

Cherednichenko O. V., Ph.D. student, Faculty of History,
Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (Ukraine, Kyiv),
benda@online.ua

Urban housing in late medieval England

This paper deals with housing in late medieval English towns and cities. The author attempts to research certain aspects of building, planning, embellishment of these houses through the lenses of social history. The comparative and chronological methods are applied. The author argues that in whole there was a significant progress, aesthetic (more effort was put in the embellishment of the house) as well as technological (new building materials and architectural elements), in the innovative development of urban architecture. The findings suggest that the evolution of housing was related to the topographical (lack of areas available for construction), economical (wealth of the townsmen), social (striving to preserve the existing social structures) and ideological (development of private life) factors.

Keywords: housing, architecture, towns and cities, urban history, late medieval England.

Чередниченко А. В., аспирант исторического факультета,
Киевский национальный университет им. Тараса Шевченко
(Украина, Киев), benda@online.ua

Жилище мещанина в позднесредневековой Англии

Рассмотрены особенности жилой архитектуры городов позднесредневековой Англии. Автор ставит цель исследовать аспекты строительства, планирования, интерьера городских жилых домов с точки зрения социальной истории. Применены компаративный и историко-хронологический методы. Как демонстрирует автор, несмотря на существенную региональную специфику, в целом в XIV–XV вв. имел место осязаемый прогресс в развитии жилой архитектуры городов Англии, в том числе технический (внедрение новых строительных материалов и конструктивных элементов) и эстетический (больше внимание уделялось украшению домов). Прослежена связь эволюции жилой архитектуры с топографическими (дефицит доступных для застройки площадей), экономическими (материальное положение горожан), социальными (желание утвердить свое место в социальной иерархии), идеологическими (развитие частной жизни) факторами.

Ключевые слова: жилище, архитектура, история города, позднесредневековая Англия.

УДК 636

Bayramli J.,
doctorate, employee, Azerbaijan University
(Azerbaijan, Baku), taleh.ceferov.83@mail.ru

TRUTH ABOUT BABAK AND THE HURRAMIDS MOVEMENT

The given article is about the Hurrמידs movement, which happened in Azerbaijan in the VIII–IX centuries and the leader of the movement Babak al–Hurrמיד. The facts about the religious and faith outlook of the Hurrמידs in the Islamic context, the differences of their view–point from the faith of the ruling dynasty of Islamic caliphate, the Abbasids, as well as, about the sovereign status of Babak al–Hurrמיד and his struggle for the independence of Azerbaijan are mentioned in the remarked article.

Keywords: the Hurrמידs movement, Babak, the Abbasids, Caliphate, Ahl–al–Bayt, Batiniyyah, Abu Muslim, Shiites.

(стаття друкується мовою оригіналу)

The people's liberty movement happened in historical Azerbaijani territories in the 1st half of the IX century, which was one of the hardest periods of Azerbaijani history, is known as Hurrמידs movement in history. A plenty of scientific works were written about the essence of this movement, as well as, about the struggle of hurrמידs and their leader Babak in the soviet and western historiography; nevertheless due to the requirements of the existing political establishments, as well as, to the ignorance of the preconceived approach of the historical sources giving information about it in the scientific research works made before, much of the real truth about Babak's identity and activity was distorted, at the same time, some of the real events and information was hidden from the scientific publicity.

Before sharing thoughts and view–point related to it, first of all, it's necessary to remark that against the view–point of the traditional soviet historiography, Babak and his numerous hurrמיד supporters were neither atheists, nor anti–islamists and fireworshippers. As well as, hurrמידs' demands and ideological thoughts weren't in the direction of class struggle and consequently their uprising wasn't against any social group. There are plenty of facts disproving the remarked traditional thoughts in the scientific literature and historical sources.

For defining exactly the goal and direction, the ideological basis and steps of Babak and hurrמידs' movement, firstly it's necessary to find out the real identity of the power against them, as well as, its main ideological–religious idea and position. Up today, it was received in the traditional historiography that as though the power against hurrמידs – the Abbasids dynasty represented Islam in its foreign and internal policy. Such approach is far from reality and truth. And according to such a subjective approach, hurrמידs who rose against the Abbasids would automatically be defined like an anti–islamist group, in the scientific results. As a matter of fact, the Abbasids dynasty, who had come to the throne in 750 AD as a result of Abu Muslim Khorasani's well–known rebellion against the Umayyad dynasty, soon after Abu Muslim's death, received the faith of Mu'tadiliyyah which distorted the basic theses of Islam and turned the remarked faith into the main faith in Abbasids palace. The Mu'tadilites demonstrated severe position against the other Islamic faiths and sects and oppressed them. During the first 50–60 years of the Abbasids' power, many of the imams and leaders of various Islamic sects were taken into prison, as well as, the imams of Ahl–al–Bayt (the prophet's family) Jafar al–Sadig, Musa al–Kazim, Ali ar–Riza etc. were kept in prison or and isolated from the Moslem people for many years and consequently were poisoned to death one after another, and their family members were driven out of the places they had lived before. Nowadays all five main foundations of Islam – Hanafiyya, Malikiyya, Shafism, Hanbaliyya and Jafariyya are denying the religious–ideological view–point and priniples of Mu'tadiliyyah faith. These facts, as well as, the facts of inclination for drinking, gambling and orgy of the Abbasid caliphs carrying the title of «Islam caliph», prove them to be quite far from Islamic rules. In such case, there appears need for looking through the question of religious–faith identity of hurrמידs who were against the Abbasid caliphs, from the view–point of facts. There are a number of facts that should really be taken into consideration in the historiography, and they'd create suitable grounds for discovering new hypotheses related to the Hurrמידs movement.

