

**TARIX. MANBASHUNOSLIK
HISTORY. SOURCE STUDIES**

Gaybulla Babayarov

(Toshkent, O'zbekiston)
gaybullah@mail.ru

Tatyana Abbasova

(Toshkent, O'zbekiston)
abbasova@navoiy-uni.uz

Pre-Islamic Coins of Bukhara with Double Descriptions

Abstract

Among coins of Pre-Islamic Central Asia with double descriptions, most coins from Chach (Tashkent), Sogd and Tokharistan (Southern Uzbekistan – Southern Tajikistan – Northern Afghanistan) were relatively well-researched, while coins from Otrar (Southern Kazakhstan) and Bukhara belong to slightly studied, even almost not-researched group of coins. Bukhara, in the Early Middle Ages, due to its position, at the junction of nomadic pastoral and sedentary agricultural areas, was one of the key regions of Transoxiana (Amu-Darya – Syr-Darya). If Chach, Otrar and Ferghana were located directly in the contact zone, then Bukhara was located near the routes of movement of nomadic tribes from the Syr-Daria and Yettisuv basin to the south-western regions of Central Asia. All this could leave its imprint on the history of these historical and cultural areas.

Key words: Pre-Islamic period, Bukhara, coins, tamgha signs, Turkic Khanate, Sogdian language.

Islomdan oldingi Buxoroning qo'shaloq tasvirli tangalari

Abstrakt

Islomdan oldingi Markaziy Osiyoning qo'shaloq tasvirli tangalari orasida Choch (Toshkent), Sug'd va To'xoriston tangalari (Janubiy O'zbekiston – Janubiy Tojikiston – Shimoliy Afg'oniston) ancha ko'p o'rganilgan, O'tror (Janubiy Qozog'iston) va Buxoro tangalari esa deyarli o'rganilmagan tangalar sirasiga kiradi. Ilk o'rta asrlarda Buxoro o'z

joylashuviga ko'ra Amudaryo – Sirdaryo oralig'ining ko'chmanchi chorvador va o'troq dehqon o'lkalari o'rtasida o'zaro tig'iz aloqalar o'rnatilgan hudud edi. Agar Choch, O'tror va Farg'ona Sirdaryo va Yettisuvning ko'chmanchi elatlari bilan to'g'ridan-to'g'ri aloqalar kesimida joylashgan bo'lsa, Buxoro ushbu hududlardan Markaziy Osiyoning janubiga eltuvchi yo'nalishlar yaqinida o'rin olgan edi. Bularning barchasi ushbu tarixiy-madaniy o'lkalarda o'z izlarini qoldirdi.

Kalit so'zlar: islomdan oldingi davr, Buxoro, tangalar, tamg'alar, Turk xoqonligi, sug'diy til.

Introduction

Today, it is known that the Pre-Islamic coins of Central Asia depicting double portraits of the prince and the princess were minted in the following five historical and cultural areas of the region: 1) Chach (Tashkent / Uzbekistan), 2) Sogd (Panch / Tajikistan), 3) Chaganian / Tokharistan (Southern Uzbekistan), 4) Bukhara, 5) Otrar (Middle Syr-Daria / Southern Kazakhstan) (see Fig. I).



Fig. I. Coins of Central Asia depicting double portraits: Coins of the Western Turkic Qaghanate / Chach (1); Sogd (2); Chaganian / Tokharistan (3); Bukhara (4); Otrar (5).

On the coins of the first three mentioned above historical and cultural areas there were the inscriptions of the names and titles of the governors, scribed in the Sogdian letter:

- on the coins of Chach – žpγw “Jabgu”, tw̄n c̄pγw x'γ'n “Tun Jabgu-qaghan”, tw̄wn x'γ'n “Ton-qaghan” [Бабаяров 2007, 9-14, 18-

20];

- on the coins of Sogd – γ'ttwn(h) "Khatun" [Смирнова 1981: 362-370] or MR'Y pncy (?) nn x'ttwnh "Nana-Khatun, Princess of Panch (?)" [Бабаяров, Кубатин 2015, 90];

- on the coins of Tokharistan (e.g «Coins of Chaganian») there were inscriptions of Sogdian phrases βγυ хwβ "Divine/Lord-Ruler" (Type II) and тγw'r'k ... хwβ / сγw (?) "Governor / Yabgu (?) of Tokharistan" (?) (Type II) [Babayar 2007, 194; Бабаяров, Кубатин 2009, 81];

- on the coins of Bukhara, because of poor preservation, the legend is difficult to make out, coins of Otrar anepigraphical [Бабаяров 2014, 70-75].


Among these coins of Central Asia with double portraits, most coins from Chach, Sogd and Tokharistan were relatively well-researched, while coins from Otrar and Bukhara belong to slightly studied, even almost not-researched group of coins. Especially, this case applies to Bukhara coins.

It is important to mention that by binding these coins with double portraits to current regions, we rely on such numismatic characteristics as places where they were found, archeological layers, methods of creation, iconographic and epigraphic peculiarities.

1.1. Coins of Bukhara with double portraits



No. 1-2. Av. Bust image of governor and wife-governor in facet. The left character (governor) - with uncovered head and loose hair, reaching to the shoulders. The face is round; the incision is almond-shaped. Without beard and mustache. The right-hand person (governor) is wearing a hubcap formed headgear. The face is round, the section of the eyes is almond-shaped, on the ears there are massive earrings. Both characters with straight short noses, well-defined eyes under the archs of eyebrows converging over the bridge of the nose and the small mouth. Each image has an oval face with a heavy chin. Rv. Anepigraphic or remains of tamgha (one of the





tamghas of Pre-Islamic Bukhara - ). **H:** 18 mm; 20 mm.? **W:** 1,12 g.; 1,5 g.? Place of origin: Bukhara region. Place of keeping: Private collection. VII-VIII a.d.. Bronze [see. zeno.ru. Pre-Islamic Central Asia - Chach No. 15171; Bukhara].

Note. Only 6 Bukhara coins of this type have been recognized and some of their photos have been virtually installed in numismatic web-sites. The place where they are being kept is unknown (see Fig. II), a part of them belongs to Uzbek collectors. They informed that these coins were found in the ruins of the old city in Bukhara valley.



Fig. II. Coins of Bukhara with a pair image.

