers (the Karadarya) to irrigated lands was an invention

by ancient farmers. However, large artificial hydraulic structures on a massive scale were only possible by a centralized state. All this data leads to the conclusion that, the working, human, and material resources of nomadic and agricultural cultures were purposefully mobilized according to a specific state plan and controlled by state officials for whom fortresses were erected along the newly constructed canals.

Thus, based on this data, the Eilatan culture had a genetic relationship with the nomadic Kayrakkum culture rather than with the previous farmers. They first established economic and cultural ties with the Chust culture, and then with its successors, or the Shurabashat culture, and these relations were much closer with this second one, resulting in the foundation of the Ancient Fergana state (Davan). This mixture of the Eilatan and Shurabashat cultures was encouraged and managed by the former. Yet, the Eilatan nobility ruled the state not from their central (?) city of Eilatan, but rather built their headquarters in the eastern part of the valley on the immediate territory of the farmers, specifically Mingtepa (Andijan region). This allowed the Eilatan leadership to be at the center of socio-economic and political events to conduct the necessary work developing the new state's economic power through large irrigation canal construction. All the above, according to this hypothesis, led to the introduction of a collegiality-based nomadic system integrated into the state administration which was governed by the supremacy of decisions by the "Council of Elders" and limited the ruler's absolute power.

Although the Shurabashat culture had many innovations in the handicraft sphere, artificial hydraulic structures for agricultural development, as well as the settlement and urban construction, their broad application came under nomadic leadership. The main motivating reason was that if farmers had a sufficient supply to meet their needs, then the aristocracy of the Ancient Fergana (Davan) state used the excess resources to make more profit, possibly through tax increases. However, this policy led to further progress through the radical development of agriculture via the creation of large canals such as Shahrikhansai and Andijansai. This development led not only to the cultivation of new virgin lands, but also to rapid urbanization, domestic and foreign trade development, and various socio-economic production infrastructures. Thus, the synthesis of nomadic and agricultural cultures is indicative of human development in the Fergana Valley.

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NEW SITES OF THE EARLY IRON AGE IN THE UPPER REACHES OF THE SHERABAD-DARYA

Abstract: *The article presents the results of the reconnaissance work and preliminary studies carried out in 2022 in the Sherabad region. Preliminary short-term visits showed that the area was very promising for the study and discovery of Stone Age monuments. Here, on the territory of the foothills and mountainous areas in the gorges, many caves and grottoes had been formed, which in ancient times could serve as a refuge for people of the Stone Age. Exploration work was carried out from Kurukkulchasai in the southeast, through Panjab in the north, and through Tangidara and Bagli Dara, to Khamkan in the northwest. The researched territory is a single foothill and mid-mountain area. Several grottoes and caves were discovered in this area, such as Bagli-Dara 1, Tashli, Kerishimli, and Tal-Bulak. All the sites are within the radius of 10 km from each other. As a result of the reconnaissance work, several sites belonging to different periods of the Stone Age, as well as layers of the early Iron Age, were discovered. Only at one site, single items of the Paleolithic era were found. Among the archaeological finds, the main role is played by fragments and shards of ceramics, as well as animal bones. The results of the work showed that the area was intensively used by inhabitants not only in the Stone Age, but also in the Early Iron Age, and then up to the Middle Ages.*

Key words: *Southern Uzbekistan, Surkhandarya, Early Iron Age, pseudo-biface, molded ceramics.*
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IN MAY-JUNE 2022, field archaeological research was carried out in the Sherabad district of the Surkhandarya region. The studied territory is a geographically unified area and has its own ecological and natural characteristics. This area is the extreme northeastern slope of the Kuhitang Range. It is separated from the Baysun Range by the Sayroba Basin.

The system of streams and rivers flowing through the territory of the region occupies a special place in the formation of a unified natural-geographical and natural-ecological environment. These streams and rivers are the right tributaries of the Sherabaddarya. The largest of these tributaries, the Lailagansay, flows through the Tangidara Gorge and exits to a widening valley near the village of Khatak. Further, supplying the Lailagan village with water, it flows into the Sherabaddarya. The middle course of the Khatak river is called Bagli-Dara. The mountain range in the study area stretches for about 15 km. from west to east and is cut by narrow gorges located in parallel.

Works on the grottoes and caves of the Khatak-Darya valley. As a result of the study, many grottoes and sheds were discovered in the valley of the Khatak-darya river. In some of them, which had loose deposits, small exploratory trenches were laid.

Two rocky sheds in the Bagli-Dara valley were located along the left steep rocky slope of the Bagli-Dara sai. Bagli-Dara 1 was a wide light shed with a platform of loose deposits, where there were all conditions for the ancient people to live. The second object - a deep cave cavity with a small round entrance on a flat vertical rocky surface - located to the right of the Bagli-Dara 1 grotto, was not explored due to its inaccessibility.

Bagli-Dara 1 is a typical rock shed. As a result of geological and natural factors in this region, many similar canopies were formed in the upper reaches of the Surkhandarya. The width of the shed of Bagli-Dara 1 is about 40 m, while the depth is up to 5–7 m from the edge of the shed (Fig. 1). The area of loose deposits under the shed is flat, consists of loose dry sandy loam with many stones that have fallen from the roof. The surface of the site is covered with sparse grass in some places. Two stratigraphic trenches were

Fig. 1. Grotto of Bagli-Dara 1. View from the southwest

laid here. The first in the western half of the site is an excavation 1.3 × 1.5 m, the second is in the eastern half of the site 2.5 × 1 m, excavation 2. Both trenches are extended along the line from the depth to the exit of the shed.

On P-1, it was revealed that loose deposits here are shallow. The rocky bottom is located in the northwestern corner of the excavation at a depth of 95 cm from the present day surface, and in the southwestern corner at a depth of 155 cm. The stratigraphy of loose deposits is simple. Above, under a sparse discontinuous sod cover, layer 1 occurs in the form of carbonaceous-ash deposits in sand up to 60 cm thick. In some places there are lenses of dense, yellowish-white ash. It occasionally contains small animal bones and fragments of ceramics. Below, at a depth of up to 1.5 m, there is a homogeneous light gray yellowish sandy loam with fragments of stone that fell from the roof of the grotto. It contains fragments of animal bones and fragments of pottery from the Early Iron Age. In some places there are spots of ash and small coals.

As already noted, the second exploration trench, P-2, was laid on the eastern half of the grotto site. Here, the stratigraphy of unconsolidated sediments is of the same type as on R-1. Above, under the stunted turf, there are 15–20 cm of ash deposits - layer 1. Below lies loose yellowish sandy loam with fragments of pottery and animal bones. There are spots and lenses of ash. P-2 was laid in the lower part of the platform of the Bagli-Dara 1 shed. Therefore, the rocky bottom was lower. Here, the thickness of the aforementioned cultural layer reaches 2 m. Under this cultural layer, at the very bottom of the trench, lies a sterile sandy layer with stones without finds. Below, at a depth of 2–2.15 m from the modern day surface, the R-2 rocky bottom was exposed.

Thus, the shed of Bagli-Dara 1 settled down only in the era of the early Iron Age. From the excavations at Bagli-Dara, a certain amount of ceramics of the Early Iron Age was obtained, in shape these are fragments of large spherical pots with a rim thickened in cross section more often than triangular in cross section (Table 2: 1, 2, 3). One of them has a miniature semicircular horizontal eye along the outer edge of the rim (Tab. 2: 3).

These vessels mainly have an imprint of textile fabric on the inside. Two fragments of small, short, wide spouts and plums have been preserved, which were usually placed along the upper edge of a rounded pot and cauldron (Fig. 2). They are typical for the cauldrons of this burrow (*Askarov* 1989: 98). As usual, in the break of these molded vessels, an admixture of chamotte and gruss is visible. Some of them are dark gray when broken, although they are fired to cream on the outside. This is the result of fire firing of pottery.

Excavations of the Tashli shed. The Tashli grotto is located in the upper reaches of the Tashli-yurt sai. The shed of the grotto is formed in horizontal layers of a towering limestone massif (Fig. 3). The size of

the grotto is 65 × 15 m. The height of the ceiling is 15–20 m. The area above the shed is covered with a horizon of loose, dry, silty humus loam and dotted with large and small stones that have fallen from the ceiling of the grotto. The surface of the grotto platform from east to west decreases by 5 m. Outside the grotto platform, the surface of the slope, descending at an angle of 45^0 down to the bottom of the gorge, consists of limestone talus. The slopes are mostly covered with shrubs and woody vegetation. During the first inspection of the grotto in November 2021, here, among the stones, a pseudo-axe was raised (Fig. 4).

On the eastern half of the site of the grotto, during its inspection in 2021, a small stratigraphic pit 1 x 1 m, up to 1.5 m deep was laid, in which fragments of animal bones and fragments of ceramics from the Early Iron Age were found. In 2022, this pit was expanded and turned into a 3×1 m trench, oriented along the meridian from the depth of the grotto to the outside - R-1. The stratigraphy of the trench is complex. In total, four layers are distinguished, differing in color and composition.

Layer 1. Loose humus sandy loam of gray color with stones, covered with discontinuous thin turf.

Layer 2. Yellowish loose sandy loam with stones. There are fragments of pottery from the early Iron Age and small bones of domestic animals. There are individual corners. Its thickness is 0.5–1 m.

Layer 3. Dense greyish-brown cave layer with sand and gravel. This is a layer of the Paleolithic time, it is sterile; as early as 2021, a flint flake was found on it at a depth of 140 cm.

Layer 4. Dense cave loess without finds at the southern end of the trench. The rocky bottom of the grotto here appeared at a depth of 2 m.

Of the very rare finds of the upper layer, a fragment of a handle with an incised ornament from a medieval jug should be noted (Tab. 3: 1).

As in the other sheds, a small number of early Iron Age pottery fragments have been recovered here. Among them, it is worth noting a fragment of a large deep molded bowl of rounded shape with a vertical edge (Tab. 3: 2).

The Kerishimli Cave is located in the upper reaches of Kapkaksai at the very end of a narrow gorge on its left side. Above, the gorge turns sharply to the left and its bottom goes up. The cave has two entrances. The main one is on the right. The cave is a narrow karst cavity with a total length of up to 40 m, 2–5 m wide and 3–4 m high. She goes deep into the cliff with the rise up. The cavity of the cave is extended parallel to the gorge of the sai. The cave in the depths has a hole upwards, from where melt water periodically flowed down and washed away the loose soil.

The floor of the cave is covered with gray loose loam, from under which, in some places, the rocky

Fig. 2. Fragments of spouts and plums of a rounded pot and cauldron

bottom of the cave comes out. Rare shards of medieval ceramics with fragments of animal bones are found in the material of the cave. When cleaning up soft loamy deposits in the depths of the cave, where the loam lay in even layers, no ash, no coals, no finds of split stone were found. Based on the results of this preliminary acquaintance, it can be assumed that the cave was not inhabited by people in the Pleistocene epoch. Rare fragments of animal bones that were found during the cleaning could be the remains of animal prey.

The Talbulak grotto is located on the rock of the northern side of the valley of the Tangi Dara gorge, at a height of 60–70 m above the bed of the river, which flowed at the bottom of the gorge from west to east. The grotto is facing southeast and has a width of 33.2m, a depth of no more than 7–8 m, and a shed arch height of up to 10 m from the floor level. The cavity of the grotto is well heated by the sun and is protected from northern winds and precipitation. On the eastern, most lowered half of the platform of loose deposits of the grotto, a trench 4×2 m was laid, extended from the depths to the outside of the grotto.

The stratigraphy of the loose deposits is typical, as in the grottoes described above. Under the thin horizon of the turf lies a loose, dark humus layer with stones 25–30 cm thick. It lies horizontally. No finds were found in it. And the underlying second layer is separated from the upper layer by a thin light horizon. It contains separate stones and a thin layer consisting of white fine grits, degraded limestone rock in the form of lenses, up to 5–6 cm thick. The underlying second layer is represented by a light gray san-

Fig. 3. Grotto of Tashli. View from the southeast

dy loam horizon with stones and pottery fragments, as well as animal bones. He is uneven. In the south of the trench, its thickness is about 1 m, and in the northeastern corner of the trench it almost wedges out, reaching a thickness of 5–10 cm.

The underlying third layer, on the contrary, thickens more than 1 m in the northeastern corner, forming a mound here. To the south of the excavation, it thins to 30–40 cm. This layer consists of gray, brownish sandy loam with many fragments of stones falling from above. The third layer also contained fragments of pottery, ash stains and individual small corners, as well as animal bones.

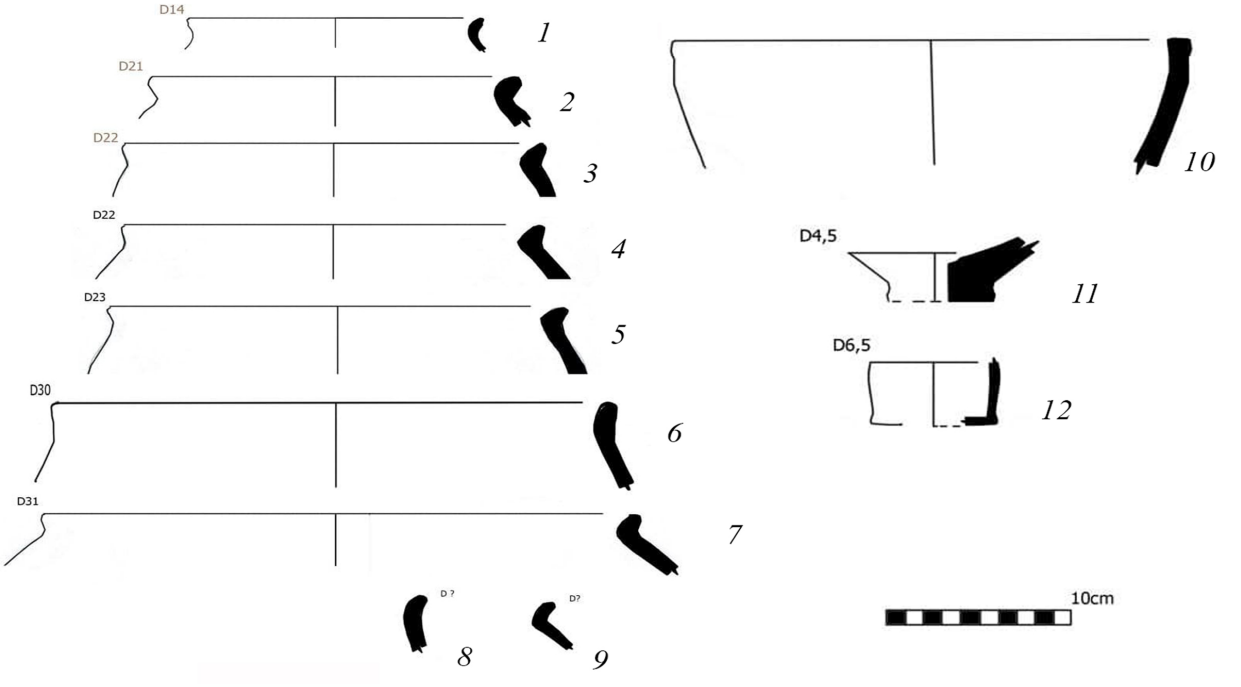
The underlying layer lay horizontally, it consists of coarse-grained sand with an admixture of thin, fine gray gravel. This layer contained rare finds, small coals, and isolated animal bones that were not fossilized. The nature of these finds indicates that they are associated with the upper layers and their age also corresponds to the Early Iron Age.

In total, several dozen fragments of ceramics of the early Iron Age were found at the excavation of the cultural layers of Tal-Bulak. Most of the finds come from the mentioned layer 2. Of the finds, about a dozen are represented by pot rims typical of the famous Kuchuk-tepe site in the Surkhandarya valley. The vast majority are made in molded and are spherical pots with a rim bent outwards (Tab. 1: 1-12). In addition, a fragment of a large thick-walled bowl with a vertical rim was found from the same layer. The edge of the bowl in the section has a rectangular shape and is slightly thickened. A small admixture of chamotte is visible in the break of the bowl dough. In some cases, gruss and even more rarely crushed shell rock are found. Outside, the vessel is well smoothed and covered with an engobe of the same color as the fractured shard. One of the boilers has a rim in the form of a double roller, divided by a horizontal hollow (Tab. 1: 8).

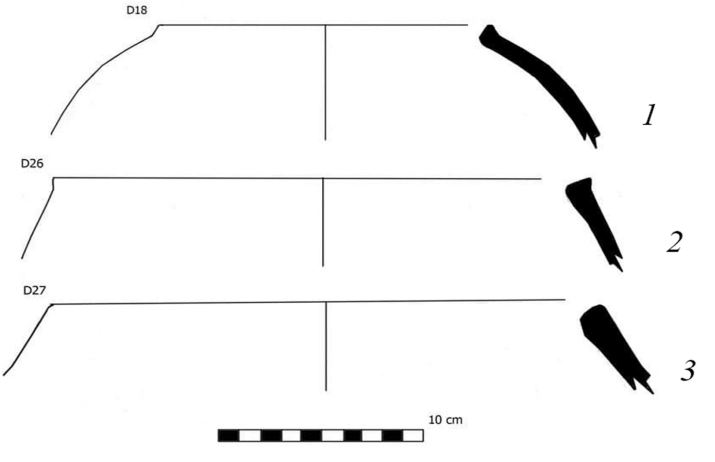
Few pottery fragments have been recovered from the underlying third layer. Among them, fragments of two vessels made on a potter's wheel stand out. One of them is a fragment of a conical bottom of a bowl with a small but massive base (Tab. 1: 11).

The second vessel is a fragment of a small thin-walled and flat-bottomed wall or jar (Tab. 1: 12). Both of these vessel fragments, made on a potter's wheel, also find the closest analogies among the products of Kuchuk-tepe potters (*Sarianidi, Koshelenko* 1985: 357).

Thus, single finds of stone products near the Tashli shed, where a pseudo-axe was raised on a rocky slope in front of the entrance, and a flint flake was found in a trench, indicate that some of the examined canopies already existed when people settled in the Middle Paleolithic and could serve as a temporary shelter for them. And the Khatak cave itself then served as a base camp for members of a small family



Tabl 1.



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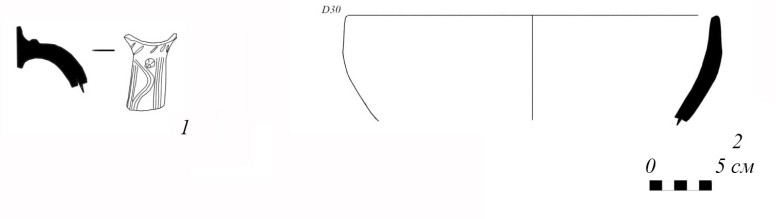

Tabl 3.

Fig. 4. Pseudobiphas

or tribal team, along with children, the main place of residence. It was the safest and most extensive refuge, facing south, dry and well heated by the sun in bad weather.

Particular attention should be paid to the era of the early Iron Age of the end of the 2nd – early 1st millennium BCE. It was the time of the so-called small cooling, when a cold and dry climate was established globally. At the same time, apparently, the cooling and drying up of the steppes began from the northern latitudes, when from the 16th century BCE inhabitants of the Andronovo and Srubnaya cultures from the steppe belt of Eurasia migrated southwards. Thereafter, the Andronovo culture disappeared from the steppes of Kazakhstan; its traces were found in the regions of the ancient civilizations of southern Eurasia and even Egypt (the time of the Hyksos). Some experts believe that this could be the time of the Aryan movement to India and the Middle East. The timing of this migration corresponds archaeologically to the emergence of the next wave of migrants and the culture of geometric, painted hand-made ceramics in Central Asia, which is been recorded in Turkmenistan since the 14th century BCE and from the 12th century BCE in the northern part thereof. It was the time of the composition of the most ancient hymns of the Avesta and the Rigveda.

The archaeological complex of Kuchuk-Tepa and the finds of molded ceramics from the sheds of the tributaries of the Khataksai date back to this time, the population of which in the summer seasons drove livestock to the mountainous regions, abundant in moisture and greenery. This is how one could comment on the active use by settlers of the sheds and grottoes of Khataksai in the Early Iron Age.

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MARK DICKENS, VALERII KOLCHENKO

MEDIEVAL CHRISTIAN GRAVESTONES FROM KRASNAYA RECHKA

Abstract: *This article discusses a number of medieval Christian gravestones, several with inscriptions in Syriac script, found at a medieval settlement near the village of Krasnaya Rechka, located in the Chu River valley in the northern part of Kyrgyzstan. The archaeological context is described, including other Christian artefacts discovered in the vicinity, after which the discovery of the gravestones is narrated. Each of the six stones is described, including inscriptions on three of them, after which conclusions are drawn.*

Key words: *Christianity, Church of the East, Sogdian, Chuy river valley, Kashghar.*
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THIS ARTICLE addresses a number of medieval Christian gravestones, several with inscriptions in Syriac script,[1] found at a medieval settlement near the village of Krasnaya Rechka, located in the Chuy River valley in the northern part of Kyrgyzstan, very close to the border with Kazakhstan.[2]

The Chuy valley is located to the west of the large lake Issyk-Köl, along the northern slopes of the Tien Shan. The Chuy River originates in the Tien Shan mountain range, behind the ridge to the south-east of Bishkek, flows east towards the Issyk-Köl basin (but does not actually enter the lake) and then, bending around the ridge, flows to the west and north-west, forming more than 200 km of the modern border between Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, after which it passes into the territory of the latter. It is the last section of its course after turning to the west that is called the Chuy valley.

The Chuy valley was an important artery in the network of routes that we call the Silk Road, connecting the Tarim Basin in China to the east with the steppe to the north of the Tien Shan, via the area around Issyk-Köl. Departing from Chang'an (Xi'an) in 629, the Buddhist pilgrim Xuanzang (Hsüan-tsang) and his companions travelled "along the northern slopes of the T'ien Shan, and across the ice mountains… [to] Lake Issyk-kül. Having gone around the lake, the pilgrim arrived at the city of Suyab,[3] where he met the Turkic Kaghan" (*Baipakov* 2000: 221[4]; *Barthold* 1956: 83-84). Xuanzang's route thus took him through the Chuy valley[5]. This route continued to be important throughout the following centuries:

> «In the sixth to the seventh century, the most intensely used road was the one that led from China to the West through Semirechye (the 'Land of the Seven Rivers')… in the sixth to the eighth century, the major highway was Syria – Iran – Transoxania – southern Kazakhstan – the valley of the Talas – the valley of the Chuy – the Issyk-kül basin-East Turkistan» (*Baipakov* 2000: 222)[6].

Krasnaya Rechka and its Christian Archaeological Context

About 20 large medieval settlements have been recorded in the Chuy Valley, with several small set-

[1] On the Syriac script, see: (*Healey* 2011).

[2] See for maps showing the location of Krasnaya Rechka, near both Aq-Beshim and Burana: (*Goryacheva & Peregudova* 1994: 85; *Bregel* 2003: 5). Bregel accepts the identification of Krasnaya Rechka with "Nevaket" (i.e. Nawākath).

[3] For more on Suyab, the reader is referred again to the companion article on Nawākath.

[4] So in the printed version. In the electronic version posted on the UNESCO website, this is p. 226. See: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000120455.

[5] See the map of Xuanzang's route in (*Hansen* 2012: 86).

[6] See also the itinerary of the Northern Branch of the Silk Road given in (*Buryakov* et al 1999: 84. *Van Donzel* & *Schmidt* 2010: 236-238) suggests that Sallam the Interpreter (842-844) travelled the same route as Xuanzang.

tlements located around each of them (*Kozhemyako* 1959). The largest settlement in the Chuy Valley is Krasnaya Rechka, situated approximately 35 km east of Bishkek and 30 km north-west of Tokmak (the latter also located in the Chuy River valley). The first Christian gravestones in Central Asia were found near these cities (Bishkek and Tokmok) as early as 1885-1886, and the vast majority of medieval Christian gravestones in Central Asia come from these two places[7].

The settlement of Krasnaya Rechka can be divided into two parts: the central ruins and the surrounding area. The central ruins (comprising five structural components, including a citadel and two shāhristans) consist of continuous buildings located within the perimeter fortress walls, an area of roughly 1200 × 800 m with a complex layout and cultural layers that are 5-6 m thick. The surrounding area (often called the rabat) is encompassed by a long wall and has a radius of 2-5 km; it contains castles, temples, residential estates, craft workshops, gardens and fields; these are located more densely near the central ruins and less densely on the periphery (*Kozhemyako* 1959: 65-71).

Archaeological excavations have uncovered the upper layers of the citadel and individual castles, residential estates, three Buddhist temples (monasteries), a necropolis and a number of other features of the settlement; most of these features were located outside the fortress walls, near the central ruins.

The site was previously dated from the 5th/6th century to the mid-12th century (*Kozhemyako* 1959: 71; *Klein* 2000: 111-112)[8]. However, more recent studies have shown that the lower layers can be dated from the middle to the end of the 8th century (*Torgoev & Kolchenko* 2010: 309-310) and the upper layers to the beginning of the 13th century (*Kolchenko & Torgoev* 2015: 345).

Unlike nearby Ak-Beshim (*Kyzlasov* 1959: 231-233; *Clauson* 1961; *Hambis* 1961; *Klein* 2000: 113-121; *Klein* 2004; *Semyonov* 2002: 44-114; *Kyzlasov* 2006: 322-329; *Kolchenko* 2018: 57-70), no Church has been excavated at Krasnaya Rechka. However, in addition to the Christian gravestones discussed in this article, a number of other Christian artefacts have been discovered there, all evidence of an ongoing Christian community: a series of pectoral crosses and medallions made of bronze and jade (*Kolchenko* 2018: 25, 56, 76, 77, 87, 92, 96, 99); various fragmented ceramic items with images of crosses (*Kolchenko* 2018: 76, 77, 92, 93, 96, 99, 100); a large earthen jar (*xum*) with an inscription dedicated to *yrwγtkyn mlp'ny*, "Yaruq-tegin, the teacher" (*Livshic* 2006; *Lurje* 2010: № 1517, № 938; *Livshits et al* 2015: 271; *Kolchenko* 2018: 56, 91, 96, 100)[9]; a fired brick inscribed with the words *giwargis temurchi*, "George the Blacksmith" (*Borisov* 1963; *Kolchenko* 2018: 53, 76, 100). Most of these artefacts were found by chance, on the surface of the settlement. Only four or five of them have any archaeological context, which is not always clearly stated in primary publications[10].

The crosses and images found on many of these items clearly indicate their Christian origin. Additionally, the inscriptions on the gravestones, brick and *xum* (whether in Syriac script or utilizing Syriac loan-words) testify to their connection with the Syriac Christian world, particularly the Church of the East, which established a network of Christian Churches throughout Central Asia during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages[11]. Based on current dating of these artefacts, there was a Christian presence in the area during at least the 10th and 12th centuries, when the region was ruled by the Qarakhanids and the Qarakhitai (the gravestone evidence discussed below can specifically be dated from the time of the latter dynasty). In fact, although we do not know when Christianity was first introduced to the area, it must have been no later than under the Qarlulqs, who embraced Christianity in the late 8th century (*Dickens* 2010).

The aforementioned inscriptions on the *xum* (in Sogdian) and the brick (in Turkic), along with the mixture of Syriac and Turkic on the gravestone inscriptions described below, also point to the multilingual nature of Christianity in the Chuy valley.

Christian Gravestones from Krasnaya Rechka

The first two gravestones found in Krasnaya Rechka (stones № 1 and № 2 below) were discovered during excavations in 1980 at the base of the walls of the upper layer of the citadel, dated by researchers during excavations to the 11th-12th centuries. Lead archaeologist Valentina Goryacheva consulted with

[7] The original excavations were reported in (*Pantusov* 1886 [1887]). For an excellent overview of these discoveries and their documentation in English, see (*Thacker* 1966-1967: 94-100) , in Russian see (*Kolchenko* 2017; 2019). A shorter version is found in (*Dickens* 2009: 14-17).

[8] For the general archaeological context of Krasnaya Rechka, see (*Kozhemyako* 1959: 65-71; *Amanbayeva* et al. 2011: 38-40; *Kolchenko* 2017 a: 23-28).

[9] The full inscription reads 'yny xwyc'k yrwγtkyn mlp'ny pyδ'r xw xwšt'ry pštwn xcy βrγwncy y't 'myn 'myn, "This vessel (was made) for Yaruq-tegin, the teacher. The master craftsman (?) is Pashtwan. May he (the teacher?) be diligent. Amen, Amen." See also the discussion in (*Klein* 2000: 112-113).

[10] For more information about these artefacts, see the article "Christian Antiquities from Krasnaya Rechka" in next issue.

[11] The Church of the East is a Syriac-speaking church that had a long history in Central Asia. We avoid here the epithet "Nestorian," which was used only by others, never by the Church of the East to refer to itself; see *Brock* 1996. For more on the general history of Syriac Christianity in Central Asia, see (*Dickens* 2019).

Fig. 1. Stone № 1. Found on the Citadel. Kept in the museum of KRSU

Fig. 2. Stone № 2. Found on the Citadel. Kept in the museum of KRSU

Syriac specialist Aza Paykova about the inscriptions; the latter was unfortunately unable to publish the stones due to her untimely death in 1984. However, in a private letter to Goryacheva, Paykova dated these stones to 1100 and 1220 in the Seleucid era, equivalent to 788/89 and 908/09 CE (*Goryacheva* 1988: 62-66; *Goryacheva & Peregudova* 1994: 91)[12]. These proposed dates were much earlier than the date range of the corpus of gravestones excavated at Bishkek and Tokmak in the late 19th century, which range from 1200/01 AD (or possibly 1185/86, based on uncertain readings of two stones) to 1344/45 AD[13]. Our revised readings below indicate that Paykova's dates for the two stones were indeed too early.

The two stones discovered in the 1980s were published by Wassilios Klein in 2000, although he only gave a partial reading for the first stone and no reading for the second one. As demonstrated below, only the first stone has a date; it is unclear when the deceased commemorated by the second stone (or indeed the recently-discovered third stone) died. Given archaeological findings indicating that the city was abandoned in the period after the Qarakhanids, probably in the mid-12th century, it seems that some Christians at least survived after the Qarakhitai conquest, as indicated by the late 12th century date on the first stone (*Klein* 2000: 113).

Four additional gravestones (stones № 3 to № 6 below) were accidentally discovered in 2014 near the eastern "long wall" of the Krasnaya Rechka rabat (the area surrounding the central ruins) by Captain Anatoly Cherkasov, a Russian pilot based at the nearby Kant airbase[14]. Although a separate Christian cemetery has not yet been unearthed in Krasnaya Rechka, these recent gravestone finds offer hope that such a graveyard will someday be discovered[15]. All of the stones discussed in this article are kept in the Muse-

[12] See the discussion of these dates in (*Klein* 2000: 163-164). On the Seleucid era, see (*Strootman* 2015). On its use on Christian gravestones from Central Asia, see (*Bazin* 1991: 413-429).
[13] See references in (*Dickens* 2009: 15, n. 15).
[14] http://www.interfax-religion.ru/?act=news&div=55126.
[15] See the discussion in (*Kolchenko* 2018: 76).

um of the Kyrgyz Russian Slavic University, located in Bishkek.

Stone № 1 (KrR-Cit-1) (Fig. 1)

Inventory № КМ КРСУ КП 091. This stone is one of the two found in 1980 at the base of the walls of the upper level of the citadel; it measures 25 × 18 × 5.5-6.3 cm[16].

In the middle of the stone is a carved cross pattée. Each of its triangular arms is inscribed into the stone by removing the top layer from the surface (the so-called silhouette technique). The lower arm is somewhat longer than the others and has a rudimentary base underneath, giving the appearance of a processional cross on top of a staff.

The four lines of text are inscribed around the three sides of the cross.

Line 1 of the inscription extends horizontally (right to left, of course) above the top of the cross, with the last letter located in the upper left corner. Lines 2 and 3 are inscribed vertically down the left side of the cross, from top to bottom, with line 3 located below the left arm of the cross. Line 4 is also written vertically, but to the right of the cross. The palaeography is generally easy to read, with only a few letters open to multiple interpretations. As noted above, it was previously published by Klein (*Klein* 2000, Grabstein 15 (Abb. 45): 163-165, 399).

ܒܫܢܬ ܐܬܩ
ܗܢܐ ܩܒܪܐ
ܣܘܠܩܐܢܝܢܓ
ܐܝܠ ܬܐܟܩܘ ܐܪܕܝ.

In the [Seleucid] year 1500 [1188/89 AD]. This grave (is) Sulaqa's.
It was the year of the chicken.

Of the three stones considered here, this is the only one with a year in the Seleucid dating system (abbreviated Sel. below) used by Syriac Christians. Although previous scholars who have studied this stone have interpreted the date differently (1100 Sel. by Paykova, 1426 Sel. by Klein), only three letters appear to be present: ܐ and ܬ and ܩ (representing the numbers 1000, 400 and 100 respectively). The initial ܐ is clear and the second letter, when compared with the first word ܒܫܢܬ, "in the year," is best interpreted as ܬ. The last letter, which Klein reads as ܘ, seems rather to be ܩ (representing the numbers 6 and 100 respectively). Adding up 1000+400+100 gives the year as 1500. Not only does our reading differ from Klein's; it is also clear that the actual characters on gravestone № 1 do not allow us to follow Paykova's dating of 1100 Sel.

Klein only gave a partial reading for this stone, omitting the name and the year of the animal cycle (*Klein* 2000: 163-165)[17]. The name is clearly ܣܘܠܩܐ, *Sulaqa*, the Syriac word for "ascension", a reference to the ascension of Jesus into heaven 40 days after his resurrection (Luke 24:51; Acts 1:3, 9). Interestingly, the language of the inscription on this stone switches from Syriac to Turkic with the addition of the genitive ending ܢܝܢܓ, *-ning* after the name of the deceased. The rest of the inscription continues in Turkic: ܐܝܠ ܬܐܟܩܘ ܐܪܕܝ, *yil takığu ärdi*, "It was the year of the chicken."

The year 1500 Sel. is confirmed by the year given in the 12-year animal cycle used by the Chinese, Turks and Mongols: ܬܐܟܩܘ (pronounced *tağıqu*) – also spelled ܛܐܓ̰ܐܩܘ (*tağıqu*[18]) and ܛܐܓ̰ܩܘ (*taxığu*) on the Chuy Valley gravestones (*Chwolson* 1890: 7, 74 (№ 44); *Chwolson* 1897: 29 (№ 124, № 125)) – representing Turkic *takığu* or *takağu*[19], "domestic fowl" (*Clauson* 1972: 468)[20]. The year of the chicken fell in 1500/01 Sel., which matches the Seleucid date on this stone.

Stone № 2 (KrR-Cit-2) (Fig. 2)

Inventory № КМ КРСУ КП 094. This is the second of the two stones found in 1980 at the base of the walls of the upper level of the citadel; it measures 22 × 15 × 4-7 cm.

In the middle of the stone is a roughly carved simple cross consisting of two straight intersecting lines, with arms almost equal in length, but different in thickness. The inscription is much more difficult to read than that on the first stone. The first line is written over the top of the cross, the second line vertically to the left of it and the last two lines vertically to the right of it. Again, this stone was previously published by Klein (*Klein* 2000, Grabstein 16 (Abb. 46): 165-166, 400).

[16] All dimensions are given in the order length × width × height (thickness).

[17] ܒܫܢܬ ܐܬܟܘ ܗܢܐ ܩܒܪܐ ܣܘܠܩܐܢܝ ܐܝܠ ܐܬܟܩܘܐܪܕܝ, "In the year 1426. This is the grave…" It is subsequently noted that the second letter in the date can be read as either ܠ or ܬ (representing the numbers 30 and 400 respectively), with the third letter "an angular and compact ܟ (representing the number 20)" and the last letter a ܘ (representing the number 6). 1426 Sel. converts to 1114/15 AD. It is also suggested that the date can be read as ܐܬܪܘ 1606 Sel. (1294/95 AD). Neither of these dates occurred in the year of the chicken.

[18] The adapted letter ܓ̰ (here transcribed as x), used in rendering both Sogdian and Turkic into Syriac script, can represent the sounds /k/, /q/ and /x/. For more on this letter, see *Dickens* 2009: 29-30; *Zieme* 2015: 20-21.

[19] As Clauson notes, *takağu* is more typical of the pronunciation in Xākānī, the Turkic language (or dialect) spoken by the Qarakhanids and most likely that which was used by the Christians who left the gravestones of the Chu Valley (*Clauson* 1972: xv-xviii, 468).

[20] The only other Turkic animal-year name in Syriac script that begins with the sound /t/ is ܛܐܒܫܓܐܢ, tavišğan "hare, rabbit," which fits neither the visible letters nor the Seleucid date of 1500 see (*Clauson* 1972: 447; *Chwolson* 1890: 7).

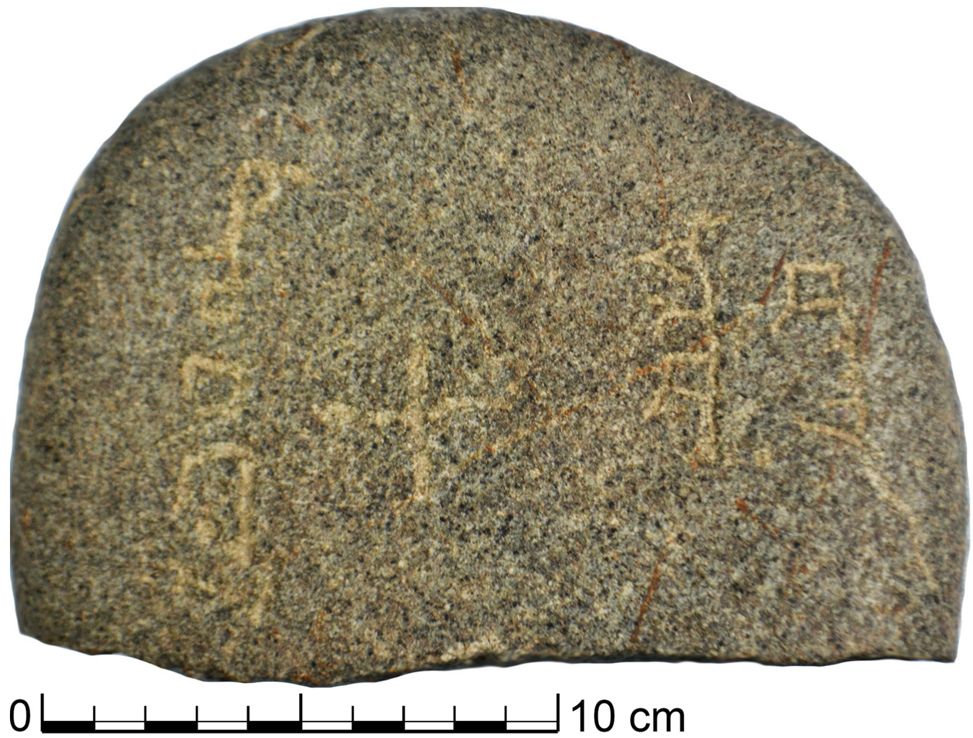

Fig. 3. Stone № 3. Found on the eastern outskirts of the settlement. Kept in the museum of KRSU

ܗܢܐ ܩܒܪܐ
ܒܘܓܐܪܐܓ̰
ܥܠܝܡܬܐ ܝܠ ܝܠܐܢ
ܐܪܕܝ

This is the grave (of) Buğarač, the maiden. It was the year of the snake.

There is no Seleucid era date on this stone. Although line 1 is hard to make out, it seems to be the formulaic Syriac phrase ܗܢܐ ܩܒܪܐ, "this is the grave," used on the vast majority of Christian gravestones in the Chuy Valley. The name on line 2 is more difficult; the letters in order are 1) definitely ܒ (*b*), 2) ܘ (*w/u/o*) or ܝ (*y/i/e*), 3) ܓ (*ğ*) or ܟ (*k*), 4) clearly ܐ (*a*), 5) ܪ (*r*) or less likely ܙ (*z*), 6) almost certainly another ܐ (*a*), 7) ܓ̰ (*č*) or ܟ (*x/q/k*). *Buğarač*, "little camel" is the only name listed in Rásonyi & Baski's *Onomasticon Turcicum* that comes close to what is visible here on the stone (*Rásonyi & Baski* 2007: 170). The deceased is described on line 3 as ܥܠܝܡܬܐ, "young woman, maiden," the typical term used to describe an unmarried woman. This is followed on lines 3 and 4 with the Turkic phrase ܝܠ ܝܠܐܢ ܐܪܕܝ, *yil yilan ärdi*, "It was the year of the snake." If the year of death fell close to that of stone № 1, it could have been any of the following years in the Seleucid calendrical system: 1484/85, 1496/97, 1508/09 or 1520/21 (these years convert to 1173, 1185, 1197 or 1209 AD).

Considering the actual inscription on this stone, Paykova's dating of 1220 Sel. cannot be maintained. Klein has even less to say about this stone than the first one; he does not give any reading for it and instead just says, "The stone is written in Turkish, as the last word, the ambiguous ܐܪܕܝ, shows. At the beginning of the inscription there is neither a number nor a Turkic numeral nor an animal name from the dating cycle" (*Klein* 2000: 165). Our reading suggests otherwise.

Stone № 3 (KrR-East-1) (Fig. 3)

Inventory № КМ КРСУ КП 432. This stone, found in 2014 on the eastern periphery of the settlement, is only partially preserved, with perhaps half of it broken off and missing; the size of the remaining part is 12.5+ × 18 × 5.3 cm[21]. In the middle of the stone is a small equilateral cross, made by the intersection of two straight lines of roughly the same thickness as the letters.

This is the only stone found in 2014 that has an inscription; fortunately, it is relatively easy to read. Although the stone is broken in half, the inscription seems complete and there are no indications of missing words.

Due to the fragmentation of the stone and the very simple depiction of a cross in the center, it is unclear how it was initially oriented; were the visible words inscribed above and below the cross (horizontal orientation) or to the left and right of it (vertical orientation)? There are only three lines:

[21] +occurring after a number indicates that the dimension in question was originally longer, due to the artefact being broken.

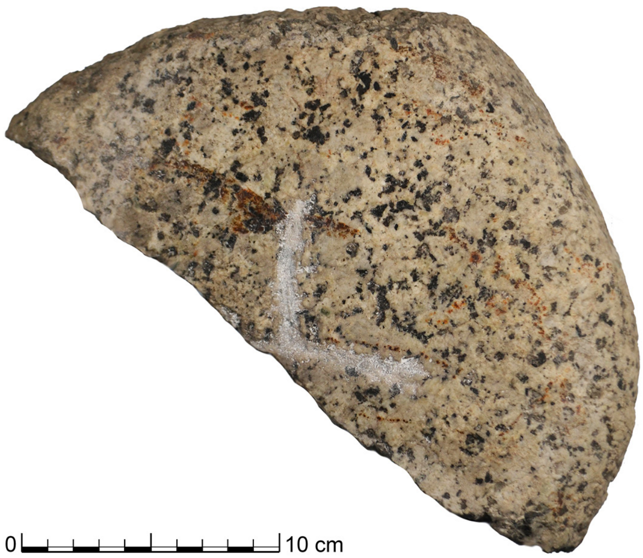

Fig. 4. Stone № 4. Found on the eastern outskirts of the settlement. Kept in the museum of KRSU

ܗܘ ܩܒܪܐ
ܝܘܫܡܝܕ
ܩܫܝܫܐ

This is the grave (of) Yošmid the priest.

Again, we start with the Syriac formula "this is the grave (of)." The name ܝܘܫܡܝܕ, *Yošmid* is interesting. It comes from the Sogdian word for "first day" (meaning "Sunday") and is related to Persian یکشنبه, *yakshanbe*, which has been borrowed into various Central Asian languages: Tajik *Якшанбе*; Uzbek *yakshanba*; Turkmen *ýekşenbe*; Kazakh *Жексенбі*; Kyrgyz *Жекшемби* (*Zieme* 2015: 188-191). *Yošmid* as a name has parallels in other Christian traditions (including in Syriac, where we find the name *Bar Ḥadbshaba*, "son of Sunday"); it is common in the Chuy Valley gravestone corpus, occurring at least 19 times, probably a reflection of the importance of Sunday as a day of worship for Christians (*Chwolson* 1890: № 8; № 16 (cf. *Zhumagulov* 2011: 370-371); № 49[10]; № 50[10]; № 50[13]; № 75[1] (cf. *Jumagulov* 2011: 300-301); № XII; *Chwolson* 1897: № 61; № 62; № 132; № 196; № 222; № 266; № 267; № 284; *Kokovcev* 1909: № 2 (cf. *Jumagulov* 1971: 91-95; *Jumagulov* 2011: 41-43); *Nau* 1913: 25-26; *Klein* 2000: 170 (cf. *Jumagulov* 2011: 119-120, 141-142). The Syriac word ܩܫܝܫܐ is the most common word for "priest," although it is written rather oddly; the initial *qoph* (ܩ) has a hook in the upper left corner that makes the letter look like *mim* (ܡ).

Stone № 4 (KrR-East-2) (Fig. 4)

Inventory № КМ КРСУ КП 474. Only part of the fourth stone, also found in 2014 on the eastern periphery of the settlement, remains; it has dimensions of 22.5+ × 19.5+ × 9 cm. The stone is light in color, broken diagonally, but its original form was presumably spherical. In the middle are two arms of a simple cross of two intersecting lines 4-6 mm thick; there are no remnants of an inscription to be seen.

Fig. 5. Stone № 5. Found on the eastern outskirts of the settlement. Kept in the museum of KRSU

Stone № 5 (KrR-East-3) (Fig. 5)

Inventory № КМ КРСУ КП 473. Found in 2014 on the eastern periphery of the settlement, the fifth stone, like the fourth stone, is spherical in form, with dimensions of 18.8 × 17.5 × 7.5 cm. Only a simple equilateral cross of two intersecting lines (5-7 mm thick) is depicted. There is no visible inscription, although there are indecipherable markings in one quadrant of the cross, as well as a diagonal crack across the stone.

Stone № 6 (KrR-East-4) (Fig. 6)

Inventory № КМ КРСУ КП 579. The sixth stone was also found in 2014 on the eastern periphery of the settlement and is a flat slab of red color, carved from granitoid rock. There has been significant loss on three sides and the front surface of the original object; the dimensions of what remains are 48+ × 19 (23)++ × 14 (10.5) cm[22].

An equilateral cross pattée (similar in style to that on Stone № 1) has been clearly and carefully carved

[22] ++ occurring after a number indicates that the dimension in question was originally longer, due to the artefact being broken off on both sides.

