

TATIANA STARODUB

## CENTRAL ASIA AND AZERBAIJAN IN THE ERA OF ISLAM BASED ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIALS

### Reflections and suggestions

*The publication offered to the reader's attention is caused by the publication of the book "Islam", which concludes the 5-volume edition of IICAS on the beliefs and religions of the states of Central Asia and Azerbaijan in the process of their development from ancient times to the present day. The article examines the coverage by the authors of Volume V - scientists of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan - in the historical aspect, on specific examples and monuments of events and results of changes and transformations of the material and artistic culture of the countries of the former Soviet East in the era of the conquest of their territories by Muslim Arabs and subsequent inclusion in the world of Islamic civilization. Each year of desk and field research brings new discoveries, which in the long term implies a second, expanded and supplemented edition, all volumes of which will include an article about Turkmenistan that is missing in the 2016-2020 five-volume edition.*

**Key words:** *the Arabs, islamization, Islam, mosque, madrassah, islamic culture, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan*

**Citation:** *Tatiana Starodub (2021). Central Asia and Azerbaijan in the era of Islam based on archaeological materials. Reflections and suggestions // Bulletin of IICAS, 32. P. 172-182, DOI:*

**Article link:**

THE APPEARANCE of this article was inspired by the publication of the book, which completes the fundamental five-volume project of the IICAS "Ancient and medieval religions of Central Asia and Azerbaijan in the monuments of archeology."

In the preface to the first volume, devoted to the most ancient traditional beliefs of the region, but actually addressing all five books, its authors, famous Kazakhstani scientists - Karl Moldakhmetovich Baypakov (1940–2018) and Galina Alekseevna Ternovaya - noted that this new edition gives the reader an opportunity to get acquainted with the religious ideas of the heterogeneous and mobile population of the studied territories in the historical aspect, from the Stone Age to the present day (Baypakov, Ternovaya 2016: 5).

In connection with the obvious appeal of the publication to modernity, it should be noted that in each of the volumes preceding the fifth, "Islamic" volume, and directed at the study of religions and monuments of the distant past, despite the differences in their tasks and content, the concepts of "Islamization" and "Islam" as a kind of boundary to which the train of history approaches, burdened and,

at the same time, enriched with the evidence of the previous millennia.

So, on the basis of archaeological finds, painstaking and long-term study of architectural monuments, material and artistic culture and with references to comparative studies of pre-Islamic and Muslim Kazakhstan, the authors of an article on the history of beliefs and religious life of this country since ancient times, already in volume I, anticipating subsequent ones, made important summary conclusion: in the process of Islamization, the population of Central Asia did not completely lose the spiritual heritage of their ancestors - "existing in the conditions of Islam, the relics of pre-Islamic beliefs intertwined with the dominant religious worldview, acquired an Islamic shell and began to be often perceived as elements of a new, Islamic worldview" (Baypakov, Ternovaya 2016: 8).

The historical justification of this idea is also confirmed by the indication of Adkhamjon Azimbaevich Ashirov (the author of the article "Uzbekistan" in volume I) on the special role of Tengrism in the development of the religious consciousness of the ancient Turks. According to his theory, it was the ideas about their main god Tengri

that at one time “created fertile soil for the adoption of Islam by the peoples of Central Asia” (*Ashirov* 2016: 206).

Practically in each of the four volumes preceding the Islamic one, problems are touched upon, in one way or another, related to the issues associated with Islam and its spread in the countries of Central Asia.

The undoubted interest is aroused by the observation that allows to draw a conclusion about the “ingrowth” and / or partial penetration (and not at all about traceless and complete, as one might expect, disappearance) of ancient rituals and cults into more developed civilizations. In an article about the spiritual and material culture of Kazakhstan of the era of early religions of revelation and prophecy (volume II) K. M. Baypakov and G. A. Ternovaya note that the followers of “the religious worldview, defined as Zoroastrianism, Mazdeism, Avestism”, continued to exist in the medieval urban environment at the stage of penetration and consolidation of Islam in the 10th – 12th centuries. This observation is confirmed by the “monuments studied by archaeologists: necropolises, religious buildings, interior decoration, works of art, attributes used during rituals” (*Baypakov, Ternovaya* 2017: 11, 43).

At the same time, unsupported by references to specific sources, “the assumption of the origin of Muslim mihrabs from the god Mithra<sup>1</sup> and cult niches of an earlier time”, which, according to the authors, was “repeatedly expressed “by researchers (their names and publications, unfortunately, have not been named) begs the question. The reason for such an unexpected assumption was given by room 8 in the cult complex of the 9th-10th centuries, excavated at the Lugovoye settlement<sup>2</sup>. Archaeologists identified the southeastern niche in this room as a mihrab (*Baypakov, Ternovaya* 2017: 51-55), which is impossible. Regardless of the direction in which the early Muslims prayed before and in the first 16-17 months after their resettlement in 622 to Yathreb-Medina - at sunrise or north, towards *Madinat al-Quds* (Holy City of Jerusalem), - not later than 624 A.D. the sacred orientation of Muslims - *qibla* became the Kaaba in Mecca (Koran, 2:139/144; Islam 1991: 136), located in relation to the countries of Central Asia in the western or southwestern direction.

Gennady Igorevich Bogomolov and Amridin Ergashevich Berdimurodov, the authors of the article on archaeological cultures of the era of Zoroastrianism in the territories of modern Uzbekistan in the volume II of this edition, came to the conclusion that in the Islamic Middle Ages “the previous religious views

were not completely lost, but in a transformed form ... retained their influence and became the basis of many traditional folk cults.” the era of Zoroastrianism in the territories of modern Uzbekistan in the II volume of this edition (*Bogomolov, Berdimurodov* 2017: 167).

Unfortunately, the section on Azerbaijan, included in the name common for the entire five-volume book, is absent in Volume II, although in the northern (Caucasian) and southern (Iranian) parts of this country, rich and heterogeneous culture dating back to ancient times, Zoroastrian temples of different times have been preserved and / or restored. One of the examples is the well-known Atashgah (“Place of Fire”) in Surkhany on the Absheron Peninsula, another is the Zoroastrian temple that preserves the ancient form of the classical Chartak near the mountain village of Khinali, once known from the description of the 17th century German scientist and traveler Adam Olearius, and now being a monument religion and architecture. In the province of Western Azerbaijan (Iran), on the picturesque territory of an archaeological and architectural site of two eras separated by many centuries - the Sasanids and Ilkhanov (the latter gave it the Arab-Muslim name *Takht-i Suleiman*, or the Throne of Solomon), in an ensemble with the Sasanid palace Zoroastrian temple complex Atashked (“House of Fire”), included in 2003 in the UNESCO World Heritage List, was almost completely restored.

