

RECONSTRUCTING THE PAST: *JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES*

DOI.org/10.54414

Print ISSN 29595207

Online ISSN 29595215

Reconstructing the Past: Journal of Historical Studies is a double blind peer-reviewed academic journal, published quarterly in English by Western Caspian University Press. The journal focuses on the publication of original research papers, devoted to the various issues of Historical Studies, and accepts articles from authors all around the World. Being published quarterly, the journal takes issues of copyright infringement and plagiarism in publication very seriously.

Contacts

Address: 31 Istiglaliyyat, Baku 1001

Email: historical_studies@wcu.edu.az

Phone: (+99412) 492 74 18

© Western Caspian University

EDITOR-IN CHIEF:

Huseyn Baghirov (*Western Caspian University, Azerbaijan*)

EDITORIAL BOARD:

Nabil Al-Tikriti (University of Mary Washington, USA) *co-Editor*

Eva-Maria Auch (Humboldt University in Berlin, Germany)

Mikheil Bakhtadze (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Georgia)

Paulo Botta (Pontifical Catholic University of Argentina, Argentina)

Elio Brancaforte (Tulane University, USA)

Juan Signes Codoñer (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain)

Dali Kandelaki (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Georgia)

Nigar Maxwell (Freelance Researcher, UK)

Arailym S. Mussagaliyeva (Eurasian National University, Kazakhstan)

Sergiu Musteata ("Ion Creangă" State Pedagogical University, Moldova)

Pawel Olszewski (Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce, Poland)

Yaroslav Pylypchuk (National Pedagogical Drahomanov University, Ukraine)

Michael A. Reynolds (Princeton University, USA)

Irina Shingiryay (Oxford University, UK)

Jeremy Smith (Eastern Finland University, Finland) *co-Editor*

Yu Tachibana (Hokkaido University, Japan)

Ahmet Taşağıl (Yeditepe University, Turkey)

Lala Alyeva (Baku State University, Azerbaijan) *Deputy Editor-in Chief*

CONTENT:

Note from the Editor in Chief

Huseyn Baghirov.....4

**The Main Directions Of The National Freedom Movement In Northern Azerbaijan
At The Beginning Of The 20th Century**

Faik G. Alakbarli.....5

Sources On The Architectural Monuments Of Amir Temur And Temurid’s Era

Mukhabbat S. Khamidova.....22

Portrait Of The Padishah: Forming The Visual Image Of Uzun Hasan

Sevil A. Kerimova.....33

Zoroastrianism And Avesta After The Sassanids: The Issue Of Survival

Rauf T. Mammadov.....46

Historical Roots Of Economics: The Foundational Legacy Of Ancient Mesopotamia

Ramil I. Hasanov.....56

SUBMISSION GUIDELINES.....69

Note from the Editor in Chief

We are pleased to invite all scholars to publish their research papers on history and related to history fields, written impartially and analyzing the historical past without political bias.

Reconstructing the Past: Journal of Historical Studies aims to foster recovering historical past without fear or favor, based not only on the historical methods and methodology, but also on an interdisciplinary approach.

Our purpose is for provide a forum for scientific research without political overtones.

Kind regards,

Professor Huseyn Baghirov

Founder of the Western Caspian University

THE MAIN DIRECTIONS OF THE NATIONAL FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN NORTHERN AZERBAIJAN AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY

Faik Ghazanfar Alakbarli

Doctor of Philosophy, Associate Professor

Leading researcher of ANAS Institute of Philosophy and Sociology

faikalekperov@mail.ru

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8865-568x>

<http://dx.doi.org/10.54414/UPYM7870>

Abstract. Research on the main development course and characteristics of the National Liberation Movement at the beginning of the twentieth century in Azerbaijan is important in the light of the decolonization discourse. This study analyzes religious-philosophical (idealistic), atheistic-Marxist, also enlightenment, national-democratic and social-democratic directions, existed for solving the political problems of this era. Moreover, the nature of political-ideological, socio-philological aspects of these directions has been studied.

Before the first Russian revolution (1905-1907) and during the years of the revolution, the political and ideological situation of Northern Azerbaijan became complex and contradictory. Especially after the first Russian revolution, the political and ideological life of the country mainly developed in three directions: 1) National enlightenment romanticism (realists, romantics), 2) National democratic direction (Islamism, Turkism, modernism and etc.), 3) Social democratic trends and Marxism (national revolutionaries, Menshevism, Bolshevism, Socialist Revolutionaries). The results of the study show that although all three directions played a unique role in the national liberation movement of Azerbaijan, the national democratism was a major course. At the same time, this paper scrutinize the conditions, as well as the factors that existed in the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic¹ and led to the end of its existence.

Keywords: *First Russian revolution, Nationalism, Democracy, Social-democracy, National Enlightenment, Transcaucasia Seym, National Independence, Republic of Azerbaijan*

INTRODUCTION

After the Gulistan (1813) and Turkmenchay (1828) peace treaties, the north lands of Azerbaijan fell under the colonial rule of Tsarist Russia. As a result of administrative reforms in the 1860-1870s, these lands were divided into three provinces (Baku, Elizavetopol and Yerevan) and the Zakatala Okrug, which became Special Okrug in 1903. In fact, along with the country, the nation was divided into parts. The population of

¹ In the declaration of independence on May 28, 1918, the name of first republic indicated as the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic. However in the most of archival documents it is mentioned as the Republic of Azerbaijan and based on this, further this article uses the latter.

Northern Azerbaijan, who never agreed with colonial dependence on tsarist Russia, fought for the restoration of national rights. At the turn of the 20th century, the Turks of Northern Azerbaijan, in order to regain their national freedom, fought in several directions: 1) The interests of national capital or the desire to create an independent national economy; 2) The struggle for the national rights of Azerbaijani Turks in the State Duma; 3) Creation of National organizations and parties; 4) Revival of the national press, 5) Development of the Azerbaijani Turkic language against the backdrop of an increase in the number of national schools; 6) A new stage in the development of national literature, acting as the embodiment of national philosophical thought.

For many decades, the policy of “divide and rule” led to the fact that in the early years of the 20th century, Azerbaijani intellectuals were divided into groups supporting the ideas of a constitutional monarchy or Marxism, linking the country’s fate with Russia, as well as “Islamic unity” or “Turkic unity” who believed in unification with the Ottoman Empire. In particular, before the First Russian Revolution of 1905 and during the years of revolution (1905-1907), the ideas of Islamism and Turkism (unification with the Ottomans) and liberal democracy with social democrats (continue with Russia) were widespread among the Azerbaijani intelligentsia. In this sense, the issue of the revival and development of the North Azerbaijani Turkic people in the first ten years of the twentieth century had largely two directions. Part of the intelligentsia considered Turkism and Islamism as the main principles in the renewal of the people and was turned to the Ottoman Empire, while the other part, accepting social democracy or liberal democracy as the basis, was for preservation within Russia. At that time, there were no ideas of unification with the Qajarid Iran or independence among the intelligentsia.

Similarities and contradictions between these ideological directions lie at the basis of the national idea of Azerbaijan and its obvious embodiment of the first republic in Azerbaijan. Although the ideas of social democracy and liberal democracy could not play the same role as Turkism and Islamism, they also have a certain role in creating the ideological basis of the first republic. In my opinion, the nature of the national liberation movement and the directions of its development seem to contradict each other, but in many cases these “contradictions” are embodied in one. In this sense, the contrasts that existed at that time between different movements in Azerbaijan and their authors are not difficult to understand.

The purpose of this study is to show the contradictions in different directions of the national idea of the Azerbaijani Turks, that is, social democratic, liberal democratic, national democratic, Islamism, Turkism, positivist and others. It should be noted that the bearers of these ideas, under the influence of domestic or foreign trends, wanted to serve the interests of the nation. The main principle is about loyalty to national and universal values. These ideas had a very serious impact on philosophical and public opinion of the time. In any case, the development of national organizations and the national capital, or the national press and national language were connected in one or another way. Here we intend to consider such important issues as national capital, national press, national organizations, but without touching on their detailed study, we mainly analyze important points that influenced socio-political thought.

Socio-economic Factors and Demography

At the beginning of the 20th century, one of the factors that most seriously influenced the course of socio-political and cultural processes was the development of the national economy and the emergence of national capital against its background. Building national investment in the economy, especially in the oil industry, has not been easy. Among those who took their place in the oil industry of Baku were not only Russians, but also English, Jewish, German, Swedish and Armenian oil magnates [Azərbaycan tarixi (2008): 27-28]. On the eve of the First World War (1914-1918), about 80 percent of all Russian oil was produced in the Absheron-Baku oil fields, of which up to 65 percent was produced by six foreign plants [Azərbaycan tarixi (2008): 32-33]. In 1914, the oil industry of Azerbaijan was mainly in the hands of three international monopolies: Shell, the Nobel Brothers and the Russian General Oil Company (Oil). They “controlled 86 percent of the total share capital of the oil industry and 60 percent of the oil produced in the Russian Empire” [Azərbaycan Kommunist Partiyasının öçerkləri (1986): 219]. Turkish capital in Baku oil was represented by H.Z. Tagiyev, M. Nagiyev, M. Mukhtarov, 49 of 167 oil industrial enterprises, that is, 29.3%, were under their patronage. However, although the figure seems large, the situation in total oil production was changing in favor of foreign companies.[Hüseyin Baykara (1992): 42]

Beginning in the late 19th century, significant growth in the economy of Northern Azerbaijan, especially the development of the oil industry, affected demographic growth and urban development. The colonial authorities were not interested in increasing the local population in large cities. In accordance with the “City Charter”, the main place in the city’s self-government bodies was occupied not by representatives of the local Turkic-Muslim population, but by Russians, Armenians and representatives of other nationalities. By decree of the Tsar in 1900, 50% of the seats in the City Duma were to be taken by representatives of the Muslim population, but this did not happen.

According to the population census of Tsarist Russia in 1897, 1,805,788 people lived in Northern Azerbaijan (excluding Zagatala district). M.Kh. Baharly, who was skeptical about this statistical information, wrote that some members of the population did not participate in the census due to being on summer pastures or evading military service or taxes. For this reason, Baharly suggested that the population of Northern Azerbaijan was 2,150,000 in 1897 and 2,861,862 in 1917 [Vəliyev (Baharlı) M. H. (1993): 14-15]. Baharly writes: “According to the national composition, the population of Azerbaijan is divided in the following order: 1 million 952 thousand, or 68.2% are Muslim peoples: Turks - 1 million 696 thousand; Tats – about 70 thousand; Avars - about 50 thousand; Lezgins - about 50 thousand; Kurds - about 20 thousand; Small peoples of Dagestan - about 16 thousand; Armenians – 622 thousand, or 21.7%; Russians and Ukrainians - 214.9 thousand, or 7.5%;...” [Ibid, 15]. These statistics once again confirm that even despite the policy of population resettlement that took place on the part of tsarism, they could not influence the quantitative advantage Turkic-Muslim population of Northern Azerbaijan.

The First Russian Revolution and Azerbaijan

At the beginning of the 20th century, along with the defeat in the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905), the inability to get rid of the global economic crisis (1900-1903), the expansion of the national liberation and labor movement put the tsarist in a difficult situation. On January 9, 1905, Nicholas II, instead of listening to the complaints of

thousands of people addressed to him, was unable to solve the problem [Huseyn Baykara (1992): 101]. Tsarism used ethnic clashes to prevent the revolutionary movement and distract the attention of the population. Fearing the strengthening of the revolutionary Marxist and national democratic movement in Northern Azerbaijan, Tsarist Russia encouraged the Armenian-Muslim conflict (1905-1906) in the South Caucasus region. The Turks of Northern Azerbaijan and all Muslims living in Northern Azerbaijan as a whole suffered from this [Məmmədov İsmayıl (2005): 327].

On February 18, 1905, the forced statement of Tsar Nicholas II on the preparation of the State Duma project mobilized national forces in Northern Azerbaijan. Turkish intellectuals A. Topchibashi, A. Agayev, F. Vazirov and others gathered on March 15, 1905 in the house of H.Z. Tagiyev and prepared the project “National Demand for Rights.” The main content of this project was the recognition of the same political, legal, cultural, religious and economic rights for Muslims living in Russia as Russians.

The first Russian revolution reached its climax in the fall of 1905. Tsarist Russia, alarmed by the popular movement and the outbreak of revolution that engulfed the empire, promised in its Manifesto of October 17 to give all peoples freedom of speech, press, assembly and other freedoms. According to the decree of Nicholas II of December 11, 1905 on holding elections to the Russian State Duma, the first elections were held in Northern Azerbaijan in May 1906. A. Topchubashi, I. Ziyadkhanly, Kh. Bakhadurov and A. Hagverdiev were elected deputies of the First State Duma, which began work in April 1906.[Azərbaycan tarixi (2008): 146-147] A. Topchibashi became the head of the “Muslim faction”, formed by Muslim deputies elected to the First State Duma from all regions of tsarist Russia.[Devlet Nadir (2014): 147] In July 1906, the First Duma was dissolved, and at the beginning of 1907 elections to the Second Duma took place. This time Fatali Khan Khoyski, Mammad Agha Shakhtakhtli, Khalil Bey Khasmamedov and others were elected to the Duma. Although Alimardan Topchubashi could not be elected as a deputy due to the signing of the Vyborg Declaration, he remained the leader of the “Muslim faction”. [Ibid, 149] During the elections to the Third Duma, the peoples of the North Caucasus, Central Asia and Siberia were actually deprived of the right to vote, and from among the Muslims of the South Caucasus, only Kh. Khasmamedov and I. B. Heydarov could be elected deputies.[Ibid, 151] In 1912, only Mamed Yusif Jafarov was elected as a deputy from the South Caucasus in the elections to the IV Duma. “The Turks living in slavery had 46 deputies in the First Duma. They defended this number in the Second Duma. Due to the reduction of the electoral law against the Turks and leftist parties, the number of Turkish deputies in the Third Duma was 10, and in the Fourth Duma - 7.”[Huseyn Baykara (1992): 118]

Before and during the years of the First Russian Revolution, the political and ideological situation in Northern Azerbaijan was quite complex and contradictory. At the beginning of the last century, especially after the first Russian revolution (1905-1907), national movement of Northern Azerbaijan developed mainly in three directions in political and ideological life:

1. National enlightenment (realists, romantics),
2. National democratic (Islamism, Turkism, modernity, etc.)
3. Social democracy or Marxism (national revolutionaries, Menshevism, Bolshevism, Socialist Revolutionaries).

The national enlightenment. First of all, the direction of national enlightenment was widespread in Northern Azerbaijan. Some of the Azerbaijani intellectuals belonged to the realistic trend, such as Jalil Mammadguluzadeh, Omar Faik Nemanzadeh, and others, since they were critical of modern problems, while others, Mahammad Hadi, Abas Sahhat, Hussein Javid, and others were more utopian, as they were prone to romanticism. Democratic intellectuals of the enlightenment era wavered between national democracy and social democracy. For the reason that their views on a number of issues relating to both movements coincided. From this point of view, subsequently, a significant part of them turned to the national democratic movement, and some to Marxism (especially Bolshevism).

National democracy. The national democratic movement arose on the basis of national-religious traditions and played a decisive role in the life of the Azerbaijani people. For the reason that the main source of the national democratic direction was the Azerbaijani people themselves, the scientific and philosophical publications and thoughts of the intelligentsia in the 19th century. Prior the First Russian Revolution of 1905, the authors of the national democratic trend mainly gathered around the newspaper "Kaspi" and, in a modern spirit, spread the ideas of Islamism and Turkism. "At the end of the 19th - beginning of the 20th century, the Azerbaijani bourgeoisie did not yet have its own political party, and local pan-Islamists, led by their ideologists Ahmad bey Agayev and Alimardan bey Topchubashov, gathered around the newspaper "Kaspi", bought by millionaire H.Z. Tagiyev, and propagated their views on its pages." [Azərbaycan Kommunist Partiyasının öçerkləri (1986): 40].

After the start of the first Russian Revolution, representatives of national democracy, A. Topchibashi, A. Agaoglu, H. Vazirov and others actively participated in the 1st Congress for Muslims of Russia, held in Nizhny Novgorod on August 15, 1905, and creation of a new party "Union of Muslims of Russia". [Devlet Nadir (2014): 129-133] At the II Congress, held in St. Petersburg on January 15-25, 1906, alongside with the election of A. Topchibashi as chairman of the party, its charter and program were adopted, which defined political goals, labor issues, local autonomy, religious rules, state issues, as well as the structure of the party. [Devlet Nadir (2014): 134-136] This party, being a supporter of a constitutional monarchy, fought for an increase in the number of Muslim deputies, the participation of women in elections, and the rights and freedoms for all Muslims. At the III Congress, held on August 16-23, 1906 in Nizhny Novgorod, a Central Committee with a permanent seat in Baku was established to lead the organization. In addition to political problems, at the congress it was decided to create a new type of schools in regions inhabited by Turks, switch to compulsory primary education, teach in the native language, and open pedagogical institutes in Baku, Kazan, and Bakhchasaray to train national personnel. [Devlet Nadir (2014): 137-145] Thanks to the influence of this congress, the network of schools in the regions inhabited by the Turks expanded and the national press multiplied. However, as a result of the defeat of the First Russian Revolution (1907), the party had to cease its activities. Polish scientist Tadeusz Svyatochowski believes that in all cases, the foundation of national awakening in Azerbaijan was laid by the First Russian Revolution and this process continued until the outbreak of the First World War. [Tadeusz Swietochowski (1998): 65-67]

During this period, there were Azerbaijani intellectuals who showed an inclination towards the liberal line of national democracy: A. Topchubashi, I. Gadzhinsky, I.

Gadzhiev, K. Safaraliev and others. Since they sympathized with the Constitutional Democratic Party (Kadets), founded in Tsarist Russia, they organized the Baku branch of this organization on December 5, 1905.

The program of the Turkic social-federalist organization "Gayrat" ("Honour"), created in Ganja in 1905, based on the idea of autonomy for the Muslim population within the framework of the federation, however in its activities it sometimes also demanded the separation of the Caucasus from Russia. The leaders of "Gayrat," which operated for three years and was subsequently banned by the empire, were N. Yusifbeyli, A. Rafibeyli and A. Khasmamedov. In 1917, "Geyrat" was re-established as the Turkish People's Center Party. [Azərbaycan tarixi (2008): 153-154].

"Difai" ("Defence"), created by Ahmed Bey Agaoglu in the summer of 1906, also played an important role in preventing the massacres, carried out against the Turkic-Muslim population in the South Caucasus. "Difai" aimed to protect the population from reprisals by Dashnak armed forces. [Hüseyn Baykara (1992): 120-122; Məmmədzadə M.B (1992): 39-40].

In 1911, representatives of the national democratic movement created a new national party, "Musavat", to fight not only against the tsarist regime, but also the Bolsheviks. The first Musavat program was of an Islamic nature, then it was developed and completed during the subsequent activities of the party and was aimed at serving the independence of Azerbaijan.[Yaqublu Nəsiman (2001): 29]. M.B. Mamedzade and Huseyn Baykara write that most of the founders of Musavat were former supporters of "Hummat", and "Difai" who also joined them. Former members of "Hummat" (M.A. Rasuloglu, A. Kazimzade, Tagi Nagioglu, M.A. Rasalzade, etc.), under pressure from the Marxists, were unable to completely nationalize "Hummat", but this work, which they left unfinished, was completed with the creation of "Musavat". After some time, "Musavat" opened its doors not only to former members of "Hummat", but also to all forces that were carriers of national democratic ideas. [Hüseyn Baykara (1992):184; Məmmədzadə M.B (1992): 40-43].

In 1913, nationally minded emigrants, who returned to Baku under a general amnesty declared in connection with the 300th anniversary of the Romanov dynasty, especially the famous thinker M.A. Rasalzade, launched active propaganda work in the press and at public meetings. Rasalzade, editor-in-chief of the newspaper "Achik Soz" (Openness), the first issue of which was published in October 1915, defined the main slogan of the newspaper as Turkism, modernity and Islamism: "Achik Soz" for the first time boldly and persistently declared that the peoples of the Caucasus, who were hitherto called Muslims or Tatars, were Turks, and in connection with people start to struggle for independence.[Rezulzade M.E. (1990): 17]

Thus, as a result of the national idea pursued by Musavat in the 1910s, the people of Northern Azerbaijan basically determined the path of liberation and began the national liberation struggle.

With the outbreak of the First World War (1914-1918), events in the socio-political life of Northern Azerbaijan began to take a new course. Certain reforms carried out by Tsarist Russia during this period, as well as the strengthening of Marxist-Leninist and national democratic tendencies, the creation of new press organs, schools, and individual societies were the most important factors in the socio-political life of Azerbaijan. As a result of these factors, the number of intellectuals with a national spirit increased, and the

ideas of national freedom grew in Azerbaijan. First of all, all this manifested itself as a continuation of the national democratic trend that arose in the first decade of the last century and led to the realization of the ideal of national freedom. During this period, the national democratic movement was not as widespread as Marxism, but in many cases even managed to overtake it. As a result, when the Azerbaijani people were faced with a choice, they trusted not the Marxists-Bolsheviks, but the national democratic forces and acted as the main source for the creation of the Azerbaijan Republic.