Fig. 6. Stone № 6. Found on the eastern outskirts of the settlement. Kept in the museum of KRSU

into the stone on its preserved surface. No inscription is visible. The purpose of this stone is unclear, but the shape suggests that it is most likely not a gravestone.

Conclusion

Although Krasnaya Rechka has not yielded up anything close to the number of gravestones found at the Christian cemeteries near Bishkek and Tokmak, the finds discussed in this article are nonetheless important. The gravestones reinforce the evidence gleaned from other archaeological artefacts found nearby, namely that there was a Christian community in the area, at least in the twelfth century.

The inscriptions on the three stones appear similar to each other in terms of workmanship and size, which may be an indirect argument for their chronological closeness. It is notable that the only gravestone with a specific date is one of the earliest from the Chuy Valley, dating from 1500 Sel. (1188/89 CE).

Of course, six images of crosses are clearly not enough from which to draw serious iconographic conclusions, but it is interesting to note that in four cases we have simple equilateral crosses made by the intersection of two lines, while in two cases we see a cross pattée, with triangular arms expanding from the centre out to the edges. In all cases, the crosses are inscribed into the stone, rather than being carved in relief[23].

These precious finds give us insight into the Syriac, Turkic and Sogdian cultural influences (as reflected in the names *Sulaqa*, *Buğarač* and *Yošmid*) on the Christians living in the area more than 800 years ago. The question of whether or not Krasnaya Rechka was the residence of the metropolitan bishop of Nawākath in medieval times is addressed in a companion article in this issue.

[23] For examples of the latter (much less common in the Chu Valley corpus), see (*Kokovcev* 1904-1905 [1906]: № 11; *Dickens* 2016: 124).

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MARK DICKENS

WHERE WAS THE CHRISTIAN METROPOLITAN BISHOP OF NAWĀKATH LOCATED?[1]

Abstract: *This article discusses a number of medieval Christian gravestones, several with inscriptions in Syriac script, found at a medieval settlement near the village of Krasnaya Rechka, located in the Chu River valley in the northern part of Kyrgyzstan. The archaeological context is described, including other Christian artefacts discovered in the vicinity, after which the discovery of the gravestones is narrated. Each of the six stones is described, including inscriptions on three of them, after which conclusions are drawn.*

Key words: *Christianity, Church of the East, Sogdian, Chuy river valley, Kashghar.*
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THE CHURCH of the East[2] was active in Central Asia for over a millennium (from probably the fourth century to at least the fourteenth century), during which time it built up a network of bishops and metropolitans stretching from the borders of the old Sassanian Empire of the Persians as far east as China.[3] Jean Dauvillier, in an important study from 1948, draws on various primary sources to give an overview of what we know about the exterior provinces of the "Chaldean Church" (as he calls the Church of the East), each of which was overseen by a metropolitan bishop (*Dauvillier* 1948). The provinces of relevance to Central Asia (several of which are in traditionally Chinese territory) are as follows: Merv, Herat (see *Fiey* 1973), Ḥaliḥ,[4] Samarkand, the Turks (see *Dickens* 2010), Kashghar and Nawākath (the latter rendered by Dauvillier as Navēkaθ),[5] Tibet, Kumdan and Sarag (later replaced by Sin and Masin; all four of these were located in China), Khan-Baliq (Beijing), Katai (Cathay, i.e. northern China) and Ong (referring to the Öngüt Turks), the enigmatic Khan-Baliq and Al-Faliq (see *Dauvillier* 1948: 305-307; *Dickens* 2009: 24) and finally Tangut (see *Tang* 2022).

It is clear from the above list – to which we might add the occurrence of Merv and Nishapur in the early fourteenth century *Order of Ecclesiastical Judgements* by ʿAbdishoʿ bar Berikha (*Chabot* 1902: 619)[6] – that provinces of the Church of the East with two metropolitan see cities were not uncommon at various times during its long sojourn in Asia. The current article concerns one of those metropolitan seats shared between two locations – mentioned in the *Asfār al-Asrār* (*Books of the Secrets*), which was written by Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā in 1332 (drawing in part on the *Kitāb al-Majdal*, the "Book of the Tower," a book with

[1] This article is a companion to "Medieval Christian Gravestones from Krasnaya Rechka" in this issue. It relies mostly on data from primary sources in Arabic and Persian regarding the geography of Central Asia. Most secondary sources consulted are in English, French or German. Rather than starting from a foregone conclusion regarding the location of Nawākath, the article seeks to establish this from an in-depth look at all known primary sources relevant to the topic. As a result of this survey, the author ends up concurring with the conclusions found in secondary sources in Russian on the topic, notably *Baipakov* & *Goryacheva* 1983, as discussed at the end of the article.

[2] On the inappropriate use of the term "Nestorian" to describe this church, see *Brock* 1996.

[3] On the history of the Church of the East in Central Asia, see *Dickens* 2019. I leave aside here the possibility that the Church of the East reached Japan, about which the opinion of scholars is divided.

[4] Pelliot proposed this should be associated with the Turkic Khalaj living in western Turkistan and Afghanistan, but see my conclusion to the contrary in *Dickens* 2010: 127.

[5] Although the place name would have been pronounced Navēkath in Persian, Sogdian and other Iranian languages (see the examples in *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* and Gardizi below), I have rendered it throughout this article according to the Arabic form Nawākath, since that is the form we find in the *Asfār al-Asrār* of Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā discussed below.

[6] ʿAbdishoʿ wrote the Order of *Ecclesiastical Judgements* in 1315/16.

a complex textual history – the dual metropolitanate of كاشغر ونواكث, Kashghar and Nawākath.[7] Although Ṣalībā tells us of metropolitan bishops of Kashghar in the twelfth century (*Gismondi* 1896-1897: ١١١ ,٥٠١/ 61, 64), he provides no information on any bishops resident in Nawākath at any time, nor does any other written source mention a bishop (metropolitan or otherwise) associated with Nawākath. It is therefore unclear what the ecclesiastical arrangement was between these two cities, located hundreds of kilometres apart from each other. Given the references to twelfth century metropolitans of Kashghar, we might imagine that the actual metropolitan was located there, with perhaps a suffragan bishop in Nawākath, but without more textual or archaeological evidence, we may never know exactly what relationship these two members of the dual metropolitanate had with each other.

This article seeks to answer the question of where exactly this Nawākath – a Sogdian place name meaning "new city" or "new town," (*Gharib* 1995: 245 [*nwʾy*] or 248 [*nwyy*], 191 [*knθ*] or 197 [*kθ*])[8] – was located. Dauvillier, in a lengthy examination of this question, presents a number of options put forth by various scholars, including Yangi Hissar (Yengisar, near Kashghar), Yangikand (apparently near Talas), Farghana, Yangi-baliq (located somewhere on the Chinese side of the Tian Shan mountain range), "a city of Sogdian origin, located close to Issyk-Köl," Nūkath / Nūnkat / Tūnkat (the capital of Ilāq) and Suyab (*Dauvillier* 1948: 288-291). In order to find a more definitive answer to the question, an examination of relevant Muslim (Arabic and Persian) geographical sources is in order.

Muslim Geographers and Historians on Nawākath

We start with two Muslim sources from the ninth century that mention Nawākath, along with other sources that borrowed from each of them. The earliest extant reference is found in the *Kitāb Ṣurat al-ʾArḍ* (*Book of the Image of the Earth*) by al-Khwārazmi (or al-Khuwārizmi) (d. ca. 847), where the author lists the following locations in the sixth clime: Khwarezm, the Khazars and Nawākath (Arabic نواكث). Reinterpreting where necessary Khwārazmi's longitudinal and latitudinal data, Maróth assigns Nawākath to 104° longitude and 44° latitude, but there is nothing more that we can glean about this location from Khwārazmi's text (*Maróth* 1980: 320, 330). As Wassilios Klein notes, this would place Nawākath some 400 km south of Ulaanbaatar, far to the east in Mongolia (*Klein* 2000: 136).

Presumably following Khwārazmi's lead, Ibn Rustah (fl. 903) mentions Nawākath in a similar list in his *Kitāb al-Aʿlāq al-Nafisah* (*Book of Precious Records*). Here, however, Nāwikāt (Arabic نَويكَت) is located in the fifth clime, along with the country of Gog, Taraz (Talas) the city of merchants, Isbijab (Isfijab, modern Sayram), Shāsh (the region around Tashkent), Turaraband and Khwarezm, not to mention Azerbaijan and parts of Armenia (text: *de Goeje* 1892: ٨٩; translation: *Wiet* 1955: 109). The elder Khwārazmi had also placed several of these locations (Taraband, Isbijāb and Taraz) in the fifth clime (*Maróth* 1980: 319). Admittedly, these clime lists are not very geographically precise, but the reference to Nawākath in the same clime as Taraz, Isfijab and Shāsh by Ibn Rustah perhaps suggests that, like the other cities, it is located in the north (either in the Tian Shan mountain range or to the north of it on the steppe).

The second early Muslim source of interest is *Kitāb al-Masālik waʾl Mamālik* (*Book of Roads and Kingdoms*) by Ibn Khurdādhbih (885), where we read the following itinerary from Taraz to the border with China: Taraz – Lower Nushājān (Lower Barskhān)[9] – Kaṣri Bās, the Qarluq wintering grounds (near the Khalaj wintering grounds) – Kul Shub – Jal Shub – Kulān – Birki (Mirki) – Asbara – Nuzkat – Kharanjawan – Jul – Sārigh – the city of the Qaghan of the Türgesh – Nāwākat[10] (Arabic نَواكت) – Kubāl – Upper Nushājān (Upper Barskhān), where the border

[7] The actual *Kitāb al-Majdal*, written by ʿAmr ibn Mattā (early 11th cent.) and continued by Marī ibn Sulaymān (mid-12th cent.), does not mention either Kashghar or Nawākath. For the reference to the dual metropolitanate, see *Gismondi* 1896-1897: ١٢٦, ١٣٢/73, 74. On the history of the *Kitāb al-Majdal* and the *Asfār al-Asrār,* see *Holmberg* 1993; *Thomas* et al 2010: 627-632; *Thomas* et al 2012: 900-905.

[8] See also the discussion of the endings *–kaθ* and *–kand* in Central Asian toponyms of Sogdian origin in *Lurje* 2003, especially 189, 196.

[9] The identity of (Lower and Upper) Nushājān as a scribal error for Barskhān is discussed in Minorsky 1948: 290-291. As Minorsky notes there, Lower Barskhān was located "three farsakhs' distance to the east of Taraz," while Upper Barskhān "was situated at least 500 km. to the east" of that, on the shore of Issyk-Köl.

[10] Arab and Persian writers sometimes render the second half of these Sogdian place names as *-kat*, rather than *-kath*. One also finds this spelling variant in Sogdian texts themselves. As *Lurje* 2003: 191 notes, "place-names are normally spelled with *–knδ* in the bulk of the Sogdian original… texts. The Mugh documents [referring to the Sogdian documents discovered at Mount Mugh in what is now Uzbekistan] show a variation of spellings with *–knδ* and *–kt*… the spelling –kt being chiefly a feature of the Upper Zarafšān highland villages." Nicholas Sims-Williams (personal correspondence, September 15, 2021) further comments, "The reason for the spellings with t is not known, but it clearly represents a real (dialectal?) pronunciation." At the same time, as *Lurje* 2003: 192, n. 28 observes, "the letters *t* (ت) and *θ* (ث) differ from one another by a single dot and are very often confused with each other. Sometimes different codices of a single text prefer *–kaθ* or *–kat*… I could not find any system in it."

of China begins (text: *de Goeje* 1889: ٩٢-٨٢; translation: *de Goeje* 1889: 21).

A very similar but slightly more extensive itinerary is found in the *Kitāb al-Kharāj* (*Book of Land Tax*) by Qudāma (d. 948); instead of "Qaghan of the Türgesh," we read just "Qaghan of the Turks" and the following locations are added: the territory of the Kimak Turks to the north of the desert, Kirmiraw, Banjikat, Suyab and Sāghur Kubāl. Nawākath is rendered as Nawākat (Arabic نواكت) by Qudāma, who describes it as a large city, from which a road leads to Upper Nushājān (Upper Barskhān) (text: *de Goeje* 1889: ٥٠٢- ٦٠٢; translation: *de Goeje* 1889: 157-158).

A number of the locations in the itineraries found in Ibn Khurdādhbih and Qudāma can be determined with reasonable accuracy, including the aforementioned Taraz (see *Klein* 2000: 128-131), the wintering grounds of the Qarluq Turks, Mirki (see *Klein* 2000: 131-132), Asbara and Suyab (the capital city of the Türgesh) (see *Klein* 2000: 139-146)[11]; all these lie along the northern slopes of the Tian Shan,[12] an area now located in southeastern Kazakhstan and northern Kyrgyzstan. The location of Upper Barskhān, the endpoint of this itinerary, can also be fixed with accuracy, as it lies on the southern shore of Issyk-Köl. It is therefore clear that the Nawākath named in these lists must be located somewhere between Issyk-Köl to the south and the steppe to the north, i.e. in the Chu valley.[13]

Amongst these early works of a primarily geographic nature, al-Ṭabari's *Taʾrikh al-Rusul waʾl-Muluk* (*History of Prophets and Kings*) (ca. 915) offers a historical insight of relevance. Under the year 119 AH (737 CE), we read that "Ibn al-Sāʾijī wrote to the Khāqān… when the latter was at Nawākith (Arabic نواكث) to inform him about Asad's having entered al-Khuttal… When the letter reached the Khāqān, he commanded his troops to make ready. The Khāqān possessed a meadow and a mountain, a protected area which no one drew near to or hunted in" (text: *Guidi, Müller & de Goeje* 1885-1889: ٣٩٥١-٣٩٥١; translation: *Blankinship* 1989: 131-132). The Turkic Khāqān is undoubtedly the Türgesh ruler Sulu (or Suluk) who, after having led Sogdian resistance to the Arab invasion of Central Asia, was defeated by the same Arabs in 737 at the Battle of Kharistan and subsequently killed by a subordinate in 738, a series of events that would lead to more infighting amongst the Turks and the eventual end of Türgesh power on the steppes in 740, not long after which they were replaced by the Qarluqs. The passage quoted from concerns the events leading up to the ill-fated Khāqān's defeat.

Is this the same Nawākath mentioned by Ibn Khurdādhbih and Qudāma? H. A. R. Gibb, in his masterful *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia*, summarizes as follows: "Ibn al-Sāʾijī had appealed for aid to Su-Lu, who was at his capital Nawākath (on the Chu [River]). The Khāqān, with a small mounted force including the Sughdian refugees, marched from Sūyāb (near Tokmak, on the Chu) to Khuttal [located to the south, on the northern bank of the Oxus River] in seventeen days" (*Gibb* 1923: 82). Given the reference to the Türgesh ruler, whose centre of power was on the steppes north of Shāsh, it seems highly likely that we are dealing here with a location in that area.[14]

Nawākath is also mentioned by Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadani, in his *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān* (*Abridgement of the Book of Lands*), written ca. 903, but this may be a different iteration of the name. Ibn al-Faqih describes the land of Sughd (Arabic السُغد) as comprised of a number of cities, including the following: Karmāniya, Dabūsī, Samarqand, Surūšana, Šāš, Nakhšab, Ustūrkat, Anūd̲ikat… Binkat, Nūkat (Arabic نُوكَت), Nūškat, Tūnkat, Tukkat, Wasiğ and Burnamad̲ (text: *de Goeje* 1885: ٧٢٣; translation: *Massé* 1973: 387). Some of these (such as Samarqand) lie within the traditional boundaries of Sogdiana, with others (such as Šāš) lying further north, admittedly in areas where Sogdians lived but beyond what might be considered Sogdiana proper. The spelling and location of Nūkat (Nūkath) in this list after Binkat (i.e., Binkath, the capital of Shāsh, mentioned below) may indicate that it is in fact the Nūkath located in Ilāq, to which we now turn.

The geographer al-Iṣṭakhri, in his *Kitāb al-Masālik waʾl Mamālik* (ca. 951) (text: *de Goeje* 1927: ١٣٣), followed by Ibn Ḥawqal in his *Kitāb Ṣurat al-ʾArḍ* (977) (text: *Kramers* 1939: ٨٠٥ [cf. *de Goeje* 1873: ٧٨٣]; translation: *Kramers & Wiet* 1964: 486), includes Nūkath/Nawkath (Arabic نوكث), along with the capital Tūnkath (Arabic تونكث), in a long list of "the cities of Ilāq," a region located to the south-east of Shāsh, in what is now the Angren valley (somewhat north-west of the Ferghana valley).[15] As with the aforementioned Nawākat(h), so too Nūkath/Nawkath seems to be Sogdian for "new city" or "new town," although the lack of an *alif* after the *wāw* might cause us to question this. Alternatively, could it represent Sogdian *nwkθ*,

[11] See also the footnote below on Suyab's likely change of location in the eighth century.

[12] Part of this area came to be known during Russian colonial times as Семиречье/Semirechye, literally "Seven Rivers" (rendered in various Turkic languages as "Yetisu" or "Jetisu"), named after the seven rivers that formerly emptied into Lake Balkhash along its southern shoreline.

[13] For a helpful discussion of this itinerary in the Muslim sources, see *Barthold* 1956: 88-91.

[14] Although, as the translator of this portion of Ṭabari suggests, "this is uncertain" (*Blankinship* 1989: 132, n. 480).

[15] For more on Tūnkath, see also *Kramers* 1939: ٥٠٩ and *Kramers* & *Wiet* 1964: 487. On Ilāq, see *Litvinsky* 2004.

"boat city" or "boat town" (*Gharib* 1995: 244 [*nw-*], 191 [*knθ*] or 197 [*kθ*])? The latter interpretation could be explained by its location on the Īlāq River. At any rate, this settlement is obviously further south than the location mentioned by Ibn Khurdādhbih and Qudāma, along with (presumably) Ibn Rustah and Ṭabari. Nūkath/Nawkath and Tūnkath are also both found somewhat later in Ibn Ḥawqal, in an itinerary between Binkath (Arabic بنكث), the capital of Shāsh, and Tūnkath: Binkath – Nujkath – Bālāyan – Nūkath/Nawkath – Bānjkhāsh – Sakākath – Tūnkath (text: *Kramers* 1939: ۲۲۵ [cf. *de Goeje* 1873: ۴۰۴]; translation: *Kramers & Wiet* 1964: 498).[16]

However, before moving on, the issue of textual variants in Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawqal needs to be addressed, an issue that is relevant to the numismatic evidence discussed below.[17] As Michael Bates notes, "De Goeje's printed text of al-Iṣṭakhrî's geography has 'the madînas [roughly speaking, "cities"] of Îlâq are its capital, known as Tûnkat... and Nawkat...,' but p. 331, note *c*, shows that two manuscripts of the work [A. and B.] have Nawkat [although it is undotted, viz. سوكت] in the first position as capital, while note *f*, p. 332, shows that the same two manuscripts have Tûnkat [again, undotted: A. بوكت, B. بوست] as the name of the secondary town in place of Nawkat" (*Bates* 2021: 42-43). And again, "Al- Iṣṭakhrî's description of roads, p. 344, repeats the same information with ambiguous renditions of the names of Îlâq's capitals and main towns; see 344, notes *i* and *o*, for the names Tûnkat [rendered variously as تُونكَت, نونكت, بيكث and نويكث] and Nawkat [appearing as نوكث, نوكس and توكس]" (*Bates*, 2021: 43). In other words, despite de Goeje opting for Tūnkath in the printed edition, there is significant confusion in the extant manuscripts of Iṣṭakhri over the name of the capital.

The same confusion concerning the name of the capital of Ilāq can be found in the manuscripts of Ibn Ḥawqal: "Ibn Ḥawqal's text (ed. Kramers, 1938-39, 508 lines 1-2) is not so complicated: in the listing of towns, Kramers' main manuscript has as capital an undotted letter followed by *nwnkth* [ننونكث], which Kramers corrected to Tûnkath [تونكث], and in the list of towns there is Nawkath written *sic* [نوكث]. When the capital of Ilaq is described again on the following page (509 lines 14-17), the manuscript has *ynwnkth* [ينونكث], the same as previously except that the first letter is pointed as *yâ'*. Again the manuscript reading is corrected to Tûnkath in the edition" (*Bates* 2021: 43).

These references in Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawqal indicate that, in addition to the Nawākath lying north of the Tian Shan (north-east of Shāsh), there was also another city with the name Nūkath/Nawkath, located south-east of Shāsh (whether or not it was the capital of Ilāq or just a town in that province). Moreover, there was a separate (and more important) city in Ilāq named Tūnkath, which at times seems to be confused with Nūkath/Nawkath (evident not only in Kramer's edition of Ibn Ḥawqal's text, but also in de Goeje's earlier edition of the same).[18] Tūnkath's relationship with Nūkath/Nawkath is discussed further below, including the reason for confusion in the sources.

Our next source, the anonymous Persian *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (982), addresses both instances of Nawākath (to the north-east of Shāsh) and Nūkath/Nawkath (to the south-east). Under §15, entitled "Discourse on the Khallukh Country and its Towns," our anonymous author lists fifteen towns in the country of the Qarluq Turks (who frequented the steppe to the north of the Tian Shan). Entry № 3 reads as follows: "NŪNKAT (**Navī-kat*?)[19] was a town near the mountain Ūrūn-ʻĀrj (*Ghārch*?), but now it is desolate and is a thieves' haunt. It is a stage (on the road) and a few felt-huts of the Khallukh [Qarluq] are found there" (*Minorsky* 1970: 97).[20] Additionally, under §25, "Discourse on the country Transoxiana and its Towns," the final entry (№ 93) refers to Nawākath again: "SHILJĪ, ṬARĀZ (spelt: *Ṭ.rār*), تكانكث (*Takābkath*?), FARŪNKATH, MIRKĪ, NAVĪKATH[21], boroughs where both Muslims and Turks live. (This locality) is a residence of merchants, and the Gate of the Khallukh (*dar-i-Khallukh*). In Afrūnkat [sic], Mirkī, and Navīkath the Turks are numerous" (*Minorsky* 1970: 119). Given the reference to both Taraz and Mirki here, there is no doubt that this Nawākath is located north-east of Shāsh.

But are these two references to one and the same location? Vladimir Minorsky thinks not and here it is worth quoting his excellent commentary at length, first regarding the place name in §15, 3 in Qarluq territory:

[16] Iṣṭakhri includes the same itinerary with a few slight differences in place names. Text: de *Goeje* 1927: ۳۴۴-۳۴۵; cf. translation in *Mordtmann* 1845: 137, which differs from de Goeje's text, given Mordtmann's use of *Moeller* 1839. See also *Barthold* 1968: 173-174.

[17] The author is indebted to Michael Bates for what follows. See Bates 2021 for the full argument.

[18] As de *Goeje* 1873: ۴۰۴ notes, تونكث (Tūnkath) is written above نوكث (Nūkath) in the text. Further confusing the scribal tradition is the occurrence in a Persian version of Ibn Ḥawqal (in the same list of "the towns of ايلاق Ailak") of "يونكت Bounket, the chief town," in the same place where we should find *Tūnkath* (*Ouseley* 1800: 266).

[19] Minorsky's suggested reading of Navī-kat (نويكت) in place of Nūn-kat (نونكت) makes perfect sense, given the similarity of *yā* and *nun*, the two letters in third place of the respective names.

[20] The original Persian text of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* was not available to the author while writing this article, but thankfully Minorsky's extensive commentary more than makes up for that lack.

[21] Note that in Persian texts such as the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* and Gardizi (below), the first syllable in the place name we are concerned with is pronounced *Nav-*, not *Naw-*.

> After Mirkī we find here Nūn-kat, whereas under §25, 93. Mirkī is followed by N.vīkath. [here follows the aforementioned itinerary from Ibn Khurdādhbih, from which Minorsky equates Nūzkat in the latter with Nūnkat in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*]… So Nūnkat must be distinguished from Navākat, the former lying west of the Chu and the latter apparently east of it… Our author (who did certainly use I.Kh.) says that *Nūnkat* "was a town". But both I.Kh. and Qudāma call *Nūzkat / Nūnkat* simply "large village"… while Navākat is styled by Qudāma… "a large town… from which a road leads to Barskhān… Our author, evidently mistaken by the similarity of the two names [Navīkat and Nūnkat], simply skipped from Mirkī to Navīkat leaving out the places lying to the west of the Chu. If such is the case, the mountain Ūrūn-ʻĀrj must correspond to the range forming the watershed between the Chu and Ili… Gardizi's report (p. 102) on a mountain in the same region by which the Turks took oath and which they considered as the abode of the Almighty undoubtedly refers to the same range. Ṭabari [in the passage cited above]… confirms that the khāqān possessed near Navīkat a mountain and a meadow which formed a forbidden zone reserved for commissariat purposes in case of expeditions (*Minorsky* 1970: 289-290).

Based on these comments and Map VI in the translation of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (*Minorsky* 1970: 299), it is obvious that Minorsky regarded the aforementioned text from Ṭabari to be a reference to Nawākath (Navīkath in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, as distinct from Nūnkat) north-east of Shāsh. Minorsky's commentary on §25, 93 has nothing to say of Navīkath (or even Nūnkat), but in discussion of the other cities mentioned which can be identified (Shaljī, Ṭarāz and Mirkī), it is again clear that we are dealing with places located to the north of the Tian Shan (*Minorsky* 1970: 358). We might also take note of the comments on §17, the "Discourse on the Tukhs Country and its Towns" (*Minorsky* 1970: 99), which Minorsky understands to refer to "the remnants of the great Türgish federation" (*Minorsky* 1970: 300),[22] of relevance when we consider the testimony of Gardizi below. Minorsky's Map V fixes the Tukhsi territory in the Chu River valley, north of modern Pishpek (Bishkek) and Toqmaq (Tokmak) (*Minorsky* 1970: 279).

Before leaving the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, it is fitting to note the following reference (№ 64) under §25: "NŪKATH [sic], the chief place of Īlāq, has a city, a citadel, and a suburb. Its river is called Īlāq, and Nūkath is situated on its bank" (*Minorsky* 1970: 117). As Minorsky notes in his commentary, Iṣṭakhri "calls the provincial capital [of Ilāq] Tūnkath… its imposing ruins were found at 90 Km. from Tashkent" (*Minorsky* 1970: 356). Thus, we have more indication of the aforementioned confusion between these two place names (Nūkath and Tūnkath in Ilāq).

As with the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, al-Muqaddasi's *Aḥsan al-Taqāsim fi Maʿrifat al-Aqālim* (*Best Division for Knowledge of the Regions*) (ca. 985) mentions two different locations named Nawākath and Nūkath/Nawkath. The first is located in the region of Isbijāb (as noted above, this is rendered in some texts as Isfijab), "a flourishing market center [located] on the steppe fringes as an emporium for the nomads' products" (*Bosworth* 1987). In addition to Tarāz, Barskhān, Mīrkī (all names we have encountered above) and many others, Muqaddasi includes Nawīkath (Arabic نَوِيكَث) and, right after it, Balāsaghūn (Arabic بَلَاسَكُون) (text: *de Goeje* 1877: ٣٦٢-٣٦٣; translation: *Collins* 1994: 238), the latter functioning "in early Islamic times [as] the main settlement of the region known as Yeti-su or Semirechye" (*Bosworth* 1989).[23] This is not an itinerary that Muqaddasi gives us, but the occurrence of these two names next to each other may suggest that the towns were located close to each other. Although "the exact site of Balāsāgūn is uncertain," nevertheless "the early Islamic sources clearly locate it in the valley of the Ču river" (*Bosworth* 1989), resulting in many associating it with the modern site of Burana (*Kolchenko* 2017: 17).[24] This strongly suggests that Nawākath is also located in the same valley.[25] Again, like the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, the second Nawākath mentioned by Muqaddasi occurs in a context now familiar to us: "Īlāq, its district and chief centre is Tūnkath [Arabic تُونكَث]. Among its towns are… Nūkath [Arabic نُوكَث]" (text: *de Goeje* 1877: ٥٦٢; translation: *Collins* 1994: 238, 240). As with Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawqal, there are textual variants; in place of تُونكَث for the capital, some manuscripts have simply توكث (*Tūkath*). Variants of نُوكَث include بونكث (*Ūnkath*), تونكث (*Tūnkath*) and نونكث (*Nūnkath*).

The *Kitāb al-Fihrist* (*Book of the Index*) (987) by Ibn al-Nadim introduces yet more complexity into the situation. Based on Dodge's translation of the text, Tūnkath is mentioned twice in the text. The first occurrence is in the context of "remarks on the script of al-Ṣughd [Sogdiana]," in which Ibn al-Nadim relays the observation of "a reliable person" that "Ṣughd is called Upper Irān and is an abode of the Turks. Its

[22] Minorsky's very helpful analysis is too long to quote here.

[23] On the name Semirechye, see the relevant footnote above.

[24] See also *Klein* 2000: 121-122, 146-152.

[25] Although al-Muqaddasi gives us no more information on Nawīkath, he does provide further details on Isbījāb, Tarāz, Barskhān, Mīrkī and Walāsakūn (Balāsaghūn). Text: de *Goeje* 1877: ٢٧٢-٢٧٣, ٢٧٤, ٢٧٥; translation: *Collins* 1994: 244, 245, 246.

principal city is Tūnkath." As Dodge notes, the latter probably refers to "the capital of the Īlāq region southeast of Tāshkand" (*Dodge* 1970: 33). The second reference to this place name is found later in the *Fihrist*, in an extended discussion of the teachings and history of Manichaeism. As Ibn al-Nadim notes, "This people [the Manichaeans], who are called Ajārā, are at Rustāq, Samarqand, Ṣughd (Sughd), and especially Tūnkath." Again, Dodge notes that this is likely referring to "Tūnkath (Tūnkat) in the Shāsh region, or else modern Tashqand, called Binkath"(*Dodge* 1970: 803).[26]

However, this is not the end of the story. In their authoritative *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts*, François de Blois and Nicholas Sims-Williams offer the following insight under the heading "نویکث 'Nawēkaϑ' (place name in Transoxania)":

> *"wa hum bi rustāqi samarqanda wa ṣ-ṣuydi wa xāṣṣatan bi nawēkaϑ*, (the remaining Manichaeans in Khurasan) 'are in the district of Samarqand and Sogdiana and especially in Nawēkaϑ', –Nadīm 337.28 [Mss. C and H have نویکث, with all ambiguous letters pointed; L has the same, leaving only the **y** unpointed. Sogdian **nwykt**, that is: Nawē-ka(n)ϑ, means 'new town'. Yāqūt 4.826 has a place نُوکند (read: Nawkand?) near Samarqand, presumably a persianised form of the same name. There is also a تونکث in Turkestan (region of Šāš/Tashkent), perhaps to be emended to توڭکث, with the **twδ kδ** mentioned in a Sogdian letter, but the text in the *Fihrist* seems to imply that the place in question was near Samarqand. One or the other of these two places is evidently intended in –Nadīm 18.2, where the author says that the capital city of the Sogdians (*qaṣabatuhā*) is called by a name that is represented in Mss. P by تریکث, in H and V by the same *rasm* without points, or with only the last letter pointed; Flügel's reading (followed, without comment, by Tajaddud) قرنکث is a conjecture!" See also *Marquart* 1898, 164 (*de Blois & Sims-Williams* 2006: 82-83).

What are we to make of this reference in the *Fihrist*? Based on the manuscript work done by de Blois and Sims-Williams, the reading of نویکث "Nawēkaϑ" seems preferable over that of تونکث "Tūnkath" adopted by Dodge. However, is it correct to assume that this place name can be located near Samarqand? If so, then we are dealing with yet another possible location for the Nawākath mentioned in the work of Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā. On the other hand, perhaps Ibn al-Nadim is adopting a definition of Sogdiana that includes adjacent parts of what was then known to the Arabs as Māwarāʾan-nahr (ما وراء النهر), "that which is beyond the river," referring to the land north of the Oxus (Amu Darya). In that case, we could be dealing here with Nūkath/Nawkath in the region of Ilāq or perhaps even further to the north-east, in the Chu valley.

Another Persian work of relevance is *Zayn ul-Akhbār* (*Adorning of History*), by Gardizi (fl. ca. 1050). Produced in the court of the Ghaznavids (in what is now Afghanistan), it blends history, geography and ethnography. There are two sections of interest to us. The first concerns the route to Barskhān:

> "As for the road to Barsxān… it goes from Navē-kaθ/Navī-kaθ to Kumbar-kat along the route of the Čigil… and thence to Jīl… From there to Yār it is twelve parasangs… Amidst these are the tents of the Tegīn… of the Čigil… to the left (i.e. north) of the road [between them] is a lake which is called Issik-Kül. From there to Tūng is five parasangs and from Tūng to Barsxān a three-day journey" (text: *Barthold* 1897: 89-90; translation: *Martinez* 1982: 132).

With the reference to Issyk-Köl, Barskhān in this context obviously refers to Upper Barskhān, located on the southern shore of that lake, as noted above. As outlined by Gardizi, the road to Upper Barskhān starts at Nawākath and then passes through the territory of the Čigil, a Turkic group "centered around the Issiq Köl and Īli river regions with groups extending to the Oğuz lands on the Syr Darya" (*Golden* 1992: 200).[27] It is clear from this itinerary that Nawākath lies somewhere to the north-west of the lake, probably in the Chu valley.

The second section of interest in Gardizi (curiously located "at the end of the account of the Eastern European—Eastern Caucasian routes and peoples") concerns the aforementioned Čigil and Tūxšī (the latter, as noted above, perhaps representing the remnants of the Türgesh). Here we read: "As for the route to the Čigil and the TRKŠY (*Tūxšī?) [countries] when you go [out] from Navī-kaθ/Navī-kat you must go towards Banjī-kaθ/Panjī-kaθ (*i.e.* Beš-Balig)" (text: *Barthold* 1897: 102; translation: *Martinez* 1982: 142; see discussion of this passage below).[28] Again, it makes sense that the Nawākath we are dealing with is

[26] On possible communication between Sogdian Manichaeans in Nawākath (either near Samarkand or near Talas, i.e. Taraz) and their co-religionists in Turfan, see *Yoshida* 2019: 34-36, 41-43 and *Yoshida* 2020: 72-73.

[27] The Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam also has a section on the Chigil Turks: Minorsky 1970: 98-99, 297-300.

[28] See the discussion in *Minorsky* 1970: 271-272. As discussed below, this is not in fact referring to Besh-baliq (Chinese Beiting 北庭), the summer capital of the West Uyghur Kingdom, located just north of Turfan. For the placement of that city on a map, see *Bregel* 2003: 35, 37, 39, 41.

the one lying to the north-east of Shāsh, rather than to the south-east.

With the *Kitāb Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fī Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq* (*A Diversion for the Man Longing to Travel to Far-Off Places*) (1154) by the North African geographer and cartographer al-Idrisi, we start to approach the early fourteenth century time period when Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā was writing. As with the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* and Muqaddasi, we find references in Idrisi to both primary locations of Nawākath and Nūkath/Nawkath. There are several places where Idrisi mentions the city in relation to Upper Barskhān (Arabic برسخان in Muqaddasi), which is rendered as Barsjān (Arabic برسجان) by Idrisi. The first occurs at the beginning of the ninth section concerning the third clime; in the context of discussing those countries that are subject to the Qaghan of the Bagharghar (Arabic بغرغر, a scribal error for تغزغز, Toghuzghuz, referring to the Uyghurs), Idrisi mentions Upper Barsjān and "Tewaketh" (Arabic تواكث), an obvious scribal error for Nawākath (Arabic نواكث) (*Jaubert* 1836: 490).

Another reference occurs at the end of the same section, where Idrisi discusses the city of Upper Barsjān: "This last city belongs to the land of the Turks. It is strong, surrounded by good walls, and it is here that most of the Turks who inhabit the land come to take refuge and obtain the items they need. From Barsjān to Nawākath (Arabic نواكث) on the edge of the country of the Khizildjis, it is about 10 days by caravan route or 5 days through the deserts of the Turks" (*Jaubert* 1836: 495-496). "Khizildjis" (Arabic الخزلجيه) is almost certainly a scribal error for the Qarluq Turks (Arabic الخلخيه or rather الخرلخيه). Given the reference to both the Qarluqs and Upper Barsjān, it makes sense that we are again dealing with the Nawākath that is north-east of Shāsh and the distance of 10 days by caravan is about right for an overall journey of roughly 300 km between Barsjān and the central Chu valley, where all indications so far seem to place Nawākath. However, it is unclear what "deserts of the Turks" the author has in mind, since most of the journey takes place along the shore of Issyk-Köl. Like Ibn Khurdādhbih before him (and undoubtedly drawing on that father of Arab geography), Idrisi also includes Nawākath in an itinerary between "the city of the Qaghan" (Arabic مدينة خاقان) to the north and Kubāb (a scribal error for Ibn Khurdādhbih's Kubāl), followed by Upper Barsjān (Barskhān) to the south. Echoing what Idrisi said earlier, the latter is said to be "10 days of caravan walking through a country where water and pastures are abundant. For a Turk courier, the journey is only 5 days" (*Jaubert* 1840: 218).

Idrisi also mentions the other Nūkath/Nawkath, located south-east of Shāsh, although the text exhibits confusion regarding the name of the capital of Shāsh: "Nūkath (Arabic نوكث), the capital of Ilāq, is a large city with a well-populated suburb. It is surrounded by a strong wall pierced with several gates. Its markets are flourishing, its revenues considerable; its streets, dependent towns and fields are watered by rivers. Although it is the main city of Ilāq, this city [Nūkath] is however smaller than half of Nūkath (Arabic نوكث) [this seems to be a scribal error for Nīkath (Arabic نيكث), the capital of Châch, on which see below]; but it is strong, its markets and its suburbs extend to the borders of the Berk (Arabic برك), and its territory touches that of Isfijab. It is a flourishing city, built on level land, and having various dependent towns in number" (*Jaubert* 1840: 207-208).

A scribal error in this passage need to be addressed. As noted above, Idrisi refers to the capital of Shāsh as Nīkath (Arabic نيكث) (see *Jaubert* 1840: 207, 212, 215). We know from other texts discussed above that the name of that capital was in fact Binkath (Arabic بنكث); Nīkath is an understandable scribal error to make in Arabic.[29] Some (such as *le Strange* 1905: 482) have understood Berk River (Arabic[30] نهر برك) to be a scribal error for Türk River (Arabic نهر ترك), but in fact it represents Parak/Barak, an old name for the Chirchiq River, which flows into the Syr Darya just to the south-west of modern Tashkent (*Bosworth* 1990; *Negmatov* 1996: 277). A final point to be made on this passage is the confusion already alluded to above regarding the name of the capital of Ilāq; is it Nūkath (Arabic نوكث) or Tūnkath (Arabic تونكث)? [31]

Our final Muslim geographer brings us within a century of Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā's *Asfār al-Asrār*. Yaqut's *Kitāb Muʿjam al-Buldān* (*Dictionary of Countries*), written in 1228, is one of the most important geographical and toponymical works in Arabic literature. Yaqut includes Nūkath (Arabic نُكث), which he says "was the capital of Ilāq among the towns of al-Shāsh in Māwarāʾan-nahr" (*Wüstenfeld* 1869: ١١٨). However Nawākath to the north-east is not included, although other cities to the north in what was generally called Turkistan are mentioned in his dictionary, including Isfijāb (*Wüstenfeld* 1866: ٩٤٢), Tarāz (*Wüstenfeld* 1868: ٤٢٥), Balāsāghun (*Wüstenfeld* 1866: ٨٠٧) and Barskhān (*Wüstenfeld* 1866: ٥٦٥). These places are also enumerated in the introduction to Yaqut's work, where we read about "Lake Issik-Kul near Barsakhān" in a section on the various seas in the world (*Jwaideh* 1959: 32), as well as in the following list of places located in

[29] To further confuse matters, Idrisi mentions another city in the Shāsh region called نياكث, Nīyākath (*Jaubert* 1840: 206, 207).
[30] In the secondary literature, most opt for Tūnkath, e.g. *Barthold* 1968: 172-173; le Strange 1905: 483.
[31] My thanks to Michael Bates for permission to use his (unpublished) translation. Although Arabic قصبة is translated here as "capital," it literally means "palace, citadel, castle" and by extension "seat of government."

the fifth clime (again, Nawākath is not mentioned in either of these places):

> "It begins in the land of the eastern Turks and the territory of Gog (Yājūj), the walled-in, and passes over the lands of various kinds of Turks, who are known by their tribes, to Kāshghar, Balāṣāghūn, Zāsht, Farghānah, Isbījāb, Shāsh (Tashkent), Ushrūsanah, Samarqand, Bukhāra, Khwārizm, the Sea of the Khazars (the Caspian Sea), to Bāb al-Abwāb (Derbent)…" (*Jwaideh* 1959: 48)

Determining the Location of Nawākath

The following chart summarizes the data that can be gleaned from the Arabic and Persian geographers and historians discussed above.

This chart clearly shows that there were at least two places in medieval Central Asia that bore the Sogdian name "New City" or "New Town": Nawākath/Nawīkath (Arabic نواكث or نويكث) and Nūkath, or perhaps Nawkath (Arabic نوكث). The location of the latter can be fixed quite precisely to the Īlāq River valley, somewhat south-east of Shāsh. The location of the former is not specified exactly in the sources, but it can be worked out roughly, based on the surrounding towns, particularly when those sources provide details regarding distance from other locations that can be readily identified.

We have already discussed above Idrisi's statement that "from Barsjān to Nawākath… is about 10 days by caravan." Several other sources give distances between Nawākath and other cities in travel itineraries that can help us narrow down the location of Nawākath. Thus, Ibn Khurdādhbih counts a total of 56 parasangs (Arabic فرسخ, *farsakh*) between Taraz and Nawākath (*de Goeje* 1889: 21); using a ratio of 5.98 km per parasang, this converts to 335 km.[32] Measuring this distance along modern roads from Taraz eastward (and then south-eastward up the Chu valley) brings us very close to the modern location of Krasnaya Rechka, approximately 35 km east of Bishkek and 30 km north-west of Tokmak. Qudāma gives the distance from Taraz to Nawākath as 53 parasangs (*de Goeje* 1889: 157-158), which converts to 317 km; again, this brings us very close to modern Krasnaya Rechka. Continuing on in a south-easterly direction and in contrast to Idrisi, both Ibn Khurdādhbih and Qudāma give the distance between Nawākath and Upper Nushājān (Upper Barskhān) as 3 parasangs followed by "15 days for caravans" (*de Goeje* 1889: 21, 158), no more helpful than Idrisi's "10 days." Gardizi is equally vague about distances involved on the route from "Navē-kaθ" to "Barsxān"; there are references to 12 parasangs from Jīl to Yār, 5 parasangs from Yār to Tūng and then a 3-day journey from Tūng to Barsxān (*Martinez* 1982: 132).[33] Idrisi – following the same route as that of Ibn Khurdādhbih and Qudāma from "Taran" (Arabic طران, scribal error for Taraz, Arabic طراز) to Upper "Barsjān" (Barskhān) – arrives at 189 Arab miles, equivalent to 63 parasangs, from Taraz to Nawakath (*Jaubert* 1840: 217-218); this equals 376 km, which takes us slightly past modern-day Tokmak.

What of other evidence for the location and role of Nawākath or Nūkath in other sources? We are fortunate to have a Sogdian contract (found amongst the Mount Mugh documents), dated to 711 (thus, considerably older than any of our Muslim sources), which "records the marriage of the Turkic noble Ot-Tegin (*'wttkyn*) to the Sogdian woman Dhughdghōnch (*δywtywnch*), whose guardian was Chēr (*cyr*), the ruler of Nawēkat, 'New Town' (*nwyktc xwβw*)." Vladimir Livshits interprets Nawēkat as "a Sogdian town in Semirech'e, on the right bank of the Chu, an important fortified trade centre, about 4 leagues to the east of Suyab, the capital of the Türgesh Khanate" (*Livshits et al* 2015: 22).[34] Although the text does not specify where Nawēkat is located, Livshits' assumption that it is the city referred to by Ibn Khurdādhbih, Qudāma, the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, Muqaddasi, Gardizi and Idrisi cannot be ruled out, given the similarity between Sogdian *nwykt* and Arabic نواكث. However, we do not know enough about the rulers of Sogdian cities during the Arab invasion to discern whether Nawākath (in the Chu valley) or Nūkath/Nawkath (in the Īlāq valley) is the likely home of Chēr (or indeed if neither is and we ought to look elsewhere in Sogdian territory).[35]

There are also numismatic sources of relevance, although these relate to Nūkath/Nawkath, rather than Nawākath. This information is contained in an unpublished paper by Bates, already referenced above,

[32] Since a parasang/farsakh was technically the distance that a horse could walk in an hour, it is difficult to convert distances given in parasangs in medieval sources to kilometres. Even in the nineteenth century, the parasang represented different distances in different parts of the Muslim world. For the conversion of parasangs to km, see *Hinz* 2012.

[33] Unfortunately, Gardizi does not give us the distance from Navēkaθ to Jīl or the mode of transportation for the 3-day journey.

[34] The marriage contract is found on p. 27.

[35] *Livshits* et al 2015, 22 concludes: "Less probable is the identification of Nwykt with Nūkath (نوكث) in the Ilak region." As Pavel Lurje noted in a post to the Sogd email list (Feb. 16, 2021), "In a very deteriorated late rock inscription near Nookat/Nawkat in Southern Kirgizistan I found the word nwykt (written relatively clearly). So there is a large range of possibilities." Amongst other examples, Lurje also notes Navkad Quraish near Kesh (modern Shahrisabz, Uzbekistan) (personal correspondence, December 6, 2022).

Source	North-east of Shāsh	South-east of Shāsh	Other
Khwārazmi (d. ca. 847)			Nawākath (location uncertain)
Ibn Khurdādhbih (885)	Nāwākat		
Ibn Rustah (fl. 903)	Nāwikāt (possible location)		
Ibn al-Faqih (ca. 903)		Nūkat / Nawkat (probable location)	
Ṭabari (ca. 915)	Nawākith (possible location)		
Qudāma (d. 948)	Nawākat		
Iṣṭakhri (ca. 951)		Nūkath / Nawkath	
Ibn Ḥawqal (977)		Nūkath / Nawkath	
Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam (982)	Navīkath/Navākat	Nūkath / Nawkath	
Muqaddasi (ca. 985)	Nawīkath	Nūkath / Nawkath	
Ibn al-Nadim (987)		Tūnkath (probable location, according to Dodge)	Nawēkaϑ (possible location near Samarqand, according to de Blois and Sims-Williams
Gardizi (fl. ca. 1050)	Navē-kaθ / Navī-kaθ / Navī-kat		
Idrisi (1154)	Nawākath	Nūkath / Nawkath	
Yaqut (1228)		Nūkath / Nawkath	

wherein the author discusses mints established in the regions of Shāsh and Ilāq during the ʿAbbasid Caliphate. The last of the four mints discussed is "a place called Nawkat. The name appears only on one issue in the caliphal era, a fals [medieval Arabic copper coin] dated 205 (820-21) … There are few examples of the issue, which so far is not properly published… The first part of the name on the coin is clearly not Tûnkat. It lacks the letter *nûn* between *wâw* and *kâ*'… The earliest known coins with the name Tûnkat are dated 401 (1010-11). All the coins allegedly with that name before that date seem actually to have Nawkat, the name on this fals" (*Bates* 2021: 39-41).

