# SUMMARY

## PREFACE

Although no monuments from the Lower Palaeolithic of Afghanistan are yet known, the discoveries of corresponding materials in adjacent territories, mainly in Central Asia, give every reason to believe that modern Afghanistan was once in the formational zone of ancient man.

Isolated finds of flint tools and, to a less extent, scattered Stone Age camp-sites in the contact zone of sands and takyrs have been discovered in an area stretching some 150 km, from Andkhoi along the Kelift to Tashkurgan. Among the most interesting finds geometrically shaped tools coming from the vicinity of Tashkurgan. They probably belong to the Late Mesolithic period.

Much interesting material has come from Siakh Rigan, 15 km north-east of Tashkurgan, which includes some tools, such as retouchededge blades, points or piercers, and perhaps, drills and end scrapers. These materials are unusual since they were treated with befacial retouch, a method similar to the one used to treat the tools from the Tashguzar survey sites.

A scattered camp-site, also discovered here, besides a great number of flakes, includes over 60 tools made of highquality brown flint: steep-retouched end scrapers, piecers, points and blades, many of them with befacial retouch. Although most of the tools look like big knives, some of the objects might have served as arrowheads.

The direct archaeological evidence available can be interpreted as follows. The Late Mesolithic hunters from rock shelters, caves and grottoes of the northern Hindukush spurs, having descended into the Amu Darya basin, found a rich fauna of riverside brushwood supplemented by fish resources of countless little lakes and creeks. The entire complex of flint industries suggests that the ancient economy was predominantly hunting and fishing, although there was some primitive seasonal farming. Small camp-sites might have consisted of light reed huts, perhaps slightly dug in. The newly discovered culture of the Amu Darya Neolithic coexisted, in its later phase, with settled-farming tribes of the Bronze and Early Iron Ages of the traditionally farming oases of the Bactrian Plain.

## CHAPTER I.

## THE FORMATION A FOOD-PRODUCING ECONOMY

The first settled-farming villages appeared in the foothill areas of Iraq, Western Iran, Syria, Palestine and Southern Turkey, where they date to 8000—6500 BC. Their inhabitants were already acquainted with mud-brick architecture, ceramics, basketry and the working of stone. Ideological concepts were sufficiently developed, as is documented by occurrence of cult sanctuaries and a special burial ritual. In the VIIth to Vth millennia BC such settlements appeared in Central and Eastern Iran and in the extreme South-West of Central Asia (Jeitun culture). Somewhat later settled-farming villages spread throughout the rest of South-West Asia. Although scientists have differing opinions on the particular ways such early farming centres formed in the ancient East, it is more justified to assume the process was polycentric. One of the centres may have been in Northern Baluchistan, including Southern Afganistan which was supposed by N. I. Vavilov to have been one of the centres of wild wheat domestication. There were especially favourable conditions for the formation of settled farming economies in the Quetta-Pishin Valley at the foot of the mountains.

## CHAPTER II.

## AFGHANISTAN IN THE BRONZE AGE

The second millennium BC is also significant because the first settled farming tribes appeared in Northern Afghanistan at that time. So far three oases suitable for farming have been discovered: Davletabad, Dashli and Farukabad Oases. Materials from the country's north that are beginning to circulate among specialists, constitute the basis of this chapter. However, well-known and established evidence of other territories, mainly Mundigak are also included, though in a more generalized and summary form.

The Oasis of Davletabad is the westernmost site of Bronze Age monuments within Northern Afghanistan and comprises four monuments, *viz.* Tikar I, II, III and Tikar IV (Hirdai-Tepe), situated in a chain along the left bank of the Shirin Tagao River. Central in position was Hirdai-tepe, a nearly square settlement, 100 m by 95, surrounded by defensive walls and corner towers. The cultural layer is seven metres thick. The other three settlements are smaller and have no by-pass walls, their cultural deposits ranging from 2.5 to 3.5 m in thickness. The overall ceramic sequence constitutes a single genetic complex consisting, however, of two chronological stages. The earlier (Hirdai) stage marks the initial formational phase of the oasis. The ceramics are mainly wheel-made and plain and their main forms are small carinated storage pithos-shaped vessels, deep basins with vertical rims and sharply narrowed bottom portions, jar-like vessels with thin rim and, perhaps, vases on long legs.

Coinciding in part with the Hirdai phase but continuing to a later date, the Tikar phase is characterized mainly by the same forms of ceramics. However, there was greater use of long-legged vases and the appearance of ceramics decorated with incised wavy-lined ornament.

The inhabitants of this part of the country in the second millennium BC were farmers; cattle-breeding was supplemented by hunting wild boar and, perhaps, jarans. The small villages consisted of standard mud-

brick houses and the central settlements were fortified with outer defensive walls. On the whole the Davletabad Oasis seems to have been a periferal, or perhaps, a fixed intermediate point used by the settling tribes moving easterly to ward the Oasis of Dashli and Farukabad.

The irrigation oasis of Farukabad is between the towns of Akcha and Balkh. The central settlement is Farukabad 1. It is 1100 m by 800 in area and contains a destroyed burial ground. Judging by the ceramics decorated with incised wavy ornament, Farukabad 1 belongs to the late Tikar phase. The other settlement, Farukabad 2, is much smaller (100 m by 70), it also contains remnants of a ransacked burial ground.

The Dashli Oasis is about 30 km north of Akcha which in ancient times was reached by the Balkhab delta. Archaeologists have uncovered 40 Bronze Age monuments there and some Early Iron Age and Achaemenid settlements lying to the south-east. These locations can be explained by changes in the position of the irrigated lands due to the migration of the ancient Balkhab delta. In addition to the settlements excavations have revealed two large burial grounds that have been destroyed by previous rapacious excavations.

*TYPES OF MONUMENTS.* Exploration of the three oases has shown that in Bronze Age Northern Afghanistan predominantly large unfortified settlements existed side by side with isolated but thoroughly fortified strongholds. An example of the latter type is Dashli 1 which consists of a fortress, 99 m by 85, surrounded along its outer edge by a thick brick wall, up to four metres wide, with rounded towers at the corners and along the perimeter of the rectangle. Situated near the fortress is the settlement proper without any traces of having been fortified. This type of rectangular fortress with corner towers is the first such fortification found to go back to such an early date, and is particularly interesting in the study of the history of ancient architecture of the entire Near East.

Every settlement consisted of separate multiroom houses separated by little streets. Each of the houses included living and housekeeping quarters often groupped around an inner courtyard.