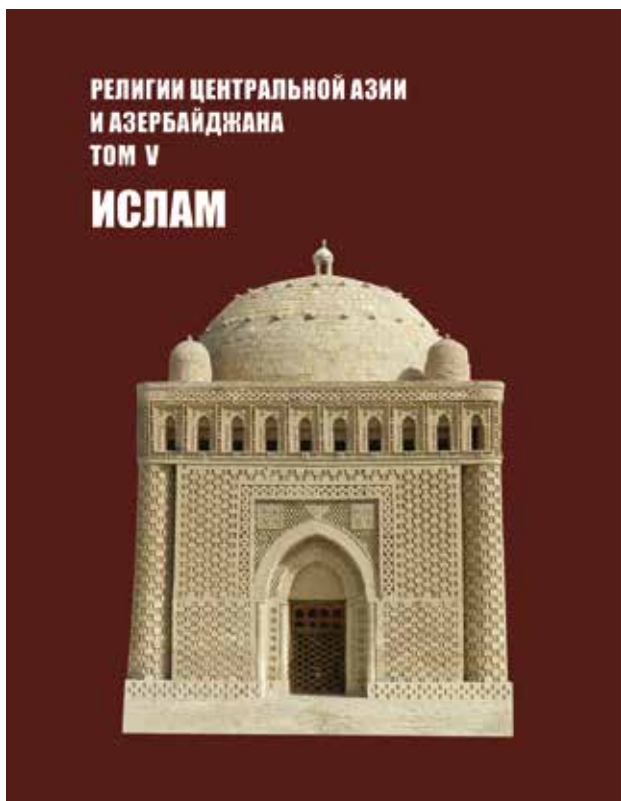
Issues directly related to the Islamic future of the entire region are also touched upon in Volume III, devoted to the problems of the spread of Buddhism in the countries of Central Asia. One of them is particularly important, as regards the second, after the mosque, in importance and prevalence of the Muslim Institute and architectural structures - *Madrassah* or medresseh. The author of an article on Buddhism in Tajikistan, Tatyana Germanovna Filimonova, claims that “higher Islamic educational institutions - madrassahs - emerged in the 10th century and it occurred exactly in Central Asia” (emphasized by me - T.S.) and “were genetically related to the *vihara-sangharas*”<sup>3</sup> (*Filimonova* 2019: 169).

The idea of the origin of the Muslim spiritual school from the Buddhist *vihara* is not new, but when

<sup>3</sup> The collocation “Vihara-sanghara” or such a phrase has no precedents. The first part thereof is *vihara*, an ambiguous term, meaning a monastery which could be both a cave and a building of an unprescribed shape; *sanghara* apparently contains a typo, then the correct would be: संघाराम (*Sangharama*), in Buddhism, this means a temple or monastery, it is the place, including its garden or grove, where the Buddhist monastic community dwells - the *sangha*. *Vihara* and *sangharama* are not synonyms and can hardly be combined into a dual notion where components duplicate each other that would define the same type of organization or structure.

<sup>1</sup> The word is probably missing - perhaps “from the sanctuaries of the god Mithra”.

<sup>2</sup> Lugovoye, now - the village of Kulan, Zhambyl region.



expressed here without alternatives, as an axiom, it is not in line with the history of the Madrasah set out in the Encyclopedia of Islam (EI2 1986: 1125-1127) and in works on the emergence and development of the types of Islamic architecture (Madrasah 2011: 519-520). The idea of the origin of the madrasah as an educational institution and as an architectural structure from a “Buddhist monastery” was rather cautiously expressed by Boris Anatolyevich Litvinsky, reference to whose works is made by T. G. Filimonova. On one hand, Litvinsky considered it possible to view the composition of the courtyard with four iwans as a significant argument in favor of the genetic connection between the architecture of the Muslim theological school-Madrassah and the Buddhist monastery and admitted the likelihood of the emergence of a Madrasah on the territory of Tokharistan (*Litvinsky, Zeimal* 2010: 119), on the other hand - Boris Anatolyevich quite definitely underscored the point of view shared that he shared with his co-author, Tamara Ivanovna Zeimal: “We are far from thinking of equating a Buddhist monastery and a Muslim Madrasah” (*Litvinsky, Zeimal* 2010: 298). The cautious attitude of the researchers is fully justified partly for the reason that no single type of buildings has been identified in the history of architecture of Buddhist monasteries, and the structure with a complex plan, two courtyards of different sizes and outlines, with inner and tunnel

arches connecting the corners, unearthed at Adzhina Tepe, has so far been unparalleled (*Litvinsky, Zeimal* 2010: 34, 99).

The situation is complicated by the fact that the time and place of emergence of the Muslim theological schools as independent institutions is still subject to debate. According to the most common point of view, madrasahs appeared in the east of the Muslim world in the state of the Great Seljuk Empire (1037-1194) as a Sunni reaction to the creation of scientific centers and libraries in Egypt during the reign of the Shiite Fatimid dynasty (909-1171); the libraries are known as *Dar al-Hikma* (Arab. the House of Science) and *Dar al-Ilm* (Arab. the Palace of Wisdom) respectively (EI2: 1126). According to Robert Hillenbrand, professor of the University of Edinburgh, the earliest madrasahs, named in written sources, appeared in Eastern Iran<sup>4</sup> in the early 10th century and “were nothing short of state institutions operating in buildings specially designed for the purposes” (*Hillenbrand* 2000: 173). This standpoint is sustained by the testimony of a Jerusalem geographer of the second half of the 10th century, al-Mukaddasi, who, having visited almost all Muslim countries of his time, admired the beauty of *Madaris*<sup>5</sup> of Iranshahr (EI2: 1126), or Greater Iran<sup>6</sup>. The prototype of the Madrasah as a state institution, a center, and a conductor of Sunni education and science could be the House of Wisdom - *Bayt al-Khikma*, according to some researchers, founded in Baghdad by Caliph Harun al-Rashid (years of reign 786-809) as a repository for the works of authoritative scientists, which was then revived by his son Caliph al-Mamun (years of reign 813-833). The House of Wisdom, or the Academy of al-Mamun, included a scientific library, and became the center of the “translation movement” - the acquisition of knowledge accumulated in antiquity and further developed by the scientists of the Caliphate. According to sources, the famous 9th century mathematician and astronomer Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khwarizmi worked at *Bayt al-Hikma* “full-time in the service of al-Mamun” (*Gutas* 1998: 57).

The question of the architectural source of the Madrasah also remains open. The idea of the possible origin of the shape of a building functionally related to the issues of Islamic education and science from the Buddhist vihara was expressed by Academician V. V. Bartold yet in 1918 (*Bartold* 1966: 112), but

<sup>4</sup> Eastern Iran, in the European historiography, is the Iranian territories of Khorasan, the provinces of Sistan and Baluchistan, bordering on Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, and Pakistan.

<sup>5</sup> *Madaris*, pl. of *madrasat* (Arabic medreseh).

<sup>6</sup> Greater Iran (Pers. *Irān-e Bozorg*), *hist.* - the territories of the dissemination of the Iranian culture and language in Western, Southern and Central Asia and the Southern Caucasus.

did not receive ample support from the scholarly community. The French archaeologist, architect and historian, Andre Godard, in the process of research into the buildings of Bamiyan in comparison with other houses of Khorasan, came to the conclusion that the buildings of the madrassahs adopted and developed the composition of the Khorasan residential building with an inner courtyard, into which four iwans opened on four sides (Godard 1951: 5-6, Fig. 5). However, Ernst Herzfeld, the Islamic art historian, previously concluded that the iwan "plan had its prototypes already in the Arshakid / Parthian / and Sasanian periods, and was fully developed in the Umayyad time" (Herzfeld 1943: 29-30). Besides, there are reasons to believe that early madrassahs did not necessarily use the composition with four iwans on the sides of the courtyard in its main axes. The data collected bit by bit from the Arab and Persian written sources do convince that early theological schools included libraries and auditoriums, but did not have the living quarters (Madrassah 2011: 519-520).