Our last source to consider is a travel itinerary included in the *Xīn Tángshū* (*New Book of Tang*, completed in 1060), Volume 43b, Treatise 38, Geography 7b. Beginning from 热海, "the Hot Sea" (a loan translation from Turkic Issyk-Köl), it describes the route to the northwest, through the mountains and onto the northern steppe:

[36] The text is taken from the online *New Book of Tang*: http://chinesenotes.com/xintangshu/xintangshu043b.html. I am grateful to my colleague Valerii Kolchenko for bringing this passage to my attention. My thanks to Thomas Jansen for his assistance with the translation.

又四十里至凍城，又百一十里至賀獵城，又三十里至葉支城，出谷至碎葉川口，八十里至裴羅將軍城。又西二十里至碎葉城，城北有碎葉水，水北四十里有羯丹山，十姓可汗每立君長於此。自碎葉西十里至米國城，又三十里至新城，又六十里至頓建城，又五十里至阿史不來城，又七十里至俱蘭城，又十里至稅建城，又五十里至怛羅斯城.[36]

"Another 40 *li* to Dòng [Tūng] City, another 110 *li* to Hèliè City, another 30 *li* to Yèzhī City, out of the gorge to the opening[37] of the Suìyè [Suyab] River and 80 *li* to Péiluójiāngjūn [Balāsaghūn] City. Another 20 *li* west to Suìyè [Suyab] City; the Suìyè [Suyab] River[38] is to the north of the city and Jiédān Mountain is 40 *li* to the north of the river. Every time the Khan/Qaghan of the Ten Surnames/Tribes was established, it was at this [place]. From Suìyè [Suyab] 10 *li* west to Mǐguó City, another 30 *li* to Xīn chéng [New City = Nawākath], another 60 *li* to Dùnjiàn City, another 50 *li* to Āshǐbùlái [Asbara] City, another 70 *li* to Jùlán [Kulan] City, another 10 *li* to Shuìjiàn City, another 50 *li* to Dáluósī [Talas] City."

As with references to the *parasang* / *farsakh* in Muslim sources, this Chinese itinerary presents challenges in translating distances in *li* to those in km.[39] However, we can approximate it using data from various sources written during the Tang and Song dynasties, which indicate that (during most of the seventh-twelfth centuries) 1 *li* = 360 *bu* = 1,800 *chi* = 180,000 *fen*, with the *fen* defined as the width of a grain of millet (*Jun & Hargett* 1989: 9-11). Using 2 mm for the latter gives us a value of 360 m for 1 *li*. This enables us to convert the distances above as follows: 10 *li* = 3.6 km, 20 *li* = 7.2 km, 30 *li* = 10.8 km, 40 *li* = 14.4 km, 50 *li* = 18 km, 60 *li* = 21.6 km, 70 *li* = 25.2 km, 80 *li* = 28.8 km, 110 *li* = 39.6 km. We may note, however, Wilhelm Barthold's remarks that the Arabic descriptions of this itinerary (specifically, those of Ibn Khurdādhbih and Qudāma) are more accurate and detailed; indeed, according to Barthold, some of the distances in this Chinese source are completely wrong (*Barthold* 1899: 17-18, n. 7).[40]

Some comments on the place names are in order. The first one to be deciphered, by Joseph de Guignes in 1756, was the city of 怛羅斯 – Dáluósī in Pinyin, *tatlasz* in Late Middle Chinese (hereafter LMC[41]) – representing Talas, the western end point of this particular itinerary (*de Guignes* 1756: lxvi). A century and a half later, in 1899, Friedrich Hirth (without explaining his reasoning) suggested that the city of 裴羅將軍 – Péiluójiāngjūn in Pinyin, literally "General Pei Luo" City, about which see below – may have been located in the vicinity of modern Tokmak (*Hirth* 1899: 73). Hirth also correctly interpreted the place name 碎葉 – Suìyè in Pinyin, *suajjiap*[42] in LMC – as Suyab, an understandable choice given both the Chinese form and the geographical context. The text mentions a Suyab River (碎葉川口 and碎葉水), an alternate name for the Chu River, as well as a town or city called Suyab (碎葉城).[43] Hirth further speculated that the mountain named 羯丹 – Jiédān in Pinyin, *kiattan* in LMC – is reflected in the name of the village of Kurdai in the Alatau mountain range.

What of the "Khan/Qaghan of the Ten Surnames/Tribes" mentioned in connection with this moun-

[37] Although 川口 most commonly refers to the mouth of a river (i.e., an estuary), the writer here must have in mind the opening up of the landscape as one transitions from a mountainous area into a river valley.

[38] In contrast to 川, the word for river used above, here 水 is used.

[39] Before it was standardized to 0.5 km in 1929, the value of the Chinese unit of distance li (里), often referred to as "the Chinese mile," varied over time and so "it makes little sense to calculate different li according to the changing pre-Qing values of its underlying measure, the bu" (*Wilkinson* 2013: 576).

[40] Barthold also gives this itinerary in *Barthold* 1894: 4, without commenting on it, other than to refer readers to de Guignes' earlier work on the itinerary. However, on p. 16 of the same article, in commenting on the itineraries found in Ibn Khurdādhbih and Qudāma, Barthold gives the Chinese equivalents (from the *Xīn Tángshū*) of Kulan, Asbara, Nuzkat and Sārigh. Kulan and Asbara I have addressed in the main text of this article. Barthold identifies Nuzkat with Dùnjiàn (頓建) and Sārigh with Mǐguó (米國), but does not explain how he arrives at these conclusions.

[41] Reconstructed Late Middle Chinese pronunciations of these place names are taken from *Pulleyblank* 1991.

[42] In Pulleyblank's transcription, /j/ is essentially the same as "consonantal y- in English" (*Pulleyblank* 1991: 6).

[43] As Barthold notes, the location of the city of Suyab seems to have changed at some point in history (*Barthold* 1899: 17-18, n. 7). The Chinese itinerary from the Xīn Tángshū – finally assembled in 1060 but based on earlier information from the time of the Tang dynasty (618-907) – indicates that Suyab is located 20 li west of Balāsaghūn. This reference is somewhat problematic, due to ongoing uncertainty about the location of the latter, but Suyab has more recently been identified with the modern town of Ak-Beshim, located just west of Tokmak in the Chu Valley (*Clauson* 1961: 4). In contrast, Gardizi, writing in the mid-eleventh century, clearly indicates that Suyāb was located near the mountain on which the Turks "offer sacrifice… and take oaths" and which they call "the Lord of Majesty" (*Martinez* 1982: 143), presumably a reference to the sacred mountain mentioned above by al-Ṭabari and also alluded to in the Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam. Both Gardizi and the Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam indicate that this second (and more northerly) location of Suyab was able to muster 20,000 (armed) men (*Minorsky* 1970: 99, 303; *Martinez* 1982: 143). Barthold suggests that the city was relocated after its earlier iteration had been captured and destroyed by the Chinese in 748, an event referred to in *Clauson* 1961: 8, drawing on *Chavannes* 1903: 45, 143-144, 286. Relocation to the north-west (further down the Chu valley) would have made eminent sense; it was closer to both the sacred mountain and the northern steppes where the Turks had their power base and further away from the dual threat of the Chinese and the Arab Muslims. See also the discussion in *Klein* 2000: 139-146.

[44] MD note: sometimes translated as "barbarian," this term was used initially to describe the nomadic peoples to the north of

tain? The 十姓 ("ten tribes") mentioned in our text are obviously a Turkic group, due to their leader being styled 可汗 (khan/qaghan). In fact, they are also mentioned in the *Jiù Tángshū* (*Old Book of Tang*, completed ca. 945), "which in speaking of events of the mid-seventh century, interjects that İstämi/İštämi 'in the past', as the commander of 'ten great chiefs' and 100,000 troops conquered the various hu 胡[44] lands of the west and became Qağan of the 'Ten Surnames/Clans/Descendants' Chin. Shi Xing 十姓" (*Golden* 2012: 159). We can probably equate this mountain with that described by al-Ṭabari, the aforementioned "protected area which no one drew near to or hunted in," that Minorsky considered the same as Ūrūn-'Ārj mentioned in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*. Indeed, Map VI of "The Chu-Ili Watershed" in Minorsky's translation of this text shows the sacred mountain between the Qurday (cf. Hirth's Kurdai) Pass and the Kastek Pass, both located in the Alatau mountain range.

Two more place names from the *Xīn Tángshū* itinerary are identified by Barthold in a companion piece to Hirth's (which refers to the latter), where the famous Russian orientalist notes (albeit in a footnote) that "A-shi-pu-lai" – 阿史不來, Āshǐbùlái in Pinyin, *ʔaʂrputlaj* in LMC – must be Asbara and "Kü-1an" – 俱蘭, Jùlán in Pinyin, *kɦyəlan* in LMC – must be Kulan; both places are mentioned above in Ibn Khurdādhbih's itinerary (*Barthold* 1899: 17-18, n. 7).[45] To these we may add three other identifications: 1) 凍 – Dòng in Pinyin, *təwŋ* in LMC – must be Tūng mentioned above by Gardizi and rendered by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* as TŪN.L, located on the southern shore of Issyk-Köl; 2) 裴羅將軍 – Péiluójiāngjūn in Pinyin, *pɦuajlatsiaŋkyn* in LMC – is surely Balāsaghūn, discussed above, not "General Pei Luo" City; and 3) 新城 – Xīn chéng in Pinyin, *sinʂɦiajŋ* in LMC – means "New City" or "New Town" in Chinese and is obviously a calque for Nawākath itself.

This leaves the following place names from the itinerary still to be identified: 賀獵 (Hèliè, *xɦaliap*); 葉支 (Yèzhī, *jiaptʂi*); 米國 (Mǐguó, *mjiajkuək*); 頓建 (Dùnjiàn, *tunkian*); 稅建 (Shuìjiàn, *ʂyajkian*). Of these, Mǐguó (literally, "country of Mi") is the Chinese term for Maymurgh, a region located south-east of Samarkand and one of nine Sogdian kingdoms (and, by extension, Sogdian surnames) found in Chinese sources (*Chavannes* 1903: 144-145).[46] However, due to the location of Mǐguó near Nawākath in the *Xīn Tángshū* itinerary, it must represent another place (unless the account has become confused somewhere in the process of transmission).[47]

Yutaka Yoshida suggests that this "Mǐguó City" – lying as it does between Suìyè =Suyab and Xīn chéng = Nawākath – corresponds to Banjikath (Arabic/Persian بنجيكت), located between Nawākath and Suyab according to Qudāma (text: *de Goeje* 1889: ٦٠٢; translation: *de Goeje* 1889: 158) and Gardizi (text: *Barthold* 1897: 102; translation: *Martinez* 1982: 142). In his translation of the latter, A. P. Martinez interprets "Banjī-kaθ/Panjī-kaθ" (Iranian for "five towns/cities") as a reference to Besh-baliq (Turkic for "five towns/cities"), one of two capitals (along with Qocho) of the West Uyghur Kingdom, but this makes no sense in the context. The "district ruler" of the area in Gardizi's text is a mere *dehqan* (Persian دهقان), who at most is a regional prince (*Steingass* 1892: 549), significantly below the stature of the *Idiqut* who ruled over the Uyghurs (*Clauson* 1972: 46; *Sinor et al* 1998: 202). Moreover, Gardizi has already mentioned the "Toğuz Oğuz," i.e. the Uyghurs, earlier. Although he also refers there to "Panj-kaθ [*i.e.* Beš-Baliğ]" (Persian پنجکت), when he speaks of their king, he uses the title Xāqān (Persian خاقان), much more befitting the Uyghur ruler than *dehqan* (text: *Barthold* 1897: 90-91; translation: *Martinez* 1982: 132-136).

Additionally, Gardizi's text notes that, "when you go [out] from Navī-kaθ/Navī-kat you must go towards Banjī-kaθ/Panjī-kaθ," after which you will pass through a village called "*Uz-kat" and then "[another] village… which they call Suyāb" (text: *Barthold* 1897: 102; translation: *Martinez* 1982: 142). So, as noted above, the Banjikath mentioned in this itinerary lies between Nawākath and Suyab (heading not east, but rather north-west). We are thus not dealing with Besh-baliq in the West Uyghur Kingdom, but rather a location somewhere in the Chu Valley. But to return to Yoshida's suggestion, why would a Chinese source refer to Banjikath in the Chu Valley as Mǐguó City? The simplest answer is that the *Xīn Tángshū* is confusing two places named Banjikath/Panjikath (neither of which is Besh-baliq): the city named in our itinerary, located in the Chu Valley, and Panjikent, the capital of Maymurgh, south-east of Samarkand. Since Maymurgh was known to the Chinese as Mǐguó, it was logical to name its capital Mǐguó City.[48]

China and eventually applied more generally to all inhabitants of Central Eurasia.

[45] I came to the same conclusion independently regarding these two place names prior to becoming aware of Barthold's article. *Chavannes* 1903: 10 also translates and comments on this passage, but has little to say beyond the aforementioned observations of Hirth and Barthold.

[46] On the capital of Maymurgh, see *Begmatov* 2021: 3-4. On the nine kingdoms, see *Sheng* 1998: 138, n. 52; *Sims-Williams* & *Grenet* 2006: 106-107; *Rong* 2006: 148; *Ashurov* 2020: 31-32.

[47] *Chavannes* 1903: 10 makes the same point, that this place name in the itinerary should not be confused with the kingdom near Samarkand.

[48] See the argument in *Yoshida* 2002. I am grateful to Pavel Lurje and Yutaka Yoshida for the above information (personal correspondence, December 6, 2022 and April 23, 2023).

Before moving on, we should note that 建 (the second syllable in Dùnjiàn and Shuìjiàn) was pronounced *kian* in LMC and represents the aforementioned Sogdian element *–kand*, "city, town," as is evident from the Chinese transliteration of Samarkand, 飒抹建 (*Chavannes* 1903: 356). If so, then Dùnjiàn (*tunkian*) could represent Tūnkand; if we substitute *–kaθ* for *–kand*, giving Tūnkath, could this be an alternate form of the Nūnkat(h) found in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* and discussed above? Given the fact that Nūnkath was a variant form of Tūnkath, the capital of Ilāq, this is certainly a possibility, although admittedly rather speculative. The location of 頓建 Dùnjiàn between Nawākath and Asbara in the Chinese itinerary correlates to that of Nūzkat in the accounts of Ibn Khurdādhbih and Qudāma, which (as Minorsky pointed out in the extract above), must be a variant of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*'s Nūnkat (*Minorsky* 1970: 289).[49]

Final Thoughts

All in all, the data surveyed above from the Arabic and Persian geographers and historians, supplemented by the *Xīn Tángshū*, is extremely valuable in identifying the second half of the mysterious dual metropolitanate of كاشغرونواكث, Kashghar and Nawākath mentioned by Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā in the early fourteenth century. We might consider two facts that point to this Nawākath as the city located in the Chu valley, rather than the one situated in the Ilāq valley. First, in contrast to the latter spelling of نوكث, the former is always spelled with a third letter representing either the vowel ā or ī, i.e. نواكث, نَواكت, نواكث, نَويكَت, نويكث or نَوِيكَث. This is either identical or very close to the spelling encountered in Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā's *Asfār al-Asrār*. Second, the location of Nawākath in the Chu valley makes more sense in terms of a connection with Kashghar than does the location of Nūkath/Nawkath in the Ilāq valley. The Chu valley is much closer to Kashghar than is the Ilāq valley. Admittedly there would be few easy routes through the Tian Shan, but it would be nonetheless quicker to travel from Kashghar to the Chu valley (roughly 650 km by modern roads) than to the Ilāq valley (an additional 750 km by modern roads). Moreover, the latter is only some 300 km from Samarkand, which had its own metropolitan bishop; if indeed Nūkath/Nawkath in the Ilāq valley had a Christian community (for which we have no evidence that I am aware of), one would expect it to be ecclesiastically attached to nearby Samarkand.[50] Regarding the objection that locating Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā's Nawākath in the Chu Valley places it too close to the metropolitan of Almaliq (*Dauvillier* 1948: 289), we may briefly note that the distance between the two is roughly 600 km by modern roads, thus not much less than that between Kashghar and Nawākath.

To these two arguments in favour of Nawākath being located in the Chu valley we may add the conclusion of Karl Baipakov and Valentina Goryacheva, which narrows down the location to Krasnaya Rechka (as mentioned above, roughly halfway between modern-day Bishkek and Tokmak). Baipakov and Goryacheva suggest that, apart from Krasnaya Rechka, there is no other archaeological site in the valley which fits Qudāma's description of Nawākath as "a large city" with a road leading to Upper Barskhān (*Baipakov & Goryacheva* 1983).[51] Also of interest are Klein's findings on the subject of Nawākath in his important study of "Nestorian" Christianity in what is now Kyrgyzstan. After discussing the textual evidence that is investigated in the present article, along with the diverse suggestions put forward by Dauvillier and the later ideas of Baipakov and Goryacheva, Klein addresses the one possible objection to identifying Nawākath with Krasnaya Rechka, the fact that the former is mentioned as having a metropolitan bishop in a text written in the early fourteenth century, but by all accounts, the site of the latter was abandoned in the twelfth century, with the collapse of the Qarakhanid state (*Klein* 2000: 138).

Regarding this objection, we may offer several counter-arguments. Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā's *Asfār al-Asrār* does not give us accurate information on when the first metropolitan of Kashghar was appointed or when the dual metropolitanate with Nawākath was established. For that matter, although the author was writing in 1332, we do not know what source materials he used and whether or not the information they contained was still current in his day; did Kashghar and Nawākath retain their former metropolitan status when he was writing or had that situation ceased to be the case by then? Furthermore, as Klein notes, no archaeological evidence has yet emerged that even

[49] As noted in an earlier footnote, Barthold also equates Dùnjiàn with Nuzkat, without giving his rationale for that equation. I am unable at this point to propose a satisfactory identification for Shuìjiàn, located in the Chinese itinerary between Kulan and Talas.

[50] Samarkand is included as one of the metropolitan bishops of the Church of the East in the aforementioned list by Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā that includes Nawākath (*Gismondi* 1896-1897: ١٢٦, ١٣٢/73, 74). A metropolitan of Turkistan is also mentioned, but we do not know the location. I have speculated elsewhere that "the Metropolitan of Turkistan (تركستان), found in ʿAmr's [to be corrected to Ṣalībā's] list… can be equated with the metropolitanate established by Timothy," a reference to the metropolitan of the Turks that Patriarch Timothy I appointed in the late eighth century (*Dickens* 2010: 123), but there is no hard data to prove this.

[51] See also the discussion in *Klein* 2000: 137-139 and the assertion in *Kolchenko* 2017: 23 that "a majority of modern researchers accept its [Krasnaya Rechka's] identification as Navikat."

a regular bishop of the Church of the East was ever resident in the Chu valley; the only bishop mentioned on the gravestones found there is an Armenian one (*Mapp* 1894). Assuming (as suggested above) that the actual metropolitan resided in Kashghar and that Nawākath was in some way subordinate to that city, we may wonder how aware the church hierarchy in Baghdad was of the situation on the ground when this dual metropolitanate was established, let alone when it ceased to function. As Klein suggests, if indeed Nawākath was on the site of Krasnaya Rechka, its decline in the twelfth century from its former status as "a large city" may not have been well-known in Baghdad (*Klein* 2000: 138-139).[52] Indeed, we can well imagine a situation where the actual state of affairs on the ground may not have reached the attention of those maintaining records in the Mesopotamian heartland of the Church of the East; perhaps Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā was using a twelfth century source which was written prior to the fall of Nawākath/Krasnaya Rechka (which would explain why he gives no more information on bishops of Kashghar after the patriarchate of Eliya, r. 1176-1190).[53]

No matter what its exact location (and indeed its ecclesiastical relationship with Kashghar), it seems fairly certain that Nawākath – situated "somewhere in the Chu valley" – retained a special status in the hierarchy of the Church of the East, at least for a period of time. It is not surprising that the Church would choose to establish a base of operations in the Chu Valley, located as it was on an important leg of the Silk Road network that was so vital to the movement of goods and ideas between east and west. It was an area where Muslims from the south (whether Arabs, Persians, converted Sogdians or others) mixed with Turks from the north, many of whom were not yet Islamized. It enabled the local Christians commemorated on the many gravestones found in the Chu valley[54] to maintain connections with other members of the Church of the East living in major centres along the trade routes, as well as with other Turks, those who shared their ethno-linguistic background, living on the steppes, in the mountains or in the various trading cities that dotted the landscape. Furthermore, locating a metropolitan (or suffragan) bishop in the Chu valley may have provided some form of continuity with the earlier metropolitan of the Turks, most likely located in Talas/Taraz, as I have argued elsewhere (*Dickens* 2010: 127-129).[55] It may not be possible to determine exactly where Nawākath was located, but the idea that it was situated where we now find modern-day Krasnaya Rechka should certainly not be ruled out and, given the archaeological evidence for the presence of Christianity in the area (on which, see the companion piece in this issue on Christian gravestones found in Krasnaya Rechka), it should perhaps be considered the best option for the time being.

[52] The possible structure of the church hierarchy is discussed in *Klein* 2000: 240-255.

[53] Having said this, it does seem odd that two centuries could have elapsed – from the time when the archaeological site at Krasnaya Rechka seems to have effectively stopped functioning as a settlement in the mid-twelfth century to the time when Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā wrote the *Asfār al-Asrār* in 1332 – without the church hierarchy having received news of this important change in one of its eastern-most ecclesiastical provinces. One is tempted to blame the disruptions brought on by the Mongol conquest in the early thirteenth century for this missing information, but by all accounts communication between the different parts of the Mongol Empire was extremely efficient once the conquests had come to an end (see *Atwood* 2004: 258-259). In the end, we will probably never know how it was that the name of Nawākath persisted in whatever (perhaps outdated) sources Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā later used.

[54] Again, see the companion piece in this issue on gravestones from Krasnaya Rechka.

[55] Although I note in that article that ʿAbdishoʿ bar Berikha and ʿAmr ibn Mattā [correct to Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā], writing in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, mention metropolitans of the Turks and Turkistan, respectively, my conclusion still stands that "it is unclear if the metropolitanate of the Turks/Turkistan mentioned by these two authors was a continuation of that established by Timothy [for the Qarluqs and likely located at Talas/Taraz] or a subsequent creation" (*Dickens* 2010: 133). If the metropolitanate of Nawākath was intended to continue on where the earlier metropolitanate of the Turks had left off, then that of Turkistan must be located elsewhere in the medieval Turkic world.

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DMITRY MILOSERDOV

ARMS DECORATION FEATURES IN KHANATES OF CENTRAL ASIA (BUKHARA, KHIVA, KOKAND) LATE 18th – EARLY 20th CENTURY

Abstract: *The article discusses various techniques and styles of decorating bladed arms of the khanates of Central Asia in the late 18th - early 20th centuries. Based on the ornamentation of arms, production and jewelry centers in the Emirate of Bukhara, the Kokand and Khiva khanates are distinguished.*

Key words: *Bukhara, Kokand, Khiva, niello, cloisonne, shagreen, zorgar, shamshir, shashka, pichak, kard, khanjar.*
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TODAY, among researchers studying oriental arms, there is an acute problem of identifying samples from Central Asia and, in particular, their correlation with specific centers of production. Very often, the common name of the region is indicated as the place of manufacture of one or another sample: Turkestan (*Schwarz* 1900: 394-395; *Moser* 1912: XII, Taf. XVIII, XIX; *Zeller* 1955: 340-350) or Central Asia (*Semenov* 1909: 153-155; *Anisimova* 2013: 260-266; *Obraztsov* 2019: 136-144).

Given the well-known fact that edged weapons were made (*Meendorf* 1826: 220; *Butenev* 1842: 164; *Krauze* 1872: 217; *Valikhanov* 1904: 38) and decorated (*Yefremov* 1811: 85; *Meendorf* 1826: 221) in khanates, in our opinion, we can try to localize the places of their production. But there are a number of difficulties. First of all, the problem lies in the fact that before joining Russia, the region was practically closed to both Russian and European scientists. Foreigners entered the territory of the khanates mainly with embassy missions (*Burnashev* 1818: *Muraviev* 1822; *Blankennagel* 1858; *Khanykov* 1843; *Volovnikov* 1986), as captives (*Russov* 1840), less often with merchant caravans (*Yefremov* 1811) or secretly, usually disguised as native people (*Burnes* 1834; *Conolly* 1838; *Wolff* 1845; *Demezon* 1983). Most of them were limited by them routes and places of stay. And everyone, without exception, was interested, first of all, in interstate agreements, the collection of intelligence data on the administrative structure, condition and armament of the armies, as well as the study of the terrain. Of course, other data was collected along the way. But, unfortunately, for modern researchers, the centers for the production of arms in the khanates and the features of its decoration were not within the scope of their interests. Ethnographers who tried to highlight this problem appeared in Central Asia towards the end of the 19th century. The first works related to the study of the production of arms in the khanates appeared in the 1870s (*Krauze* 1872: 213-217; *Brodovskiy* 1875: 48-49; *Schuyler* 1877: 177), and were further developed already at the beginning of the 20th century (*Schwarz* 1900: 394-395; *Semenov* 1909: 153-155; *Olufsen* 1911: 475-481). By this point, the region was practically demilitarized, the production of arms for the native people was prohibited (*Krauze* 1872: 217), and the vast majority of gunsmiths by the end of the 19th century had become ordinary manufacturers of household knives (*Semenov* 1909: 155). Battle arms, on the other hand, could only be seen in the people who were in power and in antiquarian rows in the markets of the khanates (*Olufsen* 1911: 477). Moreover, they aroused interest mainly among Europeans who visited the region (*Semenov* 1909: 155) and randomly acquired various exotic items, in their opinion, including armor and arms (*Zeller* 1955: 341-381). True, it is important to note that at the court of the Kokand Khan, expensive arms intended for the ceremonial exits of the Khan and his associates, as well as as gifts, were made until the 1870s (the

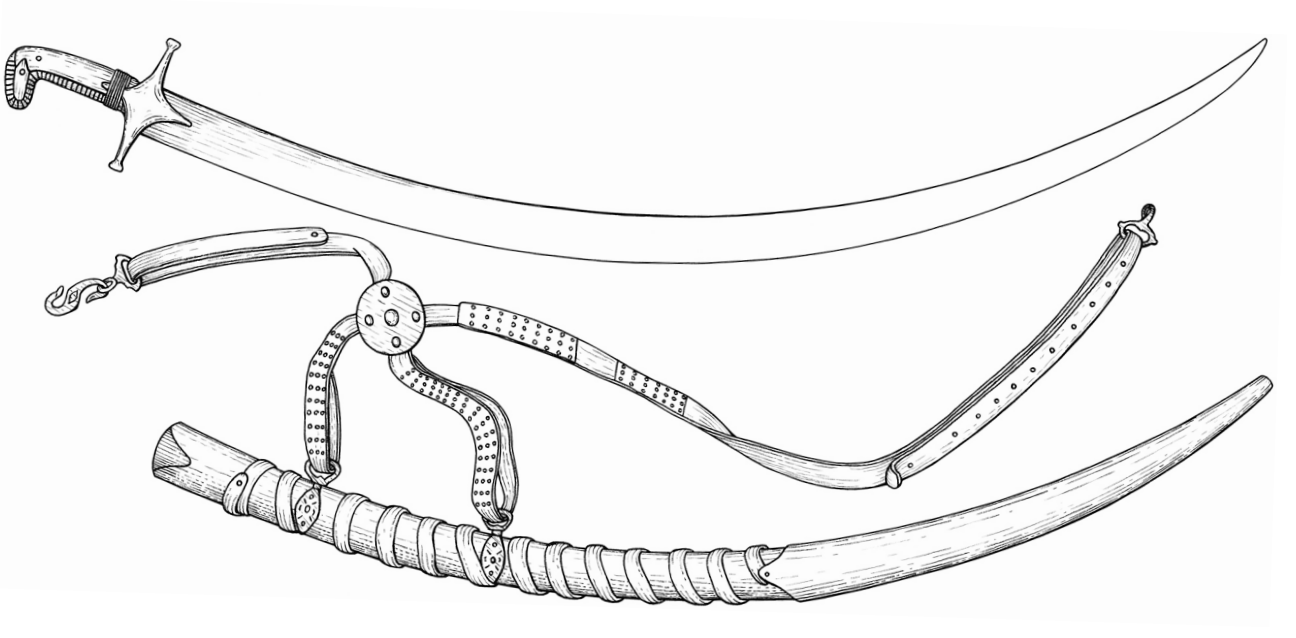

Fig. 1. Turkmen shamshir with a harness. 19th century. (Ills: A. Dementieva)

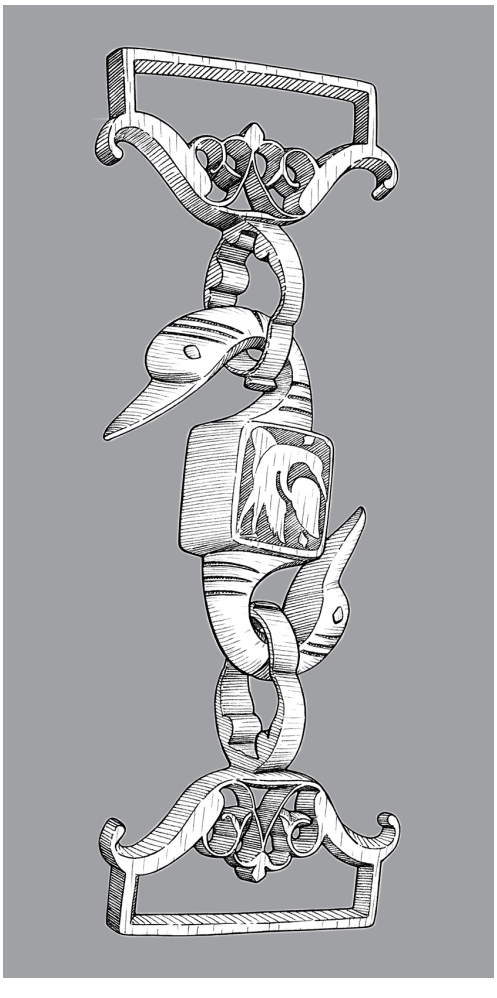

Fig. 2. Harness clasp. 19th century. (Ills: A. Dementieva)

moment the Kokand Khanate was abolished). At the courts of the Emir of Bukhara and the Khan of Khiva, expensive arms were made until the early 20th century (*Novoselov* 2017/2018: 84-85).

In connection with this topical issue today is the exact definition of the place of production of arms, which in the literature quite often without clarification is attributed to Turkestan (*Zeller* 1955: 341-381) or Central Asia (*Aleksinsky* 2010: 92, 96; *Anisimiva* 2013: 263-266; *Obraztsov* 2015: 160). Unfortunately, due to the similarity of their design in different khanates, in the vast majority of cases it is not possible to localize ordinary models of edged weapons made in Central Asia, except for sabers and daggers of representatives of the Turkmen tribes. Their curved shamshir-type sabers have well recognizable features (*Botiakov* 1989: 50, 51). The crossguard and the pommel of the handle are iron, of a classical form. Handle scales are bone or wooden, covered with leather. The scabbard with two iron suspension rings is covered with green (*Lyutov* 2006: 222) or brown (*Lyutov* 2006: 221) leather, sometimes with a fringe at the end. Their lower part is reinforced with a peculiar chape made of denser brown leather. From the mouth to the chape, the scabbard is wrapped with a narrow leather belt. The leather chape and scabbard straps, as well as the hilt, are often decorated with hemispherical iron rivets (*Lyutov* 2006: 221) (Fig. 1). Sometimes the scabbard was decorated with small silver elements with flat oval honey-colored carnelians. The leather belt is formed by two crossed straps connected by a silver plate with a distributor or weave (*Botiakov* 1989: 51). The belt fastened over the right shoulder with a classic clasp, common throughout the region and probably of Persian origin (Fig. 2). Turkmen knives are also very peculiar and different from all the others. These are either kards in silver cone-shaped scabbards with a typical décor (*Anisimova* 2013: 265-266), to which we will return, or straight-backed

Fig. 3. Shamshir, Hermitage, presented in 1868 by the Kokand Khan to the Russian Tsar Alexander II. Chromolithograph from the book *Tsarskoye Selo Arsenal, or Collection of Weapons Belonging to His Majesty Sovereign Emperor Alexander Nikolayevich.* 1869. Private collection. Russia. (Scanned copy)

Fig. 4. Walrus ivory grips. 19th century. Central Asia (Kokand?). Museum item KMZ KOK 6862/1. Kostroma Historical, Architectural, and Art Museum-Reserve. Russia. (Photo courtesy of the museum)

Fig. 5. Saber handle made of silver, decorated with niello and gilding techniques. 19th century. Central Asia (Kokand?). Museum item IOKM 63525. D. G. Burylina Ivanovo State Museum of History and Local Lore. Russia. (Photo: V. Melnikov)

knives, reminiscent of the pichaks that existed in the region, in leather scabbards decorated with fringe (*Botiakov* 1989: 54-57).

But the above example is an exception. Ordinary models of edged weapons that existed in the khanates of Central Asia are almost indistinguishable from each other and from similar samples that came to the region from Iran. The situation is different with richly decorated arms. The ethno-cultural traditions of making sabers adorned with precious metals and stones in Central Asia are reflected in various sources, in particular, in embassy orders, letters, petitions and archival funds of the Russian state of the 16th-17th centuries. So, for example, in two petitions of the Bukhara ambassador Muhammad Ali to the Russian Tsar Fyodor Ioannovich in November 1585, among the gifts and goods he brought from Central Asia, «wootz saber with gold, black scabbard; wootz knife with fish tooth (wahlrus) handle» are called (*Chuloshnikov* 1932: 98). In the same year, in an embassy letter from the Khiva ambassador Khoja-Muhammed to Tsar Fedor Ioannovich, among other gifts, they mentioned: «a wootz saber with gold, a wootz knife with a silver scabbard» (*Chuloshnikov* 1932: 99).

It is known that in the 19th century jewelers (*Meendorf* 1826: 221; *Dadamukhamedov* 2019: 139) «zargarchi» (*Geyer* 1908: 121; *Sukhareva* 1962: 185) were engaged in finishing such arms. At the same time, it is important to note that jewelry production in the khanates of Central Asia had a hereditary-family character, in which techniques and techniques of craftsmanship were passed down from generation to generation within the family, which kept technical secrets (*Geyer* 1908: 122). Jewelers competed with each

other. Each hid the secrets of his craft from others. Usually a jeweler in his declining years took his young relative as an apprentice (*Chvyr'* 1977: 70). Naturally, this led to the emergence of strong and in some ways even inert traditions in the jewelry industry (*Geyer* 1908: 122). Although, at the request of the customer or his own desire, the jeweler could choose any combination of details or ornaments in the manufacture of the product, all this variability was within the strictly regulated framework of the traditional set of elements. Extraneous, alien things took root very hard in an environment with an established artistic tradition. And since not only jewelers, but also their customers were «brought up» in the local artistic tradition, the master made mainly items decorated in such a way that they were considered beautiful and «their own» (*Chvyr'* 1977: 75), characteristic of a particular area. Comparing the decor, jewelry techniques and techniques used in the manufacture of traditional jewelry and in the finishing of elements of edged weapons, we can, by drawing parallels between them, roughly determine the regional centers for the production of richly decorated arms.

Unfortunately for researchers, most of the decorated arms from this region, made in the 19th century, as mentioned above, ended up in Russian and foreign museums from collectors who randomly acquired samples of it in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in Central Asia (*Moser* 1888: 80; *Olufsen* 1911: 476, 478; *Zeller* 1955: 344-346; *Anisimova* 2013: 268-270) or officers who brought samples of arms as trophies. In addition, undoubtedly, the exchange of valuable models of edged weapons took place between the ruling houses of the khanates. So, in the treasury of the emirs of Bukhara, there could be arms decorated in Kokand or Khiva, subsequently sent as gifts to Russia. An example of such a «double donation» is the shamshir kept in the Hermitage (St.Petersburg, Russia). It was sent among other gifts in 1868 by the Kokand Khan Said Muhammad Khudoyar Khan III to the Russian Emperor Alexander II. This saber is recorded in the album with color chromolithographs «Tsarskoye Selo Arsenal, or Collection of Arms Belonging to His Majesty Emperor Alexander Nikolayevich», published in 1869, where it is signed as Kokand (*Kemmerer* 1869: XXXI) (Fig. 3). However, now it is listed in the museum's collection as Khiva (*Obraztsov* 2015: 152-153). This is due to the fact that the scabbard of the saber, apparently, was made in Khiva. This can be seen by comparing their decoration with large precious and semi-precious stones without cutting and floral ornament on a metal sheet covering the wooden part of the scabbard with numerous examples of bladed weapons originating from the Khiva treasury (*Buryakov* 2013: 146, 147, 170; *Aleksinsky* 2010: 92, 94, 96-98).

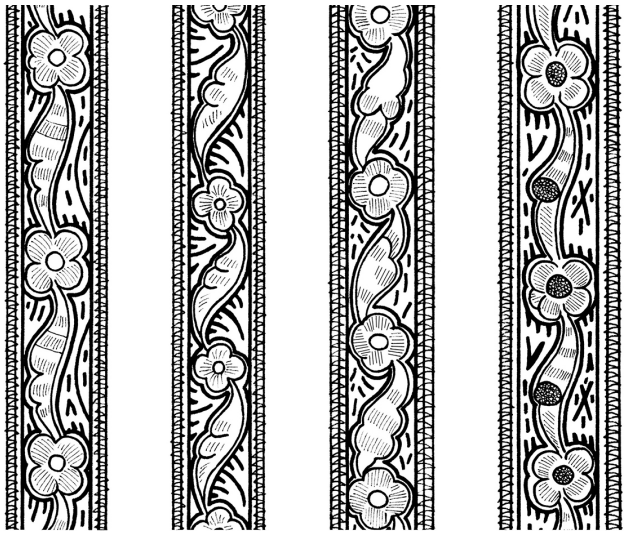

Fig. 6. Variations of a design using the niello technique on the back and underside of checker handles from Central Asia. 19th century. (Ills: A. Dementieva)

However, there are a number of samples of arms that belonged to representatives of the ruling houses of the khanates of Central Asia (*Novoselov* 2017/2018: 84-85) or presented by them as a gift to Russian emperors and private individuals, and are currently stored in the State Hermitage (St.Petersburg, Russia) (*Aleksinsky* 2010: 92, 96), Russian Ethnographic Museum (St.Petersburg, Russia) (*Lyutov* 2006: 205 , 206, 211) and Museum in Bern (Switzerland) (*Zeller* 1955: 107-109), the place of production of which is known quite accurately.

Referring to these gifts, to which the relevant official documents have been preserved, one can quite accurately associate the decor of their scabbards and hilts with the origin of these sabers from the workshops of certain khanates. It should be borne in mind that this regional division is rather arbitrary, since the number of arms that came from the khanates as gifts to Russian emperors, respectively documented in official papers, is limited. However, referring to its decor, one can outline general trends, linking the decorated arms with the centers of its production in Bukhara, Khiva and Kokand.

Precisely enough, today, it is possible to identify expensive models of arms made in Kokand. This can be done thanks to the gifts of the Kokand Khan, sent by him to St. Petersburg in 1868 on the occasion of a trade agreement with Russia: shashkas and elements of horse harness (*Kemmerer* 1869: XXXII; *Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 36, 39). Kokand shashkas are distinguished by an almost straight blade, reminiscent of an unusually narrow Afghan Khyber knife in shape. The handle scales could be made of white bone (walrus or ivory) (*Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 140)

Fig. 7. Pchak knife sheath, mouth and tip, decorated with turquoise using the takhnishon technique. 19th century. Central Asia (Kokand?). Private collection, Germany. (Owner's photo)

(Fig. 4), like the exhibits from the collection of the State Hermitage (St.Petersburg), received in 1868 as part of the gifts of the Kokand Khan Khudoyar, sent to St.Petersburg (*Aleksinsky* 2010: 94, 97) or from the exhibit from the Kremlin Armory (Moscow, Russia) (*Denisova* 1953: 153, Табл. XLI). There are also handles completely lined with turquoise (*Obraztsov* 2015: 154-155) and with scales made of rhinoceros horn (*Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 141). A sample of a shashka is also known, with a solid silver handle, decorated using the technique of niello and gilding, with a characteristic floral ornament (*Miloserdov* 2018: 52) (Fig. 5). At the end of the pommel of almost all such shashkas, a movable figured silver ring is fixed, to which a short lanyard made of silk threads is tied, with one, three or five tassels, usually red (*Miloserdov* 2018: 56; *Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 36). In front of the handles of Kokand shashkas with bone or horn scales (at the point of transition to the blade), there is a metal element. It separates the blade from the handle formed by the scales, and is called the «bolster». In Central Asia, according to informants from the region, this element is called «gulband» (*Botyakov* 1989: 54) by a part of the local population. It serves

to protect the front end of the handle and performs an aesthetic function. On the Kokand shashkas under consideration, the gulband is made of silver and decorated with a characteristic floral ornament made in the technique of niello and gilding. An ornament in the same technique adorns a strip of silver, which is called a «brinch», soldered to the gulband and encircling the handle along the back and belly, that is, covering the tang of the shashka located between the overlays. The decor on brinchs and gulbands of shashkas, which we attribute to Kokand and call «Kokandian», is always almost identical to stylized floral ornaments on silver bracelets from Khujand and Kokand, made using the «engraving-niello» technique with gilding elements. The niello ornament itself is always large, of a vegetative nature, more often with central-axial symmetry (*Chvyr'* 1977: 124) (Fig. 6). Between the gyulband and the handle there is almost always a silver «belt» with square cells, in which pieces of turquoise are fixed, polished flush, on the same level with the surface of the gyulband and the hilts or, more often, protruding above their surface. In the first case, the turquoise has a square shape corresponding to the cells, and in the second it is oval, slightly squared cabochons (*Obraztsov* 2015: 154-155; *Miloserdov* 2018: 51, 52, 56). On some samples of Kokand shashkas, this belt, probably at a later time, was replaced by a strip of silver, decorated using the technique of niello and gilding, in the same style as the gulband with brinch.

A curved «belt» with square cabochons of turquoise usually runs along the upper part of the mouth of the scabbard of such shashkas, stylistically corresponding to the belt on the handle (in some cases, turquoise alternated with transparent stones or red glass). The scabbard itself is most often richly decorated with turquoise, in a technique that the ethnographer Olga Alexandrovna Sukhareva calls *takhnishon*. According to her, this jewelry technique was developed by Bukhara masters (*Sukhareva* 1962: 48). But judging by the objects known to us, it received special development from the Kokand jewelers, who decorated arms for the needs of the khan. The tahnishon technique is called by European researchers «Bukhara cloisonné» (*Flindt* 1979: 25). Translated from French, the word «cloisonné» means cloisonné enamel. This term reveals the technique of execution: cells are made from copper (gold, silver) wire, which are soldered onto the metal surface of the object. The cells, in turn, are filled with enamel chips and then the item is fired. And so on until the cells are 100% filled. After a series of enamel chips and firing, the object is polished in order to give the product a noble shine and brightness. The peculiarity of the Bukhara cloisonne (takhnishon) is that small pieces of turquoise are used instead of enamel. As a result, the surface of the product was covered, as it were, with scales of silver and turquoise, resembling the aforementioned cloisonne enamel, in which polished turquoise occupied the place of enamel. Such things were made as follows: cells of silver wire were soldered onto the surface of the product. In the cells, with the help of mastic, pieces of turquoise were strengthened (*Sukhareva* 1962: 48), located close to each other, to which the jeweler previously gave a certain shape, for example, a triangle, square or flake shape (*Flindt* 1979: 25). Then the product was given to a polisher, named in the work of Sukhareva – a cutter (khakkok), who polished it on a special grinding machine (charkhi saigtaroshi). The grinding machine had two interchangeable wheels: first they ground (metaroshidan) on a sandstone grindstone (charkhi regi), then the product was finished (pardoz medodan) on a walnut wheel. The turquoise and the wire forming the cells were ground off, forming a flat, smooth surface (*Sukhareva* 1962: 48). If some pieces of turquoise fell out during grinding, they could be replaced with mastic that matched the color.

The scabbard could be either completely covered with turquoise using the takhnishon technique (*Miloserdov* 2018: 56) (Fig. 7), or not completely decorated with this ornamental stone. In the second case, the wooden parts of the scabbard, free of turquoise, were covered with red or crimson velvet (*Obraztsov* 2015: 154-155; *Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 139, 141), and on top of them were fixed the mouth and chape, decorated using the tachnishon technique, between which there was a strip of alternating diamond-shaped elements or crescent-shaped elements, decorated in the same style with turquoise (*Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 139-141). Samples of shashkas are also known, on the scabbard of which elements of continuous turquoise decoration alternated with silver gilded slotted plates, with floral ornaments lined with velvet, for example, purple (although it is possible that before the fabric faded, it had a crimson color), so that it seemed that the turquoise scabbard seemed to be «wrapped» with a silver ribbon (*Anisimova* 2013: 260-261). In rare cases, the sheath of Kokand shashkas was completely covered with precious metal, combined with turquoise elements made using the takhnishon technique. Such samples include a shashka (inv. V.O. 3514) from the exposition of the State Hermitage (Russia, St.Petersburg), which the Emir of Bukhara presented as a gift to Alexander III. Its scabbard is covered with smooth gold leaf embossed with repeating designs in the form of large rosette frames connected by small stylized six-petalled flowers. At the same time, the large mouth and chape of the scabbard with a characteristic teardrop-shaped completion are decorated with turquoise using the takhnishon technique, in exactly the same way as on

Fig. 8. Pchak made in Kokand. 19th century. Fragment signed by the master craftsman. Private collection, Germany. (Owner's photo)
Caption: عمل استا بلال خوقندی ۱۲۷۹
"The work of master Bilal of Kokand, 1279 (Hijri)" (1862–1863 CE)

other Kokand shashkars. Considering that the shashka itself was made completely in the traditions of the Kokand craftsmen described above, it can be assumed that this item came to Bukhara as a gift to the emir from the Khan of Kokand. We will return to the issue of similar models of arms, which, in our opinion, were objects of donation between representatives of the ruling houses of the Emirate of Bukhara and the Kokand and Khiva khanates, a little later.