There're a great number of facts giving basic to consider the Hurrמידs to be devout Muslims, to receive the main rules of Islam, even to say that the name «Hurrמיד» was their Islamic sect name. It would be good to look through some of the remarked facts which involve for attention most.

Among the historical sources which are referred to in the Islamic historiography of the ancient period, «Kitab al–farg beyn–al–firak» (The Book of Differences among Islamic Sects) by Abdulkahir al–Baghdadi is considered to be one of the main sources which give a wide range of information about islamic faoundations and sects during the VII–IX centuries. In the remarked book, the groups under the name «Hurrמיד» are mentioned among «the sects referring to Islam, but not being in Islam in reality». Taking in mind

the sect identity difference of al-Baghdadi himself, we can approximately say that such approach is one of the serious facts about Hurramids to consider themselves to be of Islam religion. A researcher of the Hurramids movement should take into consideration the fact that most of the historical source-writers giving information related to this movement were under the influence of the Abbasid caliphs, and some just copied out the information given in the history books written before them, and therefore they would consider the people not in their faith «to be out of Islam». In the remarked historical source, there is the following necessary information related to the Hurramids:

«They built mosques in their mountains where the Moslems gave Azan. They taught their children Koran; nevertheless they don't perform namaz even in secret nor they keep the fast in Ramadan month. Besides, they don't believe in jihad against non-believers» [1, p. 207; 16, p. 419]. In the given example, we can see important notes about the mosques where the Hurramids lived, as well as, about the voices of azan (Islamic calling for praying) and also the hurramids to teach their children Koran. The other information given in the example like «they don't perform namaz», «they don't keep the fast» or «they don't believe in jihad against non-believers» are of the most disputable questions between orthodox and heterodox Islamic sects up-to-day. We can remind that in the following centuries, the Hurufis, the Alevites and the Kyzylbashs, who belonged to heterodox Islamic wing, also followed directly the Hurramids' position from the religious-ideological view-point and notified that there were not the remarked questions in holy Koran. It's clear that in the main and fundamental principles of Islam like *Tovhid* (There's no God but one God), holy Kuran, the prophecy of Muhammad, the higher status of Imamah (the religious leadership of prophet's family members) etc., the Hurramids' faith was stable and referring to Islam. Moreover, some of historical sources mention the Hurramids to be in Sufism way according to their religious thoughts [1, p. 206; 12, p. 14, 18].

The notes of the same maintenance are seen in the book «Kitab al-masalik va-l-mamalik» (Book on Routes and Countries) by Istakhri in the following way:

«Off course, mount Sebelan is higher than mount Damavand. But mount Aghri in Dabil (mount Ararat – J. B.) is the highest among these ones. In the mountaneous part where the Hurramids live, there are very difficult and unpassing mountains. Babak was from there. There're mosques in their villages, they read Koran. But they say they don't have any religion but mystic «ibahiyyah»» [12, p. 62]. In the given example, there's one more important factor attracting attention which is the Hurramids to pay special attention for the secret or mystic sides of Islam. During the VII–IX centuries, namely the followers of Ahl-al-bayt school in Islam gave great significance to the mystic (batin) sides of Islam and learned and spread the mystic wisdom of holy Koran.

By the way, there're necessary notes in al-Baghdadi's book about the Hurramids to have the mystic (batin) Islamic thoughts. In his book remarked above, taking the Batinis (Mysticists) and Hurramids in mind, al-Baghdadi wrote: «They used to explain the ayats of holy Koran and the rules of the Prophet, God greet him, from their view-point» [1, p. 221]. It becomes clear from the example that the Hurramids weren't in anti-Islamic mood, on the contrary, as moslems, they read Koran and gave their interpretations which were different from the shariat scientists in many

cases. Further, we'll make notes related to the Hurramids' Islamic outlook.

Muhammad Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Hawqal wrote the following thought about the Hurramids in his book «Surat al-Ard» (The Book on the Shape of the Earth): «The Hurramids are Babak's adherents and they read Koran» [17, p. 302].

Explaining in a critical way the Hurramids' religious outlook in his book «Siyasatnama» (The Book of Government), the persian scholar and history writer Abu Ali al-Hasan al-Tusi Nizam al-Mulk wrote the following: «... The religion and faith of both Mazdak or the Hurramids and Batinis are the same, and their only aim is to destroy Islam. In order to attract people's attention for their thoughts, first of all, they pretend to be rightful, to love diet, and to admire the Prophet's family and descendants» [2, p. 241; 12, p. 15]. In the given example, it's obviously seen that the Hurramids, who always spoke right words, loved the Ahl-al-Bayt (Islam Prophet's family and grandchildren). As to Nizam al-Mulk's critical view-point, his Islamic faith was different from the Hurramids as he was Sunni-Shafiite.

In the same book, there's one more important note Nizam al-Mulk made about the Hurramids: «Every time when the Hurramids made uprising, the Batinis (Mysticists) supported them and strengthened them. The origin of both sects is the same» [2, p. 241; 12, p. 21]. It becomes clear that during the Hurramids risings and revolts, those who belonged to Batiniiyah (Mysticists) wing of Islam gave great support to them on a massive scale, and they protested against the Abbasids caliphate together.