Coins of Central Asia with double portraits

Among these coins, the coins of supreme governors of the Western Turkic Khanate (with titles Jabgu / Jabgu-Qaghan / Qaghan and tamgha  /  / ) are very close to each other in iconographic and other links (image style, symbols of power, minting techniques, parameters, etc.), coins minted in Chach and coins of the Turkic-Sogdian dynasty, which ruled over one of the possessions of Sogd (with the title «Khatun» and tamgha ) [Массон 1951, 97-99; Ртвеладзе 1998, 11; Баратова 2005, 418; Бабаяров 2007, 24, 34-35]. Although there are small differences between them, inherent in

the coins of each of the regions, it is worth noting the similarity of the physical type of the male and female characters, as well as the headdress of the female character (on the first coins it is depicted in a three-horn headgear that later stylizes) and similar stages image styling (see. Fig. I, II-IV). And the coins of Otrar with a similar image (with a tamgha in sight) show a greater similarity to the coins of Chach and Sogd than to coins from other regions. Despite the fact that we know one copy of this type of coin of poor preservation, but some features of double portraits can be described. Due to the poor preservation of the coin, the features of the face and eyes, the supposed male character on the left and the female character on the right, are hardly distinguishable. But as you can see, the character on the left has a round face and long hair up to the shoulders, the right one also has a rounded face and is depicted in a headdress (see. Fig. I, 5).

Coins of this type of other regions, i.e. Bukhara and Tokharistan, are different from the coins of Chach, Sogd and Otrar, both in iconographic terms and in technique (see Fig. I). Coins of Bukhara with a pair of images are semi-skeleton and in this way they show affinity with other coins of the oasis of this period [see. Mycaeva 2013, 94-99, illustr. -pp. 18-20]. In the iconographic sense, they differ from coins with a similar plot of the other three oases. The male character on the left is depicted with hair combed back and portrayed as large lines, and the female character on the right in a specific headgear (similar to the medieval female headdresses of the peoples of the Far East, in particular, the Turko-Mongols). Both characters are depicted with almond-shaped eyes, but the incision is not too narrow. The reverse side of all known copies of coins of this type is badly worn, so it is difficult to determine which tamgha is stamped on them, but you can see some signs resembling Sogdian letters (see Fig. II, 3).

Coins of Bukhara and Tokharistan with this plot, although they have inherent differences, but in general, they show resemblance with similar coins of Chach, Sogd and Otrar. However, unlike the coins of Bukhara on Tocharistan coins, the governor on the right is depicted like coins of Sogd with long and thin mustaches, and the governor on the left, though not wearing a headdress like the others, but has a round face than the coins of other regions (see Fig. VI). Such kind of physical appearance is also typical to Bukhara coins. But the peculiarity of Tokharistan coins is that the governor and the governess are depicted with a short hairdo (see Fig. VI). On the back

there was stamped a diamond-shaped tamgha (⚡). There are three variants of these coins: anepigraphic one or a Sogdian legend (prn xwβ “Divine/Lord Governor”) on the reverse or «Governor / Yabgu (?) of Tokharistan» (?) on the adverse side (see Fig. VI, 1, 3) [Баратова 2005, 415-416; Babayar 2007, 194; Бабаяров, Кубатин 2009, 81].



Fig. III a. Coins of the Western Turkic Qaghanate with the title “Jabgu” (Tashkent).

It can be said that in the Early Middle Ages in the five regions of Central Asia coins with a pair image were minted, although they had inherent features, but for which the generality of the plot is relative.



The coin of this origin was directly or indirectly connected with the West-Turkic Khanate. Among them, only coins of the Western Turkic Khanate from the Chach oasis with this plot had been minted for a long time, as evidenced by the great variety of their types and variants, as well as their numerous findings, both random and found during archaeological research [Ртвеладзе 1982, 32; 2002: 266; 2006: 64-65; Баратова 2005, 415-422; Шагалов, Кузнецов 2006, 81-85; Babayar 2007, 54-55, 66-70, 74-79].

Similar coins of Sogd, minted, presumably, by local governors married to the daughters of the Western Turkic qaghans, or the dynasty of Turkic origin, in this respect following the coins of Chach. A small number of findings and poorly understood coins of other regions (Otrar, Bukhara, Tokharistan) do not allow us to draw definite conclusions. However, they are not characterized by degradation and the presence of various options.

So, how important was the tradition of reflecting on the coins of Central Asia double portraits of the governor and the governess, when this story appeared on the coins of the region and what is its origin? One of the first found in the 50-ies of the last century drew attention of M.E. Masson who points out that those coins with a double images were copied from Byzantine copper coins of Justine II (565-578), on which he was depicted next to Queen Sofia. In his opinion, it was to the court of Justine II about 568 that the embassy arrived from the Central Asian representing Turks (the Western Turkic Khanate - auth.), led by the Sogdian merchant Maniah [Массон 1951, 97-99]. In her time O.I. Smirnova noted that it is likely that, having become acquainted with the Byzantine coins, the Turks borrowed for themselves their type, firmly entrenched by the end of the 7 century, and in turn, served in the future as the initial sample for the coin types of the regions of Central Asia. However, at the same time, the researcher, given the high artistic level of their performance, does not deny the possibility that the Turks are not Byzantines, while the Byzantines of the Turks borrow a new type of coins, noting that the double images appear on Byzantine coins beginning from this time and only later Byzantine coins were repeatedly returned to them [Смирнова 1981, 56].

But, this opinion was not widely supported. On the contrary, in turn, the opinion of the Byzantine influenced on the coinage of the Turks found its actual confirmation in the writings of E.V. Rtveladze [Rtveladze 1973, 232-234; Ртвеладзе 2002, 269-277; and the authors, Бабаяров, Кубатин 2008, 3-10; Babayarov, Kubatin 2013,

47-58].

