



AFRIGHIAN PERIOD (305-995) POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL POSITION OF KHORAZM CITIES

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Article history:	Abstract:
Received: 6 th August 2022 Accepted: 6 th September 2022 Published: 8 th October 2022	The following article is dedicated to the study political, economic and cultural position of Khorazm cities during the reign of Afrighian dynasty. The main attention is paid to Koykirilgankala, Korghoshinkala, Bazarkala, Jonboskala, Tuprokkala, Katta and Kichik Kyrgyz, Anqakala, Kozikirilgankala. The narrated ideas by the author were based on historical facts.
Keywords: Khorezm, Afrighians, Kushan, Kangh, the Amu Darya, the Syr Darya.	

One of the most dominant dynasties in the history of the statehood of Uzbekistan is the Afrighiya (Vazamariya) dynasty. Founded in 305 and ended in 995, the state of Khorezm, ruled by this dynasty, has a worthy place in history with its political, economic and cultural importance

The political and economic crisis in the region, which began in the 2nd-4th centuries AD, had an effect on the appearance of the African dynasty on the stage of history. The era of great migrations began. Large ethnic groups began to move from east to west, from north to south. As a result of these migrations, countries and kingdoms that were once politically stable faced serious crises. It was during this period that the decline of the "political players" of the region, such as the powerful states of ancient times – the Kushan kingdom, the Kangh state, the Parthian kingdom and the Han empire – began¹. Now their large-scale military operations were somewhat limited due to the warlike actions of nomadic tribes. Even they began to be unable to rule over the remote areas under their control. In short, a new political and social environment has emerged in the region. Social relations in settled oases, that is, ownership of land and property in the hands of certain powers, limited the direct control of the center over them. This made it possible for the estates in the oases and their owners to form states that were small in area, militarily mobile, more communicative in diplomacy and adapted to a new type of social relations. These factors made it difficult for the major states of this period, including Kushan and Kangh, to maintain control over their vassals in remote lands. In particular, this situation made it possible to conduct an independent policy for Khorezm oasis, which had lived a sedentary life for centuries and started to build complex irrigation facilities and majestic fortresses under Kangh's control. It was identified and studied by S.P. Tolstov, Ya.Gh. Ghulomov and E.A. Polyakov in the 30-40s of the last century that in the ancient period (4th century BC – 4th century AD), there were city ruins such as Koykirilgankala, Korghoshinkala, Bazarkala, Jonboskala, Tuprokkala, Katta and Kichik Kyrgyz, Anqakala, Kozikirilgankala in the oasis. According to their construction traditions, the castles that were built and restored in these periods are divided into four: The walled city period of the local settlement of the 6th-4th centuries BC; "Kangh" period of the 4th century BC and 1st century AD; "Kushon" period of 2nd and 3rd century AD; "Kushon-Afrighian" transitional period of 3rd and 5th centuries AD².

Khorezm oasis, which began to operate freely in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD, started economic growth due to the development of production and trade based on its unique natural and geopolitical location. Independent and semi-independent estates of large zamindars (land owners) began to be established. They founded a new administrative system in the oasis. E.V. Rtveldze, relying on Beruniy, stated that a new dynasty was founded under the leadership

¹ Rtveldze E.V. Ot drevnosti k srednevekovyu. Perexodny period i v istorii gosudarstvennosti Khorezma // Khorezm v istorii gosudarstvennosti Uzbekistana. – Tashkent: O'zbekiston faylasuflari milliy jamiyati, 2013. –S. 91-93.

² Khodjanizoy G. Qadimgi Khorazm mudofaa inshootlari. – Toshkent: O'zbekiston, 2007. –B.23-25.

of Afrigh, whose origin was from the descendants of Kayhusrav, whose name was Vazamar on the throne³. We believe that Afrigh was a local zamindar or chieftain of a large clan. He must have attached himself to the lineage of Kaykhusrav only to give an official tone to his position in power. This tradition is visible in the later Uzbek statehood. For example, we can observe that the custom of tying themselves to the Turkish khans or the khans of the Middle Ages to Genghis has been preserved for a long time. Most importantly, the new dynasty of Khorezm began minting coins in its own name as a symbol of independence. On the coins of Khorezm mentioned by the researcher of this period N. Veselovsky, the name of Vazamar was confirmed by S.P. Tolstov, a major expert on Khorezm oasis, and considered that the coins belong to the representative of this dynasty⁴. A new political power emerged in the oasis – the Afrighi (Vazamari) dynasty.

