



SOME ISSUES OF THE HISTORY OF RELATIONS OF THE STATES OF THE KHORAZM SHAH WITH EASTERN EUROPE

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ABSTRACT

The issue of foreign trade relations during the Khorezmshah period is one of the least studied topics. During this period, we can witness that relations between the Khorezm Shahs and the people of Eastern Europe were not only in trade, but also in cultural relations. These issues are reflected in the article.

KEY WORDS: Khorezmshahs, Eastern Europe, Ibn Fadlan, Istakhri, Maqdisi, V.V. Barthold, S.P. Tolstov, Kh.D. Fran, I. Yu. Krachkovsky, A.K. Arends.

INTRODUCTION

Based on the scientific research of the Khorezm Archeology and Ethnography Expedition, which has been operating for several years, the main part of the information provided in the sources on the history of political, socio-economic and cultural relations in the Khorezm oasis in the 9th - 11th centuries shows that the oasis was very economically developed during these periods, trade clearly shows that the scope of their relations has greatly expanded. On the basis of these collected rich materials, a lot of physical evidence and information was collected, which allowed to illuminate the trade and cultural relations of the merchants of the Khorezm oasis with the peoples of the Volga, Eastern Europe and Siberia. The collected unique details and the scientific works written on their basis made it possible to determine the directions and unique characteristics of these relations.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The information of written sources and the results of archeological research fully confirm that Khorezm was a center connecting the countries of Central Asia, the Near and Middle East with the countries of the Volga region and Eastern Europe. The history of these contacts goes back to the development of Neolithic, Bronze and Early Iron Age archaeological cultures of the Urals, Uralorti, Volgaboyi and Khorezm. Especially in the 1st millennium BC, with the formation of Iranian-speaking ethnic cultures within the Scythian-Sarmatian region in Eurasia, and the emergence of the first state associations in Central Asia, multilateral relations became stronger. The history of these contacts goes back to the development of Neolithic, Bronze and Early Iron Age archaeological cultures of the Urals, Trans-Urals, Volga and Khorezm. Especially in the 1st millennium BC, with the formation of Iranian-speaking ethnic cultures within the Scythian-Sarmatian region in Eurasia, and the emergence of the first state associations in Central Asia, multilateral relations became stronger. At the same time, during 1937-1990 and after the independence, as a result of the archeological researches, a huge amount of evidence and information was collected about Khorezm's trade relations with the peoples of the Volga, Eastern Europe and Siberia. The fact that Khorezm was a center connecting the countries of Central Asia, the Near and Middle East with the countries of the Volga region and Eastern Europe has been fully proven by both archeological and written sources. However, in the history of these relations, the period of the end of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th century, that is, the period of the Khorezmshahs – Mamumids, is rarely reflected in written sources and in the results of archeological research.

From this point of view, first of all, it is necessary to analyze the data of written sources. For example, the works of historians and geographers who wrote their works in Arabic include Ibn Fadlan's "Risala", Ibn Havkal's "Kitab ul-masolik wa-l-mamalik" ("Book about roads and countries"), Al-Istakhri's "Kitab masolik ul-mamalik" ("The book about the roads to the countries"), Al-Maqdisi's "Ahsan-at-taqasim fi marifat al-akolim" ("The best guide for the study of climates"), Ibn al-Asir's "Al-Kamil fit-tarikh" ("Perfect History"), Yaqt al-Hamawi's "Mutam al-buldan" ("List of Countries") works. If we focus on the sources written in Persian language of the 9th -13th