The doctrine of social democracy and Marxism. Before and after the first Russian revolution, one of the most widespread ideas in Azerbaijan was social democracy based on the Marxist philosophy. Workers were the main support for Marxists in Azerbaijan. However the vast majority of these workers were not Muslim Turks. The main participants in the demonstrations and strikes that took place in various cities of Northern Azerbaijan were workers who came to work or were brought here from different regions of Tsarist Russia. In this sense, those who spread Marxism and created Marxist associations in Northern Azerbaijan in the early days were mainly representatives of Russian, Jewish, Georgian and other non-Muslim nationalities, and gradually Azerbaijani Turks were involved in this process. [Azərbaycan Kommunist Partiyasının öçerkləri (1986): 43] Even when the Baku Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) was created in March of 1898, all its members were representatives of foreign states. In 1901, when a group of agents of the "Iskra" newspaper was formed in Baku, there was not a single local Azerbaijani Turk among them.[Azərbaycan tarixi (2008): 112]

The names of S.M.Efendiyev, A.Akhundov, M.G.Movsumov, M.A.Azizbekov are mentioned as the first social democrats among the Turks of Northern Azerbaijan, who were rarely elected to the Baku Committee of the RSDLP. There were M. A. Rasalzade, M. A. Mirgasimov, M. Hajinsky, A. Kazimzade and others who sympathized with some of the provisions of social democracy, but did not want to join the ranks of this party. In 1902, under the leadership of Rasalzade, the first secret organization in Azerbaijan, the Muslim Youth Organization, was created, and then in October 1904, the social democratic Hummat, whose members were only Muslims. And even M.A. Rasalzade gave the name "Hummat" or "Himmat" to the magazine that he published in 1903-1904. [Rəsulzadə M.Ə. (2011):16-17]

Huseyn Baykara wrote that "Hummat," which operated for some time under the Baku Committee of the RSDLP, became a semi-independent party after the first Russian revolution [Huseyn Baykara (1992): 71]. However, unlike most of the founders of Hummat, some members of Hummat, including M. Mamedyarov, Kh. Safaraliev and others, were influenced by the Baku Committee of the RSDLP. As a result of the active intervention of the Baku Committee of the RSDLP in this organization, and in some cases their desire for a violent union, discontent within Hummat grew, and at the end of 1907 its activities were discontinued.[Rüstəmov Y. (2000): 32]

R. Sharifzade, M. Juvarlinsky, R. Malikov and others were active members of the social democratic organization "Ittifag" (Union), which emerged at the end of 1905 as a Muslim party of social revolutionaries (SR). "We should not forget that the members of "Ittifag" were extremely opportunistic in their work... Such an incident was enough to discredit the unionists in the eyes of the masses groaning under the rams: the initial

success of "Ittifag" was wasted in the course of national hostilities, and by the end of 1906, one could say that this organization died by itself." [Əfəndiyev S.M, (1990): 321]

Thus, on the eve of the First World War and during the war years (1914-1918), social democracy, especially its wing of Marxism-Leninism (Bolshevism), largely lost its influence among the people, in contrast to the first periods of its spread in Northern Azerbaijan. Therefore, during this period, only representatives of non-Muslim nationalities formed the leadership center of the Baku organization of the RSDLP. As a result, in the fall of 1912, the Baku Bolsheviks took part in the elections to the IV State Duma together with the Mensheviks and the Armenian party. [Azərbaycan Kommunist Partiyasının öçerkləri (1986): 233]

After the February Revolution in Tsarist Russia in 1917, the governance in the South Caucasus was entrusted to the newly created administrative body, Special Transcaucasian Committee by the decision of the Provisional Government established in Petrograd. Soon, on March 17, 1917, a group of Azerbaijani intellectuals, together, organized a bureau consisting of representatives of Baku Muslim public organizations and cooperatives. At the assembly held in the yard of the Baku City Duma, a decision was made to demonstrate loyalty to the Provisional Government in Russia. On March 27, 1917, this bureau was replaced with the Provisional Executive Committee of the National Muslim Council in Baku. Muhammad Hasan Hajinski was elected as the chairman of the Provisional Committee, and M.A. Rasulzade as his deputy. And Baku Soviet of Workers and Military Deputies formed at the end of March turned to the organ of the leftist revolutionary forces. And so, dual power emerged in Northern Azerbaijan, as in Russia.

A small number of Azerbaijani Bolsheviks taking advantage of this revolution, after a ten-year break, restored the activity of "Hummet" on March 3, 1917. As the chairman of its Provisional Committee Nariman Narimanov, and as members Mashadi Azizbekov, Mohsin Israfilbekov (Qadirli), Hamid Sultanov and others were elected. "Even though they announced that they stood by the Bolshevik position, the committees of "Hummat" in the provinces were inclining the Mensheviks. [Azərbaycan tarixi (2001): 298] As a result of the considerable weak position of Bolshevism in Northern Azerbaijan, A. Yusifzade, who took part in the 6th Congress of the Bolshevik Party in Petrograd on July 26, 1917, asked for support from "Hummat". In this regard, "Hummat" was almost dependent on the RSDLP, and the numbers of its supporters could be counted on the fingers of one hand. [Ibid, 384]

After the February Revolution, "Musavat", being at the forefront of the national forces, and "Turkic Federalist Party" in Ganja were following the same line. It was revealed on April 15-20, 1917, at the First Congress of Caucasus Muslims in Baku. At the congress, it was agreed to merge the "Muslim Democratic Party-Musavat" with the "Turkic Federalist Party" headed by Nasib Bey Yusifbeyli in Ganja. [Azərbaycan tarixi (1994): 56]

The first congress of all-Russian Muslims, held in Moscow in May 1917, showed that numerous representatives of national democratic ideas, and not the small number of Azerbaijani Bolsheviks, had taken the right path. Two main ideas were proposed at the congress. Rasulzade, who put forward the first proposal, stated that Russia should be governed federally, like a People's Republic, and the non-Russian peoples, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Kyrgyzstan and other countries should be given national-territorial autonomy. Opposing this idea, Tatar Akhmad Salikhov proposed the

idea of national-cultural autonomy while maintaining the unitary character of Russia. Rasulzade's was accepted by the participants of the congress. [Azərbaycan tarixi (2001): 303]

The merger in June 1917 of Musavat and the Turkic Federalist Party, choosing the national democratic direction (Turkism, Islamism and Western democracy), played an important role in the fate of Northern Azerbaijan's people, which first promoted the autonomy of Azerbaijan and then its national independence. In particular, the program announced at the 1st congress of the "Turkic Federalist Party-Musavat", held solemnly in Baku from October 26 to October 31, 1917, was a national program. [Ibid, 309-310]

After the Bolsheviks seized power in Petrograd on October 25, 1917, the Bolshevik and Dashnak parties became active in Baku. On November 2, 1917, the Bolsheviks and their supporters convened a meeting of the "Baku Soviet" and announced the establishment of the Soviet power in Baku, and the Armenian origin Stepan Shaumyan became its chairman. [Azərbaycan tarixi (2001): 315]

22 deputies from the "Musavat" Party were included in the body that declared the Soviet power. Differing from the Mensheviks and SRs, the Musavatists, especially Rasulzade, did not seriously object the Bolsheviks' rule at first. Particularly, Lenin's declaration regarding the self-determination of all peoples was positively evaluated by the Musavatists. Therefore, "Musavat" did not accept the proposal of the SR-Menshevik bloc to leave the Soviet together. [Ibid, 315-316]

However, on December 12-13, 1917, due to the tension between the Bolsheviks and Musavatists, new elections were conducted for the Baku Soviet. On grounds of the elections held under the will of the Bolsheviks, the new Executive Committee included six Bolsheviks, five Dashnaks, four left SRs, three right SRs, and two Musavatists. On December 18, Lenin designated Stepan Shaumyan as an Extraordinary Commissioner of the Caucasus. [Azərbaycan tarixi (2001): 317-318] The leadership of "Musavat" recalled its deputies from the Baku Soviet in protest the fact that the Bolsheviks were playing a two-headed game, especially against the Turkish-Muslim population in Turkestan.

On November 11, 1917, representatives of the Georgian Mensheviks, Turkish Musavatists, Armenian Dashnaks and right SRs who did not want to obey the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR refused to recognize the authority of the Russian Bolshevik government and decided to form an "Independent Transcaucasia Government" at the conference held in Tbilisi. As a consequence, instead of the Special Transcaucasian Committee, the Transcaucasian Commissariat chaired by Evgeni. Gegechkori was established in Tbilisi on November 15 to govern the South Caucasus.

On the basis of the Armistice of Erzincan signed between the Transcaucasian Commissariat and Turkey on December 5, 1917, Russian troops began to withdraw from the Caucasian front. At the beginning of February, 1918, in Tbilisi, at a meeting of deputies elected to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly from the South Caucasus, the Transcaucasian Sejm (Parliament), the highest authority of Transcaucasia, was opened and became the leading power center in this region. Representatives of three parties, Musavat (Azerbaijan), Dashnaktsutyun (Armenia) and Social-Democrat (Georgia), were represented in the Sejm, which began to operate on February 23. M.A. Rasulzade was the head of the Azerbaijani national faction in the Sejm, consisting of 44 deputies.

During this time, Turkey did not accept the policy pursued by Georgians and Armenians in the Sejm and declared war against them. The war lasted no more than 8

days and was concluded with the victory of the Ottomans. At the insistence of the Turkish faction, the Transcaucasian Sejm announced the country's sovereignty on April 22.

During the events of March 1918, Shaumyan, who headed the Committee for the Revolutionary Defense of Baku and its outskirts [Документы и материалы (1957): 327], achieved a decree granting autonomy to Armenia in Turkey, which was signed by Lenin in December 1917. [Насиров Т. (1993): 22] Lenin expressed Shaumyan's continued anti-Azerbaijani policy in a telegram sent to him in 1918: "We are pleased with your firm and decisive policy." [Quliyev C. (1957): 26] On March 15, 1918, Shaumyan openly declared at a meeting of the Baku Soviet that the Baku Soviet should become the main stronghold of the civil war in the South Caucasus. On the eve of the genocide, the Dashnaktsutyun party and the Armenian National Council sided with the Baku Soviet. On March 30-31, in Baku alone, Bolshevik-Dashnak military units killed more than 12 thousand Muslim population. Moreover, Armenian military units destroyed tens of thousands of the Muslim population in Shamakhi, Quba, Lankaran, Kurdemir, Salyan and other regions of Northern Azerbaijan. [Azərbaycan tarixi (2001): 328] It is interesting that Soviet historians and scientists seriously characterized the March massacre of Muslim population of Baku as a civil war, blaming it on the Musavat party. However, indisputable facts also prove that during the March events, Bolsheviks and Dashnaks jointly carried out these massacre. [Topçubaşı Ə.M. (2013): 47]

After the Turkish-Muslim genocide of March 30-31, 1918, the Baku Soviet, led by the Bolshevik-Dashnaks, completely seized power in Baku after the "peace conference" held on April 1. [Azərbaycan tarixi (2001): 330] The Baku Soviet banned the activities of all newspapers and magazines, and national councils, except for Armenian (Dashnak) and Russian (Bolshevik) political press bodies and organizations. On April 25, the Baku Council of People's Commissars (Baku Commune) was founded under the chairmanship of Stephan Shaumyan, and its leadership mainly included Armenian Dashnaks and Russian Bolsheviks. In this regard, Khatisov, one of the leaders of Dashnak Armenia, called the Baku Commune "Armenian Soviet government". Furthermore, the Baku Commune considered itself an integral part of Soviet Russia and did not want to agree the idea of granting not only independence, but also autonomy to Azerbaijan.

National Independence and the Republic of Azerbaijan

Such unacceptable matters led to the collapse of the Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic. After Georgia left the Transcaucasian Republic on May 26, 1918, an extraordinary conference of Turkish-Muslim deputies was held on May 27, and the conference announced the National Council of Azerbaijan, assuming the responsibility of governing Northern Azerbaijan. In reality, as the National Council of Azerbaijan consisted of 44 deputies participating in the Sejm, the National Council they created was also the first small parliament of the newly formed Republic of Azerbaijan. At the first meeting of the National Council, the Presidium and the Chairman of the National Council of Azerbaijan were elected. Most of the parties representing Azerbaijan in the Sejm—"Musavat", Muslim Socialist Bloc, Muslim Social-Democrat-Mensheviks and "Hummet" voted in favor of M.A. Rasulzade's election as the chairman of the National Council. [Yaqublu N. (1991): 79]

The Declaration of Independence of Azerbaijan announced to the world on May 28, 1918 by the National Council of Azerbaijan stated: “1. As Azerbaijan has the right of popular power from today, Azerbaijan, which consists of South-Eastern Transcaucasia, is a fully independent state. 2. The form of government of the independent state of Azerbaijan is the Popular Republic...” [ARDA: f.894, s.10, iş. 12, v.1-2].

The existence of the republic had great significance not only for the Turks of Northern Azerbaijan, but also for the entire Turkic world and the Muslim East. At the same time, the establishment of this republic was not the result of the revolutions that took place in tsarist Russia, but the legitimate result of the national idea of the nation itself.

After Azerbaijan's independence was declared to the world powers on May 30, Fatali Khan Khoyski was entrusted with organizing the first government of the Republic. The state structure of the republic was a parliamentary republic. From the first day, the provisional government announced in its program that the government should mainly refer to agricultural people such as workers and peasants and that Azerbaijan should be a country of freedom. “Here, one class did not dominate the other class. A person was neither right because of his wealth, nor unjust because of his poverty.” [Rəsulzadə M.Ə. (1991): 40]

The Azerbaijani national government signed a military agreement with the Ottomans on June 4 to strengthen its foundations. The agreement was signed by the chairman of the National Council M.A. Rasulzade, foreign minister M.H. Hajinski from Azerbaijani side, foreign minister Khalil Bey and Vehib Pasha, commander-in-chief of the Caucasian front, from the Ottoman side. On the basis of that agreement, the Caucasian Islamic Army headed by Nuru Pasha was sent to help Azerbaijan. But nevertheless, the emergence of dissatisfaction between Nuru Pasha and the Azerbaijani government in Ganja caused to a crisis. “In such historical, political and military conditions, after intense negotiations with the mediation of Ahmad Bey Aghaoghlu, advisor of Nuru Pasha, an Azerbaijani by origin, a prominent thinker and politician of the 20th century, it became possible to reach an appropriate agreement under the condition of the dissolving of the National Council and transferring of all power to the Provisional National Government, which was reorganized under the leadership of Fatali Khan Khoyski”. [Mərdanov M.C; Quliyev Ə.Q. (2001): 49]

The second government formed in Ganja under the leadership of F. Khoyski, on June 17, 1918, made important decisions on nationwide issues such as the national flag (June 24), the formation of the national army (June 26), and the Turkish language as the state language (June 27).

The main measure of the Caucasian Islamic Army was to liberate the Baku governorate and the city of Baku from the hands of the occupying army of the Baku Commune. Caucasian Islamic Army under the leadership of Nuru Pasha inflicted a heavy defeat on the combined military forces of the Baku Commune near Goychay and headed towards Baku on July 20. After this defeat, the Baku Commune collapsed on July 31, 1918, and on August 1, a reactionary government named “Dictatorship of the Central Caspian and the Presidium of the Provisional Executive Committee of Soviet” was formed on the basis of the SR-Dashnak-Menshevik alliance. However, the Caucasian Islamic Army could not agree with the long-term settlement of this government, which is mainly composed of SRs and Armenians, in Baku. “On the night of September 14-15,

Turkish troops entered Baku with a rapid attack... On September 15, the commander of the Caucasus Islamic Army, Lieutenant General Nuru Pasha, sent a telegram with good news to the heads of the Azerbaijani government in Ganja.” [Yaqublu N. (1991): 88] On September 17, the national government of the Republic of Azerbaijan was transferred from Ganja to Baku.

On September 23, 1918, a secret protocol was signed between Talat Pasha and Germany. According to that protocol, “Turkish troops were leaving Azerbaijan, and Germany ensured that Azerbaijan's independence was recognized by Russia. But, the subsequent situation did not allow Germany to set out this process. It became clear that Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria were defeated, and the course of events changed and a new examination period for Azerbaijan had begun”. [Mehmmetzade M.B. (1955): 17-18] Article 11 of the agreement signed in the port of Mudros (Mondros) on the island of Lemnos on October 30, 1918 stated that the Ottoman Turkish army should recall its forces in the Caucasus and South Azerbaijan. According to this agreement, the South Caucasus was declared the sphere of influence of Great Britain and British troops were directed to Baku. “Regarding the new situation, the representatives of the Azerbaijani government met with British General Thomson, who was in Iran and represented the allies, in Anzali to clarify the situation, but he said that he did not recognize a government called Azerbaijan and did not agree to negotiate. This event was the beginning of a new era in the political history of Azerbaijan.” [Baykara H. (1992): 246]

In November 1918, on the eve of the arrival of the British in Baku, the National Council of Azerbaijan restored its activity and made a resolution on the establishment of the Parliament of Azerbaijan. As attested by this decision, “since it is not possible to convene the All-Azerbaijan Constituent Assembly, it was decided to turn the National Council into the Parliament, the state legislative body of Azerbaijan.”[Məmmədov I. (2005): 347] According to that law, 120 deputies should be represented in the parliament, including representatives of all nationalities living in Azerbaijan, in accordance with the national composition of the country's population. On November 29, the National Council issued an appeal entitled “To all the people of Azerbaijan”: “According to the law adopted on the 19th of this month, the National Council will become a Mejlisi-Mebusan (Parliament) with 120 deputies until December 3. Representatives from minority nationalities were involved in this assembly, as well as lawyers from provinces of the country. Deputies who will be assembled in this way will be the owner of our country, decide its fate, organize its government and protect its interests until the Assembly of Azerbaijan convenes the institution in the future by the method of general election”. [ARDA: f.895, s.3, iş. 187, v.1-2]

It should be noted that the Armenian Dashnaks, Russian Bolsheviks and other political and social groups influenced General Thomson by all means, either they did not want to allow the implementation of the Azerbaijani parliament, or they demanded that their interests be ensured here as well. “Representatives of national minorities living in Azerbaijan had to be included in the parliament, and it was allowed to convene the parliament only after meeting these conditions. A delegation of the National Council consisting of M.A. Rasulzade, M.Y. Jafarov and A.J. Pepinov was chosen for further discussions”. [Əfəndiyev E. (1994): 16]

On December 7, 1918, the first constituent meeting of the Parliament of the Republic of Azerbaijan took place in the building of H.Z. Taghiyev's Noble Girls Gymnasium. The Chairman of the National Council of Azerbaijan, M.A. Rasolzade, who started the meeting with his speech, voiced the motto "The flag once raised will never fall again". [Nasibzade N. (1990): 92] At the first session of the parliament, the neutral A.M. Topchubashi was elected the speaker of the parliament, and the member of "Musavat" H.B. Aghayev was elected his deputy. At the first session of the Parliament, F. Khoyski proclaimed that the Provisional Government had resigned and that the power had been handed over to the Parliament as a whole. The formation of the new government, the third in number, was assigned to F. Khoyski, and the composition of the new government cabinet was enunciated on December 26, 1918. In the meantime, the Azerbaijani government, which negotiated with General Thomson, finally achieved its goal, and General Thomson recognized it as the only legitimate government. [Baykara N. (1992): 247-248]

The program of the 4th government, which began to operate on April 14, 1919 under the leadership of N. Yusifbeyli, comprised recognition of the state independence of Azerbaijan by the world's leading countries, ensuring the country's territorial integrity, establishing cooperation with neighboring states, reinforcing national security, developing the army, founding educational institutions.

Even though, the Paris Peace Conference was basically intended to settle peace with Germany, the leaders of the great powers began to discuss the "Russian question" as well. [Topçubaşov Ə. (1998): 53-54] In consequence of those discussions, the states of Azerbaijan and Georgia were de facto recognized at the meeting of the Supreme Council of Allied States (Entente) held on January 11, 1920. [Həsənov С. (1993): 96] It is obvious from the letters sent by A. Topchubashi, the head of the Azerbaijani delegation that participated in the Paris peace conference, from Versailles, or from the meetings held with the representatives of individual states in Istanbul, that the recognition of Azerbaijan as an independent state was a very tough process. [Топчибашев Е.М. (1994)]

At a time when the independence of Azerbaijan was recognized by the Entente, the threat of Soviet Russia was looming over its head. On January 2, 1920, the Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the RSFSR, G. V. Chicherin, sent the first note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan, F. Khoyski, demanding to join the war against Denikin. Khoyski sent a response note on January 14 and stated that the civil war was Russia's internal affair. On January 19, Russia, having received the information about the decision of the "Entente" to provide Azerbaijan with military ammunition and not the army, intensified diplomatic pressure on Azerbaijan. Chicherin, who sent a second note to Azerbaijan on January 23, stated that Azerbaijan's non-interference in Russia's internal affairs means giving up the struggle against Denikin. Khoyski said in his answer that after Russia recognizes the independence of Azerbaijan, Baku can officially look into these issues. In fact, the notes that Russia sent to Azerbaijan until March 1920 aimed to cover up the intervention against the Republic.

In order to realize the military intervention to Azerbaijan, Soviet Russia paid more attention to the strengthening of the "fifth colon"- local Bolsheviks in the country. Unfortunately, a small number of Azerbaijani-Turkish Bolsheviks also closely participated in the occupation of the Republic of Azerbaijan by Soviet Russia. The

Bolsheviks, Mensheviks and SRs, who had been operating separately and had no significant influence among the people until the end of 1919, were brought together by the Russians. On February 11-12, 1920, the Baku Committee of the RC(b)P, “Hummet”, “Adalet” and other leftist organizations united under the name of the Azerbaijan Communist Party (ACP) by holding their first congress. “AC(b)P, which is the follower of the policy of Soviet Russia, took the line of coup d'état in Azerbaijan as a basis. Local Bolsheviks actively campaigned against the national government. However, it was apparent that the Azerbaijani communists were not able to make a coup by their own forces. They hoped more for Russian encroachment.” [Məmmədov I. (2005): 350]

On April 1, 1920, the government headed by Yusifbeyli resigned, and the organization of the new government was entrusted to M.H. Hajinski. Although Hajinski wanted to form a coalition government consisting of leftist forces, including communists, the Bolsheviks refused it. On April 22, after not being able to form a new government and losing substantial time to organize the government, Hajinski reported this to the parliament. Along with diplomatic pressure, Soviet Russia used local Bolsheviks, Armenian Dashnaks and the pretext of aid to Türkiye in order to overthrow the Republic. Soviet Russia, which unequivocally controlled the AC(b)P, encouraged the massacre of the local Turks in Karabakh by Armenians on March. On March 22, with the consent of Moscow, Armenian military units raided the garrison located in Khankendi, Gazakh and Ganja districts. The Azerbaijani government was forced to immediately direct the national army from the border of Dagestan and Baku in order to quell the Armenian uprising in Karabakh. Thus, the northern borders of the Republic remained unguarded.

Through propaganda, Soviet Russia was able to convince Ankara that the 11th Army would pass through Baku and go to the aid of Türkiye, which was fighting against the Entente. Khalil Pasha and other Turkish officers led the Muslim units of the 11th Army. On April 21 and 23, the Revolutionary Council of the Caucasus Front, headed by S.G. Orjonikidze, commanded the XI Army to cross the border of the Republic of Azerbaijan and occupy the entire territory on April 27. According to that command, on the night of April 26-27, under the leadership of Levandovsky, the XI Red Army units crossed the state borders from the Yalama-Khachmaz side of Northern Azerbaijan. This meant that the Republic of Azerbaijan was invaded on April 27, and the XI Army entered Baku by armored train on April 28. N. Yagublu writes: “Thus, the Bolsheviks announced April 28 as the day of the establishment of Soviet power in Azerbaijan and introduced it to the world community as “the April 28 Revolution”. In other words, they created a false and fake calendar, not the April 27 invasion, but the April 28 revolution.” [Yaqublu N. (2018): 17-18]

The Azerbaijani Turkish Bolsheviks, trying to take advantage of the fact that the 11th army of Soviet Russia violated the state borders and turned to Baku, gave an ultimatum to the parliament on behalf of the Baku office of the RCP (b) Caucasus Region Committee and the AC(b)P to hand over power. Despite the strong objections of M.A. Resulzade and a few deputies, the Parliament adopted a decree consisting of 6 articles in its last session held on April 27 with a majority of votes on the condition that the power would be given to Azerbaijani Turkish communists. In this decree, it was stated that the national government hands over the power to the Azerbaijani Turkish Bolsheviks under the conditions of preserving the full independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the new government would be a provisional body, the retention of the former employees in

government departments in their positions, ensuring the inviolability of life and property of members of the government and parliament, maintaining the National Army, the free activities of political parties, the 11th Army would directly go to aid to Türkiye by railway.

CONCLUSION

At the beginning of the 20th century, the national democratic direction of socio-political and philosophical thought was clearly associated with the ideas of nationalism (Turkic unity), Islamism (Islamic unity), Westernism (adoption of Western culture, modernization and renewal) and independence (independent Azerbaijan). The main goal here was to promote the positive democratic values of the West, without deviating from the basic principles of national and religious issues. Therefore, during this period, the national democratic direction occupied an important place in the national philosophical thought of Azerbaijan.