Seyyid Murtaza Hassan Radhi shared the following interesting information about the style of Koran interpretation of the Hurramids, concerning them to the Batiniiyah wing of Islam, in his book «Tafsirat al-awam fi marifati magalat-al-Anam» (The consideration concerning the completion of thoughts about the Al-Anam surah):

«The Ismailites are also known as Batiniiyah, Garamitah, Hurramiiyah, Sabiiyah, Babakiyyah and Muhammira. The reason why they are called the Batiniiyah is that in their opinion, Koran and the hadiths (stories) about Muhammad have open and secret (mystic) meanings. Open (external) meaning means cover, the secret (mystic) one is its essence. Exactly like the cover and inside of almond. Those who refer to this thought take the following Koran ayat as a ground: «Inside it will be mercy, but outside it will be torment» (the author means the 13th ayat of al-Hadid surah of Koran – J. B.). So, they interpret the whole Koran and hadiths about the prophet in such way. The Hurramdiniyyah belongs to this sect. This people lives in the mountaneous-upland area of Azerbaijan called Bazz» [12, p. 17–18]. In the same place, the author shared one more information related to the Hurramids' Islamic outlook; he noted that «they said it was possible to perceive Allah only by the word of a true teacher» [12, p. 18].

In some of the historical sources, there's very interesting information which talk about not only the Hurramids to be devout muslims, but also about them to be the supporters of Ahl-al-Bayt and the continuers of Imamah (religious leadership) school of Islam. Some of this information was exemplified above, and it would be useful to introduce some of them here.

The geographer of the X century Abu Dulaf made a note which proved the Hurramids to be the supporters of the Islam prophet's Ahl-al-Bayt, in his book «The Second Risalah»: «There's a place in Bazzayn the area of which is about

three jaribs. They say if someone prays for God there with open hands, his desire will come true. In the very place, the people in red who were known as the Hurrāmids raised their revolt banners. Babak made rising there. They expected for Mahdi's coming» [15, p. 134]. We can remind here that the period of Babak's activity is the same period when the 8th imam of the prophet's Ahl-al-Bayt Ali ar-Riza and the 9th imam Muhammad Tagi were alive, and their grandchild, the 12th shiite imam Mahdi hadn't been born yet. It means the Hurrāmids were aware beforehand of the 12th imam's mission of disappearing and later coming, like everyone who supported the Ahl-al-Bayt school of Islam.

One can meet the same thought in Muhammad Abdulkarim al-Shahristani's book «Kitab al-milal va-n-nihal» (The Book of Religions and Sects). As he belonged to an Islamic sect which was against and quite different from the Hurrāmids, al-Shahristani enumerated Babak's «guilts» in his book and wrote the following interesting information: «Babak turned the idea of the imam's disappeared soul to appear again (rijaat) afterwards into the faith» [4, p. 132].

Abu al-Hasan Ashari, who also had the faith contradicting the Hurrāmids, wrote the following in his book «Magalat al-Islamiyyin va ikhtilaf-al-musallin» (Theological Opinions of the Muslims): «Some say that the main Imams are aware of miracles; as though angels come down to them from the heavens. Such thought belongs to a group of rafidite sect. Even some of them dare to say that it's possible to violate shariat rules and liquidate them» [12, p. 15]. Here the author criticizes the Hurrāmids considering them to be from the group spoken about.

Besides, quite an interesting detail attracts attention in Nizam al-Mulk's book «Siyasatnama» (The Book of Government) concerning the Hurrāmids' religious faith. He wrote: «While gathering somewhere, solving any question, or making consultation, their word is the following; firstly they do salavat (kind of praying in Islam by remembering the prophet's name and greeting him – J. B.) for Abu Muslim, Mahdi, as well as, for «scientist child» Firuz, Abu Muslim's daughter Fatima's son» [2, p. 241]. As we know, Abu Muslim Khorasani raised a well-known mass revolt against the Umayyads dynasty and overthrew the remarked dynasty from the throne in 750 AD. He was known as the supporter of the prophet's Ahl-al-Bayt in history. As Mahdi was the twelfth imam of the prophet's Ahl-al-Bayt, it's quite understandable why the Hurrāmids did salavat for him. And together with the other source information represented above, these notes give us the opportunity to suppose that the Hurrāmids were the muslims supporting the Imam school of Islam.

A question appears here: if the Hurrāmids were devout muslims, why didn't they pray namaz, considered some of the shariat prohibitions to be possible, and didn't take the jihad against non-believers for serious? Talking about the answers of these questions, first of all, it would be good to remind that the same factors can be seen in the religious outlook of nowadays Alevites in Turkey. From the historical point of view, in some Sufi sects, as well as, in the Hurufism and Kyzylbash sects the same religious outlook was observed. Off course, each different view-point has got certain religious grounds in Islam. In our opinion, unlike the orthodox Islamic sects which completely refer to shariat rules, the Islamic sects which are received as heterodox ones, as well as, the sects mentioned above haven't been researched deeply yet. Therefore in various periods of history, the opposite side

introduced them like «rafidite», «out-of-Islam», «lost the right way» or «non-believers», ignoring the criteria they referred to in their faith view-point. As a matter of fact, the given questions have got very interesting and even sometimes irrefutable responses on the basis of the Hurrāmids' religious outlook. These responses directly referred to the fundamental book of Islam the Koran, moreover, they are interesting from the view-point of choosing and distinguishing the factors brought to Islam by the caliphes or shariat scientists later, ie, after the Islam prophet's death.

The main reason of why the Hurrāmids didn't pray namaz was that there's no any praying like «namaz» in the fundamental book of Islam the Koran. And none of the different «namaz» types of the nowadays five traditional Islamic faiths was shown in the holy book, and it means, the praying called «namaz» was brought to Islam shariat later. There's no any Koran ayat in which the Islamic prophet was recommended to perform any of these «namaz» forms. The word «namaz» was derived from the persian language, and its origin comes from the Sanskrit word «namaskara» which meant «greeting» (ie «sura namaskara» meant «greeting the Sun» and it was one of the ancient praying forms). So, in the middle of the VII century, the remarked word was transferred to Islam shariat and fixed as one of the main shariat rules. Besides, performing the praying called «namaz» five times a day on the basis of the inaccurate hadiths (stories) corresponded the praying style of persian fireworshippers. In the letter written by Yezdgerd III, the last king of the Sassanids to caliph Omar, it was remarked that fireworshippers had performed namaz five times a day for thousand years. The right praying mentioned in Koran is called «salat» and the initial lexical meaning of this word is «to pray (orally)». Thus, the reasons why the Hurrāmids, who prayed just three times a day, didn't perform a praying form not shown in Koran become absolutely clear.