*MONUMENTAL ARCHITECTURE.* Of exceptional importance is the discovery and exploration of the hitherto completely unknown monumental architecture of the Bronze Age in Bactria. A complex of such structures has been revealed at Dashli-3. One of them, tentatively called «the rotund building», consists of a central section clearly used for cult purposes, and surrounded by living and housekeeping quarters, each constituting a separate microcomplex. The entire structure was enclosed along its contour in a gigantic square of outer walls, 130—150 m each, at the foot of which there may have been a moat. The rotund building has rectangular quarters some of which exhibit clay-benches and interiors decorated with figured niches. Another distinctive feature of these quarters are elaborately designed fire-hearths mounted on high brick platforms, most likely altars.

The rotund building must have served some cult purposes, like a fire temple. This indicated by the altar-hearths mounted on the brick platforms. On the other hand, the numerous living and housekeeping quarters adjoining the rotund building make the structure look like a building typical of ordinary secular settlements. Because the monument is a combination of cult and secular architecture we are justified in comparing this complex with the temples typical of advanced centres in the ancient East. Thus, the monument may have been a temple community, which presupposes the existence of temple property, and in particular, lands yielding crops to satisfy the temple's needs. On the whole, however, this structure is most similar to the temples of Mesopotamia, and mainly the «Oval Temple» in Khafajah, and the Shara Temple in Tell Agrab and Tepe-Gawra.

Another monumental structure tentatively called a palace has been excavated at the same site, Dashli-3. The buildings overall size is 88 m by 84, with an inner courtyard of 40 m by 38. All four sides enclosing the courtyard have a common floor plan. In the middle of each of the faces is a long T-shaped corridor which has spacious halls on either side with additional quarters. All four faces are connected by passages to a by-pass corridor which once had a false-vaulted ceiling. The by-pass corridor embraces all four sides of the inner courtyard, and is the organizing nucleus of the entire building.

Inside the courtyard and nearer to the walls are small compact structures for particular usage. Thus, rather uniform but isolated microcomplexes lined the south and west walls, and each complex included three rooms connected by passages. The interiors were decorated with figured niches. The main rooms had clay benches and brick fire-hearths.

The building plan is unusual at the north wall of the courtyard, where long and narrow compartments have been preserved. Tese campartments are covered overhead with bricks, perhaps the remains of a heating system («tabakhana»). The living and gala rooms of the local ruler may have been above these compartments. In these rooms the excavators encountered some fragments of alabaster mosaic which may have decorated the interior panels. The structure as a whole might have been used as a palace and also for cult purposes. The inner courtyard was the heart of the complex. It contained some residential and cult buildings. It could have been the abode of the local administration as well as performed some religious functions.

A distinctive feature of the entire building is its walls richly decorated with pilasters. Some are stepped, especially the front ones. Characteristic is the strict linear rhythm of alternating niches and pilasters. They once produced a chiaroscuro effect that broke the monotony of the planes. The closed character of the entire layout is emphasized by the enclosed square of high blind walls. At the southern corner a powerful gate house was used for communications with the outside world. The same purpose was served by a moat at the foot of the outer walls, up to ten metres wide and three metres deep. Both the rotund temple and the palace must have existed ath the same time, and fulfilled certain public and cult functions within the entire Dashli Oasis. The architectural complex revealed at Dashli-3 has no immediate analogies among recognized structures of the ancient East. However, some of the parallel lay-outs indicate ties with the monumental architecture of Mesopotamia. All this does not rule out the possibility of future discoveries of buildings similar in type and character in adjacent Iran as well.

*ANCIENT BURIALS.* These are known from both the Southern Afghanistan where they date back mainly to the Eneolithic and Early Bronze Age (Mundigak) and Northorn Afghanistan. While in Mundigak the necropoleis are within the settlement, in the north one can encounter: (i) burials on the ruins of abandoned settlements, (ii) within the inhabited part of the monuments, and (iii) detached burial grounds. Materials from the Dashli-3 burial ground, indicate three funeral rituals: inhumation, partial, or fractional, burials, and cenotaphs. The burials on the ruins (about 60%) are in ordinary grave pits covered with bricks. As a rule the skeletons (with only a few exceptions) are buried in a bent position, laying on one side, their orientation being predominantly northernly. Some 60% of the recorded burials are fractional, known from Southern Iran (Khurab), Baluchistan (Sokhr Damb) and Pakistan (the Timargarkh

Cemetery). A partial burial means a secondary burial after the decomposition of the body outside the burial ground. The cenotaphs are fewer (about 10 %), they are pits filled with vessels.

The funeral inventory includes ceramic vessels, pins, daggers and temporal rings, and to a smaller extent, stone bottles, flint arrowheads and beads. There are, although rare, some ritual burials of rams, surrounded by a great number of vessels (Dashli-1).

Judging by the remains, the underground cemeteries were deep pits with niches at the bottom, and remotely resembled catacomb graves. This purely formal resemblance does not allow us to compare them with the catacomb burials of the steppe cultures of Eurasia. Some catacombs (Sumbar) and detached underground cemeteries are known from Southern Turkmenia (Yanghi kala), though only from the Namazga VI period. It is possible that both Bactria and South-Turkmenistani funeral rituals and structures in the Late Bronze Age originated on the territory of ancient Iran.

*CERAMIC INDUSTRY*. This is at a high level of development with some traits of handicraft industry, indicated by the elaborate forms of two-tired kilns, often found in large numbers at one place. Wheel-made pottery of complex, sometimes even elaborate forms, is predominant and also implies professional manufacture. The wares are predominantly thin-walled, covered with light shades. The vessels are rarely painted dark-red all over.

As a rule all the wares are plain, only at a later stage some of the vessels began to be decorated with incised wavy lines. The tentative typology of the main forms of wheel-made wares are as follows: long-legged vases, simple vases, legged beakers, simple beakers, saucers, cups, pots, basins, jas, carafes, kettles, big and small storage pithos-shaped vessels. Vessels from 50 burials of the Dashli-3 burial ground were used to obtain statistical data on the ceramic wares. The results are as follows: (i) by make: wheel-made ceramics — 94%, including those with light background — 66.5%, those with red background — 27.5% plastic pottery — 6%; (ii) by form: legged vases — 16%, simple vases — 23%, legged beakers — 8%, simple beakers — 3%, saucers — 1%, basins — 5%, kettles — 5%, jugs without handles — 1%, carafes — 1%, pots — 7%, small storage pithos-shaped vessels — 19%, bottles — 1%, cups — 1%, jugs — 1%, vessels of unrecognizable form — 8%.