During this period, the overwhelming majority of Azerbaijani intellectuals (A. Huseynzade, A. Agaoglu, M. A. Rasulzade, A. M. Topchubashi, N. Yusifbeyli, etc.) gave the main priority to national-religious characteristics and liberal democratic values in their national philosophical worldview. These intellectuals remained faithful to national and religious values, taking into account the requirements and ideas of their time. They put forward new ideas based on the philosophical, cultural and religious worldview of the Azerbaijani people. These ideas did not deviate from the idealistic worldview and were formed on the basis of national philosophical thought. It was as a result of the ideas put forward by these intellectuals that Azerbaijan became a free and independent state after getting rid of the Tsarist Russia colonialism. Thus, the idea of national freedom, the first seeds of which were laid in the second half of the 19th century and systematized at the beginning of the 20th century, led to the creation of the Azerbaijan Republic (1918). The first (1905) and second (1917) Russian revolutions played a very important role in changing the political and ideological landscape of the country. Undoubtedly, during these revolutions, national leaders and ideologues from among the people occupy a special place to lead the people behind their backs. Thanks to them, the basic principles of national ideology in Azerbaijan were determined in the new era. The political freedom of Azerbaijan has passed a very important stage from national autonomy to national independence. Most importantly, the term “historical-geographical Azerbaijan” was replaced by the concept of an independent and national Azerbaijan. M.A. Rasulzade, a clear ideologist of national independence, was able to raise the idea of Azerbaijani Turkism from theory to practice in the Republic of Azerbaijan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- *Azərbaycan tarixi* (2008). [History of Azerbaijan] Yeddi cildə, Volume V (1900-1920). Bakı: Elm, 2008
- *Azərbaycan tarixi* (1994). [History of Azerbaijan. Edited by Z.M.Buniyadov and Y. Yusifov] Ali məktəblər üçün dərslik /Z.M.Bünyadovun və Y.B.Yusifovun redaktəsi ilə. Bakı: Azərnəşr
- *Azərbaycan Kommunist Partiyasının öçerkləri* (1986). [Essays of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan. Volume] I cild, Bakı: Azərnəşr, 1986

- *Azərbaycan Respublikası Dövlət Arxivi* (ARDA) [National Archives of the Republic of Azerbaijan (NARA)]: f.894, s.10, iş. 12, v.1-2
- *Azərbaycan Respublikası Dövlət Arxivi* (ARDA) [National Archives of the Republic of Azerbaijan (NARA)]: f.895, s.3, iş. 187, v.1-2
- Baykara Hüseyn (1992). *Azərbaycan istiqlal mübarizəsi tarixi* [The history of struggle for independence of Azerbaijan]. Bakı, Azərənəşr
- Vəliyev (Baharlı) M. H. (1993). *Azərbaycan (Fiziki-coğrafi, etnoqrafik və iqtisadi oçerk)* [Azerbaijan (Physical-geographic, ethnographic and economic essay)]. Bakı, “Azərbaycan” nəşriyyatı,
- Məmmədov İsmayıl (2005). *Azərbaycan tarixi* [History of Azerbaijan]. Dərslik, Bakı, Adiloğlu
- Devlet Nadir (20). *Rusya Türklərinin milli mücadilə tarixi (1905-1917)*. [The history of the national struggle of Russian Turks (1905-1917)] Ankara, TTK yayınları
- Svyatoçovski Tadeuş (1998). *Müslüman cemaəttən ulusal kimliğə. Rus Azərbaycanı 1905-1920* [Tadeusz Swietochowski. Russian Azerbaijan, 1905–1920: The Shaping of a National Identity in a Muslim Community]. İstanbul, Bağlam yayınları
- Məmmədzadə M.B (1992). *Milli Azərbaycan hərəkəti* [National Azerbaijan Movement]. Bakı, Nicat
- Resulzadə M.E. (1990) *Azərbaycan Cümhuriyyəti* [Azerbaijan Republic]. İstanbul: 1990
- Rəsulzadə M.Ə. (2011) *Stalinlə ixtilal xatirələri*. [Memories on the Struggle with Stalin] Bakı, Elm və təhsil
- Rüstəmov Y. (2000). *Siyasi-Hüquqi təlimlər tarixi* [History of Political and Legal Teachings]. Bakı: “Azərbaycan Universiteti” nəşriyyatı
- Əfəndiyev S.M. (1990) *Seçilmiş əsərləri. İki cildə*. [Selected Works. In Two Volumes] 2-ci cild. Bakı. Azərənəşr
- Əfəndiyev Elçin (1994). *Məmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə (oçerk)* [Mammad Amin Rasulzadeh (Essay)]. Bakı: Şərq-Qərb
- Документы и материалы 1917-1918 гг. (1957) *Большевики в борьбе за победу социалистической революции в Азербайджане*. [Bolsheviks in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution in Azerbaijan. Documents and materials of 1917-1918] Баку: Азернешр
- Quliyev C. (1957) *Lenin və Azərbaycanda sovet hakimiyyətinin qələbəsi və möhkəmlənməsi uğrunda mübarizə*. [Lenin and the struggle for the victory and consolidation of Soviet power in Azerbaijan] Bakı: Azərənəşr
- Həsənov C. (1993) *Azərbaycan beynəlxalq münasibətlər sistemində (1918-1920)*. [Azerbaijan In The System Of International Relations (1918-1920)] Bakı: Azərənəşr
- Mehmmetzadə M.B. (1955) *İstiklalın diplomatik cəbhəsi* [The Diplomatic Front Of Independence]. *Azərbaycan*, Ankara, №12 (36)
- Mərdanov M.C, Quliyev Ə.Q. (2001) *Azərbaycan Respublikasının dövlət rəmzləri*. [State symbols of the Republic of Azerbaijan] Bakı: Çayıoğlu
- Nəsbizadə Nəsbib (1990). *Azərbaycan Demokratik Respublikası*. [Azerbaijan Democratic Republic] Bakı: Elm
- Насиров Т. (1993) *Борьба за власть в Азербайджане (1917-1920)* [Struggle for power in Azerbaijan (1917-1920)]. Баку: Азербайджан

- Rəsulzadə M.Ə. (1991) *Əsrimizin Səyavuşu, Çağdaş Azərbaycan ədəbiyyatı, Çağdaş Azərbaycan tarixi*. [Seyavush of Our Century, Contemporary Azerbaijani Literature, Contemporary Azerbaijani History] Bakı: Gənclik
- Topçubaşı Ə.M. (2013) *Azərbaycan Cümhuriyyətinin yaradılması*. [Establishment of the Azerbaijan Republic] Bakı, Təknur
- Topçubaşov Ə. (1998) *Paris məktubları* [The Paris Letters] Bakı, Azər nəşr
- Топчибашев Е.М. (1994) *Дипломатические беседы в Стамбуле*. [Diplomatic Talks in Istanbul] Баку: Эргюн
- Yaqublu Nasiman (1991). *Məmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə* [Mammad Amin Rasulzadeh]. Baku: Ganjlik
- Yaqublu Nəsiman (2018). *Azərbaycan Milli Azadlıq Hərəkatı Ensiklopediyası* [Azerbaijan National Freedom Movement Encyclopedia]. Bakı, Qanun nəşr
- Yaqublu Nəsiman (2001). *Azərbaycan milli istiqlal mübarizəsi və M.Ə.Rəsulzadə* [Azerbaijani National Struggle For Independence And M.A. Rasulzadeh]. Bakı

SOURCES ON THE ARCHITECTURAL MONUMENTS OF AMIR TEMUR AND TEMURID'S ERA

Mukhabbat Samandarovna Khamidova

Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor

National University of Uzbekistan

Tashkent, Uzbekistan

E-mail: hamidova.2002@mail.ru

<http://dx.doi.org/10.54414/MLBB4368>

Abstract. This article examines the sources related to the history of Amir Temur² and the Temurid dynasty with the special focus on the architectural monuments. The period of Amir Temur's reign and the Temurid dynastic dominance is recognized as a period of stable political situation and flourishing culture by all written sources, created in the 14th - 15th centuries. They contain a wealth of fascinating information about the scale of creative activity, unusual types of architectural monuments, their appearance, complex instructions, and the social significance of various buildings, architectural decoration, and the creators of this historical heritage. Almost all written sources, devoted to covering the lives and activities of Temurid dynasty representatives, contain important information on this issue. These authors include Giyosiddin Ali Yazdi, Nizamiddin Shami, Mu'iniddin Natanzi, Sharaf al-Din Ali Yazdi, Mirzo Ulugbek, Hafiz-i Abru, Fasih Khavafi, Ibn Arabshah, Abdurazzak Samarkandi, Mirkhond, Khondamir, Zahiriddin Muhammad Babur, and others. At the same time, sources created in subsequent centuries, relating to the issue under consideration, reflect valuable information on the state and use of Temurid architectural monuments.

Keywords: *Amir Temur, Temurid period, Construction Works, Mosque, Madrasah, Mausoleum, Palace, Caravanserai, Garden-Palace, Outbuildings, Architectural monuments, Historical sources, Written sources*

INTRODUCTION

During the reign of Amir Temur and the Temurids dynasty, great creative activity was carried out in the central cities of Mawarannahr and Khorasan. The creative work that began during this period was raised to the level of state policy, which was reflected in the majestic appearance of the buildings created during this period, luxurious and beautiful architectural decorations. According to the description of G.A. Pugachenkova, a scientist who deeply studied the history of architecture of the Temurid era, the architecture of the Temurid city is a visible embodiment of its social existence. More precisely, fortresses are an expression of state power, palaces are the splendor of the ruling classes, religious

² The name *Amir Temur* is transmitted in different transliterations in literature, such as *Teymur*, *Timur* and *Tamerlane*.

buildings of Islam are the triumph of Muslim ideology, and bazaar buildings, having the role of crafts and trade hub, also dense residential development of neighborhoods embody with flesh and blood the very life of a complex urban organism [Pugachenkova (1976): 10].

Along with this, the political significance of architecture is also reflected in the inscriptions on the decorations of buildings. An example of this is the inscription “If you want to see our power, look at our buildings!” made on the portal of Ak-Saray in Shakhrisabz. In the era of Temurid, the creative work that was carried out in the central cities of Mawarannahr and Khorasan had an incomparable scale. At the same time, prior attention was paid to urban construction, in particular, the restructuring and strengthening of city walls, the construction of architectural complexes that reflected the authority of the state, such as palaces, madrasahs, mosques, khanakas, mausoleums [Natanzi (2011): 181]. In addition, according to a specific plan, the main streets of central cities were put in order, and shopping malls, specialized workshops and shops were built along the streets. Each of the main streets started from the shopping complex - Chorsu, located in the city center, they were considered the main directions leading to the gates of the defensive wall. Such creative work was carried out on a large scale in Samarkand, Kesh and Herat. The extensive activity of Amir Temur in the field of construction, science and education created a solid basis for the Temurids to make a worthy contribution to world civilization. Including his active actions in the field of creation were the reason for the development of science and the creation of unique architectural monuments not only during the reign of his descendants, but also in subsequent historical periods. In the history of national architecture, they served to achieve a high level of development by the architectural schools of Samarkand and Herat, which had peculiar traditions. According to experts, in the era of Amir Temur, architectural complexes in the *Kush* style were created for the first time. In the era of the Temurid, this style was further improved, and new architectural complexes were formed in the “*Maidoncha*” (square_Ed) style. The samples of the first style are the great mosque of Amir Temur in Samarkand and the Bibi-Khanym madrasah built opposite it, which unfortunately could not survive. The samples of the second style is the Mirzo Ulugbek madrasah built in the form of a common complex in the Registan, and the khanaka built opposite it, as well as the caravanserai located on the northern side of the square between them [Uralov, Khazhikhanov (1994): 31-32]. These monuments, created on the basis of the skillful application of the laws of geometry in national architecture, served as examples of architecture not only in Central Asia, but also in Iran, Khorasan, India and other countries. It was in the era of Amir Temur and the Temurids that for centuries, playing a unique role in the history of national architecture, a number of architectural schools reached a high development. In particular, architectural monuments in Mawarannahr were created not only by the Samarkand architectural school, but also in organic accordance and harmony of the traditions of the Bukhara, Khorezm and Tashkent schools.

The aim of this paper is to study the history of such central cities as Samarkand, Shakhrisabz, Karshi, Bukhara, Shakhrukhiya, and Herat, which in the era of Amir Temur were developed and rebuilt on the basis of the traditions of Eastern urban planning, and enriched with unique architectural structures, based on the written primary sources of the time. The creative activity during the reign of Amir Temur and the Temurids dynasty, recognized as a stable political situation and cultural flourishing, is widely covered in the

written sources. Most of them deserve attention because they were written by the historical figures, who were direct witnesses of the events. These sources highlight the architectural ideas, skills, knowledge and experiences of the builders of the Timurids era, who created a bright page in the history of national architecture, as well as the history of creation, appearance, scale, and architectural decorations of the relevant historical monuments.

Analysis of Manuscripts on The History of Architectural Monuments of The Timurid Era

Valuable information about the architectural monuments of the era of Amir Temur and the Timurids is given in the works of such authors as Giyosiddin Ali Yazdi (the 14th-15th centuries) [Ali Yazdi (1958): 2070], Nizomiddin Shami (died 1412) [Shami (1996): 528], Muiniddin Natanzi (the 14th-15th centuries) [Natanzani (2011): 254], Sharafiddin Ali Yazdi (d. 1454) [Ali Yazdi, Rukp. AN RUz, 4472, 1a-84a-c; Ibid, (1972): 1270; Ret. ed. (1997): 384], Mirza Ulugbek (1394-1449) [Mirza Ulugbek (1994): 352], Khofiz-i Abru (died 1430) [Abru, Rukp. AN RUz, inv. No. 5361; Ibid., inv. No. 4078; Bartold (1973): 74-97], Fasih Khavofi (1375–1442) [Khavafi, Ruk. SPOINARF, B-709; Ibid, (1980): 346; 2018: 544], Ibn Arabshah (1388–1450) [Arabshah (1992): I-II books], Abdurazzak Samarkandi (1413–1482) [Abdurazzak Samarkandi: AS RUz, inv. No. №5376; Samarkandi (2008): 631], Mirkhond (1433 –1498) [Mirkhond, AS RUz, inv. No. 1716], Khondamir (1473/1476–1534) [Khondamir, AS RUz, inv. No. 3; Khondamir, AS RUz, inv. No. 2153], Zahiriddin Muhammad Babur (1483–1530) [Babur (1958); Babur (2008) and others. At the same time, information related to this issue also exists in the memoirs, official documents and scientific works of foreign researchers who visited the countries of the Central Asian region in the course of past centuries. In particular, they reflect numerous facts that testify to the state and use of architectural monuments in the period when they were created, and in subsequent centuries [Clavijo (1990): 216; Egozhe (2010): 264; Shiltberger (1997): 240; Ahmedov and et al., (1999): 262; Yusupova (2014)]. In addition, based on the analysis of historical manuscripts of the time, numerous scientific publications were published by the local authors [Uvatov (1975): 98; Temur and Ulugbek (1996): 264; Temurijlar bunyodkorligi (1997): 157; Ahmedov et al., 1999: 262; Yusupova (2006): 145-159, 176-204; Ibid. (2014): 14/05/2014], and foreign authors [Henry (1885): 85-99; Woods (1987): 81-108]. These works also play a role in highlighting the history of architectural monuments of the corresponding period.

One of the first works that have survived to this day, dedicated to the history of Amir Temur during his lifetime, written in Persian, is “The Diary of Temur’s Campaign in India” by Giyas ad-Din Ali, which in the comments on the events of 1399, that is, after the return of Amir Temur from India, presented in detail information about the construction of the mosque in Samarkand on his instructions [Giyas ad-din Ali (1958): 150-178].

One of the sources of the Timurids era, which reflected interesting information about construction work in the era of Amir Temur, is “*Zafarnama*” by Nizomiddin Shomi. This work provides information about large architectural monuments, gardens and alleys created in the cities of Samarkand and Shakhrisabz, which played an important role in the political life of the country. In particular, the process of their construction, appearance, architectural decorations, master architects and so on are covered by the medieval author.

Along with this, it contains information about the construction in the era of Amir Temur of one of the unique gardens and palaces of *Bagh-i Shamol*. It contains information that this garden was built in honor of the daughter of Amirzod Mironshoh Bahodir - Begi Sulton (October 5, 1396 - September 23, 1397) [Shami (1996): 220-221].

Despite the fact that the work of Muiniddin Natanzi "*Muntahab ut-tavorikh Muiny*" was written mainly in the genre of stories about battles, along with the military campaigns of Amir Temur, it also contains information about his construction activities. This includes information related to the fact that architects and artisans brought from various countries in the capital of the country, precisely to Samarkand, decorated country estates, palaces, pavilions using the traditions of their countries [Natanzi (2011): 181-182].

The work of Sharofiddin Ali Yazdi "*Zafarnoma*" is also one of the valuable historical sources related to the topic under study. It reflects more detail than in the work of Shomi, information about the creative activity of Amir Temur. In particular, it provides detailed information about the construction of the Sultan Muhammad Madrasah in Samarkand, the tomb of Amir Temur, the mosque and the Bibi-Khanym Madrasah, beautiful alley gardens and the majesty of the summer palaces built in them [Yazdi (1972): 187, 190, 289-290].

Fasih Khavofi's work "*Mujmali Fasihi*" [Khawafi (2018): 544] also occupies an important place in the source studies of the Temurid era. According to V.V. Bartold, the "Fasih Collection" was written during the reign of Shakhrukh, while the author was not associated with the palace [Bartold (1963): 104]. Apparently, in connection with this, the author does not praise the ruling circles and their policies, does not embellish the details of events in their favor. It is this feature of this work that distinguishes it from many narrative sources and historical chronicles of that period. According to Diloram Y. Yusupova, this work is written in the form of a reference book [Khawafi (2018): 3]. In the process of writing this work, the author effectively used the works of his predecessors. He supplemented it with events that he himself witnessed, as well as heard from contemporaries. The work was written around 845/1441–1442 [Ibid (2018): 4].

This historical source is rich in numerous reliable and interesting information, related to the political, socio-economic and cultural life of Central Asia and the Middle East in the 14th- 15th centuries, which are provided with exact dates. In particular, the author left valuable information about the history of creative work in Mawarannahr and Khorasan, the majestic architectural structures created in the era of the Temurid, and the experienced architect Kavomiddin Sherozi (January 17, 1439) who made a great contribution to their construction [Ibid, 284].

Another written source related to the history of large architectural structures of the Temurids era is the work of Zahiriddin Muhammad Babur "*Babur-name*". It contains valuable information about the palaces in such places of rest as *Kuksaroy*, the *Bagh-i Dilkusho*, the *Bagh-i Nav*, the *Bagh-i Nakshi Jahon*, the *Bagh-i Buldi* and others, created at the direction of Amir Temur. Along with this, the work also provides information about the madrasah, the observatory, the garden-palaces of *Bagh-i Maidon* and *Bogcha*, built by Mirza Ulugbek [Babur (1989): 79-82].

A kind of reflection of the creative activity carried out in the era of Amir Temur is "The Diary of a Journey to Samarkand to Timur's Court" by Ruyi Gonzalez de Clavijo [Clavijo (2010): 264]. This work was written by the Spanish ambassador, who traveled

through the mighty dominion of the Temurids. At the same time, all the events seen by an attentive foreign researcher, and his experiences are described with incomparable interest and enthusiasm. The information given by him about the luxurious buildings built in the capital of dominion, the ancient, flourishing city of Samarkand, such as the Bibi-Khanym Mosque, the mausoleum of Amir Temur, picturesque gardens: the Bagh-i Dilkusha, the Bagh-i Nav, the Bagh-i Chinor, the Bagh-i Gulbog, the Bagh-i Davlatabad, the bazaar in the center cities and shopping arcades located along the central streets. The author also provides detailed information about the process and specific features of the construction of the Ak-Saray Palace in Shakhrisabz [Ibid, 146-200].

“*Matlai sadayn va majmai bahrain*” written by Abdul Razzak Samarkandi is also one of the important written sources of the Temurids era. In this work, the author pays special attention to the madrasas of the Temurids era and the events held in them. In particular, information is given about the visit of Mirzo Ulugbek to the madrasah he built in Bukhara, the gifts granted to students and people in need [Samarkandi (1969): 353-354].

The famous historian of the Temurids era Giyosiddin Humomiddin Khondamir, also in his works, including “*Habib us-siyar fi akhbar afrad al-bashar*” provides information about the construction of buildings on the territory of Mawarannahr by the decree of Amir Temur and the Temurid princes - palaces, fortresses, mosques, madrasahs, khanaka, caravanserais, rabats, bridges, and irrigation facilities. In particular, the work pays special attention to the creative activity of Amir Temur in Samarkand in 1404 after the “seven-year campaign”, the author writes: “he built so many fortresses, large tents, special houses and places of rest for his women, happy princes and high-ranking emirs filling the whole earth with them as the stars fill the sky” [Khondamir (2013): 272].

In illuminating the historiography of the topic, the work of Abu Tahir Hoja “Samaria” is of great importance. The work provides interesting information about the history of the city of Samarkand, and picturesquely displays the changes in its appearance over the centuries. The issues of construction of architectural structures are covered, taking into account the location, natural conditions, climate of the city of Samarkand, their history over the centuries, state of preservation by the second half of the 19th century. Particular attention is paid to the coverage of history of the historical monuments in Samarkand, created in the era of Amir Temur and the Temurids. In particular, valuable information is given about the gardens created by Amir Temur: the *Bagh-i Zogon* and the *Bagh-i Jahonnamo*, as well as monuments of the Temurids era, such as the Bibi-Khanym Mosque, Amir Temur Mausoleum, Khoja Doniyol Mausoleum, the Shokhi Zinda architectural complex, the mosque and observatory of Mirzo Ulugbek, many mausoleums and mosques in the inner and outer territories of the Samarkand arch [Abu Tahir Hoja, manuscript. IV AN RUz, inv. No. 600; his (1898): 153-259; and (1904): 55; op. cit. (1991): 7-81].

Source Significance of Oriental Miniatures in the Study of the Architectural Monuments Temurid’s Era

The medieval miniatures related to the Temurid architecture also reflect the evolution of peculiar traditions that have developed over the centuries in architecture of Central Asia. Also, miniatures have a huge opportunity for a comparative study of medieval Islamic architecture in a territorial environment. It should be noted that in the miniatures

of the era of Amir Temur and the Timurids, the houses are depicted as one or two-story, the only door in the building opens onto a paved courtyard, in the center of the courtyard there is a reservoir, which is surrounded by trees, usually there is a gazebo with wooden columns, and in front of the house there is a two-story-terrace or a hinged balcony, all this reflects the peculiar traditions of the architecture of Central Asia [Temur va Ulugbek davri (1996): 186]. In general, many related miniatures by Eastern artists contain detailed information about courtiers, their luxurious dwellings, houses divided into inner and outer courtyards (domes of medieval architectural structures, relief wall decorations, the brilliance of colored tiles, flat roofs of residential buildings, peculiar forms small, tent-like minarets at the entrance to the house) [Polyakova et al., (1987): 27, 154, 156].

