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ABSTRACT

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Science

**KHAZARS IN THE HISTORY OF EURASIAN PEOPLES
AND AZERBAIJAN (VI-X CENTURIES)**

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I. THE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISSERTATION

Topicality and state-of-the-art of the research theme.

As the name of the thesis implies, its academic urgency is inevitably determined by the connection of its content to the history of Central Eurasia, the Khazar state and the early medieval history of Azerbaijan and the Azerbaijani people. For three centuries, almost simultaneously with the appearance of Arabs in the South Caucasus through the time before the collapse of central political power in the caliphate in the middle of the 10th century, a powerful state of the Khazar Turks existed on the northern borders of the territory of modern Azerbaijan. The fate of Azerbaijan, the historical region in the north of the modern Iranian Islamic Republic, and Arran and Shirvan - the lands of Caucasian Albania, now constituting the territory of the Azerbaijan Republic - as well as the fate of the peoples inhabiting this space in the 7th-10th centuries used to be determined in result of relations between the Khazars and Arabs. The Khazars were forced to leave the South Caucasus, and Derbent became a border city between them and Muslim possessions. Azerbaijan was within the borders of the Arab caliphate, and the demographic, economic and cultural life of the country was determined by factors of political life, administrative structure, religion and culture of the Muslim world.

However, the Khazaria survived, unlike, for example, another Turkic adversary of the Caliphate – the Turgesh Khaganate in Central Asia - and even became stronger, spreading its influence in Central Eurasia to many nomadic tribes and sedentary peoples of Eastern Europe. The Khazar state became stronger due to stability and economic cooperation established at the end of the 8th century between the Khazar Khaganate and the Arab Caliphate after a long period of bloody wars. The period of the Khazar state is an important stage in the history of Central Eurasia. The configuration of the political and ethnic picture of the region occurred in that period.

That time was equally decisive for the South Caucasus subregion. The main parameters and trends of the ethnic composition, religious situation, political traditions, economic base and international economic relations of the South Caucasus were determined during the three centuries of the post-Sasanian time when the Khazar state played a dominant role in shaping the relationship between the Muslim Middle East and Central Eurasia until its political decline in the first half of the tenth century. The influence of the Khazars and the Khazar state, and their relations with the Arab caliphate on the internal political and ethno-cultural processes of the space now constituting the homeland of the Azerbaijani people, was not only an underdeveloped field of the Khazar studies, but it was not actually posed in the agenda of Azerbaijani historiography per se.

Disputes about who the Khazars were, what their state was, and what role they played in the history of other peoples and states began in the middle of the 17th century, from the very moment of the discovery and publication of documents of the Khazar correspondence - several letters of the Khazars preserved in Hebrew. Opinions of scientists about their authenticity diverged. In the late XIX - early XX century several studies of Western scholars have been published, which can be considered obsolete today, and of which we will indicate here only two works that are still within the scope of attention of contemporary researchers.¹

The first academic studies of the Khazars in Russia belong to the authorship of the Russian orientalist V.V.Grigoriev (1816-1881), who specifically studied the political history, state structure and relations of the Khazar state with the ancient Rus state.² The

¹ Howorth, H.H. The Khazars: Were They Ugrians or Turks? // *Travaux De La Troisieme Session Du Congres International Des Orientalistes*, - SPb.: - 1876, - pp. 1-25; Kutschera, H. *Die Chasaren, Historische Studie; Ein Nachlass*, 2. Aufl. ed. - Wien: A. Holzhausen, - 1909, 271 s.

² Григорьев, В.В. О двойственности верховной власти у хазаров // - СПб: Журнал Министерства народного просвещения (ЖМНП) - 1834, ч. 3, - с. 279-295; О древних походах русов на Восток // - СПб.: Журнал министерства народного просвещения (ЖМНП) - 1835, ч. 5, - с. 229-288; Обзор

discovery and publication of new Khazar documents in Hebrew in the first half of the twentieth century gave special impetus to the research of the Khazars and Khazaria. The so-called Cambridge letter was published,³ the full version of the letter of the Khazar Kagan Joseph was discovered and published with the commented translation into Russian.⁴ The latter publication also included all documents of the Khazar correspondence known at that time. Intensive archaeological work began on discovered areas of the so-called Saltovo-Mayatsk culture associated with the Khazar Khaganate.⁵

The Second World War could not but slow down the study of the history of the Khazars. But at the same time, the lessons of the war drew the attention of scholars and the public to the problems of the history of Judaism and Jews, to which some issues of Khazar history were related. An important event was the discovery and the following publication in 1962 of a previously unknown letter, presumably authored by Khazar Jews from Kiev, containing valuable material for studying the features of the Khazar Judaism and the history of relations between the Khazars and their neighbors.⁶ The rapid development of Khazar studies was further enhanced after the collapse of the USSR consequently to the development of national historiography of former Soviet peoples. It is not an easy, if not

политической истории хазаров // - СПб.: "Сын Отечества" и "Северный Архив" - 1835, т. 58, - с.566-595.

³ Schechter, S. An Unknown Khazar Document // The Jewish Quarterly Review – 1912, 3, no. 2, - p. 181-219.

⁴ Коковцов, П.К. Еврейско-Хазарская Переписка / П.К. Коковцов. – Ленинград: Издательство Академии Наук СССР, - 1932. - 132 с.

⁵ Артамонов, М.И. Средневековые поселения на Нижнем Дону // - Ленинград: Известия Государственной академии истории материальной культуры, - 1935, № 131, - 135 с.; Очерки Древнейшей Истории Хазар /М.И. Артамонов. - Ленинград: Соцэргиз-ГАИМК, - 1936. - 136 с.; Саркел и некоторые другие укрепления северо-западной Хазарии // - Москва: Советская археология, - 1940, № 66 - с. 130-167; Белая Вежа // - Москва: Советская Археология, - 1952, 16, - с. 42-76.

⁶ Golb, N. Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century / N. Golb, O. Pritsak, - Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, - 1982, - 166 p.

impossible task to familiarize oneself with and characterize at least the major publications of the Khazar studies. The agenda of the Khazar studies was formed along the following thematic clusters: the origin of the Khazars, the time of the appearance of the Khazars in the Caucasus, the reasons for the decline and disappearance of the Khazar state, the fate of the Khazars and the Khazar heritage,⁷ the territory of the Khazar Khaganate,⁸ government institutions of the

⁷ Dunlop, D.M. *The History of the Jewish Khazars* / D.M. Dunlop. - Princeton: Princeton University Press, - 1954, - 293 p.; Артамонов, М.И. *История Хазар* / М.И. Артамонов. - Ленинград: Эрмитаж, - 1962. - 523 с.; Голб, Н. *Хазарско-Еврейские документы X века* / Н. Голб, О. Прицак. Перевод с английского В.Л. Вихновича, - Москва-Иерусалим: Гешарим, - 1997. - 239 с.; Плетнева, С.А. *Хазары* / С.А. Плетнева. - Москва: "Наука", - 1976. - 96 с.; Гадло, А.В. *Этническая история Северного Кавказа в IV-X вв.* / А.В. Гадло. - Ленинград: Издательство Ленинградского Университета, - 1979. - 213 с.; Новосельцев, А.П. *Хазарское государство и его роль в истории Восточной Европы и Кавказа* / А.П. Новосельцев. - Москва: "Наука", - 1990. - 263 с.; Golden, P.B. *Khazar Studies: An Historico-Philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars: [in 2 volumes]* / P.B. Golden. - Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, - vol. 1. - 1980. - 291 p.; Ludwig, D. *Struktur und Gesellschaft des Chazaren-Reiches im Licht der schriftlichen Quellen* / D. Ludwig. - Munster: Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität, - 1982. - 374 s.; Гумилев, Л.Н. *Древняя Русь и Великая Степь* / Л.Н. Гумилев. - Москва: Мысль, - 1989. - 764 с.; Golden, P. B. *Khazar Studies: Achievements and Perspectives // The World of the Khazars: New Perspectives. Selected Papers from the Jerusalem 1999 International Khazar Colloquium Hosted by the Ben Zvi Institute*, ed. Peter B. Golden, Haggai Ben-Shammai, and Andras Rona-Tas, - Leiden: Brill, - 2007, - p. 7-57.

⁸ Гумилев, Л.Н. *Открытие Хазарии: историко-географические этюды* / Л.Н. Гумилев. - Москва: Наука, Главная редакция восточной литературы, - 1966. - 188 с.; Михеев, В.К. *Подонье в составе хазарского каганата* / В.К. Михеев. - Харьков: Выща школа, - 1985. - 148 с.; Noonan, T. S. *Byzantium and the Khazars: A Special Relationship? // Byzantine Diplomacy: Papers from the Twenty-Fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*. Ed. J. Shepard & S. Franklin, - Cambridge: - March 1990, - Variorum, - 1992, - p. 109-132; Гадло, А.В. *Предыстория Приазовской Руси, Очерки истории русского княжения на Северном Кавказе* / А.В. Гадло. - СПб: Издательство Петербургского Университета, - 2004. - 358 с.; Ромашов, С.А. *Историческая география Хазарского каганата. Глава 1-2 // Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, - 2001, v. 11, - с. 219-238; *Историческая география Хазарского каганата. Глава 3 //*

Khazar state,⁹ religion of the Khazars and the religious situation in Khazaria,¹⁰ economic foundations of the power of the Khazars,¹¹ features of the material culture of the Khazar period in Central

Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi, - 2004, v. 12, - с. 81-221; Историческая география Хазарского каганата. Глава IV-V // Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi, - 2004, v. 13, - с. 185-264; Историческая География Хазарского каганата. Глава VI // Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi, - 2005, v. 14, - с. 107-196.

⁹ Györfy, G. Dual Kingship and the Seven Chieftains of the Hungarians in the Era of the Conquest and the Raids // Acta Orientalia (Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae), - 1994, v. 47, no. i-ii, - p. 87-104; Golden, P.B. Khazar Turkic Ghulâms in Caliphal Service // Journal Asiatique, - 2004, v. 292, no. 1-2, - p. 279-309; Golden, P.B. Irano-Turcica: The Khazar Sacral Kingship Revisited // Acta Orientalia, - 2007, v. 60, no. 2, - p. 161-194.

¹⁰ Pritsak, O. The Khazar Kingdom's Conversion to Judaism // Harvard Ukrainian Studies, - 1978, no. 2, - p. 261-281; Kovalev, R.K. Creating Khazar Identity through Coins: The Special Issue, Dirhams 837/8 // East Central & Eastern Europe in the Early Middle Ages, ed. Florin Curta, - Ann Arbor, the USA: The University of Michigan Press, - 2005, - p. 220-251; Golden, P. B. The Conversion of the Khazars to Judaism // The World of the Khazars, ed. H. Ben-Shammai, A. Ronat. P.B.Golden, - Leiden: Brill, - 2007, - p. 123-162; Флеров, В.С., Флерова, В.Е. Иудаизм в степной и лесостепной Хазарии: проблема идентификации археологических источников // Хазары. Серия «Евреи и славяне», ред. В. Москович, В. Петрухин, А. Федорчук, А. Кулик, Д. Шапира, - Иерусалим, Москва: Гешарим/Мосты культуры, - 2005, vol. 16, - с.185-207. URL: <http://domongol.org/viewtopic.php?f=11&t=10704>; Петрухин, В. Флёров, В. Иудаизм в Хазарии по данным археологии // История еврейского народа в России. От древности до раннего нового времени, - Москва: Мосты культуры/Гешарим, - 2010, - с. 149-161.

¹¹ Noonan, T.S. Did the Khazars Possess a Monetary Economy? An Analysis of the Numismatic Evidence // Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi, - 1982, 2, - pp. 219-267; What Does Historical Numismatics Suggest About the History of Khazaria in the Ninth Century // Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi, - 1983, 3, - pp. 265-281; Noonan, Th.S. Khazaria as an Intermediary between Islam and Eastern Europe in the Second Half of the Ninth Century: The Numismatic Perspective // Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi, - 1987, no. 5 (1985), - pp. 175-204; Kovalev, R.K. What Does Historical Numismatics Suggest About the Monetary History of Khazaria in the Ninth Century? Question Revisited // Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi, - 2004, v. 13, - pp. 97-129; Noonan, Th. S. Some Observations on the Economy of the Khazar Khaganate // The World of the Khazars, ed. H. Ben-Shammai and A. Ronat. eds. P.B.Golden, - Leiden: Brill, - 2007, - pp. 207-245.

Eurasia.¹² The scholarly works from different countries, including those by Russian orientalists, are devoted to these questions, of which only the main ones were indicated above.