The main forms of the plastic wares are: big and small storage pithos-shaped vessels, pots, cauldrons and braziers, i. e. predominantly household vessels. Finally some 3% of all recorded ceramics are burnished grey plastic wares decorated most often with netty ornament. They present hemispherical cups, wide-necked jugs, basins, kettles, little carafes and saucers. The most direct analogies can be drawn between the grey ware and the wares from North-Eastern Iran, and mainly Tepe-Hissar III. Thus, it is safe to assume that it has been imported from that area.

A comparison of ceramics suggests the existence in North-Eastern Iran and Southern Turkmenistan of a common ceramic province (with several centres) dating back to the second half of the third millennium BC. In the middle of the second millennium BC this ceramic complex in one of the centres of the above outlined province continued to spread in several directions: along the Turkmeno-Khorasan mountains, including Northern Afghanistan, and along the Iran-Afghanistan frontier zone as far as Southern Baluchistan.

*GLYPTICS*. The rich collection of ancient seals raises the question concerning the character of ancient Afghan glyptics in South-West Asia. Thus, white cylinder seals were common in Mesopotamia and adjacent Elam, and rectangular ones of the Harappan type in the Indus Valley, the vast territory around the Plateau of Iran was the zone of compartmented seals. Seals of the latter type are represented most fully in Eastern Iran (between Hissar and Shahr-i-Sokhta), Southern Turkmenistan, and Afghanistan; to a less degree they are known in Baluchistan, as far as the Indus Valley.

It is now possible to outline the main stages in the development of glyptics within the outlined zone and, above all, in Afghanistan.

The first period is documented by stone amulet-seals decorated with engraved geometric patterns, and having a perforation for suspension by a cord (Mundigak III—IV, Shahr-i-Sokhta II). Period II (Mundigak IV, Shahr-i-Sokhta III) is characterized by a gradual replacement of stone seals by compartmented copper and bronze ones. A similar line of development can be observed in Southern Turkmenistan, North-Eastern Iran following this trend only in a later phase.

The seals of Northern Afghanistan fall into three main groups: metallic, stone and terracotta. Most widespread are compartmented metallic seals of several types. The first type are engraved anthropomorphic seals with figures standing out spectacularly against a transparent background. They have a common iconographical design: a seated nude human figure, half-face, with small-winged shoulders full face, arms apart. In one case the winged figure sits in state on a throne, in another, presumably on a dragon. These unique seals are quite similar to the winged genii of Syro-Hittite glyptics in which they are thought to reflect Egyptian influence. The North-Afghan examples seem to reflect a further diffusion of this mythological motif with eastern influences.

The second type are seals depicting birds, including eagles, in heraldic postures. Similar motifs have been found in Southern Turkmenistan, the Indus Valley and Susiana, but the most significant are the Syro-Hittite examples.

The third type are seals depicting scorpions. They come from ancient Iran and Southern Turkmenistan. Although it is common to associate the scorpion design with the concept of fertility, one cannot exclude the totemic aspect either as indicated by the Sumerian texts in which the scorpion is mentioned as a tribal or clan totem (I. M. D'yakonov).

The fourth type are theriomorphic seals. Most impressive among them is a seal depicting the figure of a humped ox standing in a boat. The boat is depicted as a coiling double-headed serpent or dragon. The ox in a boat design may have been brought to Bactria from Mesopotamia or the Indus Valley. Its semantics seem to have been connected with some concepts of after-life.

Only one example has been found of a seal depicting a monkey. This motif is extremely rare in Mesopotamian glyptics, and is unknown in the Indus Valley although it does occur on Syro-Hittite seals.

The sixth, most numerous type are seals decorated by geometric patterns based on various versions of a cross design.

The seventh type are seals based on multipetalled rosettes.

The second, quite scanty group consists of stone amuletseals that usually have a perforation for suspension by a cord rather than a handle. The engraved designs are birds, a lion, and a scorpion. Besides there are cross and spiral patterns. They were probably used predominantly as apotropaios.

A unique amulet-seal is metallic and rhomb-shaped. It depicts a two-humped camel and a child holding it by the bridle on one side and a tree and two birds on the other. These two motives are similar to those mentioned in some texts in Avesta. The texts speak of a tree (containing seeds of all the world's plants) in the context of two birds; also a camel, the most highly honou-

red and powerful animal. In general the stone amulet-seals are quite similar to the Murghab and post-Harappan ones, and of the so-called Jukar culture, which outlines a sufficiently significant line of mutual relationships between distribution and synchronization.

Seals symbolized ownership, which is well documented by clay impressions. It is significant, however, that sometimes two or more different seal impressions appear on a single lump. They may symbolize family or public property, rather than personal. Some seals may have had other uses as well, marking the social and cult stratification of the local society. These considerations presuppose rather than exclude the religious-magic aspect of the seals.

*METAL INDUSTRY.* The Bronze Age is documented by both already known metal objects from the country's south (Mundigak) and by new evidence from northern Afghanistan. The laboratory of Scientific Research Methods has carried out a spectroscopic (E. N. Chernykh) and a metallographic (N. N. Terekhova) investigation of metal objects. And a chemical analysis has been made of copper ore. An examination of Afghanistan's metal industry from these aspects has made it possible to observe basic traits and mainly topological classification. Thus we see that Afghanistan belongs entirely in the Central-Asian zone, and constitutes a single metallurgical province. The first attempts to do such work have been based on the classification proposed by E. E. Kuz'mina for Central Asia and by J. Deshayes for the Near East.

Axes have five categories: (i) ground-stone, (ii) shaft-hole, (iii) adzes, (iv) hewing adzes, and (v) socketed axes.

Daggers have two categories: (i) rhombic with a straight haft sometimes curved at the end, and (ii) leaf-shaped, often with a twisted haft. The latter have so far been recongnized only in Bactria. The knives are single-bladed, and slightly curved. The sickles are toothed, slightly curved; projecting hafts are curve-ended. The razors are straight-bladed with slightly bent hafts. So far only one example of slashers have been found. It is a massive tool with a sharp blade and slightly curved haft.

The awls and piercers are round, double-edged (type I) or square in cross-section (type II).

The adornments found are mostly mirrors and long pins.