Museum exhibits as a Historical Source for Studying of Timurids' Era Architectural Monuments

Most of the historical monuments of the era of Amir Temur and Timurids, who located in various territories of Central Asia and Iran, were recognized by specialists as exhibits of an "Open-air museum". The historical cities of Uzbekistan, such as Samarkand, Bukhara, Khiva, are also recognized as "Open-air museums", and architectural monuments located in these territories are protected, restored, scientifically studied and promoted as museum exhibits. Also, all historical monuments of the Timurid period are located in different regions of our republic are registered by the "Cultural Heritage Department" of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and are protected by the state. In a certain part of them, the work of smart museums has been launched.

At the same time, individual parts that were once an integral part of these monuments are currently stored as exhibits in many historical museums. These exhibits are stored not only in local museums, but also in the collections of museums around the world; they are of great importance in highlighting and promoting the history of architectural monuments of Uzbekistan.

The following can be included among the museum exhibits on the subject preserved in the museums of the world:

Museum exhibits kept in the State Hermitage Museum located in Saint-Petersburg (Russian Federation): a stone slab from the era of Amir Temur (Samarkand, taken away in 1895), the carved door of the Gori Amir mausoleum (Samarkand, taken away in 1895), the windows of the Gori Amir mausoleum (Samarkand, In 1903, it was taken to the museum of Emperor Alexander III), a tile plate with an epigraphic inscription copied from the facade of this mausoleum (Samarkand, taken in 1905), one of the oil lamps of Ahmed Yassavi's mausoleum (Turkistan, end of the 14th century) and others [Hermitage Museum, Saint-Petersburg. Inv. № SA-12686; Inv. № SA-159311; Inv. № IP-2128; Inv. № SA-12686; Inv. № VC-1074].

The door of the Gori Amir mausoleum (Samarkand, end of the 14th century) kept in the Victoria and Albert Museum of Great Britain (London). It was copied and sold by an unknown person in the early 20th century. Column of the *Bayonkulikhon* mausoleum in Bukhara and its architectural decoration, architectural decor of the mausoleum arch, part of a tile with geometric and epigraphic patterns [Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Inv. № 567-1900; Inv. № 586-1899; Inv. № 26-1983].

Architectural decorations of the *Bayonkulikhon* mausoleum in Bukhara kept in the British Museum in London [British Museum, London. Inv. № 2033-1899].

Samples of the "Collection of Islamic Culture" stored in the Louvre Museum of France (Louvre, Paris. Inv. № MAO-698; Inv. № MOA-868; Inv. № MAO-7501).

Museum exhibits on the architecture and applied art of Central Asia kept in the Metropolitan Museum of the United States of America (Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. №17.120.70) are evidence of our opinion.

Review of Archival Documents on the History of Monuments of the Temurid Period in the Archives of Uzbekistan

Along with this, archival documents related to the study of architectural monuments of the Temurid period of the late 19th-early 21st centuries are of particular importance. As well as museum exhibits related to the topic, collected as a result of research of the last century. At the same time, the documents of the archival funds of TKLA (NA Uz. fund I-17), Sredazkomstaris (NA Uz, fund R-394), Uzkomstaris (NA Uz, fund R-2296) stored in National Archive of Uzbekistan (NA Uz) and documents of a number of personal archives were subjected to scientific analysis. In particular, special attention is paid to revealing the source value of archival documents related to the activities of specialists who have made a great contribution to the study of architectural monuments of Uzbekistan (NA Uz, fund R-1591). In addition, historical documents related to the topic, stored in the archival fund of the "Department of Cultural Heritage" under the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Uzbekistan, are analyzed. It is noteworthy that most of them are devoted to the directions and results of archaeological research carried out on the study of architectural monuments of the era of Amir Temur and the Temurids in the period from the 1970s to the beginning of the 21st century (Archive of DCH. Samarkand).

As mentioned above, museum exhibits are also of great importance in the historiography of the topic. In particular, most of the historical monuments of the era of Amir Temur and the Temurids are recognized by experts as "Open Air Museums". Along with this, the architectural parts that were once an integral part of these monuments are now kept in many historical museums as exhibits. All of them are relevant historical material sources. These exhibits are not only in domestic, but also in foreign museum funds and are of great importance in highlighting and promoting the history of architectural monuments of Uzbekistan.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it should be noted that most of the written sources covering the history of architectural monuments of the era of Amir Temur and the Temurids deserve attention because they are written by historical figures who are direct witnesses of the events associated with their creation. Therefore, they are important sources, covering not only the history of the relevant historical monuments, but also the stages of development of national architecture, the specific and general aspects of the architecture schools of Central Asia, the history of the parts of architectural monuments of the period under study that have not survived to this day. A comparative study of these works with various other historical sources related to the topic, medieval miniatures, archival documents,

museum exhibits, and surviving examples of monuments, is of great importance in clarifying the unexplored pages of the history of Central Asian architecture.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

MANUSCRIPTS

- Abdurazzak Samarkandi, Абдураззоқ Самарқандий. *Матлаи саъдайн*. [Matla-us-Sadain wa Majma-ul-Bahrain (The Rise of the Two auspicious constellations and the Confluence of the Two Oceans)] ЎЗР ФАШИ қўлёзмаси, инв. №5376.
- Abu Tahir Khoja, Мир Абу Тоҳир ибн қози Абду Саид Садр Самарқандий. *Самария*. ЎЗР ФАШИ қўлёзмаси, инв. № 412 (на персидском языке); Abu Tahir Khoja. Самария. ЎЗР ФАШИ қўлёзмаси, инв. № 600 (на узбекском языке).
- Mirkhond, Муҳаммад ибн Хондшоҳ ибн Маҳмуд. *Раузат ас-сафо*. [Rawzat as-ṣafā' fī sīrat al-anbiyā' w-al-mulūk w-al-khulafā' (The Gardens of purity in the biography of the prophets and kings and caliphs')] Рукопись ИВ АН РУз, инв. № 1716
- Hafizi Abri, Абдуллоҳ ибн Лутфуллоҳ ибн Аб ур-Рашид. *Зубдат ат-таворих*, Рукопись ИВ АН РУз, инв. № 4078; Hafizi Abri. Тарихий-географик асар, номи кўрсатилмаган, Рукопись ИВ АН РУз, инв. № 5361
- Khondamir, Гиёсиддин ибн Хумомиддин Муҳаммад Хондамир. *Хуласат ал-ахбор*. [Khulāṣat al-akhbār fī bayān aḥvāl al-akhyār (Summary reports on the affairs of those gone by)] Рукопись ИВ АН РУз, инв. № 3; Ҳабиб ас-сияр. [The Ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār afrād al-bashar (The beloved of careers reporting on the multitudes of people)] Рукопись ИВ АН РУз, инв. № 2153
- Khwafi, Фасих Ахмад ибн Жадалад-дин Муҳаммад Хавафи. *Муджмал*. Рукопись Санкт-Петербургского отделения Института народов Азии Российской Федерации. В-709, копия с инв. № С-800
- Yazdi, Шарафиддин Али Яздий. *Зафарнома*. Техрон нашри. I, II ж. 1336/1957
- Yazdi, Шарафиддин Али Яздий. *Муқаддимаи Зафарнома*. ЎЗР ФАШИ қўлёзмаси, инв. № 4472, 1а-84а-вв.

ARCHIVE DOCUMENTS

- NA Uz, fund I-17, inv. 1. 25 files, 1895-1917.
- NA Uz, fund R-394, inv. 1. 374 files, 1920-1928.
- NA Uz, fund R-2296, inv. 1. 755 files, 1928-1946; inv. 2, 1957-1976.
- NA Uz, fund R-1591, inv. 1. 116 files, 1904-1932; Ibid., fund R-2773, inv. 1. 1466 cases, 1873-1987; inv. 2, 526 files, 1891-2000; Ibid, fund R-2406, inv. 1, 1676 cases, 1898-1955; Ibid., fund R-2793, inv. 1, 167 files, 1920-1989; Ibid., fund R-2286, inv. 1, 256 files, 1904-1957; Ibid., fund R-2810, inv. 1, 416 files, 1925-1988; Ibid., fund R-2883, inv. 1, 83 files, 1931-2002.
- Archive of DCH (Archive of the "Department of Cultural Heritage" under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Uzbekistan). Monuments of Samarkand.

MUSEUM SOURCES

- Hermitage Museum, Saint-Petersburg. Inv. № SA-12686; Inv. № SA-159311; Inv. № IP-2128; Inv. № SA-12686; Inv. № VC-1074].
- Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Inv. № 567-1900; Inv. № 586-1899; Inv. № 26-1983
- Louvre, Paris. Inv. № MAO-698; Inv. № MOA-868; Inv. № MAO-7501
- Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. № 17.120.70

LITERATURE

- Abdurazzak Samarkandi (2008). Абдураззоқ Самаркандий. *Матлаи саъдайн ва мажмаи баҳрайн*. [Matla-us-Sadain wa Majma-ul-Bahrain (The Rise of the Two auspicious constellations and the Confluence of the Two Oceans)] II ж., 1-қ. /Форс-тожик тилидан таржима, кириш сўзи ва изоҳли луғатлар А. Ўринбоевники. Тошкент, Publisher: “Uzbekistan”, 632 pages
- Abu Tahir Hoja (1898). Абу Тохирхожа. *Самария* [Samaria] /перев. В.Л. Вяткина, СКСО, VI. Самарканд, 259 pages
- Abu Tahir Hoja (1904) Абу Тохирхожа. *Самария* [Samaria] /персидско-таджикский текст, подготовленной к печати Н.И. Веселовским. С предисловием и приложением рисунков. – СПб.
- Abu Tahir Hoja (1991). Абу Тохирхожа. *Самария* [Samaria] / Тахрир хайъати: Б. Аҳмедов ва бошқалар. Тошкент: Камалак, 355 pages
- Ahmedov B., Mukminova R., Pugachenkova G. (1999) Аҳмедов Б., Мукминова Р., Пугаченкова Г. *Амир Темура. Жизнь и общественно-политическая деятельность* [Amir Temur. Life and social and political activities] Ташкент: Университет, 263 pages
- Bartold V.V. (1973) Бартольд В.В. Хафиз-и Абру и его сочинения. *Сочинения: Работы по источниковедению*. [Works. Papers on Source Studies] Т. VIII. Москва, Изд-во Восточной литературы, pp. 74-97
- Bartold V.V. (1963) Бартольд В.В. (1963). *Туркестан в эпоху монгольского нашествия* [Turkestan in the Mongol Era] / Соч. Т. I. Москва: Изд-во Восточной литературы, 763 pages
- Giyas-ad-din Ali (1958) Гияс ад-Дин Али. *Дневник похода Темура в Индию* [Diary of Temur's campaign in India] / Перевод с перс., предисловие и примечания А.А. Семенова. Москва, 208 pages
- Babur (1958) Захириддин Мухаммад Бабур. *Бабур-наме*. [Babur-name] Записки Бабура / Перевод М.А. Салье. Ташкент, 464 pages
- Babur (1989) Zahiriddin Muhammad Bobur. *Boburnoma* [Babur-name] Toshkent:Yulduzcha
- Babur (2008) Захириддин Мухаммад Бобур. *Бобурнома*. [Babur-name] Тошкент: Ўқитувчи, 368 pages
- Ibn Arabshah (1992) Ибн Арабшоҳ. *Ажойиб ал-мақдур фи та’рихи Таймур (“Темура тарихида тақдир ажойиботлари”)* [Aja'ib al-Maqdur fi Nawa'ib al-Taumur (The Wonders of Destiny of the Ravages of Timur)]/ Сўз боши, араб тилидан таржима ва изоҳларни У.Уватов тайёрлаган. Тошкент: Меҳнат. 1-2 китоблар.

- Ulugbek (1994) Мирзо Улуғбек. Тўрт улус тарихи [History of the Four Ulus]/ Форс тилидан Б.Аҳмедов, Н. Норкулов ва М. Ҳасанийлар таржимаси. Кириш сўзи, изоҳлар ва таҳрир Б. Аҳмедовники. Тошкент, 352 pages
- Natanzi (2011) Муиниддин Натанзий. *Мунтахаб ут-таворихи Муиний* [Muntahab ut-tavorihi Muhini] / Форс тилидан таржима, сўзбоши ва изоҳлар муаллифи Ғ. Каримий. Тошкент: Ўзбекистон.
- Naidar (2011) Мирзо Муҳаммад Ҳайдар Аёзий. *Тарихи Рашидий* [Tarikh-I Rashidi] / Масъул муҳаррир С. Ҳасанов. Нашрга тайёрловчи, сўз боши, табдил, изоҳлар ва кўрсаткичлар муаллифи т.ф.н. О. Жалилов. Тошкент: O'zbekiston, 704 pages
- Shami (1996) Низомиддин Шомий. (1996). *Зафарнома* [Zafarnameh] / Форс тилидан Ю. Ҳакимжонов таржимаси. Нашрга тайёрловчи ва масъул муҳаррир А.Ўринбоев. Тошкент: Ўзбекистон.
- Clavijo (1990) Руи Гонсалес Де Клавихо. (1990). *Дневник путешествия в Самарканд ко двору Темура (1403–1406 гг.)* [Diary of a trip to Samarkand to the court of Temur (1403-1406)] /Перевод, предисловие и комментарии И.С. Мироковой. Москва: Наука.
- Clavijo (2010) Руи Гонсалес Де Клавихо. *Самарқандга – Амир Темур саройига саёҳат кундалиги (1403–1406 йиллар)* [Diary of a trip to Samarkand to the court of Timur (1403-1406)]/ Рус тилидаги нашридан ўзбек тилига О. Тоғаев таржимаси, таржима матнини нашрга тайёрловчи ҳамда сўзбоши ва изоҳлар муаллифи М. Сафаров. Масъул муҳаррир Муҳаммад Али – Тошкент: Ўзбекистон.
- Скайлер Ю. (2019). Туркистон: Россия Туркистони, Кўқон, Бухоро ва Ғулжага саёҳат қайдлари / Кириш, инглиз тилидан қисқартирилган таржима, изоҳлар ва кўрсаткичлар муаллифи – т.ф.н., доц. З.А. Саидбобоев – Тошкент: Ўзбекистон.
- *Темур ва Улуғбек даври тарихи* (1996) [History Timur and Ulugbek's period] Тошкент: Қомуслар бош таҳририяти, 254 pages
- *Темурийлар бунёдкорлиги давр манбаларида* (1997) [The creativity of the Timurids is in the sources of the period] – Тошкент: А. Қодирий номидаги халқ мероси нашриёти, 169 pages
- Uvatov (1975) Уватов У. Сведения Арабшаха о Мавераннахре [Arabshah's information about Transoxiana] // *Сборник работ молодых ученых*. Ташкент.
- Khondamir (2013) Хондамир. *Ҳабиб ус-сийар фи ахбори афроди башир* [The beloved of careers] Форс тилидан таржима, муқаддима муаллифлари Ж. Ҳазраткулов, И. Бекжонов. Тошкент: Ўзбекистон, 1272 pages
- Khwafi (1980) Фасих Ахмад ибн Джалал ад-Дин Муҳаммад ал-Хавафи. *Муджмал-и Фасихи* (Фасихов свод) [Mujmal-I Fasifi] / Перевод с персидского, предисловие, примечания и указатели Д.Ю. Юсуповой. Ташкент: Фан, 208 pages
- Khwafi (2018) Фасих Ҳавофий. *Мужмалли Фасихи* [Mujmal-I Fasifi] / Таржима, кириш, изоҳлар ва кўрсаткичлар Д.Ю. Юсупованики. Тошкент: Фан.
- Yazdi (1972) Шарафиддин Али Яздий. *Зафарнома* [Zafar-nameh] / Нашрга тайёрлаш, сўз боши, изоҳ ва кўрсаткичлар А. Ўринбоевники. Тошкент: Фан, 131 pages

- Yazdi (1997) Шарафиддин Али Яздий. *Зафарнома*. [Zafar-nameh] Иккинчи нашри /Сўз боши табдил, изоҳлар ва кўрсатичлар муаллифлари Ашраф Аҳмад ва Ҳайдарбек Бобобеков. Тошкент: Шарк.
- Schiltberger I. (1997) Шильтбергер И. *Путешествия Иоганна Шильтбергера по Европе, Азии и Африке (с 1394 по 1427 гг.)* [Travels of Johann Schiltberger through Europe, Asia and Africa (from 1394 to 1427)] /Перевел с немецкого и снабдил примечаниями Ф. Броун. Тошкент: Шарк.
- Yusupova (2014) Юсупова Д. История глазами очевидцев [History in accordance to eyewitnesses] // *Народное слово*, 14 мая 2014 г.
- Arminius Vambery. (1864). *Travels in Central Asia: A Journey from Teheran across the Turkoman Desert on the Eastern Shore of the Caspian to Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand*. London: Spottiswoode And Co. New-Street Square.
- Eugene, Schuyler. (1876). *Turkistan. Notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara and Kuldja*. Vol.I. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co.
- Hafiz-i Abru. (1959). *Cinq opuscules de Hafiz-i Abru concernant l'histoire de l'Iran au temps de Tamerlan* / Edition critique par Tauer Felix. Prague.
- Nizamiddin Sami. (1956). *History des conquetes de Temerlane intitulee Zafar-nama par Nizamiddin Sami*. / Edition critique par Felix Tauer. T.I. Texte persan du Zafar-nama. – Prague, 1937, T. II. Intriduction, commentaraire idex. Praha.
- Henry, Skrine Francis and Ross, Edward Denison. (1899). *The heart of Asia. A history of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian Khanates from the Earliest Times*. Methuen and CO. London, 570 pages
- Woods J. (1987). The Rise of Timurid Historiography // *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. Vol. 46, issue 2, pp. 81-108.

**PORTRAIT OF THE PADISHAH:
FORMING THE VISUAL IMAGE OF UZUN HASAN**

Sevil Alifattah Kerimova

PhD in Art History, Associate Professor
Azerbaijan University of Art and Culture
Baku, Azerbaijan

sevil.kerimova@mail.ru

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6141-9767>

<http://dx.doi.org/10.54414/TMCZ5029>

Abstract: The personality of Uzun Hasan, the ruler of the Aggoyunlu dynasty, one of the important figures in the history of the medieval East, occupies a special place in the history of art. His direct role in the cultural revival of Tabriz, patronage of science and art created a fertile environment for the development of the art of miniatures, monumental painting and architecture. Well-known studies connect the development of the pictorial image of Uzun Hasan with the context of the historical genre of the 15th century and its recording in palace wall paintings and miniatures.

The paper analyzes the image of Uzun Hasan in the tradition of Western painting, and attributes a misidentified engraving from "*Icones virorum illustrium doctrina et eruditione praestantium ad. vivum effictae cum eorum*" (1597). Here, appeals to the image of recent years are considered, the iconographic series associated with the visual image of Uzun Hasan, the battle of Otlugbeli, Sara-Khatun, Despina-Khatun, the Trebizond princess are analyzed.

Keywords: *Uzun Hasan, Aggoyunlu, Iconography, Art, Painting, Miniatures*

INTRODUCTION

The central event of the 14th century in the history of Azerbaijan was the emergence of two tribal confederations, the Garagoyunlu and Aggoyunlu, on its historical territories, which later became empires of world significance. Having replaced the Qaragoyunlu dynasty (1375-1468) in the historical arena, the power of Aggoyulu (1467-1502) became the leading political and economic force of the medieval East, skillfully exploiting diplomatic games, military strategies and dynastic alliances. At the dawn of its ascent, political and economic interests, such as the silk monopoly, first of all, pitted the Aggoyunlu state against the imperial ambitions of the Ottomans, and the war, which dragged on for two centuries, became one of the significant reasons that determined the expansion of the Western world to the East [16]. The further development of the conflict, already in context of the Safavids and Ottomans, played a fateful role in the historical fate of both sides. Scientific reassessment of this process, both domestic and international, at the present stage reveals new aspects of this confrontation, in which almost all actors of a regional scale were involved. The role and significance of individual leaders in this context, it acquires a symbolic function, which leads to consideration of the process of

formation of their visual images on an interdisciplinary plane. The role and significance of some leaders in this context acquires a symbolic function, and leads to consideration of the process of formation of their visual images on an interdisciplinary manner.

Due to military-trade coalitions with the Vatican and the Italian city-states, the king's court of Uzun Hasan acts as a factor of intercultural integration, which had an undoubted impact on the fixation of its visual image. The totality of the pictorial signature of Uzun Hasan was formed simultaneously in two dichotomies, the Eastern and Western traditions, and its progressive iconography developed on the basis of the latter. The desire to idealize the image, permeating European realism until the mid-19th century, allowed for a conventional visual language as a means of expression. In the art of miniatures, symbolization completely subordinated the formal solution to the aesthetics of the philosophical worldview. Thus, both visual traditions turned out to be multi-level and dependent on the external characteristics of the environment, the bearer of which is a specific person endowed with a body of formal attributes. In the formation of the iconography of Uzun Hasan, these trends played a decisive role, which makes it possible to distinguish his pictorial image from a number of subsequent analogies.

Influence of The Cultural Environment on The Formation of Uzun Hasan's Visual Image In The Medieval Oriental Miniature

The Aggoyunlu era is of particular interest in the history of Middle Eastern art. Formation of the state, its political and military authority, and an effective administrative system was accompanied by a cultural revival. Professor J. Hasanzade characterizing the period writes that for the history of art, this century remains one of the most mysterious, with an intricacy of fate. [Hasanzade J. (2013): 39]. It is possible to attribute this reality to the entire Middle Ages, and on a universal scale, however the 15th century became the most important stage for the statehood of Azerbaijan, a kind of result of the two-century period of the Mongol invasion, the formation of post-Mongol socio-cultural syncretism, the intensification of relations with the Christian world as the eastern one, Byzantium, or Trebizond, and Western, Italian city-states and the Vatican, Timurid proteges, and, of course, the growing confrontation with the Ottoman Empire.

Under Uzun Hasan's reign, Aggoyunlu grew from a small local principality in Eastern Anatolia into an Islamic world power dominating much of the central Islamic world. Modern auxiliary historical sciences have a sufficient narrative corpus capable of forming a concept about this person.

Against the backdrop of constant bloody conflicts, the reconstruction of the artistic environment was a priority of the ruling elite, and the ruler himself, thus, summed up the features of the ideal: an intellectual monarch, an erudite, a military commander-strategist, a wise statesman and a philanthropist [Najafli T.H. (2012): 216]. The genealogy of Uzun Hasan, an "oguzid," featured a similar set of skills and talents [Kırkıl E. (2013): 43]. The victory over Jahan Shah Garagoyulu stimulated the revival of the glory of Tabriz as an artistic center. The bearers of the Turkic-Islamic tradition, Aggoyunlu, due to its geopolitical location, came into contact with the House of Trebizond, entered into dynastic marriages with them, and the anti-Ottoman alliance attracted Western ambassadors to the court, which also accompanied the acquisition of new artistic and aesthetic skills [Aliyev Z. (2011): 218]. Under Aggoyunlu, Tabriz was of great economic

importance, it was a transit point on the Great Silk Road, and the court of Uzun Hasan traditionally represented a phenomenal collection of minds and talents. Jalal ad-Din Muhammad Davani in his work “Akhlag-i Jalali” wrote: “Despite his youth, His Highness devoted most of his time to the matters of state governance, good deeds for his subjects, justice, scientific truths, rare decrees and instructions to scientists” [Seyidov M. (2011): 183]. Attempts to reform the tax system (“Kanun-name”), translation of the Koran into the Azerbaijani Turkic language, the first written recording of the epic “Dede Korkut” complement the ideas about the enlightenment of the monarch [Aliyev Z. (2011): 218].