The question of the genesis of madrassahs inevitably leads to the theme of volume V of the publication, devoted to the issues of the expansion of Islam in the countries of Central Asia and Azerbaijan and the peculiarities of development of the local forms of the material and art culture there in the context of establishment of the Muslim religion and statehood. These forms owe their diversity and differences to the heritage of the religions and confessions of the past, which have not just vanished into thin air. Among these, a certain role was played by the monotheistic teachings of Judaism and Christianity considered in Volume IV, "which retained their turf even after the establishment of Islam" (Baypakov, Ternovaya 2018: 8). The information collected by the same authors from various sources shows that, just like in other countries conquered by the Arabs, Muslims preferred not to destroy, but to use for their own purposes, the existing buildings - both religious and civil, for example, converting or rebuilding churches and synagogues into cathedral mosques (Baypakov, Ternovaya 2018: 10). The reason for this, according to the researcher of Islamic architecture Keppel Archibald Cameron Creswell, was the indifferent attitude of the Prophet Muhammad to the creation of any structures, expressed by the hadith he quoted<sup>7</sup>: "The most useless thing that devours a believer's wealth is construction" (Creswell 1958: 4)<sup>8</sup>.

This example of the "indifferent", if not negative

attitude of early Muslims to the construction of any new buildings in the case when it is possible to use existing buildings, is confirmed by the quotations from "*al-Jami al-Sahih*" - an authoritative collection of messages on sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, compiled by a native of Bukhara, one of the most revered Sunni theologians-*muhaddis*<sup>9</sup> Imam al-Bukhari (810-870). According to one of oral traditions included in the collection, the Prophet said: "Verily, the slave (of Allah) will be rewarded for everything he spends, except for (what he spends on) construction". This point of view is supplemented and clarified by another saying: "Do know that in this hadith there is a wish... to distract a Muslim from the passion for construction and erection of buildings beyond need" (Encyclopedia of Hadith 2013: 1677, 1950).

The instruction not to do anything "beyond need" corresponds to one of the basic principles of Islamic aesthetics - utility, or expediency (*Al-Khallab* 1999: 60), the effectiveness of which was clearly manifested in the history of the early religious architecture of Islam (Starodub 2010: 19). Thus, Muslims did not reject the ancient tradition of re-using of the previous sacred objects and territories of other religions. In pre-Islamic Western Asia, an ancient temple site traditionally became a place of worship for the new cult, and the remaining buildings were adapted or reconstructed in accordance with the new functions. Thus, the main shrine of Islam, the Kaaba in Mecca, basically retained the simple cubic shape of the ancient pagan Arabian sanctuaries, to which it belonged before Islam. The examples of the tradition of veneration of primordially sacred places characteristic of the countries of the East are also provided by the history of the creation of two most important monuments of Islamic architecture. The first one is the Muslim shrine coming third by its importance after the cult complexes in Mecca and Medina. It is the shrine of *Qubbat al-Sakhra* (the Rock Dome), constructed at the end of the 7th century in the center of the ancient Temple Mount in Jerusalem, which kept numerous remains of ancient religious buildings. Another one is the The Umayyad Mosque or the Great Mosque of Damascus, which, during the reign of Caliph Walid I (in 705-715) was rebuilt from an early Christian basilica on a sacred plot where, starting the 1st millennium BC, an Aramean temple, a Greek cult complex and the center of the imperial cult of Jupiter of Damascus were consecutively erected (Starodub-Yenikeeva 2004: 25-33, 52-54, 111-114).

These and other similar examples contradict some of the generalizations expressed in the preface to volume V, devoted to the expansion and peculiarities of Islam in Central Asia and Azerbaijan. This refers

<sup>7</sup> Hadith is an oral tradition concerning the words and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad.

<sup>8</sup> Creswell cited this hadith with reference to *Kitab at-Tabakat* by Ibn Sa'd (of the 9th century), the author of the biography of Muhammad, written in the second quarter of the 9th century.

<sup>9</sup> Muhaddith (Arab), researcher and collector of hadiths.

to the inferences which, for the compulsorily concise text of the introductory article, do call for clarification, since they introduce the modern reader into the complex and contradictory era of the dissemination and strengthening of Islam in the countries of Central Asia and Azerbaijan, which is more than a thousand years old, and these inferences on some premises do not coincide with interpretations of other authors. Thus, the assertion that “the domination of the Arabic language, which enjoyed the privilege of being the only means of interethnic communication within the boundaries of the emerging Muslim *Ummah*, was undivided in the era of the early caliphate and the so-called *Muslim renaissance*” (Mustafayev 2020: 4) is inconsistent with the indication (with reference to the works of the Arabists, O. G. Bolshakov and S. M. Prozorov) of the author of the article “Tajikistan”, Larisa Nazarovna Dodkhudoeva that “eponym of one of the four Sunni madhhabs (TN: schools of law), shaikh, imam, faqih Abu Khanifa an-Nu'man ibn Sabit (699-767) introduced the permission to his followers to conduct sacred worship in their native languages.” Explaining her thought, the researcher emphasizes: “The choice of the native language as a means of comprehending the new reality, being the most accurate tool for expressing one’s cultural identity, became a powerful incentive for attracting enormous human potential to Islam and, accordingly, of the creativity of the peoples - bearers of the richest pre-Islamic cultural traditions (Dodkhudoeva 2020: 156).

It is also necessary to clarify that the *mihrab*, the focus of holiness and the main difference between the prayer building of the Muslims - the mosque, could not arise “in Muslim religious architecture as an alternative to the altar of a church” (Mustafayev 2020: 5). Firstly, the mihrab never had the function of an altar, which excluded the task of choosing a different form, corresponding to a similar function. Secondly, it did not immediately acquire the shape of a flat arch or the shape of an arched niche. The polysemic Arabic word “mihrab” has the same root as *h-r-b*, the word “spear” - *Harba* which the ancient Arabs regarded as a sign of power. The early Muslims, by the shadow of a vertically stuck spear, determined the direction and time of prayer (Mihrab 2012: 507-508). On the coins of the early Umayyads, a spear was depicted, aiming at the zenith of a semicircle arch, which in miniatures of Arab manuscripts usually denotes the firmament, and here, perhaps, serves as an allusion to the appeal with the prayer to God, and / or to the entrustment of the Caliph with the right to rule by Allah himself. Besides, it must be emphasized that the borrowing of materials, the inheritance of layouts, architectural ideas, structures, shapes or details of a pagan temple, synagogue or church, which is common for

builders of the ancient and medieval East, was never accompanied by the transfer of their sacred meanings to a newly created object of another religion.