One of the important features is also that the place of the cross on the coins of Byzantium with double portraits, on coins of the Western Turkic Khanate with the same plot, was occupied by a crescent with a star that occupied an important place in the views of the ancient Turks and other peoples of Central Asia [Бабаяров, Кубатин 2008, 3-10; Babayarov, Kubatin 2013, 47-58]. The presence of several types of coins with double portraits and their variants suggests that they were minted for a long period of time by the governors of the Western Turkic Khanate at all its stages of history - Yabgu, Yabgu-Khanate and Khanate, as evidenced by titles that took their place in their legends [Бабаяров, Кубатин 2008, 3-10; Бабаяров 2012, 25-26]. On the basis of information from written sources and numismatic material, it can be traced that the Western Turkic Khanate, being the Western wing of the Turkic Khanate, i.e. the Eastern / Central Turkic Khanate, in its formation as a state, passed through three stages: Yabgu (560s – the end of the 6th century); Yabgu-Khanate (beginning of the 6th century – 630s); Khanate (from the 630s to the 740s). That is, when the Western Wing was in the status of Yabgu, coins were minted only with the title $\text{ǰp}\gamma\text{w}$ (Jabgu), at the second stage – Yabgu-Khanate with the title $\text{cp}\gamma\text{w x}'\gamma'n$ (Jabgu-qaghan). Only after the liquidation of the East Turkic Khanate, the Western Turkic Khanate turned into an independent state - Khanate in the full sense of the word, and its rulers began minting coins with the title “Qaghan”. In particular, the definition of belonging to the Western Turkic Khanate of a number of types of coins from the Tashkent oasis belonging to the 6 – 8 centuries allowed to solve a number of problematic issues of the history of this Khanate. We have revealed the legendary legends of these coins of such expressions as $\text{ǰp}\gamma\text{w}$ “Jabgu”, $\text{tr}\delta\text{w x}'\gamma'n$ “Tardu qaghan”, $\text{cp}\gamma\text{w x}'\gamma'n \text{pny}$ “coin of Jabgu-qaghan”, 'ylpy 'šp'r' ... $\text{cp}\gamma\text{w x}'\gamma'n$ “Yelbi Ishbara ... Jabgu-qaghan”, $\beta\gamma\text{y tw}\text{n cp}\gamma\text{w x}'\gamma'n$ “Divine Tun Jabgu-Qaghan” and others, led to the conclusion that the Western Turkic qaghans minted coins on their own behalf. Based on the form of tamgha (), title (Jabgu) and iconographic features, part of the Khanate coins can be attributed to the coins of the first stage. Those, they relate to the stage of Yabgu's and their coinage in chronological terms can be dated to approximately the end of the 560s – the last quarter of 6th century. The presence on the coins of the title “Jabgu-Qaghan”, as well as the tamgha in the form (), indicates their belonging to the coins of the second stage. Moreover, this fact once

again confirms that the official title of the Western Turkic qaghans was the title of “Jabgu / Jabgu-Qaghan”. Coins of this type belong to the second stage of the formation of the Western Turkic Khanate - Yabgu-Khanate and should be dated to the beginning of the 7th – 30th years of 7th century. Many of these coins belong to the Tun Yabgu-Qaghan (618–630), and it was precisely to the era of his reign that he focused his attention on the south-western territories. Most of the Khanate coins minted in Chach are coins with the title “Qaghan” in the legend, which are iconographically based on the shape of the tamgha (𐰉) and are very close to the coins with the titles “Jabgu” and “Jabgu-Qaghan”. The presence in their legends of the title “Qaghan”, as well as additional elements on the tamgha, stylization of images (a significant change in contrast to the prototypes), testify to their belonging to the coins of the third stage. The lack of titles on these coins “Jabgu” and “Jabgu-Qaghan” can be associated with the transition of the Western wing to the stage of Khanate. So, after the elimination of the 630ies the Tang empire, the Eastern Turkic Khanate, the Western Wing (i.e., Yabgu-Khanate), as the heir to the central government, became an independent Khanate and its rulers began to call themselves “Qaghan” by starting coinage with this title (Fig. IV) [Бабаяров 2012, 25-26].



Fig. IV. Coins of the Western-Turkic Qaghanate with a pair image from three stages (Tashkent): Yabgu, Yabgu-Qaghanat and Qaghanat (1-2 - “Jabgu”, 3-4 - “Jabgu-Qaghan”, 5-6 - “Qaghan”).

We can say that this plot, whose appearance on coins of Central Asia is associated with the Turkic - Byzantine political

union, first appeared on the coins of the rulers of the Western Turkic Khanate, minted in Chach. It is more likely that the minting of coins with a similar plot in Sogd, Tokharistan, Bukhara and Otrar began under the influence of the Chach coins. After Chach, coins with double portraits began to be minted in Sogd, then in Tokharistan and in other possessions. Those coins of the Western Turkic Khanate, minted in Chach with double portraits served as a certain standard or prototype for coins of other regions with a similar plot. To put forward such an assumption allows us the variety of different types and variants of coins with the given plot, which are found in Chach and Sogd.



Fig. V a. Old Turkic coins of Sogd with the title «Nana-Khatun».

It means that this plot borrowed by the Western Turkic qaghans and processed in the light of the ancient Turkic traditions to make inscriptions on their coins as a political act, and then over time it influenced the coinage of small oasis possessions dependent on the Khanate. The coins with this plot, which were minted in the mentioned possessions or representatives of local dynasties, or new dynasties of Turkic origin established power in them, in general, the basic idea and the generality of the plot. But, at the same time, there are certain

additions and changes, characteristic to each region. For example, this point of view is confirmed by such factors as the presence on the reverse side tamghas of coins or symbols, characteristic to each possession, as well as the manifestation of local coinage techniques and local coinage traditions. In addition, the presence of the Sogdian, the legend about the tamgha on the coins of some of these regions, in which titles to their political situation are inscribed, argues their conformity with the traditions of the legitimacy of that time.

Responding to the question whether there could be a situation opposite to the above mentioned, that is, to assume that the first appearance on the pre-Islamic coins of Central Asia this type of stories, which is generally considered Byzantine influence, is not due to Chach coins minted by the supreme governors of the Western Turks, but in Sogd or in another region, which was later borrowed by Chach.

However, the absence of irrefutable arguments, which confirm this opinion, allows us to consider it with confidence. In addition, as noted above, the political alliance with Byzantium was concluded with the supreme governors of the Western Turks [Moravcsik 1958, 130-131, 296; Шювеш 1995, 33-38], and on their own coins of Western Turkic governors minted in Chach, there does not only this story appear, but also other subjects that we attribute to the imperial ones. This fact, as well as iconographic, technical and other features allow us to say that Chach's coins served as a certain standard for coins of other regions. The image of a governor with long hair reflected on the coins of Bukhara with double portraits shows close resemblance to similar images that imprinted on the pre-Islamic coins of Central Asia, mainly on the coins of Chach (especially coins with the title «Qaghan», i.e. with coins Western Türkic Khanate, relating to the period of «Khanate». See Fig. 1 – Fig. IV, 5-6), Sogd, Otrar and Tokharistan, as well as on many archeological monuments (rock paintings, balbals, etc.) of Yettisuv (Kazakhstan / Kyrgyzstan) (see Fig. IX). Some of them, for a number of signs (physical appearance (rounded face), the shape of the eye (almond-shaped, narrow), hairdo form (long hair up to the shoulders, combed in both directions), etc., show greater affinity with images that reflected on coins of Western Turks (in particular, Chach and Sogd). Despite the fact that they are made of metal, stone, etc., there is such closeness in the manner of the image of people, which does not only reflect their belonging to the same ethnic group, and indicates that they are created in close connection with each other era, but also shows its

belonging to the common ethno-cultural environment.