Khazar studies in the context of world history. Historians compared the containment of Muslim Arabs in the Caucasus with the decisive victory of the Franks over the Arabs at the Battle of Poitiers, which determined the border between Islam and the Christian world.¹³ The adoption of Judaism and the subsequent transformations of the Khazar society and the politics of the Khazar state are related to the history of the formation of the East European, or Ashkenazi Jewish community. A number of scholars have associated this event with the question of the origin of Ashkenazi Jews.¹⁴ A definitive proposition of the ethnic connection of Ashkenazi with the Khazars curiously correlates with the current situation in the Middle East, with modern Arab-Israeli relations. Some contemporary Arab authors contest the right of Ashkenazi Jews to *aliyah* (repatriation to Israel), since they consider their original connection to Palestine to

¹² Плетнева, С.А. От кочевий к городам. Салтово-Маяцкая культура / С.А. Плетнева. - Москва: Академия Наук СССР, Институт археологии, - 1967. - 209 с.; Очерки хазарской археологии / С.А. Плетнева. - Москва, Иерусалим: Мосты культуры/Гешарим, - 1999. - 247 с.; Флерова, В.Е. Граффити Хазарии / В.Е. Флерова. - Москва: Эдиториал-УРСС, - 1997. - 176 с.; Флёров, В.С. «Города» и «Замки» Хазарского каганата. Археологическая реальность / В.С. Флёров. - Москва: Мосты культуры, - 2010. - 260 с.

¹³ Dunlop, D.M. The History of the Jewish Khazars, p. X; Golden, P. B. Khazar Studies : An Historico-Philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars, p.14.

¹⁴ Kutschera, Die Chasaren, Historische Studie; Ein Nachlass; Poliak, A. Khazaria - Toldot Mamlacha Yehudit Beeropa [Khazaria: History of a Jewish Kingdom in Europe] /A. Poliak. - Tel Aviv: - 1943. - 194 s.; Koestler, A. The Thirteenth Tribe: The Khazar Empire and Its Heritage / A. Koestler. - London: Hutchinson, - 1976. - 219 p.; Brook, K.A. The Jews of Khazaria / K.A. Brook. - Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, - 2nd ed., - 2006. - 317 p.; Sand, S. The Invention of the Jewish People / S. Sand. - London, New York: Verso, - English ed., - 2009. - 332 p.

be controversial but related to the Khazars, Turks, Caucasians and Eastern Slavs.¹⁵

The interpretation of evidence about the role of the Khazars in the emergence of statehood among the Eastern Slavs and about the Khazars' relations with Kievan Rus is also charged with the political context. The "Primordial Russia" was between two influential political threats - the Varangians (Scandinavians) and the Khazars. Ones in the first case, according to some Russian writers, it was something like symbiosis and interpenetration occurred, in the second case the Khazars were presented as eternal enemies in the struggle against which Russia rose from its knees.¹⁶

Connection of the early history of the Khazars with the Caspian regions. In the mid-80s of the last century, the famous Soviet Azerbaijani orientalist Z.M. Bunyatov suggested that I translate and study the early medieval treatises and texts of Arab authors on Turks. As a result a book was published that had become available for Turkologists which were not able to directly benefit from the Arabic texts of those valuable sources.¹⁷ Among the translated and studied texts there were chapters "On the Turks" and "On some Turkic cities and their outlandish features" from the Mashhad manuscript of the book "Kitab Akhbar al-Buldan" Ibn al-Fakih al-Hamadani. A lot of effort was required to write comments

¹⁵ Amer, Abd al-Aziz Muhammad Ali. Israil Daulat Al-Khazar Al-Mutahawwada: Sha'buha Leysa Min Bani Israil at-Tauratiyyin / Abd al-Aziz Muhammad Ali Amer. - al-Qahira: Maktabat Jazirat al-Ward, - 2011. - p. 9.

¹⁶ The presentation of the Khazars as an aggregate image of the enemy in Russian history has been especially strengthened in Russian literature of recent decades. See, for example: Манягин, В.Г. Операция "Белый дом": Хазары в русской истории // Хазары: таинственный след в русской истории, под ред. В. Манягин, - Москва: Алгоритм, ЭКСМО, - 2010, - с. 191-236. This phenomenon was the subject of research by V. Schnirelman, however, not always well balanced and neutral - see for example: Шнирельман, В.А. «Отомстить Неразумным Хазарам...». Хазарский миф и его создатели // Образ Врага, под ред. Л. Гудков; Н. Конрадова, - Москва: ОГИ, - 2005, - с. 248-275.

¹⁷ Асадов, Ф.М. Арабские источники о тюрках в раннее средневековье / Ф.М. Асадов. - Баку: Элм, - 1993. - 203 с.

on these chapters. In the course of work I had to sort through a lot of evidence from Arab sources, among which were little-known data about the Turks of the South Caspian region Jurjan, whom the Arabs had to face at the beginning of their eastern conquests.

The collection and study of the scattered information about these Turks allowed us to conclude that the Turks penetrated and settled in the South Caspian Sea at early times. One can also assert the existence of a small Turkic state unit in the Caspian province Jurjan, which retained semi-independent political status until the 30s of the 9th century.¹⁸ In the minds of the Arabs, this and only this part of the Turkic population was connected with them by genealogy, that is, through common ancestors, going back to the sons of prophet Ibrahim. It was said about these people that the Khazars were related to them.¹⁹ The creation of this legend occurred in accordance with the traditional tribal ideas of the Arabs about the ties of human communities. For them, as representatives of the Semitic cultural tradition, the founding principle of alliances and close relations was based on genealogical kinship.

Arabs distinguished the Khazars and Türks, but always indicated their common origin. At the same time, they could use both the word “Turk” and “Khazar” with reference to the population of Khazaria, or to the people who came from Khazaria. The time boundaries of this alternate use of the term are difficult to periodize, so that the border separating the Türks from the Khazars can be fixed, and thus, the moment of the appearance of the latter can be identified. Other sources could have enhanced a confusion, in particular the Georgian and Armenian, since some of their mentioning of the Khazars, according to many scholars, might be anachronisms.²⁰

¹⁸ Asadov, F.M. 7. –9. Yuzillarda Güney Hazar Bölgesinde Hükümlerlik Süren Türk Suli Hanedanı [Turkish Dynasty of Sulids in South Caspian Land in 7-9 Centuries] // Türkler, - Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, - 2002, - s. 311-316.

¹⁹ Асадов, Арабские источники о тюрках в раннее средневековье, с. 95.

²⁰ Golden, Khazars, p. 1172.

However, the difference between Arab sources from others, including such reliable as Byzantine ones, is that their authors very often wrote independently of state policy and more accurately reflected the general perception of the situation in society. Apparently, there is no need to speak additionally about the reliability of the information of the Arab authors of the early period, the distinguishing feature of which was an indication of a chain of transmitters of news, often going back to eyewitnesses of the events.

Today there is no people bearing the name of the Khazars, and the experience of their state, which once stood on the shores of the sea of the same name, is judged by representatives of other peoples in accordance with their culture, historical memory and views on the modern world. The ability to distinguish between the realities of one's own world and limit their influence on the study of the history of the Khazars is not an easy task, especially when the absence of direct proofs and solid evidence is compensated by assumptions and imagination.

Professor Peter Golden, now perhaps the most distinguished specialist in the world of Khazar studies, living and working in Princeton, has the following words said in the introduction to his article overviewing the current state of the industry: “*Any presentation of the achievements of Khazar studies I might add, is necessarily idiosyncratic, inevitably reflecting personal interests, languages, political and cultural education etc. I make no claims that my comments will be otherwise*”.²¹ These wise and deeply thought-out words must first of all be understood as utter modesty and as a manifestation of a scientist's high dignity and self-esteem. The quality of modern Khazar studies should be determined by a political culture, embracing respectful attitude to the past and and to the present of all peoples.

The relationship of the history of the Khazars with Azerbaijani history. In the Azerbaijani language, the word Khazar is among the

²¹ Golden, *Khazar Studies: Achievements and Perspectives*, p. 12.

national symbols. The Caspian Sea is called the “Khazar Denizi” (Sea of the Khazar). The north wind, which brings coolness in the summer, and is freezing in the winter - is called “Khazri” in our country. Everywhere, in the names of places, organizations, firms, a football team - “Khazar” is heard. Nonetheless, Azerbaijani scholars did not often turn to the history of the Khazars and did not demonstrate enthusiasm when doing it. Perhaps the reason for this was that despite the presence of the Khazar heritage in the memory and symbols of the national identity of Azerbaijanis, the attitude to the Khazars was formed as towards an external force opposing the emerging national statehood, which Soviet historiography presented as originating in the struggle against the Arab invaders and conquerors from the north - against the Khazars.

However, after the collapse of the USSR for the Khazars, for many decades incorporating large areas of modern Azerbaijan into the borders of their state, and for Khazar Judaism - a unique experiment on the existence of Judaism in the Caucasus as a state religion - no attention was paid to highlight their significance for the national history.²²

The exception, probably, is the work of the patriarch of the Azerbaijani oriental medieval studies academician Z.M.Buniyatov. Z.M. Buniyatov raised the question of the length of stay and dominance of the Khazars in Transcaucasia. His opinion, which is not very popular in Soviet and post-Soviet historiography, about the more than 150-year domination of the Khazars in Transcaucasia can be found mainly in two of his works: a special article and his fundamental work “Azerbaijan in the 7th – 9th centuries.”²³ This

²² Гусейнова, С. «Двусмысленная» идентичность: ислам в учебниках «Человек и Общество» и «История Азербайджана»: [Электронный ресурс] / EuroKaukAsia: Кавказско-европейское культурно-научное общество «ЕвроКавказия», - 24 ноября, 2010 г. URL: http://www.eurokaukasia.de/574/gemeinsame_geschichtsbucher/.

²³ Буниятв, З.М. О длительности пребывания хазар в Албании в VII-VIII вв // Известия АН Аз.ССР, Серия общественных наук, - 1961, по. №1, - с. 22-34;

topic of the scholarly heritage of academician Z.M. Buniyatov was the subject of special study and presentation at the international symposium in May 2012 dedicated to the 90th anniversary of Zia Musaeovich Buniyatov.²⁴ A brief history of the Khazar Kaganate and basic information about the Khazars and their role in the history of the Caucasus can also be found in the book by Azerbaijani orientalists N.Ch. Akhundova and R.A. Gusein-zade published in 2012.²⁵

The challenge of source studies on Khazars. The research issues of written sources on the history of Khazars occupy a pivotal place in Khazar Studies. The Khazars themselves did not leave any written monuments in their own language. The four letters of the so called Khazar correspondence, including one letter by the Khazar King Joseph, are the only narrative evidence of this mysterious people that have come down to us in the language of the Jewish religion they adopted - in Hebrew. Most of our knowledge of the Khazars is contained in written sources created by representatives of neighboring peoples. The Syrian sources can be considered the earliest. The first information about the Khazars in both Armenian and Byzantine sources dates back to them. The earliest mention of the Khazars apparently was the evidence of the Pseudo-Zachariah Ritor relating to the second half of the VI century. Another early Syrian author, John of Ephesus, has no mention of the Khazars, but there is information about the Avars, with which some researchers attribute the arrival of the second wave of Turkic nomads to eastern Europe, and probably the Khazars as well. The late Syrian authors

Буниятов, З. Азербайджан В VII – IX вв. / З. Буниятов. - Баку: Издательство Академии Наук Азербайджанской ССР, - 1965. - с. 102-116.

²⁴ Асадов, Ф.М. Полемика о длительности доминирования хазар на Южном Кавказе в хазароведческих исследованиях второй половины XX века // Средневековый Восток: проблемы историографии и источниковедения, под ред. Ш.М. Мустафаев, - Баку: Элм, - 2015, - с. 16-35.

²⁵ Ахундова, Н.Ч. Кавказ и великие тюркские империи / Н.Ч. Ахундова, Р.А. Гусейн-заде. - Баку: EUROCLIO, - 2012. - 289 с.