The results of scientific research do not confirm the prevailing idea that the fall of the Sasanid empire “entailed the collapse of the entire cultural environment associated with it”, as well as the fact that “the creative genius of the Persians, Turks, Khorezmians and representatives of other nations could only find universal recognition subject to its expression in Arabic” (Mustafayev 2020: 4). The inheritance of the cultural traditions of the Sasanids, which at one time were largely perceived by the latter from the Achaemenid empire which they themselves had destroyed, is evidenced not only by the surviving monuments of architecture and art of the Umayyad (661–749/750) and Abbasid (750–1258) States. The inheritance and poeticization of ancient legends in the literary work of Ferdowsi, Nizami, Saadi is a vivid confirmation of the acceptance and development of the various sides of Sasanian culture by the Muslim world; the works of the scholars Mashriq, al-Farabi, al-Khwarizmi, al-Biruni; the vitality of traditions such as the celebration of the New Year by the Iranian and Turkic peoples (Novruz), which dates back to the era of the Achaemenids-Zoroastrians (ca. 705-330 BC), or the obligatory ablution before prayer and meals, taken over from the Zoroastrian rites by all Muslims.

The campaigns of conquest by the Muslim Arabs - the struggle for territories, spheres of influence and power characteristic of the history of mankind - were large-scale military and political campaigns, in the history of Islam known as the era of “discoveries” - *al-futuh*<sup>10</sup>. In various regions, the appropriation of foreign lands took place in different ways and destructive actions would usually accompany this only in the case of obstinate resistance of the local population to the conquerors. However, regardless of the nature of *al-futuh* the culture of the Umayyad Caliphate, and then of the Abbasids, was largely based on the Byzantine and Sasanian heritage. “Courtly lifestyle in the Umayyad capital,” as noted by the Arabist, historian, and literary critic Isaak Moiseevich Filshinsky (1918–2013), “no longer resembles the life in the Arabian principalities, but increasingly resembles the life of the Iranian capital in the Sasanid times. ... almost all musicians and singers who performed poems of Arabic poets to the accompaniment of musical instruments and composed melodies for them (and therefore, influencing poetry, especially the new genres) were of Iranian origin” (Filshinsky

<sup>10</sup> The term is known from the names of the works of the medieval Arabic historians - *Kitab futuh al-buldan* (“The Book of the Conquest of Countries”) al-Balazuri (ca. 820 - 892), *Kitab al-Futuh* (“Book of Conquests”) al-Kufi (d. 926) et al.

1985: 169). Thus, the Iraqi poet Bashar ibn Burd (714–783), *Persian by birth, wrote poetry in both Arabic and Persian* (Kiktev 2005: 149). *And this is far from the only example of the use of different languages by the writers of the Caliphate and the appeal to the pre-Islamic literary heritage. Rather demonstrational is the history of the widely known collection of fables and parables “Kalila and Dimna”, dating back to the ancient Indian source, which was translated from Middle Persian into Arabic by the Arabic writer Ibn Mukaffa (720–756), a native of a noble Persian family; in the 10th century, the Iranian and Tajik poet Rudaki (about 850–941), created a poetic arrangement of this collection in Farsi - the New Persian language based on the Arabic version* (Chalisova 2008: 506). In the 13th–14th centuries and later, the Arabic and Persian versions of Kalila and Dimna were more often than other literary works copied and decorated with colorful miniatures.

The fifth volume, like the previous four, opens with an article about Kazakhstan, in which K. M. Baypakov and T. V. Savelyeva examine the history of the Arab conquests and the dissemination of Islam in this vast, heterogeneous and complex - by geographic conditions and ethnic composition - country in the mainstream of the events concerning the entire region under review. The authors justly acknowledge the role of the Great Silk Road, international trade and missionary work in the slow and ambiguous processes of Islamization (Baypakov, Savelyeva 2020: 10–17).

In the section on the features of the monuments of the Muslim architecture of the second half of the 9th - early 13th centuries (pp. 18–30), the authors acquaint the reader with the nature and scale of the cult and memorial architecture of Kazakhstan in the era of the dissemination and strengthening of Islam. The monuments considered in the article - and included in the treasury of world culture, being the centric tomb of Aisha-bibi or the hanaka and mausoleum of Khoja Ahmed Yasawi<sup>11</sup>, and not so famous, but no less interesting monumental structures, - allow one to get a broad idea of the nature and scale of religious construction in Kazakhstan in the era of the expansion and strengthening of Islam. In the remaining sections of the article, the monuments of Muslim architecture of Kazakhstan of the era of the high Middle Ages and the New Age are described and analyzed (pp. 31–90). The article is generally distinguished by the richness of the text with versatile scientific information, illustrated with drawings, figures, photographs, quotes, and references to sources. The premature

passing of Karl Moldakhmetovich Baipakov deprived the authors of the opportunity to pay the due attention to other areas of art creativity of the peoples of this country, to the original, bright and variegated history of its culture, whose archaeological study is ongoing.

The authors of the article “Kyrgyzstan” (pp. 91–140) Bakyt Eltindievna Amanbaeva and Valentina Dmitrievna Goryacheva built their research on the materials of historical and literary sources, as well as on the analysis of excavated and / or extant above the grade monuments of the Muslim architecture, epigraphy (mainly inscriptions on gravestones - kairaks), works of decorative art, such as painted glazed pottery. It should be noted the highly professional characteristics in the description of architectural monuments: indication of construction equipment and materials, measurements, layout features, design and decor, as well as accompanying the objects under consideration with illustrations - photographs, drawings, pictures, including plans, sections, proposed reconstruction of structures.

Consistently describing and analyzing specific manifestations of the spiritual and cultural life of Kyrgyzstan in pre-Islamic and Islamic times, the authors come to an important conclusion: the introduction of the country into the world of Islamic civilization did not prevent the preservation of pre-Islamic traditions “in all spheres of the cultural and social life of medieval society” (Amanbaeva, Goryacheva 2020: 139).

At the same time, the questions raise objections, expressed by researchers to the British historian and philosopher Arnold Joseph Toynbee (1889–1975), the author of the 12-volume world history “A Study of History” (published from 1934 to 1961), who, according to them, “Discussing the civilizational evolution of early Islam”, he believed that this was “a crude barbaric version of the indigenous Syrian faith” (Amanbaeva, Goryacheva 2020: 94)<sup>12</sup>. In the text of the Oxford reprint of the original volume VI of this extremely interesting work by A. Toynbee, the only phrase containing the words “rude” and “Syrian” has a different content and meaning: “Non-Arab converts have adapted it / Islam / to their intellectual views, translating the rude and casual statements into the delicate and comparable terms of Christian theology and Hellenistic philosophy; and it was in this vestment that Islam was able to become the unifying religion of the Syrian world, which until now has been reunited only at a superficial political level by the sweep of the Arab conquest”<sup>13</sup> (Toynbee 1939: 557).

<sup>11</sup> The Mausoleum of Khoja Akhmed Yasawi in the town of Turkestan, in effect, re-created at the end of the 14th–15th centuries, is considered in greater detail in the section on the medieval architecture of Kazakhstan: pp. 44–45.

<sup>12</sup> The referenced to Toynbee's workpages675–678 are likely a typo; in the original it is a pointer.

<sup>13</sup> Translation of this fragment from English and underlining two words - T. Starodub.