The unification of political forces in Khorezm, where the population lived mainly a sedentary life and the surrounding nomads established active political and economic relations, was of great geopolitical significance for the oasis. Initially, the power was administered from Tuprokkala, the seat of the Afrighian dynasty, which was established on the right bank of the Amu Darya⁵. Management of properties in the oasis from this capital had its own complexities. It was also natural that the owners of some large estates sought to disobey the center. Therefore, in contrast to the centripetal confederation in Kangh, Afrigh (Vazamar) began to conduct policies with a heavy hand to create a centralized state. First of all, he had to take control of the social situation in the oasis. According to the texts found in the capital Tuprokkala, every patriarchal family (*BYT'* (household) in Aramaic or *pδk* (family) in Khorezmian) in the country was registered. It is a political and economic event, in which the existing population, social status, military potential, amount of taxes and other payments to the state treasury are determined. Sometimes sons-in-law (*z'mk*) were also listed after the owner of the house and his son. The purpose of knowing the number of adult and older men (*ʿyt*) was to use them in military and state affairs. According to Zoroastrian law, the age of puberty is 15 years⁶. Men of this age are included in the "household list". This list is kept as an archive in the courtroom of the ruler's palace – *dabiriston*. That is why these archives were found in one place, that is, Tuprokkala Palace.

After increasing economic opportunities, Afrighi (vazamari) expanded the construction works on the scale of the state. Constructions that were previously beyond the power of individual property owners have now begun to be implemented under the control of the state, combining forces. Afrighi (vazamari) put his safety first. Because there was no concept of borders for the settlers on the scale of the Kangh state. They used to enter the settled oases and, in some cases, they also looted. In order to prevent these unpleasant situations, in order to surround the country from the aggression of nomads coming from the south and the north, a number of defense structures – forts – began to be built and the old ones were restored. Both sides were interested in good neighborliness and trade relations between them. The system of fortresses such as Jonboskala, Bozorkala, Ulug' Guldursun, Akshakhankala (Kazakhliyotkan) of those times began to serve as a landing place for trade caravans entering or leaving Khorezm and even as an administrative and cultural center. In particular, Akshakhankala (Kazakhliyotkan) belonging to the 4th-3rd centuries BC and 4th century AD, was built on the basis of a defense system consisting of the Upper and Lower parts, and holes were installed on the towers of the fortress wall. It is estimated that the city temple was built during the Kangh period. During the Kushon period, the city was rebuilt and strengthened. This city is assumed to be the capital of Khorezm oasis in the 4th-3rd centuries BC⁷.

In the country where the interests of the settled population were the priority, most of the main productive forces were concentrated in the cities-fortresses. Khorezm merchants used ancient routes to establish trade and diplomatic relations with the Scythians, Narts and Alans of the Volga-Don basin, the Khazar kingdom, the Saks of the lower Syr Darya, the southern Dahs, Parthians, Sasanians, the Sogdians of the Zarafshan oasis, Bactria and even India and China. For this, fortresses such as Savdar, Jigarband, Khazorasp, Kichik Kirkkiz, Borlikala, Ayozkala, Tokkala, Gyaurqala were built on the trade routes of the oasis. At the same time, large zamindars built their fortified fortifications, that is, castles, across the oasis. However, not all of these structures could serve for a long time. Because one of the natural problems in the oasis is the lack of water, some castles lost their place and importance. Even Ayozkala, which was considered a large structure, stopped working because it could not withstand the tests of nature. Not only wars, but also natural factors had a serious impact on the ruins of castles, palaces and fortifications.

No matter how high Tuprokkala was, the initial center was not able to meet the needs of the developing state. Therefore, Tuprokkala, which was built in the 1st and 2nd centuries and was the seat of the Afrighian (Vasamarian) dynasty at the beginning of the 3rd and 4th centuries, had to give way to a new capital. Afrighians founded a new capital – Kat (city) on the bank of a newly dug canal 40 km south of Tuprokkala. According information, Al-Fir Palace was built here by Afrigh (Vazamar) in approximately 616 AD or 660 AD (305 AD) according to Beruni⁸. The city is built

³ Rtveldze E.V. Nekotorye aspekty politicheskoy i dinastiynoy istorii gosudarstva Vazamaridov (Afrighidov) Khorezma // Khorezm v istorii gosudarstvennosti Uzbekistana. – Tashkent: O'zbekiston faylasuflari milliy jamiyati, 2013. – S. 94-96.