centuries, the most important of them are Mahmud Gardizi's "Zain ul-akhbar" ("Decoration of Histories") and Abulfazl Bayhaki's "History of Masudi". In these works, along with the political events that took place in the Khorezm oasis in the 10th -11th centuries, there is also information about economic life and trade relations. In particular, in these works, great attention is paid to the description of the trade centers of Khorezm, economic geography of Khorezm, trade relations of cities and villages, markets and caravanserais. As for the historiographical analysis of the topic, first of all, although a lot of information has been collected as a result of archaeological research, this information has not yet been fully analyzed. Secondly, the lack of information in the above sources and the fact that most of this information contradicts each other makes the historiographical analysis of this topic difficult. For example, Ibn Fadlan's "Risola" has been translated and analyzed by a number of historians, but there are many problematic issues. On this topic, V.V. Barthold, S.P. Tolstov, Kh.D. Fran, I. Yu. Krachkovsky, A.P. Kovalevsky, A.K. Arends, Yu.P. Manilov Q. Y. Masharipov researchers such as conducted research.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The article used scientific research methods such as systematization, historical-comparative analysis, generalization of historical data, principle of objectivity.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

The earliest information on the trade relations of the Khorezmshah-Mamunid state with the regions of Eastern Europe is given in the "Risola" of the famous Arab traveler Ibn Fadlan, who went as an ambassador to the Volga Bulgaria state in 921-922. According to him, when Ibn Fadlan came to Khorezm, Khorezm was divided into two parts, while South Khorezm was ruled by Muhammad ibn Iraq from the Africans, while North Khorezm or Al-Jurjaniya (the capital of North Khorezm was named after the city of Gurganch-Jurjan in Arabic sources) did not mention who ruled during this period. However, Ibn Fadlan, calling Northern Khorezm Al-Jurjaniya, clearly confirms that any caravan that went to Eastern Europe at this time passed through Gurganch.

In general, all Arabic and Persian language sources state that Northern Khorezm, whose capital is Urganch, was in integral economic relations with the world of nomads of Eastern Europe and Eurasian steppes in the 10th - 11th centuries. After all, as soon as the Great Silk Road was established in the 2nd century BC, Khorezm's trade relations with the Volga and Eastern Europe reached a new level. Since then, the northern branch of the Great Silk Road was created, and this network flourished even more in the 10th - 11th centuries, and the fact that the trading cities of Khorezm played a very important role in it is fully reflected in the sources. In addition to written sources, material culture samples obtained as a result of archeological research and put into scientific circulation have always supplemented the information about trade relations. Historical sources and information found in archaeological literature indicate that during the Khorezmshah period, the region had trade relations with the Middle East, Russia, Volga Bulgaria, India and China. In the 11th-13th centuries, the soldiers of the Khorezmshahs captured about 400 peoples, regions, villages and cities in the Middle East and included them in the framework of their state (Buniyotov, 1986. p. 101-107). Most of these cities and villages were, in Al-Yaqut's words, "trade centers". Craftsmanship in those places has also risen to a high level. There were more than 50 main types of crafts in the cities of the Khorezmshahs - Anushtagins state (Buniyotov, 1986. 102 p.).

Since the early Middle Ages, South Aralboyi had trade and diplomatic relations with Eastern European countries. In particular, commercial activities have increased significantly. In the Middle Ages, the Caspian Sea, the Khazar Khanate located in the Volga basin (VII-X centuries), and the Bulgar states (X-XIV centuries) played an important role in Khorezm's economic relations.

Arab historians and geographers Ibn Havqal (976) and Al-Maqdisi (985-988) stated that Khorezm people brought more than forty types of products from Volga Bulgaria to South Aral Bay. Among them were marten, beaver, fox, fur skins, which were considered valuable in the east, white birch bark, honey, wax, Slavic and Turkish slaves (guloms).