The mirrors are round, either without handles (type I) or with a projecting handle (type II). The latter are divided into two subtypes: (i) straight-handled and (ii) handles in the shape of a female figure. The latter subtype is rather rare. Besides in Afghanistan such mirrors have been recorded in Baluchistan (the Mekhi burial ground) and Southern Uzbekistan (the Sapalli burial ground). Although it has been suggested (S. Piggott) that such mirrors may have come from Baluchistan, the new finds indicate that perhaps a common source existed. This supposition may be supported by discoveries of similar mirrors among Luristan bronze objects.

The miniature vessels are mainly bottles with a rounded body and long neck (type I). They come from graves, and many have long pins inside. Type II representing cylinder vessels is so far known only in Bactria. Type III, a rare one, consists of jar-shaped vessels with a carinated bottom portion.

The pins are quite numerous and include several types: (i) conicor pyramidal-headed, (ii) spade-headed, (iii) spiral-headed, (iv) bispiral-headed, subdivided into pins with inwardly or outwardly curved valutas, (v) rosette-headed, (vi) with a ribbed head, (vii) hemispheric-headed, and (viii) with a figured head. Unique examples of the last type have been discovered. One depicts the fronts of two seated rams and the other, a human-headed, bearded ox, very similar in style to the designs on vessels from Northern Afghanistan (the Fallol Treasure) and Mesopotamia (the Ur Tombs).

There are 2 types of bracelets: (i) those with unclosed ends, and (ii) those with unclosed but overlapping ends. The temporal rings are either plain, with unclosed ends, or coiled one and a half times.

The available materials suggest the possible existence of at least two metallurgical centres within Afghanistan, in the south and north of the country accordingly, the North-Afghan centre constituting part of the Irano-Turkmenistani metallurgical province.

*STONE, FLINT AND BONE OBJECTS.* Of particular interest among the stone objects are steatite «Kidney» believed to have been connected with some ritual fortune-telling. The «miniature columns» of stone are directly analogous to those from Eastern Iran, Buluchistan and Southern Turkmenistan. The flint objects are arrowheads (rhombic, triangular-hafted and laurel-leaf-shaped) and javelin points, made according to the best traditions of the Neolithic period, and skillfully worked on both sides. Unlike the arrowheads, the other flint tools are rather roughly made, exhibiting signs of degradation, and indicating that they were giving way to bronze objects.

The bone objects are mainly antlers probably used as mattocks. Piercers and pins have also been found, althouth few. The bi-conical circle-ornamented beads of steatite are a characteristic trait of the material culture of the Late Bronze Age of Afghanistan. They were known concurrently in North-Eastern Iran, Southern Turkmenistan and the post-Harappan Jhukar culture. They spread simultaneously all over the territory. This is not accident.

Anthropomorphic plastics are practically unknown. Theriomorphic plastics consists of unique terracotta figurines as well as by a painted alabaster figure of a dog and ram.

The North-Afghan material culture we have just examined has western origins in the assumed Irano-Turkmenistani centre. (Iran stands here primarily for Iranian Khorasan). About the middle of the second millennium BC a large group of related tribes spread farther east. Some penetrated into the foothill oasis of the Kopet-Dagh as far as the Murghab delta (the Namazga VI complex), another wave moved into Northern Afghanistan, some traces of the extreme point reached having been discovered in Bactria, including its north (Sapalli, Mirshadeh). All this warrants distinguishing a separate Bactrian-Margianan archaeological complex which (by radiocarbon) existed in the middle or second half of the 2nd millennium BC.

The main traits are: strongholds of standard lay-out and fortification, monumental architecture both of cult and secular character, burial grounds outside the inhabited settlements (including underground and catacomb ones), ram burials, and practically the complete absence of both theriomorphic and anthropomorphic plastics. The key monuments are: the Dashli ones in Southern Bactria, Sapalli, etc. in Southern Uzbekistan, and the Gonur and Togolok Oases in Margiana. The Bactrian-Margianan complex indicates that Margiana was part of Bactria as early as the Bronze Age, which for the Achaemenid period can be concluded from the Behistun inscription.

## CHAPTER III.
## AFGHANISTAN IN THE EARLY IRON AGE

The end of the 2nd millennium BC in Afghanistan was marked by the spread of a new archaeological culture whose most characteristic trait was handmade painted pottery over wheel-made plain pottery, and also the emergence of settlements. The organizing centre of each

settlement was a high platform with a citadel upon it. In the country's south materials were found in the Mundigak V—VI layers and the early (II) complex of Nad-i-Ali. In Afghanistan's north this period is reflected most fully by the materials of Tillya-Tepe. The suite of the cultural layers of this monument is over ten metres thick. The overall data obtained during the excavations allow us to distinguish the main periods in the entire history of Tillya-Tepe.

The cultural deposits corresponding to the first building level date back to the earliest (I) period (Tillya I). The ceramic complex is characterized by the concurrent existence of plastic wares, some of them painted, and wheel-made ones, sometimes decorated by incised ornament.

Relevant structures designated as «the second building level» date back to the second period (Tillya II). The plastic wares do not reveal any apparent changes, and the wheel-made ceramics begin to include vessels decorated by little raised «collars» on their shoulders. Besides these two types (genetically continuations from the first period) there are black polished ware with no local prototypes.

No construction remains have been recorded in the third period (Tillya III). Corresponding to it is the «upper layer of the courtyard», identified only in the central, most prominant part of the mound. The ceramic complex indicates great changes. There is a sharp decrease in the number of painted plastic and black polished wares. Instead there is more wheel-made pottery, mostly decorated with «collars»; there are cylinderconical jars from Achaemenid times.

Painted plastic and wheel-made pottery appeared from the lowest layers upwards; rim counts taken for Tillya I and Tillya II have given a mean ratio of 1 : 2 in favour of plastic ceramics. The wares from Tillya III are too few to make statistics. Nevertheless, the wheel-made ceramics prevail decisively over the painted plastic pottery of which there are only isolated specimens.

The ceramic complex of Tillya I seems to have emerged in a ready form with a developed repertoire of ornaments for painted plastic pottery and established forms of wheel-made ceramics. In concluding the review of the material culture of Tillya-Tepe it should be noted that besides ceramics, the excavations have yielded metallic arrowheads, stone pestles and grain-rubbers as well as isolated metal objects (of bronze in the lower and of iron in the upper layers). There are almost no objects of applied art and especially small terracotta plastics. And no ancient cemeteries have been encountered either. In general Tillya-Tepe seems to have been a settled-farming village that might also have bred cattle.