During this period, Azerbaijani miniature is experiencing a new round of its history. After a short decline of the first Tabriz school, the rulers of the Azerbaijani states of Garagoyunlu and Aggoyunlu restored its former splendor. Two phenomena, Tabriz and Herat, become the main stylistic indicators of the era, spreading their influence beyond administrative boundaries. Hasanzadeh notes that the masters of Tabriz, depending on the political and economic situation, “... either scattered throughout the East, or gathered together in and outside of Tabriz” [Hasanzade J. (2013): 42]. Formation of the new Tabriz style took place against the background in the transformation of the 13th-14th centuries' archaics, echoes of which are read in the Turkoman style, the famous “Anthology” of Abdul-Bagi Bakuvi. Along with the art of miniatures, monumental painting reached its apogee. Historical scenes abounded in the palaces of the era, and Tabriz was no exception. The loss of these monuments, and first of all, the Hasht Behisht Palace, remains a loss in the history of Eastern art. “The greatness of Assanbey was such that no equal could be found. The palace was built in the center of a large beautiful garden in the outskirts of the city. It was called “Eight Paradises” - Hasht Behisht... Inside the palace, on the ceiling of a large hall with round outlines, all the battles that took place in the country since ancient times were depicted in gold, silver and emerald color, there were also paintings of Ottoman ambassadors with letters presented to Assanbey, and also the answers given to them in Farsi. His hunts accompanied by the nobles of the court, exotic animals such as elephants, rhinoceroses and other wonders are also depicted... Everything depicted seems alive; it is so well drawn... Here Assanbey gave audiences...” [Hasanzade J. (2013): 43].

The artistic interpretation of the ruler's image acquires special significance this period. Judging from the enthusiastic reviews accorded by the Venetian ambassadors, the palace frescoes were executed in the context of miniature art and rendered quite realistically, which made them both aesthetically and logically acceptable to Europeans. A significant figure in the formation of both diplomatic relations and in the formation of the iconography of Uzun Hasan, Ambrogio Contarini notes that upon arrival at the palace, he was struck by wall scenes with an accurate depiction of modern events: “... The square-shaped hall was decorated with a a depiction of Timurid Abu -Said's beheading scene, namely the moment when he was brought to the place of execution by Ugurlu Muhammad with a rope around his neck. This latter also ordered the walls of his palace to be decorated with scenes of his exploits” [Hasanzade J. (2013): 41]. It is quite possible that the walls of the palace depicted Uzun Hasan himself. The tradition received new development later, since by the end of the century miniatures with images of Sultan Yagub and Khalil Beg were known (Sultan Yagub with his courtiers, Topqapi, H.2153; Khalil Beg in the vineyard. Hidayat's Divan, 1478, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin) .

The conventional lifetime portrait of the person formed a special attitude towards the depicted one. For the Tabriz school of the period, the image of the great ruler was considered within the framework of a general tradition, exaggerating the realistic tendency to a symbolic solution. In this case, a kind of iconographic universalization occurs, where temporary and personal indicators are erased. The image of the leader acquires universal significance; he is akin to the heroes of the poems of the great Nizami, which were illustrated by order and under the control of the same ruler. A number of researchers recognize the rare surviving portraits of Uzun Hasan as the figure from the hunting scene of the manuscript of the historical work of Tabari, created in 1470. J. Hasanzade agrees with Robinson's attribution, citing a fragment from his research "... no other ruler of the era can be surprisingly associated with this work, in which in the image of a bearded galloping warrior-king in the center of the composition one should see a lifetime portrait of the founder of the Ak-koyunlu dynasty Uzun Hasan" [Hasanzade J. (2000): 265]. The introduction into the artistic space of miniatures of the current ruler's image within the framework of both specific historical and abstract ones (hunting scenes, feasts, sofas, poetic majlises) from the realities of the scenes, but necessarily ceremoniously decided, was also associated with new stylistic decisions, where the departure of the Tabriz tradition from academic scrupulousness of the Herat school towards the dynamics, liveliness and reverent linearity of the Turkic mentality. Another miniature associated with the image of Uzun Hasan is a diptych with a hunting scene from Jami's manuscript "Silsilat az-Zahhat" (RNL named after M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin, Dorn-434), dated by J. Hasanzadeh following E. Grube, B. Gray, B. Robinson, M. Ashrafi in the second half of the 15th century. "...Thus, in the galloping horseman on the right side of the composition we see the greatest of all the Turkmen rulers of Iran, captured shortly after the victory over Jahan Shah and the transfer of the capital to Tabriz..." wrote Robinson" [Hasanzade J. (2000): 268]. The figure is placed in the semantic and compositional center of the sheet, slightly shifted to the left, along an increasing diagonal line; the face and torso of the ruler are given a slight turn. The shah's textbook recognition is determined by his headdress, the only one of its kind in the miniature space. In the foreground row one can still read the archaic outlines of the first stage of the Tabriz school. However, the emphasis on plans along the line of mountains with bizarre outlines, galloping horsemen, and the shapes of clouds stylized as "Sinism" indicate the transition to the new Tabriz style of the Safavid period.

Iconography of Uzun Hasan in the Context of the Medieval Western European Artistic Tradition

Appeal to the images of eastern rulers in the context of biographical publications, thanks to which Europe became acquainted with the mysterious world of the East, originating from the Renaissance in Northern Italy, quickly grew into a pan-European cultural tradition. Close contacts of Venice, Naples, and Genoa with the region give rise to a tendency to visualize the image of the East in a symbiosis of reality and legend. Approximately from the second half of the 16th century, books of encyclopedic significance began to be published, with accessible information, illustrated with engravings with a characteristic figurative universalization. The genre of life stories, "Vites...", gave rise to a number of stereotypes regarding Eastern, and in particular Turkic-Islamic culture; it continued to develop until the end of the Enlightenment,

artistically transforming itself into the veiled exoticism of Orientalism. Available samples of national biographies allow us to highlight the main aspects of the formation of portraits of eastern (Turkic) rulers in the art of Europe of the Middle Ages and Modern times:

1. Military and trade alliances, as well as conflicts, gave rise to the need to inform Europeans about Eastern culture, history and leaders;
2. The development of a realistic portrait in the local visual program had no basis but the force of the conventional language and archaic aniconism of Turkic art, and later of the Islamic directive;
3. Within the framework of the art of oriental miniatures, until the 17th century, the portrait was identified by canonical attributes, not always understandable to Europeans;
4. In the European tradition, the reality of the portrait was dominant, which explains the obligatory, stable need to convey individual traits;
5. For the most part, European masters were based on previous experience, for example, on the works of the Bellini circle, the collection of Paolo Giovio [Aliyev E. (2020): 38];
6. The European artist also proceeded from the available source base, messages, memoirs and generalizations of Italian and papal ambassadors;
7. The stylistic decision of the portraits was based on the dominance of the characteristics of a particular European school, and in most cases was associated with the above-mentioned encyclopedic publications, which were subject to a single system of interpretation of images in the context of organizing the book format. The invention of the printing press by Gutenberg increased the productivity of this area, engravings quickly spread, which made it inevitable and the necessary visual representations of the European man in the street about the ruling eastern elite;
8. The selection criteria, although based on Eurocentric ambitions, were quite flexible. Portrayed were often respectfully created images of ardent enemies, the Ottoman elite, or allies in the anti-Ottoman coalition (Akkoyunlu, Safavids), due to which the biographies have the character of neutral descriptive essays, with interest in individual cases, but without negative pathos.

In light of the analysis, the artistic image of Uzun Hasan is of interdisciplinary interest. As noted above, the rise of Aggoyunlu was of international significance, since the united Turkic state included important strategic regions and one of the main nodes of the Silk Road. The icon of the region became a strong, wise ruler, a potential ally, whom even the Vatican endowed with the traits of an ideal monarch. However, as is known, Uzun Hasan did not become a consistent promoter of European politics; after the Battle of Otlugbeli (1473), he abandoned the anti-Ottoman alliance. Descriptions of his appearance are extremely scarce. However, European sources contain sufficient material about the activities of Uzun Hasan, and his name and title are given in different readings. Thus, there are Assam bei [Skrzhinskaya (1971): 174], Amir Hasan, signor Oxon, Assambegus, signer Oxuncassam [Contarini A. (1487): 81], Ussuncassam, Cassam regi [Boissard J.(1596): 46], Osong [Skrzhinskaya (1971), Ussun Cassano, Uzun Hassan, king Uzun [Karamzin N.M. (1999): 58-59], Usong [Albrecht von Haller (1771)]. Contarini's message remains the only lifetime description of the ruler's appearance: "...apparently his character is very lively. He is a large man, but thin, with a Tatar-type face, the expression of which is constantly changing... In my opinion, he was about seventy years old... in anger he crossed all boundaries, being even dangerous. But, despite all this, he is a very pleasant person." And, another fragment from Contarini's messages, "...in my opinion, he was seventy years old, he was a handsome man, thin and tall" (note that Uzun Hasan died at the age of 55). The information is supplemented by

information from Giosafat Barbaro, the Venetian ambassador, closer to Uzun Hasan than Contarini (the latter was advised by the ruler to "... leave the court for Venice") [Contarini A. (1487): 81]. The elderly Barbaro, who lived in the East for more than ten years, often communicated with Uzun Hasan and was aware of his character and preferences. His descriptions have a more idealized and respectful tone.

On the secondary attribution issue of an engraving from Jean Jacques Boissard's work (1597)

The artifact known as the portrait of Uzun Hasan from Jean Jacques Boissard's encyclopedic work with copper engravings by Theodore de Bry "*Vitæ et icones sultanorum Tyrvicorum, principum Persarum, aliorumque illustrium heroum heroinarumque ab Osmane usque ad Mahometem II*" (1596) appears to be erroneous [Boissard J. (1596): 218]; [Picture 1]. The identification of this work as a conventional portrait of Uzun Hasan was first presented in the Turkish translation (Milliyet yayımları, 1993) of the work of the famous study of the leading American expert on the topic Aggoyunlu, professor at the University of Chicago John E. Woods [Woods (1993)], [Woods, John (1976)]. The portrait placed on the cover of the book is a reproduction of an engraving by the Dutch jeweler, engraver and publisher Theodore de Bry (1528-1598), who in 1597-1598, in collaboration with the French antiquarian neo-Latinist Jean-Jacques Boissard, published a collection with 100 biographies of prominent world figures. This volume of 356 pages is illustrated with 47 engravings-portraits (187x150mm). The images are given in ornamental frames, the upper and lower ones include inscriptions-epithets in Latin (the language of publication), logically summarizing the subsequent biographical text. Most of the portraits placed in an internal frame, designed in a round format, in profile or in a three-part rotation of the head, framed in a circle with an inscription including the name and title of the person depicted. The convention of the person being portrayed, natural for its time and environment, is characteristic of all engravings in the book.

The placement of the publication on digital platforms and its availability in subsequent years for researchers made it possible to consider Boissard's book from an interdisciplinary perspective, which reveals the insignificance of attributing the engraving from page 218 as "Portrait of Uzun Hasan" [<https://cicognara.org/catalog/1996>]. The ceremonial bust-length portrait given in a $\frac{3}{4}$ head turn depicts a man of middle age, with a small thick beard and a long, hanging mustache. An elongated headdress, decorated above the forehead with a spectacular aigrette, texturefully reveals the metallic shine of the material. In terms of physiognomy, one can vaguely be seen Mongoloidity, which led, perhaps, along with epigraphy (ASSAMBEGUS), Turkish publishers to incorrect identification. The attire of the person being portrayed is militarized. Under the heavy cape fastened to the right shoulder with four round clasps, part of the chain mail is visible. In the following text (pages 219-222, beginning "Assambegus cognomento Maurus Alexandrinus, pyrata fui temporis famoffimus anno Cristi 1533..." (Assambegus, known as Alexander the Sea, was a famous pirate of his time, in the year 1533 AD...)) similar to the structure of the entire book, a detailed biographical sketch is given about Khadim Hassan bey (from page 220 he is marked as Maurus Alexandrinus), assistant to the famous Reis of the Seas, Hayreddin Barbarossa. Note that in many sources (including

Barbaro) Uzun Hasan is mentioned as Assan (m) bey, which also caused the error. The next fragment tells about the wife of Hasan Aga, which follows the idea of the publication. Both inscriptions of the engraving speak instructively about the connection with the maritime dominion (and subsequent service to Sultan Suleiman): the top one - VIS TUA DEREPTO SATIS EST PERSPECTA TUNETO/NUNE CEDE: ADUERSAS CEZAR HABEBIT AQVAS (Your strength is worthy of thunder/Now yield: against him Caesar (Sultan) will have water); lower – SECURUS TERETI LASSABIT NAVITA REMO/AEQUORA DUM LIBYCO PREFICIERE MARI (Oar, safe and untouched, tired of the water/...while the Libyans ruled the sea).

The considered trend can also be traced in fragments dedicated to the Safavid rulers: Shah Ismail, İSMAEL SOPHI, [Boissard J. (1596): 107-114], Shah Tasmaşib, TECHMASES SOPHI PERSA or TAMAS SOPHI, [Ibid: 295-301}, here, further [Ibid: 302] fragment about his wife referred to as, CORASI TACHMASES UXOR), etc. The given biographies invariably indicate titles, most of them “re”, “rei”, “rege” (king, king). The absence of an inscription identifying the status of the ruler should have raised additional doubts, especially since the name and title of Uzun Hassan, in our opinion, appear in this book. On page 46 there is a short essay “De Rege Cassano et eiusdem rebus praclare gefitis” (About King Hassan and his great deeds) [Boissard J. (1596): 46].

Formation of the iconography of Uzun Hasan at the present stage

Due to the limited availability of visual material and narratives, images of historical figures, who did not receive visual interpretation in Soviet ideological art, have been experiencing intensive representational rehabilitation since the end of the last century. The public image of Uzun Hasan was restored, alas, not from the classical domestic art of miniatures and from the arsenal of artifacts available at that time (for example, turban-type helmets and armor, known from samples of the Aggoyunlu era from the National Museum of History of Azerbaijan, the Berlin and Philadelphia Museums (Museum of Islamic Art, Philadelphia Museum of Art); Istanbul Military Museum (Narbiye Muzesi), but from the mentioned uncorrected publishing interpretation. Based on the practice of interpreting images of the Safavid and Ottoman court in European painting and graphics, the primary, symbolic and idealized portrait of the great Uzun Hasan should not have been give rise to doubts [Zygulski Z. Jr. (1979)]. One of the public works of this iconographic series remains the painting Altay Hajiyev, who turned to the Aggoyunlu chronicles in the mid-1990s. [Aliyev E. (2020): 65] [Picture 2]. The series “Historical Personalities of Azerbaijan” includes a portrait gallery of leaders whose iconography is in most of them were assigned by their author. The original image of Uzun Hasan was the version from “Vites...” that was already popular at that time, superbly reworked by Hajiyev in an individual manner. One of the ardent supporters of the revival of miniature art, Hajiyev places the figure in the foreground, Uzun Hasan sits on a throne, while the background is segmented, with individual elements from miniatures introduced into it. The coloring is bright, but in the Hajiyev style, the contours of the color transitions are blurred. Hajiyev returns to this decision in his work “The Court of Uzun Hasan. Sara Khatun”, where in the foreground is depicted the first female diplomat in the Eastern history, the mother of Uzun Hasan, Sara Khatun. Her majestic figure, abstracted from the general scene, occupies the entire foreground plane, while her gaze directed into the distance significantly expands the visible space of the picture. In the general solution of

the composition, one can clearly see the master's predilection for miniatures with their planar organization. The throne of Uzun Hasan, shifted to the upper right corner, fragments of figures, on the left of ambassadors, on the right of a humbly crouched and linearly drawn courtier, form a spiral composition characteristic of the Tabriz style. The iconography of the padishah is repeated in the design of the costume with a cape, an elongated, pointed helmet with an aigrette, a long red mustache, pronounced cheekbones, and narrow slit eyes. The sitting pose, legs curled up and visible boots are a tribute to the miniature tradition. In the same episode, Hajiyeu returns to Sara Khatun, but in a more intimate way. Hajiyeu's works largely determined the development of this iconographic type, especially in domestic book graphics.

A new vision of the image has begun to take shape in the last decade, and it is also associated with new editions. In this series, Elchin Jabbarov's interpretation is very interesting. The image of Uzun Hasan, conveyed by Jabbarov [Babayeva N. (2017): 102] [Picture 3], certainly refers to the key characteristics of the famous "eyewitness" - Contarini. In the stylistic decision one can read graphic approaches, posterity and illustrativeness, complementarity of lines and spots that characterize the artist's style. The seated figure of the S Padishah, elongated diagonally vertically, is conveyed statically, with respect and grandeur, the main physical characteristic is emphasized, a tall man, on which the main statics of the composition is actually built. It is somewhat abstracted from the horsemen rushing into battle, given dynamically and somewhat ephemerally, along the horizontal middle ground and enhancing the overall dramatic mood of the work. Jabbarov appears here as a master who has carefully studied the available sources both for the image being reconstructed and for the era being interpreted. The image is solved quite elegantly, the hands are superbly depicted from life, the details are drawn out: weapons, rings, treatment of the costume and headdress.

A peculiar decorative solution is typical for the graphic work of Adil Asadli [private collection]. Recognizable Boissard iconography is reduced to individual attributes. The image effectively "pops up" on the shaded plane of the sheet, acting as a kind of quintessence of its artistic space. The plant background is complexly organized, against which the figures of horsemen are distinguished. The rhythm is maintained by alternating arched lines, creating the effect of immersion towards the center of the sheet, towards the head of the ruler, towards the bright highlights of his nose and cheekbones.

The appeal to the image of Uzun Hasan in sculpture remains extremely limited. More famous is his monument in Ashgabat (2015). Against the backdrop of the state's cultural strategy, in the last decade the capital of Turkmenistan has been decorated with a number of monuments dedicated to the Turkic cultural heritage (Alp Aslan, 2014), created in a single stylistic and technical structure (dark "empire" bronze combined with gilding). Impressive and sublime images are designed to reflect the power and significance of history and its continuing influence on the present. Uzun Hasan is presented in old age, in a long robe with padishah's turban, and in his right hand he confidently holds a fluttering flagpole with the symbol Akkoyunlu. The image does not stand out in the general program of urban sculpture; psychologism does not carry an individual load; it is characterized by realistic convention and declamation.

Iconographic Circle of Uzun Hasan's Image

Iconographically related to the image of Uzun Hasan have been developed in painting and graphics. Let us note the most developed iconographic scenes reflecting the key moments of his biography and activities: The Battle of Otlugbeli (1473); meeting of Mehmet II with Sara Khatun; conditional portraits of Sarah (or Saray) Khatun; iconographic program "Trabzon Princess", identified with Despina Khatun. The development of the program covers a fairly large geographical, cultural and temporal area. The images of Sara Khatun, discussed above, are the unconditional creation of Altay Hajiyeu. The strong-willed, charismatic image of a strong, intelligent, beautiful and powerful woman in the vision of Hajiyeu, a permanent classical conservative, refers to certain reminiscences, mental representative decisions. Here you can read references to domestic stage solutions of similar historical images (Tomris, Natavan). Altay Hajiyeu gives Sara Khatun additional markers: her role in the political situation is determined by the scroll or codex in her hands, she is abstracted in the composition, her gaze is directed outside space of the picture. This iconography includes the scene "Meeting of Sara Khatun with Mehmet II"; it is developed in the format of illustrations and is often included in domestic textbooks and auxiliary publications on history. Both characters are presented against the backdrop of a military camp (Sara Khatun accompanied the Sultan during the Trabzon campaign). Gestures and visual intonation emphasize the respectful attitude of Mehmet II towards Sara Khatun.

The image of Theodora Komnena, Despina Khatun, wife of Uzun Hasan, remains undeveloped. Despina Khatun was not the first foreigner at the Akkoyunlu court, but certainly the most famous of them. Stories from travelers about Trabzon, an isolated Christian island in the Muslim world, about matchmaking with their secluded, incredibly beautiful royalty, gave rise to the myth of the "Princess of Trebizond" in the Western worldview, the most prominent bearer of which was Maria Komnena, the last Byzantine empress, Theodora's paternal aunt, depicted in a fresco by Pisanello in the Church of St. Anastasia in Verona. Her exalted appearance, oriental attire, and hairstyle resembling a turban symbolize the generalization of the image with which Despina Khatun is also associated. Despina's role in the anti-Ottoman alliance as a last attempt to regain Trebizond may have influenced her further forgotten fate. After the Battle of Otlugbeli (1473), Theodora and Uzun Hasan separated and she lived her last years in Harput with her daughters. Interestingly Sarah Khatun also ruled in Harput for some time, and the mosque built by her is operational, but her burial is in the Church of St. George in Diyarbakir.

The most appealing artistically is the scene of the Battle of Otlugbeli (August 11, 1473). The significance, role, and consequences of this 8-hour battle in Turkic history are assessed ambiguously. The legacy of miniature art suggests that the Ottoman tradition varied with general iconographic trends in the reconstruction of a battle scene. Late iconography is characterized by a miniature from the *Taj al-Tawarikh* (1616) by Saad al-Din from the Jacquemart-André Museum in Paris. The traditional composition is marked by a condensed component in the center, and arc-shaped lines emanating from it with a string of warrior figures. The second miniature from the famous "Hünernâme" (Topkapi) is dated to an earlier period (1589) and is detailed with the scene "The son of Uzun Hasan Ugurlu Muhammad and Fatih." Nakkash Mehmet Bey depicted the moment when the captive Ugurlu Muhammad appears before the Ottoman ruler with the head of his brother, Zeynal Bey, who died in battle. The compositions typical of Hünernâme reflect

the metropolitan style of 16th-century Ottoman miniatures, with an “S”-shaped arrangement of figures occupying the foreground and middle ground and relatively free planes in the background. At the present stage, the theme of Otlugbeli is very popular in Turkish painting. Usually it is resolved in an academic and impressionistic manner.