Another question is why the Hurrāmids didn't keep fast like all the muslims in Ramadan month, as al-Baghdadi wrote. The fact that stands on the root of the problem is that after Ali bin Abu Talib, the Islam prophet's cousin and son-in-law, the most authoritative Imam of Ahl-al-Bayt exposed to sui-side by the extreme sect of Havaridj on the 19th day of Ramadan and passed away on Ramadan 21, in 661, the people who loved him, turned to keep the mourning fast for the last ten days of Ramadan month which was different from the regular Ramadan rules. Thus, all the Ahl-al-Bayt lovers were in the mourning for the killed Imam during the last ten days of Ramadan month whereas the other part of moslems obeying shariat rules celebrated the Ramadan holiday which had been declared firstly in 661 by the Umayyad king Muaviya bin Abu Sufyan, the main political and military opponent of Imam Ali bin Abu Talib.

Which shariat prohibitions were ignored by the Hurrāmids? We have the response for this part of the question given above: in the periods after the death of the Islamic prophet, especially, since the Umayyad dynasty came to power in Islam world in 661, many a prohibition (haraam) or rule (fatwaa), which hadn't been observed in Islam before, were created and added to Islam shariat. By means of the remarked fatwaas and prohibitions, which didn't refer to Koran in reality, lots of prohibition was defined for the moslem people. Some of the mentioned prohibition, which was added to Islamic rules later in various periods were the followings:

– «Hadiths (stories told about the prophet) are one of the fundamental rules of Islam».

- «Any kind of music is prohibited (haraam) for moslems».
- «Painting, especially, the portraits of men and paintings of other creatures are prohibited».
- «Moslem men and women must perform namaz five times and seventeen rukaats a day».
- «Those who don't perform namaz defined for moslems are considered to be out-of-Islam».
- «Devout moslem men and women must pray separately».
- «Obeying to the Islam caliph is necessary and compulsory for every moslem, even if he is cruel and makes people suffer».
- «Jihad is the fighting against non-believers and it's necessary for every moslem».
- «It's prohibited to wear golden rings and jewellery for moslem men» etc.

The prohibitions (haraam) and rules (fatwaas) like these were ignored by the Hurrāmids, therefore it's not surprising that religious scientists who were under the direct influence of caliphate palace consequently considered them to be «non-believers» or «out-of-Islam».

The logical explanation of the Hurrāmids concerning the ignorance of necessity of jihad against non-believers could be mentioned as following: in their opinion, the word «jihad» in Koran means «to attempt» or «to try» in reality and no talk about fighting against any front is mentioned in the Koran ayats where the remarked word is used. The word which meant «fighting» in Koran was the word «gytaal» which was made up from the verb «gaatala». Besides, in the 190–191th ayats of Bagara surah of holy Koran (2;190–191), it was mentioned that the devout moslems were allowed to fight only when they exposed to direct attack of non-believers who aimed to oppress and kill the moslems, that's why the Hurrāmids received the word «jihad» just in the meanings of «to make an attempt upon one's passions, to try upon one's lust» and protested against wrong interpretation of the remarked word.

After mentioning some of the great number of facts which give us the opportunity to consider the Hurrāmids to be devout moslems, it would be useful to talk about the goals and essence of the Hurrāmids movement, as well. The soviet historiography made wrong scientific conclusions related to the remarked question, and received the Hurrāmids movement like the armed revolt form of the class struggle, making an approach from the ideological theses of the communism establishment. While the Hurrāmids movement under the leadership of Babak was the people's liberty movement against the arabian militarism and still long before Babak, this movement had had several stages against the Umayyad and Abbasids dynasties. Sometimes the information about it in various historical sources gives chance to come to the conclusion indirectly.

Nizam Al-Mulk similarised the Batinis with raphidites (the insulting name for the shiites) and connected the Hurrāmids directly with the Batinis [2, p. 174], and wrote that «the shiites don't consider the Baghdad caliph to be legal» [2, p. 174]. On the other page of his book «Siyasatnama», the remarked persian author, who was known for his special hate for the shiite moslems, described the shiites who protested against the governing dynasty, with the words «they just pretend to be moslems, in words» [2, p. 199] and wrote that «the shiites intended to destroy the governorship of the Abbasids dynasty» [2, p. 200]. These examples mean that the Hurrāmids who were received as the shiites had a goal to destroy the Abbasids dynasty and had struggled for this goal nearly for more than

40 years before Babak's leadership period. It becomes clear from the information of the historical sources that both in the periods before Babak and under his leadership, the Hurrāmids, who followed the Ahl-al-Bayt school of Islam (the shiism), acted with the conviction of fighting against oppression and tyranny, and aimed to put an end to the thought of caliphate which, in their opinion, had created great dissension in Islam after the prophet's death. In any case, if thinking logically, not the way of Caliphate (statehood), but the way of Imamāt (religious leadership) should be considered the rightest way in Islam for the sect which had the idea of «expecting the coming of Mahdi».

Bandali Jawzi wrote the following in his book «Min tarikh al-harakat al-fikriyyah fi-l-Islam» (The history of movements and ideas in Islam): «Their (the Hurrāmids' – J. B.) goal wasn't to put up resistance to Islam at all. Like it had occurred in most rebellions happened in Adjams land before that one, the main goal was to put up strong resistance to Arabs who were received as invaders» [16, p. 310].