⁴ Tolstov S.P. Po sledam drevnexorezmiyskoy sivilizatsii. – M. – L.: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1948. –S. 10-11.

⁵ Xorazmda 7 ta qal'a Tuproqqal'a nomi bilan yuritiladi. Dastlabki poytaxti hozirgi Ellikqal'a tumanida joylashgan bo'lib, milodiy 1-3 asrlarga mansub. *See*: Khodjaniyazov G. Qadimgi Khorazm mudofaa inshootlari. –B.23

⁶ Topraq-qal'a. Dvoretz / Otv.red. Yu.A. Rapoport, Y.Y.Nerazik // Trudy Khorezmskoy arxeologo-etnograficheskoy ekspeditsii. Vyp. XIV. – M: Nauka, 1984. – S.265-267; Tolstov S.P. Po drevnim deltam Oksa I Yaksarta. – M.,1962. – S.217-220.

⁷ Khodjaniyazov G. Qadimgi Khorazm mudofaa inshootlari. —B.30-39.

⁸ Biruny Abu Reykhan. Izbrannye proizvedeniya. – Tashkent, 1957. T. I. – S. 48;

of wattle-and-daub walls and raw bricks. The castles are located inside each other and are surrounded by three high walls. Later, this city, mentioned by Istakhri, Mukaddasi and Ibn Rust, became the capital of the Afrighi (Vasamari) state⁹. Kat, which received the status of the country's capital in 305, and the al-Fir castle in it lived until the 10th century, until the Amu Darya river changed its course, washed it, and pulled it into its own trap¹⁰. This was one of the serious dangers that nature can bring to the state and society, not politics.

At the end of the 5th century – the beginning of the 6th century, Khorezm under the rule of the Afrighians (Vasamarians) grew even more. The rulers of this dynasty of Khorezm – the Khorezmshakhs – continued to strengthen their borders. Despite the military conflicts between the Ephthalites and the Sassanids competing for political and economic supremacy in the region, the Afrighians (Vasamarians) continued to be creative in their territories. During this period, Dargan, Khazarasp fortresses, Khiva city fortress walls were built in Khorezm on the left bank¹¹. This further strengthened the power of the Afrighians. That is why they managed to preserve the integrity of their country. The Afrighian-Vasamari state was a relatively centralized state compared to other states in Central Asia.

Irrigated agriculture, which was the leading economy of Khorezm oasis in the early Middle Ages, was paid a lot of attention. For this, irrigation networks were created, which were somewhat complicated for their time. Due to the abundant harvest, the landowners became rich and domestic and foreign trade developed. Trade of handicrafts, agriculture, livestock products in the directions of the north-western trade networks of the Silk Road passing through Khorezm region was accelerated. As a result, domestic and international foreign trade has developed throughout the region. The trade tax introduced by special (commissioned) administrations also brought good revenue to the country's treasury. Trade work was not limited to building cities, strengthening them, building caravansaries on the roads. Perhaps relations with the surrounding nomadic tribes should be improved to ensure the safety of caravans, which are an important link in trade and diplomatic relations. For this, special service stations were formed on the roads. According to a mutual agreement, the settlers provided food and, if necessary, horses to the merchants and travelers who set out for various purposes. Nevertheless, the rich merchants who thought about the security of their property against any possibility, hired armed groups – chokars and strengthened their security¹². Because the situation demanded it. In addition, it was natural for some groups of nomads to engage in piracy and rob caravans.

In the early Middle Ages, the international routes of Khorezm merchants expanded further. They, like the Sugdians, the Chochians, or the Ferganians, also added to the trade with China, which was rich in products. They took furs, fluff and hunting falcons to China, brought china, silk fabrics, jewelry, glass, coins, and Chinese bronze mirrors from China. During this period, Khorezm merchants carried out large-scale trade with Sassanid Iran, the Byzantine Empire, the countries of the Indian peninsula, Volga Bulgaria, and the Khazar kingdom¹³.

It is known that during the period of the Turkish khanate, i.e. in 568-569, the trade caravan led by the Sugdian ambassador of the Istami Yabghu Khan, the Sugdian Maniakh, reached Byzantium through Khorezm, that is, together with the Khalites (Khorazmians). Because Khorezm people were familiar with the trade routes along the Aral and Caspian rivers. In addition, the discovery of the eighth-century Afrighian ruler Shaushfarn's coins from the city of Mokraya Balka in the North Caucasus shows that Khorezm had foreign trade with this region from a long time ago. Just as the Sugdians operated in China's Chanan, Dunhuang, Turfan and Ordos regions, about 10,000 Khorezm traders and representatives of other fields lived in the territory of the Khazar Khanate, which occupied the North Caucasus and the Volga-Don basin¹⁴. It seems that these connections made it possible for the people of Khorezm to spread Islam to these regions in the 8th-9th centuries when Islam was established.