It is more difficult to determine how long Tillya-Tepe existed. The Tillya III period coincides with the so-called Achaemenid complex and can be traced back, with sufficient certainty, to the middle of the first millennium BC. The bronze two-feathered arrowheads from Period II belong to the archaic type and date back to the first centuries of the first millennium BC, and the coal from layer X of trial trench 3 dates back to the 9th century BC (860±60 BC). Thus, we can date Period II tentatively to the early Iron Age and Period dates back accordingly to the final Bronze Age. Henceforth until new radiocarbon dates have been obtained, it is possible to suggest the following purely tentative chronological scheme for Tillya-Tepe: Tillya I (1000—800 BC), Tillya II (800—600 BC), and Tillya III (600—500 BC).

Another site with similar archaeological materials has been discovered farther west. It is the Naibabad Oasis where several settlements have been discovered with ceramic industries closely resembling those of late Tillya II and, in part, Tillya III.

The materials from Tillya-Tepe reveal quite clearly analogies among the monuments of the southern regions of Central Asia. This is especially true of Turkmenistan where corresponding materials were distinguished as the Anau IV complex to be later traced to many other monuments of the Kopet-Dagh foothills (Elken-Tepe, Ulug-Tepe, etc.), as well as in the ancient Murghab delta (the Yaz-Depe I complex). Over the past few years similar materials have been discovered in Southern Uzbekistan (Kuchuk-Tepe, Mirshadeh).

If one compares the North-Afghan materials with the above-mentioned monuments from Central Asia, the similarities are striking in forms of both wheel-made and plastic ceramics and especially in the motifs of the paintings. Similarity can also be traced in the texture of the sherds, the colour spectrum of the ornaments as well as in the technique of decorating kitchen cauldrons and in the forms of grey wares. The emerging Afghan-Central Asian parallels, some of them even identical, are supplemented by similar types of settlements with brick citadel platforms and monumental structures. The painted plastic wares from Anau IV seem to interrupt the local line in the development of the late Bronze Age wheel-made pottery. Thus scientists have made a hypothesis on the general degradation of the local culture due to the invasion of barbarian nomadic tribes from the Central Asian steppes (the period of barbarian invasion). In light of the new evidence a different hypothesis could be put forward, that some tribes acquainted with painted ceramics moved from ancient Iran eastward, pased through the mountainous areas unsuitable for farming, and settled in the fertile oases of the Shibergan type. Later on new areas suitable for farming would be inhabited, such as the Naibabad and, Farukhabad Oases in Northern Afghanistan, and monuments of the Kuchuk-tepe and Mirshadeh type in Uzbekistan. Another wave seems to have been connected with the peopling of the Kopet-Dagh foothills in Southern Turkmenistan at the turn of the second and first millennia BC.

If the proposed historical interpretation of the archaeological material is correct, the hypothesis relating the genesis of the painted ware culture of the Anau IV type to the direct influence of the steppe cattle-breeding tribes should be abandoned altogether. Thus, the term «period of barbarian invasion», still widely used in literature, will itself become unacceptable. Considering the history and geography of the zone, the dynamics of folk movements and close cultural affinity, it seems more advisable that all the complexes studied should be classified with the single East-Khorasan culture, and its local variants. The area of this culture covered Eastern Iran, Afghanistan and the southern regions of Central Asia; it existed in the last centuries of the second and the first centuries of the first millennium BC. The main and most characteristic traits of the East-Khorasan culture are as follows: the economy was based on irrigated farming and, probably, cattle-breeding. Hunting was auxiliary. There were two types of monuments: the central settlements had citadels on brick platforms, small «rural» — type settlements had no citadels. The ceramic industry consisted of various plastic wares, some of them painted, and a lesser number of wheel-made pottery. The manufacture of painted plastic ceramics does not signify a lower cultural level. It is primarily an ethnographic trait of the bearers of the culture in question. The absence of anthropomorphic plastics and the practice of burying the dead within the settlements apparently reflect some ancient beliefs. In this respect the East-Khorasan culture differs greatly from many well-known cultures of the ancient East.

The fact that the East-Khorasan archaeological complex is predominantly analogous to the those from Central Asia, should not overshadow its parallels with Mundigak and Nad-i-Ali mentioned above. J. Casal was the first to suggest some time ago that the degrading

culture of Mundigak V should be associated with the Chust culture of the Fergana Valley. However, there is no evidence to support the hypothesis about the Chust tribes, invasion of the Kandahar Oasis. On the contrary, the data available tend to point to the diffusion of all the above-mentioned complexes of the painted ware culture from Iran farther east. The similar traits of Tillay-Tepe, Mundigak V—VII and Nad-i-Ali II, indicate a common source of origin.

The concluding stage of the East-Khorasan culture is documented by the corresponding monuments from the Farukabad Oasis, of the Kumli I and II type, the material culture of which reflects a combination of two traditions, that of the Bactrian-Margianan complex and that of the East-Khorasan culture. For the first time a «pure» form has been established of a concurrent co-existence of predominantly wheel-made ceramics (of undoubtedly local genesis dating back to the Bronze Age) and scanty handmade painted pottery of the Tillya-Tepe type, which was completely assimilated. Although the material culture combined two different cultural traditions, one can observe a decisive domination of the local «Dashli» tradition going as far back as the Bronze Age. It is possible the Kumli period embraced the VIIth and VIth centuries BC. This would provide the missing link between the Bronze Age and Achaemenid periods thus demonstrating a single genetic line of development in the history of Bactria in the beginning of the first millennium BC. Judging by a similar archaeological complex found in Southern Afghanistan dating back to the middle of the first millennium BC, similar processes here were also underway at the time.

*MONUMENTAL ARCHITECTURE OF ACHAEMENID BACTRIA.* One piece of monumental architecture is Kutlug-Tepe, a 25 m by 25 structure, rotund in plan and consisting of two ring galleries with a great number of light embrasures for illuminating the galleries themselves. The northern part has a passage leading both to the galleries and the central courtyard the galleries enclose. Rectangular rooms are in the middle of the courtyard one of them still has blue niches, an alabaster floor and, presumably, an altar. There are grounds to believe that along its outer contour the rotund building was enclosed in a square brick case with a by-pass corridor inside.