In the periods of both the Umayyads and the Abbasids' power, an arabian militarism policy was lead under the name of Islam; the sovereigns carrying the title of «the Islam caliph» brought disgrace upon the name of Islam by their deeds, and peoples living in the wide territories were plundered and oppressed so much that great and inevitable protests appeared not only in Azerbaijan, but also in Tabaristan, the central Iran plateau, Khurasan and the Middle Asia regions. And if we add the injustice and great oppression upon the prophet's generation, various killing facts of those belonging to Ahl-al-Bayt, their mass exilings and other terrible facts to all that was mentioned above, we could easily imagine how strong and severe the protests in the remarked regions were. And unlike the religious-ideological faith of the ruling dynasty, the religious-ideological view-point of Ahl-al-bayt school was spread fast among the great masses and increased. Therefore it's quite understandable why the mass crowds protesting against the Arabian invasion followed the way of Ahl-al-Bayt school of Islam.

As we know, the main goal of the liberty movement of each people is to establish and create an independent system of self-government. So, whether the Hurrāmids movement achieved its main goal under the leadership of Babak or not, is one of the disputable questions which stand before the up-to-date Azerbaijani historians. Referring to some of the details attracting attention in various historical sources, it's possible to say that the people's liberty movement under the leadership of Babak against the caliphate and the Arabian invasion in Azerbaijan achieved its main goal and there existed an independent Hurrāmids state in Azerbaijan nearly from 816–820 AD to the september of 837, which didn't depend on the Abbasids caliphate. Though there's no unanimous thought about the existence of the independent Hurrāmids state during the period remarked above in Azerbaijani history, anyway, there're several important questions which can prove both Babak's sovereign status and the existence of the Hurrāmids state. It would be useful to look through the remarked questions in this context, too.

Many of the factors proving the existence of the early middle ages states existed in the state which was established at the beginning of the IX century in Azerbaijan, as a result of the Hurrāmids movement under the leadership of Babak, too. That is, a feudal state of the early middle ages had at least its exact borders and territories, as well as, the government

mechanism in the remarked lands or a ruling dynasty, a capital city, state banner, an army, a palace, a monetary unit, treasury, sometimes the leading organ of government, the official correspondence of the state leader with the other states, the managing activities of the state monarch and other factors. At the same time, in the states that appeared as a result of the rebellion or liberty movement, the factor of struggle of the protesting people is important before the establishment of the statehood.

So, the Hurramids movement was the Azerbaijani people's liberty movement against the Abbasids caliphate and by means of the armed rebellion the people made all the territory of Azerbaijan come out of the control of the Abbasids in 816 AD and achieved its goals. Moreover, the Hurramids' leader Babak controlled and governed the remarked territories with exact borders, surrounding both the south and the north of Azerbaijan for more than twenty-one years and five months. Babak had his capital city-castle called Bazz (Bazzayn), a state banner of red colour, an army which controlled and defended the remarked territories and the supreme organ called the military council consisting of the commanders and heads of the armed troops. The historical facts prove that as a sovereign, Babak gave orders, appointed the rulers for various provinces and cities, oppressed the revolts and rebellions which contradicted the ideological fundamentals of his state, led the armed troops to Sunik, Esfahan and other foreign regions which were under the influence of the other states, corresponded with the Byzantine emperor, as well as, with the chief commander of the Abbasids caliphate Afshin Hidir ibn Kavus.

It's quite clear that the Abbasids palace was interested in disparaging and affronting Babak and the Hurramids, like uncontrollable masses who dealt with robbery in the Abbasids' lands remained out of control for long time. Therefore it would be useless to look for any information about the de-facto existence of the Hurramids' state for a long time, in the historical books and sources written under the direct influence of the Abbasids' palace. Nevertheless, both the careful and quite doubtful attitude of the Abbasid caliph Mu'tasim to the Hurramids' leader Babak, and a number of interesting details attracting attention in the books written under the influence of the Abbasids palace, ie as the Abbasid caliphs wanted, give us opportunity to consider Babak to be in the status of a king. And one more interesting question is that the historians who researched the Hurramids movement looked through the view-point of the Abbasids caliphs and their history-writers about their enemies, the Hurramids and Babak, but they didn't even get involved in how Babak saw or considered himself. During the scientific research, it has a great significance for the objective analysis and correct evaluation.

In his book «Tarikh ar-rusul va-l-muluk» (The history of prophets and kings), the history-writer Abu Jafar Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari, who wrote his books by the order of the Abbasids caliph or under their influence, described how Babak left his capital city-castle Bazz and hid in the forest by the river Araxes in the august of 837 AD, and how he responded a letter from his son by his own words: «May be I won't live more from today, but I carry the title of a king (governer), and no matter where I am, or where and what I'm spoken about – I'll still remain to be known as the king (governer)» [14, p. 112–113]. In Ziya Bunyadov's translation variant, instead of the word «king» it was written «shah» [17, p. 335, 400–401].