Dionysius of Tel Mahre and Mikhail the Syrian contain evidence about the Khazars, but do not distinguish them from the Turks, under whose name they combined the data of different Turkic peoples. We used the texts of these authors in translations of N.V. Pigulevskaya and R. A. Huseynov.²⁶ Syrian author of the 13th century Abu al-Faraj Bar Hebraeus is the author of a large Chronicle, the first part of which is political history, and the second is church history. There is an abridged Arabic version of the Bar Hebraeus's History, which we used.²⁷ The advantage of this work is that the author was also associated with the Arab historical tradition and made extensive use of Arab sources.²⁸

Byzantine historiography does not mention the Khazars until the authors of the second half of the VIII - the first half of the IX centuries - Theophanes the Confessor (758-818)²⁹ and Nicephorus (758-828).³⁰ There is little information about the Khazars in the Byzantine sources, but they contain the reports of concrete experience of the Byzantine state with the Khazars, and by all means are reliable evidence of those developments. Of a particular

²⁶ Н.В. Пигулевская, "Сирийский источник VI в. о народах Кавказа," // *Вестник древней истории*, no. 1 (1939), сс. 107-115; *Сирийские источники по истории народов СССР* (Москва-Ленинград: Издательство Академии Наук СССР, 1941); *Сирийская средневековая историография. Исследования и переводы* (Санкт-Петербург: "ДБ", 2000), 760 с.; Р.А. Гусейнов, *Сирийские источники XII-XIII вв. об Азербайджане* (Баку: Элм, 1960), 181 с.; "Сирийские источники по истории Закавказья X-XIV вв. // *Historical-Philological Journal*, no. 2 (1974)., сс. 47-54.

²⁷ Ghrighoriyus al-Malati Ibn al-Ibri, *Tarikh Mukhtasar Al-Duwal* (Beirut: Al-Matbaa al-Kathulikiyya, 1958)., 346 p.

²⁸ Новосельцев, Хазарское государство и его роль в истории Восточной Европы и Кавказа, с. 32.

²⁹ Византиец, Феофан. Выписки из "Истории" Феофана / Византийские историки: Дексипп, Эвнапий, Олимпиодор, Малх, Петр Патриций, Менандр, Кандид, Ноннос и Феофан Византиец, переведенные с греческого Спиридоном Дестунисом, - Санкт-Петербург: - 1860, - с. 492-495.

³⁰ Чичуров, И.С. Византийские исторические сочинения. "Хронография" Феофана, "Бревиарий" Никифора / И.С. Чичуров. - Москва: Наука, - 1980. - 216 с.

importance is the work "On the Administration of the Empire" by a historian and statesman of the tenth century Constantine Porphyrogenitus (Emperor: 913-959)³¹ that had reflected the period of the decline and collapse of the Khazar state.

Armenian historical works of the early Middle Ages contain a lot of information about the Khazars. However from among the Armenian historians of the foundation period of the Armenian historiography only Movses Khorenatsi reported about the Khazars.³² Khorenatsi's information constitutes one of the biggest difficulties of Khazar source study, since it does not comply the time of references to the Khazars in other written monuments and discord with the idea dominating in contemporary academic community about the ethnopolitical situation in the Caucasus and the Northern Caspian lands in the 2nd-5th centuries. The information on the Khazars are found in the Armenian geographical work, allegedly compiled at the beginning of the 7th century by Ananias Shirakatsi.³³ The most informative Armenian source about the Khazars is the "History of Caliphs" by Ghevond.³⁴

The work of the Albanian historian Moses Kalankatuisky "History of Agwan" occupies a special place in Khazar source

³¹ Багрянородный, Константин. Об управлении империей (De Administrando Imperio) / Константин Багрянородный, перевод под ред. Г.Г. Литаврина и А.П. Новосельцева. - Москва: Наука, - 1991. - 496 с.

³² Хоренаци, Мовсес. История Армении / Мовсес Хоренаци, перев. Г. Саркисян. - Ереван: Айастан, - 1990. - 291 с.

³³ Патканов, К.П. Армянская география VII в. по Р.Х. (приписываемая Моисею Хоренскому): [Электронный ресурс] / К.П. Патканов. - Санкт-Петербург: - 1877. URL: <http://www.vehi.net/istoriya/armenia/geographiya/04.html>.; Из нового списка Географии, приписываемой Моисею Хоренскому: [Электронный ресурс] // Журнал Министерства Народного Просвещения (ЖМНП), - 1883, № 226. URL: http://www.vostlit.info/Texts/Dokumenty/Kavkaz/VII/Arm_Geogr/text1.phtml?id=2184.

³⁴ Гевонд. История халифов вардапета Гевонда, писателя VIII века / Гевонд, перев. К. Патканьян. - СПб.: - 1862. - 191 с.

study.³⁵ But even in this informative book, the dating and details of the reported stories about the Khazars require close study to establish their accuracy and chronological reference.

The problem of anachronisms and the chronology of the narration is also an issue for medieval Georgian sources. The Khazars are mentioned in the first three early books of the set of Georgian historical works "Kartlis Tskhovreba" ("Life of the Georgians"). However, from these references, the reports of "Matiane Kartlisa" ("Chronicles of Georgia"), created by an unknown author of the 11th century, should be recognized as the most adequate coverage directly related to the Khazars.³⁶

A special place in source studies on the history of the Khazars is occupied by Arabic written monuments. Their most important advantage is their genre diversity, i.e. the information on the Khazars is contained not only in historical books, but also in works of medieval Arab geography, poetry, prose, and bio-bibliographic literature.

The discussion of the origin and early history of the Khazars involves the evidence of Chinese sources on the history of the Tang Dynasty and some data from Uigur stone inscriptions of the middle of the 8th century. The well-known Russian Turkologist S.G. Klyashtorny discovered a connection between some of the evidence of the stone written monuments of the Uigur Khaganate and the Khazars. This information is of great importance for the question of

³⁵ Каганкатвацци, Моисей. История Агван / Моисей Каганкавацци, перев. с армянского К.П. Патканов. - Санкт-Петербург: Императорская Академия Наук, - 1861. - 376 с.; Каланкатуаци, Мовсес. История страны Алуанк / Мовсес Каланкатуаци, перев. Ш.В.Смбатян. - Ереван: Матенадаран, - 1984. - 258 с.

³⁶ Летопись Картли (Матиане Картлиса): [Электронный ресурс] / Перевод, введение и примечания Г.В. Цулая. - Тбилиси: Мецниереба, - 1982. - 69 с. URL: http://dspace.nplg.gov.ge/bitstream/1234/3160/1/Letopis_kartli.pdf; Картлис Цховреба (История Грузии) / Под ред. Р. Метревели. - Тбилиси: Издательство "Артануджи", - 2008. - 455 с.

the origin of the Khazars.³⁷ Additionally to written monuments, the publications of Khazar archeology, especially archaeological finds and numismatic material in Azerbaijan presumably related to the Khazars, were also used in the dissertation. Of particular note is the consideration of the relevance of the latest genetic research related to the problems and methodology of Khazar studies.

The object and the subject of the research. The evidence of written monuments and information provided by other auxiliary scientific disciplines to study the interaction of the Khazars with external factors influencing the configuration of the political and economic environment in the South Caucasus region in the VI-X centuries can be determined as objects of our research. The external factors of interaction with the Khazars congruently influencing the processes in Azerbaijan were Sasanian Iran in its latest age, Byzantium, the Arab Caliphate, and the so called Rus of Arab sources as well as the tribes of the Khazar confederation which acted independently in some episodes of political developments.

The subject of the research is the role of the Khazars and the Khazar state in the political evolution of the region, and the impact of the three hundred years of the existence of a strong Khazar state on the ethno-political, religious and economic processes in Azerbaijan. A special subject of research are the conditions of the conduction of Khazar studies, determined by the special features of historical narratives in the Middle Ages and in modern national historiographies.

Goals and objectives of the research. The Khazars' relations with a specific country in Central Eurasia, namely Azerbaijan, should aim at presenting reliable factual material and the interpretation of it as a concrete experience of the Khazar state's relations with neighboring possessions and the population of neighboring countries. Thus, the main goal of the proposed study can be identified as the

³⁷ Кляшторный, С.Г. Рунические памятники Уйгурского каганата и история евразийских степей / С.Г. Кляшторный. – СПб.: Петербургское Востоковедение, - 2010. - с. 175.

study of the relationship between the Khazar state and the Khazar people with the territory of modern Azerbaijan and its population as an exemplary manifestation of the importance of the Khazar state in the history of early medieval Eurasia.

The Turkic Khazar people mysteriously disappeared from the history of Eurasia after the X century. But its history, as we could see, not only moves the researchers of various nations today, but also becomes the subject of modern political aspirations and insinuations even outside the Central Eurasian region. This means that each decent study of the history of the Khazars must be placed in the system of complex intersections of national historiography of the modern peoples of Eurasia, and should take into account the special role of the Khazars in the history of the spread of world religions, also in relation to civilization borders of the world. The last aspect of Khazar studies determines its significant place in the world history. Thus, for the history of Azerbaijan and the Azerbaijani people the contours of Khazar studies are also determined in two planes: in the sphere of bilateral interaction and in the context of the world history.

The pervasive significance of the Khazar historiography is also grounded on the fact that almost all the main groups of written sources of the Eurasian continent left the news about them. However, a lot of key evidence of some sources is in conflict with the data of other sources. One of the most honored scholars of the history of the Khazars, an American historian of Ukrainian origin Professor Omelyan Pritsak noted on this occasion: “*The Khazar problem is one of the most difficult, primarily because the sources written in different languages are very poor, heterogeneous and often hardly authentic*”.³⁸ And this constitutes an insurmountable obstacle to clarifying controversial issues in the history of the Khazars. Consequently, a thorough study of the issues of Khazar studies requires careful work to establish the reliability of the evidence in the multilingual primary sources.

³⁸ Golden, *Khazar Studies: Achievements and Perspectives*, p. 10; Голден, *Достижения и перспективы хазарских исследований*, с. 29.

Thus, the objectives of our study were established as follows:

- search and collection of data of written sources and archaeological evidence of the presence of the Khazars and elements of the Khazar material culture in the territory of modern Azerbaijan;
- determination of the authenticity of the Khazars' evidence data preserved in written monuments, and identification of possible anachronisms in historical texts, the direct interpretation of which could mislead researchers in terms of the time and circumstances of the beginning of the history of the Khazars in the Caucasus;
- taking into account the interconnection of studying the history of the Khazars with important problems of modern politics and international relations, the necessary task of the study is to clarify the socio-political circumstances that influenced modern Khazar studies in various countries;
- highlighting the nature of the interaction of the nomadic people of the Caucasus, and in particular, and especially the Khazars, with the population of Caucasian Albania, who after the Arab-Khazar wars were ended up within the borders of the Arab Caliphate;
- assessment of the results of the Arab-Khazar wars and their significance for the fate of the population of future Muslim regions of the South Caucasus;
- clarification of the role of Arab-Khazar cooperation in organizing long-distance international trade between the Muslim world and countries north of the Caucasus Range, as well as Central Asia and China;
- establishing the importance of trade cooperation between Arabs and Khazars for the economic development of Muslim regions of the South Caucasus, namely the territories of modern North and South Azerbaijan;
- Characterization of the religious situation in the Khazar state and a study of the role of the Khazars in the spread of Islam and other world religions in the South Caucasus, especially in the territory of modern Azerbaijan;
- An assessment of the importance of the Khazar Khaganate for the early medieval history of the Azerbaijani people, and the

connectivity of Azerbaijani national history with the history of the Khazars in the Caucasus.

Research methods. The work combines the methods of source analysis and historiographic research. At the same time, the fundamental provision was that since the facts and realities of the history of the Khazars were not firmly established by the previous development of the Khazar studies in an indisputable way, the determination of the reliability of conflicting data about the Khazars in written sources should inevitably form a part of the research work. In other words, the establishment of facts through the analysis of primary sources became a necessary part of the historical reconstruction of events and social processes. The principle of the inseparability of source analysis with history construction was formulated by one of the founders of the methodology of historical science in Russia A.S. Lappo-Danilevsky (1863-1919).³⁹

The next important methodological impetus was the theory of historical narrative, the foundation of which was laid by a modern Dutch historian and philosopher Frank Ankersmith. According to the followers of this theory, the source exists as an object with two main functional characteristics. Firstly, it is a representation of the historical reality of the era in which the written monument was created, and secondly, it is the function of reflecting events preceding the time of the creation of the written monument; the narrative primary source is just a metaphorical, author's interpretation of the past, which differs little from the work of a modern historian in this regard.⁴⁰ A consistent presentation and specific application of these methodological techniques in the analysis of sources about the Khazars and the Khazar state are contained in the first chapter of the study.

³⁹ Лаппо-Данилевский, А.С. Методология истории / А.С. Лаппо-Данилевский. - Москва: Издательский дом "Территория будущего", - 2006. - 624 с.