The general plan of Kutlug-Tepe quite closely resembles that of the rotund temple at Dashli III, mainly in terms of the priciple used to plan the ring corridors containing rectangular rooms, including some rooms used for cult practices. Although Kutlug-Tepe is much more simple than Dashli III, it is evident that it follows architectural traditions originating in the Bronze Age and thereby demonstrating the genetic line of development of Bactrian monumental architecture.

The next monumental complex (Altin 10) consists of three independent objects. Object I is a rectangular building, 80 m by 55 and was presumably a summer palace. At all the four corners there are square rooms with a support post in the centre, and pilasters decorating the outer corners. The entire building is divided in the middle by a chain of rooms along two spacious courtyards decorated on three sides by brick columns. Thus, 14 columns line the inner walls of each courtyard forming a kind of colonade portico oraiwan. Stratigraphy indicates the building was destroyed by a fire.

The next (II) object is situated nearby and is a square building, 36 m by 36. Each of the four corners has a spacious rectangular rooms with support posts inside. Situated between the corner rooms are long narrow rooms whose entrances lead to a by-pass corridor that surrounds all the sides of a spacious inner courtyard. The by-pass corridor is connected to the inner courtyard by three passages. Right in the centre of the courtyard is a pond. The walls of all the rooms are covered with alabaster. On the floor of one of the corner rooms one can see little three-stepped pyramids covered with a thin layer of white alabaster, presumably altars. In general outline, the structure was a small building the heart of which was an inner courtyard with a pond. The suite of the strikingly uniform rooms situated along the three sides is bounded on the side of the courtyard by a by-pass corridor. The entrance which led from the eastern side had a gate room on both sides. On the whole, judging by similarities with the nearby summer palace, it could have been a country winter palace, an abode of the local ruler. Although the Altin 10 complex was of predominantly secular character it also perhaps had cult aspect. Some of the rooms might have been used as home sanctuaries.

Judging by the material found, both buildings belong to the early Achaemenid period and date back to the 6th or 5th century BC.

Altin 10 it seems had a complex of structures of a special character. The general lay-out of Object II at Altin 10 and the secular and cult structures of Dashli III show quite evident relationships. The main similarity is the planning principle with a square courtyard at the heart of the structure and connecting passages with a by-pass corridor. Both structures have a strict symmetricals general plan based on crossed straight lines of well-controlled proportions. At the same time we can observe some innovations exhibited by the absence of pilasters as a decorative element, and even planes beginning to prevail in the general composition of the building at Altin 10. Rhythm and symmetry were now becoming a characteristic trait of Bactrian architecture.

Even more innovations are demonstrated by the summer palace from Altin 10, which is exhibited both by its plan and by the construction of the colonade iwan porticos. But here, too, one can easily feel as before the thoroughly local traditions of Bactrian architecture. This is vividly exemplified by the interiors of some of the rooms decorated with figured niches directly resembling similar techniques used to decorate the special premises of Dashli III.

The nearly 1000 years of the continual development of monumental architecture in Bactria was not just a local phenomenon. On the contrary, in the middle of the first millennium BC the architecture of Bactria demonstrated an increasing likeness to the structures of Achaemenid Iran (apadana in Persepolis, the acropolis in Susa) and, mainly, the monumental buildings of Dahani Ghulaman in Iranian Seistan. Situated a long way from Persepolis on the outskirts of the Achaemenid empire, the complexes of structures of the Dahani Ghulaman — Altin 10 type open a new page in historical studies of the culture of periferal satrapies.

## CHAPTER IV.
## AFGHANISTAN IN THE ANCIENT EAST

The above review of archaeological materials and observations makes it possible outline Afghanistan's history in terms of the ancient East. Even with the current knowledge of the country's past it is already possible to raise and partially solve the questions of palaeoeconomics, palaeodemography, social system, formation of urban civilization, ethnic history and language affinity of particular proups of the population. Purely archaeological materials and observations are clearly not enough to even partially solve many of these questions. In such cases, scientists make use of additional materials and written records from Mesopotamia, on the one hand, and ethnical parallels on the other.

PALAEOECONOMICS AND POLAEODEMOGRAPHY. These may be considered at present mainly based on the

material found in Northern Afghanistan, and mainly the Dashli Oasis. This particular microarea allows us to raise the problem with all its numerous aspects, though with relative certainty.

The most common cereals were barley and dwarf wheat. Most likely the farmers used antler points for ploughing. Joined to a wooden haft such tools might have mattocked the land quite well. Indirect observations suggest that to plough the land oxen drawing a primitive wooden plough may have been used. To harvest the crops the farmers must have used predominantly bronze toothed sickles fastened to wooden hafts. The gathered corn was probably threshed the same way it is now, by repeatedly driving oxen up and down the threshing floor. The great number of massive stone mortars and grain-rubbers leaves clearly indicates the method for making flour. It seems the people herded sheep and goats, but probably hunted and fished as well.

Recently explorers have attempted to reconstruct ancient societies using the materials from the North East and Central Asia. Summing up the population density ratos suggested by various investigators (H. Frankfort, R. Braidwood, R. Adams, G. N. Lisitsina, V. M. Masson) the most acceptable figure for the Bronze Age monuments of Afghanistan seems to be 150—200 people per hectare. It is however possible to determine the overall population of the Dashli Oasis. Thus, R. Braidwood and Ch. Reed have obtained a mean density rate of 1000 people per sq. km for the valley of the Chemchemel River in Iraqi Kurdistan. A similar figure has been suggested by V. M. Masson, quite independently, for the Geoksyur Oasis in Southern Turkmenistan. Considering that the total area of the cultural zone of the Dashli Oasis amounted to no less than 100 sq. km, it can be assumed during the Bronze Age the oasis was also inhabited by at least 1000 people.

*FAMILY AND SOCIETY.* A very complex, if not the most complex, object in the study of pre-literature archaeology is the reconstruction of the family and social forms of life in ancient society. As a rule such things are reconstructed based on analyses of lay-outs of individual settlements, ancient burials as well as some indirect observations made during excavations. There are additional data on life in Afghanistan, mainly the monumental architecture of the rotund temple type which are similar to the temple communities of Mesopotamia.