Fig. V b. Old Turkic coins of Sogd with the title «Nana-Khatun».

As we noted in our previous studies, on coins with double portraits, although the story remains characteristic to Byzantium, but they display the images of the governor and the governess, Mongoloid features (round face, narrow eyes) and features characteristic to ancient Turks (long hair and absence of a headdress from the governor, a three-horned headdress from the governor, symbolizing Umay). Besides, G.V. Kubarev, who has deeply researched double image – an image of the ruler and the princess (who wears three-pointed hat) that was commonly used in ancient Turkic art, tried to summarize all suggestions that were said before him: (1) “Characters with a crown or a tiara are depictions of the deity Umay [Кызласов

1949; Длужневская 1978; Кызласов 1998; Мотов 2001; и др.] or even the Mother of God [Азбелев 2010]. The researchers came to this conclusion on the basis of analysis of ancient Turkic graffiti and, above all, scenes on the Kudyrğa boulder. (2) Characters in a three-horn headdress represent an image of either shaman and the embodiment of ancestor cult through the female line [Ахинжанов 1978], or shamans [Досымбаева 2006, 45]. (3) Social and political interpretation of scenes with images of women in a three-horned headdress of ancient Turks is to recognize the high social status of its owner and the possible reflection of political history (subordination of one tribe to another, etc.) [Потапов 1953, 92; Гаврилова 1965, 18–21; Кубарев 2003]. (4) The trichrome female headdress became widespread among ancient Turks and other Turkic-speaking nomads and did not imply the high social status of his proprietress [Худяков 2010, 99–100] [Кубарев 2016, 99-100].

After expressing his own attitude to this issue, G.V. Kubarev has declared his thoughts about this tradition which was common among ancient Turks and his suggestions were based on the coins from Western Turkic Khanate that were kindly presented from our side to the scientific community: «Not only the image of the governor and the governess, but the illustration of the marriage coalition of two aristocratic families and the possible embodiment of Tengri and Umai, explains the canonicity of the scene and the frequency with which it was reproduced on coins, sculptures, rock surfaces and objects of everyday life. We can assume that the three-horned headdress, if not exclusively the privilege of the katun (the wife of the kagan), at least reflected the high social status of its owner. Probably, this explains a small number of sculptures depicting a three-horned headdress.

In ancient Turkic sculptures with images of a three-necked headdress, as well as in characters in such a headdress which were engraved on stones, bones, etc., noble women are depicted, not as shamans / shamans, and all the more not the goddess Umay or the Mother of God. In favor of this it is shown by the totality of the facts as cited below: “the installation of sculptures at the memorial fences, the family character of some of these monuments, the images of the Turkic governor and governess on Sogdian coins, the canonical reproduction of man and woman in a yurt, etc.» [Кубарев 2016, 101].

Despite G.V. Kubarev's some mistakes¹, his suggestions, based on the ideas of a number of researchers, about double images (typical for ancient Turkic art), depicting Turkic qaghan and his wife, are truly outstanding: [Dosymbaeva 2014, 95-101]. «Apparently, the canonical scene of the governor and his wife sitting in the yurt is an illustration of the marriage coalition of two aristocratic families of ancient Turks (ashina and ashide), whose existence is known from Chinese and authentic written sources. It can be viewed in a certain way as coded information about the structure of the ancient Türkic state, and also as a symbolic image of the divine couple of Tengri and Umai. This explains the wide spread of this scene, which was reproduced on rocks, sculptures, everyday objects, and also repeatedly replicated on coins of the Western Turkic Khanate, which demonstrates how important and significant it was for ancient Turks. Probably, therefore, the widest distribution of the statue of women in a three-horn headdress was received on the territory of Yettisuv - the western wing of the Turkic Khanates, headed by the aristocratic family of Ashida. It is possible that they portrayed representatives of this genus. At the same time, the eagle couple, apparently, personified the male and female principle and the terrestrial hypostasis of the two supreme deities of Tengri and Umai. This is evidenced by the epithets endowed by the Qaghan and his wife (Khatun) in runic monuments: the Qaghan «Heaven / Tengri similar, Heaven delivered (or Heaven born)»; «Mother-Qatun, like Umai»². The feminine principle in the scene under consideration was emphasized by the image of a pregnant ruler on coins of the Western Turkic Khanate in Sogd and Tokharistan (in fact, on coins of the Western Turkic Khanate minted in Chach / Tashkent – auth.) [see Бабаяров 2007, 15-30]. As it is known, the goddess Umai patronized children and pregnant women. However, it is not necessary to speak about the existing iconography of the deities of Tengri and Umai from ancient Turks [Кубарев 2016: 102].

¹ Because, coins with the image of pregnant woman were found only in Tashkent oasis, Western Turkic Qaghanate minted its coins in Chach region. Coins that were minted in Sogd and Tokharistan were indirectly related to Western Turkic Qaghanate and were incused by Qaghanate's branch dynasties or local governors that obeyed to the Khanate. For instance, the origin of Tokharistan coins comes from Yabgu dynasty (Ashina clan origin) of Tokharistan (620-750) and there is a high possibility that Sogdian coins were minted by Sogdian rulers who were bound to Ashina clan with marriage relations at that time.

² Thus, in the inscription of Kül-Tegin (732), his mother Khatun is compared with the goddess Umai [Monument to Kül-tegin, East Side, 31-line, see Малов 1951, 31, 40] (author's note).



Fig. VI. Coins of Tokharistan (the so-called “Chaghanian”) with a pair image.

Historical overview

According to the Chinese chronicles «Sui-shu» and «Tang-shu», the rulers of Kang-chü (Sogd), like the governors of a number of Central Asia regions of the early Middle Ages, such as An (Bukhara), Cao (Kabudan), Shi (Chach), Mi (Maymurgh), He (Kushaniya), Hosiun (Khorezm), Mao-di (Bitik or Vardana?), Shi (Kesh) came from the genus Chao-wu, among which, the main was the house of Chao-wu Kang (Samarkand) [Бичурин II, 310; Смирнова 1970, 37]. The question of the origin of the ruling house of Chao-wu was considered in the writings of a number of researchers, mainly on the basis of written sources, and on this occasion they expressed various, sometimes contradictory, opinions. However, in this issue, the numismatic material, in particular, tamghas, reflected on the coins of the historical and cultural regions of Central Asia was not paid due attention. In addition, iconography, the generality of subjects, symbols and legends on coins of various regions, which allow us

to speak either of their common origin of the dynasty, or of their cultural and historical unity, are of no small importance. So, let us dwell on these numismatic aspects. As it is known, tamghas have long served as signs of ownership of a certain clan on certain valuables, livestock and land, the involvement of a person or a group of relatives in a certain action: in the process of conducting ceremonies and in concluding various contracts related to pronouncing oaths, religious ceremonies, etc. [Яценко 2001, 22-23].