We can observe that Khorezm's urban planning during the Afrighian (Vasamarian) period was developed incorporating the architectural traditions of both local and neighboring countries. For example, the cultural elements in the architecture of fortresses such as Bozorkala, Gyaurkala, Kandunkala, Devkesgan testify to the close relations of Khorezm with Kushan from time immemorial¹⁵. It should also be noted that the synthesis of three cultures – local, Kangh and Kushan – took place in Khorezm architecture.

The invasion of the Arab Caliphate, which began in the second half of the 7th century, had a negative impact on the peaceful life under the control of the Afrighians in Khorezm. On the eve of the invasion, the Afrighians (Vasamarians) joined the Aksilarab coalition to fight together against the impending danger. In 62 AH (680/681), rulers from all regions of Turan were summoned to a military council in Khazarasp, a large city near Khurasan. According to the condition, they agreed not to attack each other and to inform each other about the military actions

⁹Khodjaniyazov G. Qadimgi Khorazm mudofaa inshootlari. –B.-11.

¹⁰Tolstov S.P. PO sledam drevnexorezmiskoy sivilizatsii. – S.16-18; Gulyamov Y.G. Istoria oroshenia Khorezma s drevneyshix vremen do nastoyashix dney. – Tashkent: Izd. AN UzSSR, 1957. – S.109-111.

¹¹Gulyamov Y.G. Istoria oroshenia Khorezma. – S.110-120.

¹²Gulyamov Y.G. Istoria oroshenia Khorezma. – S.98; Mavlonov O'. Markaziy Osiyoning karvon yo'llarida xizmat ko'rsatish tizimining shakllanishi va rivoji. // O'zbekiston tarixi, 2008, №1. – B.3-4; Otaxo'jaev A. Markaziy Osiyo sivilizatsiyasida Sug'd va Xorazm // Xorazm Ma'mun akademiyasi axborotnomasi, 2014, № 2 (31). – B. 47-52.

¹³Mambetullaev M. Khorezm i Veliky shelkovy put // Veliky shelkovy put. Kultura i traditsii. Proshloye i nastoyashye. – Tashkent, 2006. -S.20.

¹⁴Rtveladze E.V. Vizitatsiyskiye moneti indikatsii iz Sredney Azii./ Numizmatika Sentralnoy Azii. –Tashkent, 1999. – S.26; Mambetullaev M. Khorezm i velikiy shelkovy put. – S.21.

¹⁵Sadokov R.L. Puteshestviye v glub vekov v ponskax muzyki // Etnografii rasskazyvayut. – M. Nauka, 1978. – S.82-88.

to be carried out¹⁶. At that time, Khazarasp, located at the beginning of Khorezm oasis, was a strategically convenient city with a strong military fortification surrounded by water¹⁷. But the military tactics organized by the Arab caliphate did not allow the rulers of Turan to move together. In particular, the Afrighians who took the initiative to fight against the invasion were severely repressed by the viceroyalty of Khorezmi Khorasan. The authorities of the Arab caliphate were forced to take drastic measures against Khorezm.