CONCLUSION

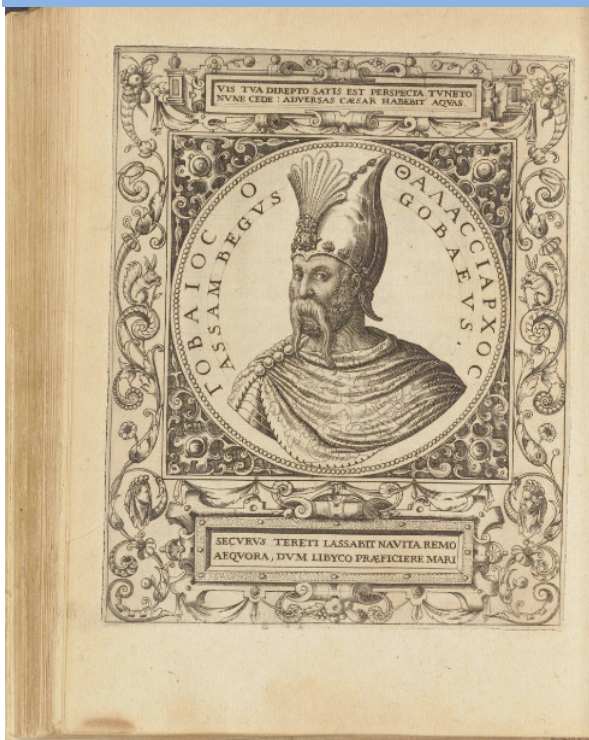
Based on the analysis, we can say that the iconic status of the artistic image of Uzun Hasan as a complete socio-psychological portrait is currently being reassessed. The established iconographic program of Uzun Hasan allows us to operate with two initial models. The first, and most effective, seems to be its eastern interpretation, coming from the miniature tradition with its fundamental convention, based on the attribution from “Silsilat al-Zahhak” (1470). A similar solution is typical for the Tabriz school at certain stages of its development. The second line also reflects a conventional portrait, but in the context of the European realistic trend, based on the fundamental sources and available artifacts. In view of the results of the study, it seems appropriate to extract the image of Uzun Hasan from the erroneous context of Boissard’s encyclopedia (1596). His image was not developed in the visual space of medieval European art like other Azerbaijani rulers, despite the narratives available at that time. The topic has been developed in recent decades in light of growing interest in national history and a reassessment of the role of the Akkoyunlu ruler in the general Turkic context. In many ways, the visual solution of the image refers to the erroneously attributed Boissard engraving (A. Hajiyev), however, the works of recent years demonstrate new trends in artistic search, based on written sources and artifacts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aliyev E. (2020) Əliyev E. *Azərbaycan təsviri sənətində Şah İsmayıl ikonoqrafiyası*. [Iconography of Shah Ismail in Azerbaijani Fine Art] Bakı, Avropa, 2020, 145 pages
- Aliyev Z. (2011) Əliyev Z. *Altay Hacıyev* [Altay Hajiyev] Bakı, 143 pages
- Babayeva N. “Şahlar” uşaq ensiklopediyası, Qalemneshr, Bakı, 2017
- Najafli T.H. (2012) Nəcəfli T.H. *Azərbaycan Qaraqoyunlu və Ağqoyunlu dövlətləri* [Garagoyunlu and Aggoyunlu States of Azerbaijan] Bakı, Çasıoğlu,
- Kırkıl E. (2013) Çağının meşruiyyət kavramları işığında Akkoyunlu hökmüdarı Uzun Hasan [Akkoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan in the light of the concepts of legitimacy of his time]. *Akademik Tarih ve Düşünce Dergisi* Cilt:1/Sayı:1/Aralık/ pp. 37-47.
- Woods, John E. (1993) *Akkoyunlular 300 Yıllık Türk İmparatorluğu*. Aşiret Konfederasyon, İmparatorluk XV. yy., cev, Sibel Ozbydun, İstanbul, *Milliyet Yayınları*, 357 pages
- Albrecht von Haller (1771) *Usong: Eine morgenländische Geschichte*, [Using: An Oriental Story] Bern, Verlag der neuen Buchhandlung, 181 pages
- Barbaro J. (2005) *Anadolu'ya ve İran'a seyahat*. [Travel to Anatolia and Iran] Çeviri ve notlar: Tufan Gündüz. Yedditepe Yayınevi, İstanbul, 160 pages
- Contarini A. (1487) *Questo e el Viazo di misier Ambrosio Contarini, ambassador de la illustrissima Signoria de Venesia al Signer Uxungassam, re de Persia, Deo gratias*

amen. Impresum Venetilis per Hannibalem Fosium Parmensem, anno Incarnationis domini MCCCCLXXXVII, die XIV Ianuarii, 1487, British museum, Reserve, 6971, 4, 46 pages

- Boissard J. (1596) *Vita et Icones Sultanorum Turcicorum, Principum Persarum aliorumq ab Osmane ad Mahometem II.* in antiqvis Metallis effictæ. Francofurti ad Moenum, 377 pages, <https://cicognara.org/catalog/1996>
- Woods, John (1976) *The Aqquyunlu Clan, Confederation, Empire.* Minneapolis & Chicago, IL. 1976. X, 348 pages
- Zygułski Z. Jr. (1979) Islamic weapons in Polish collections and their provenance / *Islamic arms and armour.* London, pp. 213-238
- Hasanzade J. (2013) Гасанзаде Дж. Придворный стиль Аккоюнлу, [The Palace Style of Aggoyunlu] *IRS*, 3 (65), 2013, с38-44
- Hasanzade J. (2000) Гасанзаде Дж. *Тебризская миниатюрная живопись*, [Tabriz Miniature Painting] Баку, Oscar,
- Mahmudov Y.M. (1991) Махмудов Я.М. *Взаимоотношения государств Аккоюнлу и Сефевидов с западноевропейскими странами II половина XV-начало XVII века.* [Relations between the Akkoyunlu and Safavid states with Western European countries from the 2nd half of the 15th to the beginning of the 17th century.] Баку, БГУ, 264 pages
- Seyidov M. (2011) Сейидов М. Особенности законодательства Узун Хасана Аккоюнлу в Азербайджане в XV веке [Features of the legislation of Uzun Hasan Akkoyunlu in Azerbaijan in the 15th century], *История и современность*, 3, pp.180-188
- Skrzhinskaуа (1971) Скржинская Е.Ч. *Барбаро и Конторини о России. К истории итало-русских связей* [Barbaro and Contarini about Russia. On the history of Italian-Russian relations], Наука, 1971, 275 pages
- Karamzin N.M. (1999) Карамзин Н.М. *История государства Российского*, [History of Russian State] Т. VI, книга 2, М.: Наука, 482 pages



Picture 1: Portrait of Hasan Agha engraving on the paper, 18,7x15 sm
Source: Boissard J. (1596), p. 218



Picture 2: Altay Hacıyev Portrait of Uzun Hasan, oil on the canvas, 100x120sm
Source: https://www.museumcenter.az/az/art_galleries/altay_hajiyev/37412



Picture 3: Elchin Jabbarov. Portrait of Uzun Hasan illustration, paper, quash, 21x29,7sm

Source: “Qalemneshr”, 2017 <http://ek.anl.az/lib/item?id=chamo:542932&theme=e-kataloq>

ZOROASTRIANISM AND AVESTA AFTER THE SASSANIDS: THE ISSUE OF SURVIVAL

Rauf Tofiq Mammadov

Associate Professor, PhD, *Western Caspian University*

Baku, Azerbaijan

muhemmedrauf@gmail.com

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5136-677X>

<http://dx.doi.org/10.54414/FMFZ9225>

Abstract. This research aims rigorously and critically examine the extant Avestan texts and the religious and cultural traditions of the Zoroastrian priests who have preserved these texts to the present day. Here, along with the analysis of information obtained from Zoroastrian sources about the Avesta and Zoroastrianism, written in the Middle Persian language in the 9th-10th centuries, their comparison with modern Zoroastrian (Parsism) traditions is one of the main objectives of the study.

The attitude of European scholars to these issues from the nineteenth century onwards is also scrutinized and the reasons for the numerous discrepancies are identified. Contradictions between the religious outlook of modern Zoroastrians and the text of the Gatha are revealed and the reasons for them are discussed.

Keywords: *Avesta, Zoroastrianism, Khordeh Avesta, Gathas, Denkard, Priests, European scholars*

INTRODUCTION

Studies carried out using comparative methods have shown that A.H. Anquetil-Duperron's translation of the Avesta is too weak and full of errors. Comparativists pose the question that how could the language of the Avesta, which was not understandable to the priests in the Sasanian era, be understood by modern Persian priests without philological knowledge”.

The comparativists proceeded from the linguistic unity of the Avesta and the Vedic sources, looking for the key to the Avesta in the ancient Vedas. They did not use the Middle Persian translation and commentaries of the Avesta in their research, as they were completely useless. Traditionalists, however, pointed out that the Parsa priests had preserved the meaning and reading of the source till today and had not distorted them. Subsequent research, however, proved that the claims of the traditionalists were unfounded.

Research conducted within the framework of comparative studies has revealed that the texts of the Avesta were written in different periods and, therefore, the language materials in them differ from each other due to their archaic nature. In 1862, Martin Haug, a professor of Sanskrit, argued that the Gathas, which make up the 17 chapters (ha, haiti) of the Yasna section of the Avesta with 72 chapters, belong to the prophet Zarathustra, that they are spoken in an older dialect than in other parts of the Avesta,

and that Zoroastrianism is a monotheistic religion and not a dualistic one [Hinnells (2000): 175-200]. He also proved that dualism in the Avesta was influenced by the monodualism of Zurvanism in the Sasanian era and that the abstract concepts of "Amesh Spenta" were later deified in the Ghats [Haug (1862): 36-38].

Frederick Spiegel argued that the Gathas stand out among the Avesta texts for the archaic nature of their dialect and content. [Spiegel F. (2018)] Later research, conducted by other scholars, also confirmed Martin Haug was right. This discovery, made by Martin Haug, was unexpected both for European orientalists and for Zoroastrians. From that day on, the missionaries, who spread Christianity in India, did not accuse the Zoroastrians of polytheism and dualism. However, it turned out that the Zoroastrians did not know that prophet Zarathushtra only owned the "Gatha" section of the Avesta. After this, the majority of Zoroastrians, realizing that they were wrong, rebelled against the Zoroastrian priests, the bearers of tradition, and as a result, the Zoroastrian community was internally divided into two parts: traditionalists and reformists. [Vazquez P (2021): 234-235].

Another reason for the separation of most Zoroastrians from religion and tradition was based on the formation of capitalist production relations, as young people left their communities, controlled by the priests in the regions, and went to the cities in search of job place. [Modi (1922): 34-35] Indian Zoroastrians began studying in English in European-style schools from the mid-19th century and read the studies of the Avesta and Zoroastrianism by European explorers. [Nargolwala (2001): 55] This allowed them to come out of the hypnotic influence of tradition and understand reality. Reformation processes in religion, on one hand, led to the disappearance of the traditional authority of the Zoroastrian priests and the separation of some Zoroastrians from religion, on the other hand, they a new vision on their faith that only the Gathas belong to the Zoroastrian prophet, that their teaching is not polytheistic that what was said in other texts of the Avesta, except for the Gathas, but monotheistic, and contradict their beliefs. Among the Zoroastrian reformers who were trained in English, the number of researchers conducting comparative studies gradually began to increase. Thanks to them that it was possible to unite Zoroastrians in the diaspora and preserve Zoroastrianism in a new form [Palkhivala (1986): 125].

Eventually, Christian Bartholomae (1885-1925), a German orientalist, called for the scientific work of both schools, traditionalists and comparativists, to combine and apply the methods of comparative linguistics to Middle Persian sources and draw correct conclusions from them through scientific and critical analysis, in the late 19th - early 20th centuries, with his scientific activity creates a turning point in the history of the study of the Avesta. His "Dictionary of Ancient Iranian Languages" (Altiranisches Wörterbuch) and his translations from the Avesta together with F. Wolf [Bartholomae, Christian (2010)], as well as Karl F. Geldner's studies on the Avestan language are considered the most perfect research works on Avesta. [Bernfried Schlerath (2001)]. However, there are those who criticize these works. Fighting on two fronts, against the traditionalists led by his teacher Spiegel and the etymological comparative school led by Roth, Bartholomae proposed to critically use all possible means to reveal the real meaning of the Avesta text.

Since the 1930s, the modern fourth stage of studying the history of Avesta begins. At this stage, not only linguistic aspects but also historical and philosophical aspects of Avesta are more widely scrutinized. Religious reformist parsis began to study and

research the Avestan language relying on the European school of comparative analysis (B. T. Anklesaria, K. E. Kanga, etc.). They gradually began to spread the reformist spirit of Zoroastrianism among the Zoroastrian brothers living in Iran. Sometime later, modern studies and translations related to the Avesta also appeared in Iran [Ray (1983): 175].

Avesta as a Written Monument in the Parsi Tradition

The oldest surviving manuscripts of the Avesta date back to the 13th-14th centuries. Today there are two different editions of Avesta manuscripts in the hands of Iranian and Indian Zoroastrians. They differ from each other in their codification structure. One of these publications consists of prayers, recited by priests during worship services without translation and interpretation. This edition, compiled in the language and alphabet of the Avesta, is called *Vendidat-sadah*.

Unlike the first, the second edition differs in content and scope of systematization and canonization of the same source. More precisely, the second edition is divided into five parts with some small additions (Vendidat, Visperad, Yasna, Yashts, Khordeh Avesta), which in turn are divided into different sections, chapters and verses). However, the second edition was written in the Middle Persian alphabet, and the original texts of the Avesta were translated into Middle Persian with commentaries (zend) written on them. Therefore, this edition, unlike the first, was called “Zend Avesta”, that is, “interpreted Avesta”. There is no doubt that it comes from the Sasanian era. Because one of the official literary languages used in the Sassanid palace and temples was middle Persian (Pahlavi), and the worship of Mazda (daena Mazdayasna) was declared the official state religion.

Today, the book of Avesta, having about 83,000 words, is divided into only five parts (Vendidat, Yasna, Visperad, Yashts, Khordeh Avesta). The part related to Zarathushtra, called the Ghatas, constitute 17 out of 72 chapters of Yasna. The compilation of the Avesta was done by the priests of the Zoroastrian community after the Sasanian period. The oldest surviving post-Sasanian manuscript of the Avesta is dated back to 1278. According to the Zoroastrian priests, the alphabet, the Avesta was written, was the alphabet (din-dabire) intended only for these religious text.

Dozens of manuscripts of the Avesta have existed from the thirteenth century to the present day. Most of them are preserved in the Iranian and Indian Zoroastrian archives. All this time Iranian and Indian Zoroastrian priests kept in touch and shared their religious knowledge despite the distance. As in the Sasanian period, the Zoroastrian center in the Parsa region of Iran is considered the main religious, scientific and administrative center of Zoroastrianism in the world, with the Persian priests holding the religious monopoly. So Abu Zaid al-Balkhi wrote about the Fars province (ancient Pars):

'The Zoroastrians have preserved the books, the fire temples and the customs of the era of their kings, thanks to an uninterrupted succession; they retain their ancient usages and conform to them in their religion. There is no country where the Zoroastrians are more numerous than in Fars, Under the Caliphs because that country is the center of their power, rites and religious books' [Boyce (1979): 152-153].

The Parsi priests living in India learnt a new Persian language, influenced by the Arabic language of the ninth and tenth centuries, in order to have a common relationship of communication with their co-religionists living in Iran [Axelrod (1980): 157-158]. They tried to maintain their "Parsi" identity. The Parsi identity of the Parsis living in India did not emerge as an ethnic identity but as a religious and cultural identity. Because the Zoroastrian community was formed from different ethnic groups in different regions during Sassanid times and centuries before him [Ringer (2009): 555]. Since during the Sassanid era the religion was centred in Parsis and it was under the monopoly of Persian priests, from this period all Zoroastrians were considered Parsis and belonged to the syncretic religious-national identity formed in Parsis. However, the Parsis of India, forced to leave their homeland (Khorasan) due to drought in the 10th century, differed from the Persian priests in their ethnic origin [Məmmədov (2022): 79-83].

Did the Zoroastrian priests not know that the text of the Gatha belonged to the prophet Zarathushtra? The history of independent study of the Avesta in Europe raises many interesting questions: did the Parsi priests really not know about the text of the Gatha before Martin Haug's discovery? Did they not realize the essence of their centuries-old tradition in believing in polytheism instead of monotheism?

Studies of the Avesta in Europe have shown that the Parsi priests did not really know the nature of the tradition they had maintained over the centuries, and only officially tried to preserve the tradition through rituals and ceremonies. Interestingly, although Zoroastrian priests rewrote the Avesta many times from the 13th century to the present day, there is no separate manuscript of the Gatha belonging to the prophet Zarathushtra among these manuscripts that exist today. Even they did not make a special note distinguishing the Gathas from the Yasna texts. However, it was enough for the real Zoroastrians to write separate texts of the Gath. Because all other texts of the Avesta contradict the teachings of Zarathushtra. If Martin Haug had not proved in 1862 that only the Gathas, reflecting the monotheistic teachings, and not the whole Avesta, belonged to Zarathushtra, and if the Avesta had not been studied in Europe at all, Zoroastrian priests would still believe that the whole Avesta, promoting polytheism, still belongs to Zarathushtra. Today, unlike the Zoroastrian reformists, many Zoroastrian traditionalists still think this way because they avoid responsibility for the loss of the traditions they have blindly carried for centuries.

"Avesta language", used by Persian priests in religious ceremonies, became a "dead language" during the Sassanid period. Most scholars believe that after the decline of both the Sassanids and the Achaemenids, the "Avesta language" became a "dead language". Thus, by the time of the Sassanids, the Avesta texts were translated into Middle Persian and commentaries (zendas) were written to them. It is believed that this activity was carried out from the time of Arshakid (this information is confirmed by Zoroastrian sources in Middle Persian). From this point of view, Zoroastrian priests living in India and Iran in the 19th century could not directly understand the "Avesta language". Thus, in the Sasanian period, Avesta texts were understood only through translations and interpretations into Middle Persian. Given the fact that in the post-Sasanian period Zoroastrian priests had largely forgotten the Pahlavi language and that some of the traditionally transmitted religious literature had been lost and the rest remodelled, it can be said that it was difficult for Zoroastrian priests to understand the Avesta. They

therefore translated these Middle Persian texts into spoken Gujarati, and thus a new Pazen literature emerged [Daryaei (1998): 192-193].

The rapid spread of Islam among the Zoroastrian population of the post-Sasanian region created conditions for the widespread dissemination of the Arabic language and the transformation of traditional culture. This trend created conditions for the emergence of a new Persian language as a result of the synthesis of Pahlavi and Arabic in the ninth and tenth centuries and the neglect of Middle Persian. Zoroastrian priests, faced with the danger of losing their traditions in the period of great historical and cultural transformations, rewrote all oral and written Zoroastrian literature of IX-X centuries, as well as many new works in Middle Persian language and recodified Avesta [Hinnells (2015): 55]. Thus were laid the foundations of Avesta and Pahlavi literature that has survived to the modern era. If the Zoroastrian priests who wrote down these texts and recodified the Avesta in the ninth and tenth centuries had written the texts of the Gatha separately, or isolated them in a special way within the Avesta, would they not have been reflected in modern Avesta manuscripts? Let's try to answer this question.

Avesta and Other Zoroastrian Medieval Texts

When we read the Avesta and medieval Zoroastrian sources, we find many references to the name of the prophet Zarathushtra and find numerous data confirming that the Gathas belong to him. The Avesta itself is clear about this: "*Who first chanted the Gathas, the five Gathas of Zarathushtra, the Spitama, the holy (with the fashion) of their metres...*" - Yasna. 57.8 [Avesta (1898): 66].

Avestan texts confirming the belonging of Gatha to the prophet Zarathushtra further confirm that Zoroastrian priests knew about the belonging of Gatha to Zarathushtra many centuries before the Sasanian period. This is widely reflected in religious literature written in medieval Persian [Denkart 3:25 (9), 70-71, 165]. In it, the Avesta consists of three parts: Gatha, Dateh, and Manthra. The Gathas are written in verse, and treat of the invisible world. The Dateh are written in prose and contain rules for the conduct of men in this world. In the Manthra are comprised the ordinary prayers, which are the means by which men commune with their Maker. They contain an account of the Creator and of the forces of nature created by Him: as also, moral and religious precepts.

The book of Denkart, considered as the main medieval Zoroastrian source, contains very interesting texts from the point of view of studying the origin of disagreements among Zoroastrians about the religions of Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Manichaeism, Buddhism and the state of religious ideas of Zoroastrian priests in the conditions of the emerging socio-cultural crisis. The first manuscripts of these texts were probably written in the ninth-tenth centuries. If you pay attention to these texts, you will see that Zoroastrians, who turned away from their religion or sceptical about religious teachings, ask their priests very logical questions. And from the answers of the priests it is evident that although they know the texts of the Gatha and realise that they belong to the prophet Zarathushtra, they are quite far from the essence of his teachings. The text reads:

Question 9: “Again Ashmogh³ asked: Are what are (called) Manthra in the nature of traditions? (because) they are all told by Ohrmazd to Zartosht in the words of Frashostar, Jamasp, Hom and the yazads, and in those of persons born before Zartosht, and after Dayun⁴: hence, our opinion is, that the speaking of Ohrmazd to Zartosht is the hymns of the [Gathas](#), and that the rest is composed by Zartosht and his disciples from traditions, but that by good faith having been placed therein it has been considered as appertaining to religion.”

Answer: Be it known (that other) Manthra as they are different from the Gathas, (in structure of language) so they also differ from them in testimony as to higher (things): still, they are founded upon the hymn of *Yatha ahu vairyo*,⁵ and, in them mention is made of the power of omniscience of God himself and of the Creation. Therefore, no portion of them is (composed) by the wisdom of man and they could not be composed from a number of current traditions. If, the Manthra, communicated to Zartosht in this manner in the form of a dialogue, be not all from Ohrmazd, and, by their being communicated in the voice of different persons, Ohrmazd is concluded not to be their promulgator, then, it would follow, that whatever revelations have been made in them, by Ohrmazd to Zartosht, about Zartosht and other good and evil persons, as also about the daevas and even the Ganamino, must have been made by the Ganamino and the daevas; and Manthra and Dateh, which are removers-away of the daevas, must be considered as declared by the daevas. Therefore, the communicating of the Manthra, by Ohrmazd to Zartosht, in the voice of many (persons) is, for the purpose that complete knowledge might be conveyed from Ohrmazd to Zartosht: and that is not fit to take objection to. Just as the Gathas are all told by Ohrmazd to Zartosht, and are in the voices of Zartosht, the Amahraspands, the Goshorun, and other yazads: and, that they are all told by Ohrmazd to Zartosht, about that, you have no objection to take. But it is owing to the (natural) disposition of an Ashmogh that he should have evil thoughts about and inverted vision of, scriptures, that have reference to protection by Ohrmazd.” [Denkart 3, 25: Question 9].

³ Ashmogh - This term is derived from the Avesta word ashmaog, meaning "one who disturbs purity". Thus, in Zoroastrians it is applied to those who disturb religion and bring discord between society and individuals. In this text, the high priest calls those who ask such questions ashmogim. In the Denkarta it is said about them as follows: “Be it known that, the souls of worshippers of daevas and of deceitful Ashmoghs, owing to their impure nature, although (located) in a living body, are, according to the religion, (as if) possessing a dead body; and that body with life is considered as (fit) for hell; hence there is a danger of their pollution and bad qualities reaching Mazdayasnians through mutual intercourse with them; therefore, (the Mazdayasnians) must remain aloof from touching their living bodies, for their bodies are in all places like decayed nasa... Therefore, as far as possible, (we) must remain, aloof from contact with and separate from them, and with that, do also this, (we) must wash three times with hot water those plates and eating vessels which they use, and Mazdayasnians must avoid eating and drinking from out of them.” [Denkart 3: 25: 36-37].

⁴ Frashostar and Jamasp were the sons of Habub and the disciples and sons-in-law of Zartosht. The latter was also prime minister to Vishtasp, while the former was the head of a college for imparting religious instruction to priests, established by Vishtasp. According to Dankard, Dayun lived two or three centuries later than Zarathustra.

⁵ According to the tenets of the Zoroastrian religion God first made the [Ahunwar](#) or 'Yatha ahu vairyo,' which is in the form of a Gatha or hymn. From the three clauses or sentences of the Ahunwar have originated the scriptures or Avesta comprised respectively in Gatha, Dateh, and Manthra; and from the twenty-one [words composing the Ahunwar](#), seven to each sentence, have originated the twenty-one Nasks. Hence the meaning of what is said above, -- that Manthra are founded upon the Yatha Ahu Vairyo.