Fig. VII. Pre-Islamic Coins of Bukhara.

At the same time, tamghas, which were reflected on the coins, were symbols of the ruling dynasties, as well as the states founded by them and were associated both with the territory in which they

ruled and with their origin (ethnicity). Of particular interest in this regard are tamghas, available on some types of coins of Chach and Bukhara, dating back to the Early Middle Ages.

These tamghas include tamgha in the form of two semicircles connected in the middle by two transverse lines, which is reflected in the group of early medieval coins of the Chach oasis (𐰉). Tamgha, similar to tamghas on coins of the Chach oasis, is found on coins of the Bukhara oasis (𐰉) minted also in the Early Middle Ages (Fig. VII, 3-4, 6-7, 9-15, 17, 20-21, 24, 30). At the same time, it is noteworthy that such tamghas, in turn, have a certain similarity with tamgha (𐰉), which is reflected on the coins of the Samarkand Sogd, minted in the end of the 6th – the beginning of the 7th centuries [Смирнова 1981: 92-97], which, unlike the tamghas of Bukhara and Chach, do not have an additional element to the right (Fig. VIII). As is known, the similarity of tamghas can serve as one of the main factors determining the belonging of coins to any dynasty. The appearance of minor differences on tamghas (additional elements, signs, etc.) is associated with the change of representatives of dynasties, or the separation of a separate line from the dynasty. This was mainly characteristic of many nomadic ethnic groups in Central Asia. For example, in the process of separating a kind into divisions, they had a new tamgha, different from the main generic tamgha, which was for it a prototype only for the presence of additional signs. This situation is typical even for tamghas of the ruling family of a number of sedentary agricultural holdings. In particular, it is observed on the coins of Central Asia, from the Kushan era to the Arab conquest. Based on this, in our opinion, the genesis of both Chach and Bukhara tamghas, apparently goes back to the tamgha of the Samarkand Sogd: 𐰉 ← 𐰉 → 𐰉, which is the evidence of the common origin of the ruling dynasties in them, most likely belonging to the house of Chaowu. These coins have images of rulers with both Mongoloid and European features, but most of them have mixed features (see Fig. VIII) [Бабаяров 2007, 73-85].

For the images of the rulers on all the coins of these three oases with Mongoloid features, there is a round face, an almond-shaped eye slit, no mustache and beard, and the presence of a hryvnia on the neck [Смирнова 1981, 308-310; Бабаяров 2007, 74-80, 85]. At the same time, all of them are characterized by the presence of a peculiar short hairstyle resembling a helmet or a helmet-shaped headdress crowned with a crescent on a stand (in Chach only on the type of coins with this large-sized tamgha). At the same time, an interesting

fact is that the presence of the word *z / nyrt* “yellow (bronze) or the name of the ruler” [Бабаяров 2007, 80] on the coins of both the Chach oasis and Samarqand Sogd reveals mongoloid features.



Fig. VIII. Some pre-Islamic coins of Chach, Bukhara and Samarkand.

Today, the Bukhara coins with this tamgha are dated earlier than the tamgha of Chach [Мусакаева 1997, 30; Наймарк 1995, 36-37]. But this does not allow us to speak with complete confidence about the influence of Bukhara’s mints on Chach, or on its independent origin. Most likely, this is probably due to the common origin of the dynasties of these historical and cultural regions, minted coins with these tamghas. So how can one explain the similarity of the tamghas of the two historical-cultural regions present on the coins? So, the aforementioned tamgha in the form of two semicircles connected in the middle by two transverse lines (⌘) which is reflected on the coins of Chach differs from the tamghas ((⌘ - ⌘) on the coins of the Turkic dynasties of Chach, such as Tegins (605-750) and Tuduns of Chach (640-750) [Бабаяров 2007, 40-45, 52-55], as well as tamghas, which are reflected on the coins of the supreme rulers of the Western Turkic

Khanate, minted in Chach (𐰽𐰺 / 𐰽𐰺 / 𐰽𐰺) [Бабаяров, Кубатин 2009, 47]. At the same time, this tamgha resembles the tamgha in the form reflected on the coins minted in Chach in the 3rd – 5th centuries, and from which, it is not excluded, it is its genesis. Coins with this tamgha were minted in the 6th – 8th centuries, i.e. after coins with tamgha in this shape. If we proceed from the aforementioned, as well as information from Chinese sources, then it seems more likely that these coins were minted by representatives of the house of Chao-wu, who ruled in the oasis until the authority of the Khanate was asserted here. And for this reason, we have similarities between the tamghas of such historical and cultural areas of Central Asia as coins of Bukhara, Chach and Samarkand, in which, as we know from written sources, representatives of Chao-wu ruled in the early Middle Ages. In addition to the similarity of tamgha, it should be noted that their common subjects and symbols are reflected on the coins of Chach and Bukhara. Such analogies include the presence of the image of a predator of the cat family (leopard), a double-humped camel, an altar of fire and an equilateral cross, can be interpreted as evidence of the cultural and historical unity of these two historical and cultural areas in the Early Middle Ages.

Who were the representatives of the house Chao-wu? Regarding the origin of the house of Chao-wu today there are a number of conflicting opinions. So according to Chinese sources, representatives of the house of Chao-wu, who arrived in Central Asia from the northeast part of Eastern Turkestan, had their origin from Yuezhi [Бичурин II, 271-282]. In turn, H. Gibb considered this term as the name of the ruling Central Asian dynasty, considering it to be anciently Iranian [Gibb 1930, 7]. Some researchers equate Chao-wu with the title Yabgu, commenting on him as the word left from the Yuezhi [Смирнова 1970, 30-36]. A number of researchers believed that Chao-woo are of Iranian origin. So E. Chavannes believed that the Chinese Chao-wu transmits the name of the Paykend ruler شاه and offered to see in it the generic name of the Sogdian princes. V. Tomashek equalized this word with the Iranian name Siyavush, and K. Shiratori suggested that the Chao-wu transmits the Iranian schaho [see Смирнова 1970, 29]. Others, on the basis of the medieval reading of this term as t'šiamiu in the Tang chronicles, see in it the nobility of Mawarannahr, the well-known Muslim sources under the term جموك - Jamuk [Smirnova 1970, 30-33]. So, Tabari about Jamuk writes "و هم من عظام الترك" "and they are from Turkic azims", i.e. Turkic nobility [Табари 1987, 253; Смирнова 1970, 33-