In the original Russian translation, the phrase quoted by the authors of the article “Kyrgyzstan” is part of the text, the content of which emphasizes the complexity of the process of forming Islam as a religion and as a state ideology: “Nothing foreshadowed the success of Islam in an enterprise in which several previous religions - Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Nestorianism, Monophysitism - had tried their hand without success. Of course, it was to be expected that the rude, barbaric version of the indigenous Syrian faith (emphasized by me - T. S.) - and Islam had just such a character in the beginning - would initially be less attractive to Syrian souls than the more elaborated and already rejected alternatives. In these extremely unfavorable conditions, Islam should have met the same fate as Arianism, if the Islamic Umayyad dynasty carried out the same policy of church intolerance as the Arianized Vandals, and began to impose Islam on its subjects”(Yerasov 1998: 136-137).

The ambiguity of the processes of Islamization in Central Asia is convincingly shown by the example of the history of her country, the author of the article “Tajikistan” (pp. 151-212) Larisa Nazarovna Dodkhudoeva. Having defined at the beginning of her work all the complexity of the task set before her, she deeply and thoroughly analyzes the information obtained by science, as well as the information illustrated by the surviving monuments of material and artistic culture about the ways and features of the inclusion of the territories of Tajikistan in the world of Islam. Despite the small volume of the article, the author, equally comprehensively and in the context of the complex interweaving of the processes of Islamization and the formation of Sufi currents specific to Mashrik, characterizes the monuments of different eras, starting with the Sogdian Castle on Mount Mug (p. 153), known for the finds of unique documents and conquerors, including such monuments of the 10th-12th centuries as the mosque-mausoleum of Muhammad Bashsharo (p. 170), the mysterious, legendary cult complex of Khoja Mashad<sup>14</sup> (p. 177-179), the palace in Khulbuk, which gave the world samples of unique carving and murals (p. 181-182), later, dating back to the 12th-13th centuries, the mausoleum of Sheikh Muslikh ad-din in Khujand (p. 197) and many others. In fact, something raises objection or needs an explanation. For example, it is difficult to agree with the definition (albeit with a metaphorical connotation) of a mosque as a temple in which ritual activities take place, since a mosque is any place of prayer for Muslims and the main religious

building of Islam with many functions, but without an credence-altar (Mosque 2012: 193-196), and the concept of “ritual acts” characterizes paganism to a greater extent. Questions are also raised by the meaning of the terms “*insaniya*” (Arab. “Humanity”) and “ethnism”, despite the obvious opposition of one to the other and the negative meaning of the latter (p. 157).

Among the works of art examined by L. N. Dodhudoyeva especially interesting and important for the history of Islamic ornamental art and calligraphy, is the carved wooden mihrab from the village of Iskodar (p. 160-162, ill. 4), dating back to the 10th-11th centuries.<sup>15</sup> In addition to the magnificent carved decor, the mihrab is framed with Kufic script containing text that unites hadiths in meaning (in one of them the author notes a direct borrowing from the Bible), and the two ayahs being retold (Koran, 18: 109; 31: 27).

Along with an overview and analytical characteristics of the architectural, historical and cultural heritage of Tajikistan L. N. Dodkhudoeva pays attention to the monuments of the Tajik literature and writing - the manuscripts of scientific and theological nature (p. 187-188, ill. 19) and book miniatures, including the works of the deeply original school of miniatures that developed in Darvaz (Pamir) in the 18th century, illustrating the works of Tajik poets (p. 209, ill. 29).

Alphabetically, that is how the chapters of all five volumes of the edition are arranged, the text about Tajikistan should have been followed by the article on “Turkmenistan”. However, without any explanation, an article about the country, albeit mentioned in the preface to volume I, among the Central Asian regions united by the “cultural, ethnic and trade ties” from the ancient times (*Baypakov, Ternovaya* 2016: 5), was not included in any of the five volumes of this new, unique by its design and structure, scientific work aimed at reconstructing, based on archeological materials, the multifaceted history of beliefs and religions that largely determined the fate of the original civilizations of the former Soviet republics, which arose in antiquity and the Middle Ages in the very center of Asia.

Meanwhile, it is on the territory of the nowadays Turkmenistan that settlements of the Eneolithic and Bronze Age, that the monuments rich in documentary information and material and art culture, were discovered and have been studied for decades. The convincing examples of the centers of ancient civilizations in the south of the “country of the Turks” are Namazga-Depe (5-2 millennium

<sup>14</sup> Khoja-Mashad is a monument interpreted ambiguously by specialists and raises many questions, see: *Nemtseva* 1995, *Khmelnitsky* 2001.

<sup>15</sup> The Mihrab is kept in the National Museum of the Republic of Tajikistan in Dushanbe.

BC) near the border with Iran and Altyn-Depe (3-2 millennium BC) east of Ashgabat, discovered by STACE, organized in 1946 by Mikhail Evgenievich Masson (1897–1986). In 1972, in the Mary oasis, an expedition led by Viktor Ivanovich Sarianidi (1929–2013) discovered and began to explore the city of the 3rd millennium BC in the amazing structural integrity condition. Gonur-Depe with a palace, temples of various cults and, according to the author of the excavations, with a protozoroastrian center. By its unique character, Gonur-Depe is an example of an unusually high level of development of the urban culture of Central Asia in the Bronze Age, which is by no means inferior to the famous cities of Western Asia - Mari on the Euphrates and Babylon on the Tigris.

Decades earlier, in the territories of the ancient and medieval Khorezm, which are now part of Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, in 1937-1991 (with a break during the WWII years), there operated an expedition organized by Sergei Pavlovich Tolstov, uniting researchers of different disciplines, Chorasmian Archaeological-Ethnographic Expedition of the Academy of Sciences (CAEE).

The regret expressed by Tigran Konstantinovich Mkrytchev in the preface to Volume III of this Bulletin that “colleagues from Turkmenistan did not provide information about the Buddhist monuments of their country, although not very numerous, but arousing great interest in the general process of the expansion of Buddhism in Central Asia” (Mkrytchev 2019, p. 4), demonstrates that the earliest of the world's religions is represented in Turkmenistan so far by the little-known and therefore especially noteworthy archaeological monuments.

It is difficult to overestimate the contribution to the world culture made by the results of many years of research and such ancient states in the east of the nowadays Turkmenistan as the Achaemenid and then late Antique Margiana (ancient Persian Margush) mentioned in the Behistun scripture, with its center in Merv, also known for its role in the Islamization of Khorasan and a unique monument of its kind of Islamic architecture, being the mausoleum of the Sanjar, Seljuq prince of Khorāsān (mid. 12th century). It is impossible not to mention the archaeological sites of Old and New Nisa in the vicinity of Ashgabat and Dehistan (TN: Mishrian) in the south-west of the country, as well as Kunya-Urgench, one of the centers of the Islamic culture of al-Mashrik, distinguished by a variety of forms and functions of monumental structures of the 11th-16th centuries, the splendor of ornamental decor, the finds of beautifully painted pottery of the local and Iranian types, handwritten documents and a sample of a book miniature with personified images of the signs of the Zodiac. A

significant number of monuments of Turkmenistan are included in the UNESCO World Heritage List (Muradov 2010: 228).

