



# IMPACT OF POLITICAL PROCESSES IN THE 4TH-7TH CENTURIES ON THE TERRITORY

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Abstract. Despite the fact that Khorezm in the early Middle Ages was the most remote region of Central Asia, an oasis among the deserts, the political processes taking place in Central Asia influenced the development of the state. As a result of the invasions of nomadic herders, Arabs and the Ghaznavid dynasty, the country was devastated. Despite paying a large tax during the rule of the Arab Caliphate and subsequent dynasties, it was able to use its internal resources and improve the country. The article discusses the impact of political processes in the 4th-7th centuries on the region.

**Keywords:** early Middle Ages, nomadic herders, Arabs, political processes, social life, religion - Zoroastrian.

Khorezm did not remain outside the political processes that took place in Central Asia in the early Middle Ages. The first Sassanid attack on Khorezm from outside in the 3rd century AD was preserved in written sources. This was also discussed above.

The Syrian "Arbella Chronicle" contains information about the attacks of the Sassanid kings Artashir and Shapur I in the middle of the 3rd century AD. According to the analysis of researchers, the Sassanid Ardashir conquered Khorezm and ruled for a certain time. V.B. Henn's Tuprogga'a monument indicates that it was destroyed during the Sassanid attack. However, as a result of research conducted by the Khorezm archaeological expedition, the Tuproqqa'a monument was abandoned for a certain period, and no traces of battle can be observed on it<sup>22</sup>. It was believed that the abandonment of the Tupraggala monument could be attributed to Afrig, who moved the central city to the Al-Fir fortress. At the same time, if we take into account that during the reign of Ardashir, the Khorezm oasis was under his control for a certain period, this is the first half of the 3rd century, but the period of Tupragga'a's decline is associated with the end of the 3rd century. From this we can conclude that the decline of Tupraqqala is not related to the Sassanid attack or their rule. However, it is necessary to clarify which fortress the Sassanid attack was directed against. It is based on the fact that after Ardashir, an invasion campaign against Khorezm was organized by Shapur I, but he was defeated by the Khorezmites.









According to S.P. Tolstov, it is believed that the territory of the left bank of the Khorezm could have been a battlefield between the Khionites and the Sassanids. The Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus recorded in 356 that the Chionian tribes lived on the southeastern shores of the Caspian Sea. There is no clear written source indicating the rule or influence of the Kidarii and Hephthalites of the Khorezm oasis.

Orientalist scholar Zaki Validi To'gan, in his research, traces the origin of the Khorezmshah dynasty to the Abdals (Hephthalites)<sup>23</sup>. Abu Rayhan Beruni, in his work, provided a dynastic list of rulers of the early Middle Ages, tracing their origin back to Kaykhusrav, the son of Siyavush. Although this list includes representatives of the dynasty, G. Boboyorov, in his research, analyzes the names of the rulers on this list and concludes that their origin may have been Turkic<sup>24</sup>. F. Jumaniyozova analyzed the work of Abu Raykhan Beruni and analyzed the question of why the scholar did not mention the Yuechii, Kidar, Xion, and Hephthalite tribes<sup>25</sup>.

The issue of the relations of the Hephthalites with Khorezm was also considered separately in the studies of A. Kurbanov. The work of Menander the Protector also contains information about the relations between the Hephthalites and Khorezm. It describes the incident when the ambassador of the Byzantine Emperor Justin II went to the Turkish khagan of Cilicia, Zemarchus, to Istam. In 569, when Istam was preparing to march against the Sassanids, ambassadors from Byzantium came to him. The khagan took Zemarchus with him and asked the rest of the ambassadors to wait for him in the country of the Khorezms. When Istam released Zemarchus, the khagan asked to send ambassadors in response to the Byzantine ambassadors. The other rulers of Central Asia under the khagan's rule refused him, and only the "Khorezms" agreed to this.

S.P. Tolstov also showed in his research the similarity of the coins of Khorezm and Hephthalites. These include the headdresses of the rulers on the coins, the way the skull is deformed, and the shapes of the stamps on the Khorezm coins<sup>26</sup>. The issues of the influence of the Hephthalites on Khorezm have been included in the scope of research since 1938. In this, researchers analyzed the origin of the stamps on the coins. Some researchers showed the influence of the Sogdians on the stamps on the coins of the Afrigids, while other researchers suggest that the stamp on the coins was associated with the stamp of the Great Yuechjis - the Kushans. S.P. Tolstov, in his research, linked the stamps of the Afrigids with the Kushans, Hephthalites and Sugd<sup>27</sup>. Considering that the Kushans were Turks, it is not difficult to understand that these stamps were similar, since the Hephthalites were also from these Turkic tribes. The minting of coins in the Khorezm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Толстов С.П. Древный Хорезм. – С. 277.