34]. According to Z.V. Togan, the term Jamuk in Turkic sounded like Chamuk or Chumak, in the Chinese chronicles it is indicated in the form of Chu-mu-kun as the genus who led the genus of the five Tulu / Dulu Turks [Togan 1981, 51, 428]. Although Tabari also mentions members of the (clan) al-Dzhumukiin, but as noted by O.I. Smirnova in the story is about Baga Tarkan, who bore the title of Kursul / Kulchor (-course in Tabari. Old Türk. Kül-Čor - auth.) Chumukuns, one of the five Tulu / Dulu tribes, and therefore about the leaders of the Jamukiyin tribe [Смирнова 1970, 33]. In turn Yu. Yoshida, restoring the word Chao-wu as čamuk, considers him the dynastic name of the Sogdian rulers of a number of possessions of Central Asia [Yoshida 2003: 58-61]. It should be noted that, despite a number of existing opinions about the terms of Chao-wu, Chamuk and Chu-mu-kun, this question still remains open [Бабаяров 2007, 84; Тишин 2017, 234-235].

In our opinion, the identification of the term Chao-wu with Jamuk has a historical basis. The origin of the representatives of this ruling house on the basis of some facts can be said that it is associated with Eastern Turkestan and Yuezhi. However, they are not of Iranian or purely Turkic, as some researchers believe, but most likely of Tocharian origin. This is supported by the names of a number of rulers of the branches of the house of Chao-wu, in particular, Ferghana. So C.I. Beckwith noted that the names of the Ferghana rulers of Aluṭār in Tabari = A-leo-ta in "Hou Tang-shu", and his ancestor A-leo-tsan in "Tang-shu" (both VII century) contain in the first part something akin to Tocharian in walo - «king» [Beckwith 1987/1993, 211-212] and the fact that most of the names of the rulers of this house cannot be etymologized on either Iranian or Turkic basis and possibly are Tocharian. However, the fact that the coins of a number of areas of the Transoxiana of the early Middle Ages, the coinage of which is associated with the rulers of the house of Chao-wu, there are images of rulers with both pure Europoid and Mongoloid as well as mixed features, which may also be indicative of their Tokharian origin. Since then researchers have proved that for a very long time, the Tokhars lived and contacted the Turks, and in the end, they were assimilated in East Turkestan [СИГТЯ VI, 781-783, 809, 813-815], which probably explains their anthropological diversity. This is also confirmed by the visual art of Kushan, which, in the opinion of most researchers, are Yuezhi-Tokhars, where mixed anthropological features are also characteristic of the images of human characters [see Пугаченкова, Ртвеладзе 1990, 109]. Most

likely, the representatives of the house of Chao-wu were already highly Turkic before arriving at Transoxiana, which is probably why the Arabs called Jamuk (= Chao-wu) “Turkic azims” [Табари 1987, 253; Смирнова 1970, 33].

Consequently, even though it has been mentioned in Chinese sources that rulers of Bukhara like She-li (609), He-lin-ze (649), Sha (655-660) belonged to Chao-wu dynasty, this term is not used for others [Бичурин II, 272, 282, 312]. So, we can suggest that the dynasties have changed in this region during the second half of 7th century.

It is difficult to conclude from the information of “Tang-shu” chronicles that the dynasties have changed in Bukhara. It is possible to get some results by looking through only Muslim sources. Particularly, according to Narshakhi’s “Tarikhi Bukhara” and Firdavsi’s “Shah-nama”, we can guess that there was a dynasty in Bukhara, which has originated from Turkic Khanate. For instance, Narshakhi argues about the ruler of Bukhara called Abrui and Turkic qaghan Karachurin (Türk. Qara-Ćor)¹, who sent an army against him under the command of his son Sheri Kishvar. After Sheri Kishvar has killed Abrui in 587, he conquered Bukhara [Наршахий 1966, 16]. Even though S.P. Tolstov suggests that this Abrui and A-bo Da-lo-pien (grandson of Turkic qaghan Bumin) are the same person [Толстов 1948, 248], it is highly possible that he was one of the local Sogdian governors who was appointed after Turkic Khanate has recaptured Bukhara from Hephthalites.

R. Frye wrote that “Sheri Kishvar” is the Farsi version of Turkic name “Il Arslan” [Frye 1954, 108]. According to L.Gumilev, he was the same person with Karachurin qaghan’s son, who was mentioned as Yang-su Te-le (Yang-su Tegin; in Farsi sources شاهه – Sava or Saukh; in Arabic sources – Shaba) in Chinese chronicles. The researcher suggests that Yang-su Tegin has appointed his son Nili (in Farsi sources – Parmuda², in Arabic sources – Yeltegin or Ertegin) as a governor in Bukhara valley. After Nili’s death in 603, his brother Po-si Te-le (Tegin) takes his place [Гумилев 1967, 115-132]. In 630’s, these lands were ruled by Tun Yabgu-qaghan’s son – Ni-shu Kana-she (Šad) (Бичурин I, 284-285). L.N. Gumilev reckons that he is the same person with Kânâ Bukharkhudat, who was described as

¹ Various researchers compare Karachurin (Qara-Ćor) with one of the founders of Western Turkic Qaghanate – Tardu qaghan (576-583; 600-603). In Chinese sources, he was mentioned as a 達頭 (Da-tu) [2007, 69; Golden 2002, 103, 107] -son of Shi-tien-mi (Istemi) qaghan, while in Byzantium sources he was τάρδου (Tardu) [Moravcsik 1958, 299] and τῶν (Tardu) on the coins of Western Turkic Qaghanate [Бабаяров 2007, 9].

² For new versions concerning identities of Parmuda and Shava, see: Golden 2016, 28-32.

a ruler of Bukhara in Narshakhiy's novel [Гумилев 1967, 159-210; Наршахий 1966, 37]. But Gumilev's idea is based on guesses and has not been proven by any sources.