As can be seen from the above texts, Zoroastrians who did not accept the religion preached by the priests and rebelled against them were called "ashmog" (redeemer, apostate) by the priests. This was because he was pointing out to the priest that all the texts of the Avesta, except the Gatha, had nothing to do with either Zarathushtra or Ormuzda. Only the Gatha is a text of revelation. The rest of the Avesta texts are texts of oral pagan tradition. He tells the priest that the religion he preaches to the Zoroastrians has nothing to do with the religion brought by the prophet Zarathushtra.

Interestingly, the statements of renegade Zoroastrians, who accepted Islam, and Zoroastrians inclined to Christianity and Manichaeism in the Parthian and Sasanian periods, depicted in the image of "ashmogh" in the 8th to 9th centuries, were also in the 19th century. Very similar to their predecessors (ashmoghs) are also the Parsis, who came into being with the discovery of the German Sanskritologist M. Haug and who, influenced by his discovery, later went against tradition like the Zoroastrian reformers. The Persian traditionalist priests who insulted them and accused them of deviating from sacred traditions are no different from the same high priest who spoke in the above text 1000-1500 years ago. Both they and their successors regarded all texts transmitted through thousands of oral and written traditions as sacred and followed them as a religious duty. However, all the traditions reflected in the Avesta and the Middle Persian Zoroastrian sources combine monotheism, dualism and polytheism. While the prophet Zarathushtra, who preached monotheism in the Gathas, opposed ontological dualism and polytheism, the Zoroastrian priests brought into their invented "higher religion" (bekhdin or daena Mazdayasna) what the prophet and Ormuzd had denied, and presented this religion they brought in the name of the prophet Zarathushtra and Ormuzd. The apostate Zoroastrian 'Ashmog' therefore rightly addresses the following question to the high priest:

Question 12: *Ashmogh put the question: By always reciting these Manthras, which are the word of Ohrmazd, you have to live with great circumspection; but by being so recited, they become a cause of hindrance to industry: then, how can the command of Ohrmazd in respect of the preference of Manthras and Gathas for the purpose of obtaining salvation for the soul be considered just?*

Answer: Be it known that, the object of our constant recitation of the Manthras is to inform (men) about the religion of Ohrmazd in respect of the relations with the next world and of the salvation of souls; because, by giving to the people of this world the understanding-power to know their Maker and to be the doers of deeds according with the will of the Lord, they acquire knowledge with respect to the invisible *yazads*, as also the *daevas*, become rememberers of the *yazads* and the acquirers of their love, and remain non-rememberers of the *daevas* and givers of pain to them, and understand, whatever there may be to understand regarding Dates, Manthras, Gathas, and are enabled to do, at the (proper) time, much of the work relating to them. Through it, is frequently obtained aid and knowledge in exercising dominion, chiefship, and justice in accordance with the times, in driving away the *drujs* that may have entered into one's body, in removing them from creation, in making mankind walk in freedom and in imparting happiness to a great many men in the world. And, moreover, wherever and at what time soever Ashmoghs come to raise a contest about religion, at those times, through the sagacity, wisdom and strength appertaining to it, means are found to break down all trouble-giving Ashmoghs, to refute (them) by God's religion, and to keep back harm from mankind." [Denkart 3, 25: Question 12].

How did the "apostate Zoroastrians", who were called "heretics" by the priests, unlike the rest of us, learn the truth? If M. Haug had not discovered the Gathas in the 19th century, the Zoroastrians would not have had the opportunity to learn the truth. Because at that time they were very limited in acquiring modern scientific knowledge, pursuing traditions imposed on them by the priests. When M. Haug discovered that in the Avesta only the texts of the Gatha refer to the prophet Zarathushtra, who preached monotheism, did the priests not know this? Maybe they just didn't want to hear about it?

Both questions make sense. For the Zoroastrian priests, recognizing Martin Haug's findings meant defeat and the loss of the power they had held over society for centuries. Indeed, after this incident, their reputation deteriorated considerably. Secondly, if they admitted that they had been hiding the truth all this time, they would be acting as liars to the community. Thirdly, hiding the truth was impossible. After all, they could not say anything to European Sanskrit scholars and Avesta experts who could read and translate Avestan and Vedic texts directly. Nineteenth-century priests not only did not understand the semantics of these languages, but also misunderstood the Middle Pahlavi texts. Therefore, they mainly referred to texts translated from Pahlavi into Gujarati. In this regard, it was more correct for them to remain silent.

Assuming that the Zoroastrian priests did not know the truth, the following question arises: Given that there are dozens of Pahlavi texts about the Ghats, confirming their belonging to Zarathushtra, that the Zoroastrian priests knew a little about the Pahlavi language, and that many Pahlavi texts were translated into Gujarati, how could they not be aware of this fact? Could it be that they knew the phrase "Gatha of Zoroaster" (Gatha Zarathushtrish), which is mentioned in the Avesta and Pahlavi texts, but could not identify its place in the Avesta? The fact that the text of Gatha was not specifically mentioned in the Avestan manuscripts could be due to the fact that they did not know the location of these texts whose name they had heard?

Despite the large amount of information about it in Pahlavi sources, it is unlikely that Zoroastrian priests of the nineteenth century did not know that the Gatha is attributed to the prophet Zarathushtra. However, it is possible that they were not aware of the place of the text of the Gatha texts in the Avesta. This is evidenced by the absence in their possession of manuscripts of individual texts of the Gatha or the absence of symbols denoting the Gatha in the Avesta manuscripts. If Zoroastrians of IX-X centuries asked priests to recite the Gathas (*"If someone comes to the priest for repentance and asks him to recite the Gathas, this is the worship performed by means of the Gatha"* [Denkart 3:25 (9), 70-71], which means that the priests of that time had either a separate manuscript of the Gatha or the place of the Gatha in the Avesta in their hands. Apparently, the priests later lost some of these manuscripts or forgot the place of the Gatha text in the Avesta. This probably happened during the manuscript and codification work on the Avesta in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

CONCLUSION

This research concludes that the codification of the Avesta texts after the 10th century took place several times, so that the texts of the Gatha belonging to the prophet Zarathushtra were gradually mixed with other Yasna texts, and subsequently the Zoroastrian priests were not aware of their place in the Avesta. As a result, they came to

regard all the texts of the Avesta as revelations of Zarathushtra. This is explained by the fact that in all manuscripts of the Avesta from the fourteenth century onwards, the Gathas are not mentioned separately, their place is not noted in the Yasna texts. However, the Gatha is mentioned separately (Gatha Zarathushtrish) as a text of Zarathushtra in medieval Persian sources. This suggests that after the thirteenth century Zoroastrian priests did not know where in the Avesta the texts of the Gatha were located. After Martin Haug discovered the Gatha texts in the Avesta in the nineteenth century, the authority of Zoroastrian priests among their communities suffered greatly.

The Zoroastrian priests traditionally promoted under the name of Zoroastrian teachings various contradictory worldviews (polytheistic and dualistic) reflected in the Avesta, which were very far from the monotheistic teachings of the prophet Zarathushtra reflected in the Gathas. One of the main reasons for this is that Zoroastrian priests from the 15th century onwards misunderstood not only the language of the Avesta, but also the Zoroastrian sources written in medieval Persian. Therefore, they translated these texts into the language used today, Gujarati. The second reason is that they were followers of the polytheistic Mazdayasnian religion of the Sasanian period and earlier times, Parthians and Achaemenids. The third main reason was that the Gatha texts had to be kept secretly and mixed with the Yasna texts to prevent Zoroastrian apostasy. As can be seen from medieval Zoroastrian sources, some Zoroastrians, Ashmogh, accused the priests of perverting religion and turning the monotheistic teachings of the Zoroastrian prophet into polytheism. Apparently, in order to avoid these accusations, the priests did not separate the Gathas from the Yasna texts and preached to their community that the entire Avesta belonged to the Zoroastrian prophet. As a result, after several centuries they themselves forgot where the Gathas were located in the Avesta. Fourthly, even if the Zoroastrian priests had known the location of the Gathas in the Avesta, nothing would have changed. This is because they did not understand the meaning of these texts not only in the nineteenth century, but even in the Sasanian period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Axelrod, P. (1980) "Myth and Identity in the Indian Zoroastrian Community", *Journal of Mithraic Studies*, III, pp. 150-165
- Bartholomae, Christian (2010). *Das Verbum Im Avesta*. [The verb in the Avesta] Publisher: Nabu Press, 52 pages
- Bernfried Schlerath (2001). Geldner, Karl Friedrich, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, X, Fasc. 4, pp. 394-396
- Boyce, M. (1979). *Zoroastrians. Their Religious Beliefs and Practices*. London. 273 pages
- Daryae, T. (1998) "Apocalypse Now: Zoroastrian Reflections on the Early Islamic Centuries." *Medieval Encounters* 4, no. 3: pp. 188-202.
- **Haug, Martin** (1862) *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings and Religion of the Parsees*. Bombay, 270 pages
- Hinnells J. R. (2000). *Zoroastrian and Parsi Studies*, Aldershot, pp. 175-200.

- Hinnells, J. (2015). The Parsis. In: M. Stausberg, Y. Vevaina and A. Tessmann, ed., *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism*. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 167 pages
- Məmmədov, R. (2022) Parsların mənşəyi və mühacirət tarixi. Qərbi Kaspi Universitetinin “*Elmi xəbərlər*” jurnalı, 1-ci buraxılışı - İctimai və Texniki elmlər seriyası, pp. 67-85.
- Modi, J. J. (1922). *Religious Ceremonies and Customs of Parsees*. Mumbai: British India Press.
- Nargolwala, S. D. (2001) "Zoroastrianism and Parsis in India." In *Parsi Fiction*, edited by Navy Kapadia, Jaydipsinh Dodiya and R. K. Dhavan, New Delhi: Prestige Books, pp. 51-65
- Palkhivala, Nani A. (1986) "The Role of Parsis in India." In *The Sugar in the Milk: The Parsis in India*, edited by Nancy and Ram Singh, Delhi: I.S.P.C.K.
- Ray, John J. (1983) 'Ambition and Dominance among the Parsees of India', *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 119, pp. 173-179.
- Ringer M. (2009) Reform Transplanted: Parsi Agents of Change amongst Zoroastrians in Nineteenth-Century Iran. *Iranian Studies*. [Vol. 42, No. 4](#), pp. 549-560
- Spiegel, Friedrich (2018). *Avesta: The Religious Books of the Parsees*. German Translation of the Original Manuscripts. Publisher: Forgotten Books, 536 pages
- *The Avesta*. (1898). Translated by L. H. Mills and James Darmesteter, 179 pages
- *The Denkard* (1874). The original Pehlavi Text; the same transliterated in Zend characters; translations of the text in the Gujrati and English languages; a commentary and a glossary of select terms. Translated by Peshotun D. B. Sunjana. Mumbai: Duftur Ashkara Press.
- Vazquez P. (2021) A Tale of Two Zs: An Overview of the Reformist and Traditionalist Zoroastrian Movements. *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies*, Vol. 25, Issue 1-3, pp. 230-237

HISTORICAL ROOTS OF ECONOMICS: THE FOUNDATIONAL LEGACY OF ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA

Ramil I. Hasanov

Azerbaijan Technological University

Ganja, Azerbaijan

r.hasanov@uteca.edu.az

ORCID ID: 0000-0003-4267-7039

<http://dx.doi.org/10.54414/EHZD2889>

Abstract: Economics, as a rigorous scientific discipline, is intrinsically devoted to the meticulous scrutiny of sophisticated processes that underlie production, resource management, and the intricate web of mechanisms governing them. For a comprehensive cognition of its historical lineage, it becomes imperative to delve into the various stages of civilization's inception and the nascent trajectories of economic systems. In this scholarly pursuit, the spotlight firmly rests on ancient Mesopotamia, hailed as the cradle of a major civilization and an indisputable cornerstone in the tapestry of economic history. Embedded within this academic exploration is an assiduous analysis of the economy's evolutionary odyssey through the prism of history, thus serving as a conduit for the preservation and transmission of the invaluable legacy borne by ancient Mesopotamia.

This interdisciplinary research endeavors to elucidate the historical foundations of economic thought, spanning from pre-historical epochs to the advent of the initial systematic civilization. The paramount significance of the Ancient Mesopotamian legacy within the context of economic science is a central thematic exploration. By methodically integrating historical analysis, archaeological investigations, comparative scrutiny, and a discerning critical perspective, this study seeks to comprehensively unveil the intricate evolution of economic concepts and practices across diverse temporal and geographical landscapes.

Keywords: *Economic History, Ancient Mesopotamia, Sumer, Economic Evolution, History of Civilization*

INTRODUCTION

The study of economics, which encompasses the intricate dynamics of goods and services production, distribution, and consumption within societies, finds its roots in the ancient civilizations, notably Mesopotamia. The enduring impact of Mesopotamian economic innovations, such as the introduction of standardized measures, legal codes, and taxation systems, resonates throughout the evolution of economic thought and practices, shaping contemporary economic frameworks and methodologies.

The empirical literature on economic growth and development has transitioned from examining proximate determinants to exploring deeper, historically transmitted factors, including genetic, epigenetic, and cultural traits, and their potential direct or indirect

impacts on contemporary income and productivity. The seminal works of Dosi & Nelson (1994) and Spolaore & Wacziarg (2013) provide fundamental conceptual foundations for understanding the principles of economic evolution and development. Nunn (2020) conducts a comprehensive review of recent research that converges at the intersection of history, development, and culture, with the overarching objective of unraveling the intricate interplay of cultural factors in shaping the trajectory of economic development.

Ancient Mesopotamia holds the distinction of being acknowledged as the cradle of civilization, as it was in this geographical region that the Sumerians initially established the majority of the essential pillars underpinning contemporary human existence. This assertion finds resonance in the work of historian Samuel Noah Kramer, who, in his renowned volume delineating the origins of humanity across 39 meticulously delineated chapters, unequivocally designates Sumer as the point of origin for recorded history [Kramer (1981)]. Within the context of Kramer's research, notable subjects such as the inaugural tax system [Kramer (1981): 45-51], agrarian domains [(Kramer (1981): 65-70)], and the rudiments of labor concepts [Kramer (1981): 111-116] are examined, albeit with a significant degree of attention across scholarly circles. This collective analysis substantiates a distinctive proposition positing that the economic framework took shape within the ancient expanse of Mesopotamia. Civilization's genesis is intricately intertwined with its economic underpinnings, as the material realm finds its very essence in the economic scaffolding. From this standpoint, the historical commencement with Sumer also extends to the economic bedrock; the inception of history itself is contingent upon the establishment of foundational economic relations, a premise pivotal for the advancement of humanity. Absent the emergence of intricate systems for production, trade, and distribution, the evolution of cities and stable cultural constructs would have remained implausible.

The monumental Neolithic revolution stands as the paramount catalyst for the initial ignition of civilization's spark. Unfolding approximately 12,000 years ago, this revolutionary transition ushered humanity away from a nomadic hunter-gatherer lifestyle toward a sedentary agrarian society. Within this transformative process, a surge in population transpired, giving rise to permanent settlements. Indeed, the Neolithic revolution, at its core, marked the foremost economic endeavor, endowing humans with the mastery of production, the accumulation of surplus resources, and the intricate realm of trade. These consequential shifts and pioneering adaptations are recognized as the inaugural phase of economic evolution [Childe (2016)]. North & Thomas (1977) put forth a new interpretation of the origins of agriculture in human prehistory by blending insights from anthropological and archaeological sources with a contemporary economic model centered around the theory of property rights. The inaugural economic transformation catalyzed by the Neolithic revolution precipitated the rise of the earliest civilization within the historical milieu of ancient Mesopotamia

Economy Begins At Sumer

The exact dates and factors that led to the Sumerians' migration to Mesopotamia remain uncertain; however, what remains clear is that Sumer played a foundational role in shaping the economic landscape. The prehistoric era in this region is shrouded in limited historical records, with our understanding predominantly derived from depictions,

engravings, small sculptures, and artifacts bearing unique symbols that have been unearthed and analyzed by archaeologists and anthropologists. The acquisition of knowledge concerning political and economic history was greatly facilitated by the advent of writing, widely regarded as one of humanity's most profound inventions. The evolution of early economic systems can be comprehensively understood through the prism of Sumerian society. This ancient civilization stands as a prototype demonstrating the transition from uncomplicated exchange of goods to the intricate workings of market-driven economies.

Towards the end of the fourth millennium, enduring trade patterns had spurred noteworthy population expansion in Mesopotamia's southern alluvial lowlands, prompting distinctive socio-economic innovations within its urbanizing polities. Notably, advanced labor organization and sophisticated record-keeping systems emerged, contributing significantly to the premature formation of complex city-states in southern Mesopotamia, differentiating it from neighboring regions [Algaze (2005)]. Examining historical contexts unveils the intrinsic link between several seminal innovations and the economic necessities that drove them. The establishment of agricultural and animal husbandry systems orchestrated a gradual shift towards sedentary societal structures, engendering a fertile environment for the accrual of economic capital. This amelioration of living standards among settled communities concurrently acted as a catalyst for the flourishing of intellectual and artistic pursuits. Evidently, during the temporal expanse encompassing approximately 3500 to 3000 B.C., the Sumerian civilization ushered in three momentous breakthroughs - namely, the mastery of bronze metallurgy, the advent of written communication, and the introduction of the wheel - each of which wielded a transformative influence, sculpting the contours of economic, technological, and societal landscapes.

G. Algaze (2008) categorized the economic advancement of the ancient Sumerian era into three principal phases:

- The initial phase of economic growth in southern Mesopotamia occurred during the late fifth and early fourth millennia, leading to diverse specialization driven by resource endowments and inter-polity trade, exploiting differing economic assets.
- The second phase, commencing around the mid-fourth millennium, entailed competitive emulation among alluvial centers, facilitating the dissemination of technologies and practices and prompting a reduction in regional specialization as polities developed indigenous productive capacities and embraced strategies of import substitution.
- The third stage, unfolding in the latter part of the fourth millennium, witnessed heightened rivalry among comparable alluvial polities, resulting in expanded external trade and a concentrated effort on supplanting foreign commodities through sustained import-substitution mechanisms.

The pioneering civilization of Ancient Sumer likely initiated the practice of alloying tin with copper, giving rise to bronze, an alloy characterized by enhanced hardness and durability compared to its copper precursor, thus rendering bronze a superior material for the production of tools and weaponry [(Fokkens & Harding, 2013)]. Bronze held economic importance by fostering specialized craftsmanship, stimulating trade, and

driving resource-based economies in ancient civilizations due to its enhanced properties compared to other available materials.

The Sumerians' pioneering discovery of writing marked a significant human innovation, initiating the practice of transmitting historical narratives to succeeding generations. The earliest and most detailed Mesopotamian narration regarding the inception of writing is encapsulated within the Sumerian tale "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta," situated within a narrative cycle that revolves around the competition between the southern Mesopotamian city-state of Uruk and the distant, legendary city of Aratta [(Woods, Emberling & Teeter, 2011): 44]. The invention of writing by the Sumerians held noteworthy economic importance by enabling the establishment of organized administrative and trade frameworks, facilitating accurate recording of transactions and resource management, thereby enhancing accountability, fostering knowledge accumulation, and promoting the emergence of specialized vocations, all of which collectively contributed to substantial economic development. The crucial role of writing in ancient economies mirrors the contemporary reliance on computers, as both enable intricate processes, and imagining an economy without writing is akin to envisioning the modern economy without the functionality and efficiency computers provide. It is possible to show this in an ancient example. The Proto-cuneiform Kushim's tablet from Uruk, dating around 3000 BCE, offers insight into ancient economic practices by presenting a calculation detailing the requisite quantities of ingredients essential for producing dry cereal goods and beer [Renn (2019)].

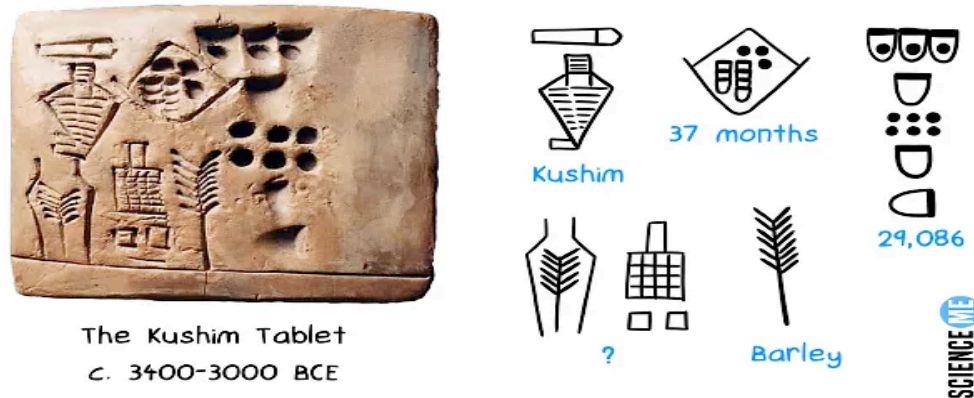


Figure 1. The earliest attestation of written language is conjectured to manifest in an archaic transactional acknowledgement: a quantity of 29,086 measures of barley was received over a span of 37 months, authenticated with the signature of Kushim.

Source: <https://www.scienceme.com/the-origins-of-language>

The oldest unearthed wheel, dating to around 3500 BC in Mesopotamia, coincided with an era when human societies had already adopted agricultural cultivation, animal domestication, and demonstrated signs of social structure [(Ancient Origins, 2014)]. The wheel's economic importance in Mesopotamia stemmed from its ability to streamline transportation, promote trade, and improve agricultural efficiency, leading to notable advancements in the region's economic development.

The Sumerians exhibited a high degree of engagement in expansive trade, thereby showcasing the sophistication of their economic system, not only within their own

domains but also in their interactions with neighboring regions. Their trade networks reached far-flung destinations, including Anatolia, Iran, Azerbaijan, Arabia, and even the Indus Valley, underscoring the remarkable extent of their commercial activities. The key commodities that formed the bedrock of their trade activities included essential goods such as grain, textiles, pottery, and metals, as well as luxury items such as gold, and ivory. This dynamic exchange of goods not only met essential needs but also catered to the desires for opulent items, highlighting the multifaceted nature of their trade. One of the pivotal advancements in their trade practices was the development of a standardized system of weights and measures, with the shekel emerging as a prominent unit of measurement. This innovation served as a catalyst for trade facilitation by providing a common metric for transactions. Moreover, it laid the groundwork for the emergence of a rudimentary form of currency. This crucial development not only streamlined the exchange of goods but also fostered economic stability and growth within these ancient civilizations. In essence, the Sumerians and Mesopotamians were trailblazers in the realm of trade. Their engagement in commerce, marked by its vast geographical reach, the diversity of goods exchanged, and the introduction of standardized trade practices, played a pivotal role in shaping economic systems during their era [Smith, (2008): 7]. These endeavors highlight the remarkable contributions of these ancient civilizations to the history of trade and commerce, serving as a testament to the early origins of economic sophistication.