<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Togan Z.V. Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş. İstanbul, 1981. – S. 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Бобоёров Ғ. Илк ўрта асрларда Хоразм вохасидаги сиёсий холат// Хоразм тарихи замонавий тадқиқотларда. Масъул мухаррир: т.ф.д., проф. Д.Алимова. –Тошкент-Урганч, 2018. – C.50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Джуманиязова Ф. Почему Беруни не упомянул эфталитов в своем труде "Индия"?// Туркестанский сборник 1 (2022). Новейшие исследования по истории и истории культуры Туркестана. Lambert Academic Publishing. –C. 21-28.





oasis was also associated with the entry of the Yuezhi tribes into Central Asia. N. Veselovsky considers the Kidarii and Hephthalites to be related to the territory of Khorezm. P.I. Lerkh and N. Veselovsky say that the Khoalites were Khorezmians or Hephthalites who settled in Khorezm<sup>28</sup>. In their research, they relied on Maqdisi's report that the right-bank region of Khaytal, the city of Khaytalia, was connected to Khorezm<sup>29</sup>.

N. Veselovsky, based on the information of the Byzantine historian Prikus Paniysky, connects the Kidarii with the territory of Kerder and Kerderanhas. Kerder corresponds to the territories of the right bank of the delta in the lower reaches of the Amu Darya<sup>30</sup>. It corresponds to the present-day Chimboy area. The name Kerder was used for two places, the second of which, Kerderanhas, is located on the left bank of the delta<sup>31</sup>. The work "Hudud ul-Alam" states that "Kerder is a town with a dense population and crops. It produces a lot of sheepskin"32. Ya'qub cites: "Kerder is a place in the territory of Khorezm or on the border of the Turks. The language (of the people) is not Khorezm, not Turkic. They have many villages in the region; they have herds and animals; but they are a disgusting people. Ibn Hassam al-Habali told me about them like this... I found (the news) in the Persian narrations that the Turkish king Afrosiab buried his jewels and treasure in the middle of the sea, in the territory of Khorezm, in a place located above Kerder. But no one knew about it until the time of Abarviz ibn Hurmuz. He found these treasures and carried them for 12 years. Every month 10 mules with loads came to him, and most of them were jewelry and pure gold bars"33. The Abarviz ibn Hurmuz mentioned by Ya'qub is the Sassanid ruler Khusraw II Parvez (590-628). It is known that the Kidarii were one of the main enemies of the Sassanid kings of Iran. F. Jumaniyozova believes that the mention of the name Khusraw II Parvez near Kerder, which is associated with the name of the Kidarii, may have entered the Arab sources from Iranian sources as a motif reflecting the Kidarii-Sassanid conflicts.

It has been suggested that Shah Chagan, who was on the eve of the Arab invasion, also came from Tokharistan and was descended from the Hephthalites. The Kanjina Turks, who were part of the Hephthalite military alliance, lived in the valley between Khuttal and Chaganiyan<sup>34</sup>. However, researcher G. Boboyorov also noted that he was a Turkic ruler. He, based on the opinion of the scholar A. Gudkova, who deeply studied the history of pre-Islamic Khorezm, wrote that the name Chagan was widespread in the Turkic-Mongol world. He believes that the second part of the name "Azkachvar", "chvar", may be another form of the Turkic title "chor". He also adds that in Sogdian sources this title

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Kurbanov A. The Hephthalites: Archaeological and historical analysis. Phd thesis submitted to the Department of History and Cultural Studies of the Free University. – Berlin, 2010. – P. 203.





 $<sup>^{28}</sup>$  Курбанов А. Политическая история эфталитов. SWIATOWIT. TOM V (XLVI). FASC. A. 2003. – C.66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ўша жойда.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Веселовский Н. Очерки историко-географических сведений о Хивинском ханстве. — Спб. 1887. — С.13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Толстов С.П. Древный Хорезм, 1948. –С. 277.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Материалы по истории туркмен и Туркмении. Том I. VII-XV вв. Арабские и персидские источники. Под ред. С.Л. Волина, А.А. Ромаскевича и А.Ю. Якубовского. – Москва –Ленинград, 1939. – С. 216.

<sup>33</sup> Материалы по истории туркмен и Туркмении... – С. 431.





is written as "cwr",<sup>35</sup>. According to Chinese sources, in the 640s, She-khan-na (Chaghaniyan) was ruled by a ruler of Turkic origin<sup>36</sup>. In particular, Turkic elements are also found on the coins of Chaghaniyan. Among the coins, on the right side of the obverse, there is an image of a woman's head with long hair, narrow eyes, a round face, a small beard, and on the left side, and on the reverse side, a stamp typical of the pre-Islamic Chaghaniyan region and an inscription in the Bactrian language around it. These coins are similar to the double portrait coins minted in Chach and the "khotun" title coins minted in Sughd<sup>37</sup>.