Even though there is no information that the residence of these rulers, who originated from Tardu (Karachurin) qaghan, was located in Bukhara or other surrounding cities, it is highly possible that their residence was situated not in Bukhara, but in one of the most prestigious cities of Bukhara valley – Baykend (Paykend). Because at that time Bukhara was ruled by the clan of Chao-wu. We suggest that the reign of Chao-wu family has ended in the second half of 7th century. As we have mentioned before, this can be proven by the fact that rulers of Bukhara after that period were not called as “Chao-wu” in Chinese chronicles. We suppose that descendent of Sheri Kishvar in Paykend moved to Bukhara in the last quarter of 7th century. For instance, sources inform that Turkic dynasty of that region lived in Bukhara at that time. Particularly, Narshakhi mentions Bidun Bukharkhudat, who was the ruler of Bukhara valley when Arabs invaded this region in 673 [Наршахий 1966, 17-18]. Even though it is known from Muslim sources that this ruler was of Turkic origin, the meaning of his name in Turkic language is unknown. Perhaps, Bidun is not a name, but a rank that is related to the title of “Tudun”. So, it is also possible that this name, which was written as (Bidun), (B.n.dun) in Arabic sources [Наршахий 2011, 158] and actually meant “tudun” (a title), transformed into Bidun as a result of copying texts and some missing or wrong dots in the words. It is a well-known fact that rulers were mentioned in different sources not with their names, but with their ranks. Furthermore, some information, regarding Bidun in Narshakhi's novel [Наршахий 2011, 158-160], indicates that Turkic Khanate appointed him as the ruler of Bukhara.

Also Chinese sources mention that officials (so-called “Tudun”) were sent by Turkic Khanate in order to control its own vassals and organize tax-collecting processes. Documents and numismatic materials in Sogdian and Bactrian languages also prove this information. This title, being one of the widespread titles in the Khanate hierarchy, is found in the management system of a number of oasis possessions in connection with the Western Turkic Khanate. In the Chinese chronicles, this title is mentioned in most cases after the *Eltäbär* title, and it is noted that its functions were to control local vassal rulers and organize tax collection [Бичурин I, 283]. The title Tudun is found in many sources relating to the Khanate, from which

it becomes clear that it was used in relation to the individuals who occupied the place near the local rulers. So, in the Chinese chronicle «Tang-shu» there is such information:

“Tong Shehu-han (Tun Yabgu-Qaghan) was brave, had the ability to think. His every battle was crowned with victory; Why did Tie-le join him, conquer Persia and Gibin (Kabul / Kashmir). He had several hundred thousand troops. Moved the horde from the Shi-go (Tashkent) to the north in the tract Qian-quan (Ming-Bulak / Merke). After that, he extended power to the whole of the Western Territory. Owners gave the title Xi-li-fa (Eltäbär), and sent Tu-tun (Tudun) to have control over them and collect taxes” [Бичурин I, 283].

Information in Chinese and other languages shows that the most commonly used rank in Turkic Khanate’s ranking system was “Tudun”. This rank is mentioned after “Eltäbär”, but before other ranks in Chinese chronicles and its functions were described as “control occupied areas and collect taxes” [Бичурин I, 283; Chavannes 2007: 53]. In one of the passages of the Chinese document found in Turfan (Gaochang), there is a mention of one Tudun, as well as other officials of the Turks [Skaff 2002, 99-100]. This rank can also be found in Sogdian, Bactrian and Greek (Byzantium) sources and it is often referred to people with close relations with the local ruler. The Sogdian document A-14 (20th years of 8 century), together with the ruler of Chach, mentions the person with the title tδwn and from its context it can be understood that he was an official deciding political affairs related to Chach [СДГМ II, 80-82].

Governors with the rank of ταδονο (Tudun) were described as Qaghan’s officials in Bactrian language documents of Tokharistan kingdoms of 7-8 centuries [Sims-Williams 2000: 94-96]. Furthermore, representatives of Turkic dynasty, that ruled over Chach in 7-8 centuries, have been minting coins under the name of “Tudun” (с’cynk xwβ tδwn “Ruler of Chach – Tudun”) for over 100 years [Бабаяров 2007, 52-60]. In Tokharistan kingdoms, variety of Turkic ranks were stamped on the coins with Bactrian writings, as well as the rank of ταδονο ταρχαβο (Tudun Tarkhan) [Göbl 1967, 140-141, 143, 167-168, 182, 192]. These facts indicate that “Tudun” was widely used in Turkic Khanate.

Information above makes it highly possible that Bidun Bukharkhudat actually had the title of “Tudun” and he was one of the governors who were sent to Bukhara, like any other vassal kingdoms. Perhaps, several governors might have ruled over Bukhara between 7th and 8th centuries. By the way, as it was mentioned before, in

Narshakhi's novel, Khatun was the supreme ruler of Bukhara, while Bidun was sometimes described as her husband or the official who belonged to Khanate (Turks in the novel). That's why he can be considered as "Tudun".



Fig. IX. Plots (depicting a ruler with long flowing hair, sitting cross-legged, rulers in a three-horn headdress), found on coins of the Western Turkic Qaghanate (Chach: 10-15) and findings from others with similar subjects from Yettisuv (Kyrgyzstan: 2-3, 6, 8-9; Kazakhstan (Chu - Ili: 1; Merke: 19, 21, 22-23; Zhaisan: 5, 7, 24)) and Altai (Russian Federation: 4), Mongolia (16-18, 20).

After joining the Turkic Khanate in many of these oasis possessions, local dynasties remained in power, while in others such as Chach, Tokharistan, Kabulistan, Ferghana dynasties directly connected with the Khanate came to power [Skaff 2002, 364; Stark 2008, 211-228]. Also, some researchers under the question mark believe that the origin of the main dynasty of Bukhara – Bukharhudats is also associated with the Turkic dynasties of Ashina [Stark 2008, 227-228]. But this opinion needs confirmation. In Chach and Ferghana, along with the Turkic dynasties, they retained power and local dynasties. At the same time, Turkic dynasties also began to rule over some small possessions of Sogd - Penjikent, Nakhshab [Лившиц 1979, 56-69; Камолиддинов 1996: 60], and the throne of the supreme rulers of Sogd - Ikhshids of Samarkand passed into the hands of a dynasty of Turkic-Sogdian origin, related to the ruling of Ashina [Альбаум 1975, 36; Бабаяров, Кубатин 2010, 22-32]. The same situation was observed in Bukhara oasis. Thus, according to a number of scientists, the Bukharhudat dynasty led its origin from Shiri-i Kishvar (Il-Arslan), the son of Turkic qaghan Kara Churin Türk [Адилов 1998, 29-30]. But this is not a fully resolved problem. Although in Arabic (Tabari, Narshahi and others) and Chinese («Tang-shu») sources are mentioned [Бичурин II, 312; Chavannes 1903: 138] the names of the Bukhara rulers of El-Tegin, Bukharhudat Tukaspadak / Tugh-Šad (?) (Chinese Tu-sa-po-ti) and his son Arslan (Chinese A-xi-lan) which are of Turkic origin [Frye 1954, 110], but most of the coins of Bukharhudat are not of Turkic influence.