Soviet research has established the evolution from single-to multi-room houses, which in most of the ancient East demonstrates at the same time corresponding changes in family units, a change from an individual-pair family to large families. This principle also makes it possible to reconstruct the Afghan society of the Bronze Age. In this respect the most promising observations are provided by the lay-out of a small periferal settlement which sprang up on the ruins of the Dashli III palace. There a group of interconnected living and housekeeping quarters were forming. Judging by the excavated lay-out, these are remnants of structures that belonged to two large families. After some time the population increase led to the formation of the next building level consisting of two multiroom houses separated by a small street. Large families consisting of minor ones lived in each of these houses. The place might have been inhabited by two large families constituting together a large-family community defined by I. M. D'yakonov as «a collective of people joined together by common paternal descent, common economic life and land ownership and composed of two or more family-conjugal units». Considering that the settlement occupied 1600 m² and had a mean density rate of 150—200 people per hectare, it is possible that 25—33 people lived in the building. This figure can be increased to 40—45, however. If we estimate that each family consisted of 4 or 5 people, the building must have been inhabited by 8—9 minor families.

It was traditionally considered that the large-family community was replaced by the territorial community. Soviet explorers have established, however, that in the countries of the ancient East both kinds of communities often co-existed. This picture has been traced from the materials in Northern Afghanistan where tiny settlements consisting of eight or ten minor families, for example, co-existed with major towns that had dozens, or even hundreds of such families, living in cult and secular complexes. This already presupposes the existence of territorial communities as well.

The «rotund temple» plan suggests that there may well have been communities in Afghanistan, resembling to a certain extent those of Mesopotamia. It has been established that Near-Eastern societies of the third and second millennia BC had wo separate sectors, a temple sector and a communal one, though their quantitative or qualitative relationships may have varied in each case.

Assigning a place to the Afghan temple complexes in general and to the «rotund temple» at Dashli III in particular, we would suggest that they might conform most closely to the pre-ensian period of temple communities in Mesopotamia. Using the terminology of Sumerian tablets it can be assumed that the Afghan temples of the second millennium BC conform most closely to the type where a chief-priest and his retinue headed the temple estate in which work was still done mostly by freemen. Judging by the Mesopotamian materials, the chief-priest (en) was gradually giving way to a head of state having some priestly functions (ensi) and the temples were passing into the hands of a king. This does not appear to be the case in Afghanistan at the time considered.

No economic tablets of any kind have been found either at Mundigak or Dashli III, so it is impossible to elaborate the social structure. It is possible, of course, that accounts were rendered to all kinds of overseers and «accouning clerks» who managed the temple's estate. The rotund temple could have housed 150—200 people, mostly farmers, so there is no doubt that it was necessary to organize the community's work. Here we should recall the compartmented seals. They might have been used to render accounts of outgoing and incoming inventory, grain and, everything else for which entries were made on clay tables in Mesopotamia.

It is now becoming evident that Afghanistan belonged to a zone unfamiliar with large-scale river irrigation but, on the contrary, consisted of a system of «oases». Side-by-side with small towns (Mundigak, Shahr-i-Sokhta) there were small, presumably rural, settlements. Settlements of both types, regardless of size, consisted of multiroom houses, the residences of large patriarchal families. Each of these families consisted of several minor ones, most of them consanguineous. But the society's structure was based on large families which, depending on the type of the settlement, could constitute large-family communities, as well as territorial communities.

The settled community of each «oasis» formed a quite isolated self-sufficient group concentrating around the cult-administrative centre. This last circumstance necessarily presupposes the existence of two sectors of land tanure, viz. private and temple sectors. All the people of a given oasis had one or another job on the temple estate. The emerged cult-administrative leadership, the chief-priest and his staff supervised both secular and religious matters: they regulated the system of water-supply distribution (and, in part, that of land tenure), the enforcement of intracommunal law and order, and they organized religious-cult festivals. In short they regulated the everyday life of the people inhabiting the

oasis. At the same time there is every reason to believe that this rule was not absolute and, to a certain extent, was controlled by the council of elders consisting of chief patriarchs of the large-family communities. It was an association of settled large-family communities under limited control of the chief-priest and administrative nobility that consituted the social and religious structure of Bronze Age Afghan society. At that time the primitive communal system of Afghanistan was degenerating, and state power was just beginning to form. In this respect the country was similar to Mesopotamia in Uruk times when there was no despotic rule yet, but the temple priests were already becoming the actual owners of large portions of common land.

*PALAEOANTHROPOLOGY AND ETHNIC HISTORY.* At present apart from Mundigak there are craniological materials from the Dashli Oasis related to a variation of the east-Mediterranean type, the most pronounced form of this variant being a series of skulls from Southern Tajikistan, dating back to the second millennium BC. According to T. A. Trofimova:

«The skull from Dashli III possesses a number of peculiarities similar to the crania from Tigrovaya Balka I, rather than the Sounth-Turkmenistani crania from Altin-Depe».

Of particular interest, in this connection, are the cemeteries of northern Bactria from the second half of the 2nd millennium BC, such as the Tulhar, Tigrovaya Balka I—IV and Makoni Mor cemeteries. According to T. P. Kiyatkina, the anthropological type of those buried in the Tulhar Cemetery is quite different from that of Tigrovaya Balka and there is neither morphological nor tribal affinity between them, each constituting an absolutely independent anthropological type. Although the data obtained by T. Khodjaiov from a large anthoropological series from Sapalli-Tepe have not yet been published, a preliminary interpretation of this material is of indisputable interest. In general the author concluded that the skeletons found at Sapalli belong to he East-Mediterranean race, or perhaps, to a particular variation, and conform most closely to the people of Hissar III, Tigrovaya Balka, Makoni Mor and, probably, Dashli Oasis, while differing from skeletons in the Tulhar Cemetery, Sialka and Southern Mesopotamia.

The available data indicates a zone inhabited by a certain variation of the East-Mediterranean race which included North-Eastern Iran, Bactria and, probably, Margiana and part of Parthia.

Southern Afghanistan belonged to the zone of the so-called Indo-Afghan racial type which extended from the subcontinent of India as far as lower Mesopotamia. And perhaps the conclusions drawn independently by anthropologists (T. Trofimova, K. Mendree) are correct in assuming a close affinity between the Quetta — Mundigak — Geoksyur people and the Indo-Afghan type. As is clear from the available data, it can be assumed that the ancient population of Afghanistan may reveal genetic relationship with the ancient population of North-Eastern Iran and South Central Asia, whereas the population of Southern Afghanistan may correspond more closely to the so-called Indo-Afghan type.

The data available, though far from being complete, nevertheless warrant a tentative hypothesis that the most ancient population of this country belonged, in the third millennium BC at least, to the dolichocrane Europeoid race, similar to the people of Southern Turkmenistan, on one hand, and those of North-Western India on the other. This substratum provides he basis for the formation by the middle of the second millennium BC of a more or less uniform population of Gracilis dolichocephalic found throughout the explored territory of Afghanistan.