The authors of the article titled “Uzbekistan”, Dzhamal K. Mirzaakhmedov and Sirodzh D. Mirzaakhmedov, like their colleagues, paid considerable attention to the history of the conquest and Islamization of their country and the lands surrounding it. However, in covering this complex subject, they mainly relied on the materials presented by Alexander Yuryevich Yakubovsky (1886–1953) in the chapter “The Arab conquest of Central Asia” of volume I of the History of the Peoples of Uzbekistan, published in 1950. Saturated with archaeological facts and documentary evidence gleaned directly from the works of medieval authors, Yakubovsky's work is extremely interesting and has not lost its significance as a source of important facts and conclusions. Nevertheless, with all due respect to the memory and unconditional value of the scientific heritage of this authoritative scientist, it should be borne in mind that over the decades after the publishing of his work, new documents and archaeological artifacts were discovered and published, various new and rather ambiguous interpretations of historical events emerged, in particular for the period, which the Swiss orientalist and Arabist, Adam Metz (1869-1917) once defined as the “Muslim Renaissance”, linking it with the early Abbasid caliphate (9th-10th centuries) and, primarily, with their capital of Baghdad. It should be borne in mind that over the century that has passed after the life of A. Metz, some works have appeared that expand and deepen our knowledge of the “translation movement” extremely important for the formation of the culture of the Arab Caliphate, to which the Uzbek authors paid special attention (pp. 240-241). For example, it turned out that the intensive development of the Arab book culture started unfolding no later than the late 8th century, when the creation of the Treasury of Wisdom (Arab. *Khizanat al-Hikma*) - an intellectual center with a library - was sustained by Caliph Harun ar-Rashid. As Professor Dimitri Gutas of Yale University justly remarked, “The Greek-Arabic translation movement is a very entangled social phenomenon, and no circumstance, chain of events, or personality can positively be identified as its cause” (Gutas 1998: 7). D. Gutas also noted that the culture of the Caliphate was multinational and “multi-focal”, in the initial period more related to the West than the East. According to him and some other researchers, there are reasons to believe that the collection of Arabic and, most importantly, Persian poetry and rare manuscripts, undertaken by the founder of Baghdad, Caliph al-Mansur (754-775), was a kind of a foundation for *Khizanat al-Hikma* (Gutas 1998: 53-60).



A disproportionately large place in the chapter of “Uzbekistan” is devoted to a detailed description of the excavations and the characteristics of the Paikend site as a historical and archaeological monument (*Mirzaakhmedov, Mirzaakhmedov 2020: 253-279*).

In the historical part of the text of the article, there are some discrepancies. Thus, Gunde-Shapur was not an Indian “school of healing” (*Mirzaakhmedov, Mirzaakhmedov 2020: 241*), but the Sasanian intellectual and medical center in Khuzistan (Southwestern Iran), founded in the 3rd century by Sasanian Shapur I and populated by Christians - Greeks and Syrians. It is also erroneous to believe that the spread in Central Asia in the 11th-13th centuries of the painted pottery is the result of the influence of the “Turkic nomadic population” (*Mirzaakhmedov, Mirzaakhmedov 2020: 250*). Pottery items being the products made of fired clay, a heavy material that easily breaks if in constant movement, is more typical of sedentary peoples. Making glazed pottery items, especially painted ones, is a too complicated process, which is rendered practically impossible in the nomadic lifestyle conditions. It was not the Sogdians who “stood” at the origins of the Great Silk Road (*Mirzaakhmedov, Mirzaakhmedov 2020: 251*), but the Chinese. The onset of the “Silk Road” was laid down during the reign of the Chinese emperor Wu-di (141-87 BC) after the Chinese traveler and diplomat Chang Ch'ien advised to exchange Chinese silk for the Fergana horses. The main or one of the main reasons for the organization of new trade routes were the Hun tribes, which interfered with the trade of China. The decline of the Silk Road centuries later is associated primarily with the development of sea trade routes, which, however, did not affect the flourishing of Central Asian science and culture (including art) in the 15th century under the Timurids, especially under Ulugbek, and in the 16th-17th centuries - under the Safavids and Sheibanids. This is convincingly evidenced by the monuments of architecture, ornamental and fine arts of Bukhara, Samarkand and other cultural centers of Transoxonia, Khorezm and Khorasan.

The author of the chapter of “Azerbaijan”, Tarikh Meirut oglu Dostiev begins the article with a brief historical overview of the history of dissemination of Islam, which in this country, as well as others, followed the Arab conquest, but occurred peacefully: “The process of acceptance of Islam by the population of Azerbaijan proceeded in a natural way, without any signs of pressure or violence,” in accordance with the well-known Quranic verse - “There is no coercion in religion” (*Dostiev 2020: 280*).

Most of the article is devoted to the history of the study of archaeological research, in which the author identifies three stages. The first, from the 18th to the

beginning of the 20th century, this is characterized by searches, description and early scientific study of the heritage of the Muslim culture of Azerbaijan, reflected in the works of the domestic and foreign researchers of that time. The second stage, marked by the formation of the Archaeological Society in Baku in 1918, is characterized by the creation of specialized scientific organizations and institutions, the training of national personnel, and the deployment of systematic studies of the country's cultural heritage. The third stage came with the collapse of the USSR and the creation of the Republic of Azerbaijan (*Dostiev 2020: 285-287*). Among many important studies, the author justly highlights in this section the archaeological study of Icheri Sheher - the “Inner City” of Baku with its unique architectural monuments located within its walls, such as the Palace of the Shirvanshahs, the Maiden Tower and others. In 2000, Icheri Sheher was included in the UNESCO World Heritage List.

The section of “Religious buildings” emphasizes the special importance of mosques, which the author divides into four groups not traditionally (in terms of their architectural layout and structure), but “according to their functional and social significance”: quarterly, rural, cathedral and provincial or national. According to his classification, “mosques revered by all Muslims, especially the Kaaba, had a special status” (*Dostiev 2020: 288*). This is not an accurate wording, since any mosque is revered by the believers, which is manifested in the obligatory taking off of shoes and performing ablution before entering the *haram* - the prayer hall having a mihrab. Besides, the Kaaba in Mecca is not a mosque, but the main shrine of Islam, around which the Preserved (Forbidden) Mosque was erected - al-Masjid al-Haram, mentioned in the Quran (17: 1)<sup>16</sup>.

A significant place in the article is devoted to the description and analysis of specific architectural monuments and, in the section “The influence of Islam on the development of arts and artistic craft” (p. 346-353), - to the development of specific forms of monumental and decorative art of Azerbaijan, for example, such as tombstones in the form a war horse or a sacrificial animal - a ram, and the design of the portal or facade of a building, which is typical of the Islamic world, with skillful carving on stone or *gyazha (plaster)*<sup>17</sup>, in arts and crafts - to the introduction and development of the technique of painting with lustre

<sup>16</sup> For a definition and a brief history of the Kaaba in Mecca, see: Kaaba. BRE Volume 12. Moscow, 2008. Page 303. The electronic version is available online: [https://bigenc.ru/religious\\_studies/text/2029939](https://bigenc.ru/religious_studies/text/2029939)

<sup>17</sup> Gyazha, drywall, carbonic calcium gypsum is a local type of stucco, a white cementitious matter obtained by grinding and firing a stone-like rock (sheetrock) containing gypsum and clay.