As in the whole region in Kokand there were sabers – shamshirs (*Kun* 1872: 9) and knives. In our opinion, the scabbards of the shamshirs, entirely decorated with turquoise using the takhnishon technique, testify to their Kokadian origin. At the same time, the hilts of such sabers could either fully (*Anisimova* 2013: 255-256) or partially (*Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 137-138) match the scabbard in terms of decoration technique, or be completely simple, with bone scales (*Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 137-138), like the ordinary samples of these arms in the region under study. The iron crossguard and suspension rings may be plain and undecorated (*Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 137-138), or may be decorated with gilding (*Anisimova* 2013: 255-256), carvings, or incisions. Samples of shamshirs are also known, the suspension rings and the pommel of the handle, and sometimes the entire handle of which are decorated using the takhnishon technique (*Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 137-138). Based on the decoration with turquoise of the entire (or most) surface of the scabbards of knives and sabers using the same technique, we also attribute them to Kokand, as well as velvet belts, the patch plates of which are decorated exclusively using the takhnishon technique (*Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 144-145). A distinctive feature of expensive traditional knives (pichaks) made on the territory of the Kokand Khanate is an elegant handle made of solid walrus or ivory (in more rare cases, rhinoceros horn), which is separated by a silver belt with square castes, in which turquoise is fixed, from a long silver bolster decorated using the technique of blackening and gilding, as well as an elegant blade with a straight back (*Obraztsov*, *Maloziomova* 2019: 144) (Fig. 9). Blades are often forged from wootz steel, both imported and, apparently, locally produced. In addition to the general visual similarity with the Kokand shashkas and the use of the same technological methods when decorating the above-mentioned shashkas and knives, which we attribute to Kokand, there are samples of those with the signature of the master, testifying in favor of our version (Fig. 8). Probably,

Fig. 9. Pchak made in Kokand. 19th century. Private collection, Germany. (Owner's photo)

Fig. 10. Bukhara handle. 19th century. Central Asia (Bukhara). Private collection, Australia. (Photo Gavin Nuget)

these knives were very popular in the region, including after the abolition of the Kokand Khanate in the 1870s. It is difficult to say whether such knives were made only in Kokand and its environs, or if Bukhara craftsmen also reproduced this shape and design of knives. In any case, judging by the acquisition of such knives by Henry Moser during his travels, they were sold in bazaars on the territory of the Emirate of Bukhara (*Moser* 1888: 142; *Moser* 1912: p. XII).

As well as the clearly identifiable Kokand shashkas, the samples of this arms, which were made in Bukhara, are quite well recognizable. The blades of Bukhara shashkas are usually wider and heavier, and can also be significantly curved (*Pink* 2017: 32-33; *Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 139-140). The handles are more massive than those of Kokand, with an extension in front of the blade and a pronounced «beak-shaped» pommel. Most often, the handle is formed by two horn (*Miloserdov* 2018: 40-41) or wooden (*Hales* 2013: 233; *Anisimova* 2013: 263-264) scales, which are usually riveted to the shank with three to five steel

Fig. 11. Bukhara shashka with scabbard. 19th century. Central Asia (Bukhara). Private collection, Australia. (Photo: Gavin Nuget)

Fig. 12. A Bukhara shashka with jade handle. Chromolithograph from the Moser collection. *Oriental Arms and Armour*. Leipzig: Karl W. Hierseman, 1912, p. xii, Table xix, No. 502. Private collection, UK. (Scanned copy)

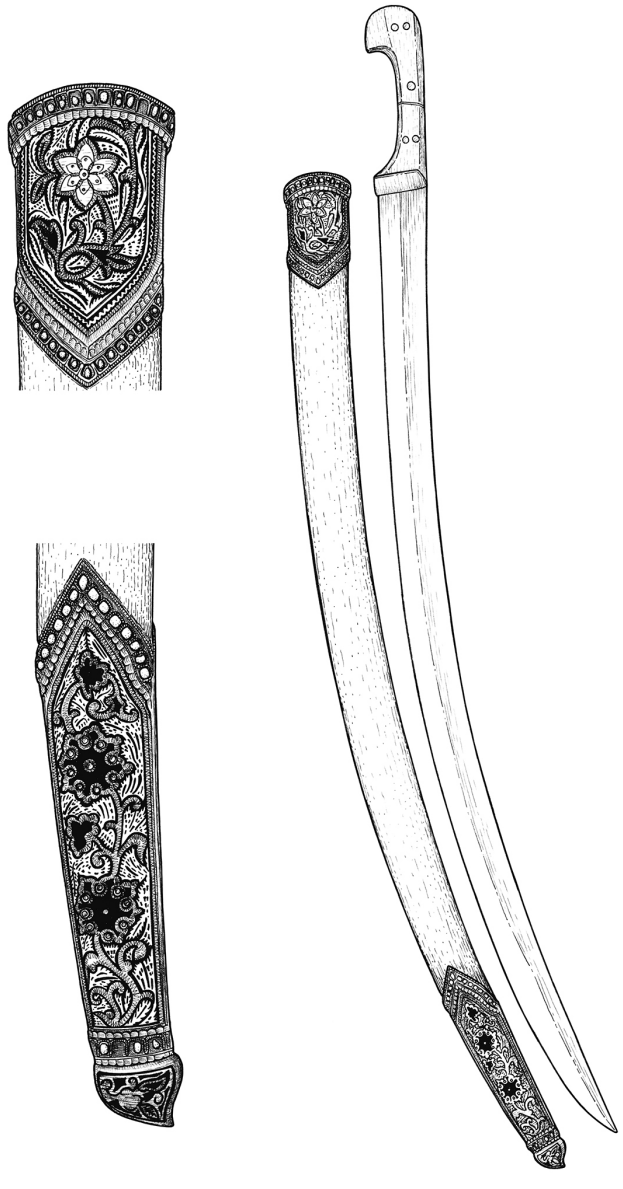

Fig. 13. Decor of the Bukhara shashka brought from the ethnographic expedition of Ole Olufsen to Bukhara at the end of the 19th century. (Ills: A. Dementieva)

rivets (*Flindt* 1979: 24) (Fig. 10). In the case of using horn or wood as a material for overlays, the rivets are large, which can be considered a characteristic feature of the Bukhara shashka (*Flindt* 1979: 25). A massive handle with large rivets helps to accurately identify even undecorated shashkas made by the masters of Bukhara (*Miloserdo*v 2018: 50-54). The scales handle on the side of the blade often covers strips made of iron or sheet silver, decorated with primitive engraving or niello floral ornaments (*Pink* 2017: 32-33). The handle of the traditional Bukhara knife «pichak» looks the same (*Olufsen* 1911: 477-478; *Zeller* 1955: 349-350; *Flindt* 1979: 24; *Lyutov* 2006: 200; *Anisimova* 2013: 268, 270). In some cases, the material for the handle can be bone, silver, jade, agate or jasper (*Hansens* 1989: 76). Analyzing the Central Asian shashkas acquired by Henry Moser during his travels in Russian Turkestan, it can be assumed that checkers were also made in Bukhara, the handles of which were made of an array of stone, for example, jade (*Moser* 1912: XII; *Zeller* 1955: 346) (Fig. 12). In this case, the main part of the stone handle is separated from the blade by a small, as if flattened silver gulband with a simple engraved or niello ornament. Between the gulband and the main part of the handles of such shashkas, as on the Kokand samples of this arms, there is a silver «belt» with square cells, in which pieces of turquoise are fixed in the form of slightly squared cabochons (*Moser* 1912: XII). Despite some visual similarity between the assembly of such handles and Kokand samples, we, as mentioned above, tend to attribute these shashkas to Bukhara. Such a conclusion can be drawn on the basis of the shape and width of the blades, the absence in the technique of decorating the silver gulband of such a technique typical for craftsmen from Kokand as gilding, as well as a completely non-Kokand style of scabbard decoration, in which there is no turquoise. The scabbards of shashkas from the Moser collection are covered with red and green velvet, on top of which there is a silver mouth and chape, decorated with floral ornaments using the chasing technique.

In general, the sheath of Bukhara shashkas, depending on the design of the arms itself, could be either as laconic as possible and even rude, or pompous, decorated with precious metals and precious stones. Undecorated samples of shashkas, which we attribute to the Emirate of Bukhara, with handles made of horn or wood, were completed with wooden scabbards covered with brown or black coarse leather (*Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 36, 39). In place of the mouth of such sheaths, there is often a fixed «thickening» made of leather, most likely preventing the sheath from slipping out from behind the belt (*Miloserdov* 2018: 54-55) (Fig. 11). In some cases, the wooden parts of the scabbards were completely covered with chased silver leaf. The mouth and the tip on such scabbards were conditionally distinguished by narrow turquoise belts (*Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 139-140). For more modestly decorated shashkas, the wooden parts of the scabbard were covered with velvet or high quality leather. In the second case, the scabbard has metal parts, most often made of silver: a chape and a mouth (in rare cases, there is also one suspension ring). The specimens known to us with scabbards covered with velvet are equipped with silver details decorated using the chasing technique (*Zeller* 1955: 346). The scabbards of Bukhara shashkas, covered with shagreen, could be even with massive details made of smooth silver (*Flindt* 1979: 22),

Fig. 14. Bukhara shamshir with its décor. 19th century. Central Asia (Bukhara). Private collection, Russia. (Photo: A. Varfolomeev)

or the leather could be decorated with embossing, and the silver details could be decorated using niello and turquoise. I would like to dwell on the last option in more detail. An example of such work is a shashka acquired by the Danish ethnographer Olufsen in Bukhara at the end of the 19th century (*Hansens* 1989: 76). Wooden scabbard, covered with black pebbled leather with embossed front side. The small graceful mouth and chape, made of silver, are distinguished by turquoise belts, fixed in square, triangular and diamond-shaped deaf castes (gemstone setting) (*Marchenkov* 1984: 106) soldered to the details of the scabbard. A cartouche is depicted on the mouth using the niello technique, in which a climbing shoot of a plant is located, the stem and leaves of which are additionally highlighted with engraving strokes. The shoot is crowned with a six-petalled flower made of thin applied gold, with oval petals pointed at the ends. The edges of the petals are engraved in the same style as the borders of the shoot, and the center of the flower and the base of the petals are marked with indentation points, presumably made with a tool similar to the kern. The space inside the cartouche, around the shoot crowned with a flower, is filled with stylized shoots and leaves made in the same niello technique. The chape of the scabbard is decorated in the same style as the mouth. But since it is much longer, the composition of the shoot is somewhat changed, it is elongated and, according to the jeweler's plan, it should have had two flowers made of gold, similar to the one located at the mouth. Unfortunately, in the process of existence, the gold from the chape was lost. But, the contour of six-petal flowers made in black and the pits located respectively along their center and the bases of the petals, which, along with soldering, held gold (Fig. 13), have been preserved.

By analogy with the ornamentation of the shashka discussed above, we include the sheath of shamshir, made in a similar style, to the work of Bukhara jewelers. True, unlike the previous item, the scabbard of the saber in question is completely covered with fairly thick silver. On the front side of the scabbard, the mouth and chape are marked belts with turquoise inserted into square castes. In a thin double

frame made in niello, the space between the borders of which is filled in the same technique with a zigzag line, there is a six-petalled flower with oval petals, slightly pointed at the ends, as in a flower on a shashka, with narrow leaves located on the sides of it, a pair of which is turned up, and a couple down. The edges of the petals, flower stamens and leaf veins are underlined by engraving. But unlike the previous item, the flower and leaves connected to it are made using the technique of gilding, and not applied gold. The space inside the frame around the flower is filled with niello lines of a primitive ornament. The herbal composition located on the chape of the scabbard is balanced with the composition of the mouth. A double niello frame encloses a winding shoot with leaves, made using the gilding technique, on which three six-petal flowers are located at an equal distance from each other, slightly decreasing from top to bottom. In the lower part of the chape, the shoot is crowned with a bud turned sideways so that the center of the flower is partially visible. The leaf veins and flower petals, as on the mouth, are engraved. The space inside the frame, surrounding the gilded shoot, is filled with a dense floral ornament depicting leaves. The scabbard between the chape and the mouth consists of three silver elements of approximately the same size, bounded by double frames of niello, inside of which the same plant composition is depicted in the center, made in the same technique: a winding stem with leaves, on which at the same distance from each other the other has three six-petalled flowers. The flowers are depicted schematically - only their outline is outlined. The space around the shoot is filled with niello floral ornament, made in the same style as the shoot itself. Elements of floral ornament similar to the ornament on the scabbard, made in the same technique of niello and gilding, decorate the silver details of the saber suspension (Fig. 14). The inside of the scabbard is decorated with embossing in the form of scales, the borders of which are outlined in black. In our opinion, it is important to note that niello is not often found on Bukhara products. This technique, as mentioned above, was usually used in the manufacture of expensive silverware by Kokand craftsmen (*Sergeev* 1960: 10). The typical use of silver to decorate arms is mentioned by the Russian Orientalist Pyotr Ivanovich Pashino, who wrote that «of the noble metals in products, silver is most often found, which goes into service: plaques on the belt, harness and scabbard» (*Pashino* 1868: 147).

Unfortunately, most of the shamshirs that existed in the Bukhara Emirate are practically indistinguishable from Persian samples (*Flindt* 1979: 23; *Anisimova* 2013: 250). This was noted by many travelers visiting the region (*Meendorf* 1826: 272; *Moser* 1888: 80; *Olufsen* 1911: 476). However, there are exclusive samples of these sabers, which can be tried to identify the Bukhara work. So in a special storehouse of the Russian Ethnographic Museum (St.Petersburg, Russia), among the gifts of the emirs of Bukhara presented to the Russian Imperial family, there is a shamshir (REM 4467-3 a, b), the scabbard of which is covered with a gold leaf with a small chased floral pattern (*Lyutov* 2006: 205). Its mouth, chape and suspension rings are marked with single belts of turquoise cabochons. We assume that it is the objects made in this technique that can be attributed to the Bukhara work. First of all, such a conclusion can be drawn because the master used gold, although, as we mentioned above, in Central Asia, silver was mainly used as a material for jewelry (*Velyaminov-Zernov* 1856: 123; *Geyer* 1908: 121, 123, 126; *Chvyr'* 1972: 40; *Yershov* 1975: 96; *Ishbuldina* 2013: 238). This was due to the fact that, according to Sharia, men were forbidden to wear gold items (*Abdullaev* 1986: 159; *al-Bukhari* 1997: Vol. 1: 371, Vol. 4: 1962; *al-Askalyani* 2000: Vol. 4: 145; Vol. 14: 21). Nevertheless, the nobility in Bukhara neglected this prohibition or tried to circumvent it. Products were made not only from silver, but also from an alloy in which gold and silver were mixed (*Abdullaev* 1986: 159; *Lyushkevich* 1989: 73.). The result was a very malleable pale yellow metal, which was called «milk gold» – «tillaye dzhurgoti» (*Sukhareva* 1962: 43). Also, items made of silver were completely gilded, so that they visually looked like gold, although they formally met religious requirements (*Abdullaev* 1986: 159). Gilding with mercury – «khali simobi» was well known to Bukhara masters. Gold, together with mercury, was melted in a crucible over low heat. The alloy was poured into cold water, poured either into a cup (if you worked with a small amount of metal) or into an earthen tub. After draining the water, a gray substance was obtained, like liquid clay. Having smeared with it the object intended for gilding, they heated it. Mercury evaporated, and the object turned out to be covered with a thin, but very durable layer of gilding (*Sukhareva* 1962: 47). However, the jewelry business of Bukhara was distinguished by the fact that pure gold was also used here on a relatively large scale (*Olufsen* 1911: 530; *Sukhareva* 1962: 43). By the way, it should be noted that in Bukhara, in addition to jewelers who carried out private orders, about twenty craftsmen with their students worked in the palace workshop, making various gold and silver items exclusively for the emir's court (*Sukhareva* 1966: 196), such as arms parts, dishes, elegant harness and other riding accessories (*Sukhareva* 1962: 41). In Bukhara, unlike masters of other branches of craft, court jewelers occupied a privileged position, received titles and ranks (*Dadamuhamedov* 2019: 141). According to old jewelers interviewed by ethnographers in the middle of the 20th century, the use of gold has espe-

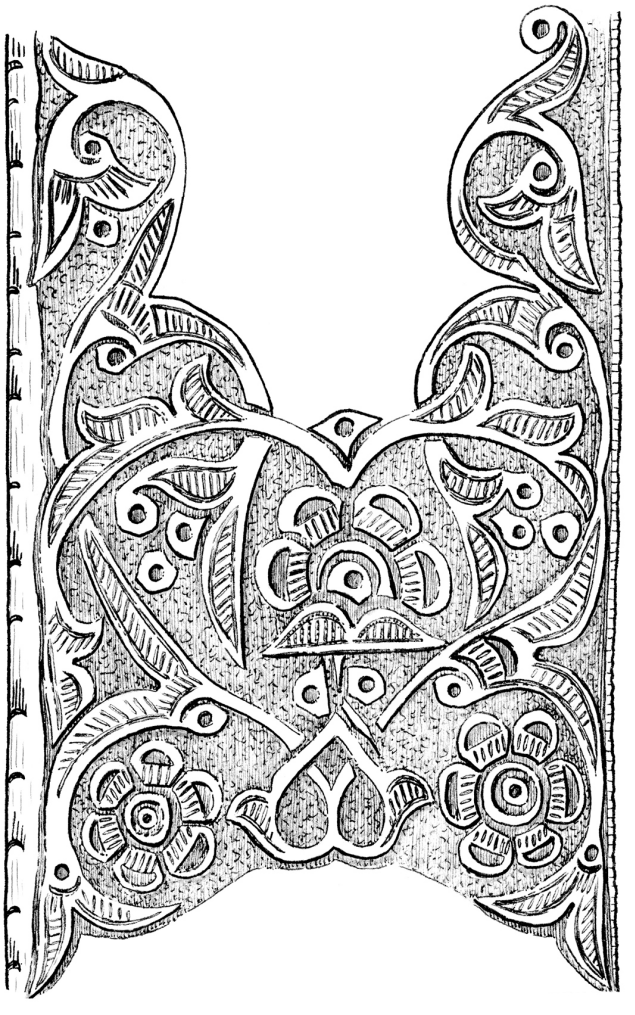

Fig. 15. Classical Bukharan design made with the chasing technique on the scabbard's metal elements. (Ills: A. Dementieva)

cially spread since the end of the 19th century under Emir Seyid Abdulahad Khan, when pomp and extravagance came into fashion. During this period, gold even began to be specially imported in large quantities from Russia. Bukhara also received a certain amount of gold from Gissar, where there were its deposits. These metals were especially valued in their pure form. Noble low-grade metals were not used at all in Bukhara in the 19th century, since they are poorly forged and do not correspond to the cold forging technique developed in Central Asia (*Sukhareva* 1962: 43; *Lyushkevich* 1989: 73).

Cold forging lends itself to precious metals (gold, silver), as well as copper. Therefore, this technique is rarely used, mainly in jewelry production. The technological process of cold forging consists in the plastic processing of metal without its preliminary heating. Chasing was the next stage in the processing of the product, as can be seen from the scabbard of the shamshir in question. The ornament on jewelry was applied with a pencil directly by hand. The pattern was minted using a set of tools for chasing «kalam», consisting of iron or bronze chisels with a working part of various shapes. Some chisels had a convex pattern at the end. The master, incuse a pattern, changed the chisels, selecting them in accordance with the intended ornament and building a pattern from the elements that he had at his disposal. Deciding the construction of the ornament, the master always counted on his own set of chisels, and, if necessary, made a new chisel of the desired profile. Thanks to this technique, a complex and thin chased ornament was made quickly and easily. They worked by lightly striking with a hammer on the opposite end of the chisel from the worker, so that the pattern was easily imprinted on soft metal (*Sukhareva* 1962: 42, 45). Researchers note that Bukhara master chasers worked by creating an ornament on metal from memory. Therefore, it is impossible to meet a literal repetition of the same pattern. There is always at least a slight change in composition (*Sergeev* 1960: 10). In addition, the zorgarchi also had a set of stamps «kolib» (*Sukhareva* 1962, 42) and copper boards «shingila komob» with ornaments carved on them by the jeweler himself, which were also used to quickly obtain an «embossed» ornament. A silver or gold plate was superimposed on a board with an ornament, which was closed on top with a thicker lead plate. The master struck the lead plate with a hammer. Under this influence, both plates, both lead and precious metal, were bent, so that a pattern was squeezed out on the latter (*Geyer* 1908: 127).

In the case of the considered shamshir from the treasury of the Emir of Bukhara, it is difficult to determine what kind of technique was used by the master: chasing or stamping, for applying a small stylized floral ornament to the metal of the scabbard. On the one hand, when stamping, the jeweler worked with very thin sheets of gold or silver (*Chvur'* 1977: 17), which would have been damaged by during use sabre. On the other hand, we have, of course, arms for the parade, which were practically not used by the owner. Returning to the ornament, it should be noted that it is formed by six petal rosettes and four and three petal rosettes arranged in a «profile». All flowers are combined and edged with convex curved stems with leaves (Fig. 15). The ornament is complemented by stripes on rosette petals and leaves, presumably applied with a chisel. The mouth, suspension rings and the chape of the scabbard are edged with strips of false granulation and highlighted with turquoise cabochon belts fixed in teardrop-shaped deaf castes (*Marchenkov* 1984: 106) soldered to the scabbard (Fig. 16) from narrow gold strips. An exception is the tip of the scabbard tip, which is highlighted by a strip of «S-shaped» castes. This is a traditional for Central Asia method

Fig. 16. Turquoise attachment on scabbard mouth from a Bukhara shamshir. 19th century. Central Asia (Bukhara). Museum item IOKM 9915. D. G. Burylin Ivanovo State Museum of Local History. Russia. (Photo: V. Melnikov)

of mounting small cabochons made of colored glass and stones, when they are inserted into a caste made of wire or narrow metal strips soldered to the base, and attached by bending the thin edges of the ring or crimping the wire (*Geyer* 1908: 127). In our case, the castes do not tightly clamp the turquoise cabochons, so it is logical to assume that they were additionally fixed with special mastic. This method of fixing turquoise in the products of Bukhara jewelers is mentioned by the ethnographer, a specialist in Central Asia Olga Alexandrovna Sukhareva (*Sukhareva* 1962: 48). It is important to note that the teardrop-shaped setting of stones is often found on women's jewelry made in Bukhara in the second half of the 19th century (*Sychiova* 1984: 30-33, 46-47; *Abdullaev* 1986: 228). In our opinion, this is another evidence that the scabbard was made by Bukhara master jewelers.

The details of the shamshir scabbard (REM 5183-1 a, b), also related to the gifts of the emirs of Bukhara, are made in a similar style (*Lyutov* 2006: 206). The

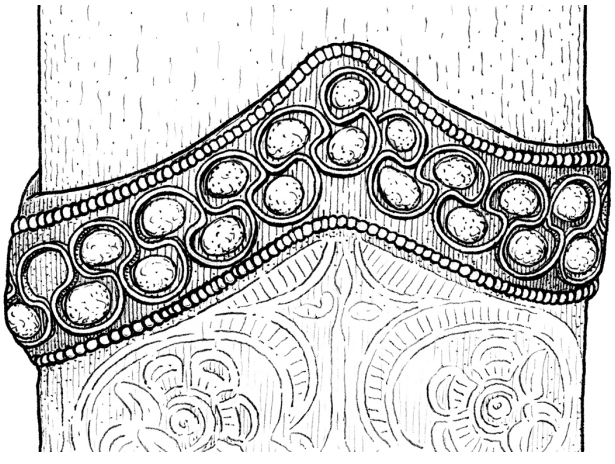

Fig. 17. Mounted turquoise on Bukhara shamshir scabbard tip. 19th century (Ills: A. Dementieva)

scabbard of this less expensive saber is sheathed in purple-red velvet. Four parts made of gilded silver are decorated with a chased pattern, which uses elements of floral ornament, discussed above in the previous shamshir. Similarly, small cabochons of turquoise are used to decorate the metal parts of the scabbard. But if the turquoise highlighting the cut of the scabbard under the crossguard of the saber is fixed in teardrop-shaped castes, then the stones framing the steel suspension rings and the gilded chape of the scabbard are stacked in S-shaped castes, which form double «lines» of cabochons arranged in a checkerboard pattern (Fig. 17). Absolutely identical in the decor of the metal elements of the scabbard and the materials used, up to purple-red velvet, shamshir was presented to Henry Moser by the Emir of Bukhara in 1883 (*Zeller* 1955: 113-114), which additionally confirms the attribution of these sabers to Bukhara. Considering that at that time all the craftsmen had their own unique style and their own jewelry techniques (*Geyer* 1908: 122; *Chvyr'* 1977: 75), it can be assumed that a certain zorgar from the emir's court jewelers made such scabbards specifically for sabers, which should have become to be expensive gifts. This version is confirmed by the fact that another absolutely identical shamshir, down to the details of the suspension, is kept in the State Hermitage Museum, and another one, which is also the «twin brother» of the previous ones, is in the Armory of the Royal Palace in Stockholm (Fig. 18). It is a well-known fact that expensive sabers of this type were presented by the Emir of Bukhara as a gift in a variety of situations. For example, the battle painter, participant in the Central Asian campaigns Nikolai Nikolaevich Karazin wrote the following:

«The Bukhara saber is a luxurious and expensive arms. A beautifully curved hilt, carved from ivory, is decorated at the end with a silver openwork fitting

Fig. 18. Bukhara shamshir. 19th century. Central Asia (Bukhara). Museum item 35634 from the Livrustkammaren (The Royal Armory) collection, Stockholm. Sweden. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Sabre_images_from_Livrustkammaren#/media/File:Sabel_-_Livrustkammaren_-_35634.tif

and a long white brush; the velvet scabbard is bound with gold and silver, trimmed with a chased pattern, turquoise and even expensive stones. The value of these sabers often reaches very large figures, and, of course, makes them the property of a very few chosen ones. A similar saber was sent by the Emir of Bukhara to General Abramov, after he took the city of Karshi, occupied by insurgents» (*Karazin* 1874: 234).

Judging by the samples from museum collections known to us, we can conclude that the scabbards of such shamshirs, intended as personal gifts from the emir, were covered with velvet, both in different shades of red, and green, crimson and purple (*Abdullaev* 1986: 134-135).

Exclusively in Bukhara, and apparently in a narrow time period of the late 19th – early 20th century, jewelers also decorated weapons using the enamel technique (Fig. 18 a). If the thing was decorated with enamel, then the background between the patterns and the places that were intended for enamel were selected using a special small cutter in the form of a spoon with a rounded end, which made the background with a ripple, giving shine to the metal, which was mandatory when applying transparent enamels. This technique was called «gursum», «gursum set». Enamels were brought from China in the form of round tiles, crushed into powder, moistened with water and smeared raw into the recesses of the pat-

Fig. 18a. Buhkara shamshir scabbard tip, decorated by enameling. 19th century. Central Asia (Bukhara). Museum item IOKM 63358. D. G. Burylina Ivanovo State Museum of Local History. (Photo: V. Melnikov)

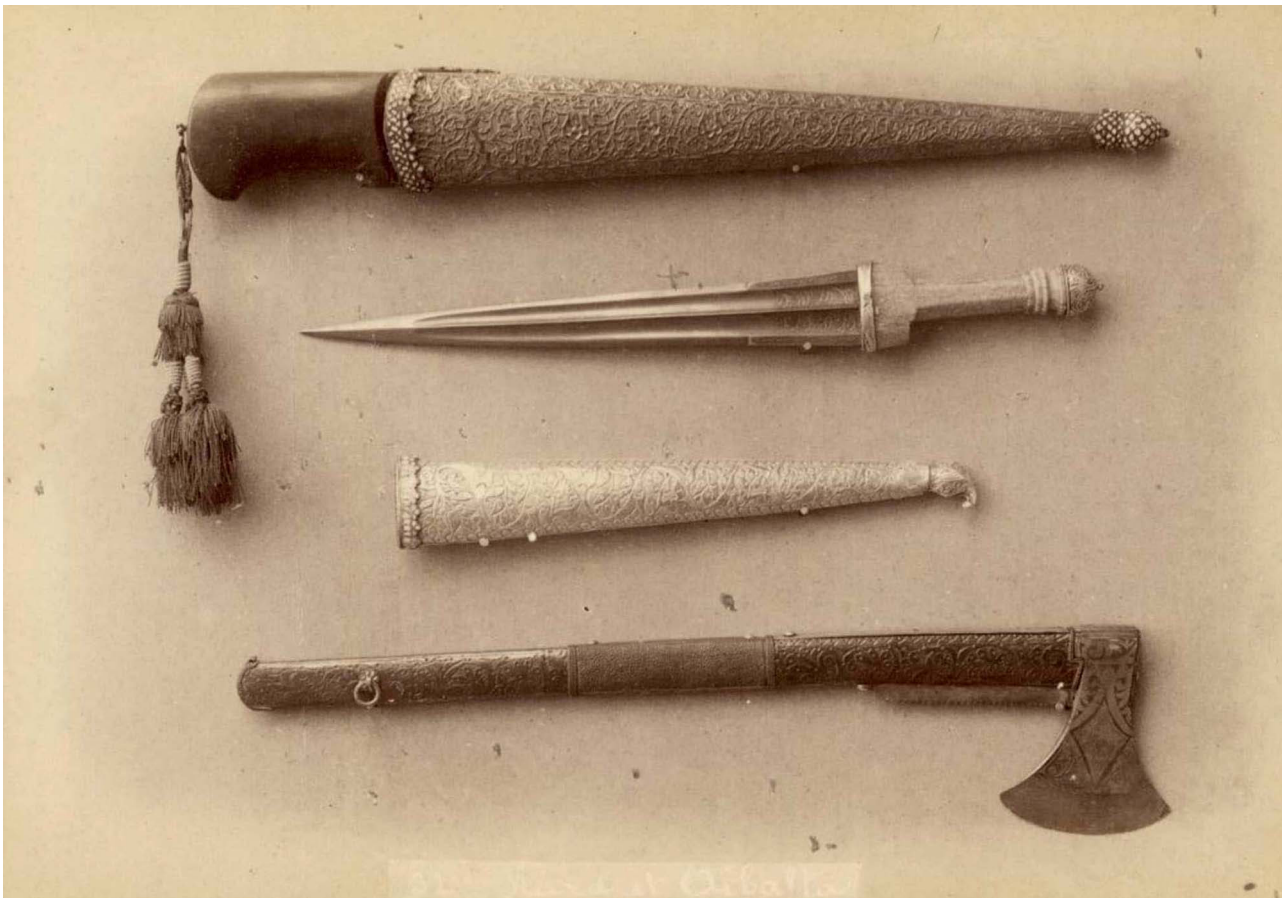

Fig. 19. Photograph of the karud dagger given by the Emir of Bukhara to Henry Moser from his book *Durch Central-Asien; die Kirgisensteppe, Russisch-Turkestan, Bochara, Chiwa, das Turkmenenland und Persien*, Leipzig, 1888. Private collection, Russia. (Scanned copy)

tern. When the product was fired in a furnace, the enamel melted and filled the recess. After that, on the hardened enamel, with the help of a «suwon» file, all the bumps and smudges were leveled; the product was polished with sand (regshui mekardan) and again placed briefly in the furnace. The enamel melted again, and its surface became smooth, shiny and transparent (*Sukhareva* 1962: 45). Almost all samples of precious weapons decorated with enamel known to us are made in a single exclusive style (*Korneev* 1978: 21, 113), undoubtedly, by the emir's court jewelers (*Novoselov* 2017/2018: 89).

Speaking of knives and daggers, let's consider the options for finishing, which was used by Bukhara craftsmen when decorating knives and daggers. According to Sukhareva, it was the Bukhara craftsmen who developed the technique already familiar to us, used by Kokand jewelers, called «takhnishon». However, judging by the samples known to us, it can be argued that the jewelers from Bukhara, who decorated these samples of weapons, although they used turquoise, did not completely cover the scabbard with it. Usually a narrow silver belt made of several strips of turquoise in the tachnishon technique, located along the edge of the mouth of the scabbard, was stylistically balanced with a short chape topped with a reverse drop-shaped button, made in the same technique and from the same materials. Karud with a scabbard decorated in this technique was presented to Henry Moser by the Emir of Bukhara (*Moser* 1888: 149; *Moser* 1912: XII) (Fig. 19). The scabbard was covered with black or green leather (*Zeller* 1955: 359), less often with expensive fabric (*Zeller* 1955: 387-388), and in some cases it was completely covered with a silver sheet with a chased floral ornament (*Moser* 1888: 149). The mouth and chape of the sheath of knives could be made of chased or blackened silver, on which a floral ornament was reproduced in these techniques, sometimes in combination with turquoise belts (*Moser* 1912: XII). Judging by the studies of the Danish ethnographer Ole Olufsen and Torben Flindt, who worked with his collection, the traditional knives - pichaks, which were made in Bukhara, were distinguished by a curved blade with a «raised» point (*Olufsen* 1911: 475, 521; *Flindt* 1979: 24). The handle of such knives was more often formed by scales of horn or bone

(*Pashino* 1868: 137; *Kirpichnikov* 1897: 131). The butt end of the hilt on the side of the blade can be covered with overlays in the form of strips made of iron or sheet silver, sometimes decorated with primitive engraving (*Olufsen* 1911: 521). In those cases when expensive walrus or ivory, lapis lazuli, jade, agate or jasper served as the material for the handle, both in the form of an array and in the form of scales (*Moser* 1912: XII; *Zeller* 1955: 349; *Flindt* 1979: 25), the main part of the handle is separated from the blade by a bolster, lower than on Kokand knives, usually decorated using the niello technique (*Zeller* 1955: 361-362; *Flindt* 1979: 24). Between the bolster and the main part of the handle there can be a ring of turquoise pieces fixed in square castes (Fig. 20). To distinguish richly decorated knives made by Bukhara craftsmen from knives from Kokand, according to our assumption, it is possible first of all by the shape of the blade, and secondly by the length of the bolster. Otherwise, the decoration of the silver details of knives and scabbards was quite similar. Probably, based on the statements of some researchers, it can be considered typical for the craftsmen who worked in Bukhara to combine emeralds, rubies and pearls (*Lyushkevich* 1989: 73) tightly packed together on arms. An example of such decoration is a karud from the collection of the State Hermitage with a handle made of rhinoceros horn, inlaid with gold and precious stones, the golden chased case of the wooden scabbard of which is covered with a floral pattern in the form of an intertwined flowering shoot. Volumetric gold facings of the mouth and chape of the scabbard with a spherical ending, decorated with precious and semi-precious stones of irregular shape and faceted cabochons. Emeralds and rubies densely packed together predominate among these gems (*Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 143). Also, the «Bukhara» origin of this knife confirms the use of gold, and not gilded silver in the scabbard lining and, most importantly, the source of its receipt (*Sukhareva* 1962: 43). Until 1885, it was kept in the collection of the Tsarskoye Selo Arsenal in a cabinet with items presented by the emirs of Bukhara personally or through embassies to Emperors Alexander II and Alexander III. Unlike many other Central Asian weapons, this knife is easily identified, since it was described in some detail by Eduard Eduardovich Lenz, considering among other daggers: «S.415. The rhinoceros horn handle is inlaid with intertwining gold patterns with multi-colored stones. Straight blade. Frame of Central Asian work» (*Lenz* 1908: 120). Among the items made in this technique, we also include a knife from the collection of the Russian Ethnographic Museum, the massive wooden handle of which is decorated with silver inlay (*Lyutov* 2006: 197).

Such large knives, often with splendid wootz blades, sometimes decorated using the technique of gold-plated inlays, with a sheath covered with silver and gold and decorated with turquoise and other precious stones, originally intended exclusively for use as battle arms, by the end of the 19th century became an attribute of those close to emir. They were a sign of status, a kind of ceremonial arms, just like the ai-balta hatchets, originally used during hostilities, which eventually acquired handles overlaid with gold and became a uniform attribute of the emir's adjutants (*Moser* 1888: 147-148) and a symbol solemnly carried by the mirshab, who led the procession of the emir. They also relied on prime ministers (*Olufsen* 1911: 477). Such axes, decorated in Bukhara, are well recognizable (Fig. 21). The battle part is made most often in Persia from wootz steel. And wooden handles are usually covered with silver (*Olufsen* 1911: 478) or gold leaf with chased floral ornaments and are additionally decorated with square bands, in which square pieces of turquoise are fixed (*Olufsen* 1911: 478; *Lyutov* 2006: 213). There are also battle axes, which are decorated with double «belts» of turquoise

Fig. 20. Photograph of pchaks taken by Henri Moser. 19th century. Private collection, Russia. (Scanned copy)

Fig. 21. Bukhara battle ax (tabar) brought from the ethnographic expedition of Ole Olufsen, late 19th century. Central Asia (Bukhara). Museum item Q-292 from the Nationalmuseet collection, Denmark. (Photo courtesy of the museum)

cabochons, fixed in S-shaped castes. Although they are considered to come from the gifts of the emirs of Bukhara (*Lyutov* 2006: 214-216), we believe that these samples were made in the Khiva Khanate.

If arms decorated in Bukhara can be distinguished from samples from other khanates, then the identification of arms decorated in the Khiva Khanate causes, with the exception of a single exception, significant difficulties. Lenz also noted that «Khivan sabers belong to the Persian type of shamshirs, and differ from the latter in the decoration of the scabbard», namely, «the lining with a silver sheet with an embossed pattern and, on some samples, with precious stones in nests» (*Lenz* 1908: 111). Unfortunately, in our opinion, such a description also applies to Bukhara sabers. For the first time, the head of the arms department of the State Historical Museum (Moscow, Russia), Maria Mikhailovna Denisova, tried to identify samples of Khiva work. She, following Lenz, noted that the Khiva long-bladed arms usually differ in the design of the scabbard. The scabbard, according to her, is decorated with thin silver with an asymmetric large floral ornament, made by chasing or embossing (*Denisova* 1953: 142, 153). At the same time, the wooden parts of the scabbard can sometimes be completely covered with a silver case with gilding. Parts of the scabbard, imitating the chape and mouth, were decorated with large precious or semi-precious stones without cutting, which can be seen on a checker from the State Hermitage Museum – inv. IN. 102, received in 1873 from the treasury of the Khiva Khan (*Aleksinsky* 2010: 94, 97). The belonging of scabbards decorated in this technique to the Khiva people is confirmed by the design of other samples of arms from the Hermitage, such as shamshirs with Persian blades (*Aleksinsky* 2010: 92, 96) and locally made knives trimmed with gold, silver and precious stones in the Khiva style (*Moser* 1912: XII; *Aleksinsky* 2010: 97; *Anisimova* 2013: 265, 267). There are references to the same technique of decorating arms with gold and multi-colored precious stones in Khiva sources of the 18th-19th centuries (MITT: 504). It is curious that some modern researchers assert that the social position of the 19th century jewelers in the region under consideration was different.

If in Bukhara there were court jewelers who occupied a privileged position, then in Khiva the profession of a jeweler was one of the lowest (*Dadamukhamedov* 2019:141). It is also noted that in the second half of the 19th century Bukhara and Kokand became the main centers of highly developed jewelry production (*Chvyr'* 1977: 77), which allows us to

make an assumption about the insufficient level of development of such in the same time in Khiva. It is impossible not to mention the words of the researchers of the late 19th century, who noted that although among the representatives of the Turkmen tribes, nominally subjects of the Khiva Khanate, there are blacksmiths, locksmiths and craftsmen who worked with silver and finished arms, their work in the European sense looked rude and primitive: «…in the works of these crafts, one can see in all respects their completely infantile state, and, as it were, a deliberate unwillingness to do it beautifully and distinctly» (Voennyi sbornik 1872: 79). We see some dissonance. On the one hand, rather primitively decorated weapons of the Turkmens and information about, most likely, not a high level of jewelry craftsmanship in the Khiva Khanate, and on the other hand, richly decorated sabers, knives and daggers presented by the khans of Khiva as a gift to Russian emperors. Let's try to deal with this not a simple question.

The widely used short-bladed arms in this khanate is unambiguously attributed to Khiva. The wearing of well-recognized knives by the Khiva and Turkmens living in this region is reflected in many photographs and lithographs of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (*Anisimova* 2013: 253; *Lyutov* 2006: 209). In addition, such knives were frequent gifts presented by the Khiva khans to Europeans (Fig. 22). Moreover, both at the government level, for example, one of these knives was included in the diplomatic gifts brought to Russia by the heir of the Khiva Khan Asfandiyar (*Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019, 141-142), and to ordinary travelers from Europe who found themselves at the court of the Khan of Khiva (*Moser* 1912: XII). The above-mentioned knives are traditional Persian wootz kards (Fig. 23), the handles and sheaths of which are decorated by local craftsmen in a common well-recognized style. Walrus ivory handles were complemented by cylindrical butt made of gold or gilded silver. Along the edge of this massive pommel in blind castes, framed by real or false granulation, six to ten polished tra-nsparent multi-colored precious or semi-precious stones, more or less close to a cabochon in shape, are usually fixed. Another such stone is most often fixed in the center of the butt end of the pommel. The borders of the back can be accentuated with false grain or small cabochons of turquoise, enclosed in round or semicircular blind castes. Such kards were immersed in the scabbard so that the lower edge of the pommel coincided with the upper edge of the metal sheath of the wooden scabbard, made in the shape of a cone. Chased case made of silver with or without gilding, almost always decorated with five double belts of turquoise cabochons or, in rare cases, small pearls. Gems are fixed in S-shaped deaf castes (*Moser* 1912: XII; *Anisimova* 2013: 265, 267; *Buryakov* 2013: 147, 171; *Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 141-142) (Fig. 24).

Known examples of kards made in this style, with sheaths of silver not covered with gilding, on which there is only one double belt of turquoise cabochons, located along the edge of the mouth (*Moser* 1912: XII). Between the two upper belts of turquoise or pearl there is always a wide belt of voluminous deltoids squeezed from the inside - figures resembling a rhombus, in which the two upper sides are shorter than the two lower ones (Fig. 24). Turquoise cabochons can be fixed in the center of these protruding figures. This element is also typical of the silver scabbards used by the Turkmens, who lived on the territory of the Khiva Khanate and near its borders (Fig. 26). The scabbard sheaths of Khiva kards made of precious metals are always covered with chased floral ornaments, which we will discuss in detail below. It

Fig. 22. Photo of the kārd presented by the Khan of Khiva to Henry Moser from his book *Durch Central-Asien; die Kirgisensteppe, Russisch-Turkestan, Bochara, Chiwa, das Turkmenenland und Persien*, Leipzig, 1888. Private collection, Russia. (Scanned copy)

Fig. 23. Persian kārd. 19th century. Iran. Private collection. Russia. (Photo: P. Bogomazov)

should be noted that samples of such kards are known without metal butt (*Moser* 1888: 254). There were also other samples of oriental weapons with a straight blade, for example, a sample of a Turkish dagger with a jade handle known to us, for which Khiva craftsmen made scabbards identical to those discussed above (Fig. 26). Considering the striking similarity in the decor details of these knives, we assume that they were all made in approximately the same time period, namely, in the last quarter of the 19th – early 20th centuries by the same master, or perhaps by a master and his apprentice, carefully copying the techniques of his teacher. It is likely, although it requires further study, that most of these richly decorated kards were made as expensive gifts for Europeans by order of the Khan of Khiva, since today we are not aware of literary or pictorial sources confirming their existence in the Khanate. But we know for sure that such kards were presented as a gift to a variety of personalities (*Moser* 1912: XII; *Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 141-142).

In a similar stylistics, although with certain differences, double-edged curved khanjars were decorated, which existed in Khiva, judging by the descriptions of eyewitnesses, at least from the first half of the 18th century. Here is what lieutenant Dmitry Gladyshev, who visited Khiva in 1740, writes:

«Noble Aral people have a dagger behind their sash, which is made of wootz steel, the size with a handle is 6 inches (about 30 cm). Cheren (handle) is made of white «fish bone» (walrus tusk), and stones of different colors are cut into the cheren (handle): yakhonts (rubies) and diamonds. The scabbard is gold, many have gilded silver. And those who are not so rich have handle without stones, and a scabbard of green leather» (*Gladyshev* 1851: 71).

A dagger matching the description is stored in the Kremlin Armory (Moscow, Russia). On his blade, in the technique of notching with gold, there is an inscription in Arabic: «The abode of Islam Khorezm. Khan Bahadur Isfandiyar. Year (hijri) 1329». Thus, the inscription indicates that this dagger was made in 1909 and belonged to the Khiva Khan Bahadur (*Novoselov* 2017/2018, 84-85). A reel handle made of walrus bone and a curved double-edged damask blade with pronounced stiffening ribs are typical of Persian khanjars (*Khorasani* 2006: 582-595) (Fig. 28). The difference lies in the decor of the hilt and scabbard. The extended parts of the hilt (the pommel and the transition to the blade) are covered with a thick layer of gold. Precious stones are fixed in deaf castes, bordered by strips of false granulation. It is important to note that the stones are not fixed as tightly next to each other as on the weapons that we attribute to dec-

Fig. 24. Décor of voluminous triangular-shaped items on a Khiva dagger sheath. 19th century. Central Asia (Khiva). Private collection. Germany. (Photo: Kurt Kollwig)

Fig. 25. Mounted turquoise on a Khiva dagger scabbard sheath. 19th century. Central Asia (Khiva). Private collection. Germany. (Photo: Kurt Kollwig)

Fig. 26. Ottoman reel dagger with jade handle and scabbard made by Khivan craftsmen. 19th century Turkey. Central Asia (Khiva). Private collection. Germany. (Photo: Kurt Kollwig)

Fig. 27. Kārd inside a Turkmen scabbard. 19th century. Central Asia (Khiva). Private collection. Russia. (Photo: P. Bogomazov)

orated in Bukhara. At the top of the hilt on its front side are three large European-cut diamonds, which are surrounded by smaller cabochons of multi-colored gems. In the place where the hilt passes into the blade, a large faceted ruby is fixed in the center, on the sides of which there are diamonds similar to those in the pommel. In the same way as in the pommel, large European-cut gemstones are surrounded by a scattering of small cabochons of rubies and emeralds located at a short distance from each other. The mouth of the wooden scabbard, covered with a metal sheath with a chased floral ornament, is made of gold, decorated with cabochons of precious stones, and stylistically serves as a counter part of the gold decoration on the handle, at the point of its transition to the blade. Thus, when the dagger is scabbard, the above two parts form a single whole. Probably, in order to emphasize the border separating them, a double belt of small turquoise cabochons, fixed in S-shaped castes, was put along the upper edge of the mouth of the scabbard. Exactly the same belts limit the chape of the scabbard. Part of the scabbard between them is devoid of a chased ornament and looks as if the master had wound a golden thread around a wooden base (*Novoselov* 2017/2018: 84). We know almost identical daggers kept in the collections of the State Hermitage Museum (St.Petersburg, Russia) (*Obraztsov* 2015: 94-96), the Russian Ethnographic Museum in St.Petersburg (Russia) (*Lyutov* 2006: 192), the Stockholm Armory «Livrustkammaren» (Sweden) (Fig. 29), as well as several examples in private collections. The differences between these daggers are minimal. Judging by the photographs known to us and the style of objects that have come down to us, we can conclude that it was in Khiva that the khans and their entourage wore similar curved daggers of the Persian type (Fig. 30), as well as Indian khanjars decorated in a similar technique with jade handles and karuds with horn and bone handles (*Obraztsov, Malozyomova* 2019: 143). Usually, for all the examples of short-bladed arms listed above, the metal sheaths of the wooden scabbards are made of silver with or without gilding, with a similar chased floral ornament, double belts of turquoise cabochons in S-shaped castes along the top of the mouth and limiting the chape, with a characteristic winding of a metal thread, as well as with a rather «loose» arrangement of rounded gems or glass with a colored foil backing at the mouth of the scabbard (*Anisimova* 2013: 271-273; *Buryakov* 2013: 146, 170, 190). In some cases, the tops of the hilts can be decorated with gold with precious stones or colored glass. Olufsen mentions this use of substitute gemstones: «…the mountings of arms, ferrules and mouth-pieces of knife and sword sheaths are very solid and often very well made. The articles are profusely adorned with turquoises, corals, garnets, opals, lapis lazuli,

Fig. 28. Persian Khanjar. 19th century. Private collection. Russia. (Photo: P. Bogomazov)

emeralds and rubies, but only the turquoises, corals, garnets and the lapis, are always real, as they are found in great quantities in the Bokharan mountains and the neighbouring Persia for which reason they are very cheap here; at least 90 percent of other precious stones, exposed for sale, are imitation stones.» (*Olufsen* 1911: 530).