⁴⁰ Анкерсмит, Ф. Нарративная логика: семантический анализ языка историков / Ф. Анкерсмит, перев. с англ. Андрей Олейников, Оксана Гавришина. - Москва: ИДЕЯ-ПРЕСС, - 2003. - 360 с.

The main conclusions of the dissertation that have been suggested for the defence.

1. The author believes that sufficient proofs were presented in the work to argue for anachronisms in the evidence of the Khazars by Armenian, Albanian, Georgian and some Arab-Persian authors. The mentioning of the Khazars by Movses Khorenatsi and “Kartlis Tskhovreba” before the middle of the 6th century, when information about the Khazars appeared in Syrian sources, should be considered anachronisms related to the Khazar predecessors in the region

2. Along with the general provisions that bring together the Albanian historian, the author of The History of Aghvan, and the position of medieval Armenian historiography in relation to the Caucasian nomads, the author of the History of Aghvan is distinguished by a clear understanding of the special mission of the Albanian church and state in educating neighboring non-Christian peoples - the Huns and Khazars. This was a natural result of the long interaction between the political and ethno-cultural processes running in Caucasian Albania and in the north of the Caucasus Ridge, which continued and intensified with the advent of Arabs and Islam, especially during the peaceful phase of relations between the Khazars and Arabs.

3. The evidence of the Khazars in the Russian chronicles, recorded no earlier than a century and a half after the collapse of Khazaria, should be considered formed under the influence of chroniclers' concerns about ensuring the legitimacy of the Rurikoviches' power in Kiev and in entire Russia.

4. The authenticity of the Arab sources' reports about the Khazars is proved by fixing the impressions of eyewitnesses of contacts with the Khazars, which, however, hardly had original knowledge about Khazaria any significantly beyond the capital Itil before the journey of Ahmad ibn Fadlan in 921-922.

5. The adoption of Judaism by the Khazar elite, reports of religious policy of the Khazars, and ideas about the relationship of the Khazars with the history of the formation of the East European Jewish community have created a curious atmosphere of intersection

of the Khazar studies with the political problems of the modern world. The impact of this atmosphere on the position of scholars and on the public opinion of individual countries enhances the topicality of the Khazar studies and increases the sensitivity to their political correctness. On the other hand, the sensitivity to the Khazar theme was a public background that had a peculiar influence on the national historiographies of countries whose historical past was connected with the history of the Khazar Khaganate.

6. The role of the Khazars in the history of Azerbaijan has been underestimated both in the world and in the national historiography. A consistent and thorough analysis of the evidence of the Khazars in the late Sassanid and Arab periods of the history of the South Caucasus suggests that some parts of the territory of Azerbaijan for a long time was a part of the Khazar space, and the population of these lands could have been participating in the formation of the Khazar Confederation in the Caucasus on the eve of the Arab conquest. The existence of a powerful Turkic state on the northern borders of Azerbaijan for three centuries over played a significant role in increasing the number of Turkic population of the country.

7. The main result of the Arab-Khazar confrontation in Azerbaijan was the stabilization of the land border between the two powers from Derbent to the west and, most importantly, the establishment of the Arab-Khazar partnership on the Silk Road.

8. The Cooperation of Arabs and Khazars in long-distance international trade for nearly a century has laid the main transportation routes of goods and technologies from Central Eurasia to the Middle East to go through the territories of North and South Azerbaijan, as well as by sea across the Caspian Sea.

9. Favorable conditions for international trade contributed to the formation of the domestic market and developed infrastructure for long-distance caravan trade, and the development of cities and local agricultural and craft production in the territory of historical Azerbaijan.

10. The liberal religious environment in Khazar society created the conditions for the spread of world religions in the region, and Islam, in particular. The Arab administration encouraged the resettlement of Khazar Muslims in Azerbaijan, which contributed to a combination of the processes of Turkization and Islamization of the population of the country.

11. The period of the Arab-Khazar partnership on the Silk Road definitively contributed to the economic activity of a significant part of the population of Azerbaijan, the mobility of its inhabitants, its economic and demographic consolidation. The results of this historical stage should be evaluated as decisive in the formation of the main economic and demographic features of the historical space where the future Azerbaijani nation arose. The period following the Arab-Khazar cooperation in the region and the fall of the Khazar Kaganate, or the time of the growth of centrifugal tendencies in the caliphate and the rise of local dynasties in the South Caucasus and Central Asia unfortunately did not contribute to the consolidation and development of positive trends and achievements laid down in Azerbaijan in the period of Arab-Khazar cooperation on trade routes.

12. The end to the period of the Arab-Khazar partnership on the Silk Road was put by successful policy of Byzantium in the first half of the tenth century. By pulling the new government of Kievan Rus (882) into its orbit, Byzantium successfully acted in the direction of destabilizing the Khazar state, which had previously completely controlled the military-political situation in the East European and Caucasian sector of the Eurasian trade routes. On the other hand, the Georgian principalities of Byzantium began to pose a threat to the security of trade routes in southwestern Azerbaijan.

13. The weakened Khazaria was no longer a strong partner for the Arab caliphate, and the political decentralization of the Muslim power that began in the 10th century reduced its ability to counter Byzantine politics. At the same time, the interests of the Samanids in Central Asia directed their efforts to intensifying the trade route from

Khwarezm along the Volga-Baltic route to Europe and to the south "from the Varangians to the Greeks."

14. The history of the Khazars and the Khazar Khaganate can be considered as a part of Azerbaijani national history, as well as the historical process on the territory of Azerbaijan can be counted as a fulfillment of the tendency of settling and Islamization of the Turkic-speaking nomads of Khazaria in Azerbaijan. The fate of Azerbaijan and the Khazaria turned out to be connected during the three centuries of the Khazar Khaganate, and the fall of the Khazaria slowed down the process of the country's demographic and economic consolidation.

Academic recency of the research. An important and innovative component of the study was the addressing the problems of the source study of Khazar history within the frames of a special analytical chapter, which examined a fundamental problem of the Khazar studies concerning degrees of credibility of conflicting reports of written sources about the Khazars as well as the question of the alleged anachronisms in the Albanian, Armenian, Georgian and Arab-Persian historical works.

An attempt was made in the work to establish an objective connection between the trends and conditions of the development of national historiographies with various reflections on the Khazar themes in the fiction literature and public opinion of modern countries of the once-existing Khazar world (Pax Chasarica). This aspect of the consideration of issues made it possible to present the scientific problems of the Khazar history in the light of modern political processes and fluctuations in public opinion. Modern methodologies for studying ethnic history, in particular, genetic studies of peoples presumably having an ethnic connection with the Khazars were also highlighted in the research.

For the first time in Azerbaijani and Khazar historiography, an attempt was made to consider the history of relations between the Khazars and the population and states in Azerbaijan from the perspective of the general history of Central Eurasia in the 7th-10th centuries, and in light of the problems of the history of the Khazar

state. This allowed us to offer a reassessment of the role of the Khazars in the national history of Azerbaijan and in the evolution of ethnicity picture in the lands of Azerbaijani.

During the examination of evidence on the role of the Khazars in the history of Azerbaijan, the materials of written sources and archaeological finds were comparatively taken into account, assessment of a number of archaeological artifacts were updated, and evidence of written sources was reinterpreted.

The significance of the Arab-Khazar period of the history of the Silk Road for demographic and economic development in the entire modern space of the Azerbaijani people was revised.

In addition to the above mentioned main conclusions of the dissertation, addressing major issues of the Khazar studies and Azerbaijani historiography, new considerations were substantiated regarding the following questions of historiography and source studies of the South Caucasus in the course of the research of primary sources on the dissertation topic:

- Movses Khorenatsi's information about the Khazars in the period before the creation of Armenian historiography in the 5th century CE was substantiated as having been of a secondary transmission of the reports concerning earlier inroads to the region;

- The information of the Albanian historian Moses Kalankatuisky on the adoption of Christianity in Albania and Armenia was analyzed and a new chronology of the events of this process was suggested, more precisely reflecting the logic and views of the author of "The History of Agwan";

- Evidence was found In the text of the "History of Aghvan", allowing an interpretation that would suggest new arguments to assert the existence of the author's conception of the history of Albania, the Albanian people and the church, as well as the likelihood of the significance of the "History of Aghvan" as an official historical narration of the Albanian statehood.

- A new interpretation of the policy of the Albanian prince Javanshir towards the Khazars and the events following his death was proposed to indicate to a priority of relationship with Khazars

and buffer state policy of the Albanian kingdom between Khazars and Arabs;

- The events of the decisive stage of the struggle of the Arabs against the Turks in the Caucasus and Central Asia were synchronized, which helped to clarify the general strategy of Arab expansion in Mashrik (in the East), as well as to clarify the content and significance of the first reports of the adoption of Islam by the Turkic rulers;

- A new explanation of the origin of the toponym Sul and the Sul fortress in the Derbent region is proposed and its connection with the name of the Turkic people and the Sul area in the South Caspian is established;

- A new interpretation of archaeological finds in Gabala on the territory of north-western Azerbaijan, presumably related to the Saltovo-Mayatsk culture of the Khazar Kaganate, was suggested;

- A passage about the Rus in the geographical work of the author of the IX century Ibn Khordadbeh was studied and its connection with the information on the trade routes of the Jewish merchants "ar-rahdaniyyash" was justified, that altogether certified the connection of the Trans-Caspian routes with the overland Eurasian trade routes;

- An information of the Arab author al-Idrisi on the production of natural madder dye in northern Azerbaijan and its transportation across the Caspian Sea to India was studied concerning the original sources of this evidence and the shaping of the final text of the report

- a localization and etymology of the toponym al-Abkhaz on the trade route from Barda to Derbent was proposed;

- The excerpt of the Arab geographer Ibn Haukal's work on the causes of the economic decline in Barda in the middle of the 10th century was analyzed and interpreted to explain the hardly intelligible meaning of the text;

- Clarifications have been made to a series of evidence from Arab sources about the events of the period of our research regarding the use of various geographic terms referring to the Caspian Sea in

Arab sources, as well as the importance of the oil and the port of Baku in international trans-Caspian trade, and about the conflicting data of Ibn Khordadbeh and al-Masudi on the time of the appearance of Rus ships in the Caspian Sea.

Academic significance and practicability of the research.

The results of the study represent an update and revision of the provisions of national historiography on the role of the Khazars and Khazar Khaganate in the formation of the ethnopolitical, economic and cultural characteristics of the South Caucasus, and in particular Azerbaijan in Middle Ages. A successful defense of the provisions of the dissertation could significantly update the content of the history courses of Azerbaijan in high school and higher educational institutions. A well-documented study of the role of the Khazars in the history of Azerbaijan can serve as a comparative material for studying the role of the Khazar state in the history of the Eurasian region and in developing the traditions of statehood of other neighbors of the Khazars in Central Eurasia. Such study can also contribute to the assessment of the significance of the Khazar experience in the history of early statehood in Eurasia.

Approbation and practical implementation of work outcomes. Research on the topic of the dissertation has been going on since the 1990s, when the author began to study and publish Arabic sources about the Turks in the early medieval period. In total, over 60 research articles have been published over this period. Thirty two research articles are specially devoted to the Khazars, they were published in Russian, English, Turkish, Azerbaijani and French languages and were released in periodicals and special research article collections in Azerbaijan, Russia, Kazakhstan, Turkey, Uzbekistan, Sweden, France, Norway, Germany, the Netherlands and the South Korea. Among the publications related to the presentation of the results of the study also two books should be mentioned printed in 1993 and 2017 and representing translations of early medieval Arabic sources about Turkic peoples, including the Khazars. A special monograph in Azerbaijani was released in 2018 on the role of the Khazars and the Khazar state in the history of early

medieval Azerbaijan. The results of the study were reported at international conferences in Russia, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Turkey, Great Britain, Italy, Kazakhstan, Iran. The dissertation was discussed at two joint meetings of the Department of History and Economy of the Arab Countries and the Department of History and Economy of Turkey at the Institute of Oriental Studies after Z.M. Buniyatov of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Azerbaijan on October 17, 2018 and on December 21, 2018

The organization in which the dissertation work was completed. The dissertation work was conducted and completed at the Department of the “History and Economy of Arab Countries” in the Institute of Oriental Studies after Z.M. Bunyadov of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

The total volume of the dissertation. The total volume of the work (excluding the reference literature list) constituted 484 636 signs without spaces. The title page consists of 289 signs, the Content – 4 822 signs, the Introduction – 46, 281 signs, the First Chapter – 139 016 signs, the Second Chapter – 84 920 signs, the Third Chapter – 76 419 signs, the Fourth Chapter – 117 365 signs, the Conclusion – 15 524 signs.