- a ceramic dye with a metallic sheen applied on top of fired glaze. Accompanied by photographs, drawings and sketches, the characteristics of architectural and artistic monuments make it possible to trace the history of the Muslim artistic culture of Azerbaijan, in the formation of which, as the author notes, both the local pre-Islamic traditions and integration processes played an important role - the ties and interfaces with other Muslim countries (*Dostiev* 2020: 353).

Summing up the reflections caused by the acquaintance with the fifth, "Islamic", volume of this complex, meticulously laborious publication, aimed at familiarization with the millennial culture of the countries of Central Asia and the Caspian regions of the Caucasus, which in the 20th century were part of one state, first of all, one cannot but thank the initiators and implementers of this unconventional and, by all means, salient project, who have invested a lot of effort in its implementation.

At the same time, like any undertaking, this first experience was not flawless, since none of the five volumes, as noted above, contains an article on Turkmenistan. Meanwhile, Turkmenistan, like other states of the region, has specialists in the relevant

fields of endeavor, renowned for their scientific accomplishments both in their own country and abroad.

The scientific research continues. Each year of desk research and each field season brings new discoveries, and it remains to be hoped that a second, expanded and amended edition will see light, all volumes of which will include an article on Turkmenistan, and the volume on Zoroastrianism and the beliefs of the Mazdean circle (Samarkand 2017) will be supplemented with a chapter on Azerbaijan which is currently missing.

It also remains to wish that in all volumes of the publication the acutely felt gap of absence of a glossary with an index of the pages of use of the corresponding terms will duly be filled, since for the reader, especially those who are little familiar with the history and ethnography of the Middle East and Central Asia, with the peculiarities of their beliefs and religions, whether it be those which departed into the distant past, or those retaining relevance in modern-day life, without explanations, it is difficult to navigate and understand the abundance of ethnic and geographical terms.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Al-Khallab* 1999 - *Al-Khallab A.* Jesteticheskie osnovy islamskogo ornamenta [Aesthetic foundations of Islamic ornament] M., 1999.
- Amanbaeva* 2016 - *B.E. Amanbaeva* Kyrgyzstan // *Religii Central'noj Azii i Azerbajdzhana* [Kyrgyzstan // Religions of Central Asia and Azerbaijan] T. I. Traditional beliefs and shamanism. Samarkand: IICAS, 2016. P. 93-137.
- Amanbaeva, Goryacheva* 2020 - *Amanbaeva B.E., Goryacheva V.D.* Kyrgyzstan // *Religii Central'noj Azii i Azerbajdzhana* [Kyrgyzstan // Religions of Central Asia and Azerbaijan] T. V. Islam. Samarkand: IICAS, 2020. P. 91-140.
- Ashirov* 2016 - *Ashirov A. A.* Uzbekistan // *Religii Central'noj Azii i Azerbajdzhana* [Uzbekistan // Religions of Central Asia and Azerbaijan] T. I. Traditional beliefs and shamanism. Samarkand: IICAS, 2016. P. 200-248.
- Baypakov, Savelyeva* 2020 - *Baypakov K. M., Savelyeva T. S.* Kazakhstan // *Religii Central'noj Azii i Azerbajdzhana* [Kazakhstan // Religions of Central Asia and Azerbaijan] T. V. Islam. Samarkand: IICAS, 2020. P. 10-90.
- Baypakov, Ternovaya* 2016 - *Baypakov K. M., Ternovaya G. A.* Predislovie. Kazakhstan // *Religii Central'noj Azii i Azerbajdzhana* [Foreword. Kazakhstan // Religions of Central Asia and Azerbaijan] T. I. Traditional beliefs and shamanism. Samarkand: IICAS, 2016. P. 5-92.
- Baypakov, Ternovaya* 2017 - *Baypakov K. M., Ternovaya G. A.* Kazakhstan // *Religii Central'noj Azii i Azerbajdzhana* [Kazakhstan // Religions of Central Asia and Azerbaijan] T. II. Zoroastrizm i verovanija mazdeistskogo kruga [Zoroastrianism and the beliefs of the Mazdean circle] Samarkand: IICAS, 2017. P. 8-75.
- Baypakov, Ternovaya* 2018 - *Baypakov K. M., Ternovaya G. A.* Hristianstvo v Juzhnom Kazakhstane i Semirech'e (VI-XIV vv.) [Christianity in South Kazakhstan and Semirechye (6th-14th centuries)] // *Religii Central'noj Azii i Azerbajdzhana* [Religions of Central Asia and Azerbaijan] T. IV. Khristianstvo [Christianity] Samarkand: IICAS, 2018. P. 8-47.
- Barthold* 1966 - *Bartold V. V.* Islam. Soch. (Written works) T. VI. M: "Nauka" publishers, 1966. P. 81-138.
- Bogomolov, Berdimurodov* 2017 - *Bogomolov G. I., Berdimurodov A.E.* Uzbekistan // *Religii Central'noj Azii i Azerbajdzhana* [Uzbekistan // Religions of Central Asia and Azerbaijan] T. II. Zoroastrizm i verovanija mazdeistskogo kruga [Zoroastrianism and the beliefs of the Mazdean circle] Samarkand: IICAS, 2017. P. 167-279.
- Gritsina* 1990 - *Gritsina A. A.* Severnaja Ustrushana v seredine I tys. do n.e. - nachale XIII v. n.e. [North Ustrushana in the middle of the 1st millennium BC - - early 13th century AD] (archaeological and topographic research). Author's abstract of own dissertation for the degree of candidate of historical sciences. Samarkand, 1990.
- Gritsina* 2018 - *Gritsina A. A.* Transoksiana-Maverannahr: hristianstvo i manihejstvo. [Transoxiana-Maverannahr: Christianity and Manichaeism.] Uzbekistan // *Religii Central'noj Azii i Azerbajdzhana* [Uzbekistan // Religions of Central Asia and Azerbaijan] T. IV. Khristianstvo [Christianity] Samarkand: IICAS, 2018
- Dodhudoeva* 2020 - *Dodhudoeva L. N.* Tajikistan // *Religii Central'noj Azii i Azerbajdzhana* [Tajikistan // Religions of Central Asia and Azerbaijan] T. V. Islam. Samarkand: IICAS, 2020. P. 151-212.