Agricultural products (cotton, yarn, fruit, sesame oil), handicrafts (movut, carpets, silk fabrics) and sweets were brought from the Southern Aral Sea to Khazar and Volga Bulgaria (MITT, 1939. 150, p. 179-180). Many silver coins were issued to the peoples of Eastern Europe and Russia during the Somonites (IX-X centuries), Khorezmshahs (XI-XIII centuries) and Khorezm-Zhochi culture (XIII-XIV centuries). Even Ibn Rusta (903-913) in the works "Precious Products" and Abu Sa'id Zakhkoki Gardizi (1050) "Zayin al-akhbar" provide information that Russians and Slavs bought unique items and products only on coins minted in the East (Barthold, 1963 P. 321-324). This process led to a large amount of silver coins minted in ash-Shosh (Tashkent), Samarkand, Bukhara



and Khorezm going to the Northern countries (Russia, Scandinavian countries), and to the “silver crisis” in the cities of Central Asia in the XI-XII centuries (Fyoderov-Davidov, 1980. 90 p.).

As a result of trade relations, in the 11th -13th centuries, a unique type of ceramic vessels, including ceramic spherocoones, jugs, sumac, tile products, were brought to the Volgabuys, and they, in turn, led to the formation of new types of local vessels (Matveeva, 1976. p. 40; Saipov, 2020. p. 237) and contributed to the development of local pottery crafts, but also shows that unglazed ceramic products had their place in the trade relations of the Silk Road along with glazed vessels (Saipov, 2022. 44 p.).

In the 11th and 13th centuries, merchants of the South Aral Bay had trade relations with the Caucasian regions. Georgian poet Ione Shavteli (13th century) writes about “Khorazm’s serfdom” in the epic “Servant of Christ” (“Abdul Messiah”). The author of the 13th century, Muhammad ibn Mansur, writes about precious stones: “... turquoise is traded from Nishapur, Khazan, Karman, Khorezm.”

Complete information about Khorezm's trade activities through the northern network appeared only after the Arab invasion, when the Muslim world became part of its sphere of influence (including the 9th-10th centuries). According to this information, Khorezm was emphasized as an intermediary center in trade relations between Eastern countries and the peoples of the Volga region and Eastern Europe, and various products brought from the Volga region, the Ural region, and the northwestern Volga-Kama regions were sent to Central Asia, Iran, and India through Khorezm transported to the countries of the Middle and Middle East.

The growth of trade cities is one of the important aspects of the overall economic development of the country, and it indicates that the Khorezm civilization, which began to rise on a new basis, strengthened and expanded trade relations with the surrounding steppes and distant countries.

By the 10th century, the fact that Khorezm was extremely active economically is vividly described in Arabic sources. Khorezm merchants, as in ancient times, had trade relations, firstly, with the steppes of present-day Kazakhstan, secondly, with Volgaboyi-Hazaria and Bulgar, and thirdly, with the vast Slavic world of Eastern Europe. As early as the 10th century, Istakhri said about the expansion of trade relations, especially with Eastern Europe: “Along with the neighboring Turkish slaves, a large part of Slavic and Khazar slaves, steppe fox, sable, fox, and beaver fur fall into their hands (Khorazmians)”.

In the 9th-10th centuries, Khorezm’s caravan trade with the Khazars and Bulgars located in the middle and upper reaches of the Volga River was extremely important.

Trade relations with the Khazar Khanate, which was formed in the 8th century and included the territories along the North Caucasus, Volga and Caspian, were developed to such an extent that this situation even had a strong influence on the political life of both countries. Even the great political process that took place under the religious guise of the Khazar khanate in the 60s and 70s of the 8th century could not stop these relations. Even after the conversion of Khorezm to Islam, trade relations continued and were more developed than before.

The city of Itil, the capital of the Khazar state, became one of the largest and richest cities in the world at that time due to the fact that it was located at the junction of trade routes from the East and the West. According to Ibn Havqal, its length and width were equal to 1 farsakh (6-8). It consists of two parts, the western part was called Itil, and the eastern part was called Khazaron. Khorezms made up the majority of the population of Khazar. Among them were merchants, artisans and representatives of other classes.