Written sources about the political and economic situation in Khorezm during the rule of the Turkic Khaganate are practically absent. It is difficult to shed light on this issue through archaeological research. However, based on some archaeological research, we can see the influence of the Turkic Khaganate and observe that a certain group of people migrated and mastered the abandoned cities. Small statues of horses of various sizes have been found, although few. A statue of a horse was found in a temple dating back to the 6th-8th centuries in the city of Pinak. A large statue of a horse was found there. Currently, this statue is kept in the I.V. Savinsky Museum in Nukus. We can see that in the temples of the early Middle Ages, along with beliefs related to fire and water, there was also a deification of the horse. This may also be associated with Suyovush in the Khorezm oasis.

In the 4th-6th centuries, changes are also observed in the economy and cultural life of the Khorezm state. From the 4th century, changes are also observed in the appearance of osteodons. Anthropomorphic osteodons were not developed, they were made of clay in the form of boxes. From the 7th-8th centuries, they began to be made of alabaster<sup>38</sup>.

Anthropomorphic terracotta sculptures were not developed during this period. Terracotta figurines were produced in large numbers between the 4th and 2nd centuries BC. The fact that such figurines were not produced in the early Middle Ages can be seen from the changes in the religious views of the Khorezm people. After the Tuproqqala monument was abandoned, the population that settled here, according to researchers, may have been a population that lived in the desert regions. Clay idols have been preserved from this population. They were considered pagans<sup>39</sup>.

Belief in Zoroastrian deities continued among the population. This was determined by the image of a deity in front of a bonfire in a room associated with a religious ceremony in Ayozkala 2 and the so-called "nameless fort". They put forward the idea that the fire could have been lit in honor of this.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Рапопорт Ю.А., Незарик Е.Е., Левина Л.М. В низовьях Окса и Яксарта. – С.98. <sup>39</sup> Рапопорт Ю.А., Незарик Е.Е., Левина Л.М. В низовьях Окса и Яксарта. – С.98.





<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Бобоёров Ғ. Илк ўрта асрларда Хоразм вохаси... — С.51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>Shaban M. A. Khurasan at the Time of Arab Conguest // İran and İslam. İn memory of the Late Vladimir Minorsky. – Edinburg, 1971. – P. 485.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Ртвеладзе Э. В. История и нумизматика Чача. – С. 96.





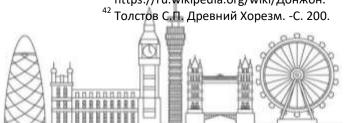
In the 4th-5th centuries, the country was politically divided into many small parts, as evidenced by the numerous copper coins found in this region. Coins belonging to different rulers were minted. Various stamps were printed on them<sup>40</sup>. At the same time, fortresses belonging to each ruler were built. Kichik Qavat Qala, Burgut Qala, Noib Qala, etc. The construction style of these fortresses was considered a special architectural structure for this period. They were mainly surrounded by a single defensive wall and fortified with towers. Special attention was paid to the defense of the fortress gate. In rare cases, they were built with two defensive walls. Many palace fortresses were built during this period. They were built on a low foundation, sometimes on flat ground. They had arches like a donjon. The word "donjon" is borrowed from the French language and means "city tower". A donjon is built inside a fortress, is higher than the fortress walls, and is built two or three stories high. It looks like a fortress within a fortress. Dungeons were built of wood or stone in Europe, and of mud and mud brick in Central Asia. They were used as dwellings, military defense, storage, and weapons storage. There were also small rooms in the dungeon that were not used<sup>41</sup>.

Since the early Middle Ages, many fortresses with dungeons were built in many regions of Central Asia. Arched rooms were often built on the lower floor of the dungeons.

Since monumental images of the early Middle Ages have not survived, the culture of this period can be illuminated through examples of applied art - seals, silver vessels, coins and images on the altar. The image of the four-armed goddess is widespread in the examples of applied art that have survived from this period. In the early Middle Ages, belief in this goddess was also widespread in other regions. A silver vessel depicting the four-armed goddess was found on the banks of the Kama River. Researchers have based its belonging to Khorezm on this. It depicts the four-armed goddess sitting on a lion, leopard and throne, holding the sun and crescent in her upper hands, and a flower, a symbol of power, and a cup in her lower hands. The goddess is depicted as a two-humped camel wearing a crown. Such a crown is found on coins minted between the 3rd and 8th centuries. S.P. Tolstov analyzed this and put forward the idea that the four-armed goddess is Anahita, as depicted in the Avesta, and may have been influenced by Indo-Buddhist iconography<sup>42</sup>.