We consider it important to note that, judging by the decor and style of the hilts and scabbards of some richly decorated daggers stored in the collection of the Russian Ethnographic Museum and attributed to the gifts of the emirs of Bukhara of the Russian Imperial family, we can conclude that they were made in Khiva (*Lyutov* 2006: 193-194).

In addition to short-bladed arms, in the Khiva Khanate, as in Bukhara, the ruler's dignitaries and officers wore decorated battle axes. This is evidenced by the surviving photographs (Fig. 31) and descriptions of travelers from Europe. One of them writes:

«We asked in Khiva to be taken toa silversmith's, and so we were in the strict sense of the word, for there was a workshop with two crucibles of stone to be heated by charcoal fires, two small anvils, and, if I remember rightly, silver in the bar as we had seen at Kuldja, whilst the work the man had in hand was the silvering the handle of a battle-axe, by order of the Khan, to be carried by some new place-man as an insignia of office...» (*Lansdell* 1885: 287).

We assume that some axes from the collection of the Russian Ethnographic Museum, the handles of which are decorated with a large and rough chased floral ornament or smooth silver and gold, combined with double belts of small turquoise cabochons, fixed in S-shaped castes, were made in Khiva (*Lyutov* 2006: 214-216). Our assumption is supported by an ax almost identical to them from the collection of the Artillery Museum in St.Petersburg, presented in 1911 to Nicholas II, among other gifts from the Khan of Khiva, on the butt of which, in the technique of an inscription in gold, is inscribed: «The World of Islam, Khorezm» and the date «1329» Hijri (1911 according to the Gregorian calendar) (*Anisimova* 2013: 274-275).

As mentioned above, the situation with the identification of Khiva long-bladed arms is much more complicated. Knowing that the wooden details of the scabbards of sabers were decorated with a thin silver or gold sheath with an engraved or embossed floral ornament, large and sometimes asymmetrical, not only in Khiva, but also in Bukhara, as on the scabbards of shamshir (*Zeller* 1955: 113-114) and karud, presented to Henry Moser by the emir of Bukhara or karud (*Moser* 1912: XII), acquired in Bukhara by Ole Olufsen (*Olufsen* 1911: 478), we believe that this feature cannot be considered decisive for the products of the Khiva masters. On the other hand, the decoration of the mouth, and sometimes the chape of the scabbard, long-bladed arms, as well as parts of the scabbard imitating the chape and the mouth, with freely arranged large precious or semi-precious stones without cutting, as on a shashka from the State Hermitage

Fig. 29. Khiva Khanjar. 19th century. Central Asia (Khiva). Museum item 69703 from the Livrustkammaren (The Royal Armory) collection, Stockholm, Sweden. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Dagger_images_from_Livrustkammaren#/media/File:Persisk_dolk_-_Livrustkammaren_-_69703.tif

– Inv. IN. 102, received in 1873 from the treasury of the Khiva Khan (*Aleksinsky* 2010: 97), in our opinion, can be considered a sign of the work of the Khiva masters. The belonging of scabbards decorated in this technique to the Khiva people is confirmed by the design of other examples of arms from the Hermitage, such as sabers of the shamshir type with Persian blades (*Aleksinsky* 2010: 92, 96) and knives trimmed with gold, silver and precious stones in the Khiva stylistics (*Moser* 1912: XII; *Aleksinsky* 2010: 97; *Anisimova* 2013: 265, 267; *Obraztsov* 2015: 160). There are references to the same technique of decorating arms with gold and multi-colored precious stones in Khiva sources of the 18th-19th centuries (MITT: 504). The «Bukhara cloisonné» technique, common in Kokand and Bukhara, apparently did not find distribution in Khiva, perhaps due to the fact that jewelers from Bukhara and Kokand, as noted above, strictly kept their secrets (*Geyer* 1908: 122; *Chvyr'* 1977: 70), although turquoise, as can be seen from the examples above have been used. But, these were the small hemispheres of this stone already mentioned above, inserted into S-shaped «nests» of wire soldered onto the sheath at the mouth and sometimes the tip, so that a double strip of turquoise cabochons was obtained. With some degree of caution, this jewelry technique can be considered a marker for decorated Khiva arms, given that we find complete analogies in women's jewelry that jewelers made in the Khiva Khanate (*Sazonova* 1970: 139; *Sychova* 1984: 52-53; *Abdullaev* 1986: 183, 198). It should be borne in mind that this feature can be decisive for Khiva arms, being applicable only in combination with others. Because on some samples of arms decorated in Bukhara, this jewelry technique is also found (*Zeller* 1955: 113-114; *Lyutov* 2006: 206).

With some stretch, it can be considered that sometimes it was the chased works of the Khiva jewelers on the silver details of the scabbards that were made in a more rough manner than the works of the Bukhara masters (*Zeller* 1955: 119). But, apparently, a scabbard, completely covered with a silver leaf with a chased floral ornament, the mouth and chape of which are gilded (*Abdullaev* 1986: 133; *Buryakov* 2013: 148, 166, 169), probably using the technique of mercury gilding, can be considered a sign of Khiva work. Although it may be that gilding was achieved by another curious technique, known as duostara (two-lining), when a gold overlay was made on a silver object. At the same time, gold in such products was only one hundredth part: for 100 parts of silver, only one part of gold was taken. Having prepared a small cube from silver, the gold was broken into a leaf of the same size. Putting them together, smeared the edges with borax and put on fire. As soon as gold began to solder with silver, the fire was removed; after allowing the metal to cool, the cube was carefully broken on an anvil into a thin plate. To soften the blows, a piece of lead of the same shape was placed between the cube and the anvil. The resulting plate was so thin that it could be cut with scissors (*Sukhareva* 1962: 46). True, Sukhareva attributes this jewelry technique to Bukhara jewelers, but we believe that due to the simplicity of execution, it could well have been used in Khiva.

An even more difficult issue is the Khiva shashkas, which Maria Mikhailovna Denisova singled out in her work, focusing on the material of the handles of this arms (*Denisova* 1953: 153). She mentions that the Khiva shashka from the collection of the State Historical Museum (Moscow, Russia) has a handle

Fig. 30. Photo of a Khiva youth with khanjar in his belt. 19th century. Central Asia (Khiva). Private collection. Russia. (Scanned copy)

made of jade (*Denisova* 1953: 153). But before that, she writes that the handles of Bukhara shashkas are also made from whole pieces of jade (*Denisova* 1953: 142). In view of this contradiction, we believe that in this case the handle material cannot be considered a defining feature that specifies the place of production of Khiva shashkas. Even more important is that today we have no documentary evidence of the use of checkers by the Khiva people. Judging by the sources available today, both literary and pictorial, the Khiva people preferred to use sabers of the shamshir type (*Muraviev* 1822: 115-116; *Moser* 1888: 285), just like the Turkmens, who are nominally subjects of the Khiva Khanate, in whom eyewitnesses note the existence of sabers, mentioning «curved sabers made in Khorosan» (Voennyi sbornik 1872: 78) and that «the sabers were heavy with a wide blade and extremely sharply honed» (Voennyi sbornik 1888: 221). Shashkas, which Denisova, and after her, some modern authors attribute to Khiva work, focusing on the decor of the scabbard, in our opinion, are gifts presented to the khans of Khiva by the rulers of neighboring khanates. Such weapons, which were gifts and kept in the treasury of the Khiva khans, were described by the

Fig. 31. Photo of Khiva officers with battle axes. 19th century. Central Asia (Khiva). Private collection. Russia. (Scanned copy)

war correspondent Januarius Aloysius MacGahan, who saw him after the capture of Khiva by the Russian troops: «There were swords of all sorts. Two or three sabres of English manufacture; a number of the broad, beautiful, slightly-curved blades of horassan, inlaid with gold; several slender Persian scimitars, with scabbards set in turquoises and emeralds; short, thick, curved poignards and knives from Afghanistan, all richly mounted and provided with sheaths set in precious stones» (*MacGahan* 1875: 182). It is likely that the scabbards of such donated shashkas were made in Khiva, in a style that corresponded to the tastes of the rulers of the Khiva Khanate.

It is important to note that shamshirs and kards, decorated by Khiva craftsmen and presented by the embassy from Khiva in 1900 as a gift to the Russian emperor, are distinguished by highly artistic chased work on gold and silver scabbard details with fine detailing and background elaboration (*Aleksinsky* 2010: 92, 96). Some of them are additionally decorated with small turquoise cabochons or large irregularly shaped stones. The ornament on the scabbard, the use of gold as a material, the level of artistic work and the applied jewelry techniques are very reminiscent of those that existed among the Bukhara masters. Considering the above statement that the profession of a jeweler was one of the lowest in Khorezm (Khiva) (*Dadmukhamedov* 2019: 141) and the data that long-bladed arms were made in Khiva by Iranians and Afghans (*Sobolev* 1873: 160), who were captives enslaved, it can be assumed that jewelers from the Emirate of Bukhara could to be among such captives and subsequently settle in the khanate. This would explain such a striking similarity in the decoration of precious arms made in the last quarter of the 19th - early 20th centuries in Khiva and Bukhara.

Summing up, the following can be noted:

1) Thanks to the information that in Central Asia the craftsmen who decorated arms worked in their own, quite specific and kept secret, jewelry techniques, we can, by comparing jewelry and decorated arms, localize samples of edged weapons, linking them with Bukhara emirate, as well as the Kokand and Khiva khanates.

2) According to a number of signs voiced in the article, we can quite accurately determine the decor of arms made in the Kokand Khanate and the Emirate of Bukhara or by craftsmen from it.

3) The most difficult to determine the place of production is decorated arms made in the Khiva Khanate, with the exception of some well-recognized samples of short-bladed weapons.

4) With a high degree of probability, we can talk about the presence of a «Bukhara» influence on the work of Khiva gunsmiths who made decorated arms for the rulers of the khanate.

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ELMIRA GYUL

EMBROIDERED CARPETS OF UZBEKISTAN

Abstract: *The article is devoted to the embroidered carpets of Uzbekistan, which may be in two flat-woven varieties and one felt one. The earliest items of this group, related to the cultural heritage of Uzbekistan – Bactrian ones – were found in burials of Noin-Ula (Mongolia). After a long break in the finds, scientists began documenting the tradition of embroidered carpets anew, based on the finds from the late 19th – early 20th century. These materials are the products of the Uzbek groups belonging to the Dasht-i-Kipchak tribal association – the Kungrat and Lakai; namely, the flat-woven carpets of the enli type (ok-enli gilam, kizil-enli gilam, kara-enli gilam) and kiz gilam, as well as felt carpet products and felt carpets (kigiz). In Uzbekistan, the focus of researchers fell on these items only starting from the early 2000s, after the Complex Expedition was undertaken to Boysun, which UNESCO proclaimed a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. Boysun is an area in the Surkhandarya region of Uzbekistan, where the traditions of the Uzbek carpet weaving are preserved in their most authentic form. The technological process of their manufacture, the purpose and semantic content of their decor, and the related evolution have been identified and researched, ever since. In the last quarter of the (20th) century, ok-enli gilams have only survived in the working practice of the Kungrat weavers of Kashkadarya and Surkhandarya. The study of the embroidered carpets in the entire variety of their types and the popularization thereof will help draw the attention of relevant organizations to the goal of reviving this group of traditional textiles manufacture and use.*

Key words: *embroidered carpets, ok-enli gilam (kara-enli, kizil-enli), kiz gilam, kigiz.*
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UZBEKISTAN is a country with extremely rich textile traditions. The diverse landscapes – the combination of fertile oases with the steppes, foothills, deserts and semi-deserts – have all become the reason for the diverse economy and culture groups of population to have coexisted here for centuries. The inhabitants of the cities and oasis-type settlements, while growing cotton and mulberry, were also engaged in embroidery crafts, including gold weaving. They created printed cloth, magnificent cotton and silk fabrics that enthralled and "conquered" the entire world. Cattle breeders, in turn, having enough wool, weaved the carpets and fulled the felt. The textile culture of this part of the population of this region is also represented in embroidery (silk, wool, and cotton). These were primarily small-sized products – various kinds of packaging containers, or clothing items, or embroidered carpets, which will be discussed further below. In general, the carpets were predominantly the product of cattle breeding or "pastoral" groups that still preserved traditions of their nomadic past.

The modern-day carpet weaving is being developed in Uzbekistan at a dynamic pace, but has little to do with the classical carpet making legacy of the land. In this regard, the study and preservation of the local authentic weaving traditions are of particular importance. The purpose of this article is to present to the reader a group of the least studied Uzbek carpets: the embroidered ones, in order to consider the genesis of their typical production techniques, their types, their distribution areas, and the semantics of their motifs.

In the 19th century, when three independent Uzbek states existed on the territory of the modern-day Uzbekistan – the Khiva khanate, Kokand khanate, and the Emirate of Bukhara, the carpet weaving was spread mainly among the part of the population engaged in agisted stock breeding or trans-humane grazing. These are the numerous Uzbek tribal groups of the Dasht-i-Kipchak origin (the largest are the Kungrats and Lakai of the Kashkadarya and Surkhandarya regions), the tribal groups of the Samarkand region, Jizzakh and the Ferghana Valley, having lost their tribal identification, the Karakalpaks and the Kyrgyz of the Ferghana Valley. The grassland farming was also well developed and popular with the Arabs of Kashkadarya and Surkhandarya, with the Turkmens of the middle reaches of the Amu Darya, whose lands were part of the Bukhara Emirate, and

these population groups, in effect, combined the breeding of sheep and camels with agriculture. Each of the above groups produced carpets and carpet-type products, furnishing the finished products not only for their domestic households, but also for the needs of the townspeople. In more modest volumes, though, the carpet weaving was practiced by sedentary farmers, in particular, Tajiks.

The local carpets differed in types, purposes and manufacturing techniques. Based on the technical parameters, they can be classed into piled, smooth-woven (pattern-woven, pile-free), embroidered or felt-type. If we talk about the exclusive Uzbek carpet-making tradition, it includes the following groups of carpets, which stand out in their production processes: long-pile julhirs, short-pile (shorn) gilams, smooth-woven, felt-type. The smooth-woven carpets group is the most diverse one; it consists of smooth-woven carpets and carpets with embroidery. The latter include two types — *enli gilam* and *kiz gilam*. The embroidered group is also complemented by one of the types of felt carpets.

Embroidered carpets in publications of their researchers. Embroidered carpets have attracted the attention of researchers since the early stages of the study of carpet weaving in Central Asia, which began in the mid of 19th century, when the Russian Empire launched a campaign conquering this region (1854–1880). However, this is rather a fixation or documentation of the materials, which is quite understandable for the first steps towards understanding the carpet weaving of these remote lands, newly discovered for Russian researchers and travelers. So, we can see black and white photos of *ok-enli* carpets in the book "Ancient Carpets of Central Asia" by Armin Baron von Fölkersahm, collector, artist and art critic, curator of the Treasure Gallery at the Imperial Hermitage and, later, director of the Hermitage, who, however, did not have a chance to visit the land of their creation (*Fölkersahm* 1915: 64–65). The author identifies them as «Uzbek Kungrat embroidered palases» and notes that they are part of the collection of the Russian Museum of Alexander III (the nowaday State Russian Museum in St. Petersburg). With reference to the manufacturers of these carpets, he writes: "They are distinguished by the embroidery of the luxurious palases with patterns of floral motifs, while sheared carpets do not rise above the level of ordinary make of some other Uzbek tribes" (*Fölkersahm* 1915: 75).

The most large-scale work devoted to the carpets of the region has been the monograph by Valentina Moshkova entitled "The Carpets of the peoples of Central Asia of the late 19th – early 20th century." It still remains in its status as a reference book for all specialists and enthusiasts of this type of applied art. However, embroidered carpets, among smooth-woven, or, as the author writes, pile-free (*kokhma*, *terme*, *gajari*, *besh-kashta*, *arabi*[1]), have not been mentioned herein *(Moshkova* 1970: 38–41). However, page 41 demonstrates a single black-and-white fragment of an *ok-enli gilam* carpet, which, judging by the patterns, is one of the copies published by Fölkersahm. The author captioned it as "made according to the *besh-kashta* technique" with an additional note that "*besh-kashta* palases with a relief multi-colored overlaid pattern seem to be embroidered by the rough smooth stitching, and this may sometimes lead to a confusion of definitions" *(Moshkova* 1970: 40, Fig. 17). Perhaps this situation arose because the preparation of the book for the publication, including its part containing illustrations, was completed after the author passed away. In fact, the photo, undoubtedly, shows an embroidered carpet.

The group of embroidered ones was singled out in her classification of carpets of Central Asia by Elena Tsareva, Russian specialist in archaeological and ethnographic textiles of the peoples of this region. She included photographs of two items of this type in her excellent review article, noting that they have "distinct tribal characteristics" (*Tsareva* 2003: 228). These are *kiz-gilam* of the early 20th century, woven in the village of Tuda, Baysun district, and a felt carpet, which the author captioned as *kiz-namat*, woven in Chelek, Samarkand region in the 1920s, (both pertain to the collection of the Samarkand Museum of Cultural History).

As for the Uzbek studies of the recent decades, embroidered carpets were first mentioned in the materials of the Baysun complex expedition, which operated in 2003–2005, in connection with the proclamation of Baysun, being a region in southern Uzbekistan, as a "Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity under the program" of UNESCO. Baysun turned out to be a true "reserve" of embroidered carpets, although by the time the field work was carried out in this area, only one of their species, *ok-enli gilam*, had survived. The name itself was introduced into the scientific literature by the author of this article (*Gyul* 2005: 267–283). Further details on embroidered carpets are given in the monograph of the same author, entitled as "The Carpet weaving of Uzbekistan: history, aesthetics, and semantics", where both of their types are discussed (*Gyul* 2019: 134-139). Thanks to the Baysun expedition, it was possible to identify the centers where the manufacture of carpets of this type

[1] *Arabi* is the local name for the kilims, derived from the fact that the main manufacturers of these carpets were Central Asian Arabs; the Uzbek version of the name of a kilim is *takir-gilam.*

was still preserved, to pin the understanding of the semantics of their decor, which was preserved among weaveresses by the early 21st century.

Among the publications of the recent years, the article by Zilola Nasyrova, dedicated to *ok-enli* carpets is also noteworthy. In her work, the author specified the variants of this species - *kizil-enli* and *ok-enli* (*Nasyrova* 2008: 21). Thus, given the obvious attention to embroidered carpets, none of the publications presented a complete range of this type.

Early examples of carpets and embroidered carpet-like products. Before considering all types of embroidered carpets of the late 19th–20th centuries, let us briefly look at the genesis of woolen curtains and embroidered floor covers. The surviving rarities make it possible to understand that such items have been known at least since Antiquity. The earliest known examples - the Bactrian ones - were found in the Hun (Xiongnu) nobles burial ground, located in the Noin-Ula mountains in northern Mongolia (the burial site dates back to the period of the late 1st century BCE – early 1st century CE). These are cloths sewn together from a series of strips of fabric and decorated with satin embroidery in woolen thread. They were obviously intended to decorate the walls of the front rooms of buildings. On the surviving fragments, we can see portrait images, a group of riders with horses, griffins and other characters (these are kept in the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg).

The first researchers put forward an assumption about the Greek origin of these finds *(Boroffka* 1925: 78). K. V. Trever, in her turn, attributed them to the products of the Hellenized Bactrian environment, made in the late 2nd century BCE. (*Trever* 1940: 3, 143). S. I. Rudenko also considered that this was the work of the Bactrian and Parthian masters who were at the Hun (Xiongnu) headquarters (*Rudenko* 1962: 40). G. A. Pugachenkova confirmed the Yuezhi-Kushan origin of these artifacts. At the same time, she noted that the pictorial, realistically wrought imagery here was no longer the product of the steppe nomadic culture, but of the urban handicraft shops of Bactria (*Pugachenkova* 1966: 191). L. I. Rempel was more specific here, revealing the commonality of the images – Caucasoid faces with characteristic hairstyles fixed using ribbon-diadems, on the surviving fragments with the portraits of Yuezhi rulers on some early Kushan coins, as compared with the Khalchayan sculpture (*Rempel* 1989: 122).

The exclusivity and the small number of Noin-Ula artifacts did not allow to draw confident conclusions about the scale of Bactrian carpet weaving, at the time of their discovery. Excavations in mounds No. 20 and 31, carried out by the Novosibirsk and Mongolian scientists in 2006–2009, added new rarities to the Bactrian textiles group. Embroidered fragments, both the already known and newly found ones, were made in the same place, at the same time – at the turn of the common era (*Glushkova, Polosmak* 2012: 153–157; *Polosmak* 2013: 154). The subject imagery of the new Noin-Ula finds are even more diverse. Here is a battle scene (133 × 100 cm), a procession of dismounted warriors and priests (?) moving to the altar with a blazing fire (192 × 100 cm), some characters and a ruler sitting in his armchair and holding a bowl with a hot (sacred?) Obviously, at its time, this curtain-carpet adorned the walls of some worshiping premises. On one of the fragments, we can see a profile image of a man, whose depiction is almost a complete match with the image of the "ruling "Gerai" Sanab Kushan" on a silver tetradrachm discovered in the village of Vakhshinskiy in 1967 (*Zeimal* 1983: 76). Thus, both on the coin and on the embroidered fragment, we can see the image of Kushan himself, the founder of the Yuezhi dynasty, and the carpet can thus be dated to not earlier than the I century BCE – I century CE. (the exact period of reign of Kushan "Gerai" is questionable). Another convincing factor that testifies in favor of the Bactrian version of the origin of the artifacts is the obvious portrait-like resemblance of its characters to the appearance of the ruler of "Gerai," known from the Khalchayan sculpture (the palace of the ruling dynasty in Surkhandarya). Clothing and military armor are also identical.

Thereafter there was a long gap, and we can only assume the existence of embroidered carpets. Clavijo the Spanish ambassador wrote about the carpets of the period of Timur's reign (the last third of 14th – early 15th century), mentioning mainly the red ones, with embroidery using golden threads, as well as with inserts of white and other colors of carpet fabric (*Clavijo* 1990: 122, 130, 131).

Who produced embroidered carpets in the 19th - early 20th century. The samples that follow in time date back to the late 19th – early 20th century. The embroidered carpets of this period are still the products of cattle-breeding groups, but already different in their ethnic composition – Lakai and Kungrats, which, in particular, were mentioned by A. Fölkersahm. Their decor is different from the antique products discussed above – this decor here was, in effect, dominated by the ornamental principles. However, taking into account a certain cultural commonality of the civilizations of the steppe zone, there is reason to talk about the continuity of the very tradition of embroidered carpets (or the use of embroidery in carpets or felts), which subsequently developed with the various ethnic groups into various forms.

It is believed that Lakai and Kungrats are the descendants of the most ancient Turkic part of the population of the Asian steppes. According to

one version, in the early 16th century, these tribes, together with the other Turkic and Turkic-Mongolian tribes led by Sheibani Khan, migrated from the Dasht-i-Kypchak steppes to the south, conquering the oases and cities of Maverannakhr (*Karmysheva* 1954: 35). We find information about the Kungrats, in particular, in the "Chronicles Collection" by historian Rashid ad-Din, who referred to them as "the Turkic tribes, whose nickname was the Mongols in ancient times." It is known that the Kungrats have long been one of the largest tribes living in the territories of the present-day Khorezm, Samarkand, Bukhara, Navoi, Kashkadarya and Surkhandarya regions, and are now considered as one of the most important sub-ethnic components of the Uzbek nation.

In the twentieth century, Kungrats were located mainly in the Kamashin, Guzar, Dekhkanabad districts of the Kashkadarya region, and the valleys of the Sherabad and Karatag rivers of the Surkhandarya region (Baisun, Shurchi, Dashnabad, Sherabad). Certain groups of Kungrats can be found in the Jizzakh, Kattakurgan, Samarkand, Bukhara regions. In the 1970s, owing to the development of the Karshi steppe, many families of the Kashkadaryan Kungrats moved to Baysun, forming small mono-ethnic villages there. Nowadays, Baysun is an interesting area, a kind of a reserve, where the culture of this tribal group is compactly represented.

The situation was different for the Lakai. Data about them is rather scarce. In the first half of the 19th century, this ethnic group was part of the Katagan tribe, the majority of which lived in their *yurt* (allotment) of Kunduz; The Lakai occupied the vast pastures of the mountainous valleys of southern Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, the areas around Balkh and Kunduz in northern Afghanistan and were still engaged in cattle breeding, founded small villages, combining trans-humane grazing with agriculture, while maintaining political independence and tribal integrity.

With the formation of the Uzbek khanates, the territories inhabited by Lakais and Kungrats became part of the Bukhara Emirate. In 1869, the Emir of Bukhara, enraged by the defiant behavior of the tribe inherently independent by their spirit, which never paid him their tribute, deployed a brutal military offensive against the Lakai, defeating their leaders, capturing their herds and thus forcing them to succumb (*Gibbon, Hale* 2007: 33). By 1889, the Lakai were forced to switch to the semi-nomadic lifestyle, and they also began to engage in agriculture, and established a political and military alliance with Bukhara (*Gibbon, Hale* 2007: 33).

In the first years of the Soviet rule, the Lakai again acted as ardent fighters for independence of their lands, but their resistance was historically doomed. Some families remained in northern Afghanistan (in the Kunduz region), but most of them were concentrated on the lands of the northern bank of the Amu Darya River, mainly in the mountainous regions of Tajikistan, and is included in the new collective-farming life of the country of the Soviets. Today, the Lakai of Tajikistan continue to maintain their identity as an ethnically Uzbek group of people.

The best examples of the Lakai and Kungrat textiles date mainly to the period of 1875 to 1925, but this does not mean that the women of these tribal groups had not been engaged in the needlework earlier. From the 1930s, the quality of the "steppe" textiles was increasingly deteriorating, which was primarily associated with socio-political transformations. The Sovietization and collectivization led to a change in the everyday life, to a gradual erosion of age-old family ritual traditions and customs, where textiles played a prominent role. The widespread use of the carpet 'artels' or workshops which united weavers, and produced standardized products, the coming of factory textiles to the everyday life did not contribute to the preservation of the carpet weaving and embroidery traditions, either. The latest Lakai examples, in particular, the embroidery, date to the 1950s, clearly showing a state of decline. The subsequent oblivion of the "nomadic" embroidery and carpets was associated both with the termination of the tradition of their manufacture starting from the 1950s, and with the mass export of the surviving samples abroad.

As for the Kungrats of Uzbekistan, despite all the vicissitudes of the time, they strived to preserve their sway of life, music, folklore, national clothing, handicraft (felt felting, carpet weaving, embroidery), all bearing distinct imprints of the steppe nomadic tradition. In particular, this is expressed in the concept of *nasl buzilmasin* – "so as not to spoil the family", which implied the rejection of mixed marriages and strict adherence to traditions. Although the quality of modern home-spun carpets was gradually degrading, with their pattern symbolism revisited and redefined, the handicraft tradition is still alive.

Nowadays, the entire known corpus of the embroidered carpets can be divided into two groups according to the quality of their working. The first one is the products of the late 19th - the first quarter of the 20th century, distinguished by the finesse and delicacy of workmanship, highly elaborated and detailed decor, and the balanced color scheme. The second one is products stating from the 1970s, a good example of which are the carpets studied during the Baysun expedition of 2003–2005. While maintaining the principles of the original manufacturing technology and typical decor motifs, the pattern of these products is larger, the fine details disappear, the

Fig. 1. *Kara-enli*. Uzbeks-Kungrats. Surkhandarya or Kashkadarya region, second half of the 20th century. Enterprise "Bukhara silk carpets", Bukhara

Fig. 2. Embroidered carpet *kiz-gilam*. Uzbeks-Kungrats. Surkhandarya region, first half of the 20th century. enterprise "Bukhara silk carpets", Bukhara

quality of workmanship deteriorates.

Despite the fact that the main population of the Baysun region is the Tajiks and Uzbeks, the practice of making embroidered carpets was recorded exclusively in the Uzbek villages – Tuda, Khojabulgan, Dashtigoz, Besh Erkak. In Duobe, which has both Tajik and Uzbek populations, embroidered carpets are also produced by Uzbeks, Kungrat tribal groups, and Tortuvli. Such localization once again serves to emphasize the belonging of the embroidered carpets to the culture of the Turkic tribes of the 'steppe circle'.

Enli group carpets. Due to the lack of creditable surviving material, it is difficult to state exactly when stable compositions of embroidered carpets, known to us from the material of the 19th – early 20th centuries, were formed. Their first type is carpets of the *enli group* (lit.: *enli* – wide, i.e., obviously, a carpet with a wide – embroidered – strip). Their originality in comparison with other patterned techniques lies in the fact that embroidery is done on the finished

fabric, while the pattern of such types of products as *sumac* and *besh-kashta*, reminiscent of embroidery, was created in the process of fabric weaving using the additional weft thread (Fig. 1, 2). In everyday life, *enli* carpets performed the same functions as the interior embroideries of the *suzani* among the sedentary population - they were the most important wedding attributes and were most often used as curtains or bedspreads, less often for floor cover. They were woven on a narrow warp loom, in separate *takh-tas* (narrow, long panels or strips), which were cut into pieces corresponding to the width of the future carpet, embroidered and, finally, sewn together to form a finished product. When stitching, strips with embroidery in this type of carpets are interspersed with strips woven using other techniques, most often - *gajari* (a technique where floating warp threads are pattern-forming), which is why such products are called composite.

As already noted, the embroidered stripes in *enli* carpets could be white, red or dark brown. Depending on this color, the finished products were called *ok-enli gilam* (a carpet with a white wide strip; they also use a reduced *ok-en, okli*), *kyzyl-enli gilam* (a carpet with a red wide strip) and *kara-enli gilam* (a carpet with a black broad strip, Fig. 3) (*Nasyrova* 2008: 21). White strips, which are most common, can obviously be considered as a wish of a happy way – *ok yul* – to newlyweds, whose future life path was to be "guarded" by various embroidered star and totem signs (curls of ram horns), as well as flower rosettes and palmettes, personifying fertility.

Sometimes, in one carpet, *gajari* stripes could be combined with both white and brick-red embroidered stripes, as, for example, in a copy of the late 19th century, from the collection of the Textile Museum, Washington (accession No. 1989.9.3, gift of Charles Grant Ellis, Fig. 4).

Red, in this case, can also be associated with a protective meaning – this color, in folk magic, has always signified strength and protection. There are also specimens from the early 20th century, where only white and red stripes were sewn together, without *gajari*, embroidered with cotton. The size of the carpets ranged anywhere within 2.80 x 1.40 m.

The data collected by the Baysun expedition revealed that, by the late 20th century, the production of *ok-enli gilams* had exclusively been preserved; the tradition of *kara-* and *kyzyl-enli* carpets gradually vanished.

Embroidered palases with a white strip from the turn of the 19th–20th centuries in non-domestic collections were attributed as Lakai (northern Afghanistan). Thus, from the late 19th century, this type of carpets was obviously known among both of the tribal groups. The expressive contrast of texture and color, the richness of the floral decor impart a unique originality to the carpets of the *enli* group. They could also be called *kiz gilam* – a girl's carpet, which emphasized the status of *enli* as a wedding attribute.

Kiz-gilam carpets. As for the second type of embroidered carpets, produced by the Kungrats and Lakais of the Kashkadarya and Surkhandarya Rivers, their naming as *kiz gilam* is conventional, since the original one has not been preserved. Their main characteristic feature is an exclusively red base, upon which rows of same-type of medallions were embroidered (Fig. 5). From the second half of the 20th century the practice of their manufacture began to wane gradually, and therefore, perhaps, these carpets did not fall into the circle of attention of the modern-day researchers. Meanwhile, S. M. Dudin mentioned carpets with "smooth woven stripes of brick-red, brown or ocher-yellow colors, embroidered with woolen or cotton yarn", referring them to the works of the Uzbek carpet weavers from the Bukhara and Samarkand regions (as quoted from: *Moshkova* 1970: 66). V. G. Moshkova herself noted that she did not encounter embroidered palases in districts of the Samarkand region, and the place of their production remains unknown (as quoted from: *Moshkova* 1970: 67). We can assume that in this case we are talking about Kungrat and Lakai red embroidered carpets.

At present, most of the red *kiz-gilams* are dispersed among foreign collections, and only a few copies have been preserved in private and museum collections in Uzbekistan (among the exhibitions of the State Art Museum of Uzbekistan – *kiz-gilam* of the late 19th century, Dekhkanabad district of Kashkadarya region; in the exhibitions of the Samarkand State Art Museum – *kiz-gilam* of the late 19th – early 20th century, Surkhandarya region, Tuda, Uzbek-Kungrats of the Tortuvli Clan – the same one which was published in the mentioned publication by E. G. Tsareva).

Like the vast majority of other Uzbek carpets, *kiz-gilam* were sewn from pre-woven and embroidered narrow fabric cloths. Unlike composite *enli-gilams*, made up from strips manufactured using various techniques, *kiz-gilams* were sewn from identical strips, with embroidery (only sometimes a separately sewn-on narrow border could be added using a different technique, more often the kilim-type process). The warp and weft of the base fabric are wool, threads of the uniform, sometimes extreme, fineness; the spinning of threads for this type for carpets was received special attention. As for embroidery, it was the wool, cotton, sometimes in minor details it was the silk. The main elements were embroidered with a *bosma* (smooth) stitch, with the contours and additional details embroidered with the *yurma*

Fig. 3. *Ok-enli gilam*. Uzbeks: Lakais or Kungrats. Surkhandarya, 19th century. Private collection of Akbar Khakimov, Bukhara

Fig. 4. Composite *enli* rug with red and white embroidered strips. Uzbeks: Lakais or Kungrats. Late 19th century Collection of the Textile Museum, Washington (accession No. 1989.9.3), a gift from Charles Grant Ellis. Photo from the museum website

Fig. 5. Embroidered felt carpet. Uzbeks: Lakais or Kungrats, surkhandarya, late 19th – early 20th century. Collection of Samarkand Museum-reserve

(chain-like) stitch. The quality of the embroidery can serve as a dating attribute; it is higher on the earlier-dated products.

As was already noted above, a distinctive and immediately recognizable feature of these products is the bright red background color and rows of octagonal medallions, almost close to the shape of a circle, against which placed were equilateral crosses, classic for the "steppe" art, with a rhombus at the base and curls of horns at the ends. The coloring of the medallions is diagonal (white with green, white with blue, red with blue, red with white, etc.), which brings the Lakai and Kungrat *kiz-gilams* closer to the Turkmen *gel* tradition. The rarest specimens had a white background, with red and blue embroidery (*Gyul* 2019: 138). On one carpet there could be from six to twenty-eight or more medallions, depending on the size.

The best specimens are distinguished by a more detailed decor, the presence of additional motifs, both inside the medallion itself – small checkered motifs or flower rosettes in each of the four sectors formed by the cross, and on the background of the middle field free from medallions - W signs, lattice motifs, eight-pointed stars, equilateral crosses. The medallion itself was framed either with a dotted line (a multi-colored strip), or with tiny triangles with curls of horns (in this motif one can see the pattern of ram's heads), or with a shamrock, which can be interpreted as a bird's footprint. On a copy from the collection of the State Art Museum of Uzbekistan, almost imperceptibly, on the edge, a triangle is embroidered with black threads – another classic symbol of protection against an evil eye. The inclusion of such, at first glance, inconspicuous, hidden amulets into the composition was a widespread phenomenon in folk art: these were designed to enhance the already protective functions of the decor.

The exposition of the State Museum of Applied Arts presents a rather late *kiz-gilam* from the 1970s, where the saturated red color gives way to a calmer range of colors, and the composition as a whole resembles a backgroundless mosaic laying of octagons with rhombuses between them (Fig. 6).

Just like *enli*, this type of product had a special status, endowed not only with decorative, but also with magical functions. Usually, a *kiz-gilam* was prepared by the mother for her daughter's wedding and was used as a wedding curtain or bedspread, which is the reason for our choice of the name to replace the lost one. The presence of a border brought these products closer to the bedding carpets. The border is narrow, 8–15 cm, woven in a separate strip, contrasting in color (black), or the same red. Typical border patterns are eight-pointed stars, vortex rosettes, stepped rhombuses, crosses with curls of horns and other horn-like motifs, stylized ram heads.

Embroidered felts. Finally, yet another group of embroidered carpets is the felt carpets (*kigiz*). A little over 100 years ago, semi-nomadic peoples living on the territory of Uzbekistan produced three main types of felt carpets: felted (rolled), applique and embroidered. Nowadays, the production of only felted (rolled) felts has been preserved. As for the technique of embroidery on felt, it is also recorded by the ancient time artifacts, in particular, the famous applique felt carpets from the Fifth Pazyryk Barrow with pictorial decor. At a certain period in the culture of the steppe nomadic peoples, figurativeness gives way to the ornamental principle, and at the same time it is rather difficult to state whether this was due to the weakening of ancient traditions and return to the ornamentality inherent to the culture of Central Asia, or to the influence of the Islam ornamental dominant. In any case, in the 19th century the decor of felt carpets is exclusively abstract, non-figurative, and rare pictorial motifs are woven into the overall patterned canvas.

The lost practice of embroidery on felt is unique – firstly, the carpet base itself is sewn together from pre-rolled and cut large felt parts. Once sewn together, these parts, contrasting in color, form the intended composition of the item. Then patterns are embroidered over the felt base, also using multi-colored threads. The result is a decorative, ornate surface that combines felt quilting and embroidery. The patterns of these carpets were typical for the steppe art, and were found ubiquitously: vortex rosettes, meander, stars, horn-shaped and stepped (jagged) motifs.

Just like the smooth-woven *kiz-gilam* carpets, the surviving examples of felt embroidered carpets can only be found in private either national or foreign museum collections (British Museum, UK; Museum named after A. Linden, Germany, and many others.) (Fig. 7).

In addition to the elegant bedding felt carpets, the steppe dwellers practiced embroidery in the manufacture of various kinds of felt containers, for example, *ok-bash* (*uk-bash*, *uk-bash*) - bags to protect the ends of the *uuk* poles forming the dome of the yurt-house, when they are transported in a collapsed / assembled state, on top of the riding animals.

Nowadays, the tradition of embroidery on felt is a thing of the past, along with other striking phenomena of the nomadic culture. In this regard, it is necessary to raise the issue of reviving of the production of embroidered carpets as one of the most interesting phenomena of the traditional Uzbek textiles.

Decor of embroidered carpets and its semantics. Despite certain differences in the techniques, the decor of all embroidered carpets - both smooth-woven

Fig. 6. Embroidered carpet *kiz-gilam*. Uzbeks-Kungrats. Kashkadarya. 1930. Collection of the State Museum of Applied Arts and History of Handicraft of Uzbekistan, Tashkent. KP-7063. Accession No. 90

Fig. 7. Embroidered felt carpet. Uzbeks: Lakais or Kungrats, Surkhandarya, late 19th – early 20th century. Collection of Samarkand Museum-Reserve

and felt - is based on a standard, and at the same time endlessly varying, set of motifs, which once again emphasizes their belonging to one cultural tradition. At the same time, one can distinguish among motifs of strips made using the *Gajari* technique, common to all *Gajari* carpets (rhombuses with horn-shaped curls, signs W and S, a *syrg* motif that played the role of an amulet, a *chess* motif), and embroidered motifs (on white, red or dark brown strips), larger and more diverse in shape.

A wonderful trio of the Uzbek embroidered carpets from the mid to late 19th century (*kiz-gil-am*, *ok-enli-gilam*) and the early 20th century. (*kigiz*) from the collection of the Linden Museum, Stuttgart, presented in the catalog of the exhibition "Heirs of the Silk Road. Uzbekistan," testifying, on one hand, to the great interest of the West in this part of the Uzbek textiles, and, on the other hand, to the still debatable content of its decor (Heirs/Successors… 1997: 200, 201, fig. 389-391). Not entirely correctly labeled as *kilims*, these products are attributed with certain degree of caution to the Uzbek Lakai of

Northern Afghanistan (two smooth-woven ones) and the weavers of Surkhandarya (felt carpet) that are not ethnically designated. In the same presumptive "vein," the decor is interpreted, in whose motifs the author of the article J. Kalter recognizes either images of "yurts and camels", and "non-traditional star motifs", then "insect-like images" (Heirs/Successors ... 1997: 200). These cautious conjectures once again indicate that understanding the semantics of patterns in our time is already quite difficult. Taking into account the purpose of embroidered carpets as wedding attributes, there is reason to speak in general about the benevolent nature of their decor.

The entire existing range of the ornamental motifs can be divided into several groups:

– medallions in the form of crosses and rhombuses, circles, eight-pointed stars and vortex swastikas (solar symbols), S signs and meanders (water, fertility, uninterrupted life course). This popular group is the backbone of any carpet decor. The motifs are somehow connected with benevolent ideas, they "promise" the protection of the gods, fertility, increase in the family headcount;

– zoomorphic motifs: mainly the image of ram horns – the main totem symbol of the steppes (as an option – combined interwoven pair of horns of kosh kaykalak, designed to express the idea of marriage, the union of a couple, and also served as double protection), geometric elements with "animalistic" names, for example, keklik-tush (keklik chest). Initially associated with totemism, the motifs of this group are intended to convey the animal in the "part for its whole" technique typical of the steppe artistic tradition – pars pro toto. This technique testified to the initially cult-worshiping nature of animals - the totem, which is also the patron of family, had to be depicted indirectly, encrypted, through its characteristic symbols;

– floral motifs, symbols of fertility, are found mainly in the carpets of the *enli* group. These are stylized palmettes of various degrees of complexity, including paired, as if transformed from horn curls, *bodoms* (almonds), naturalistic flowers;

– item-related motifs that have the character of amulets: *tarok* - comb (for protection), *tumor*, *tumorcha* – triangular amulet, minute amulet;

– anthropomorphic motifs: a woman in labor;

– service elements – small geometric shapes that serve to link larger decor motifs, squares, dotted (*sichan izi* - mouse tooth), wavy strips, broken lines, etc.

A peculiar evolution of the decor of embroidered strips can be traced: the earlier-dated copies are dominated by astral (eight-pointed stars, vortex rosettes) and zoomorphic (rhombuses with curls of horns, like totem signs) signs, stepped rhombuses, triangles in a meander frame, large S signs, the motif of the so-called double axe (obviously, a relic of Zoroastrian symbolism, the image of Vretragna, the god of war and victory), in the later ones, flower rosettes and palmettes come to the fore. There is a noticeable transition from geometric motifs to vegetable motifs - horn curls along the edges of an equilateral cross are interpreted as flower palmettes (an attempt to turn a solar symbol into a vegetable one). Realistic, quite recognizable forms of flowers are typical for products of the second half of the 20th century. They can be seen as a reflection of the transition to the sedentary way of life and the adaptation of motifs typical of agricultural cultures. Thus, in the энли carpets of the Surkhandarya and Kashkadarya regions of the second half of the 20th century the pattern gets bigger, the floral theme tends towards naturalism. There are multicolored large palmettes connected to each other by a shoot of an undulating stem, recognizable roses and tulips, even motifs reminiscent of raspberries of the 20th century. The 20th century – the fantasy of modern craftswomen is no longer restrained by the desire to preserve the olden-day patterns. The later in in time the production of a the carpet, the more realistic is the imagery of flowers. Craftswomen call them without species distinction – *lola gul* (tulip or poppy). The content of these patterns is related to the theme of the fertility. Innovations are the inscriptions, and the modern-day symbolism, including state symbols (images of the flag, coat-of-arms). Despite the standardized set of motifs, weavers constantly vary them due to a different interpretation of details, achieving the endless variety of decors.

Of course, the most popular are variations of an equilateral cross with a rhombus at the base and curls of horns at the ends; in *kiz-gilams* this cross dominates. The unprecedented area of the spreading of this motif not only among the Lakai and Kungrats, but among all nomadic peoples in the past since antiquity (early examples are on a white felt carpet from Pazyryk) allows us to speak of its exceptional importance. It can be seen as a kind of "steppe mandala," a universal model of a harmonious world order in the view of nomads, at the same time – a symbol of the sky god Tengri. The cross incorporated several basic concepts at one time: God the Creator / God the Sun (cross), the union of male (horn) and female (rhombus) principles, the combination of which is very typical for the idea of the dual organization of the world order among the nomadic tribes, the origin and development of life, the developed space, fertility, patronage and protection. Having become widespread, this element has clearly become a common Turkic universal symbol, incorporating life-affirming and protective concepts. In the carpet decor, the Tengrian cosmogram could also act as a strong amulet, good wishes, a symbol of prosperity,

and finally, a marker of belonging to the values of this religion. The repetition of the cross in rows along the central field greatly enhanced the magical significance of the carpet decor.