During the initial campaigns, the viceroy of Khurasan, Abu Harb - Salm ibn Ziyad (680/681), besieged the large strategic center of Khazarasp with 4-6 thousand troops. The city administration was forced to pay compensation in the amount of 1 million dirhams (400 thousand dirhams according to Balazuri). The compensation was determined to be paid not in cash, but in half the price of cattle, sheep and camels. The reason why the Afrighian Khorezmshakh Chagan-Askadjuvor (Askadjar) did not resist the invasion of the Arab caliphate of this period was the internal dynastic disputes with his brother Khurzad. This political chaos made it easier for the Caliphate's troops to conquer Khorezm. In particular, Khurasan viceroy Qutayba ibn Muslim (704-715) made good use of it¹⁸. One of the causes of this conflict, Khurzad was a supporter of the idea of the Mazdakians. With the support of the crowd, he seized the property belonging to his brother. Chaghan, who was helpless, sent a secret envoy to Qutayba ibn Muslim with a request to "get rid of the rebellious Khurzad". He promised to obey Qutayba unconditionally if Khurzad was eliminated. Qutayba took advantage of the opportunity and used a trick. Allegedly, under the pretext of "Marching to Sugd", he headed towards Khorezm. Chaghan denied the calls of his followers to fight against Qutayba. He hid in the city of Kat and watched the course of events from the fortress of al-Fir. Khurzad again gathered an army to capture the throne of Khorezm and fought hard battles against the troops of Qutayba's brother Abdurahman. But the patriotic Khorezm people led by Khurzad were defeated. As a result, Khurzad was taken prisoner, and another city, the center of the liberation movement, Khamgird, ruled by Khurzad, was also captured. The captured Khorezms were executed. Qutayba left the management of Khamgird to his brother Abdurahman. Khorezmshakh handed over Khurzad to Chaghan. Following the instructions of Qutayba, Chaghan, who entered the path of treason, executed his brother Khurzad and his supporters and sent the confiscated property to Qutayba as a reward. As the viceroy of Khurasan, Qutayba recruited some of Chaghan's troops and used them in his campaigns in Sogdiana¹⁹. Khurasan Viceroy Qutayba ibn Muslim not only damaged the political status of Khorezm, but also destroyed its economic and spiritual status.

However, the stay of Chaghan on the throne of Khorezm and the killing of Khurzad caused the protests of peace loving Khorezm people. Chaghan fled from the anger of the people and went to the nomadic Turks on the banks of the lower Syr Darya and Aral regions. But the Turks did not welcome him warmly either. Then he fled to Marv to Qutayba. According to Ibn al-Asir, Qutayba appointed him the governor of Nishapur of Khurasan²⁰. That is, he rewarded the traitor who served not his country, but the enemy. History teaches lessons from such events.

The freedom struggle of the Khorezm people continued for several more years. They were based on the Turks along the Aral Sea and Syr Darya rivers and in 728-729 revolted against the caliphate troops in Kerder. Viceroy of Khorasan Ashras al-Sulami (727-729) succeeded in suppressing this rebellion with great force²¹.

As a result of the Arab invasion and internal strife, the centralized administration of the unified Afrighian (Vazamarian) state with almost 400 years of tradition of statehood collapsed. Qutayba leaves the 14th representative of this dynasty, Askadjamuk, the son of Chaghan, on the throne of the Afrighi (Vazamari) dynasty. But he was deprived of independent control of Khorezm. Qutayba became the governor of Khorezm – the "bagpuri (son of God) of Afrighians" and left Abd Allah and even married him to the daughter of Khorezmshah. The left bank areas of Khorezm were transferred to the management of the Khurasan viceroyalty, and the Urganch viceroyalty was formed. At the same time, two independent authorities were established in the Khorezm state. One was the power of the Afrighians (Vazamarians) in the capital city of Kat, and the other was the emirate that first settled in the Mizdahkan fortress and then moved to the city of Gurganj²².

The Afrighian (Vasamarian) Khorezmshakhs, whose center was Kat, nominally ruled their country until 995. That is, although it was nominally independent, it actually became a vassal of the viceroy of Khurasan. That is why the ancient traditions of Zoroastrianism were attacked in this area, and the religion of Islam took the leading place. Shaushafarn and Turksabas, the representatives of the Afrighians (Vazamarians) in the 8th century – from the end of

¹⁶Istoria at-Tabari / Per. S arab. V.I. Belyaeva s dopol. O.G.Bolshakova, A.B.Khalidova. – Tashkent: Fan, 1987. - S.50; Otaxudjaev A. Arabskoye zavoevanie Khorezma i utrata gosudarstvennoy nezavisimosti // Khorezm v istorii gosudarstvennosti Uzbekistana. – Tashkent:O'zbekiston faylasuflari milliy jamiyati, 2013. – S. 101-102.

¹⁷ Khodjaniyazov G. Qadimgi Khorazm mudofaa inshootlari. –B.-11.

¹⁸ Istoria at-Tabari. -50, 134, 373 prim. 30; Gulyamov Y.G. Istoria oroshenia Khorezma. – S.98; Otaxudjaev A. Arabsoye zavoevanie Khorezma i utrata gosudarstvennoy nezavisimosti. – S. 102.

¹⁹ Istoria at-Tabari. - S. 134-135, 144; Otaxudjaev A. Arabsoye zavoevanie Khorezma i utrata gosudarstvennoy nezavisimosti. – S. 102-104.