There are also researchers who believe that this image may be related to the scene of sacrifice. It is suggested that the king-priest performed this ritual in the guise of a god. The seal found in Teshikkala also contains the symbolic figure of a four-armed goddess. According to researchers, the change in the social system during the time of the Afrogys was also reflected in their religious beliefs. At the center of the Khorezm pantheon was the Great Goddess, the ruler of all existence. The crescent moon and the sun depicted on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Донжон.





<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Кдырниязов М.-Ш, Ягодин В.Н, Мамбетуллаев М.М, Сагдуллаев А.С, Кдырниязов О.-Ш. История цивилизации Хорезма. Монография. -Нукус. 2017. -С. 173.





the goddess's upper hand may be symbolic signs of the places where her rule spread. A stone with an image of a lion was found in the city of Mizdakhkon. The lion also represents the symbol of the sun god Mithra. In Khorezm, metal or terracotta pendants, images of roosters, peacocks, and pigs are also common. It is possible that the images of Anahita and Siyavush were merged with the Mithraic faith. A large wooden seal was found in the village of Parsons. It depicts a peacock with a wreath in its beak. Such an image has also been found in other regions. This meant that a divine messenger would bring gifts to the chosen person. Such images were common in the early Middle Ages. The Afrosiab monument has such an image on the clothes of ambassadors from Tokharistan, but it depicts geese.

A bronze seal was found in the Burgutkala oasis fortress number 9. It depicts a horseman holding an eagle in his outstretched hand and two other people next to him, also holding eagles in their hands. This seal reflects the real life of people of that time. It may have depicted the owner of the fortress and his servants.

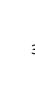
One of the silver vessels found in Khorezm depicts a man with a goat's head. He is depicted carrying some kind of plant to the bonfire. Such images have been used in the Khorezm oasis since ancient times, and are considered to be a remnant of a mystical idea associated with the worldview of people of this ancient period. Such images, namely, images of creatures with goat and bird heads, are reflected in the mural painting of the Tuproqqala monument and on a clay plate found in the Kokhna-Uaz monument dating back to the 2nd-3rd centuries<sup>43</sup>. Yu.A.Rapoport showed that in the 7th-8th centuries, elements of the mystical worldview that existed in the 1st century AD were preserved among the Khorezmians. S.P.Tolstov sees Siyovush in the goat-headed creature, noting that the Suyovush belief was associated with agriculture, and they believed in it in connection with the resurrection and death of nature. At the same time, various rituals were also associated with the belief in ancestors. According to researchers, such a belief also existed in Sogd and Chach, and it was recorded in Chinese written sources<sup>44</sup>.

In the necropolis of Toqqal'a and Mizdakhkan, obelisks with paintings and Khorezm inscriptions dating back to the 7th-8th centuries were found. Various paintings and inscriptions on these obelisks also allow us to determine the customs and funeral ceremonies of the population of that time. One of the obelisks found in Toqqal'a depicts a mourning ceremony in red and black. This ceremony is depicted against the background of some building with wide doors. People gathered for the mourning ceremony are scratching their faces and cutting their ears<sup>45</sup>. A similar image is also reflected in the Panjikent murals. This indicates that almost the same customs and rituals were widespread in the early medieval states of Central Asia. The painting on the obelisk found in Mizdakhkon may have reflected another part of the funeral ceremony. It depicts people on all four sides of a box made of alabaster with legs. According to researchers,

<sup>43</sup> Рапопорт Ю.А., Незарик Е.Е., Левина Л.М. В низовьях Окса и Яксарта. – С.99.















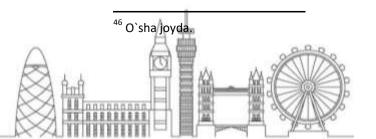


belief in fire played an important role in the religious worldview of the Khorezmians. However, in the Middle Ages, Buddhism was a new idea in their religious beliefs. In the 7th-8th centuries, figurines appeared that differed from the terracotta of antiquity. They were made similar to the Turkish balbals of the Altai and Kazakh steppes. Such a balbal was found in the Shahsanam Fortress. It was made of unbaked clay, covered with alabaster and painted<sup>46</sup>. Its image differs from the figurines found in Tuproqqala and other rural areas. The influence of the Turkish balbal image is less noticeable in them. The terracotta found in the Great Kirghiz Kala had a facial structure similar to that of the Turks. This is the only copy in the Khorezm oasis. These findings themselves suggest that at that time the religious views of other peoples entered the Khorezm oasis and mixed with local beliefs. However, even so, local religious beliefs were predominant.

The conquest of Khorezm by the Arabs put an end to the independent political activity of its state. The state became subject to the Arabs, which had a great influence on the ideological life, language, and religion of society.

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