By the time of large-scale ethnographic research of the 20th century this motif, thanks to the curls of the horns, was interpreted by the craftswomen as *kuchkorak* (from *kuchkor* – a stud-ram). Such an interpretation was clearly associated with the echoes of totemism, the deification of horned animals – a bull, a ram, a goat or a cow, with which the concepts of strength, potency, prosperity, and fertility were associated. The method of depicting sacred animals with the help of horns was very ancient, associated with a special attitude towards these animals; schematism served as a conventional expression of their secret powers and capabilities. However, another version of the name of this motif is no less interesting – *kaykalak*. Perhaps this word comes from *haikal* – an idol, and then it is possible to assume that the motif itself was originally associated with a worshiping image. Another alleged primary source is – *kuy kalla* – the head of a sheep. In this case, we are faced with a horn female image, hinting at the goddess of Umai, who was traditionally represented by the horned crown.

The collection of the State Art Museum of Uzbekistan has an original *ok-enli-gilam,* where cross-*kuchkorak*, embroidered on white stripes is transformed into paired figures of women in labor. This kind of decor once again emphasizes that these carpets were important wedding attributes, "providing" the fertility function of the bride – the future mother, and protecting her from the evil eye.

In general, the patterns of embroidered carpets were related to folk magic and were associated with the idea of the patronage of Heaven, totem animals, and the fruit-bearing forces of nature. Despite the fact that the creators of these carpets converted to Islam long ago, the figurative basis of their folk art remained true to pre-Islamic cults, symbols and ideals.

Conclusion. Embroidered carpets, which were attributes of wedding celebrations of the nomadic part of the population of Uzbekistan in the past, have become relics, have practically disappeared from the life of the population, along with most of the "steppe" heritage. Nowadays, from the entire species range embroidered large-format carpets and smaller carpet-like products (bags) are preserved only as *ok-enli gilams*, the only producers of which are the Uzbek-Kungrats of Surkhandarya and Kashkadarya regions. The unique Lakai tradition of embroidered carpets has not been preserved. The tradition of making embroidered felts has also gone into oblivion. The study and popularization of Uzbek embroidered carpets, which were so common in the recent past, will help revive one of the most interesting groups of textiles – perhaps not as an attribute of ritual, but as beautiful decorative items which can decorate the modern life.

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HISTORIOGRAPHY ISSUES

ELIZAVETA NEKRASOVA

BUKHARA: THREE CENTURIES FROM THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE BLESSED CITY

Abstract: *This article presents a critical review for the main section of a new monograph published by IICAS entitled The Bukharan School of Architecture from the 15th 17th Centuries: Features and Developmental Dynamics by Professor and Doctor of Architecture, Mavlyuda Abbasova-Yusupova. The reviewer corrects what she perceives as numerous inaccuracies and obvious shortcomings of the book, and provides additional information on the historical topography and architectural monuments of Bukhara acquired over the past 45 years by specialists from the Institute of Archaeology under the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, as well as via architects and archaeologists from the Uzbek Research Project Institute for Restoration (UzNIPIR), which previously existed under the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Uzbekistan.*

Key words: *Bukhara, Mavlyuda Abbasova-Yusupova, history, city topography, architectural monuments, Timurids, Sheibanids, Astarkhanids.*
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BUKHARA is one of the most significant ancient and medieval cities in the Republic of Uzbekistan. Located in a valley along the lower reaches of the Zeravshan River (in ancient times known as the Sogda, Masaf and Kuhak River). The city developed on one of its significant channels and has not changed its location for more than two thousand years. Today, the ancient section of Bukhara remains a "living" city having preserved its original structure (i.e. the Ark, shahristan, Shahrud canal, remnants of the *rabad* and external walls). Architectural monuments dating from the 9th-10th centuries to the early 20th century remain on its territory. However, the living conditions and construction were quite limited. The city, located on a flat, swampy plain with an extremely unstable water regime, often experienced resource scarcity (*Nekrasova* 1999a: 61-69; *Nekrasova* 2010: 106-112).

By the 7th century, on the eve of the Arab conquest, Bukhara had already developed into a large trading city, consisting of two main, well-fortified sections – the fortress (*diz*) and the city proper (*shahristan*)[2] – along with an extensive suburb (*rabad*), with surrounding fortresses and small villages and a well-regulated irrigation system. Apparently, from the mid 9th century, the fortress was called *kukhandiz* (old fortress) with the shahristan within the ancient inner wall incorporating the inner city (*shahr-i darun*), and it surrounding territory. Within the outer wall was the outer city (*shahr-i birun*). Arab geographers identified the latter two urban sections *Madina* and *Rabad*, respectively. Probably by the 13th-14th centuries, the kukhandiz began to be designated by a new term – the *ark*; the names for other parts of the city have not yet been established by researchers. The terms *shahristan* and *rabad* are found in the Bukharan administrative and economic documents dating before the 18th century (excluding the ark); *hisar* and *kadim* referred to the former shahristan, and the territory of the outer city was called *hisar-i nau* or *hisar-i jaded*, meaning the new city (*Nekrasova* 2000: 229-232).

Many researchers have studied Bukharan history from the 15th-17th centuries. Currently, a great number of scholarly books and article are available, both written and oral sources, along with results from architectural and archaeological research. Now, another monograph has been added to this bibliographical list.[3] This article provides a critical review of the book.

[1] **Ed. Note:** In a Central Asian context a *shahristan* identifies the administrative center of a city which often would include the ruler's residence and defensive structures, such as a citadel, which in Bukhara is the fortress known as "the Ark." [2] The ark and shahristan can still be perfectly identified.

[2] The ark and shahristan can still be perfectly identified.

[3] Abbasova-Yusupova, M. A. (2022). *The Bukharan School of Architecture in the 15th-17th Centuries (Distinctive features and path of developments).* Samarkand: IICAS Publ. 360 p.

In the "Introduction" (pp. 7-11), M. A. Abbasova-Yusupova lists the scholars involved in architectural study in Bukhara during the 15th-17th centuries. The author list includes works covering the described period, yet fails to include Musa Saidzhanov (*Saidzhanov* 2005), Vera Andreevna Levina (*Levina* 1953: 161-169), Mithat Sagretdinovich Bulatov (*Bulatov* 1978), Nikolai Mikhailovich Bachinsky and others. The last special work by Konstantin Stepanovich Kryukov was published not in 1965, but much later (*Kryukov* 1995). Unfortunately, the last major work by Lia Yulievna Mankovskaya (*Mankovskaya* 2014) is not mentioned either.

The new monograph by M. A. Abbasova-Yusupova consists of five chapters, each of which deserve special comment.[4] Chapter one "The Development of Architecture in Bukhara: Chronology" (pp. 1370), opens with the section *Historical Background and the Topography of the City.*

P. 13. In a brief historical reference, the author lists Bukhara's main periods, yet skips the Khulaguid-Chagataid era. During the times of relative prosperity between 1238 and 1273, the khanqah of the *Kubraviya tariqa* functioned in the city; and the large madrassas, *Masudiya* and *Haniya*, were built. There is data that that up to a thousand students studied in each of these institutions (*Petrushevsky* 1949: 14, 116).

P. 14. According to research data obtained in recent decades, the dynasty that followed the Sheibanids should be called the Tukai-Timurids, or Astarkhanids, but not the Janids. (*Alekseev* 2006: 86-87).

P. 15. Abd al-Latif (1420-1450 CE) was the son of Ulugbek Muhammad Taragai, grandson of Timur. The Sheibanid Abdullah Khan's son, Abd al-Mumin Khan, was killed in 1598 six months after his father's death. His involvement in the death of Abdullah Khan has not been definitively proven. In addition to the buildings on Registan Square and on the territory of the Ark in Bukhara, The Astrakhanid Subkhan-Kuli Khan (1680-1702 CE) rebuilt three *dahmas* and repaired the remaining dahmas in the khan's necropolis of Baha ad-din Naqshband (*Nekrasova* 2018: 256-261).[5]

P. 16. The construction of Bukhara during different periods require comment. According to textual sources, the walls of the rabad (outer city = *hisar-i birun*) were erected in the middle of the 9th century. The replacement of either the gates or the walls was an exceptionally expensive and labor-intensive undertaking. It should be remembered that Bukhara and its surroundings are located on a flat plain, in a swampy area (the slope towards the Zeravshan River is less than 0.05 cm) with a high water table. Most construction materials were imported, including stone (limestone, marble, and later, pebbles for paving streets), clay, wood, and drinking water came via the Shahrud canal flowing from the Zaravshan.[6] It was impossible to frequently relocate the walls and gates around the city. One can only talk about the expansion or stagnation of residential development within the outer fortified walls of Bukhara.

It is not entirely clear why during the Samanid dynasty, when Bukhara was the capital of a huge state, the author states that the city "grows in all directions except the north." But the first externally fortified walls around the city appeared in the mid 9th century. Samanid Bukhara was huge in size. Consider these facts: In the northern section, a significant part of the wall was discovered and studied, which survived thanks to the first *namazgah* built by Kutaiba b. Muslim and the necropolis with the *hazira* of Abu Hafs Kabir al-Bukhari (*Muhammad an-Narshahi* 2011: 59-60, 474-477, Fig. 24-27).

V. A. Shishkin's suggestion about the inner rabad wall and its location in the city was unfounded because the wall ran along the inner contour of cemeteries that were supposedly located outside the city gates. Thus, the area of Bukhara under the Samanids did not exceed 300 hectares (*Shishkin* 1936: 11). This hypothesis was supported by academia, but was refuted after architectural and archaeological studies at the city's necropolises by researchers from the Uzbek Research Project Institute for Restoration (UzNIPIR).

Under the Karakhanids, urban life was far from cloudless, as Bukhara lost its metropolitan status, and urban development contracted from the outskirts to the center. Necropolises appeared on its periphery, where the first burials were arranged in abandoned structures starting from the 10th century (*Nekrasova* 2008: 38-53).

P. 17. Information on the walls and gates of Bukhara can be found in numerous written sources. But the Juybara area (former Naukanda) was incorporated into the city in the 9th century, which was confirmed by architectural and archaeological research. In the late 16th century, a fragment of the Juybari sheikhs' possessions was attached to the southwestern part of the outer city and surrounded by a

[4] **Ed. note:** In the text of the article, the reviewer spells Islamic terms, proper names, and local toponyms in the traditional manner typical of Russian-language academic literature, which in some cases differs from those used in the monograph by M. A. Abbasova-Yusupova.

[5] Most of the information about the activities of the rulers of Bukhara on the necropolis of Baha ad-Din has not been published. **Ed. note:** A *dahmas* is a large grave construction, like a mausoleum.

[6] Cf. Samarkand and Tashkent: these cities are in the foothills providing excellent water quality, various building materials, etc. which has always been a significant advantage over the topography of Bukhara.

fortress wall. The old-timers of Bukhara still call this "appendix" Kunji-kala.

P. 18. Abbasova-Yusupova refers to Baba-yi Paraduz (a tailor whose full name was Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Isqaf, d. 303 AH/915 16 CE) as dating to the 14th-century mausoleums (*Gafurova* 1992: 68). Restored in the late 1970s, the mausoleum is located on the remains of a demolished ancient cemetery. The original building or its remnants are located at a great depth corresponding to the 10th century level. The British explorer from India, Mir Izzet Ullah, who visited the mazar in 1813, saw "... a flat stone slab over which there was no building" (*Sokolov* 1957: 200, 216, note 46). The existing mausoleum was erected on the site of the previous one, probably in the mid 19th century, and it was in ruins by the mid 20th century. The Chashma Ayyub mausoleum was completely rebuilt in the 16th century (excluding its western part), and the remains of the floor from the previous building (probably a hazira, erected during the reign of the Karakhanid Arslan Khan) were recorded at a depth of 2 m from the existing building's floor (*Nekrasova* 2019: 48).[7]

P. 19. The Sheibanid, Abdullaziz Khan moved Bukhara's northern wall to the south by 500 m, most likely because the territory left outside the city was a vast swampy plain unsuitable for either construction or agriculture.[8] This situation persisted until the 1920s (*Aini* 1960: 329, etc.), when the staff of the Tropical Medicine Institute drained it.[9] The reeds that grew there in abundance were widely used by artisans, this was true particularly in northern part of the city (*hisar-i nau*) which contained small marshes densely covered with reeds. Each marsh was owned by someone who sold reeds to mat makers, builders, etc. As a result of the wall's relocation, the Bukhara's oldest necropolis, Hazrati Imam, was left outside the city.

Information about the outer city wall's length in the 16th-17th centuries is given in the late 19th century by military engineer I.T. Poslavsky ("...a 12-kilometer wall, with 16 rounded half-towers and 12 pairs of towers flanking the fortress gates"). However, the last thorough repair of the city's outer walls and gates was undertaken by Mangyt dynasty founder, Muhammad Rahim-biy, in 1166 HA/1752-1753 CE.

P. 20. Attribution of the photo on this page is incorrect as it reads: "The city wall near the Tir-Garon gate, 16th century." Tir-Garon is actually one of the trade domes, yet the book contains a photo of the city wall from outside the city near the Talipach gate.

Water from the Shahrud canal was distributed throughout the city not through a system of canals as this method of water delivery was rare by the 16th century. The *khauzes* (pools) were interconnected by a complex system of underground brick vaulted galleries (*tazar*) running from khauz to khauz (*Isaev* 1956: 3-14; *Nekrasova* 2015: 370-371, Fig.7).

Further, Abbasova-Yusupova writes: "Since ancient times, the city featured two main streets, which intersected perpendicularly in the center of the shahristan." Archaeological research established that the southern segment of the north-south street in the shahristan was developed after the Mongol invasion, while prior to that the site was occupied by urban buildings (*Muhammad an-Narshahi* 2011: 460-461, Fig.12). The east-west street in the eastern part of the crossroads (*chaharsu*) was not highlighted by any architectural structure but passed further to the south. Further changes in the shahristan's center occurred under the Timurids and Astarkhanids. This is clearly visible on the city's 1985 topographic plan. The street between the facades of the Ulugbek madrassa and the later erected Abdulaziz Khan madrassa, as well as the facades proper, is oriented not strictly east-to-west, but is turned somewhat to the south, that is, directed to the facade of the Kalan mosque and, presumably, to the small square in front of it. After the construction of the Mir-i Arab madrassa, the old crossroads was moved to the north, and later Chaharsuk-i Darun (then Tak-i Zargaran) was erected over it, while the Mir-i Arab madrassa encloses the southern part of Chaharsuk. The street's western part appeared during construction of the Arslan Khan mosque or Kalan. Until that time, there was a compact residential quarter at the site (*Muhammad an-Narshahi* 2011: 459-460, fig. 13).[10]

P. 21. The photo by Sergei Shimansky (not Shimanskaya, as indicated in the caption) shows the Shaikh Jalal gate. The captions reads "the main longitudinal highway running almost parallel to the Shahrud canal and passing from the Talipach Gate in the west to the Mazar Gate in the east crossed the entire city." However, Shahrud entered the city from the east and left it in the west. The longitudinal main street referred to by the author never was such. The

[7] In my study of Chashma Ayyub in Bukhara, I restrained from specifying the type of building, but I am still inclined towards a hazira, erected in the 12th century, and not a mausoleum.

[8] The distance from the oldest outer wall of the city to the 16th-century wall was calculated according to the city's topographic plan in 1985.

[9] In 1924, the Uzbekistan Institute of Tropical Medicine (Tropin) was opened in Bukhara. It was headed by the famous parasitologist, L. M. Isaev.

[10] A water conduit that ran along the street leading from the former gate of Hazrat Imam, past the Ark, through the territory of the former Shahristan to Tak-i Telpak Furushan was dug during the excavation that lasted from September 1990 to April 1991. Observations and studies along the conduit route (clearing, probe pits, recordation) were carried out by archaeologists from UzNIPIR (E.G. Nekrasova, S.V. Inyutin, D.B. Chunikhin). A portion of these studies was included in one of this reviewer's works.

canal proper was quite winding in some parts of the city (it was straightened in 1920-1924 and during restoration work in the 1970s). The streets along it were very narrow in some areas. In addition, "forbidden strips" were arranged on both sides of Shahrud, where no structures were allowed. The arguments about the main meridian street of the city are still insufficiently reasoned here.

P. 22. The plans of the Karakul and Talipach gates (which are not annotated) are incorrect and photos of all the city gates could be given here, but none of these buildings can be dated to the 16th century. The gates were more prone to deformation and destruction than the walls, as they were actively used on a daily basis (not including including military operations).

P. 23. The author makes note concerning the Bukharan khauzes, which became the source of guinea worms causing dracunculiasis. In this regard, some clarifications are needed. The fight against guinea worm was actively conducted in Bukhara beginning from 1925; by 1932, it was eliminated (*Isaev* 1956: 3-14). The khauzes were gradually withdrawn from practical use. In those years, the plan was to fill the khauzes with soil up to more than half their depth and then to use them as playgrounds. In 1929, the construction of an iron grid water tower was completed in the city according to a project by the outstanding engineer and scientist V. G. Shukhov. The circular city water supply network was made in such a way that all drained khauzes were provided with water intake booths (*Pozharishchevsky* 1931: 35-36).[11]

Pp. 24, 46. Concerning Magak-i Attari, above the pre-Islamic temple are remains of a mosque that burned down, according to Narshahi, in a conflagration that destroyed part in Bukhara in 937 CE. Burnt ceiling beams, fragments of walls, and supports made of mud brick – an intermediate building – were found above its floor. The *ganch* carving most likely belonged to the 12th-century mosque. In the first half of the 16th century, from the surface level corresponding to that period, a new eastern entrance was added to the mosque and decorated with a monumental portal. The old foundations and walls of the 12th-century mosque have remained to this day, and the mosque area has not expanded. The changes affected only the upper walls and ceilings in Magak-i Attari (*Nekrasova* 2018a: 238-242). The minaret (Kalan) was completed in 1129 (*Rempel* 1961: 159), the Kalan *juma* (Friday) Mosque retained the dimensions of the Karakhanid-era Arslan Khan mosque.

P. 25. The Haji Ahrar bath was located south of the Mir-i Arab madrassa; the structure was successively called Hammam-i Tah-i Minar (Bath at the minaret) and Hammam-i Kazi Kalan (Bath of the Supreme Judge). Its lobby, covered with a dome, is preserved (later it became part of the Amir Madrassa). In the 18th century, the house of Muhammad Rahim-biy, founder of the Mangyt dynasty (1713-1758), was built on the site of the bathhouse; later, in 1333 AH /1914-15 CE, the site was occupied by the Amir or Amir Alim Khan madrassa (ruler of Bukhara, 1910-1920). To the north stood the Kalin-i Ali caravanserai (a carpet caravanserai owned by the last Emir of Bukhara, Alim Khan) (*Mirza Sami* 1962). In 2017, this reviewer studied the bathhouse sewage system along a 20 m distance.

The Ulugbek Madrassa was completed in 1417, not in 1419.

The court historian Hafiz-i Tanysh made mention of the Shiebanid-era, Abdallah Khan bath (*Hafiz-i Tanysh* 1983: 259). Wall fragments, closely adjacent to the southern facade of the madrassa, are visible in photographs from the 1930s and 40s.

The second section of the first chapter is entitled *The Architecture of Bukhara in the Temurid Period* (pp. 26-36). It is important to note the following observations:

Pp. 26-27. Building materials used in mass residential construction in the 19th and early 20th centuries are referred by Abbasova-Yusupova as belonging to the 15th century. Yet, there were no loess deposits (specifically light yellow-colored sedimentary rock) in Bukhara or the neighboring regions. Pakhsa – rammed earth – is recorded only in the ancient walls of the Bukharan Ark. Basements, the first floors of residential buildings, and stables were built from fired brick. Residential buildings were made using two-row frames. Reeds (Tajik *kamiy*) played in important role in residential architecture and Bukharans' everyday life. Thick reed layers were laid into the bases of walls, preventing entry of saline groundwater. The flat roofs of buildings were covered with reeds before they were smeared with clay. The masters wove mats and kitchen utensils from reeds, which can still be seen in many Bukharan houses even today.

P. 29. Rectangular panels on the mihrab wall of the Bukharan Namazgah mosque are composed not of polychrome majolica decor, but of carved glazed high-relief terracotta. It is unlikely that this décor was made on the instructions of Amir Timur. This ruler renovated the building in the late 14th century and, according to an author from the early 15th century, "at present, the *maksura* of Emir Timur's building [has not been preserved] in it" (*Gafurova* 1992a: 69-70).[12]

[11] This information can be found in a report for the city's first redevelopment project, which, fortunately, was never implemented. A copy of D. Pozharishchevsky's manuscript, which is in my personal archive, belonged to Vasily Shishkin, who headed Bukhkomstaris in the 1930s. I thank the daughter of Vasily Shishkin, Galina Vasilyevna Shishkina, for this generous gift.

The Sayf al-din Baharzi khanqah-mausoleum, according to Abbasova-Yusupova, "began to be referenced by" the early 15th century; nevertheless, this was convincingly proven during architectural and archaeological research by N. B. Nemtseva (*Nemtseva* 2003: 213).

The famous theologian and scholar, Haja Muhammad Parsa (Haja Shams ad-din b. Muhammad b. Mahmud al-Hafizi al-Bukhari, d. 822 AH/1419 CE) an ideologue of the Naqshbandiya tariqa while not the head of the Bukharan Sufis, but the second caliph (deputy) of Baha ad-din Naqshband.[13] His khanqah (rebuilt according to the original plan) has survived to the present and adjoins the western wall of the madrassa, mosque, and library. The monumental western part contains a courtyard, which included the abovementioned library and mosque as well as a mausoleum, all of which were demolished in the 1920s-30s. The current site with their ruins is occupied by residential buildings.[14] The small semi-underground brick room (considered the *mazar* of Haja Parsa) was constructed after the demolition of the ensemble's structures; two tombstones from the cemetery located behind the western wall of the ensemble were moved to this room (*Muminov, Nekrasova, Ziyodov* 2009: 17-41; *Nekrasova* 2018b: 77-78).

Pp. 30, 88. The so-called library of Haja Muhammad Parsa on Ku-yi Dehkan Street (guzar Mullah Pairavi) was discovered by the reviewer in 2005, and later academically published (*Nekrasova* 2012: 220-221). This site was probably the library of Muhammad Parsa's ancestor – the famous intellectual and bibliophile Hafiz al-din al-Kabir al-Bukhari (d. 1291 or 1294 CE). Indirect confirmation is due to al-Bukhari's mazar (tomb) located nearby. The bathhouse of Haja Parsa was located not in the Murgkush quarter, but in the Hullabafan quarter.

P. 33. The Diggaran mosque in the village of Hazara dates to the 12th century based upon the latest archaeological research (*Mirzaakhmedov, Abdullaev, Gritsina* 2009: 148-161).

P. 34. The Chinggisid, Buyan-Kuli Khan (killed in 760 AH /1358-59 CE), whose mausoleum is located in Fathabad, was not just a Mongol khan who converted to Islam, but a dervish from the Kubraviya tariqa and most likely a patron for the construction of his mausoleum (*Basharin, Nekrasova* 2018: 383-385). However, the mausoleum was constructed in the Chagatai, not the Timurid, period.

P. 35. A small mausoleum was built over the actual burial site of the Sufi Turk-i Jandi (Ahmad b. Fazl Abu Nasr al-Jandi, d. early 11th century); subsequently a two-chambered mausoleum and other structures were erected over it. (*Nekrasova* 2008: 38-53). In a private conversation, the historian Dr. Bakhtiyar Babajanov did not confirm the existence of a waqf document concerning the Turk-i Jandi mausoleum reconstruction in 1542 by the Sheibanid Khan Abdulaziz.

The mausoleum of Abdurakhman-vali, located near the city of Karakul, is very original in its plan. The building consists of two rooms, a *ziyaratkhana* (abulation room) and a *gurkhana* (burial chamber), covered with three domes. The gurkhana consists of one room stretching along the transverse axis. The two equally sized small square spaces are covered with small domes, with an arch between them (*Nekrasova* 2006: 96, 201).

P. 36. The madrassa of Maulan Muhammad Miskin is named after the donor of the construction – the tariqa Naqshbandiya Sufi Muhammad Qazi (Muhammad bin Burhan ad-din al-Miskin as-Samarqandi, ca. 1451-1516 CE). As the caliph of the Naqshband Shaikh Haja Ahrar. Muhammad Miskin served as the supreme judge of Bukhara, *kazikalan,* under the Sheibanid, Mahmud Sultan (1500-1504 CE) (*Babajanov* 2006: 292-293). According to various sources, the madrassa construction was completed between 1516 and 1520. This partially collapsed building can be seen in rare photographs by L. I. Rempel taken between 1939-1940, while the Muhammad Miskin madrassa plan was included in the 1924 general plan of the bazaar street in the shahristan (*Nekrasova* 1999b).[15]

The third section of the first chapter is titled *The Architecture of the Sheibanid Period* (pp. 36-59). This section also requires several comments:

Pp. 39-41. The Gaziyan Sufi Cenťer as recorded on the Parfenov-Fenin plan, consisted of a khanqah-mosque (16th century), a khauz and the Gaziyan-i Kalan (Big Gaziyan) madrassa (early 16th century). To the north of the latter was the Gaziyan-i Hurd (Small Gaziyan) madrassa (probably 16th century), the brick constructed Mullah Muhammad Sharif Sangin madrassa (1730-1733 CE), and the half-tim-

[12] The author of Kitab-i Mullah-zade, Ahmad ibn Mahmud, nicknamed Muin al-fuqara (Benefactor of the Poor), a student of Haja Muhammad Parsa (d. 822 AH/1419 CE), wrote this book after the death of the teacher. The maksura of Amir Timur was probably demolished during the reconstruction of the namazgah in the 16th century. **Ed. note:** A *maksura* was a portal or entryway to a chamber in Central Asian architecture.

[13] *Tariqa* (*Arabic* for *road* or *way*). Quite often in western and Russian-language literature on Sufism, "order" or "brotherhood" are used rather this term.

[14] Here, the term "khanqah" encompasses an ensemble of buildings, including, in addition to the khanqah mosque, a madrassa and a necropolis behind the western facade of the madrassa.

[15] The plan of the bazaar street in the shahristan was recorded by an expedition led by architect Moses Ginzburg in 1924. It was provided with labels designating the building names in Arabic script. The plan is used in many research papers.

Fig. 1. Lowering daytime surface level under Tak-i Sarrafan in 1975. The entrance to the Mullah Arizi mosque or Sarrafan can be seen in the center of the background

ber constructed Mullah Muhammad Sharif Chubin madrassa (late 18th century). The buildings of the Sufi center are listed in the same order as a monograph by O. A. Sukhareva. However, a 903 AH /1497-98 CE *waqfnameh* mentions the quarter, and not the Gaziyan madrassa (*Sukhareva* 1976: 94-96, note 94). In the Juybari sheikhs bills of sale, the Gaziyan mosque street appears in three documents from the mid 16th century (*Ivanov* 1954: 141-144, 147-148). Following L. A. Rempel, Abbasova-Yusupova wrongly identified the Gaziyan khanqah mosque as the small Gaziyan madrassa (*Rempel* 1981: 141). However, this is the khanqah mosque and it was measured in 1924 by the same team of architects headed by M. Ya. Ginzburg.

Pp. 43, 138. Many Bukharans remember the colossal restoration work carried out in Bukhara in the second half of the 1970s and 1980s on the city's southern bazaars (east of the Tak-i Telpak Furushan, near Magak-i Attari and Lab-i Khauz). At that time, it was decided to lower the streets to the 16th century level, along with simultaneously studying the architectural and archaeological features of the buildings.[16] The plan of the Sarrafan ensemble in Abbasova-Yusupova's monograph is borrowed from an article about this particular structure (*Filimonov, Nekrasova* 1998: 97, fig. 2), but their authorship is not credited in the caption (fig. 1). The Sarrafan architectural ensemble (Chaharsuk, Mullah Arizi mosque, Mira Yari bath, Shahrud bridge) was built in two stages. A mosaic inscription was cleared above the entrance to the mosque. The first date provides information about the mosque's construction on behalf of the Sheibanid khan, Ubaydallah in 921 AH/1515-16 CE, the second refers to the completion date of the entire ensemble with the participation of Ubaydallah Khan and his Emir Yari b. Jan Wafa-biya, and later the younger brother of Emir Yari – Dust Muhammad-biya and son of Emir Jan Wafa-biya in 945 AH/1538-39 CE. The first two figures were known even earlier as participants in the campaigns of Sheibani Khan.

[16] The results of the work are partially published.

P. 44. The central hall of the khanqah at Baha ad-din was encircled all along the perimeter by two-story *hujras* (guestrooms) in the 17th century. This was partly confirmed by archaeological excavations of the necropolis buildings (*Nekrasova* 2018b: 80-83). M. Abbasova-Yusupova does not specify in her book the location of the khanqah's main facade.

P. 47. Hammami Kuhak (Bath [on] the Hill) and the Hafiz-i Taftan Mosque were located to the north in the immediate vicinity of Chahar-suka Darun (Tak-i Zargaran). In the early 20th century, the Mirza Rahmatullah caravanserai or Sabzi-sarai (a sarai where vegetables were sold) was built over the bathhouse ruins. In the late 17th century, the Hafiz-i Taftan mosque, as well as the entire quarter, were renamed Kaltakiyan.

P. 49. The buildings in the center of the Karhane (Workshop) were completed in 977 AH/1569-70 CE and still stood in the mid 20th century. The construction costs were donated by Haja Sa'd Juibari and supervised by Mawlana Abd al-Wahid. On the north side of the khauz was the mazar of the famous mystic Haja Yusuf al-Hamadani (1048-1140 CE).[17] Probably, his hovel was located at that site several centuries ago, where the murids of Hamadani studied; among them, the future founders of the famous tariqas Khwajagan and Yasaviya – Abd al-Khaliq Gidduvani and Ahmad Yasavi. The mazar attributed to Yusuf al-Hamadani, gave his name to this city quarter's center – the old Sufis were called "masters."

As established by architectural and archaeological research and with the help of additional information from translated epigraphic and written sources, the main architectural ensemble of the Chor-Bakr necropolis was constructed and then reconstructed for 80 years (*Nekrasova* 2016: 853-876).

P. 51. The inscription on the main facade of the Faizabad khanqah mosque was read by V. A. Shishkin almost 100 years ago which recounts the building construction as completed in 1007 AH/1598-99 CE, the patron was a dignitary of Sheibanid Abdullah Khan – Dust Divanbegi, and not Sufi Shah-i Ahsi (*Shishkin* 1936: 67).

Pp. 54-55. The mosque, completed in 994 AH/1585-1586 CE, is not called Dust Chirog Okosi, but Dust-chuhra-agasi – a court title (chief of court pages), responsible for enforcing morals and supervising grooms (*Semenov* 1954: 48). Additionally, a khauz never existed near the Dust-chuhra-agasi mosque, rather, the nearest reservoir was located next to the Haja Zain ad-din khanqah mosque. Abbasova-Yusupova refers to information from O. A. Sukhareva, but the latter discusses Mir Dostum, a 16th-century khauz in the Mir Dostum-biy quarter and the Lyab-i khauz-i Mir Dostum khanqah at the Hiyabana turn near the Madari Khan and Abdullah Khan kosh madrassas.

P. 58. The Kuluta caravanserai, or Kalta-sarai, was built not in the 16th century, but in the middle of the 19th century. The waqf-name was compiled in 1262 AH/1845-46 CE on behalf of a certain Muhammad Sharif b. Muzaffar in honor of the Khalifa Khudaidad khanqah.[18] The caravanserai's eastern facade adjoins the Tak-i Telpak Furushan and gallery was erected, together with the middle part of the caravanserai, over the filled-in moat around the Hisar and Kadim (shahristan). According to an earlier waqf from Rajab 1212 AH/1797 CE, before the caravanerai construction, several domestic cells, or guestrooms, were owned by Muhammad Sharif whose proceeds were also spent on maintaining the Khalifa of Khudaidad khanqah (*Turaev* 2001: 85-95).

P. 59. The Qasr-i Arifan mosque at the grave of Baha al-din Naqshband's mother was most likely built in the 18th century. Evidence for this includes a) the foundations of the mosque,[19] and b) the mosque's western facade with the mihrab "turned," having its back to the mazar of the venerable lady, whereas the mihrab of the memorial mosque should have been located opposite the sacred place.

The last section of the first chapter is called *The Architecture of the Astarkhanid Period* (p. 59-70). It also requires significant amendments:

P. 62. A contemporary to Nadir Divan-begi notes that, in addition to the mosque, the ruler erected a khauz and a ribat, (i.e. a caravanserai) (*Norik* 2011: 315, link 2). Indeed, a utility courtyard adjoined the eastern facade of the Nadir Divan-begi madrassa until the 1930s; however, this was typical for every building of this type. A narrow corridor led from the madrassa courtyard to the facade. But there was no mosque and *darskhana*[20] in the building. Nevertheless, the waqf-nameh was made by the construction patron specifically for the madrassa.[21]

Pp. 64-65. The Juma (Friday) Mosque on the Registan Payanda-biy atalik 1023-1027 AH/1614-1617 CE was construction under the patronage of Payand-biy atalik, b. Kasim-biy Turkman, who was one of the emirs during the reign of the Astarkhanid Imam-Kuli Khan (1611-1642 CE). The mosque interior along the eastern facade contained the hujras for

[17] The Haja Yusuf al-Hamadani mazar has been preserved to the present.

[18] Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Collection I 323, op. 1, doc. No. 266, 267, 267/1.

[19] The foundations of the Qasr-i Arifan mosque were examined by S. Inyutin.

[20] An *darskhana* (Persian) is an auditorium at a madresse.

[21] Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Collection I 323, op. 1, doc. No. 115/1 of 1052/1642-43.

the Atalik madrassa, with a minaret towering at the building's northwest corner. It is not surprising that the mosque was covered with a cultural layer by the early 20th century, because it was located on a busy bazaar square. This building was demolished in 1929. The mosque floorplan was recorded by the M. Ya. Ginzburg expedition in 1924.

Pp. 66, 97-98. There could not be a *sardoba* reservoir in the courtyard of the Daru ash-shifa (House of Healing) madrassa, because similar structures in Bukhara were situated over natural springs (i.e. sardobas in the Khalifa Khudaidad ensemble, the Ishan-i Imla necropolis, and the Bukharan Jewish cemetery). A significant cultural layer lies under this small madrassa, which could only be fed by groundwater; the latter sardoba in Bukhara was quite corrosive, with a high salt content.

P. 66. Shodim-biy (16th century?) was a mausoleum erected on a high platform; it had a crypt under its floor. Sometime later, a madrassa was erected between it and the Bala-khauz mosque, which inherited the name of the mausoleum.

P. 67. Kurinish Khane was the hall for coronations and receptions and erected on behalf of Astarkhanid Subkhan-Kuli Khan (1680-1702 CE) (*Sayyid Muhammad Nasir* 2009: 91).

P. 69. The Azizan khanqah mosque, or Hazrat and Azizan Baba-Haja khanqah, has been preserved as a reconstruction to the present day.

The Mavlono (Maulana) Sharif Sufi Ensemble (tariqat Yasaviya = Jahriya) was founded on the highest point in the southeastern quarter of Hisar-i Kadim (shahristan). The remains underneath the structure of this legendary bath mentioned by Olga Sukhareva, were not recorded by archaeologists. This legend probably refers to the bathhouse of Haja Ahrar, which in the late 15th century was located nearby and preceded the construction of the Abdulaziz Khan madrassa.

Maulana Sharif built a khanqah with a dome; later, a mosque was attached to it, and the courtyard was surrounded by hujras. After the founder of the architectural ensemble died, the khanqah was converted into a mausoleum (*Nekrasova* 2018d: 245-248).

P. 70. A moat was present between the gates of the shahristan Dar-i Akhanin with a swing bridge and Chaharsuk-i Ahanin (later Tak-i Telpak Furushan). The gate was a small, rectangular building according to its floorplan, containing a central hall with small, narrow rooms for guards. On the shahristan side, it had a low portal. A monumental portal, flanked on the both sides by towers, faced the hisar-i nau (former rabad).[22] Dar-i Ahanin and Chaharsuk-i Ahanin, which were reconstructed by V. M. Filimonov (*Nekrasova* 1999b) (fig. 2).

As for the second chapter, "The Typology of Civil Structures" (pp. 71-140), potential readers should keep in mind that although the author paid sufficient attention to residential architecture, the households of Bukharan Jews (pp. 77-79) require a comment. Whenever this reviewer is told about the Bukharan Jewish Diaspora in the city since ancient times, this raises the question: "Could you please show me the area where they settled?". As is known, Bukhara had three mahallas (neighborhoods) of Jews. The earliest mythical mention of the city's Bukharan Jews is found in a work by Z. Amitin-Shapiro written in the 1620s. It refers to the construction of the Nadir Divan-begi Khauz in the Lab-i Khauz ensemble. Across the road to the south of this khauz is the Old Mahalla of Bukharan Jews. Bukharan Jewish houses that have survived the present were built in the 19th and early 20th centuries. They consisted of one courtyard and were actual miniature fortress houses. The first storey built from fired brick for utility purposes could be accessed from the street. Storage rooms were arranged around the perimeter walls. The ceiling was supported by columns. The second half-timber storey was residential and could only be accessed via a wooden staircase through a rectangular hatch in the first floor's flat ceiling. Currently, many houses in the Old Mahalla have been converted into private hotels. The first storeys are covered almost by half their height on the outside by a cultural layer and are now often used as basements. Abbasova-Yusupova does not mention houses in the other two mahallas.

P. 88. Concerning the Hjah Parsa libraries, see the comment on p. 30.

P. 92. Maktabs (schools). The *maktab* that still exists at the Chor-Bakr necropolis was erected no earlier than the 19th century.

Pp. 92-94. The maktab, Abbasova-Yusupova dates to the 16th century, is presented neither on Parfenov-Fenin's plan (1910-11), nor is it mentioned in the description of city's quarters by O.A. Sukhareva (Sesu quarter).

Pp. 95, 96, 98. Hospitals. See the comments on the Daru ash-shifa madrassa mentioned above pertaining to p. 66.

P. 99. The author mentions "A section of such a covered 16th-century street..." which connects Tak-i Telpak Furushan and the old city (shahristan, Hisar-i kadim) and was established in the 19th century. See the comment concerning p.58.

Pp. 101, 103. Chaharsuk-i Ahanin (Tak-i Telpak Furushan) (15th century) is the most complex build-

[22] This information was obtained through architectural and archaeological studies of Tak-i Telpak Furushan headed by the restoration project developer, Vladimir Mikhailovich Filimonov (1924-1998), and by architectural archaeologists from UzNIPIR, E. Nekrasova, S. Inyutin and D. Chunikhin in 1991 1992.

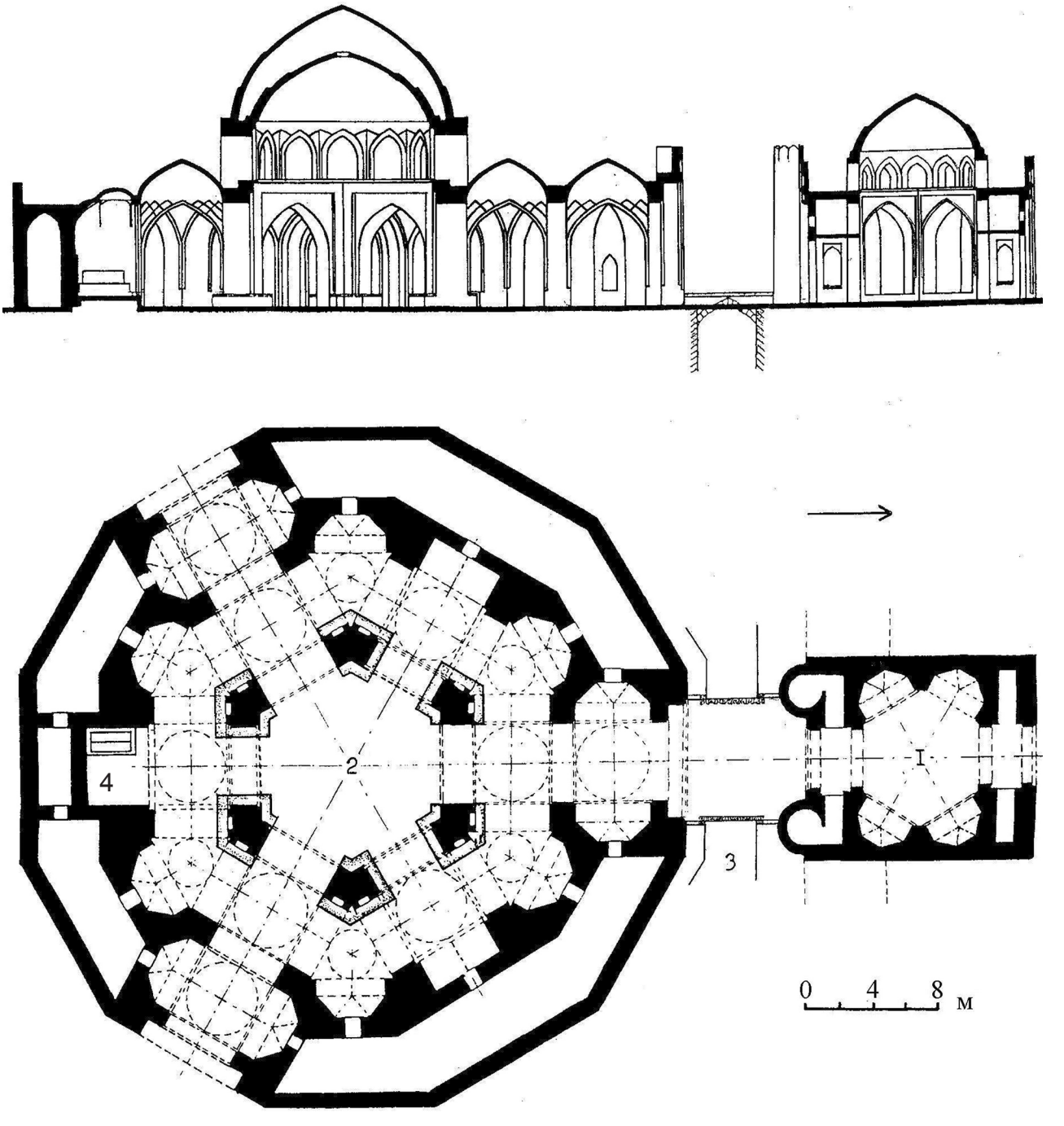

Fig. 2. Reconstruction of the ensemble from the early 16th century was made by the architect Dr. V. M. Filimonov based upon architectural and archaeological research:
1. Dar-i Ahanin, 2. Chaharsuk-i Ahanin, 3. moat (handag), 4. mazar

ing of all the trade structures that have survived to the present. Its ancient section is a hexagon, probably erected in the 15th cent. It was constructed partially on the ancient cemetery. Turquoise, white, and blue glazed tiles from these burial structures were rather chaotically introduced into the brickwork during the hexagon's construction. The reconstruction of Tak-i Telpak Furushan, the Magak-i Attari mosque and the construction of the Sarrafan ensemble were undertaken in the early 16th cent. during the reign of Sheibanid Abdallaziz Khan. Along the outer perimeter, Tak-i Telpak continued to be renovated until the 19th cent. (see the commentary for p. 70).

P. 104. Tak-i Sarrafan (see the commentary for p. 43).

P. 105. Tak-i Zargaran = Chaharsuk-i Darun

was erected in an ensemble with the Chorsu mosque (Zargaran).

A written source describes the construction of a *tim*[23] with six gates (*darvaza*) for cloth merchants (*komashfurushan*) by order of the Sheibanid Abdullah Khan in Bukhara in 985 AH /1577-78 CE (*Juraeva* 1990: 88). The document's description corresponds to the existing building. This peer-reviewed monograph shows the tim's old plan prior to restoration with the profile (collapsed) corners. Archaeological research revealed the foundations of portal pylons in the eastern entrance of the tim. On the roof, a collection of wonderful décor was discovered in the filling of axillary arches, mainly that of carved glazed terracotta. One of the two madrassas presumably built in the mid 13th century was located there. The first was Mas'udiya (erected on behalf of the Mongolain great khan by the civil ruler of Bukhara, Mu'ud b. Mahmud al-Harazmi and *mutavalli* and *mudarris* – Sayf al-din al-Baharzi) or the second, Haniya (erected from contributions by the khan's wife, the Kerait Christian Sorghaghtani-biki – mother of the Mongolian khans Mönke, Hulagu, and Kublai) (*Nekrasova* 2018: 106).

Pp. 109, 110. According to the information from waqf certificates and bills of sale, 20 caravanserais built in the 16th-17th centuries have been identified on the territory of Bukhara so far. None survived to the present day.

Pp. 111-112. Sardoba (see comments for pp. 66, 97-98). Additional information: According to a waqf nameh, the sardoba of Khalifa Hudaidad was erected during the reign of the Ashtarkhanid Baki Muhammad Bahadur Khan (1603-1605 CE) (*Turaev* 2001: 85-95).

Pp. 133-139. The author states that "... baths were multi-domed sunken structures [...], a protected storeroom was a half-timbered building ...". The extant bathhouses in Bukhara (16th century: Mira Yari = Sarrafan-i Hafiz-i Haji = Misgaran; late 17th early 18th centuries – Kunjak) were not sunken structures. Over time, these buildings were covered on the outside by a cultural layer, so their monumental vestibules (i.e. the Sarrafan bathhouse has an octagon repeating the plan of Chaharsuk), covered with domes which were either demolished or collapsed, and half-timber rooms were constructed above them. That is why the washing section of these bathhouses was accessed via a down staircase. Page 138 of the monograph shows a section of the Sarrafan bathhouse with underground heat-conduits, but this is not an interpretive reconstruction. The cross-section was made based upon textual source measurements after architectural and archaeological studies of the bathhouse and the clearing of the heat-conduits (archaeologist E. Nekrasova, architect I. Glaznova). Thus, it provides a plan for the bathhouse made by technician V. Ivanov in the 1930s. Abbasova-Yusupova made reference to this document, citing this reviewer's article (*Filimonov, Nekrasova* 1998: 117), but the article has no such plan.

Chapter three "The Typology of Religious Buildings" (pp. 141-198) requires the following additions and remarks:

P. 141. The Arab governor of Khorasan, Kutaiba b. Muslim al-Bahili (ruled 704-715 CE), in 94 AH/713 CE, built the first cathedral mosque in the city's fortress on the site of a pagan temple (*buthana*). In the north section of Registan Square, he founded the first holiday mosque, or *namazgah*, surrounded by a wall with the Ma'bid gate (Arabic meaning *worship*). And the question pertaining to other types of mosques and the time of their appearance in Bukhara and the oasis (quarterly, memorial, in caravanserais, and madrassas) has not been fully determined. Brief information about mosques of the Arab tribes has been preserved. A Christian church in the southwestern part of the shahristan was converted into a "Khanzalite mosque" (banu Khanzala, later probably al-Sham meaning "Syrian"). In the same area is the "mosque of the Sa'dites" (banu Sa'd) and in the northwestern section is the "mosque of the Quraysh" (banu Quraysh) while in the shahristan's northeastern section was the "Hamdanite mosque" (banu Hamdam). The fire temple outside the shahristan in the Mah Bazaar was converted into a mosque (now Magak-i Attari) (*Nekrasova* 2018: 102-103 and thereafter).