What attracts attention in Babak's response letter to his son is that Babak considered himself to be a founder of the ruling dynasty and spoke about his son's right of inheritance: «If you had followed my way and become a heir of your dynasty, the inheritance would have been yours; some days ago you still were my son indeed» [14, p. 58]. Related to the same question of inheritance and about who would be Babak's heir after him, there's more interesting information in Tabari's book mentioned above. In the talking with Sahl Sumbat, a local feudal, Babak expressed his anxiety about it. It becomes clear from the theme of the talking that after the collapse of Bazz castle, Babak intended to appoint his brother Abdullah as the heir after him, as some of his sons were inexperienced in governing and the others were too young. Thinking about it, Babak sent Abdulla to the ruler of Baylakan province Abu Musa Yesai (Istifanus) in order to take care of him. The information about it in the remarked source was described in the following way: «– It wouldn't be good if my brother and I stay together, because if someone chases one of us, the other will stay alive. As to me, I'll stay with you, and my brother Abdullah will go to Ibn Istifanus, since we don't know what'll happen, we don't have a heir to continue our dynasty later». Ibn Sumbat said: «– But you do have many sons». Nevertheless Babak answered that among his sons no one was suitable for inheritance, therefore he had decided to send his brother to the castle of Ibn Istifanus whom he trusted much» [17, p. 403]. The given example shows that Babak considered himself to be a governor (shah) of an independent state, and thought about the future heir of his ruling dynasty.

In Abu Muhammad Ahmad ibn Atham al-Kufi's book «Kitab al-Futuh» (The Book of Conquests), the well-known saying which Babak said for his son was mentioned in the following way: «After reading the letter from his son, Babak cut off the head of a man who brought the letter with his sword. Even not opening the mercy edict of the caliph, he put it on the breast of the killed man and told the second envoy: «Go to my son and give these words to him: Living like a king for one day is much better than remaining slave for forty years!» [14, p. 58]. From the given example, one can easily understand that Babak saw himself as a governor (king). In Tabari's book, the same phrase was written in the following way: «Living like a Lord for one day is much better than running his life as a miserable slave for forty years» [15, p. 112–113].

One more important fact which gives chance to consider Babak to be a king is in Abdurrahman ibn Abu Bakr Jalal-ad-din al-Suyuti's (Jalal-ad-din Asyuti's) book «Tarikh-ul-khulafa» (The history of the caliphs). The historian Ziya Bunyatov mentions that Suyuti wrote about «the Abbasid caliph al-Mu'tasim to capture the Azerbaijani Padishah (malik) in 837» [17, p. 335].

Another historian Said Nafisi also wrote about «the lands Babak governed» and described the spoken lands geographically [12, p. 24]. After the description, the scientist notified that «Babak had ruled wide territories» [12, p. 30]. Although there're some lexical-semantic differences between the words «king» (shah) and «ruler» or «governor», the given examples are enough to say that the Hurramid leader Babak controlled wide territories for quite a long time and employed his government rules and laws independently in the remarked territories.

The facts that prove Babak to be the founder and a king of an independent state are much more than we've introduced in this article and there're the other facts which strengthen the

remarked hypothesis, as well. For example, in many historical sources, like Tabari's «*Tarikh ar-rusul va-l-muluk*», Nizam Al-Mulk's «*Siyasatnama*», Hamdullah Mustawfi's «*Tarikh-Gozideh*», Gazi Ahmad Gaffari's «*Nigaristan*», Fasih Heravi's «*Mujmali-fasih*», as well as, in the book «*Zinat al-majalis*», even in Fuzuni Astarabadi's book «*Kitabi-Buheyra*», it was remarked that the number of Babak's executioners (or hangmen) was twenty [12, p. 9]. It's obvious that a rebellion leader would never have so many hangmen, as it would be out of logic, and the information written in the historical sources proves that Babak had a law-court and punishment mechanism that was characteristic mainly for the kings of that period, as usual. Otherwise, there would be no need for so many executioners.

Besides, in the historiography of the soviet period, the fact of Babak's harem (the number of his wives) was hidden and ignored in silence. Whereas, the historical sources give information about at least two of his wives – the widow of Shahrak's son Javidan, the former owner of the castle Bazz, and Ibnat al-Kaldaniyyah who was the Sunik ruler Vasak's daughter. The historian Said Nafisi wrote the following about it: «It seems that he (Babak – J. B.) had several wives. As it was written, among the captives taken to Samarra, there were some women who were considered to be Babak's wives» [12, p. 122]. Imadaddin ibn-Kasir also wrote the following about the family members of Babak who were captivated by Afshin in his book «*Al-bidaya va-n-nihayat*» (The Beginning and the End): «His seventeen sons and twenty three women, who were his and his sons' wives, were captured» [12, p. 37]. The same fact was remarked in Ibn al-Athir's book «*Al-Kamil fi-t-tarikh*» (The Complete History) [7, p. 65]. By the way, the fact that Babak married the daughter of the Sunik ruler Vasak and became relative with him in 827 [8, p. 287], can be estimated as an event which confirms Babak's sovereign status in fact. Anyway, it wouldn't be understandable at least from the view-point of aristocracy if in the IX century a man governing the Sunik province agreed to pass her daughter for just a revolt leader and became a relative with him. It means that in Azerbaijani territories and provinces like Sunik, Babak was received not like a revolt leader, but as a sovereign and a king (monarch).

One more important fact is that in 827/828 years, Babak led his army to the north of Azerbaijan and oppressed the rebellion of Pavlikians (Paulicians). The Albanian rulers, including the ruler of Baylakan Abu Musa Yesai, applied for Babak for the help, as they received him as the grand sovereign [17, p. 316]. In his book «the History of Sunik», the historian Stepannos Orbelian described how Babak oppressed the rebellion of Pavlikians in 827–828 AD (see: Stepannos Orbeliani, «The History of Sunik», XXXIII chapt., p. 95–97). Moreover, Babak defeated the Armenian army who attacked the western Azerbaijani territories (nowadays Armenia) and banished the Armenian religious figures from the north-west of the country, burning their property to the end [8, p. 288, 316]. Additionally, thinking about making more effective steps against the armies of the Abbasids caliphate, Babak gave great military and moral support for the rebellions happened far from Azerbaijani territories, ie, in the inside regions of the Abbasids caliphate. So, in 833 AD (218 of moslem hijri calendar), when the Abbasid caliph Mu'tasim sent a great number of the caliphate army under the commandship of Iskhag ibn Ibrahim to fight the Hurrמידs, the supporters of the Hurrמידs in Isfahan which was situated far from Azerbaijani