BASIC CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Introduction establishes the thematic, chronological and geographical contours of the study and justifies its relevance in the context of three main problem blocks: the significance of the Khazar state in the world history, the problems of the credibility of various sources on Khazars, and the issues of interaction of Khazaria and Azerbaijan (the territory of contemporary Republic of Azerbaijan). It also describes the methodology, novelty and the scholarly and practical significance of the study, as well as the extent of academic coverage of the issues of the work.

The geographic boundaries of the study include the territory of the northern Black Sea steppes, the middle and lower reaches of the Volga, and the Caucasus - the lands traditionally included by the researchers within the Khazar state during its highest extent (VIII-

beginning of the X centuries), as well as, of course, the South Caucasus, and especially regions of the North and South Azerbaijan.

The chronological framework of the study is determined by a fairly consistent, generally accepted opinion about the appearance of the Khazars in the Caucasus no later than the end of the VI century CE and the collapse of the power of the Khazar Khaganate in the middle of the 10th century in result of the blows of the Kievan troops of Prince Svyatoslav Igorevich from the west, and the Oghuz Turks from the east.

Relations between the Khazars and surrounding peoples and states developed as a long but natural phase of interaction between the nomads of the Eurasian steppes and the zone of settled population. The powerful tribal alliances that were created constituted a constant military threat to sedentary neighbors, who had to pay tribute to avoid devastating campaigns.⁴¹ The three centuries during which a powerful Khazar state existed on the border with the South Caucasus were decisive for the beginning of the history of statehood of the Eastern European peoples and the configuration of the ethno-political map of the South Caucasus. At the same time, the study of even the most basic and general issues of the history of the Khazars encounters difficult obstacles to overcome - inconsistency and the controversial reliability of the surviving evidence from written sources.⁴²

Based on the substantiated topicality of the research we propose a work structure consisting of four chapters having their own thematic sections, which in turn may have smaller subsections.

The First Chapter, "Research methodology of sources on the history of the Khazars," addresses the prime, key problem of Khazar studies — the issues of consideration and interpreting the information from written sources. Multilingual sources about the

⁴¹ Karoly Czegledy, "From East to West: The Age of Nomadic Migration in Eurasia, с. 25, 27, 29; С.Г. Кляшторный и Т.И. Султанов, *Государства Евразийских Народов: от древности к новому времени*, с. 92.

⁴² Р. Golden, "Khazar Studies: Achievements and Perspectives.", p. 10; Питер Голден, *Достижения и перспективы хазарских исследований*, с. 29.

Khazars are sometimes complementary, but are mutually contradictory on a number of key issues. The opinion of historians on controversial issues is often determined by their attitude to the primary sources and the preference of some reports over others. These preferences are often left without explanation from the information source perspective.⁴³ Inevitable for an author of the latest research on the Khazars is the argumentation and determination of author's position in relation to various sources and the establishment of the credibility of evidence involved in the study. The expediency of applying the theory of historical narrative, or historical representation, developed in Western philosophy of history since the last decade of the twentieth century is substantiated in the paragraph 1.1 of the chapter to consider the above mentioned complex of issues. This view of the quality of historical narrative, on the one hand, distinguishes between a written source of data about the past and modern academic research, and, on the other hand, brings them together as a metaphorical representation of historical events. The metaphorical representation of history makes any historical narrative a purely individual attitude to the subject of the story, and at the same time a characteristic feature of the author's era.⁴⁴ In the practice of a modern historical research, this, from the point of view of the author of the dissertation, means the mandatory disclosure of one's own attitude to the source of information, which is formed from an understanding of the logic of source's representation itself.

The corresponding paragraphs of the chapter consider and present the author's opinion about various groups of written sources about the Khazars. Section 1.2 presents the history of the discovery

⁴³ Л.Н. Гумилев, *Древние тюрки* (Москва: "Клышников-Комаров и Ко", 1993), с. 5; Максим Жих, "Древняя Русь и Великая степь: симбиоз или противостояние? Размышления о концепциях Л.Н. Гумилёва и В.В. Кожинова.," *Суждения*, no. 9 (2012), <http://suzhdenia.ruspole.info/node/3191>
<http://suzhdenia.ruspole.info/node/3192>.

⁴⁴ Е.В. Мишалова, "Исторический нарратив как форма организации и репрезентации исторического знания," *Эпистемология и философия науки XXXI*, no. 1 (2012), с. 161.

and the controversy about the authenticity of the documents of the Khazar correspondence, substantiates the opinion about the reality of the existence of the correspondence, and interprets under what circumstances interpolations could be made in the original text of the correspondence.⁴⁵

The typology of perceptions of the Khazars in written monuments of neighboring peoples who had contacts with them is presented in paragraph 1.3. Reviews of sources about the Khazars by renowned modern researchers, the authors of fundamental monographs about the Khazars and the Khazar state alongside Their assessments are also characterized in this section. The assessment of the credibility of written sources is argued for as necessary and the most important element of any modern research on the Khazars.

In the subsequent paragraphs of the chapter according to the conclusions about the requirements for Khazar research, justified in paragraphs 1.1 and 1.3., the author of the thesis determines his opinion about the main categories of written sources - about their authenticity and historical conditions of integrating the evidence about the Khazars into those sources.

In the paragraph 1.4. the conceptual frames and authenticity of information about the Khazars presented by the author of “The Tale of Bygone Years (Primary Chronicle)” are discussed. Attention is drawn to the fact that Russian chronicles were created only a whole century after the fall of Khazaria and were aimed at legitimizing the power of the Rurukovichs in Kyiv. Information about Khazar rule was accordingly selected and limited to subordinate to this task, while popular memory preserved the events of Khazar political rule in the epic images of Mikhailo Kazarin and Zhidovin.⁴⁶ In the next

⁴⁵ П.К. Коковцов, Еврейско-Хазарская Переписка [Jewish-Khazar Correspondence] (Ленинград Издательство Академии Наук СССР, 1932).; Norman Golb and Omeljan Pritsak, Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982)., p. 184.

⁴⁶ Peter B. Golden, Khazar Studies : An Historico-Philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars, 2 vols., vol. 1, Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica (Budapest: Akadèmiai Kiadó, 1980), p. 16.

paragraph 1.5. the general features and specificity of reports about the Khazars in the early historiography tradition of the peoples of the South Caucasus are considered; the reasons of occurring anachronisms of the evidence on the Khazars provided by medieval Armenian and Georgian authors, the historical concept and the authenticity of Khazar reports by the author of “The History of Aghuank” are elaborated. Particular attention is paid to the information of the Armenian author Movses Khorenatsi about the campaign of the Khazars and Barsils in the South Caucasus, presumably in the second decade of the 3rd century. AD, considered the earliest mention of written sources about the Khazars in the Caucasus. A critical study of the text and the problem of the reliability of the evidence made it possible to determine this key news for the chronology of Khazar history as a memory of events related to the predecessors of the Khazars in the region, but attributed to the Khazars by the author, who was a contemporary of the Khazars’ campaigns in the South Caucasus in the 7th century.⁴⁷ The question of the sources and the author’s version of the “History of the Albans” is closely examined and the opinion of the monument as a status Albanian historical narrative of the Albanian state, reflecting the peculiarities of the relations of the Albanian political elite with the world of nomads of the Caucasus, in particular with the Khazars, is substantiated. The special status of the monument as a primary source for judgments about the legality of decisions and actions of the Albanian clergy and political elite, apparently, was the reason for the addition of the contents of the monument by different, at least

⁴⁷ Moses Khorenatsi, *History of the Armenians*, trans. Robert W. Thomson, *Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978).; Robert W. Thomson, "Introduction," in *Moses Khorenatsi. History of Armenians* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1978)., c. 1, 13, 51, 58-59; И.Ю. Ващева, "Парадоксы Исторической Концепции Мовсеса Хоренци," *Диалог со временем*. 2012. Вып. 40. С. 219-230, no. 40 (2012)., с. 221-223

two, authors throughout the existence of the Albanian church and the Albanian nobility.⁴⁸

The significance of Syrian sources, which are suggested to be considered as the earliest ever reliable mentioning of the Khazars dated in the second half of the VI century, is specified in the paragraph 1.6.⁴⁹ The time and circumstances of recording the Khazar data in the works of Byzantine historians are subject of the study in section 1.7. It is very significant that the authors of the first half of the 7th century, especially one so informed about the affairs of eastern countries as Theophylact Simokatta, do not mention the name of the Khazars. Most likely, the Khazars, even if they were in the Caucasus at that time, did not come into direct conflict with the Byzantines.⁵⁰

The advantages of the Arab-Muslim authors' evidence about the Khazars are discussed in the section 1.8 of the chapter. Alongside the distinctive feature of those sources as reflection of the Arabs' encounters with Khazars, their significance as written monuments of Arab history and geography literature preserving the evidence of previous Sassanian and local history traditions is also substantiated. The evolution of social relations and ideology in the Arab Caliphate led to the creation of a common Muslim culture and a written tradition in Arabic, in the development of which non-Arab intellectuals took part. The works of such authors as, for example, at-Tabari (839-923), al-Balazuri (d. 892) and Abu Hanifa ad-Dinawari (828-895), included news of previous local historical traditions, lost to us, probably forever.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Movses Dasxuranci, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians*, trans. C. J. F. Dowsett, London Oriental Series, (London, New York,: Oxford University Press, 1961),, p XX, XVIII

⁴⁹ Н.В. Пигулевская, *Сирийские источники по истории народов СССР* (Москва-Ленинград: Издательство Академии Наук СССР, 1941), с. 11, 21

⁵⁰ А.П. Новосельцев, *Хазарское государство и его роль в истории Восточной Европы и Кавказа* [Khazar State and its significance in the history of the Eastern Europe and the Caucasus] (Москва: "Наука", 1990),, с. 33.

⁵¹ Abu Djafar Mohammad ibn Djarir at-Tabari, *Annales Quos Scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed Ibn Djarir at-Tabari Cum Aliis Edidit M. J. De Goeje*. Series I-iii. , 15 vols. (Lugduni Batavorum: E. J. Brill, 1879); Imamo Ahmed ibn Yahja ibn Djabir

Section 1.9 presents the thematic and chronological framework of the few mentions of the Khazars in Chinese sources. The main news about the Khazars and the Khazar Kaganate found their way into Chinese chronicles, most likely in the transmission of a Chinese prisoner of war who spent 11 years in Arab captivity. There is also reason to connect the name of the ninth Uyghur kagan Hesa-tegin, mentioned in Chinese sources, with the name of one of the tribes of the Uyghur coalition and with the name Kasar of Uyghur stone-written sources.⁵² The last paragraph 1.10 is devoted to the consideration of hypothetical references to the Khazars in the Eastern Turkic (Uighur) stone monuments. The discovery of these monuments and their interpretation in support of the eastern origin of the Khazars belongs to the famous Russian Turkologist S.G. Klyashtorny, who discovered in these inscriptions a mention of Kadyr Kasar, the supposed eponym of the Khazars.⁵³

The Second Chapter of the dissertation “Khazars in the history of Eurasian peoples of the early Middle Ages” pursues precisely this goal - to present the achievements of modern Khazar

al-Beladsori, *Liber Expugnationis Regionum* (Lugduni Batavorum: E.J. Brill, 1866); Abu Hanifa Ahmad ibn Dawud ibn Wanand al-Dinawari, *The Book of Lengthy Histories*, (2012), <http://www.mrjb.ca/current-projects/abu-hanifah-ahmad-ibn-dawud-al-dinawari>

⁵² Lin Ying, "Some Chinese Sources on the Khazars and Khwarazm," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 11 (2000-2001)(2001), p. 354; Shun Shiota, "The Chinese Chroniclers of the Khazars: Notes on Khazaria in Tang Period Texts," *ibid.* 14(2005), p. 232, 254-255

⁵³ С.Г. Кляшторный and Т.И. Султанов, *Государства и народы евразийских степей: древность и средневековье*, второе издание, исправленное и дополненное, (Санкт-Петербург: "Петербургское востоковедение", 2004), с. 170, 173; С.Г. Кляшторный, *Рунические памятники уйгурского каганата и история евразийских степей* (СПб: Петербургское Востоковедение, 2010), с. 6; Фарда Асадов, *Хазары и барсилы в исследованиях С.Г.Кляшторного / Тюрко-Монгольский мир в прошлом и настоящем. Материалы Международной конференции, посвященной памяти Сергея Григорьевича Кляшторного (1928-2014)* (Санкт-Петербург – Улан-Батор: Российская Академия Наук, Институт Восточных рукописей/Монгольская Академия Наук, Институт Истории и Археологии, 2016).

studies in connection with the study of issues of national history of Eurasian peoples who were in contact with the Khazars. The central significance of this chapter is that it considers the issues of our research from the perspective of a wide range of problems of Khazar studies.