P. 144. Haja Zain ad-din is a khanqah mosque containing a luxurious hall with a two-sided *iwan*, mazar, maktab and several hujras for pilgrims combined into one space.[24]

P. 147. The Lyab-i Khauz-i Mir-Dostum mosque was not two-storied, but was erected on a high *sufa* podium.[25] This was a common construction technique for mosques in the 16th century.

Pp. 148-149. At the approximate center of the Kalan minaret's body is a dilapidated Kufic inscription that encircles it. There was not enough space in the same tier to complete the inscription commemorating the beginning date of the building's construction, and its fragment (fig. 3) was placed by the masters in the next higher tier (*Babajanov* et al. 2016: 179-181).

[23] **Ed. note:** An *tim* (Persian) is vaulted-dome covered market, passage.

[24] **Ed. note:** An *iwan* (Persian) is an architectural term denoting a rectangular hall or space usually surrounded by three walls. It often marks an entrance to a monumental building in the Central Asian or Persian context.

[25] **Ed. note:** A *sufa* is an architectural term common in Central Asian contexts that identifies a raised ledge of varying widths that ran around the outer part of a room, often found in houses, that served as ledges for seating or as counter space. In this context, the sufa was utilized to raise the level of a foundation.

Fig. 3. Kalan minaret. Ceramic tiles inserted above very end of the inscription with date. (Photo by E. G. Nekrasova)

However, previously it was mistakenly translated as "Bako's work" (*Zahidov* 1965: 45-47). Unfortunately, Abbasova-Yusupova repeated this mistake.

P. 150. The Haja Kalan juma mosque in the Gaukushan ensemble was a rather original building. During the construction of that quarter's mosque, the hall of the Hayy ("Everlasting," one of the 99 names of Allah) was "built" into its northeastern part of the iwan (*Nekrasova* 2018e: 132-134).

Buildings erected in the 16th century and demolished in the mid 20th century were undeservedly forgotten. One is the original, completely covered Shaikh-shan (Famous Sheikh) juma mosque (demolished in the early 1960s), erected by Kulbaba Kukeltash's father, Amir Yar-Muhammad atka who was the mentor of Abdullah Khan. It was located next to the western facade of the Kulbaba Kukeltash madrassa. The list of mosques not mentioned in the monograph could be continued. Among them, for example, is the Madar-i khan lab-i rud (jami) erected in the 1530s; the Mir Tahur-divan, erected in the 16th-17th centuries on behalf of the family ancestor of hereditary senior government officials to the Bukharan Khanate. Badi-diwan, a descendant of Mir Tahur, mentions it (*Mirza Badi-diwan* 1981: 10, 29-30).

P. 158. On the upper belt of the Kalan minaret, next to the completion date of 524 AH /1129 CE, is a historical low-relief inscription providing the tower's completion date, not "inclusions" of carved glazed terracotta. There are three belts with inscriptions on the minaret trunk in Vabkent. The one in the lower belt names the patron for the construction – Sadr Burhan-ad-din Abd al-'Aziz II and the initial year of construction, 593 AH/1196-97 CE carved from unglazed terracotta. The upper belt contains a Quranic text in carved glazed terracotta with a highlighted date giving the construction's completion, 595 AH/1198-99 CE. (*Nilsen* 1956: 93-97). Inscriptions on the Kalan and Vabkent minarets are 70 years apart. However, during this period, the technique of making carved glazed terracotta changed.

Pp. 159, 161. In the autumn of 1953, a probe pit was dug at the foundation of the Kalan minaret by Sergey Nikolaevich Yurenev. He determined that the foundation was rooted more than 11 m deep, its base hidden in groundwater. Wooden reinforcement beams were introduced into the foundation body, which was made of fired bricks alternating with limestone belts on clay mortar (*Yurenev* 1953: 2-31).

P. 164. The photo caption on this page reads "Kalan Minaret, 1127. After bombardment by artillery shells in 1920. Photos taken in the 1920s." Specification is needed here as this photograph was taken in 1923 during the restoration of the minaret.

Unfortunately, Abbasova-Yusupova missed important facts about the décor of the Kalan minaret. In the gallery, an authentic ceiling fragment was preserved from the flat ceiling of its lantern, and on its trunk, above the inscription (replaced in 1923 by a belt of polychrome geometric mosaic) were fragments of ganch carving.

P. 168. In the Haja Parsa khanqah, the cemetery was located behind the monumental western facade. On page 187, the caption under the photo reads: "Khoja Porso khanqah mosque, 15th century. General view. Photo taken in the early 20th century." In fact, this is a memorial mosque at the Haja Parsa cemetery (half-timbered, with a double-sided iwan supported by wooden columns on the eastern and northern sides), with a darvaza-khana covered with a dome as an entrance to the burial chamber, with a small minaret next to it. It was demolished by 1949 and the photo was taken in 1939-40, probably by Lazar Rempel. Currently, private residential buildings are situated above the cemetery.

P. 169. The Chashma Ayyub monumental portal was erected during construction of the mausoleum, completed in 785 AH /138384 CE. During the 16th-century renovation, the portal was not restored.

P. 178. The interpretation of the courtyard layout in the Kukeltash madrassa, the largest in Bukhara, is

incorrect. Abbasova-Yusupova states that "... in order to save money and space, [the madrassa] was built with two iwans ...." One of the richest and most influential dignitaries of the country, Kulbaba Kukeltash, had no need to save money. To support this madrassa, he established the richest *waqf* (endowment) which included a tim, *kappan*, numerous *dukans* (shops) in the Sarraf-khana (House of Money Changers) quarter "inside the old hisar," in the Hazrat Amir-i Arab bazaar, near Chaharsuk-i Ahanin and the Magak (Attari) mosque, Safid furushan (Sale of white cloth) tim, two caravanserais and many dukans in different parts of the city (*Juraeva* 1997: 113-114).

It is a pity that Abbasova-Yusupova does not analyze in detail any of the types of architectural structures. For example, the Bukharan madrassas are complex not only architecturally, but also in terms of engineering. Sufa platforms, some quite large, were arranged in front of their main facades; functionally, they were the outer yards (sahna-yi birun) of buildings. These sufas were used by students, who gathered there to study their lessons; as well as nobles, scholars and *ulems* who assembled there to argue "about the incorruptibility of the spiritual substance of man, reborn to life," discussing the question "of being in the realm of metaphysics" etc. Unfortunately, today, the sufas at the portals of many madrassas are almost completely removed or shortened, contrary to their buildings' historical appearance; nor are they shown in the plans of this book. The details of the layout of the cells and the life of the madrassa, building materials and so on will not be discussed here. In addition, the book does not mention either the *taharat-khana* (rooms for five ablutions), or the utility courtyards at the madrassa.

Pp. 180-181. Gaziyan Sufi Center. The Mullah Muhammad Sharif madrassa is "identified" as the Big Goziyon (Gaziyan-i Kalan), and the khanqah (with a courtyard, maktab and halls for prayers and dervish rituals) as the Small Goziyon (Gaziyan-i Hurd).

Pp. 186-198. In the 16th-17th centuries, monumental khanqahs inside and outside Bukhara were built on strong platforms, the previously mentioned sufas, which are not reflected in any of the illustrations or in the monograph's text.

P. 189. The caption under the lower illustration reads: "Mavlono Sharif khanqah, 17th century. Plan." However, this is not a khanqah, but a mosque with two iwans on the northern and southern sides, closely attached to an earlier khanqah building, which eventually was transformed into a mausoleum. But for the entire architectural ensemble, of course, the term *khanqah* is quite acceptable.

P. 190. The caption under the upper illustration reads: "Dehkon-bobo khanqah, 15th century. Plan." The dating of the monument is disputed, since it is not mentioned in written sources and has no inscriptions on it; nor has any architectural or archaeological study been conducted.

P. 192. For my comments regarding Haja Parsa see comments for pp. 30, 88 and 168.

P. 193. Sufi Dehkan lived in the late 17th and early 18th centuries (*Mir Muhammad Amin-i Bukhari* 1957: 299-300). There are two known waqf-namehs for a khanqah of this type: The first was compiled in 1115 AH /1703-04 CE on behalf of Hafiz-i Ali Sufi Dihqan, while the second document that had been renewed was dated 1308 AH/1891-92 CE and written on behalf of Hafiz-and Sufi Dihqan.

The fourth chapter "Architectural Ensembles, Memorial and Cultic Complexes" is the shortest yet contain several errors.

Pp. 201, 211. The attempted reconstruction illustration captioned "Goziyon Ensemble, 16th-late 17th centuries. Plan of the first half of the 16th century" is incorrect. In the ensemble center is a khauz, to the south of that, across the street was (and is) the Mullah Muhammad Sharif madrassa (1143-1146 AH/1730-31–1733-34 CE). To the west of the house lies the Gaziyan khanqah mosque, to the north is the former site of the Gaziyan-i Kalan madrassa (a city bathhouse was built on its site in the 1920s-30s). The Qazi al-kuzzat (Chief Court) Mazar was located near the east side of the khauz of Haja Muhammad Zahid al-Bukhari dating to the early 17th century (*Muhammad Nasriddin* 2003: 30).

P. 212. The caption under the picture on this page reads: "Registan Ensemble. Buildings adjacent to the Ark from the 16th and 17th centuries. Photos taken in the early 20th century." But in fact, this is a well-known photograph by a mysterious person nicknamed F. OrdeN, who entitled it "Sheep Bazaar at Registan Square in front of the Citadel of the Emir of Bukhara." It was taken in 1885-1887, and there is not a single building in the photograph that dates to the 16th century.

P. 215. The caption under this photo reads: "Abdulkhalik Gijduvani Complex. General view. Photo made in the mid-20th century." This is not a mistake, but it would be more correct to write: "Sufi ensemble of Abd al-Khaliq Gijduvani. Southeast view. Photo by E. N. Yuditsky, 1950." The absence of clear references and citing of source illustrations in a number of captions is a common problem throughout the book.

Pp. 222, 223-224. Hazrat Imam is the oldest Muslim necropolis in Bukhara, which is still operating today. It was founded shortly after the conquest of the city by the Arabs at the northern edge of the first namazgah of Bukhara.[26] Named Hazrat Imam or Haja Baror (Haja, meaning to bring success or luck) after Abu Hafs Kabir al-Bukhari, which was the nickname for a popular Hanafi sheikh, great theologian,

Fig. 4. Hazrat-i Imam necropolis, view from the south. (Photo by D. I. Ermakov, 1890). In the background, Abu Hafs Kabir al-Bukhar hazirai, marked with three tugs

and *faqih* (jurist), buried there (150-217 AH /767-832 CE). In the mid or, more likely, the first half of the 9th century, the cemetery and namazgah were surrounded by a city wall and thus included in the territory of Bukhara's outer city (rabad). For centuries, the main place of pilgrimage was a hazira with the graves of Abu Hafs Kabir, his son Abu Hafs Saghir and other persons marked with ceramic grave markers. On the instructions of the Karakanid ruler, Arslan Khan Muhammad b. Sulaiman (1102-1130 CE), the hazira was reconstructed. Its portal is decorated with a monumental Kufic inscription made of carved ganch; a memorial mosque decorated with both polished and glazed turquoise bricks (fig. 4) is arranged beside it.

P. 223. The diagram captioned "Hazrati Imam Complex in Bukhara. The 1990s master plan with main buildings constructed between the 16th to early 20th centuries, before the reconstruction of the complex" has on it the necropolis buildings. Building No. 2 referred to as a "mausoleum", was, in fact, since about the 16th century the female Bibi Zudmurad shrine (*Nekrasova* 2018j: 89-90). Archaeological research established that two mosques were located successively under its floor. The lower one was a memorial mosque with a wall containing a mihrab and made of polished bricks with turquoise-glazed tile inserts. Opposite it was presumably, the hazira of Abu Hafs Kabir.[27] Building No. 1, is captioned "Hazira with the burial of Hazrati Imam in sagana". Until recently, the Abu Hafs hazira was located on the crest of the old, fortified wall, where it was "lifted" during the relocation of the wall 500 m to the south. A *dakhma* was arranged in the center. It contained artifacts from the destroyed Abu Hafs hazira.

[26] It was founded in the early 8th century by the Arab commander Kutaiba b. Muslim.

[27] Archaeological research titled "Research Work on the Compilation of Historical-Architectural and Historical-Urban Reference Plans for the Historical Section of Bukhara" was conducted with short interruptions from September 1987 to June 1989 by archaeologists from UzNIPIR. The project author was V. M. Filimonov

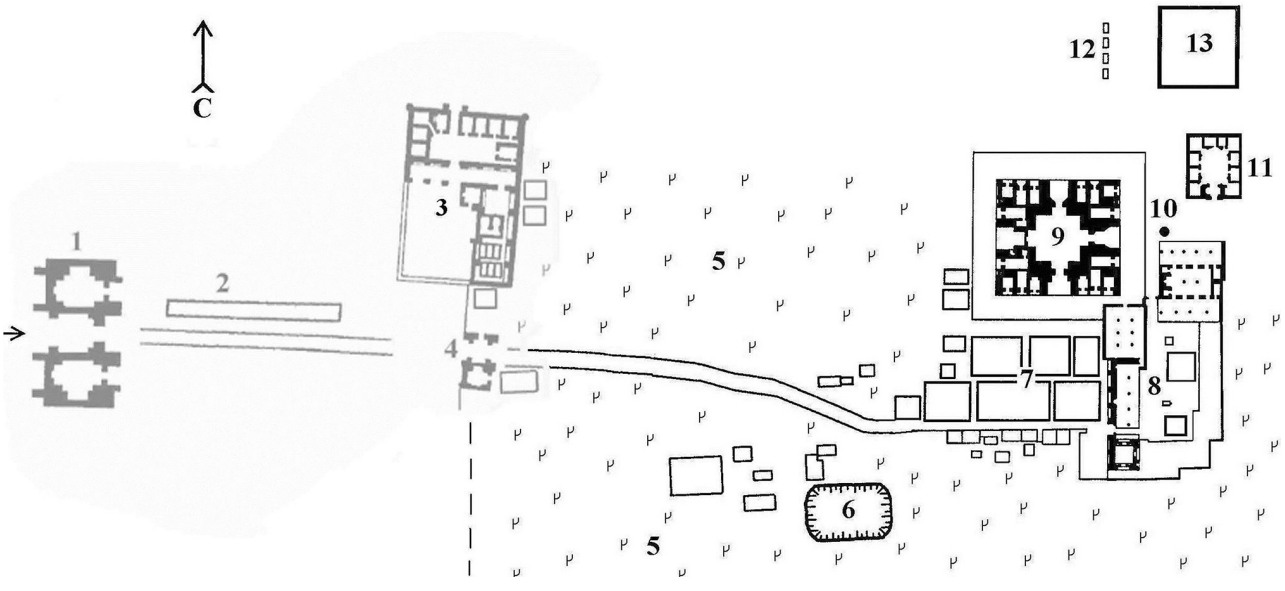

Fig. 5. Baha al-Din Naqshband complex. I. First courtyard in the 1940-50s was moved beyond the territory of the ensemble, the entrance complex was demolished, and a secondary school and stadium were built in its place .[1] Main entrance to the mazar of Baha' ad-din-Tak-i Miyan, "the middle arch" between the two Ipak Ayyim mosques. 16th century. 2. Dwellings begger families (not extant). 3. The family mausoleum and madrassa of Daniyal-biy Atalik from the Mangyt dynasty. 4. Haja Dilawar darvaza-khana (plan for the 1990s architectural and archaeological studies; re-erected in the first decade of the 21st century). 5. Second courtyard. By the 1980s, the necropolis in many parts was covered with soil. 6. Remains of khauzes in the garden that once existed on the site. 7. Dakhma-yi Shahan (Shah's (Khan's) dakhmas) 16th-early 18th centuries. Third courtyard. 8. Hazira of Baha' ad-din Naqshband. 8a. Bab-i Salam, Greeting Gate, the main gate of the shrine. 9. Khanqah of Sheibanid 'Abd al-'Aziz Khan. 10. Minaret, 1302 AH/1884-5 CE. 11. Amir Muzaffar madrassa, late 18th century (now it houses a museum). 12. Bazar (not extant); 13. 16th-century khauz. 14. Trunk of the sacred mulberry tree, which until the 1930s was located at the eastern edge of the khauz. 15. Entrance to the mazar was built in the early 1970s and had the form of a small brick darvaza-khana; the road through the necropolis was made before the visit of a sheikh from Saudi Arabia. In the first decade of the 21st century, an imposing entrance complex was built there, which now is the main entrance to the ensemble called Bab-i Islam (calligrapher H. Salih). 16. Red Rose Garden, behind it is an architectural ensemble (mosque, minaret, khauz) with the mazar of Baha'ad-din Naqshband Bibi 'Arifa's mother. See: *Nekrasova* 2018c

A short distance from the mazar of Abu Hafs Kabir, was a khanqah established by Amir Timur Kuragan.[28] In 2009-2011, Abu Hafs Kabir's mazar underwent a radical reconstruction. A small mausoleum (a replica of the mausoleum of the Samanids) was erected on the site of the hazira; it was surrounded on three sides by iwans on slender columns. Ancient decoration techniques are used in the building design and it was covered with a small dome. The inscriptions are made of polished terracotta and carved ganch. In the mausoleum interior are four grey marble tombstones, covered with exquisite ornaments and inscriptions (*Babajanov* et al. 2016: 73-133).

Pp. 224-225. The illustration captioned "Baha ad-Din Naqshband Complex, 15th-early 20th Centuries. Plan" is careless and not well done. In fact, this world renowned Sufi shrine is three times larger in area than depicted (fig. 5).

The last, fifth chapter, "The Features of the Bukharan School of Architecture" will be left without comments, although many questions arise when one reads it thoughtfully.

One of the significant shortcomings of M. Abbasova-Yusupova's monograph is that she ignores the results of architectural and archaeological research in Bukhara conducted for many years by researchers

with archaeologists E. Nekrasova (head of architectural and archaeological research), S. Inyutin, A. Voskovsky, S. Nizinkovsky, D. Chunikhin, V. Shindin. The work results are partially published.

[28] A 1518 copy of the document has been preserved. See the Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan (Узбекистон Республикаси марказий давлат архиви). Collection I - 323. Op. 1. Book 2. D. 1096.

[29] Necropolis and Sufi center of Baha' ad-din Naqshband. Reconstruction of the general plan in the early 20th century. Made up by E. Nekrasova based on written sources and the materials of architectural and archaeological research (1990-1991, 1996-1998, 2001-2005).

from the Bukharan team at the Institute of Archaeology under the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR and architectural archaeologists from UzNIPIR despite beginning her professional career in this latter institution.[30] Meanwhile, the Central Asian School of Restoration founder, Boris Nikolaevich Zasypkin (*Zasypkin* 1928: 3-7),[31] Nina Borisovna Nemtseva (*Nemtseva* 1981: 79-87), and Galina Anatolyevna Pugachenkova (*Pugachenkova* 1982: 24-30) wrote about the importance of architectural and archaeological study of these monuments before restoration. If Abbasova-Yusupova had looked through the results of this research, she would have understood the reasons for the collapse of the eastern wall of the Abdulaziz Khan madrassa. This building is now in an acute state of disrepair with its foundations pierced by vertical cracks which are especially numerous in the western wall interior's foundation, which places this wonderful summer mosque on the verge of collapse.

The section *Residential Architecture* (pp. 71-77) is based exclusively on other people's materials, so where is the work of the researcher herself !? This also applies to other monuments in Bukhara. In several cases, she dates Tak-i Zargaran (Chaharsuk-i Darun) to the 15th century, without bothering to consider the architectural and topographical situation. Examples include the area of the Mir-i Arab madrassa and Tak-i Zargaran with a mosque and bazaars behind the eastern facade of the Mir-and Arab madrassa and bazaars to the north of Tak-i Zargaran. The minimal use of information from plenteous number of written sources is also depressing. Unfortunately, M. Abbasova-Yusupova left aside numerous city plans of Bukhara, especially the Parfenov-Fenin plan with a list of 547 city buildings (*Nekrasova* 2015: 368-370; *Nekrasova* 2006a: 252-274).[32] The absence of numerals under the illustrations presents certain difficulties in reading and analyzing the monograph. The quality of the illustrative material deserves special discussion.

In his preface, the research editor of the book, Academician Edward Rtveladze, notes that the book under review is the final version of a doctoral thesis successfully defended by the author in 2000 at the Moscow Architectural Institute, yet "revised and supplemented taking into account the repeated field expeditions undertaken by M. Abbasova-Yusupova." It is a pity that the outstanding archaeologist Edward Vasilyevich Rtveladze, noting the merits of this monograph, did not delve into its obvious shortcomings, which this article has sought to accomplish, and which could have been avoided.

[30] Architectural archaeologists from UzNIPIR have identified and studied many large architectural ensembles, necropolises, mausoleums and haziras, as well as trade structures, gates, bridges, caravanserais and so on, in Bukhara and the region. The results of these studies in the form of reports and albums of illustrations are freely available in the archive of the Main Research and Production Department for the Protection and Use of Cultural Heritage Objects (GlavNPU), Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

[31] The archive of the GlavNPU under the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Uzbekistan has the manuscript in storage: B. N. Zasypkin. *Methods of Studying, Recordation, and Restoration of Architectural Monuments in Uzbekistan.* Tashkent, 1945, No. 0/1855 Z 36, 17 pages.

[32] This article presents the Parfenov-Fenin plan with a list of buildings in Bukhara.

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DILNOZA RAJABOVA

FROM THE HISTORY OF SHIITE-SUNNI CONFLICTS IN THE EMIRATE OF BUKHARA

Abstract: *The article studies the historiography of the Sunni-Shiite uprising in January 1910 in the Emirate of Bukhara. While the Sunni Islam in this Central Asian state was based on Hanafi Sharia law, Shiite Muslims formed the majority in the administration of the emirate. When the Emirate of Bukhara became a protectorate of the Russian Empire, the influence of Shiites in its administration increased enormously. The reason for that was that by the middle of the 19th century, former hired Shiite slaves were appointed to important state positions, and social equality was specified in vassal treaties (1868, 1873). The emergence of such changes in the Bukharan society caused the opposition of the Sunni nobility, resulting in an acute conflict. In the emirate, the local population was dissatisfied with high taxes and social changes. Shiite Muslims were also influenced by the ideas of social equality propagated by members of the Babi movement in Iran, who were hiding from repression in Central Asia, which led to bloodshed between Sunnis and Shiites in Bukhara. The causes and consequences of the uprising are analysed on the basis of local and foreign historical sources, periodicals, archival documents, as well as data of modern research.*

Key words: *Bukhara, Kushbegi, slaves, Persians, Shiites, Sunnis, Sheikh-ul-Islam, Ashuro, Sarbaz, uprising.*
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IN THE middle of the 19th century, the Shiite denomination in the territory of the Emirate of Bukhara was a very large. Sources do not clearly specify the time of the appearance of Persians, whom the Bukharans called *Ironi, Marvi* or *Mashhedi.* Most of them were descendants of settlers from Khorasan, mainly from Merv (*Sukhareva* 1966: 154-155). The Bukharan Persians themselves believe that their ancestors have lived there since the ancient times of the emergence of Bukhara. The Mangyt dynasty continued the policy of the Sheibanids and Ashtarkhanids of resettling opposing tribes. According to Muhammad Yakub Bukhari, Amir Shahmurad initially brought 17,000 families to Bukhara and settled them in different parts of the emirate. Later, he again brought to Samarkand from Iran and Khorasan 30,000 Tajik-speaking families, descendants of the Kyzylbash Shiites, and ordered that they converted to Sunnism. His successor Amir Haidar also resettled about 400 families in order to weaken local officials and prevent the local nobility from consolidating and striving for independence from Merv (*Khanykov* 1843: 71).

The influx of the Persian population in various ways to the territory of the emirate continued in later periods. In particular, until the late 19th century, they were captured and sold as slaves by nomadic Turkmen tribes in the slave markets of Bukhara and Khiva. Most of the Persians in Bukhara were slaves brought from Merv in the 16th-19th centuries (*Schuyler* 1876a: 106, 109). In the middle of the 19th century, Persian slaves served in the army of the Emir of Bukhara, were the servants of officials from the emir's office and household workers in noble families. Arminius Vamberi wrote: "The Persians in Bukhara pay constant religious taxes and have adapted very well to the khanate. Because it was cheaper for them to live here than in their own country, and it was a convenient place for practising handicrafts. Some of them have even won the trust of noble masters.[1]" According to the 1926 census, 6,000 Persians were registered in the emirate, with 2,000 living in the city of Bukhara (*Sukhareva* 1966: 154).

Residents of Bukhara had very active social ties with the Persians. In particular, the historian Mir Ab-

[1] According to A. Vamberi, the number of Persian slaves in Central Asia (mainly in Khiva and Bukhara) was 80,000 (*Vamberi* 2003: 15), while Pavel Ivanov claimed that these figures were rough and, citing other sources, indicated that in fact the number did not exceed 40,000 (*Ivanov* 1958: 164).

dulkarim Bukhori (died 1830) wrote that "the Mervs deported by Amir Shahmurad seemed to have found a new homeland in Bukhara[2]" V. V. Barthold also acknowledged this and wrote that "the Mervians lived here with gratitude" (*Barthold* 1927: 108).

According to the available information, it is difficult to specify time and numbers of the Persian population that penetrated into Bukhara, but there is a hypothesis. In Bukhara, it is necessary to distinguish between two types of Iranian-speaking population: free Iranians resettled by the rulers of Bukhara since the early 1st millennium AD and those that came from Merv and representatives of other Iranian peoples who were captured and sold by nomadic Turkmens until the early 20th century. They were the most numerous Shiites in the territory of the emirate. Shiites lived in different districts of Bukhara, mainly in the western guzars of the city. Many Shiites lived in the villages of Kumrabot and Afshar Mahalla, which were located near the city on the territory of the Jubor quarter.

Shiite Persians lived near the khojas of Jubor, in the mahallas of Chakar, Abdullahoja, Chukur Mahalla, Waqf and Hauzi Baland. The Persians who lived in the central part of the Tupkhona quarter and in the western part of the Ark in the old shahristan in the Dust-Churago quarter of Bukhara were Sunnis. They had lived here for many years and prayed in mosques with other residents of Bukhara (*Turaev* 2021: 39-40). In the second half of the 19th century, when the Persians, who had achieved social equality, settled in the Kosagaron mahalla, this street became known as Kuchai gulomo. Some other Shiites converted to Sunnism and mixed with the indigenous Bukharans.

The Shiite Persians also had to comply with certain restrictions in the emirate. In particular, their quarters in Bukhara were divided, and those who converted to Sunnism had three prayer houses (husainikhonas) in Bukhara along the Tupkhona and Jubor mahallas. The first was located in the old quarter of Hauzi Baland, the second in the mahalla of Morkush, and the third was between the mahallas of Juyizar and Janafaron. There was also another large husainikhona prayer house in Kagan (New Bukhara) (*Rahmatova, Kurbonov* 1995: 125). The visitors of the husainikhona prayer houses performed worshipping rituals guided by a sheikh. They did not gather there every day for prayer. People came to the husainikhonas in large numbers only for the *ashuro* annual mourning ceremony (*shohsei-vohsei* ritual, self-torture for the death of Hussein). The mourning ceremony was dedicated to the martyrdom of the grandchildren of the Prophet Muhammad, descendants of Ali and Fatima – brothers Hassan and Hussein and their sisters. Shiites blame themselves for not having been able to save them from the tyranny of unbelievers, repent and during the ceremony beat themselves for this *gunohi kabir* (great sin). Every year ashuro lasts for more than a month, during which people mourn and wear mourning clothes. Sometimes a child on a horseback embodied a symbolic scene of the youth of Ali's descendants, and sometimes Ali's descendants were buried symbolically in a coffin (*Muhammad Solih* 2008: 34). So, starting from the tenth day of ashuro in the month of Muharram, Bukharan Shiites wore mourning clothes in the memorial hall of husainikhonas for 30 days (*Sukhareva* 1966: 160-161).

By the late 19th–early 20th century, the activity of the Persians in the center of the Emirate of Bukhara increased due to social equality (Amir Sayyid Abdulahad Khan abolished slavery in 1885) (*Becker* 1968: 320-321). They began to hold religious rites in the streets and squares of Bukhara. The attitude of the local Sunni population towards them was moderate. "Mostly the Sunni neighbors sympathised with the Shiites and joined their mourning ceremonies in the open air between the gates of Samarkand and Shergiron," noted the British diplomat Alexander Burnes in 1834 (*Burnes* 1848: 369). By this time, the liberated Persian soldiers had returned to their homeland, while others remained in service as mercenaries. Emir Abdulahad Khan had to spend extra money to replenish his army (*Shubinsky* 1892: 266). They also became more active in domestic economic relations. In addition to activities such as handicraft, sericulture, silk production and processing, some free Persians also were hired as workers to assist artisans. Moreover, the Emir allowed the Persians to continue their activities in his office and in military units, which led to their increased influence in the political sphere.

Ahmad Donish (1827-1897) noted that the interference of Persian officials in palace affairs began during the reign of Emir Haidar, and they faithfully served as "disciples" under *divanbegi* and religious leaders, and by the time of his successor Nasrullah Khan Bahadir, they were engaged in military affairs (*Donish* 2014: 33). It is known that "hired slaves" were selected from Russian, Kalmyk and Persian prisoners for involvement in office and military work (*Kislyakov* 1962: 41).

P. P. Shubinsky and N. A. Kislyakov mention in their works that the position of a *kushbegi,* chief tax collector and head of artillery, was one of the important government positions in the emirate. The kushbegi controlled the administration of the entire emirate, managed bekships and supervised officials in responsible positions; the chief tax collector controlled tax-

[2] *Materials on the History of Turkmens and Turkmenia.* Volume II. 16th-19th centuries. Iranian, Bukharan and Khivan sources. Moscow - Leningrad: USSR Academy of Sciences, 1938. P. 198-201. (In Russian).

es, income, internal and external trade relations; the head of artillery supervised military potential, the army, foreign policy affairs and maintained official relations on these issues with the Turkestan Governor-General, the political agency in the emirate and neighboring countries (*Shubinsky* 1892: 140; *Kislyakov* 1962: 47). By the second half of the 19th century, Mullah Muhammadi (1872-1889), one of Amir Muzaffar Khan's hired slaves, was a kushbegi at the latter's palace (*Kimura Satori* 2021: 199), and the chief tax collector and head of the military unit was the kushbegi's son Muhammad Sharif (*Schuyler* 1876b: 99). A number of other Shiite officials, such as the governor of Hisar, Astanakul-kushbegi (*Rajabov, Inoyatov* 2016: 285), devonbegi Muhammad Yusuf, Gulam Haidarbegi, Haidarkul Inak ibn Muhammad Sharif Devonbegi and Muminbek Inak, worked as kushbegi's subordinates (*Vohidov, Kholikova* 2006: 40). The grand vizier of the palace, Muhammad Shokhbiy, was a kushbegi (*kushbegi poin* or *kulli kushbegi*), as well as four successive high ministers before Astanakul-kushbegi (1905-1910), were descendants of hired slaves (*Kimura Satori* 2021: 194).

By the late 19th century, while Shiite officials were appointed to the main palace posts, all religious titles and positions in accordance with Sharia were transferred to Sunni Muslims. In particular, from the lowest ordinary muezzin and imam to the highest kazi-kalan and Sheikh-ul-Islam, there were religious duties that were assigned to Sunni Muslim scholars, and they were appointed only by the descendants of the Khojas and Seyids. After the emirate became a vassal of the Russian Empire, diplomatic relations were held through political officials. The kushbegi acted as an intermediary between the emir and the Russian government (*Bregel* 2000: 8-12).

The Sunni ulama Mirzo Somiy Bustoniy and Ahmad Donish, who were palace mirzas (scribes), in their works call all the Shiite movements and branches rofizi.[3] Both authors wrote that the transition of the palace administration into the hands of Shiite officials would lead to a state crisis. They maintained that the reason was that the transition of not only the office, but also the entire state administration under the control of Shiites would also have a negative impact on the faith.[4]

By the early 20th century, disagreements on the multi-confessional aspect of Bukhara became more frequent. As a result, the Shiite-Sunni conflicts that arose several times under Emir Muzaffar Khan continued under Abdulahad Khan. Some Sunni scholars accused Abdulahad Khan, who ruled the emirate from Karmana, of "his mother, his wife, the kushbegi and several high-ranking officials being Shiites, which weakens Islamic beliefs; in addition, this is heresy, which the Crown Prince of the emir studied at a Christian school (*Rashidov U., Rashidov U'.* 1987: 31). These statements were distributed by Agha Reza Eshon Ali Askarkhanov, a citizen of the Ottoman Empire who came to Old Bukhara in 1909, and Mir Haidar Mirbadalov, a representative of the Russian Political Agency in Bukhara, who began to incite local Sunnis against Shiites. Turkish propagandist spies, Sunni nobles dissatisfied with the government, and clerics tried to replace Emir Abdulahad Khan with one of his Sunni brothers (*Tukhtametov* 1977: 33).

The Qazi-kalan of the Emirate of Bukhara, Sunni Bakohoja, and Chairman Burkhoniddin, were dissatisfied with the activities of kushbegi Astanakul and other Shiites in the political administration. According to the writer Sadriddin Aini, Burkhoniddin and Mullah Qamar from Tatarstan began to look for ways to remove Astanakul from his post (*Ainii* 1987: 57). Mullah Qamar was considered a secret employee of the Russian Political Agency.

Many reforms in the emirate caused discontent among the population: reforms in education, which consisted in the lowering of student allowances (scholarships) with a decrease in waqf property, renting out madrasah premises to merchants; the colonial policy of taxation of raw materials and wealth of the emirate was actually carried out by the Russian Empire through Shiite officials. The fact that kushbegi Astanakul appointed his relatives to many key posts in the administration of the emirate, in addition to all these difficulties, became unbearable for the local population and the Sunni nobility.

In January 1910, people began an open struggle with kushbegi Astanakul. On one of those days, with the permission of the kushbegi, Iranian Shiites gathered for the *ashuro* funeral ceremony at the Bolo-Hovuz Mosque in front of the Ark, not far from the Samarkand Gate. The ceremony took place every year in husainikhonas, but a public celebration in an open square became an impetus for an uprising. Sunnis called this ceremony heresy and asked Mufti Imam Domullah Ikram to issue a fatwa to cancel its public celebration. But Domullah Ikram rejected this claim, saying that Sunnis also had heretical traditions and rituals (*Ayniy* 2010: 73).[5]

At first, a Sunni mullah student studying at a Bukharan madrasah was punished by mourning people claiming that he laughed at Shiites who beat them-

[3] Rofism – the word *rofiz* means in Arabic to walk or refuse. This was the designation for all Shiite movements that rejected the sunnahs of the Prophet Muhammad (*Tulepov* 2013: 73).

[4] Mirzo Somiy. Mirot al-yakin. Manuscript from the Bukhara State Library, No. 70, ca 1893.)

[5] This refers to a local pagan ritual known as the Red Flower or Tulip Holiday (*Peshchereva* 1927).

selves and cried. Abdurauf Fitrat, one of the most famous representatives of Central Asian Jadidism, was in the city when this conflict began in Bukhara: "On Saturday, when I left my room and came to Toki Telpakduzon, I saw about fifty mullahs who gathered to discuss something. I came up to them and listened. They told that behind the Samarkand Gate two or three mullahs travelling to a performance quarrelled with Iranians. It was the 10th month of Muharram, 1328 AH" (*Abdirashidov* 2023: 5).

Sunnis protested and gathered in the Ark Square. They demanded that kushbegi Astanakul punish the Iranian Shiites and that the ashuro ceremony be prohibited in Bukhara. The rebels at first consisted mainly of madrasah students, and then they were followed by a Sunni crowd. There were more than 10,000 of them. Astanakul sent the Emir's soldiers against the Sunnis gathered in front of the Ark, which resulted in bloodshed on January 9, 1910.

The uprising lasted for three days with lulls and outbursts, and all publications described it as the largest Sunni-Shiite conflict at that time. In particular, in addition to official statements by the government of the Russian Empire, these events were covered by periodicals in the Muslim world, such as Turkestanskaya Oblastnaya Gazeta (Turkestan Regional Newspaper, Tashkent), Burkhan-i Tarakki (The Basis of Development, Astrakhan), Vakt and Shura (Orenburg), Bayon ul Khak (Statement of Truth, Kazan), Mullah Nasriddin (Tiflis), Tarjiman (Translator, Bakhchisarai) and Sirat-ul-Mustakim (Turkey) (*Kimura Satori,* 2021: 206).

Crimean Tatar intellectual Ismail Gasprinsky, analysing the Sunni-Shiite conflict in Bukhara, recognised the financial system of the state and the pressure by the Russian Empire as the main reasons. He wrote about the collapse of the education system, which also damaged trade relations (*Abdurashidov* 2012: 182).

Amir Abdulahad Khan, who was in Karmana, sent Mirzo Nasrullah, the bek of Shahrisabz, Mirzo Nizamiddin Urganji, the bek of Charjuy, and Sayyid Olimkhan, the bek of Karmana, to Bukhara to suppress the uprising. But when the uprisings did not subside, at the suggestion of the political agency, the Turkestan Governor-General was asked for military assistance. On 13 January 1910, Russian troops headed by General G. Lilienthal came from Samarkand to Bukhara and suppressed the rebellion. After these bloody events, on 15 January, the leaders of the two sides, Shiite and Sunni, agreed on peace. Astanakul was removed from the position of a kushbegi, and the bek of Shakhrisabz was replaced by the Sunni Mirza Nasrullah kushbegi (*Tukhtametov* 1977: 30-48). Many innocent people suffered from the uprising. About 500 Iranians and Bukharans were killed. More than 300 Shiites were expelled from Bukhara after the truce.

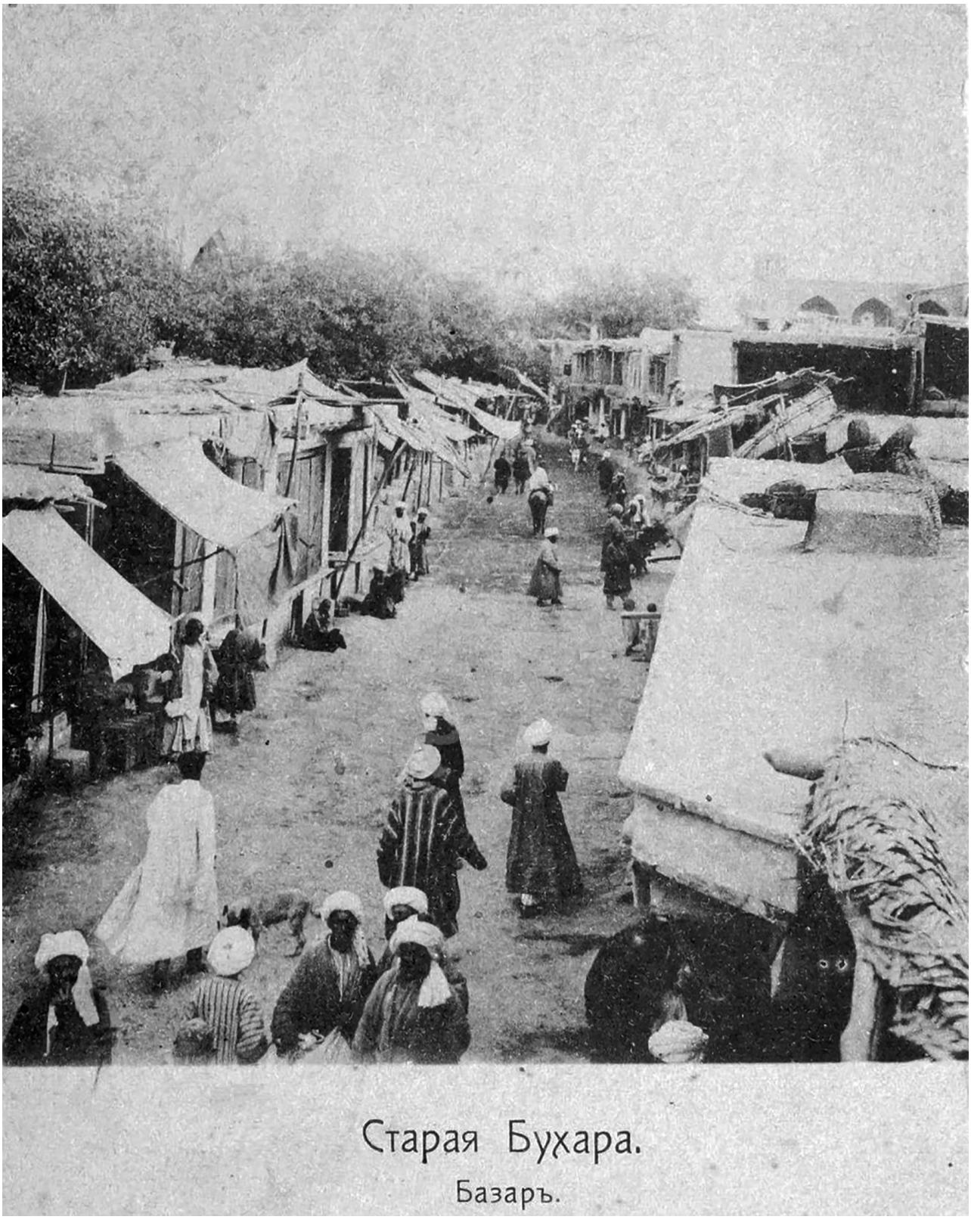
Describing the January events in Bukhara, the Russian officer Enpe noted in his memoirs that the military weakness of the Emirate of Bukhara increased its dependence on the armed forces of the Russian Empire (*Enpe* 1910: 188). Indeed, the socio-political and economic situations in the Emirate of Bukhara were very difficult and the emir's policy was under strict Russian control.

American traveller William Curtis in his essay Turkestan – the Heart of Asia wrote about these events as follows: "The movements of 1910 did not begin suddenly, they combined religious and political demands from the rebels, [...] although the Russian government took measures against the uprising, in fact both opposing sides wanted to protect their rights. The reason was the absence of a constitution and parliament in the country" (*Curtis* 1911: 141-144).

Sadriddin Aini in his works The History of the Mangyt Emirs in Bukhara and Materials on the Bukharan Revolution referred to the mutual disagreements between the Sunni Kazikalon Burkhoniddin (son of Kazikalon Badriddin), chairman Mullah Bakokhoja and the Shiite Astanakul-kushbegi as the cause of the uprising. Ahmad Donish wrote in Meyor ut-Tadayun that before the death of Kazikalon Mullah Badriddin in 1908, all religions, except Sunnism, were strictly controlled. Later, attempts to prove that their religion is the only true one intensified among Sunnis, Shiites, Jews and Christians. Although the state religion was the Sunni branch of Islam, the fact that it was headed by the Shiite Kushbegi Janmirza and the chief tax collector, the Shiite Astanakul, caused discontent among Sunni scholars (*Donish* 2008: 6a, b).

V. V. Bartold considered the 1910 events in Bukhara the response of Sunni officials to oppression and unjust rule or reactionary actions by religious fanatics (*Bartold* 1927: 246), while the Soviet historian A. H. Khamraev wrote that it was a bloody struggle between two feudal strata for political control over the working population of Bukhara (*Khamraev* 1955: 70). T. G. Tukhtametov in his research focused on this event and came to the conclusion that the uprising was caused by the activities of Turkish spies, and this was based on the "insidious plans of Germany (agents in Turkey)" in their colonial policy.

U. Zh. Rashidov concludes that the suppression of the rebellion with the help of the Russian military meant official interference in the internal affairs of the emirate (*Rashidov, U.* 1987: 33). Kimura Satori admits that the Sunnis were not against the Shiites, but against their beliefs, and that the uprising was a radical reaction to their long-standing discontent



Bazaar in Bukhara. Russian postcard from the early 20th century

(*Kimura Satori* 2021:208). O. A. Sukhareva assessed the events of 1910 as a strong blow to the cultural ties of Sunnis and Shiites, their blood and clan relations (*Sukhareva* 1966: 165). Despite the interfaith tolerance in Bukhara, some political agents managed to introduce discord into local traditions among a large number of Muslims.

Analysing the events of 1910 on the basis of archival documents, it is possible to see the influence of the participants of the defeated Iranian Babist movement, who took refuge in the territory of the Central Asian khanates, on the Shiites of the Emirate of Bukhara.[6] Although Shiites became active in the government of the emirate, since the second half of the 19th century it was under the control of imperial curators. In 1898, tax collector Mullah Muhammad Gavhar Devonbegi was arrested and interrogated along with treasurer Astanakul for sending too much money to Mashhad, where he was born, and for abusing his political position. When Astanakul was proved innocent and Devonbegi imprisoned, the Russian Empire's control over the economic affairs of the emirate consolidated.[7] In 1899, the Russian government ordered that the emir and his office move to a magnificent palace built at the expense of the emir's treasury in New Bukhara. But kushbegi Janmirza conveyed the emir's negative response, claiming that the emir ruled from Karmana because of the influence of the weather on his health and that the palace was not built in accordance with Muslim traditions (*Olufsen* 1911: 575). The ideas of social equality in the Babist movement[8] had a strong influence on the Shiite nobility engaged in trade in the Emirate of Bukhara. Shiite Muslims who made pilgrimages to Mashhad and Karbala were familiar with the ideas of Babism.

The 1910 uprising requires an in-depth study of its origins, causes, results and consequences. Analysing archival documents, historical sources and modern research data about this event, we can make the following conclusions. Each social stratum that participated in the uprising had its own reasons for protest. In particular, rebelling madrasah students were dissatisfied with the increasingly difficult living and studying conditions in the education system; artisans, dehkans (peasants) and small middle-class merchants were tired of increased taxes; this was caused by an increase in the number of Shiite officials in the administration of the emirate of notable Sunnis and their rejection of injustice. Moreover, influenced by the ideals of social equality in Babism, local Shiite Muslims also had their own claims. By the early 20th century, they began to consider themselves entitled to have equal relations with the Sunnis in all respects, which allowed external forces to organise an uprising.