lands raised a revolt against the Abbasids and banished the city ruler away. Although the Hurrמידs were defeated in the battle near Hamadan, Babak made a tactical step, sending parts of the Hurrמיד army to enter Isfahan and unite with the rebellious troops. The Hurrמידs army destroyed the Arabian armed troops in Isfahan [12, p. 48; 14, p. 77]. The last historical fact proves that being a king in Azerbaijani lands, Babak understood that it was already impossible to be reconciled and to get on with the caliphate in peace by any way, that's why he decided to attack directly the territories of the caliphate and to shake the Abbasids state to its foundation.

There're also several details about Babak that were ingored by the traditional historiography, we can remind some of them here. For example, Babak was given a mercy edict with the golden stamp on it by the Abbasid caliph Mu'tasim [11, p. 58; 14, p. 112; 15, p. 335, 400–401]; captured by the soldiers of Afshin, Babak was brought to Samarra city in the clothes of kings [12, p. 37, 90–91, 113]; still being in his Bazz castle in 837, Babak got a letter from the chief commander of the Abbasids army Afshin, in which he was offered to become a province ruler of the Abbasids caliphate obeying the caliph's rules [12, p. 94; 13, p. 238]; according to Tabari, Babak's treasury was captured by the commander-in-chief Afshin after collapsing of Bazz castle [15, p. 111]; in his book «*Al-Kamil fi-t-tarikh*», Ibn al-Athir reminded for several times that «Afshin's army attacked Babak's palaces» or «Afshin ordered to destroy Babak's palaces to the end» [7, p. 60] etc. Besides, Ahmad Assam al-Kufi wrote in his book «*Kitab al-futuh*» that Babak had had four palaces in his Bazz city [17, p. 387]. The well-known French orientalist Clement Huart reminds in «*Encyclopedie de L'Islam*»

(I vol., p. 557–558) «the ceremony of Babak's ascending the throne in Bazz», referring to Ibn-an-Nadim's book «*Kitab al-Fehrist*» [13, p. 151]. And in his book «*Kitab al-Ibar*», Ibn-Haldun remarked that «Babak had a wide set of spies and some of them were captured in 835–837 by Afshin's soldiers» [13, p. 84]. All of the facts mentioned above, together with what we emphasized related to the official status of Babak, give us opportunity to think that Babak supposedly was the king of an independent state. And whether there was a monetary unit by his name or not, still remains unknown to historians, because first of all, any archaeological investigations were prohibited in the territories of nowadays Iran where Babak's central castle Bazz was situated and his activities were. Moreover, after Babak's execution on March 14, 838 AD, the Abbasid caliphs could take the monetary units by his name out of general turnover and confiscate them everywhere.

Thus, on the basis of a great number of information of various historical sources mentioned in the article and made parallels, it's possible to say that in the 1st half of the IX century, the Hurrמידs movement got range in Azerbaijan again and resulted in creation of an independent state which wasn't depended on the Abbasids caliphate. The remarked state was governed by Babak, the leader of the people's liberty movement against Arabian invasion, and consequently he was the first and the last king of the Hurrמידs state. Besides, the Hurrמידs were devout moslems and protested against the mass falsification of the basic rules and principles of Islam and distortion of its divine essence. They gave great support to the Islamic prophet's family members (Ahl-al-Bayt), who were exposed to regular pressure, oppression and exile by the ruling dynasties (the Umayyads and the Abbasids) and killed one by one by their order, and followed their ideas. According to their

religious–philosophical outlook, the Hurrāmids were close to the ideological principles of the Sufi sects of Islam such as Alevism, Hurufism and Kyzylbash thoughts. Hopefully in the near future, a new viewpoint about the Hurrāmids movement and its leader Babak will be formed in Azerbaijani historiography, and the questions about it which are still open to discussions will be solved.

References

1. Abdulkahir al–Baghdadi. «Al Farg beyn al–Fīrak» (The Differences among the Islamic sects) (in Turkish). – Ankara, 2005.
2. Abu Ali al–Hasan al–Tusi Nizam al–Mulk. «Siyasatnama» (The Book of Government) (in Azeri). – Baku: «Chirag», 2007.
3. Ahmad ibn Atham al–Kufi. «Kitab al–Futuh» (The Book of Conquests) (in Azeri). – Baku, 1981.
4. Al–Shahristani. «Kitab al–Milal va–n–Nihal» (The Book of Religions and Sects) (in Russian), (translated by: S. M. Prozrov). – Moskva: «Nauka», 1984.
5. Anri Masse. «Islam» (in Azeri). – Baku, 1992.
6. Benjamin Walker. «Foundations of Islam», Peter Owen Publishers. – London and New York, 1978.
7. Ibn Al–Athir. «Al–Kamil Fi–t–Tarikh» (The Complete History) (in Azeri). – Baku: The Publishing House of Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan SSR, 1959.
8. Moses Kalankatvatsi. «The History of Albania», Mhitar Gosh, «The Albanian Chronicle» (in Azeri). – Baku: «Elm», 1993.
9. Naila Velikhanli. «The geographer–travellers of the IX–XI centuries about Azerbaijan» (in Azeri). – Baku, 1974.
10. Naila Velikhanli. «The Arabian caliphate and Azerbaijan» (in Azeri). – Baku, 1993.
11. Nargiz Aliyeva. «Azerbaijan in Yagut al–Hamavi’s works» (in Azeri). – Baku: «Chashioğlu», 1999.
12. Said Nafisi. «The Azerbaijani hero Babak Hurrāmīn» (in Azeri). – Baku: «Ornek», 1990.
13. Said Nafisi. «The Azerbaijani hero Babak Hurrāmīn» (acc. to 1960 edition) (in Azeri). – Baku: «Khatun plus», 2010.
14. The materials about Azerbaijan history in the Arabian sources of the Middle Ages (in Azeri). – Baku: «Nurlan», 2005.
15. The sources about the Azerbaijani history (in Azeri), (edited by: Suleyman Aliyarli). – Baku: «Chirag», 2007.
16. Ziya Bunyadov. «Religions, sects and faiths» (in Azeri). – Baku: «Sharg–Garb», 2007.
17. Ziya Bunyadov. «Azerbaijan in the VII–IX centuries». – Baku: «Sharg–Garb», 2007.