The influence of the Khorezms in the Khazar Khaganate was so strong that, according to the Arab historian Masudi, the Khorezms formed the basis of the Khagan armies. According to Ibn Havqal, the Khorezm army consisted of 12 thousand people. In addition, Ibn Havqal wrote that the Khorezm people had the right to interfere in the affairs of the government and to have their own minister in the Khazar khanate.

On the other hand, in Khorezm and Urganch, there were settlements consisting of Khazars, Alans and Slavs who had moved from the Khazar Khanate. These settlements existed in Beruni’s time, even before the Mongol invasion, and the Italian traveler Plano Carpi mentioned it.

Khorezm-Khazar relations became very strong, especially at the end of the 10th century, during the period of the khaganate’s fierce struggle with the Oghuzs and Russia.



In 965, when the Russian prince Svyatoslav crushed the main army of the Khazars near the city of Belaya Veja (Sarkel) and ended this state, Khorezm, acting as the “heir” of the Khazar khanate, did not stop his struggle and at least became the most important trading center of the Lower Volga. sought to acquire centers.

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The amirs of Urganch even managed to do this sometimes, Maqdisi says that sometimes the cities of Khazaria were occupied by the governor of Jurjania.

Thus, the Khazar Khanate and its trade relations with the most important trade centers such as Itil, Sarkel (Belaya Veja) were of great importance and formed the basis of Khorezm’s economic development.

This interest undoubtedly lies at the root of Khorezm’s extremely active policy in this direction, mentioned in many sources. Bulgarians also played an important role in Khorezm trade with the Volga and Eastern Europe. In Maqdisi’s list of goods exported from different regions of Movarounnahr, the goods brought to Khorezm from the Bulgars are shown in full.

“From Khorezm - gray squirrel, elk, steppe fox, marten, fox, beaver, painted rabbit, goat, wax, bow arrow, white poplar bark, three caps, fish glue and fish tooth are extracted; beaver skin, sesame oil, anbar, kimukht (boiled horse skin), honey, hazelnuts, falcons, swords, swords, the root of the birch (halanj) tree, Slavic slaves, sheep and cows - all this comes from the Bulgars”. At the end of the 10th century, the number and variety of things brought from the Bulgarians is surprising. This situation indicates that this aspect of the economic activity of the Khorezm people has also grown rapidly.

During this period, the volume of trade with the peoples of the Volga region and Eastern Europe, and the types of goods imported and exported to Khorezm, probably did not change for a long time. Trade was carried out with regions that had developed the same economic style and developed without changes for a long time. For this reason, it is necessary to pay attention to one thing, if attention is paid to the issue of slave trade, slave trade played a major role in the economy of Khorezm not only in the Middle Ages, but also until the Russian occupation. This situation allows to use the labor of slaves brought to Khorezm during trade with settlers, to ensure the development of agriculture and crafts, especially during the period when the slavery system prevailed. This, in turn, led to the development of trade. There were also many large trade centers in Volga Bulgaria. These are: the capital of the state - Bulgor, Bilyar, Suvar, Oshel, Zhukotin, Tubulgatau, Kermenchuk, Kazan and Kashan. Among these trade centers, Bulgar was especially important in trade between the Volga region and Eastern Europe with Central Asia. In the north-east of Europe, it was considered a major center for the collection of goods such as fur, wax, honey, and slaves. A large number of silver dirhams, brought by Muslim traders from various regions of Central Asia, were in circulation in Bulgarian bazars.