The most important issue for studying the identity of the Khazars and the characteristics of their historical experience is their relationship with Judaism and the early medieval history of the Jewish people. The section 2.1 of the chapter is devoted to the attitude of medieval Jewish authors to the Khazars. The parameters for assessing the Khazar state in the history of Judaism were set back in the 11th century in the book of Yehuda Halevi (1075-1144), known in translation into Hebrew as “Sefer Ha-Kuzari” (Khazar Book), and retained their significance almost until the 20th century. The outstanding thinker of the Jewish Middle Ages used news of the Khazar state as a legendary background in his theological polemics with Christianity, Islam and Karaite teachings.⁵⁴ The section 2.2 of the chapter covers the stages of forming an opinion on the central importance of the Khazar state in the history of Central Eurasia in the writings of the founders of modern Khazar studies.⁵⁵

The following sections characterize various aspects of the regional sovereignty of the Khazar state. The section 2.3 is devoted to the Khazar prelude of the initial history of the Hungarians and the contribution of Hungarian scholars to Khazar studies. It is Hungarian historians and linguists who are credited with convincingly arguing

⁵⁴ Judah Halevi, Judah Hallelvi's Kitab Al Khazari. Translated from Arabic by Hartwig Hirschfeld, Ph.D. (London: M.L. Cailingold, 1931), p. 6, 12, 27; Eliezer Schweid, "The Khazar Motif in Judah Halevi's Sefer Ha-Kuzari," in *The World of Khazars: New Perspectives. Selected Papers from the Jerusalem 1999 International Khazar Colloquium Hosted by the Ben Zvi Institute.* , ed. Haggai ben Shammai Peter B. Golden, Andras Rona-Tas., *Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section 8: Uralic and Central Asian Studies*, (Brill Academic Publishers, 2007), p. 279

⁵⁵ D.M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954); М.И. Артамонов, *История Хазар [The History of the Khazars]* (Ленинград: Эрмитаж, 1962; репр., 2002

the Turkic origin of the Khazars.⁵⁶ The question of the origin of the Khazars is elaborated through the prism of the relationship between the Ugric and Turkic world in the next section 2.4. It also shows the path of development of Hungarian Khazar studies from a productive platform for studying the early history of the Hungarian people in the context of the general Eurasian history to the formation of the latest trends in the study of the history of the Khazars within the framework of initiatives of broad international scientific cooperation. Particularly highlighted is the contribution of the American Turkologist Peter Golden to the formation of the current stage of development of Khazarian historiography in the full range of modern problems of Khazarian studies, including aspects of the interaction of the Khazars with the ancestors of modern Eurasian peoples.⁵⁷

Section 2.5 is devoted to aspects of the controversy about the role of the Khazars in the history of pre-Christian Russia. The content, vocabulary and style of news about the Khazars in the annals of *The Tale of Bygone Years* are analyzed to clarify the author's position in the annals, his attitude to the Khazar political heritage, which are considered in the context of the historical conditions for the creation of the annals. The dynamics of studying the significance of the Khazars in the history of ancient Rus' is characterized as the traditional interaction of Norman and Slavophile, or anti-Normanist concepts of the foundation of East Slavic

⁵⁶ Gyula Nemeth, *A Honfoglaló Magyarorságon Kialakulása* [Ethnogenesis of the Hungarian people prior to the Conquest] (Budapest 1930); Peter B. Golden, *Khazar Studies: An Historico-Philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars*, 2 vols., vol. 1, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980), p. 22

⁵⁷ Peter B. Golden, "Khazar Studies: Achievements and Perspectives," in *The World of the Khazars: New Perspectives. Selected Papers from the Jerusalem 1999 International Khazar Colloquium Hosted by the Ben Zvi Institute.*, ed. Peter B. Golden, Haggai Ben-Shammai, and Andras Rona-Tas (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 13; P. B. Golden, "The People: نوكردة" *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 1(1975), p. 21-37; "The Question of the Rus' Qaghanate," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* II(1982), p. 77-97; Peter B. Golden, "Khazar Turkic Ghulams in Caliphal Service," *Journal Asiatique* 292, no. 1-2 (2004), p. 279-309.

statehood. The rapprochement of Normanists and supporters of the important role of the Khazars in the foundation of the state of Kievan Rus based on the idea of dividing the spheres of political influence of the Khazars and Normans on the eve of the emergence of the state is the trend of recent studies.⁵⁸ This allowed the new anti-Normanists to talk about the emergence of a new “Khazar-Norman” concept, which was opposed to their position.⁵⁹ According to the majority of researchers, archeology has the greatest potential for providing new information about the enigma of Khazar history. And if previously the study of written monuments and archaeological data were opposed as alternative ways of studying the Khazars, in recent years the share of archaeological publications on Khazar issues has significantly prevailed, and collective monographs combine the efforts of archaeologists and written source scientists.⁶⁰ The conclusions of this paragraph seem characteristic for understanding the significance of the Khazar state in the early history of other Eurasian peoples.

The controversial issues of the history of the Khazar state and society resonate in a peculiar way in the domestic and international politics of modern states. The insight into these incentives for increasing interest in the history of the Khazars is also necessary for understanding the importance of the issues and patterns of development of Khazar studies.⁶¹ Fiction can be considered a kind of

⁵⁸ В. Я. Петрухин, *Начало Этнокультурной Истории Руси IX–XI Веков* (Смоленск-Москва: Русич-Гнозис, 1995), с. 83-94

⁵⁹ Е.С. Галкина, *Тайны Русского Каганата* (Москва: Вече, 2002), с. 21-38.

⁶⁰ А. З. Винников and В. Я. Петрухин, "Международная Научная Конференция «Хазарский Каганат и его место в исторических судьбах Народов Восточной Европы»,» *Хазарский альманах* 14, no. 1 (2016); Т.М. Калинина, В.С. Флёров, and Петрухин В. Я., *Хазария В Кросскультурном Пространстве: Историческая География, Крепостная Архитектура, Выбор Веры* (Москва: Рукописные памятники Древней Руси, 2014).

⁶¹ Farda Asadov. *Khazar Studies locked between Scarcity of Research Sources and Contemporary Policy Concerns* // - London: The Eurasia Studies Society Journal, - 2013, vol.2, No.3. April 2013. URL:

reflection of public opinion and attitude towards the Khazars among modern peoples. The evolution of the images of the Khazars, the quantitative indicators of the Khazar themes in historical fiction can explain the relevance of the history of the Khazars in modern science, as well as have a certain impact on academic research. Section 2.6 contains a brief overview of trends in the coverage of the history of the Khazars in world fiction, draws attention to the changing political conditions in the world, causing an increase in interest in the history of the Khazars.

The emergence of new fields and methods of studying man and the human community opens up new opportunities for studying the history of peoples, about the fate of which traditional sources have not retained enough information for historians. In addition to the expanding new opportunities and methods of archaeological excavations, which were discussed in paragraph 2.5, it was necessary to determine the attitude towards a new field of human sciences, the historical genetics. The first results of genetic studies of findings related to the Khazar history are described in paragraph 2.7 of the chapter. Genetic studies gained particular relevance in connection with the theory of the origin of East European Ashkenazi Jews from Khazar Jews expressed at the beginning of the 20th century.⁶² It also expresses the position of the author of the thesis regarding the limitations and difficulties of using genetic research in restoring the picture of the historical past of peoples.

The Third and Fourth chapters raise questions about the connection between the history of the Khazars and the Khazar state with Azerbaijan. The influence of the Khazars on the historical fate

<http://eurasiahistory.files.wordpress.com/2013/03/farda-asadov-tess-eurasia-journal-vol-2-no-3-april-20132.pdf>

⁶² Eran Elhaik, "The Missing Link of Jewish European Ancestry: Contrasting the Rhineland and the Khazarian Hypotheses," *Genome biology and evolution* 5, no. 1 (2013); David B. Goldstein, *Jacob's Legacy: A Genetic View of Jewish History* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2008); Evan R. Goldstein, "Taste – Houses of Worship: Where Do Jews Come From?," *Wall street Journal*, , 30 Oct, 2009, 2009.

of the population of Azerbaijan, on the formation of today's ethnic picture of the country, on the development of the foundations of Azerbaijani identity are not limited to issues of the political history of Khazaria and Azerbaijan. The role of the Khazars in the process of penetration and the gradual predominance of the Turkic-speaking population in Azerbaijan was practically not considered, except for a few fleeting remarks that appealed to their Turkic origin. Perhaps the reason for this is the acceptance of a decisive role of the Oghuz tribes in making Turkic ethnicity dominant in Azerbaijan, while the Oghuzs in the last period of the Khazar state were hostile to the authority of the Khazar Kagan and actually turned out to be grave diggers of the once powerful state, having united against them with the Rus Prince Svyatoslav Igorevich.

The adoption of Judaism by the Khazar elite, the degree of prevalence of Judaism in Khazar society are insufficiently studied issues. A significant part of the people interested in the Khazar history have a simplified opinion about the religious situation in the Khazar state. In fact, various beliefs, including Islam, have spread in Khazar society. The evidence of our sources is contradictory about the place of the Muslim faith among the Khazars. The influence of the Khazar Islam on neighboring regions and the population was practically not considered. A methodical study of the evidence of Arab sources about Muslim Khazars certainly helps to elaborate on the spread of Islam among the Turkic peoples and among the population of Azerbaijan.

In accordance with this we called the **Third Chapter** of the study: "The Khazar aspect of the history of Azerbaijan in the 7th-10th centuries." In this chapter, the written evidence and archaeological artifacts on the relationship of the Khazars with the population and territory of Azerbaijan are collected and studied. The first paragraph of this chapter (3.1) covers the penetration of nomads from behind the Caucasus Range into the territory of Albania in the period before the appearance of the Khazars in the Caucasus. The penetration of nomads from behind the Caucasus ridge into the territory of Albania was not only predatory raids, but often pursued

the goal of a joint struggle against the expansion of the great powers. The local population and nomads, the Huns, Sabirs, and finally the Khazars, not only fought, but also traded together, ensuring the transportation of goods from north to south and in the opposite direction. The infiltration and settlement of the Turks in the Caucasus took place two centuries before the mass appearance of the Huns here in the middle of the 4th century.⁶³

The historical conditions for the appearance of the Khazars on the northern borders of modern Azerbaijan during the political turmoil and migration processes launched as a result of the collapse of the Western Turkic Khaganate are studied in paragraph 3.2. The prerequisites for the creation of the Khazar Kaganate, which determined the political priorities and alliances of the state at an early stage, were the events of the Iranian-Byzantine war of 625-627, in which the Western Turkic Kaganate acted as an ally of Byzantium, taking on the main burden of the fighting in the South Caucasus. In these events, according to local Albanian and Armenian sources, the Turkic forces were represented by local Turkic tribes, consolidated under the leading role of the Khazars.⁶⁴ This section characterizes the problem of the parameters of the Khazar identity, raises the question of its relationship with the changes in the Khazar faith that took place as reported in written sources. A brief review of the religious diversity in Khazaria establishes a connection between the religious situation in it and the situation in the countries of the South Caucasus, especially in Albania and Georgia – it provides evidence from written sources about the spread of Christianity and Islam

⁶³ Peter B. Golden, "The Turkic Peoples and Caucasia," in Conference on "Nationalism and Social Change in Transcaucasia" (1980), p. 2-7; An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples : Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East, *Turcologica*, (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1992), p. 86; Я.А. Федоров and Г.С. Федоров, Ранние Тюрки на Северном Кавказе (Москва: Издательство Московского Университета, 1978), с. 25-27.

⁶⁴ D.M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), pp. 4-5; Л.Н. Гумилев, *Древние тюрки* (Москва: "Клышников-Комаров и Ко", 1993), p. 193

among the population of Khazaria.⁶⁵ Conversion to Judaism on the verge of the VIII-IX centuries. is formulated as a significant turn, which made an impact on development of the political life of the Khazar society, and influenced the development trends of Khazar studies in the modern era.