Байрамлы Д., доктор, співробітник,
Азербайджанський університет
(Азербайджан, Баку), taleh.ceferov.83@mail.ru

Правда про Бабека і руху Хуррамідів

Говориться про рух Хуррамідів, яке здійснилося в Азербайджані в VIII–IX століттях і про лідера цього руху Бабека аль–Хуррамі. У статті нагадуються факти про релігійний світогляд Хуррамідів в Ісламському контексті, про відмінність їхніх поглядів від поглядів і віри правлячої династії Ісламського халіфату, Аббасидів, а також, про статус правителя Бабека аль–Хуррамі і його боротьби за незалежність Азербайджану.

Ключові слова: рух Хуррамідів, Бабек, Аббасіди, Халіфат, Ахлі–Бейт, Батинія, Абу Муслім, шиїти.

Байрамлы Д., доктор, сотрудник,
Азербайджанский университет
(Азербайджан, Баку), taleh.ceferov.83@mail.ru

Правда о Бабеке и движении Хуррамидов

Говорится о движении Хуррамидов, которое совершилось в Азербайджане в VIII–IX веках и о лидере этого движения Бабеке аль–Хуррамие. В статье напоминаются факты о религиозном мировоззрении Хуррамидов в Исламском контексте, об отличии их взглядов от взглядов и веры правящей династии Исламского халифата, Аббасидов, а также, о статусе правителя Бабека аль–Хуррамие и его борьбы за независимость Азербайджана.

Ключевые слова: движение Хуррамидов, Бабек, Аббасиды, Халифат, Ахли–Бейт, Батиния, Абу Муслим, шииты.

* * *

УДК 94(479.24)

Тахирли Айтен,
сотрудник, Институт археологии
и этнографии НАНА (Азербайджан, Баку),
aytentahirli@gmail.com

ЗНАЧЕНИЕ ПОСЕЛЕНИЯ ОГЛАНГАЛА В ИЗУЧЕНИИ АНТИЧНОГО ПЕРИОДА ИСТОРИИ НАХЧЫВАНА

Рассматриваются вопросы изучения античного периода истории Азербайджана (IV век до н.э. – III век н.э.), в котором особое место занимают объекты поселения и погребальные памятники, обнаруженные в результате археологических раскопок в Нахичеванской Автономной Республике Азербайджана. Автор также отмечает, что здесь особую значимость имеют археологические исследования в таких поселениях Нахичевана, как Оглангала, Гошатепе, Бабатепе, Агвантепе, Мейдантепе и др.

Ключевые слова: античный период, Нахичеванская Автономная Республика, объекты поселения, погребальные памятники, автохтонность.

(статья друкється мовою оригіналу)

В изучении античного периода истории Азербайджана (IV век до н.э. – III век н.э.) особое место занимают поселения и погребальные памятники, обнаруженные в результате археологических раскопок в Нахичеванской Автономной Республике. С этой точки зрения особую значимость имеют археологические исследования в таких поселениях Нахчывана, как Оглангала, Гошатепе, Пусьян, Агвантепе, Мейдантепе и др.

После свержения Ахеменидской империи Александром Македонским (330 год до н.э.), Нахчыван вошел в состав только что, возникшего государства Атропатены и весь античный период находился в составе этого государства (IV век до н.э. – III век н.э.). Государство Атропатена сыграло большую роль в формировании Азербайджанского народа. Нахчыван являлся экономическим и культурным центром этого государства. Расположение поблизости двух экономически важных регионов Азербайджана, Нахчывна и Урмии еще больше укрепило их связи. Резиденция царей Атропатены располагалась в городе Газака, который тоже находился по соседству с Нахчываном. Это позволило укрепить культурные и экономические связи с городами Ближнего Востока, установить торговые отношения с народами античной цивилизации. В результате этого город Нахчыван, расширив свои территории, превратился в крупный торговый центр Азербайджана.

Античный период истории Нахчывана упоминается в произведениях греческих и римских авторов. Но информация, имеющаяся в письменных источниках очень скудная. Поэтому античный период истории и культуры древнего Нахчывана можно изучать только на основе археологических памятников.

Результаты археологических исследований в древнем поселении Оглангала дают возможность изучать историю, экономику и торговые отношения Нахчывана в тот период. Крепость Оглангала, расположенная на горе Каратепе, охватывает 50 га площади – это, вероятно, самая большая крепость Железного века в Нахчыване и одна из самых больших на Южном Кавказе. Месторасположение памятника дает возможность контролировать плодородные земли Шарурской равнины, которая является наиболее производительной областью в Нахчыване с точки зрения сельского хозяйства, где протекает река Арпачай, стекающая с гор Малого Кавказа [6, с. 106–120].

В этой крепости вели свои исследования такие ведущие исследователи Азербайджана, как А. К. Алекперов,