- Dostiev* 2020 - *Dostiev T.M.* Azerbaijan // Religii Central'noj Azii i Azerbajdzhana [Azerbaijan // Religions of Central Asia and Azerbaijan] T. V. Islam. Samarkand: IICAS, 2020. P. 180-353.
- Kiktev* 2005 - *Kiktev M. S.* Bashshar ibn Burd // BRE. T. 3. M., 2005. Page 149.
- Quran 1963 - Quran. Tran. and comm. I. Yu. Krachkovsky. M.: Publishing house of oriental literature, 1963.
- Litvinsky, Zeimal* 2010 - *Litvinsky B.A., Zeimal T.I.* Buddijskij monastyr' Adzhina-Tepa (Tadzhikistan). Raskopki. Arhitektura. Iskusstvo. [Buddhist monastery Ajina-Tepa (Tajikistan). Excavations. Architecture. Arts. 3rd ed., Rev. and add. SPb.: Nestor-history, 2010.
- Madrassah* 2011 - *Madrassah* // BRE. T. 19. M., 2011. P. 519-520.
- Mosque* 2012 // BRE. T. 20. Moscow, 2012. P. 193-196.
- Mirzaakhmedov, Mirzaakhmedov* 2020 - *Mirzaakhmedov D. K., Mirzaakhmedov S.D.* Uzbekistan // Religii Central'noj Azii i Azerbajdzhana [Uzbekistan // Religions of Central Asia and Azerbaijan] T. V. Islam. Samarkand: IICAS, 2020. P. 213-279.
- Mihrab* 2012 - *Mihrab* // BRE. T. 20. M., 2012. Pages 507-508.
- Mkrtychev* 2019 - *Mkrtychev T.K.* Predislovije // Religii Central'noj Azii i Azerbajdzhana [Foreword // Religions of Central Asia and Azerbaijan] T. III. Buddhism. Samarkand: IICAS, 2019. P. 4-6.
- Muradov* 2010 - *Muradov R.* Pamjatniki arhitektury Turkmenistana v nauchnom nasledii G. A. Pugachenkovej // Civilizacii i kul'tury Central'noj Azii v edinstve i mnogoobrazii. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoj konferencii. Samarkand, 7-8 sent. 2009. [Architectural monuments of Turkmenistan in the scientific heritage of G. A. Pugachenkova // Civilizations and Cultures of Central Asia in Unity and Diversity. Proceedings of the international conference. Samarkand, 7-8 Sept. 2009. Samarkand-Tashkent: IICAS, SMI-ASIA. 2010. P. 222-228.
- Mustafaev* 2020 - *Mustafaev Sh. Medzhid-oglu.* Predislovije // Religii Central'noj Azii i Azerbajdzhana [Foreword // Religions of Central Asia and Azerbaijan] T. V. Islam. Samarkand: IICAS, 2020. - 4-7.
- Mustafina* 2008 - *Mustafina R. M.* Tradicii pochitanija svjatyh u kazahov, obrazy kotoryh svjazany s oficial'noj islamskoj tradiciej // Vestnik Kazahskij Nacional'nyj Universitet. Serija Vostokovedenie. [Traditions of veneration of saints among Kazakhs, whose images are associated with the official Islamic tradition // Bulletin of the Kazakh National University. Oriental Studies Series.] No. 3 2008.
- Nemtseva* 1995 - *Nemtseva N. B.* Mnogofunkcional'nyj memorial'no-kul'tovyj kompleks Hodzha Mashad [Multifunctional memorial and cult complex of Khoja Mashad] // ONU, No. 5-6-7-8. P. 122-134.
- Sarianidi* 1990 - *Sarianidi V.I.* Drevnosti strany Margush. [Antiquities of the country Margush] Ashkhabad, 1990. 316 pages. 36 ill.
- Sarianidi, Dubova* 2013 - *Sarianidi V.I., Dubova N. A.* Sokrovishha drevnej Margiany. Fotoal'bom / Pod obshh. red. V. M. Hramova; fotograf Samurskij K.S. [Treasures of ancient Margiana. Photo album / Gen. ed. V. M. Hramov; photographer Samursky K. S. Ashgabat: Turkmen State Publishing Service, 2013. 208 p., ill. (in Russian, Turkmen and English)
- Erasov* 1998 - *Sravnitel'noe izuchenie civilizacij. Hrestomatija: Ucheb. posobie dlja studentov vuzov. Sost., red. i vstup. st. B.S. Erasov.* [Comparative study of civilizations. Reader: Textbook. manual for university students. Comp., ed. and foreword by B. S. Erasov. M.: Aspect Press, 1998.
- Starodub-Yenikeeva* 2004 - *Starodub-Yenikeeva T.* Sokrovishha islamskoj arhitektury [Treasures of Islamic architecture] M.: Bely gorod, 2004.
- Starodub* 2008 - *Starodub T. Kh.* Jevoljucija tipov srednevekovoj islamskoj arhitektury. Opyt istoriko-tipologicheskogo issledovanija [Evolution of types of medieval Islamic architecture.] The experience of historical and typological research // Iskesstvoviznaniye 1/08. P. 176-200.
- Starodub* 2010 - *Starodub T. Kh.* Islamskij mir. Hudozhestvennaja kul'tura VII-XVII vekov. [Islamic world. Artistic culture of the 7th - 17th centuries.] M.: "Vostochnaya Literatura" ("Oriental Literature") Publishers, 2010.
- Filimonova* 2019 - *Filimonova T.G.* Buddizm na territorii Tadzhikistana // Religii Central'noj Azii i Azerbajdzhana. [Buddhism on the territory of Tajikistan // Religions of Central Asia and Azerbaijan.] T. III. Buddhism. Samarkand: IICAS, 2019. P. 164-239.
- Filshinsky* 1985 - *Filshinsky I. M.* Istorija arabskoj literatury. V- nachalo X veka. [History of Arabic Literature. 5th - early 10th century. M.: GRVL, 1985.
- Khmelnitsky* 2001 - *Khmelnitsky S.G.* Khoja Mashad. Berlin - Riga: Gamajun, 2001.
- Chalisova* 2008 - *Chalisova N. Yu.* Kalila and Dimna // BRE. T. 12. M., 2008. Page 506
- Jenciklopedija hadisov* 2013 - *Jenciklopedija hadisov «Sahih al'-Dzhamaia as-sagyr»* (Sbornik dostovernyh hadisov, malyj). [Encyclopedia of Hadiths 2013 - Encyclopedia of Hadiths "Sahih al-Jamiya al-sagyr" (Collection of authentic hadiths, small).] Compiled by Muhammad Nasir-uddin al-Albani (1914-1999). 2013.
- Hadith 1677: Url: <https://hadis.uk/saxix-al-dzhami-as-sagyr-xadisy-1601-1700/6395/>.
- Hadith 1950: Url: <https://hadis.uk/saxix-al-dzhami-as-sagyr-xadisy-1901-2000/7851/>
- Creswell* 1958 - *Creswell K. A. C.* A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture. Harmondsworth, 1958.
- EI2 1986 - *Encyclopædia of Islam*, 2nd Edition. 12 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960-2005. Vol. 5. Khe-Mah, 1986. *Madrasa*: pp. 1123-1154.
- EI2 1991 - *Encyclopædia of Islam*, 2nd Edition. 12 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960-2005. Vol. VI. Mahk-Mid. 1991. *Masdjid*: pp. 644-707.
- Herzfeld* 1943 - *Herzfeld E.* Damascus: Studies in Architecture, II. // *Ars Islamica*. Vol. X (1943). PP. 13-70.
- Hillenbrand* 2000 - *Hillenbrand R.* Islamic Architecture: Form, function and meaning. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2000.
- Godard* 1951 - *Godard A.* L'origine de la madrasa, de la mosquée et caravansérai à quatre iwāns // *Ars Islamica*. Vol. 15/16 (1951). PP. 1-9.
- Gutas* 1998 - *Gutas D.* Greek Thought, Arabic Culture. The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbasid Society (2<sup>nd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> / 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> cent.). London, New York, 1998.
- Toynbee* 1939 - *Toynbee A. A.* Study of history. Oxford, Oxford University Press, vols. IV-VI., 1939 (the 4<sup>th</sup> printing - University Press, New-York, London, 1979).