The situation in the early 20th century required that the Emir of Bukhara Sayyid Abdulahad Khan ease the pressure of the Russian Empire, preserve relations between the government and religious figures in the world, and carry out reforms in the interests of the local population. But since the small numbers of Shiites in the political administration of the emirate were not taken into account by the majority of notable Sunni officials, the sharp protests caused by the religious factor had serious consequences.

As a result of the uprising, Sunni Mirza Nasrullah was made the kushbegi of the emirate, and although Shiites were removed from other positions, the system of governance in the emirate remained unchanged. Therefore, throughout 1910, the threat of a new rebellion worried the imperial government. Among other preventive measures, in April 1910, the passport system of the Russian Empire was introduced and a control group was created in Old Bukhara, the latter consisting of 12 Russian political agents who were paid (the annual salary of 7,980 roubles consisted of 2,000 rubles allocated by the empire, and 5,980 roubles that came from the emirate treasury). They were aimed at strengthening control over the population (*Tukhtametov* 1977: 46-48). The Russian authorities also intended to eliminate British, German and Turkish spies who were secretly operating in the emirate.

So, the main reason for the Sunni-Shiite uprising in Bukhara in 1910 was, of course, the socio-political protest, while religious discord actually became a pretext. The multi-confessional situation in the Emirate of Bukhara was was favourable for the conspirators. Shiites were one of the main confessions there, like Jews and Hindus. They were mainly engaged in trade, handicrafts and sericulture, and followed legal and religious restrictions until they achieved social equality. In the late 19th–early 20th centuries, despite the consolidation of the political position of a small number of Shiite officials in the government of the emirate, they became oppositional to the Sunni elite. The big uprising in the early 20th century clearly showed that the emirate, as a de facto colonial territory, was strongly under the political influence of Western powers in the so-called Great Game.

[6] National Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Op. I-1, doc. 1020, shs. 1-3.

[7] National Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Op. I-3, doc. 127, sh. 52-54.

[8] Babism is a movement founded in Iran by Muhammad Ali Tabrizi in 1826, promoting the ideas of social equality and fair legal governance (*Schimmel* 2009: 98; Encyclopædia Iranica, III/3:309-317).

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CHRONICLE

ELENA NERAZIK

BRIEF AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Preface. *Doctor of Historical Sciences Elena Evdokimovna Nerazik wrote her autobiography in 2019. A few years earlier, her resumptive work "Formation of the Early Medieval Society in the Lower Amu Darya [Oxus] River" was published, whereby she virtually crowned her active scientific career. However, all these years she has kept abreast with the discoveries and new publications on archeology of Central Asia. Of course, she kept a keen interest in the results of the work of the Karakalpak-Australian archaeological expedition, which was undertaken to the settlement of Akhshakan-kala, the first capital city of the ancient Khorezm. Retiring from her work, E. E. Nerazik nevertheless continued to reflect on a number of issues which, from her point of view, had not been properly covered by research and scientific literature, and which she, in her own words,"would love to study, if she had the strength to." In particular, in conversations with me, she mentioned such topics as "Khorezm and the northern borders of Parthia", "Ceramic complexes and the ethnic history of Khorezm", but she did not wish to commit her ideas to paper, explaining that she provides a field of activity for the coming generations of scholars.*

One day, I had the honor to ask Elena Evdokimovna to write a brief text for Wikipedia about her contribution to the development of Central Asian archaeological science and the history of Khorezm. She agreed to do it, and, overcoming her age difficulties (at that time she was already 92), wrote eight pages in small hand, with the reservation that the publication would only be allowed after her death. On December 18, 2022, Elena Evdokimovna passed away. Fulfilling her wish, I hereby provide the reader with the latest manuscript conveying the scholar's view on her own life and scientific legacy. In 1990, the contribution of Nerazik to science and international cooperation in the scientific field was celebrated by the UNESCO Albert Einstein Medal award.

Olga Inevatkina

Key words: *archaeology, Khorezm, the Khorezmian expedition, Ayaz-kala 2, Yakke-Parsan, Toprak-kala.*
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I WAS BORN on November 17, 1927, to a family of teachers. My father was a teacher of literature at Vitebsk Pedagogical Institute (Byelorussia), my mother was a school teacher of German. After graduating from high school, I entered the Faculty of History of Moscow State University. After graduating from it, in 1950, I was admitted to the doctoral school of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences (nowadays, N. N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of Russian Academy of Sciences), where I studied under the guidance of the outstanding scholar Sergey Pavlovich Tolstov. From 1950, I started working at the same institute, in the meantime, I successively defended my candidate thesis, and then my doctoral thesis, too. Independent field trips, as part of the Khorezm archaeological and ethnographic expedition, with which I cast my lot, began in 1952 and these trips went on until 1990, when the field work of the expedition on the territory of the Karakalpak SSR practically ceased after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

During those years, the exploration routes of the scholar covered the right-bank and left-bank parts of Khorezm, while the survey of the archaeological sites was carried out using aerial photography and the Khorezm map of irrigation systems with the mark-up of the existing archaeological sites made on it by Boris Vasilyevich Andriyanov, which is still not fully published. He made a duplicate copy of this map and kindly provided it to me. The routes were accompanied by excavations of the most typical sites chosen by me. Among the large sites, whose excavations I supervised, are such settlements as Kunya-Uaz (4th-3rd centuries BCE), Toprak-kala (1st – early 5th century CE), the multi-layered Khazarasp site with some ancient and medieval layers. The large oases along the Kyrk-Kyz and Yakke-Parsan canals in the right-bank Khorezm, on the left-bank Chermen-Yab have been examined in their entirety. The ruins of dwellings of the first centuries AD were excavated near Ayaz-kala 2, and near Janbas-kala, where ancient settlements of

Elena Evdokimovna Nerazik. 1950s

winemakers were discovered. An entire Big Palace of the 4th/5th – mid-8th centuries was excavated almost entirely near Ayaz-kala 2 – the now widely known early medieval castle of Yakke-Parsan, along with a number of synchronous sites of the Berkut-kala oasis, etc. Thus, at my disposal, there was the extensive and, in many respects, unique material that formed the basis for five monographs (*Nerazik* 1966; 1976; 2000; 2013; *Nerazik, Rapoport* 1981a), two anthologies, collected and edited by myself, featuring my "Forewords" and one of the articles (*Nerazik, Zhilina*1982; *Nerazik Rapoport* 1984; *Nerazik* 1998a), as well as chapters in resumptive works on the ancient history of Central Asia (*Nerazik* 1963; 1964; 1999a: *Nerazik Shishkina* 1999b).[1] My works were also published in local Central Asian and foreign publications (*Nerazik* 1986; *Nerazik* 1996).

The range of my interests reflected within these works is rather ample. It encompasses the history of the rural settlements and dwellings, history of cities, sociological reconstructions (family, community), ethnic history of the population of the South Cis-Aral Sea region, forms of everyday culture, etc. All of these topics, as a rule, were considered with the involvement of a wide range of sources, primarily written information, anthropological ethnographic data, and archaeological materials from the adjacent regions of a certain locality. However, I have always paid the most of attention to the history of dwellings and settlements, whether rural or urban, thus studying them in two aspects.

The first being the main stages of formation of the Khorezm rural dwelling. The main result of my development of this subject was the reconstruction of the history of this type of dwelling over the course of more than one millennium. The study of the transformation of dwellings raised a number of questions, in particular: the ways of composing of various types of dwellings, their specific features and causes; for example, the direction of the country's historical and cultural ties, ethnic interactions and ecology, and ethnic traditions. The study of these issues is part of my book on rural dwellings of Khorezm, where the presentation builds upon the milestone historical periods of the land, so correctly identified by Sergey Tolstov in his day.

Unfortunately, there is still no work so fully devoted to the history of the Central Asian folk architecture, from the ancient time to the time which ethnographers have already been studying. I have established that the origins of the compositional techniques underlying the construction of rural dwellings of the population of the South Cis-Aral Sea Region in the late 19th and early 20th centuries go back to the early Middle Ages. It was then already that the residential cell was formed, which became an integral part of the South Uzbek *hauli*. Having systematized, in this regard, the available topographic materials, I created a typology of the dwelling - from a simple cell to complex *hauli* of rich landowners and other wealthy people (*Nerazik* 1972: 43-63). In the meantime, on the basis of the field research materials provided to me by Gleb Pavlovich Snesarev, who described the settlement of Durgadykh near Khanka in the left-bank part of the Amu Darya River, it became possible to identify a new previously unknown type of dwelling, combining the features of sedentary and nomadic life style (*Nerazik* 1982b: 164-178).

Another of the two main directions of research on this topic is the rural dwelling as a source for revealing family structure at various historical stages. By this time, approaches to such research were successfully being developed in both the national and foreign (in particular, American) science. Based on these developments, I used a certain methodology, combining quantitative and demographic parameters (for example, the size of the dwelling and various living spaces and premises, the ratio of the total to living space, etc.). However, the main among them was the

[1] An introductory chapter was also written by yours truly for the "Atlas of the People's Dwellings of Central Asia and Kazakhstan" within the series of atlases whose making was undertaken by the Institute of Ethnography, which, unfortunately, remained unpublished.

Artist of the Khorezm expedition I. V. Savitskiy and E. E. Nerazik on the outskirts of Kyrk-kyz-kala, 1953

layout of the premises and the types of hearths, as it is known that a common cauldron is evidence of a common household economy, at least in the field of consumption, the analysis of the number of tableware and utensils, their types and distribution across the dwelling areas were of considerable importance (*Nerazik* 1975: 5-26). Such a technique involved the use of ethnographic materials and was especially effective in relation to regions with a stable ethnic tradition, continuity of economic and household management skills, as could be observed in Khorezm. It is also natural that a researcher would have to have massive archaeological material and solid ethnographic patterns information at his or her disposal, but, unfortunately, normally, in the ethnographic works a house would be presented uninhabited, since family and dwelling were scientifically studied and described separately. A serendipitous exception was the work of Alina Nikolaevna Zhilina on the south of Khorezm, which I jumped at using.

However, no dwelling alone can be a full-fledged source for a research at issue. Such research is inextricably related to history of settlements, especially since the land of the oases of Khorezm has preserved not only remains of larger buildings, but even the smallest ones, the levees from large canals and traces of small ditches, too; even the remains of fields of various configuration. Drawing on ethnographic parallels, one can even establish which crops they had been used for. Even remains of specialized settlements of potters on the southwestern outskirts of the Left-Bank Khorezm, dating back to the first centuries CE, were revealed, information about which has now widely been used by other researchers. Based on the totality of all these data (more than 350 dwellings from various time periods have been examined, and three dozen of them excavated; detailed site plans for 34 large settlements have been made), I came to a conclusion that large family traditions were preserved in Khorezm for a long time, in particular, those pertaining to agnatic groups (in other words, family-related ones, or patronymies). The latter are best recognized from the anthropological material of the Middle Ages (12th-14th centuries). For earlier times, written sources are essential. For example, documents from the Toprak-Kala Palace or inscriptions on the Tok-Kala ossuaries (*Nerazik* 1976: 158-234). In the topography of medieval settlements, one can see a reflection of certain stages, the dynamics of large-family groups, their disintegration into "lower-order patronymics", when common ownership of the land is still preserved, and "higher-order patronymics," when the land already comes into the ownership of individual families".

I hope that my conclusions about the non-unilinear development of the family, the disintegration of large related groups in prosperous times due to the rise of the economy and culture, the flourishing of cities and crafts, when small families gained some distribution, also matter. And, on the contrary, they

B. A. Litvinsky. T. H. Metaksa, E. E. Nerazik, T. K. Mkrtychev, and N. Yu. Vishnevskaya at the opening of an exhibition dedicated to KhAEE at the Museum of the Orient. Moscow, January 2006

were observed to unite again in times of crisis. Subsequently, this conclusion was confirmed in the materials of ethnographers. I also believe that it was the agnatic groups that in the Middle Ages were the unit of allotment of the "water share" in the rural community. And the stable preservation of agnatic groups in Khorezm is explained by the peculiarities of irrigated agriculture in the country, the need to maintain and operate large irrigation systems that require labor cooperation, which is especially difficult with the dispersed settlement of farmers prevailing in the country.

In parallel with the study of rural settlements and dwellings in connection with the excavations of the settlement of Toprak-kala (starting from 1965), I turned to the history of the cities of Khorezm and the problems of urban formation in a wide chronological range. There were no general reports on this issue either. Having systematized the available facts and combined them with information from written sources and cartographic data, I outlined three zones of urbanization: central, near the Amu Darya, the most ancient; northern, the lower reaches of the Amu Darya, where urban-type settlements appear in the 7th-8th centuries; and the latest, the Daryalyk zone on the northwestern and western outskirts of the country, where the heyday of urban centers dates back to the 13th-14th centuries.

In the 1950s, we believed that the ancient Khorezmian cities, compared to the rest of the Central Asian cities, were distinguished by their originality; were deprived of citadels, suburbs, they lacked craft quarters. In the diversity of rectangular cities, they saw in the latest works the centralization of state power in the country which intensified in the 4th-3rd centuries BCE. Without arguing with these postulates, I still see evidence of the town-planning role of the state, primarily in the stable uniformity of fortification elements - the size and shape of loopholes, curtains, towers, which is possible only with a single directing state power.

The construction of fortresses as the political and administrative pillars of the central government in the oases also played an important role in urban development. Near them, settlements often arose, which eventually turned into cities, enclosed by a wall. At the same time, fortresses became citadels, and thus the aforementioned feature (the absence of citadels) completely disappears. The cities that arose in this way later acquired a neutral form, having absorbed another tradition of city formation in Khorezm, apparently associated with the interaction of farmers and pastoralists (*Nerazik* 1981b: 136-148). The internal structure of the ancient Khorezmian cities is still difficult to determine. The point of view about their regular layout with a central street and quarters symmetrically located on both sides of it has become widespread. This point of view was based mainly on

the reconstructions of Toprak-kala and Janbas-kala created by Tolstov. The building-block pattern of development is typical for many cities of various times. But is not yet clear how fair the above mentioned standpoint is. There is reason to believe that the correct arrangement of blocks is typical rather of other urban centers, rapidly built facilities, and preplanned capitals. Such was, for example, Khaivan-kala, the main city of Kerder in the 8th century.

The excavations of Toprak-kala completely destroyed Tolstov's ideas about the structure of the quarter itself. He believed that these were single houses-arrays inhabited by family related groups. It turned out that these quarters were actually built up with large and small houses (households), which were rebuilt, repaired, abandoned, etc. The street between the quarters did not separate them, but, on the contrary, connected them, being a yard space for household purposes (*Nerazik* 2005: 543-561). A comparison of the plans shows that the origins of the planning of such cities, for example, as the late medieval Bukhara, have very deep roots. The issue of handicraft quarters in ancient Khorezmian cities remains open until the excavations of large cities, most likely different from small ones. And Toprak-kala is generally a special city, the population of which served the residence of the Khorezmshahs.

As a result of the publication of my works, I hope, the understanding of the history of the formation of the early medieval and medieval cities of Khorezm has somewhat expanded. For example, S. Tolstov wrote about their almost total decline in the early Middle Ages, while new ones grew up near the walls of large castles. This judgment was based on his work in the Berkut-Kala oasis. However, the continuation of these excavations, undertaken by me, showed that Berkut-Kala, the center of the oasis, was a small town with a citadel similar to ancient Khorezmian cities. There was a palace, a house and other, smaller structures. All this was surrounded by a wall with towers and a defensive (and not residential) kiosk. A town was also formed at the foot of Ayaz-Kala. However, this did not exclude the addition of cities near castles, residences of feudal lords. In the Middle Ages, cities were formed near the walls of large castles on the western outskirts of the country, in the Daryalyk zone. Referring to this time, with the help of Vladimir Aronovich Livshits, I used ancient toponyms found in written sources (for example, Makdisi). This made it possible to reveal the presence of satellite cities surrounded by Kyat, the early capital of Khorezm; the formation of cities by "demerger": Khiva-Ardakhiva, Khushmisan – Arda-khushmisan, etc. (*Nerazik* 1981b: 136-148).

Among other issues that interested me, not in the least are the ethnic history and ethnogenesis of the archaeological sites of the Southern and South-Eastern Cis-Aral Sea regions. In several works, I specifically dwelled upon the influence of political, economic, environmental factors on the formation of language, culture, territory and self-awareness of the population, i.e. on the formation of an ethnos (*Nerazik* 1986: 30-49; 1990a: 3-14). Ethnic motifs are permeated with plots on the history of settlements and dwellings, on the forms and ornaments of ceramics.

But most of all I was interested in the history of the Chionites – the tribes that appeared in Central Asia in the 4th-5th centuries, their connections with Khorezm and their advance there from the east. The most complete essay on this is contained in my latest book, in which I returned to my original topic of early medieval Khorezm (*Nerazik* 2013). In this work, I proceeded from the systematization of materials, the distribution of monuments into categories (cities, settlements, dwellings, places of worship, etc.) and the typology of the latter. At the same time, it was necessary to go far beyond the limits of Khorezm proper, thus including in this typology not only Central Asian monuments, but also similar ones from neighboring countries and highlighting against this background the general and peculiar in the culture of Khorezm. Thus, many new features of it were discovered, in particular, a new classification of the sites of the Berkut-Kala oasis is presented, where instead of the previously amorphous "castles", small and large settlements, estates, castles, religious buildings were identified, and the latter were published for the first time. I paid a lot of attention to the history of the country's dynasty ("Afrigids"), the dating of two stages in the development of ceramic production, etc. For the first time, excavations of a large palace at the foot of Ayaz-kala 2 have been published in full.

In my works, I once again followed Tolstov in the footsteps of the ancient Khorezmian civilization, inscribing unknown pages into its history. This, in fact, is the essence of my work for seventy years.

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TO THE 100th ANNIVERSARY OF BORIS ANATOLYEVICH LITVINSKY

THROUGHOUT his long life, Boris Anatolyevich Litvinsky purposefully studied the history and culture of Bactria. In studying archaeology and the antiquities of the Middle East, his research is of greatest importance for any part of the historical region and any branch of historical knowledge, be it general cultural problems or specific features, such as, for example, the manner of carrying a sword in a particular historical period.

Possessing encyclopaedic knowledge and phenomenal memory, as well as an inner need to find out the essence and connections in any archaeological find or phenomenon, he could turn a study related to the publication of a seemingly ordinary thing into an interesting essay dedicated not only to this object, but to the entire tangle of problems arising from its study. For example, a study like this resulted from Litvynsky's inquisitive attention to a poorly preserved alabaster statuette, which in its artistic and cognitive merits could not compete with other magnificent items from the Takhtisangin collection. And, I am sure, if someone else had to study this collection, this statuette would have received only a brief technical description. Litvinsky turned it into an occasion for an interesting excursion into Bactrian-Parthian relations.

We, specialists in the Parthian period, have another, to a certain extent symbolic, or even mystical reason to pay special tribute to the memory of B. A. Litvinsky. He took his first steps as an archaeologist on the Parthian land, in a place sacred to all specialists in Parthia: Nisa-Mithradatkert. Demobilized from the army due to injury in 1945, he returned to his native Central Asian State University. Following an individual schedule, he mastered the two-year programme for one year and in the spring of 1946 became a "learned archaeologist", as the head of the Department of Central Asian Archaeology, Professor Mikhail Evgenievich Masson, referred respectfully to his disciples. His first expedition and archaeological practice is connected with the ancient settlement of Old Nisa, where in 1946, as part of the first South Turkmenistan Complex Archaeological Expedition, he took part in the excavation of the Building with a Square Hall. At the same time, together with his colleagues Sergey Yershov and Vadim Masson, he was

engaged in the further study of one of the rooms in the North-Eastern Structure of the Central Ensemble of Old Nisa.

It was he who, with the trained eye of a former soldier, noticed the remains of the Parthian inscription on a khum excavated from there. At the end of the season, quite independently, he unearthed the remains of a room on top of the eastern fortress bastion (at that time it was tower No. 1, and now its serial number is 16). In the difficult situation of the first days after the Ashgabat earthquake on October 6, 1948, B. A. Litvinsky, as a former military man, took over the organizational leadership of the expedition (the head of the expedition, M. E. Masson, was in Tashkent at that time), and then took an active part in the preservation of the newly discovered and not yet at all famous rhytons from Nisa.

Working for the South Turkmenistan Complex Archaeological Expedition developed another valuable quality in Litvinsky – the ability to easily and quickly switch from one topic to another and freely

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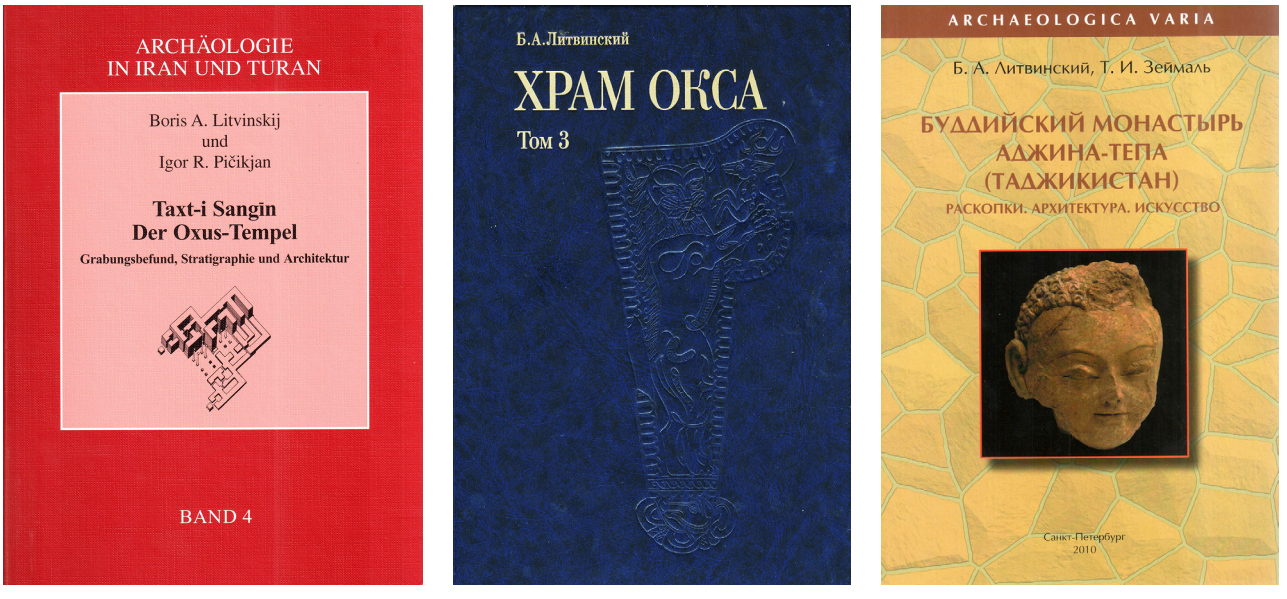
navigate the realities of different historical periods. In 1947, he took part in the excavation of the multi-layered archaeological site of Anau and made his first independent reconnaissance route from Bezmein to Baharden. In 1948, he was engaged in excavations at the medieval archaeological site of Shehrislam, lost in the Karakum desert, conducted a survey of the Misrian plain, participates, as mentioned above, in the preservation of the Nisa rhytons. In 1949-50 he carried out the first excavations of the famous ancient agricultural archaeological site, Namazga-depe. In 1951, in Tashkent, he defended his PhD thesis titled "Medieval settlements in the Nisa region (north of Kopet Dagh) in the 9th-14th centuries."

After defending his thesis, he left the supervision of M. E. Masson and began an independent career, going to Tajikistan, where he almost completely by himself established a local archaeological center. This activity was subsequently appreciated by the leadership of the republic – in 1978, B. A. Litvinsky was elected a corresponding member, and in 1985 a full member of the Academy of Sciences of the Tajik SSR.

There is no need to list in detail the numerous academic discoveries made by Boris Anatolyevich and dwell on the significance of his published works. This has already been largely reflected in numerous reviews, anniversary editions dedicated to him, and now obituaries. If a person works a lot and fruitfully, then such work is usually called selfless, but this definition is not suitable for Boris Anatolyevich – his work was self-forgetful, he enjoyed it and drew much satisfaction from his occupation with research, despite all the difficulties that accompany it. In the late 1990s, he told me about it himself: "I am now in such a happy time of life when practically nothing prevents me from working, the children have grown up, I have a home and a good private library, there is no need to earn money for food, there is no more burden of responsibility for others [at that time Boris Anatolyevich was relieved of his duties as head of a department at the Institute of Oriental Studies under the Russian Academy of Sciences – **V. P.**], my arms, legs and head still function. Just work for pleasure as much as you like." "You should take breaks in this work," Elena

Elena Davidovich, Boris Litvinsky and Victor Sarianidi. Photo by Nadezhda Dubova, 2005



Recent editions of the books by B. A. Litvinsky

Abramovna Davidovich, Boris Anatolyevich's wife, grumbled from her chair.

Although, judging by this tirade, although Boris Anatolyevich was freed from administrative "responsibility for others", he was still responsible for others and was engaged in many additional activities. He remained a member of numerous academic and other councils, several editorial boards, a constant participant in various research conferences, a reliable opponent in the defense of doctoral and PhD theses, the author of many thematic articles for various collections. Finally, every Monday, regardless of the weather, and often his physical well-being, he sat in his small office at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences until noon and still made attempts to help his former disciples – he was interested in their affairs, advised and encouraged them. These voluntary commitments absorbed the lion's share of the free time. In fact, he had just a couple of hours free from research activities necessary for moving from one research institution to another and going to grocery shops – Boris Anatolyevich and Elena Abramovna, brought up in democratic traditions, had no servants.

I was acquainted with Litvinsky since the 1968 Dushanbe conference on the problems of Kushan history and culture. Before that, I had known him only from publications that attracted me with their clarity and erudition. I should admit that first meeting did not make a special impression on me, since many prime stars participated in that conference, and Boris Anatolyevich defended the latest version of the opening date of the Kanishka period, which was alien to me. But later, during meetings at other conferences and during direct personal consultations with Boris Anatolyevich himself, I was able to better appreciate the vast range of his knowledge, his attentive and friendly attitude towards young scholars. He instantly and generously shared information on an issue of interest, tactfully suggested a more correct way to solve a problem. Discussing an interlocutor's publication, he primarily paid attention to positive aspects and rarely spoke about shortcomings. After each such meeting with him, I was not only enriched with new information, but also felt encouraged.

But, still, our relationship was not so close. The long disagreement between B. A. Litvinsky and M. E. Masson affected his relationship with the latter's later students. Since 1995, the situation changed somewhat. I returned to my historical homeland (I moved from Ashgabat to Moscow), and Boris Anatolyevich got rid of his administrative duties at the Institute of Oriental Studies and devoted himself entirely to research.

He kindly suggested that I use his wonderful library, and my visits to exchange one batch of books for another often turned into long conversations. By doing this, Boris Anatolyevich allowed himself to have some rest after active work in the morning, and it was interesting for me to listen to the master's opinions on a variety of topics. These conversations usually involved Elena Davidovich. Conversations on academic topics were interspersed with recollection about the work for the department and the South Turkmenistan Complex Archaeological Expedition, and in general about the history of the archaeological study of Central Asia. Boris Anatolyevich knew a lot about this topic and it is a pity that he did not leave

any written evidence about it. He only waved aside my wishes to do this – he said that not all of his research materials had been published yet, that he did not want to waste time on secondary things. But in this respect, Boris Anatolyevich was not quite right or, rather, was too modest. He was one of the few archaeologists who published and correctly interpreted almost everything that they had excavated.

In conversations with young archaeologists, Boris Anatolyevich tirelessly repeated that the first thing an archaeologist was to do, as soon as they made a decision to carry out archaeological excavations, was to make a complete, detailed description of the results of their studies, and this should not be a mechanical record of the results of excavations, but an insight into the essence of the historical processes of the period they studied. He often repeated the phrase: "Many dig, but only a few can understand and explain to others the essence of what has been excavated."

Boris Anatolyevich was a gentle and delicate person. I do not remember any cases when he ever raised his voice, expressed his dissatisfaction, said some barbs to his opponent. At the same time, he was principled and even strict in academic matters. I remember one situation. One day, on the eve of an expedition, I brought the books I had borrowed from him and found the couple had just returned from somewhere. They had made some official visit and looked obviously tired. Seeing this, I quickly handed over the books and was about to say goodbye, but Boris Anatolyevich did not let me go: "No, no, come in, let's sit down and talk." "But you're tired," I said, "some other time, perhaps." "You see," he replied, "I'm already an elderly man, and there may not be another time, and I don't want you to have unpleasant memories about our last meeting and a short talk in the corridor."

We had our last meeting three years later, about a month before his death. Boris Anatolyevich was noticeably weak by that time, but, as always, was full of desire to work. I even helped him take a book he needed from the top shelf of a rack, which was physically inaccessible to him now. Two weeks after his death, the last volume of his now famous trilogy about Takhti-Sangin was signed for publication. He never saw a published copy, but this edition (like the "hundred volumes" of his other research works) became a worthy finale of the research activities made by this remarkable scholar and person.

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FATHER AND SON FALK AT THE NUKUS MUSEUM

Robert Falk. Snow roofs. Sun. 1907

THE State Museum of Arts of the Republic of Karakalpakstan named after I. V. Savitsky has a unique collection of fine art produced in Russia in the 20th century. The significance of this collection became obvious during the lifetime of Igor Vitalievich Savitsky, the founder of the museum and the person who actually formed it. Published after his death, the famous book The Avant-garde Stopped on the Run (Moscow, 1989) for the first time put the collection in a certain art historical context, designating it with the term avant-garde popular at that time. Meanwhile, modern researchers agree that the 20th-century history of Russian and then Soviet art was more complex than a simple enumeration of the main artistic trends and associations, including the broader generally accepted chronological and ideological opposition: avant-garde – (social) realism. And, of course, the collection of the Nukus Museum provides excellent material for studying this history,

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Robert Falk. Two young women. 1910. On the left - Elizaveta Sergeevna Potekhina, on the right - Anastasia Konstantinovna Bobrovskaya (Potekhina's friend)

which ultimately should lead to the creation of a more spacious picture of the development of art in Russia during the fateful century.

Among the artists whose heritage is preserved in the Nukus Museum, there are names that say little to people who are not related to art, and there are those who, especially in recent decades, have become iconic not only in the artistic environment, but also in the broad public consciousness. Robert Rafailovich Falk (1986-1958) is one of such famous figures. Undoubtedly, for some art lovers, Falk is associated, first of all, with a scandal – more precisely, part of the scandal that unfolded during Nikita Khrushchev's visit to the exhibition at the Moscow Manege in 1962. At that time Robert Rafalilovich, the author of one of the paintings depicting "nude" bodies, which caused Khrushchev's indignation, was no longer alive, but Falk was considered by many contemporaries as a significant person in the history of fine art in Russia. That was why his painting was included in the retrospective review of the development of Russian/Soviet art. Such interest in Falk over the past decades is quite stable and has an explanation. In the history of art, he occupies a special place as a person whose work, on the one hand, reflected significant artistic phenomena for his time (early commitment to Impressionism, participation in the Jack of Diamonds, teaching at *Vhutemas* – Higher Art and Technical Workshops in Moscow). On the other hand, he managed to build his own artistic position, different from both avant-garde and realism.

This position, like Falk himself, has been regarded since the 1950s as a link between European fine art, the Russian avant-garde, which is already acquiring a mythological status, and modernity. It is no coincidence, therefore, that an extensive literature is devoted to the work of Robert Falk. In recent years, the peak of interest in Falk was expressed in a large

Robert Falk. Against the background of suzane. Samarkand. 1943

exhibition, which opened in early 2021 at the State Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow. Over 200 of the artist's works were presented at the exhibition, and a solid album/catalog was published. It was attended by a large group of authors who wrote not only analytical articles, but also very appropriately used memoirs highlighting the personality of Falk (T. Levina, E. Efremova, Yu. Didenko, M. Kamensky, A. Belyaeva, T. Mikheenko, E. Bulatov, A. V. Shchekin-Krotova).

It so happened that the exhibition in the Tretyakov Gallery did not involve Falk's paintings from the small (13 works), but very representative collection in the Nukus Museum. That was how this collection formed. When R. R. Falk was evacuated to Samarkand in 1942-1943, he became seriously ill and was hospitalized.

Fate decreed that there was another patient in the same hospital room – Igor Savitsky, a student at the graphic faculty of the Moscow Art Institute. Obviously, during the time they spent together in the same ward, they made acquaintance, which later gave Savitsky a reason to call himself a student of Falk, although formally the latter was never an official teacher of Igor Vitalievich. At about that time, I. V. Savitsky became acquainted with R. R. Falk's fourth wife, Angelina Vasilyevna Shchekin-Krotova. It is not surprising that many years later, when Savitsky asked her to sell her husband's paintings to the museum, the "ideal widow" picked up 13 works for the museum, reflecting virtually all of Falk's creative stages. 10 works by his son from his first marriage, Valery Robertovich Falk (1915-1943), became an "unexpected addition" to his legacy, which came to Nukus.

Talking a well-known specialist in Falk's work, Yulia Didenko, I asked her a question about the interpretation of one curious detail in the paired portraits by R. R. Falk, and she prompted me on a topic that seemed interesting. Didenko drew my attention to the works of Valery Falk, stored in Nukus. Actually, her research became the basis of the exhibition "The Falks: Father and Son", held in 2022 at the Nukus Museum. It presents all 13 works by R. R. Falk and 10

Valery Falk. Evening in the village. 1935-1937

Valery Falk and Robert Falk. The shooting date has not been set.
Photos from the personal archive of Elena Borisovna Gromova

works by V. R. Falk. Irina Petrushina took an active part in the preparation of the exhibition (arrangement, texts).

The exhibition is based on the history of the relationship between the father and the son, which is well known to researchers into the biography and creative life of Robert Falk. In 1915, his first wife, E. S. Potekhina, brought their son. His family called him Valerik. The boy was born sick and weak. The birth of the son did not stop the looming disintegration of the family. For Robert Rafailovich it was hard going through the divorce – he even spent some time in a neuropsychiatric hospital. Subsequently, the health and fate of his son became a constant source of disturbance and care for the artist. Therefore, it is no coincidence that when in the second half of the 1920s R. R. Falk began to plan a business trip to Paris, one of the reasons for his impending departure was, as he said, the desire to show his son to European doctors. In 1928, R. R. Falk went to Paris with his third wife R. V. Idelson. Despite Falk's pleading, the son's mother, E. S. Potekhina, did not give permission for Valerik to go with them. But in 1929, R. V. Idelson returned to the USSR. At this time, Valerik entered adolescence and, seeing that his son's condition was becoming more and more difficult, Potekhina let him go to his father. So in 1933, the father and son found themselves together in a small apartment that Falk rented in Paris.

According to R. R. Falk's recollections, at that time he was not only an artist and a professor of painting, but a cook, a laundryman and a paramedic for his son. But these everyday inconveniences meant nothing compared to the main problem. It turned out that father and son had nothing to talk about. The famous artist and an accomplished person was confronted by a teenager who, due to his morbidity and transitional age, had no illusions, did not build any life plans and was closed to communication. The senior Falk faced a young elder who looked at his father somewhat condescendingly – "as if we changed ages." However, in this difficult situation, Robert Falk found an unexpected way out – he remembered his son's childhood interest in drawing and began patiently encouraging him to engage in fine art. The father understood that creativity could socialize his son and give him a future that he did not see. In the end, Robert Rafailovich's

perseverance bore fruit – in 1935, the young man entered a school where he was taught engraving and printing. In 1936, Valerik together with his father took part in several exhibitions (the 14th exhibition of the Salon Tuileries, the exhibition "Russian artists" in the gallery Zak and other). Later, Valerik helped his father in working on the set design for the film Taras Bulba produced in France. In fact, these steps along the path of Valery Falk's social formation were more important than his formal achievements in painting. This is how fine art became the basis for the human relationship between the father and the son. In 1937, the Falks returned to Moscow. There is a lot of speculation that the moment for returning from Paris was not the most appropriate. The USSR was going through a peak of repression, which could easily concern anyone. But it should be kept in mind that in Paris in the second half of the 1930s there was already a lot of tension associated with the fascization of Europe. And Falk, like any intuitive artist, felt this atmosphere of approaching catastrophe.

When in 1928 Robert Falk went to Paris, he was a famous artist and a recognized teacher. After returning, he found out that great changes had taken place in the USSR over the years, and he not only had nowhere to live (his apartment/workshop was occupied by his third wife, R. V. Idelson, with her new husband), but was not in demand anymore as an artist. And the elder Falk became homeless for a while, while Valerik returned to live with his mother. Over time, R. R. Falk received his own corner – two attic rooms in Pertsov's House, and an invitation to work – to make scenery for a performance based on Lermontov's play The Spaniards for the State Jewish Theater. It is significant that he attracted his son to this work, trying to preserve the established connection between them. However, this was their last collaboration.

As the Second World War began, R. R. Falk together with his new wife A. V. Shchekin-Krotova was evacuated, first to Bashkiria and then Samarkand. In 1942, Valery also evacuated to Samarkand. Very soon, concealing the medical diagnosis that exempted him from military service, he managed to get himself drafted. After studying at the Frunze Infantry School, he received the speciality of a military topographer and was sent to the Stalingrad Front. Late in that year, Valery Falk was wounded in the Battle of Stalingrad, and in the spring of 1943 he died in hospital. Falk learnt about his son's death only six months later, when he returned to Moscow from Samarkand.

According to Shchekin-Krotova, Robert Falk considered Valerik a talented artist and had high hopes for him. Naturally, as a result of his son's tragic death, Falk took special efforts to care about his small artistic heritage. Moreover, this admiring fatherly attitude was conveyed to Falk's inner circle. It is no coincidence that Shchekin-Krotova, seeing in Savitsky a person close in spirit to her late husband, gave him 10 works by Valery for the Nukus Museum.

By exhibiting the works of father and son Falk within the same exhibition space, we brought together two very different artists for the first time since 1936. The purpose of the exhibition was not to compare the work of the father and the son, demonstrating the similarities and differences. We showed how fine art, thanks to Robert Rafailovich Falk, became a bridge for human communication between the father and the son.

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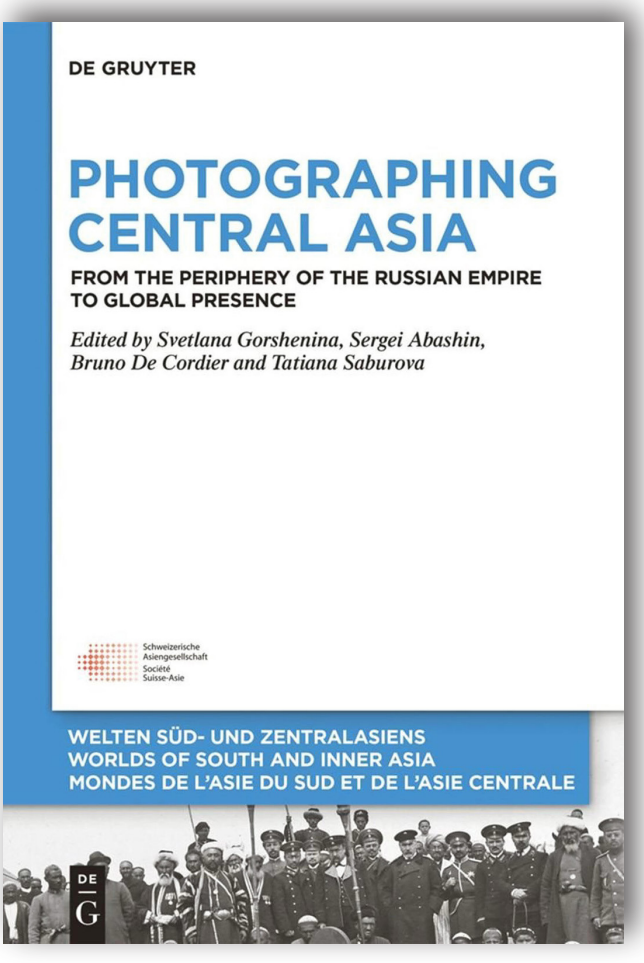
POST-COLONIAL PERSPECTIVE ON TURKESTAN PHOTOGRAPHY

ALMOST of the same age, photography and colonial Central Asia experienced similar explosive growth. The landmark book *Photographing Central Asia* brings together well-established contributors, leading historians, art historians, archivists and anthropologists from Western and Central Europe, Russia and the United States to convey the complexity and multi-perspectivity of the research materials, methods, sources and materials related to photography of and in Russian Turkestan/Soviet Central Asia between the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is worth mentioning that S. Gorshenina, S. Abashin, B. De Cordier and T. Saburova's volume of the special "Worlds of South and Inner Asia" collection is in full Open Access mode.[1] Altogether with the two hundred often unfamiliar images in high reproduction quality, the editors and the contributors have already done students of Turkestan and Central Asia a great favour, enabling the sort of close-up inspection of images that may have never been available otherwise.

As an object itself, the book inspires multiple modes of reading by its intriguingly well-staged photograph on its cover where the Chief Administrator of Land Management and Agriculture of the Russian Empire A. V. Krivoshein meets with the people of Russian Turkestan in 1902. Like many other case studies of the book, it shows the duality and ambiguity of colonial photography as a tool of modernity and colonial enterprise but also as an art medium, illustrating "the complex mechanisms by which images of Turkestan were created, remembered or forgotten"(22).

While presumably the "photographing" of the title refers to the military engineers and field amateurs, Russian colonials and their local assistants and subalterns, photography as protean technology witnessed the transformations of colonial Turkestan itself: from the emergence of the new Russian Turkestan Governor-Generalship to the advent of its printed support - the media press in the 1920-1930s, to conclude with it virtual framework of social media today. The book



itself comprises a broader exploration of the possible place of Central Asian studies still at the periphery of 'Western' and 'Eastern' areas of academic research, particularly in the postcolonial context of the post-Soviet world. Pursuing her introductory essay, Svetlana Gorshenina maintains the editors' desire to show and to analyze unexamined episodes in the history of photography in colonial Turkestan and Soviet Central Asia thus inaugurating an ambitious endeavor of the editors to disprove the traditional perception of Central Asia as a marginal region and of Central Asian photography as the most marginal of all marginal subjects.

Without reducing the entire argument to the binary of 'photography and power', the editors impose a certain direction on the reader by arranging the essays around two poles: *Photography and Orientalisms* and *Using and Reusing Photographs* which follow a relative chronological order. If the first part attempts to connect documentary Orientalism, modernity and pho-

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[1] *Photographing Central Asia: From the Periphery of the Russian Empire to Global Presence.* Ed. by Svetlana Gorshenina, Sergei Abashin, Bruno De Cordier and Tatiana Saburova. Volume 13 in the series *Welten Süd- und Zentralasiens / Worlds of South and Inner Asia / Mondes de l'Asie du Sud et de l'Asie Centrale. Berlin:* De Gruyter. 2022. 431 pp. € 102, 95. ISBN 978-3-11-075442-1

tography through individual trajectories of well-and less-known visitors and explorers (Charles-Eugène De Ujfalvy, Samuil Dudin, Alexander Samoilovich, György Almásy, Vassilii Sapozhnikov, Konstantin von der Pahlen and Nikolai Shchapov) who came to Turkestan at different historical moments, the second strives to analyze the practices of use and reuse of photography through its popularization and commercialization in the forms of photojournalism, photographic collections and postcards depicting the "Russian Orient" and how these historical materials could be instrumentalized within the virtual "memory wars" of today.

Even if other organizational structures might have been deployed (thematic clustering as one of them), thankfully, the chronological approach does not necessarily preclude debates which would have been raised by alternative modes (as, for instance, the case studies of Samuil Dudin or Max Penson). We could only deplore the absence of the missionary input, Russian and foreign alike, demonstrating that the historical development of the missionary photography in colonial Central Asia and its consequences for a larger history of colonial photography remain to be explored.

Timely and stimulatingly, the contributors reveal the different modes of 'seeing' that involve distinct cultural norms, social practices, power relations, levels of technology, and networks for circulating photography, and that determine the manner of its (re) use in constructing various images of Central Asia. Yet, to be able to think about the photography as an object of art or material culture, requires a certain visual literacy on the part of the reader and a certain willingness of the authors to provide the reader with some skills necessary for 'reading'. Even if the majority of them proposed their own practices of reading their visual materials, the logocentric perception of photography seems still dominant due to the administrative aspects of the colonial Turkestan put forward in the present volume. Photography played an essential role in popularization of T*urkestanomania* of the period, firing the imagination for the exotic and the foreign altogether with recording archeological and ethnographic evidence. There is room for expansion on this point, including the artistic dimension of the Central Asian photography which would, hopefully, fruitfully resonate in the future volumes to come.

The broad range of photographic material described in the volume, the clarity of the language and the very detailed footnotes will no doubt enhance the conjointly created website Open Central Asian Photo Archive (**https://ca-photoarchives.net/**) and *The European Handbook of Central Asian Studies* (**https://www.ibidem.eu/en/the-european-handbook-of-central-asian-studies-9783838215181.html**) making this collection a popular source of knowledge on Central Asian history and culture.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIT	Archaologie in Iran und Turan
IMKU	Istoria Material'noj Kul'tury Uzbekistana (History of Tangible Culture of Uzbekistan)
KhAEE	The Khorezm Arhaeologo-Ethnographic Expedition
KSIA	Kratkie soobsheniya Instituta arheologii [Brief reports of the Institute of Archaeology] (Moscow).
KSIIMK	Kratkie soobsheniya Instituta istorii materialnoy kultury [Brief reports of the Institute for the History of Material Culture] (Leningrad – St.Petersburg).
MAE	Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) under the Russian Academy of Sciences (St.Petersburg).
MIA	Materialy i issledovaniya po arheologii SSSR (Materials and researche on archeology of the USSR).
ONU	Obschestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane [Social Sciences in Uzbekistan] (Tashkent).
RAN	Russian Academy of Sciences.
SA	Sovetskaya archeologiya [The Soviet archeology] (Moscow).
ZVOIRAO	Memoirs of the Oriental Department of the Russian Archaeological Society (St.Petersburg).

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Embroidered carpet ok-enli gilam. Uzbeks: Lakais or Kungrats. Surkhandarya, 19th century. Private collection of Akbar Khakimov, Bukhara, Illustration for the article by E.Gyul.

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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.

IICAS's mission is to draw attention to a wide audience concerning the scientific and cultural challenges of Central Asia and to strengthen cooperation between local scholars and their international counterparts in the interdisciplinary study of the region, including tangible and intangible cultural heritage, environment, archaeology, art history, history of religions, history of science, ethnology, historical geography, written and oral literature, and social sciences among others. The objectives and functions of IICAS are reflected in the research and applied projects carried out by the Institute. The Bulletin of IICAS is intended not only to reflect research outcomes but also to be a publication that promotes an expanding communicative space for interaction between experts from different countries.

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