So, mainly from the Khazar state and Bulgaria to Khorezm, various furs, large quantities of skins, bark used for tanning leather, cattle, honey, and finally, Slavic and Turkish slaves, which were highly valued throughout the East, were brought. Bulgur and Itil were considered real slave bazars. Slavonic and Turkish slaves could be bought or exchanged here. According to Beruni, Bulgarians also brought walrus teeth from the North Sea to Khorezm. What goods were mainly exported from Khorezm to the Khazar state and Volga Bulgaria? According to Ibn Havqal, their (Khazars’) food consisted mostly of rice and fish. If we take into account that rice was not grown in the Volga at that time, rice was mainly brought from Khorezm and Movarounnahr. He also mentioned above that a large amount of fish was exported from the place called Kholijan in the Arolbay delta of Khorezm (of course, it was also caught in the Volga River and the Caspian Sea). A large amount of dry fruits (walnuts, raisins, apricots, etc.) were exported to Itil and Bulgar. Sesame oil, sweets, boza, musk anbar, cotton, thread, silk fabrics, movut, kimhob, carpets and bedclothes, locks, bows, boats, etc., also took the main place in this trade. In addition, since Khorezm played the role of a transit trade center in the trade between the Volga region and Eastern European countries, India, China, Asia Minor, Iraq and other countries, the goods brought from the above-mentioned countries were exported to Khazar and Volga Bulgaria through Khorezm. However, the most sought-after commodity is silver dirhams, which are mentioned in almost all sources. Gurganj played the most important role in trade with Khazar and Volga Bulgaria. This city was located on the closest road from Iraq and Iran to Eastern Europe.



We can see how important the trade with Eastern Europe and Volgaboyi was for Gurganj, from its active involvement in the politics of the Khazar and Bulgarian states. In addition to the city of Gurganj, cities such as Kat, Shemakakhala, Puljoy (Git), Bugrokhan (Madminiya), Mizdahkhan, Kardor also played a major role in trade along the Volga and with Eastern Europe. This can be seen and concluded based on their geographical location, mentions in sources, and archaeological data.

During 1937-1990 and after the independence, as a result of archeological researches, a huge amount of evidence and information was collected about Khorezm's trade relations with the peoples of the Volga, Eastern Europe and Siberia. This, in turn, makes it possible to fully determine some directions and characteristics of trade relations in general.

Khorezm's connection with Eastern Europe and the Volga region mainly passed through the Ustyurt plateau, and trade relations with the Khazar state, Russia and Volga Bulgaria were carried out through two routes along this plateau. The exact information about one of these trade routes was recorded by Ibn Fadlan, the secretary of the embassy and trade caravan sent by al-Muqtadir, the caliph of Baghdad, to the Bulgar king in 922.

As a result of the archaeological research conducted in 1946, 1950, 1964, 1975-1978 and 1982 on these trade routes, the existence of various structures - towers, caravanserais, settlements, rabots, cisterns and wells - in the eastern hills of Ustyurt and in the Central Ustyurt area was determined and studied. The ruins of towers, towns, cemeteries and other types of constructions have been preserved along the edges of the plateau, about 300 km long and at various distances along the slopes of Ustyurt, from the city of Shemakhakal'a in the south of the eastern hills of Ustyurt to the place of Gurganch in its north. This group of monuments also includes settlements and towers located on the edges of the Ustyurt plateau, south of the Oyboghir basin. There are 24 minarets, about 10 settlements and caravanserais in the eastern hills, and judging by the materials found in them, these monuments were created in the 9th -10th centuries and were widely used in trade relations.

CONCLUSION/RECOMMENDATIONS

If we draw a general conclusion from the above, the Khorezmshah-Mamunids state had close trade relations not only with neighboring countries, but also with the peoples of far Eastern Europe and Southern Siberia. It is very important to study the trade relations between Khorezmshah and the Mamunids state with these regions, and first of all, it reveals many aspects of the political history of the Mamunids dynasty. In particular, the discovery of coins of the first representatives of the Mamunids dynasty in these regions shows the political potential of the representatives of this dynasty. Secondly, archaeological sources clearly show the place of the Khorezm oasis in the trade relations of the Great Silk Road during the Mamunids dynasty. From this point of view, the issue of trade relations of the Khorezmshah-Mamunids state with the peoples of Eastern Europe and South Siberia is one of the urgent problems that has been little studied and should be studied based on a deep analysis in the future.

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