The debatable, unresolved issues of the history of the Khazars in the next two paragraphs are considered in two view angles. First, in paragraph 3.3. this is carried out in the context of the significance of the history of the Khazars and the Khazar state in the world history. The two most important outcomes of the history of the Khazar state determined the scale of its significance in the history of other people of the region: this is the confrontation and interaction with the Arab-Muslim state throughout the entire period of the existence of centralized power in the caliphate, and secondly it is about the role of the Khazars in the emergence of the Eastern Slavs and the formation of their statehood on the political stage of Central Eurasia. Each of these aspects of the history of the Khazars represent a field for academic discussion up through these days: should the Khazars have to be considered as a deterrent to the expansion of Islam, or should Muslim Arabs be considered as a factor in distracting the Khazars from expansion in Eastern Europe?⁶⁶

The discussion of the role of the Khazars in world history goes from two opposite poles: first, as a factor in stabilizing the military and political situation in Eastern Europe, and, accordingly, helping to strengthen the economic foundation for the development of the Eastern Slavic tribes and their involvement in profitable international

⁶⁵ Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. Muhammad al-Farisi al-ma'ruf bi al-Karkhi Al-Istakhri, *Al-Masalik Wa Al-Mamalik* (al-Kahira: Wizarat as-saqafa wa al-irshad al-qaumi, 1961), c. 129, 131. Abu Muhammad Ahmad ibn Actham Al-Kufi, *Kitab Al-Futuh*, 1 ed., 3 vols., vol. 3 (*Dar al-adwa li at-taba'a wa an-nashr va at-tauzi'*, 1991), p. 255; Мовсес Каланкатуаци, *История Страны Алуанк*, перев. Ш.В.Смбатян (Ереван: Матенадаран, 1984), c. 127; Miskawaihi, *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate. The Concluding Portion of the Experience of the Nations* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1921), p. 209.

⁶⁶ Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars.*, p. X; Артамонов, *История Хазар*, с. 224-225.

trade, or on the contrary, the definition of the Khazar factor as an obstacle in the progressive development of the Eastern Slavs.⁶⁷

The fact that a significant part of the central regions of the Khazar state is today populated by Muslim peoples determines the peculiarities of the attitude towards the history of the Khazars in the process of revising the priorities of their national historiography after the collapse of the USSR. In paragraph 3.4. a brief comparative review of new conceptual provisions regarding the history of the Khazars in the national historiography of the peoples of the former USSR: those of Russian, Ukrainian, the Caucasian people and the Kazakhs,⁶⁸ - is carried out.

Following the order of presentation in the third chapter and the objectives of the dissertation, the main trends in the study of the history of the Khazars in the Azerbaijani national historiography of the Soviet and post-Soviet periods are traced in paragraph 3.5, as

⁶⁷ Vladimir Minorsky, "A New Book on the Khazars. By V.Minorsky. (a Review of D. M. Dunlop's "the History of the Jewish Khazars" (1954)," *Oriens* XI, no. 1-2 (1958)., p. 123; Артамонов, История Хазар , с. 225, 229.

⁶⁸ Э.Д. Ващенко, "Хазарская Проблема" в отечественной историографии XVIII - XX вв. (Санкт-Петербург: Издательство Санкт-Петербургского Университета, 2006); В.Г. Манягин, "Операция "Белый Дом": Хазары в русской истории," / Хазары: Таинственный след в русской истории, ред. Манягин В. (Москва: Алгоритм: ЭКСМО, 2010)., с. 221, 224; П.П. Толочко, "К вопросу о хазаро-иудейском происхождении Киева," *Хазарский альманах* 2(2004)., с.100; А.В. Комар, "Ранние Хазары В Северном Причерноморье (Постановка Проблемы)," *Восточно-европейский археологический журнал*, no. 3(4) (2000), <http://archaeology.kiev.ua/journal/030500/komar.htm>.; "Исторические предпосылки возникновения легенды о полянской дани хазарам по археологическим данным," in *Хазары, Евреи И Славяне* (Москва: Гешарим/Мосты культуры, 2006)., с. 214; Муртазали Гаджиев, "Сообщение Хоренаци о походе хазир и басил в 216 г. и этнокарта северо-западного Прикаспия в поздне-сарматский период," / *Caucaso-Caspica: Труды Института автохтонных народов Кавказско-Каспийского региона*, ред. Гарник Асатрян (Ереван: Издательство РАУ, 2016), с. 17-18; К.М. Алиев, "О влиянии хазарских евреев на этнос и культуру кумыков ", *История, историография и этнография горских евреев*, Дербент, 29-30 марта 2009, <http://kumukia.ru/article-9391.html>; Б.Б. Ирмуханов, *Хазары и казахи: связь времен и народов*. (Алматы: «Наш Мир», 2003)., с. 250, 276.

well as the significance of the Khazars primarily as a Turkic component in the process of ethnogenesis of the Azerbaijani Turks and the reasons for the relatively distant attitude to the history of the Khazar state are explained.⁶⁹

In the following section 3.6 the issue of the participation of a part of the territory and population of Azerbaijan in the formation of the Khazar political union, the extent of Khazaria's political influence in Azerbaijan on the eve of and in the first period after the appearance of the Arabs in the South Caucasus are being researched.⁷⁰ The results of the Arab-Khazar wars are summarized in section 3.7 and the transition to qualitatively new relations between Arabs and Khazars, oriented towards peaceful cooperation in international trade, is justified. Close political and trade contacts between Albania and the Caucasian nomads formed the basis of the economic and cultural interaction of the population. The nomads were resettled⁷¹ and did develop the pastures on the territory of Albania. At that time traditional types of farming were formed on the territory of Azerbaijan, combining large and small cattle breeding

⁶⁹ Зия Буниятов, *Азербайджан В VII –IX вв.* (Баку: Издательство Академии Наук Азербайджанской ССР, 1965), с. 180-181; Сара Ашурбейли, *Государство ширваншахов* (Баку: Элм, 1983), с. 22, 55-56; С.А. Сумбатзаде, *Азербайджанцы - этногенез и формирование народа* (Баку: Элм, 1990), с. 82, 85; С.Ю. Касумова, *Азербайджан В III - VII вв. (Этнокультурная и социально - экономическая история)* (Баку: Элм, 1993), с. 4; Г.А. Гейбуллаев, *К этногенезу азербайджанцев (историко-этнографическое исследование)*, т. 1 (Баку: Элм, 2001), с. 139, 390; Э.Р. Исмаилов, *Очерки по истории Азербайджана* (Москва: Флинта, 2010), с. 36-37; Играр Алиев, ред. *История Азербайджана с древнейших времен до начала XX в.* (Баку: Элм, 1995), с. 103; Н.Ч. Ахундова и Р.А. Гусейн-заде, *Кавказ и великие тюркские империи* (Баку: EUROCLIO, 2012), с. 61.

⁷⁰ З.М. Буниятов, "О длительности пребывания хазар в Албании В VII-VIII вв.," *Известия АН Аз.ССР, Серия общественных наук*, по. №1 (1961), с. 22, 32-33; Ahmad b. Abi Ya'qub al-maruf bi Ibn al-Wadih al-Akhbari, *Tarikh Al-Ya'kubi*, 3 vols. (an-Najaf 1939), vol. 3, с. 145-146; Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars.*, p. 21

⁷¹ Imamo Ahmed ibn Yahja ibn Djabir al-Beladsori, *Liber Expugnationis Regionum (Lugduni Batavorum: E.J. Brill, 1866)*, p.194.

and agriculture. The Albanian church has undertaken the mission of Christian enlightenment among the nomads of the Caucasus.⁷²

The inclusion of Azerbaijan within the boundaries of the Arab caliphate and the Muslim world was a factor of the Islamic influence on the situation in the Khazar state and society. Once the center of the spread of Christianity, the Khazar borderland of Albania and the city of Derbent have now become the starting points for the spread of Islam in Khazaria. The policy of the Arab caliphate to resettle the Khazars who converted to Islam in cities and surrounding areas along the main international trade routes running through the territory of Azerbaijan became a response factor of the cultural influence of Khazaria on Azerbaijan.⁷³ Section 3.8. summarizes the attitude towards Islam in the Khazar state, outlines the limits of the spread of Islam in the Khazar society and state. Here the opinion is substantiated that the news of the Khazar Kagan being forced to accept Islam as a result of the campaign of Marwan b. Muhammad in 737 was a turning point in the confrontation with the Khazars and formed the basis for the establishment of peaceful relations and partnerships in the interests of secure international trade.⁷⁴ Sufficient evidence from Arab sources about the spread of Islam among the population of the Khazar Kaganate is provided.⁷⁵

⁷² Каланкатуаци, История Страны Алуанк., с. 126-127.

⁷³ Al-Kufi, *Kitab Al-Futuh*, 3., vol. 3, p.254-255; Abu al-Kasim Ubaydallah Ibn Abdallah Ibn Khordadbeh, *Kitab Al-Masalik Wa'l-Mamalik*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, editio secunda (photomechanice iterata) ed., *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (Lugduni Batavorum: E.J. Brill, 1967)., p. 124; Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Hamadhani Ibn al-Faqih, *Compendium Libri Kitab Al-Boldan* : Auctore Ibn Al-Fakih Al-Hamadhani, Quod Edidit, Indicibus Et Glossario Instruxit M. J. De Goeje ibid. (Lugduni-Batavorum: E. J. Brill, 1885)., p.298.

⁷⁴ Farda Asadov, "Evidence of Khazar Judaism: What Did It Add to the Early History of World Religions in the Caucasus?," in *Religions in the Caucasus* (Baku: TEAS Press publishing house, 2016)., c.43-45.

⁷⁵ Abu al-Hasan Ali ibn al-Husayn al-Masudi, *Muruj Adh-Dhahab Wa Ma'adin Al-Jawhar*, 4 vols. (Beirut: Dar Sadir, 2005)., v. II, p. 139; Abu Ishak Ibrahim ibn Muhammad al-Istakhri, *Kitab Masalik Al-Mamalik*, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1927)., p. 220, 224

A separate section 3.9 is dedicated to material evidence of the presence of the Khazars and Khazar culture in Azerbaijan. Here, new interpretations of some archaeological finds in the north-western sector of Azerbaijan are proposed, allowing to confirm the presence of the Khazar population in the trade centers of Azerbaijan and their active participation in international trade operations.⁷⁶

The final paragraph 3.10 of the third chapter summarizes the interaction of the Khazars with the population, political elite and society of Albania (or Arran - the territory of modern Azerbaijan), substantiates the conclusion about the transformation of the Khazars into a vector of growth of the Turkic population in the territory of Azerbaijan and the Islamization of the country.

The Fourth Chapter of our research studies the important economic aspect of the role of the Khazars in the history of Azerbaijan. The significance of Khazaria in world history was determined by the nature of its relations with the great powers of its time, and above all, with the Arab caliphate. The Khazars and Arabs were able to open a new stage in the history of the Great Silk Road. It was during the existence of the Khazar Khaganate, which controlled the trade routes from Khwarezm to the middle and lower reaches of the Dnieper, that the Silk Road routes to the Middle East began to pass through the territory of historical Azerbaijan, through

⁷⁶ Г.О Гошгарлы, Типология погребальных памятников античного периода на территории Азербайджана (Баку: Элм, 2012)., с. 116-120; Irina A. Arzhantseva, "The Alans: Neighbours of Khazars in the Caucasus," in *The World of the Khazars: New Perspectives. Selected Papers from the Jerusalem 1999 International Khazar Colloquium Hosted by the Ben Zvi Institute.*, ed. Peter B. Golden, Haggai Ben-Shammai, and Andras Rona-Tas (Leiden: Brill, 2007)., p. 60; *The Gabala Archaeological Expedition 2005-2010. Findings.*, (Baku: CBS Publishing House, 2011)., p. 121; В. Петрухин and В. Флёров, "Иудаизм в Хазарии по данным археологии" / *История еврейского народа в России. От древности до раннего нового времени* (Москва: Мосты культуры/Гешарим, 2010)., с. 153-154; А.А. Иессен, "Раскопки большого кургана в урочище Уч-Тепе," / *Труды Азербайджанской Археологической Экспедиции (1956-1960 Гг.)*, ред. А.А. Иессен и К.Х. Кушнарева, *Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР* (М.-Л.: Наука, 1965)., с. 180-181.

North and South Azerbaijan. In this chapter, which we called "Azerbaijan on the Silk Road in the Arab-Khazar period (VIII-X centuries)", we consider the conditions for the formation of trade partnership between Arabs and Khazars and the subsequent economic growth of Azerbaijani cities, the development of international trade infrastructure on the territory of Azerbaijan and the impact of these conditions on the consolidation of economic resources and the population of North and South Azerbaijan.