²⁰ Ibn al-Asir. Al-Kamil fi-t-tarix. Polny svod istorii. Izbrannye otryvki / Per. s.arab., prim. i komment. P.G.Bulgakova. Dop. K per.,prim. i comment., vved. i ukaz. Sh.S.Kamoliddina. – Tashkent: Uzbekistan, 2006. – S. 162.

²¹ Istoria at-Tabari. – S.217.

²² Tolstov S.P. Po sledam... -S. 226; Otaxudjaev A. Arabsoye zavoevanie Khorezma i utrata gosudarstvennoy nezavisimosti. – S. 106.

the 8th century to the end of the 10th century – until 995, then the Afrighians who sat on the throne in the city of Kat, Abdullah, Mansur, Iraq, Muhammad, Ahmed and the last 22nd ruler Abu Abdullah Muhammad were Muslims²³.

As a result of the political processes of the 9th-10th centuries, under the pretext of rescuing Samjuri, who was pardoned by the Urganch emir Mamun ibn Muhammad Samani, he marched to Kat, the almost 700-year-old capital of the Afrighians (Vazamarians), took Khorezmshah Abu Abdullah prisoner and executed him in Gurganj, a large city on the banks of the Jayhur, which was considered the new capital for the Mamunians²⁴.

The invasion of the Arab caliphate destroyed the flourishing cities, fortresses and fortifications of Khorezm. It caused irreparable damage to its rich culture and priceless spirituality. The monuments of the Khorezm language and Aramaic script, which were formed and polished for thousands of years and created unique works, were lost. Zoroastrian temples were destroyed. Although people who knew the Khorezm language and script, maghupat, vaghnpat, and dabirpat were persecuted, the people of Khorezm continued to use their script and language until the 11th century²⁵. This is evidenced by the fact that the remnants of this ancient language are still alive in the Khorezm dialect of the Uzbek language.

Thus, the state of the Afrighian (Vazamarian) Khorezm, who lived in the territory of Khorezm from 305 to 995 and ruled for the longest time in the history of the statehood of Uzbekistan, came to an end. New dynasties entered the scene of history. At the moment, we can observe that the rulers of Khorezm ruled their states from Tuprokkala, Akshakhankala, Kat and Gurganj, that the culture of urban planning was high in this land, that the cities were built on the basis of local, Kangh, Kushan, Iranian and Muslim traditions.

²³Beruniyga ko'ra, III asr so'nggi choragi va IV asr boshidan to X asrgacha Xorazmni Afrig'iy (vazamariy)larning 22 vakili tilga olinadi. Ular quyidagilar: 1) Afrig', 2) Bug'ro (Bag'zot), 3) Saxxasak, 4) Askadjamuk I, 5) Azkadjuvar I, 6) Sohr I, 7) Shaush, 8) Xamgard (Xangari yoki Xangiri), 9) Bo'zgar, 10) Arsamuk (Artamux)лар hukmronligini hijriy sana (622 yil)gacha, 11) Sohr II, 12) Sabri, 13) Askadjuvor II (Azkaxvar), 14) Askadjamuk II ni boshqaruvini Qutayba davrigacha (712 yil), va 15) Shaushafar, 16) Turksabas, 17) Abdulloh, 18) Mansur, 19) Irok, 20) Mukhammad, 21) Ahmad va 22) "jafokash Abu Abdulloh Muhammadlar" edi. *See:* Beruniy Abu Reyxan. Izbrannye proizvedeniya –Tashkent, 1957. T. I. –S. 48.

²⁴ Abu-l-Fazl Bayhaki. Istorija Mas'uda (1030-1041) / Pervod s persidskogo, vvedenie, commentary i prilozhena A.K. Arensa. Izd. 2-e, dop. – M. Nauka, 1969. – S.805; Ibn al-Asir. Al-Kamil fi-t-tarix. – S. 162.

²⁵ Abu-l-Fazl Bayhaki. Istorija Mas'uda (1030-1041). – S. 45; Axundjanov E.A. Pismennaya kultura Sredney Azii. – Tashkent. Izd-vo narodnogo nasledia imeni Abdully Qadiri, 2000. – S.38-47; Ishokov M.M. Qadimgi Xorazm yozuvi va yozuv madaniyati haqida / Xorazm tarixi zamonaviy tadqiqotlarda. – Toshkent – Urganch: Navro'z, 2019. – B.19-25.