Linguistic evidence up to he beginning of the second millennium BC points toward an Aryan language community, i. e. a single undivided group of Iranian and Indian languages. Apart from some hypotheses, it is assumed that the Indo-Iranian tribes inhabited the steppe areas of Central Asia and, perhaps, some adjacent regions. It is also assumed that a gradual settlement of these tribes has resulted in dialectal differences within this originally single language. This process has divided the Iranian language into two main groups, West-Iranian and East-Iranian, conventionally accepted to be separated by the Dashli-Kavir Desert. Until lately the Bactrian language was unknown, but the Surkh-Kotal inscription relates it beyond any possibility of doubt to the East-Iranian language.

At the same time doubts remain as to the particular ways East-Iranian languages spread on the territory of Afghanistan, its northern portion in particular. Many specialists, including Soviet scientists, believe the Aryans or Iranians are those steppe tribes of the Andronovo culture whose eastern branch, moving onwards, led to the spreading of East-Iranian languages. Without discussing the Indo-Iranian problem as a whole, it should be noted that the existing archaeological evidence, does not support this conception in relation to Bactria. Tribes from Central Asia did not penetrate into Bactria. On the contrary, it was from Bactria that tribes came to settle at least in the southern areas of modern Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

On he other hand repeated settlements of the tribes (the East-Khorasan culture, the Bactrian-Margianan complex) most probably from Iranian Khorasan, may reflect the spreading of East-Iranian languages as well. The absence of written records makes this assumption highly hypothetical. The theory of the Tranian origin of the Andronovo tribes also remains essentially unproved. The established fact that East-Iranian was used in Northern Afghanistan in ancient times (Surkh Kotal) presupposes an initial phase too, which, according to archaeological evidence, was most closely connected with the settlement of tribes from Iranian Khorasan (Bactrian-Margianan complex) where the Indo-European population might have existed long before the beginning of the second millennium BC. Obviously this is just a preliminary hypothesis but it concurs better than any other with the new direct archaeological evidence.

Even more involved is the problem of the linguistic affinity of north-afghan population which, till the second millennium BC, may have spoken Dravidian languages. Then Indo-European languages, perhaps similar to Bactrian, are supposed to have spread there.

As ancient Afghanistan is more and more often mentioned in scientific literature in connection with the theory of the Aryan conquest, it seems possible to compare these data with new archaeological materials and observations.

A. M. Mandel'shtam was the first to advance the hypothesis that the steppe tribes migrating to Central Asia from the southern zone of Europe had brought along their funeral rituals (evidenced by the Tulhar Cemetery), but adopted the manufacture of ceramics and metal objects from the local tribes, including some farming implements. In his opinion, the cemeteries of the Bishkent culture (formed on the basis of the Andronovo and Zamanbaba cultures) reveal close similarities with the funeral ritual described in Rigveda. Thus, the bearers of the Bishkent culture were probably related to the Veda's Aryans. Later, this theory was developed and extended to include comparable material from the cemeteries of Southern Tajikistan and North-Western India (B. A. Litvinsky, E. E. Kuz'mina). Italian archaeologists (C. Silvi Antonini, G. Stakul) strongly objected.

Since he craniological material from Southern Tajikistan bears no resemblance not only to the Andronovo anthropological type but to any other type related to

the proto-Europeoid forms, it will become evident that the migration of the Aryan tribes to the Indian subcontinent from the central Asian steppes needs further, more profound investigation.

The cemeteries of southern Tajikistan (excluding Tulhar) were abandoned by the people from the farming oases of ancient Bactria moving north in search of new lands. Having left their home they lost some of their cultural traditions, and a general kind of «barbarization» became apparent.

Much remains vague in the genesis of the Bishkent (Vakhsh) culture but clearly one should not overestimate the influence of the steppe Bronze cultures. No Andronovo wares have been encountered yet in any of the cemeteries. The «catacomb burials» may have been practised by the imigrants when still in their former home, as indicated by the cemeteries of the Dashli Oasis. An analysis of the above facts leads to the conclusion that the cemeteries of Southern Tajikistan (excluding Tulhar) suggest settlement of traditional farming tribes farther away from their home in the north-western perifery, rather than any migration of Central Asian Indo-Aryans to India. B. A. Litvinsky was the first to put this view forward in a general form; he suggested, however, that the new tribes might have come from south-eastern Turkmenistan in the Namazga V (if not IV) period, rather than from southern Bactria. But this supposition requires additional evidence in light of new archaeological materials.

In conclusion, only some things mentioned in Avesta and Rigveda find parallels in the culture of Bactria. Moreover, even in this case most of them are equally applicable to other farming-cattlebreeding cultures of south-western Central Asia. At the same time some other things contained in Avesta have so far been correlated exclusively to the materials from Bactria (fire temples, rectangular fortresses, cult animal burials, camel designs, etc.).

It seems, however, that the evidence thus far accumulated supports the theory put forward long ago by S. P. Tolstov and detailed by V. M. Masson, that Indo-Iranian tribes may have inhabited Khorasan from at least the turn of the third and the second millennium BC. This thesis was further developed by I. M. D'yakonov, but this was strongly opposed by other investigators, and mainly E. A. Grantovsky. This problem will continue to be sharply debated for many more years but from an archaeological point of view one cannot exclude even such a hypothesis which may cause a radical review of some traditional conceptions.

*THE FORMATION OF URBAN CIVILIZATION IN BACTRIA.* This process was based on two combined cultural traditions — unfortified citadeled settlements of the East-Khorasan culture and fortresses of the Bactrian-Margianan archaeological complex. These «urban-type settlements» led in the long run to the formation by the middle of the first millennium BC of the first Bactrian towns which consisted of a fortress with a citadel and a town proper many times larger than the fortress. The town concentrated on crafts and trade.

Although the agrarian character of towns is evident, crafts already occupied the main place and their tendency to develop became determinative. The Bactrian urban formation was characteristic of Margiana as well. At the same time, however, there were other models too, such as the Hirkanian and Parthian. The aggregate of data helps to form the schemata of the historical developments that took place on the territory of ancient Afghanistan. Much still remains vague in the scheme presented but it is indisputable that during the Bronze and Early Iron Ages Afghanistan entered the arena of the emerging civilization of the ancient East. A more concrete and precise definition of this process will depend on future archaeological explorations on that country's territory.