The consequent sub-sections of this chapter examine the emergence of political, social and economic conditions for the organization of international trade traversing the lands of Northern and Southern Azerbaijan. Paragraph 4.1 and its subsequent sub-sections elaborate upon historical and political circumstances for activation of trade tracks over Central Eurasian steppes as well as for the extension of trade routes through Caucasus and lands of Azerbaijan at the time preceding the Arab conquest. In late Sasanian times, trade routes through the Caucasus were determined by the established alliance of the Western Turkic Khaganate and Byzantium.⁷⁷

Outcomes of the Arab-Khazar wars in the context of the strategy of Arab expansion along the main routes of the Silk Road and diplomatic efforts for the safety of trade routes from the Caspian shores to the Chinese borders are considered in the paragraph 4.2.⁷⁸ Paragraph 4.3 examines the reasons for changes in the main trade

⁷⁷ Luigi De Rosa, "Silk and the European Economy," in *Significance of Silk Roads in the History of Human Civilizations*, ed. Sigimura Toh Umesao Tadao, *Senri Ethnological Studies* (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 1992), p. 194; Менаандр, "Менаандра Византийца продолжение Истории Агафиевой," *Византийские историки: Дексипп, Эвнапий, Олимпиодор, Малх, Петр Патриций, Менаандр, Кандид, Ноннос и Феофан Византиец, переведенные с греческого Спиридоном Дестунисом* (Санкт-Петербург 1860), http://krotov.info/acts/05/marsel/ist_viz_06.htm, с. 375, 381

⁷⁸ V. Minorsky, "Tamim Ibn Bahr's Journey to the Uyghurs," // *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XII, no. 2 (1948), p. 279-305; Ф.М. Асадов, *Арабские источники о тюрках в раннее средневековье* (Баку: Элм, 1993), с. 31-33.

routes to the Middle Eastern markets due to changes in the structure of trade and an increase in demand for goods supplied from territories controlled by the Khazar Kaganate.⁷⁹ Section 4.4. contains a general description and significance of ancient Albania, or Arran, as a zone of north-south political and trade contacts in antiquity and the Middle Ages. Evidence from written sources is provided about the gradual infiltration and settlement of Caucasian nomads, Khazars and their predecessors on the territory of Arran.⁸⁰ In paragraph 4.5. the stages of the formation of a trade partnership between the Arabs and the Khazars in the aftermath of a long period of military confrontation are traced. It describes the measures taken by the Khazar Kaganate to organize the unimpeded transportation of goods from north to south and back along two alternative routes. First, news of the involvement of Russian merchants in trans-Caspian maritime trade operations is examined, then measures to ensure the safety of land routes from Eastern Europe to the northwestern coast of the Caspian Sea are covered.⁸¹

Section 4.6. considers in detail two alternative routes leading to the markets of the Middle East: the sea route through the Caspian Sea and further along the network of land routes to the east and south

⁷⁹ R.K. Kovalev, "Commerce and Caravan Routes Along Northern Silk Roads (Sixth-Ninth Centuries). Part I: The Western Sector.," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 14(2005)., p. 80; Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. Muhammad al-Farisi al-ma'ruf bi al-Karkhi Al-Istakhri, *Al-Masalik Wa Al-Mamalik* (al-Kahira: Wizarat as-saqafa wa al-irshad al-qaumi, 1961)., p. 131; Abu Uthman Amr ibn Bahr Al-Djahiz, "At-Tabassur Bi at-Tidjara," *Revue de l'Academie Arabe de Damas* XII(1932)., p. 342

⁸⁰ Sebeos, *The Armenian History Attributed to Sebeos*, trans. Robert W. Thomson and Historical commentary by Tim Greenwood with the assistance by James Howard-Johnston (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press., 1999)., p. 32; Imamo Ahmed ibn Yahja ibn Djabir al-Beladorsi, *Liber Expugnationis Regionum* (Lugduni Batavorum: E.J. Brill, 1866)., p. 194-195; Фарда Асадов, *Тюркское население Кавказской Албании в Сасанидский период (V – VII вв.)* // *Transcaucasica*, no. 3 (2016)., с. 29-43

⁸¹ П.К. Коковцов., *Еврейско-Хазарская переписка* (Ленинград Издательство Академии Наук СССР, 1932)., с. 83-84; Thomas S. Noonan, "Fluctuations of the Islamic Trade with Eastern Europe During the Viking Age," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 16, no. 3/4 (1992)., p. 239.

and southwest,⁸² and, secondly, the land route through the territories of modern Azerbaijan and northern Iran. Branches of the main highways are also mentioned, covering almost the entire territory of South and North Azerbaijan.⁸³ Separate subsections of this section are devoted: to Barda - as the central point of land trade routes, from where the paths diverged to the west, south, southwest and northeast; to Derbent - the border center of the trade partnership between non-Muslim Khazar regions and Muslim lands; to trade relations between cities on the described routes and their integration with the adjacent agricultural regions of Azerbaijan, which supplied raw materials for handicraft production in trade centers.⁸⁴

The subsection 4.7 is devoted to the forms of participation of the cities of Azerbaijan in international trade as centers for the international exchange of goods, creators of infrastructure and services for long-distance trade caravans and as producers of local products for the sake of international trade and everyday consumption by visiting merchants and the local population. In the subsection 4.8 the results of the transit position of Azerbaijan on international trade routes during the Arab-Khazar partnership are presented, and the stages of functioning of these routes and their

⁸² Abu al-Kasim Ubaydallah Ibn Abdallah Ibn Khordadbeh, *Kitab Al-Masalik Wa'l-Mamalik*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, editio secunda (photomechanice iterata) ed., *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (Lugduni Batavorum: E.J. Brill, 1967)., p. 124, 134; Franciszek Kmietowicz, "The Term of Radaniyya in the Work of Ibn Khurdadbeh," *Folia Orientalia* (Krakow) XI (1969)(1970)., p. 169-171; Ф. М. Асадов, Хазария, Византия И Арабский Халифат В Борьбе За Контроль Над Торговыми Путиами Евразии В IX-X Вв. // *Кавказ и глобализация* 6, no. 4 (2012), с. 165.

⁸³ Ibn Khordadbeh, *Kitab Al-Masalik Wa'l-Mamalik*, p. 119-120, 153, 295; Nailə Vəlixanlı, *Azərbaycan VII-XII əsrlərdə: tarix, mənbələr, şərhlər* (Bakı: Elm və təhsil, 2016)., s. 468-469; Ф. М. Асадов, Русы в Каспийском море и на Шелковом Пути в середине IX - начале X вв., / *Дорога Страбона*" как часть Великого Шелкового пути: Материалы международной конференции (Баку 28-29 Ноября 2008 Г.), ред. С.М. Мустафаев С.Г. Кляшторный (Самарканд-Ташкент: SMI-ASIA, 2009), с. 20-22.

⁸⁴ Al-Istakhri, *Al-Masalik Wa Al-Mamalik*, p. 131; Al-Djahiz, *At-Tabassur Bi at-Tidjara*, p. 335-336, 346

consequences for economic development, the formation of internal trade relations and the consolidation of the country are highlighted. Intensive trade operations through the territory of Azerbaijan and the Caspian led to the development of the domestic market, the production of goods for international trade and the growth of cities along trade routes. The partnership between the Arabs and the Khazars infringed on the interests of Byzantium, which found itself on the sidelines of the trade routes. The involvement of the Varangian-Slavic detachments in the orbit of the Byzantine policy of political destabilization on the former trade routes was manifested in the beginning of the Rus' raids on Muslim possessions in the South Caucasus. As a result, part of the trade flow bypassed Azerbaijan, the income of the Khazar Kaganate was reduced and the importance of trade centers in Azerbaijan decreased by the middle of the 10th century.⁸⁵

Conclusions, the final part of the dissertation, summarizes the problems of the reliability of the source study, trends of Khazar studies' development in the world and in Azerbaijani historiography, the role of the Khazars in the formation of ethnic and religious identity of Azerbaijan, the significance of the period of Arab-Khazar domination on the Silk Road in the development of cities and consolidation of the population of Azerbaijan.

The work formulates and examines the problem of systematizing evidence from written sources about the Khazars as one of the reasons for conflicting ideas about the history of the Khazar state and its significance in the world history. The anachronism of early mentions of the Khazars in Armenian and Georgian sources, which allowed some researchers to judge the non-Turkic origin of the Khazars, is justified. The special awareness of the Albanian historian Moses from Kalankatuyk about the Khazars is

⁸⁵ А.Н. Сахаров, *Дипломатия Древней Руси: IX - первая половина X в.* (Москва: "Мысль", 1980), с. 74-75, 112, 128; Donald F. Dixon, "Varangian-Rus Warrior-Merchants and the Origin of the Russian State," *Journal of Macromarketing* 18, no. 1 (1998), p. 55-56; Abu al-Kasim Ibn Haukal, *Kitab Surat Al-Ard* (Beirut: Manshurat Dar Maktabat al-Hayat, 1992), p. 290-291.

emphasized due to the long and lively acquaintance of his informants with the Khazars on the territory of Caucasian Albania. The political motives and historical conditions for recording news about the Khazars in Russian chronicles, Byzantine and Chinese sources, stone-written Turkic texts and in documents of Khazar-Jewish correspondence are characterized. The boundaries of knowledge of Arab authors about the Khazars and the geography of Khazaria are defined.

Information about the Judaism of the Khazar elite and assumptions about the formation of the Eastern European Jewish community with the participation of Khazar Jews created an atmosphere of connectivity with the political problems of the modern world, which increased the sensitivity of Khazar studies to their political correctness and influenced the national historiographies of countries whose historical past was connected with history Khazar Khaganate.

Analysis of news about the Khazars in the late Sasanian and Arab periods gives grounds to assert that part of the territory of Azerbaijan at a certain time in the last quarter of the 6th - first quarter of the 7th centuries was part of the sphere of political influence of Khazaria, and the population of these lands could have been a participant in the formation of the Khazar Confederation in the Caucasus on the eve of the Arab conquest. The Khazars played a significant role in increasing the Turkic population of the country before and after the Arab conquest.

The result of the confrontation between the Arabs and the Khazars in the South Caucasus was the stabilization of the border between Muslim lands and the Khazars and the establishment of a trade partnership on the Silk Road between the former opponents. This directed the main transportation routes of goods and technologies from Central Eurasia to the Middle East through the territories of Northern and Southern Azerbaijan, as well as by sea through the Caspian for approximately a century.

Profitable international trade through the territory of Azerbaijan contributed to the formation of a domestic market and

caravan trade infrastructure, the development of cities and local agricultural and handicraft production in the territories of what is now North and South Azerbaijan. The Arab administration encouraged the resettlement of Muslim Khazars to Azerbaijan, which contributed to the combination of the processes of Turkization and Islamization of the country's population with the participation of the Khazars.

The results of this stage in the history of Azerbaijan should be assessed as the beginning of the formation of the main production, economic and demographic features of the historical space of the future Azerbaijani nation. The period of growth of centrifugal tendencies in the caliphate that followed the Arab-Khazar cooperation in the region, and the fall of the Khazar Khaganate, unfortunately, did not contribute to the consolidation and development of positive trends and achievements of Azerbaijan occurred at the period of Arab-Khazar cooperation on trade routes.

The end of the period of Arab-Khazar partnership on the Silk Road was caused by the policy of Byzantium in the first half of the 10th century, which successfully attracted the military resources of Kievan Rus (after 882) into its orbit and directed them to destabilize the Khazar state. On the other hand, the Georgian principalities, vassals of Byzantium, also began to pose a threat to the security of trade routes in southwestern Azerbaijan. The weakened Khazaria was no longer a strong partner for the Arab Caliphate and could not guarantee the security of the former trade routes. And the political decentralization of the Arab Caliphate, which began in the 10th century, reduced its ability to counteract Byzantine policies and restrain the ambitions and interests of local dynasties in shifting the main direction of movement of goods to trade routes from Khorezm along the Volga-Baltic route to Europe and to the south “from the Varangians to the Greeks.”

The historical destinies of Azerbaijan and Khazaria were interconnected during the period of the power of the Arab Caliphate, and the fall of Khazaria slowed down the process of the country's demographic and economic consolidation.

The main content of the dissertation was reflected in the following publications of the author.

1. Арабские источники о тюрках в раннее средневековье / Ф.Асадов. - Баку: ЭЛМ, - 1993. - 203 с.
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