An integral cornerstone in the trajectory of economic evolution rested upon the establishment of a monetary system. As production processes began to shape systems of exchange, the pivotal role of money as the primary medium of transaction became evident. The foundational concept of modern commercial money used in our civilization was first developed by the temples and policies of Sumer in ancient times [(Hudson, 2004) : 99]. Barley and silver stood as the prevalent commodities employed as money within the Ur III economy, although occasional utilization of other items like wool, dates, and oil occurred; in a commodity money framework like this, value or price was delineated through the establishment of ratios between the quantities of different commodities, constituting relative prices [Cripps (2019): 53-76]. As trade flourished between cities of Sumer, the practice of barter emerged as the predominant means of establishing economic interactions, wherein the commodities themselves served as the medium of exchange; this phenomenon extended progressively beyond the confines of Mesopotamia, exemplified by the transportation of Mesopotamian goods like wool, hides, and oil to destinations such as Magan (modern-day Oman), where they were traded for copper [Jenks (2018): 95]. The expansion of exchange networks prompted the creation of standardized money as a means to address the limitations of barter systems, while the idea of a universally profitable single currency arose as a potential strategy to enhance trade efficiency and overall economic stability.

The confluence of state formation and economic interactions gave birth to a distinctive model of a class-based society. In ancient Mesopotamia, two predominant economic forces held sway: the monarchy and the temple. The societal strata of this epoch exhibited a discernible stratification into six distinct segments:

- The monarch and his retinue of ministers
- The priestly class

- Bureaucratic functionaries
- Affluent merchants
- Independent urban dwellers and agrarian laborers
- Enslaved individuals.

The monarch wielded unequivocal authority encompassing both political and economic realms. The priestly echelon commanded a substantial portion of land resources, which were subsequently leased to agrarian laborers, entailing a portion of their crop yields as compensation [Hunt (2009): 40]. This arrangement engendered a mounting competition between the priestly and regal factions. Further dynamics were introduced into the social framework as captives from military engagements and indigent debtors were coerced into servitude.

Economic Landscape in Ancient Mesopotamia

Understanding the economic mechanisms and institutions that structured ancient Mesopotamia relies on a corpus of approximately 200,000 documented legal and administrative records, letters, and compilations of laws. Spanning from as early as 3200 BC to the Hellenistic and Arsacid eras of the third century BC and beyond, these sources form the foundational basis of knowledge. Furthermore, insights into the economic realities of ancient Mesopotamia are enriched by archaeological artifacts that provide avenues for reconstructing its material culture [Renger (2007): 187-197]

Agriculture serves as the foundational underpinning of the economy and originated during the shift towards settled lifestyles. Notably, it was agriculture that gave rise to the initial civilization in ancient Mesopotamia. Agriculture was the cornerstone of economic prosperity, driven by fertile soils nourished by the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, complemented by advanced irrigation systems. This synergy facilitated the cultivation of vital crops like barley, wheat, and dates, establishing the region as an agricultural powerhouse. The pivotal moment arrived with the introduction of the plow and draft animals, catapulting agricultural productivity, leading to a surplus of food, and fostering urbanization and labor specialization, all of which laid the foundations for intricate economic systems. This interplay between agricultural innovation and resource allocation merits rigorous scholarly investigation, shedding light on the enduring impact of their economic practices across history.

The agricultural framework pioneered by the Sumerians was subsequently transmitted to successive societies. The progression of the economy paved the way for the formation of proficient technological specialists across a spectrum of disciplines. These areas include but are not limited to issues such as productivity, engineering, architecture, power dynamics, economic structures, scientific paradigms, and intricacies of complexity that are emblematic of our era. At the heart of the prevailing social and economic structure within most villages lay the crucial practice of primary agricultural production. This fundamental undertaking not only provided the basis for their sustenance but also played a defining role in shaping their social interactions and economic arrangements. In specific cases, villages arranged linearly along riverbanks managed to secure water access without relying on communal organizational structures. Conversely, settlements that sourced water through direct offshoots from major watercourses exhibited a less pronounced need for interdependence. However, villages

positioned at the lower echelons of intricate canal systems, subject to meticulous oversight, intricately coordinated their activities in close collaboration with state authorities [Richardson (2007): 13-38]. The monument known as the "Stele of the Vultures," commissioned by Eanatum, the ruler of Lagash, was erected precisely along the demarcation separating the irrigated agricultural land [Winter (1985)]. The "h ~ amqum" valley stands as a crucial domain for settled communities and the royal palace, offering a prime setting for deliberate agricultural endeavors. Along the riverbanks, historical terraces known as "upa s lûm" in Akkadian were employed for both pastoral activities and intermittent cultivation, with abandoned river meanders and stagnant waters sometimes utilized for fish farming in proximity to cultivable areas [Mori (2007): 41].

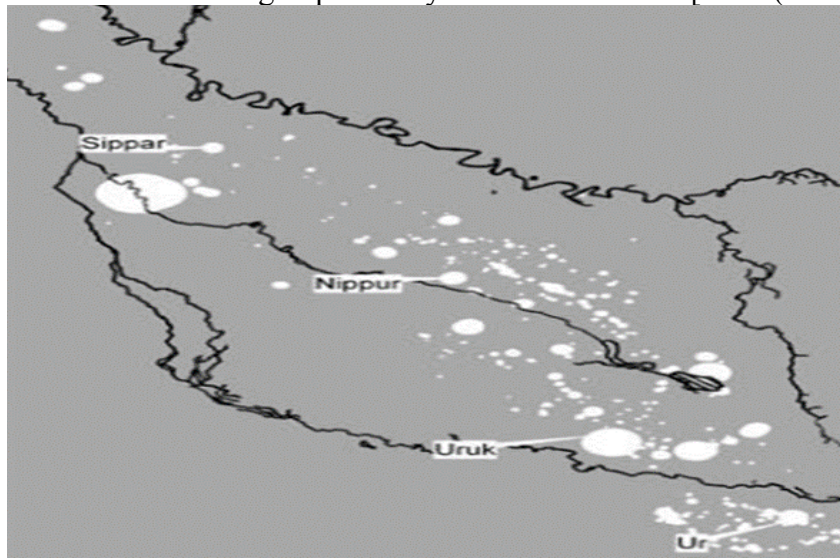


Figure 2. Ancient Mesopotamia in the 3rd Millennium B.C. White areas represent main productive zones.

Source: Book - The Babylonian World Edited by Gwendolyn Leick, Routledge, 2007.

The prevailing economic structure in Mesopotamia during the latter part of the fourth and the third millennia was characterized by the dominance of the oikos economy. The Oikos economy (OE), initially conceptualized by Rodbertus and later expounded upon by M. Weber, embodies an autonomous household economy where internal production sustains most consumables [Renger (2006)]. A defining characteristic of the oikos economy is its redistributive mode of production, in which the products of collective labor, spanning agricultural and non-agricultural sectors, are acquired by a central authority, typically the ruler, and subsequently apportioned among the producers, encompassing the entire population of the state, thus establishing what is referred to as a redistributive oikos economy. Commodities produced for local consumption and seen as essential held noteworthy strategic significance in the view of the ancient Mesopotamians. During the early second millennium, the tributary economy emerged due to a confluence of factors including tribal migrations, Elamite military conflicts, political rivalries, strained oikos systems, and environmental challenges in southern Babylonia. As a consequence, the dominance of the household-oriented oikos system from the third millennium waned, leading to a reconfiguration where a significant portion of economic

activities shifted from institutional households to individual small-scale farming and entrepreneurial endeavors, encompassing cereal production, date palm cultivation, animal husbandry, and resource exploration [Render (2007): 187-197]. The prospects of a notable market exchange in ancient Mesopotamia entail investigations into institutionalized market configurations, participant demographics, supply origins, and the role of subsistence methods, with the shift from a redistributive era to subsistence farming constraining surplus and emphasizing self-sufficiency and limited external trade as the prevailing economic features of the time. The ancient Mesopotamia serves as a vast repository of insights into the economic operations of past civilizations. This dataset encompasses core economic pursuits like agriculture, animal husbandry, and skilled crafts, as well as intricate elements such as barter, trade transactions, and varied exchange mechanisms. Furthermore, it illuminates the distribution of essential resources vital for sustaining life [Renger (1994): 157-208].

Agricultural Production	Livestock	Main Export Materials	Main Import Materials	Harmful aspects to the economy
Barley	Cattle	Textile	Gold	Wars
Wheat	Sheep	Wool	Silver	Instability
Legumes	Goat	Oil	Copper	Tribute
Sesame	Camel	Craftsmanship	Wood	Droughts
Vegetables	Donkey	Wheat	Spices	Pestilence
Fruits	Pig	Barley	Gemstones	Locusts

Figure 3. A classic economic indicator from ancient Mesopotamia.

Source: Author

During the Old Babylonian era, notable economic institutions emerged, such as partitive inheritance dividing paternal estates and the role of entrepreneurs in managing outsourced economic activities. Additionally, the *ilkum* system required individuals to fulfill various duties, offering rations or subsistence fields in return. The *ilkum* institution referred to a system where individuals were obliged to undertake various civic duties like military service, participation in public projects, or agricultural labor. In return for their efforts, they received rations or subsistence fields provided by the state or local authorities. Within the provincial administration of Larsa during Hammurapi's reign, this institution assumed a crucial function in coordinating labor and upholding fundamental societal functions [Ishikida (1999)]. Legal codes in ancient civilizations were a comprehensive system of rules and regulations governing economic activity. Economic transactions were codified, rules for trade, debt, and property rights were established, and a framework for resolving disputes and promoting economic stability was provided. These codes were essential for the development of complex economic systems in ancient civilizations and had a significant impact on the development of economic thought and practice.

Cereal production played a vital role in maintaining centralized authority within an economy characterized by redistributive practices. The official calendar was inaugurated with the period spanning from March to April, aligning with the culmination of the harvest season. However, the most significant agricultural cycle, which revolved around the cultivation of barley, was set in motion by the initial groundwork of fields to be sown at the commencement of the autumn season. Sesame was grown in the middle Euphrates valley to produce a stable vegetable oil suitable for storage and distribution, given the region's unsuitability for olive tree cultivation, unlike the well-established practice in the Mediterranean area. Continuous cultivation of sesame has been a historical hallmark in the middle Euphrates Valley. In contrast, linseed, despite its oil-producing nature, seems to have predominantly served the purpose of textile production in the same region [Riehl (2012)]. In the endeavor to ensure sustained productivity, the implementation of intricate and advanced water-management mechanisms emerged as a necessity. These encompassed the establishment of intricate channels, retention reservoirs, and storage facilities, accompanied by the precise distribution of water to individual parcels of cereal fields. This strategic approach emphasized the pivotal significance of hydrological engineering in upholding agricultural output within this context. Mesopotamia encountered unfavorable shifts in environmental conditions, including heightened temperatures and decreased precipitation, leading to the emergence of steppe areas. This compelled a transition from conventional hoe-based agriculture to sophisticated irrigation systems, characterized by intricate water management infrastructure, collaborative communal labor, and seasonal irrigation practices, evident from the times of the Ubaid and Uruk cultures onward. The irrigation system in Mesopotamia underwent intricate development, encompassing communal labor, cyclical practices, and sophisticated water management structures to address changing climatic conditions and ensure continuous agricultural output [Hruska (2007): 54-66].

Ancient Mesopotamia placed substantial emphasis on the domains of wool, textile craftsmanship, and clothing. In recent times, interdisciplinary inquiries have embarked upon the task of elucidating the intricate tapestry of economic and cultural ramifications intertwined with the production and utilization of woolen textiles and textile manufacturing. These endeavors are gradually unraveling a comprehensive panorama of the profound influence exerted by these textile-related facets on the formative societies of the ancient world [Cecile & Catherine (2014)].

Entrepreneurship held a crucial position within the economic framework of ancient Mesopotamia, encompassing a broad spectrum of activities including trade, resource administration, craft production, the formulation of commercial strategies, and the facilitation of economic interactions both within the region and extending beyond its geographical boundaries. In Assyriology, the term "entrepreneur" is now broadly applied to include Assyrian and Babylonian "merchants" (tamkarum) from the early second millennium BC to the Egibi and Murashu families in Babylonia during the seventh to fifth centuries BC, who introduced novel commercial strategies to manage estates and provision resources for palaces and military endeavors, initially aiming to create an export surplus of labor-intensive goods to obtain the stone, metal, and other raw materials that were lacking in southern Mesopotamia [Landes, Mokyr & Baumol (2010): 9].

The application of Polanyi's theory to ancient Mesopotamia introduces notions of non-market trade, centralized trade administration, and the significance of trade centers,

accentuating diverse economic models encompassing reciprocity, redistribution, and market exchange, all while emphasizing the interweaving of economic activities within social structures. Furthermore, it introduces the concept of a 'palace economy,' characterizing societies organized around institutional households within autocratic-monarchic states, unveiling varying levels of reliance on these centralized entities [Renger (2007): 187-197]

The economic framework of ancient Mesopotamia centered on agrarian activities supplemented by integrated animal husbandry, while secondary emphasis was placed on manufacturing and craft production. To compensate for the inherent scarcity of local resources, the acquisition of essential materials vital for the overall societal functioning necessitated extensive long-range trade interactions with external territories. This encompassed the acquisition of resources such as tin and copper, essential for bronze production, as well as iron, gold, and silver used for esteemed articles, payment, and exchange due to the limited availability of these resources within the Mesopotamian region. The attainment of a harmonious dietary balance was contingent upon the inclusion of cultivated crops and products derived from animal husbandry, as well as the establishment of equilibrium between the practices of cultivation and animal husbandry [Adams (1974): 1-6].

Ancient Mesopotamia is primarily associated with four major civilizations: the Sumerians, Akkadians, Babylonians, and Assyrians. The political and economic influence wielded by these entities has left a profound impact on human history. The Neo-Babylonian Empire, reigning from 626 BC to 539 BC, is widely accepted as the last ancient Mesopotamian state. Its eventual conquest by the Achaemenid Empire marked the end of this era, resulting in the decline of the established political and economic structure in the region.

The economic practices of ancient Mesopotamia provided a crucial blueprint for the evolution of market economies in later centuries. Their emphasis on regulating trade, protecting property rights, and promoting fairness in economic transactions established a framework that contributed to the stability and growth of markets. This legacy endures in contemporary economic systems, where regulatory bodies, legal frameworks, and ethical standards continue to play vital roles. As societies globally adapt and modernize, the enduring influence of Mesopotamian economic principles remains evident, underlining the significance of these ancient practices in shaping the economic landscape of today's world.

CONCLUSION

Embarking on a thorough and comprehensive journey into the trajectory of human economic evolution, we can see intricately woven within the fabric of civilization history. By meticulously delving into the dynamics of the ancient Sumerians and Mesopotamia, it is unequivocally evident that their profound contributions have been indelibly etched into the annals of contemporary economics. The economic systems of Sumer and ancient Mesopotamia laid the fundamental groundwork for the development of modern economic principles, offering invaluable insights into the organization of trade, governance, and economic activities that have enduring relevance in today's economic landscape. The innovative strategies deftly employed in resource management and the intricate

scaffolding of economic structures resonate vibrantly in the ongoing discourse of modern economics. Through rigorous research and analysis, this study unequivocally underscores the pivotal role of the ancient Mesopotamian legacy in laying the very bedrock of economic principles that continue to shape our world. Ancient Mesopotamia's economic innovations, such as trade, currency, standardized measures and taxation systems, significantly influenced subsequent civilizations, providing a foundation for the development of market economies with enduring global implications. As we navigate the intricate currents of economic thought, the ancient echoes of Mesopotamian ingenuity serve as a guiding beacon, reminding us of the enduring significance of their legacy in sculpting the contours of our economic understanding and shaping the path forward.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Adams, R. M. (1974). Historic patterns of Mesopotamian irrigation agriculture. *Irrigation's impact on society*, Editors Theodore E. Downing and McGuire Gibson. Tucson, The University of Arizona Press, pp. 1-6
- Algaze, G. (2005). The Sumerian Takeoff. *Structure and Dynamics*, 1(1). <http://dx.doi.org/10.5070/SD911003264> <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/76r673km> (Accessed September 5, 2023)
- Algaze, G. (2008). Ancient Mesopotamia at the Dawn of Civilization. The Evolution of an Urban Landscape. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 248 pages
- Bancroft-Hunt, N. (2009). *Living In Ancient Mesopotamia*. New-York, Chelsea House, Thalamus Publishing, 96 pages
- Cecile, M. & Catherine, B. (2014). *Wool Economy in the Ancient Near East*. Casemate, UK: Oxbow Books, 400 pages
- Childe, V. G. (2016). *What Happened in History*. Delhi, Aakar Books, 288 pages
- Cripps, E. L. (2019). The Structure of Prices in the Ur III Economy: Cults and Prices at the Collapse of the Ur III State. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 71(1), 53-76. DOI: 10.4337/9781843769842.00010
- Dosi, G., & Nelson, R.R. (1994). An Introduction to Evolutionary Theories in Economics. *J Evol Econ* 4:153 – 172 https://yildizoglu.fr/moddyn2/articles/nelson_dosi_evol_economics_JEE1994.pdf?fbclid=IwAR0tPisuf3e5gX5T8Mjc49iSVzGYOWBQxINfiaeqfXyKREU-Ok0w_mM0LJU
- Fokkens, Harry, and Anthony Harding (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the European Bronze Age* (2013; online edn, Oxford Academic, 5 Sept. 2013), <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199572861.001.0001> (Accessed 6 Sept. 2023)
- Hruska, B. (2007). Agricultural techniques. *The Babylonian World*. Edited by Gwendolyn Leick, New York and London, Routledge, pp. 54-66.
- Hudson, M. (2004). The Archaeology of Money Debt Versus Barter Series of Money's Origins. *Credit and State Theories of Money*. Edited by L. Randall Wray, Chapter 5, Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 99-127
- Ishikida, M. Y. (1999). The ilkum institution in the provincial administration of Larsa during the reign of Hammurapi (1792-1750 BC). *Orient*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 61-88

- Jenks, J. (2018). Chapters on the History of Money: Chapter I., *Financial Analysts Journal*, 1964, 20:2, p. 95-99. <https://doi.org/10.2469/faj.v20.n2.95>
- Kramer, N. S. (1981). *History Begins at Sumer: Thirty-Nine Firsts in Recorded History*. Third revised edition, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 416 pages
- Landes, D., Mokyr, J. & Baumol, W. (2010). *The Invention of Enterprise: Entrepreneurship From Ancient Mesopotamia To Modern Time*. Princeton University Press, 584 pages
- Mori, L. (2007). Land And Land Use The middle Euphrates valley. *The Babylonian World*. Edited By Gwendolyn Leick, New-York and London, Routledge, pp. 39-53
- North, D. C., & Thomas, R. P. (1977). The First Economic Revolution. *The Economic History Review*, 30(2), p.229–241. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2595144>
- Nunn, N. (2020). The historical roots of economic development. *Science*, 367(6485), eaaz9986. <https://www.science.org/doi/10.1126/science.aaz9986?fbclid=IwAR1QXN Ynxf a 33MjZLjq mcyfhxjkRG1nIn8-6OuxFo5Yc-rhIT12ZNrgkA>
- Renger, J. (1994). On Economic Structures in Ancient Mesopotamia: Part One. *Orientalia, Nova Series*, Vol. 63, No. 3, pp. 157-208.
- Renger, J. (2006). “Oikos economy”, in: Brill’s New Pauly, Antiquity volumes. Edited by: Hubert Cancik and , Helmuth Schneider, English Edition by: Christine F. Salazar, Classical Tradition volumes edited by: Manfred Landfester, English Edition by: Francis G. Gentry. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e829070
- Renger, J. (2007). Economy of ancient Mesopotamia: a general outline. *The Babylonian World*. Edited By Gwendolyn Leick, New-York and London, Routledge, pp.187-197
- Renn, J. (2019). Learning from Kushim About the Origins of Writing and Farming. *Max Planck Research Library for the History and Development of Knowledge, Proceedings 11*. <https://www.mprl-series.mpg.de/proceedings/11/> (Accessed September 6, 2023)
- Richardson, S. (2007). The World Of Babylonian Countrysides. *The Babylonian World*. Edited By Gwendolyn Leick, New-York and London, Routledge, pp.13-38
- Riehl, S. Et al. (2012). Mid-To-Late Holocene Agricultural System Transformations in the Northern Fertile Crescent: A Review of the Archaeobotanical, Geoarchaeological, and Philological Evidence. *Geophysical Monograph Series*, 198:115-136, <https://doi.org/10.1029/2012GM001221>
- [Smith, R. L. \(2008\). *Premodern trade in world history*. Routledge, p.7.](#)
- Spolaore, E., & Wacziarg, R. (2013). How Deep Are the Roots of Economic Development? *Journal of Economic Literature*, 51(2), 325–369. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23644748>
- Winter, I. J. (1985). After the Battle Is Over: The “Stele of the Vultures” and the Beginning of Historical Narrative in the Art of the Ancient Near East. *Studies in the History of Art*, 16, pp, 11–32
- Woods, C., Emberling, G. & Teeter, E. (2010). *Visible Language*. Inventions of Writing In The Ancient Middle East And Beyond. Chicago, Published by The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 240 pages

- Wu Mingren (2014). The revolutionary invention of the wheel. *Ancient Origins: Reconstructing the Story of Humanity's Past* <https://www.ancient-origins.net/ancient-technology/revolutionary-invention-wheel-001713> (Accessed September 5, 2023)

SUBMISSION GUIDELINES

No fee is charged from the authors during the submission, evaluation and publication process.

The article must be sent to email: historical_studies@wcu.edu.az

Article length: Between 5000 and 15000 words maximum, including notes and bibliography.

The text needs to be typed with Word software 1997-2003. Font: Times New Roman. Format: 12, Single Line spacing

Reference style: **APA** (<https://apastyle.apa.org/>)

Your article should be arranged in the following order:

TITLE

Author's **First name** and **Last name**

Institution, Country

Email address

ORCID#

Abstract: as least 100, up to 300 words

Keywords: at least 6, up to 15 words

The main body of the article can be divided into paragraphs and titled at the discretion of the author.

References throughout the text: Author's name year: page, between square brackets. Ex: [Hubert (1986): 26]

Samples for **Bibliography:**

Whole authored book:

- Jackson, L. M. (2019). *The psychology of prejudice: From attitudes to social action* (2nd ed.). American Psychological Association.

Chapter in Edited Book:

- Kumpfer, K. (2009). Prevention. In P. Korsmeyer & H.R. Kranzler (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of drugs, alcohol & addictive behavior* (3rd ed., Vol. 3, pp. 270-278). Detroit, MI: Macmillan.

The Journal article reference:

- Grady, J. S., Her, M., Moreno, G., Perez, C., & Yelinek, J. (2019). Emotions in storybooks: A comparison of storybooks that represent ethnic and racial groups in the United States. *Psychology of Popular Media Culture*, 8(3), 207–217.

Titles and names written in **non-Latin scripts** must be transliterated before translating and citing. For example:

- Najm, Y. (1966). *Al-qissah fi al-adab Al-Arabi al-hadith* [The novel in modern Arabic literature]. Beirut: Dar Al-Thaqafah.

NB1: Please, do not forget to indicate DOI of the publication in bibliography, if it is provided.

NB2: Please, do not forget to provide URL of Internet sources and date of last access (for example: (Last accessed: October 6, 2023))