Conclusion

Bukhara in the Early Middle Ages, due to its position at the junction of nomadic pastoral and sedentary agricultural areas, was the key region of Transoxiana. If Chach, Otrar and Ferghana were located directly in the contact zone, then Bukhara was located near the routes of movement of nomadic tribes from the Syr-Daria and Yettisuv basin to the south-western regions of Central Asia. All this could not leave its imprint on the history of these historical and cultural areas. In particular, the origin of the dynasties that ruled in these regions, as well as in other historical and cultural areas of Transoxiana in the early Middle Ages, is associated with some nomadic tribes.

We can shortly conclude that the discovery of double-imaged coins, that were minted in Bukhara at that time, not only throws light on dark pages of valley's history, but also makes some aspects

of Khanate's life more clear. Particularly, these numismatic materials give an idea of ethnic origins of Bukhara valley's ruling dynasties, influence of Turkic Khanate's coin-minting tradition on local vassal kingdoms, and at the same time, influence of vassal regions' existing traditions on Khanate's lifestyle. Especially, it is important that coins with similar plots were minted in 5 mutually-neighboring kingdoms and one of the coins of Western Turkic Khanate was a standard sample for them. This situation shows Khanate's methods and means that were used towards its vassals, from the other hand; it also contributes to the research of mutual relations between valley's kingdoms.

We can conclude that in the eve of Arab invasion, Bukhara was ruled by a woman called Khatun and a governor called Bidun was described as her husband in some sources, while in other sources, he was the person (commander) who came to support the princess of Bukhara. It is also possible that minting of those coins was related to their activities.

References

- Adilov, Sh.T. 1998. «Administrativnoterritorial'noe ustrojstva zapadnogo Sogda v rannem srednevekov'e» (Pis'mennye istochniki, istoricheskaja topografija, toponimika). *Uzbekistonda izhtimoiy fanlar* 6: 18-31. Tashkent.
- Al'baum, L. I. 1975. *Zhivopis' Afrasiaba*. Tashkent: Fan.
- Babajarov, G. 2007. *Drevnetjurkskie monety Chachskogo oazisa (VI – VIII vv)*. Tashkent.
- Babajarov, G. 2012. *Gosudarstvennyj stroj Zapadno-Tjurkского kaganata.*: Avtoref. diss. ... dok. ist. nauk. Tashkent: IV AN RUz.
- Babajarov, G. 2014. «Monety Otrara s izobrazheniem parnogo portreta». *Tarihiy manbashunoslik, tarihnavislik, tarih tadqiqoti metodlari va metodologijasining dolzarb masalalari*: Respublika ilmiy-nazariy konferenciya materiallari, 70-75. Toshkent.
- Babajarov, G., Kubatin, A. 2008. «K voprosu o vizantijskom vlijaniya na ikonografiju monet Zapadno-Tjurkского kaganata». *O'zbekiston tarihi*, 4: 3-10. Tashkent.
- Babajarov, G., Kubatin, A. 2009. «Rol' sogdijskogo jazyka v Zapadno-Tjurkском kaganate». *Endangered languages and History. Foundation for Endangered Languages in collaboration with the Academy of sciences of Tajikistan*: Proceedings of the Thirteenth FEL Conference, 80-83. Horog, Tajikistan.
- Babajarov, G., Kubatin, A. 2010. «K novomu chteniju i interpretacii legend na nekotoryh doislamskih monetah Samarkandskogo Sogda». *Tarih tafakkuri*, 22-32. Masul muharrir va tuzuvchi: Sh. H. Vohidov. Buhoro.
- Babajarov, G., Kubatin, A. 2015. «K voprosu ob upotreblenii titula MR'Y v Srednej Azii v jepohu rannego srednevekov'ja». *Sogdijskij sbornik. Novejshie issledovanija po istorii i istorii kul'tury Sogda v Uzbekistane*, 2: 89-92. Pod.

- red. Sh. Kamoliddin. Berlin: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing.
- Baratova, L. S. 2005. "Vizantijsko-sogdijsko-tjurkskij simbioz na monetah Srednej Azii". *Second International Congress on Turkic Civilization*, 415-422. Bishkek.
- Babayar, G. 2007. *Köktürk Kağanlığı sikkeleri Katalogu (The Catalogue of coins of Turkic Qaghanate)*. Ankara: TİKA.
- Babayarov, G., Kubatin, A. 2013. «Byzantine impact on the iconography of Western Turkic coinage». *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung.*, 66 (1): 47-58. Budapest.
- Bichurin, N.J. 1950-1953. *Sobranie svedenij o narodah, obitavshih v Srednej Azii v drevnie vremena*. V 3-h tomah. M.- L.
- Gumilev, L. N. 1967. *Drevnie tjurki*. M.: Nauka.
- Beckwith, C.I. 1987/1993. *The Tibetan empire in Central Asia*. Princeton.
- Dosymbaeva, A. 2014. *Tjurkologija. Istoriko-arheologičeskij aspekt*. Almaty: Service Press.
- Frye, R.N. 1954. *The History of Bukhara, translated from a Persian abridgment of the Arabic original by Narshakhi*. Cambridge.
- Gibb, H. A. 1930. *Orta Asya'da Arap Fütuhati*. Çev. M.Hakkı İstanbul.
- Golden, P. B. 2002. *Türk Halkları tarihine Giriş*. Çev. O. Karatay. Ankara: Karam.
- Golden, P.B. 2016. "The Great King of the Türks". *Turkic Languages* 20 (1): 26-59.
- Göbl, R. 1967. *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*. Band I. Wiesbaden.
- Kamoliddinov, Sh. S. 1996. *Istoricheskaja geografija Juzhnogo Sogda i Toharistana*. Tashkent: Uzbekistan.
- Kubarev, G. V. 2014. «Parnye supruzheskie izvajanija u drevnih tjurok Juzhnoj Sibiri i Central'noj Azii». *Drevnie i srednevekovye izvajanija Central'noj Azii*, 55-57. Otv. Red. A.A. Tishkin. Barnaul: Izd-vo Alt. Un-ta.
- Kubarev, G. V. 2017. «Drevnetjurkskie izvajanija iz Apshijakty v Central'nom Altae (k probleme vydelenija zhenskikh statuarnyh pamjatnikov u drevnih tjurok)». *Arheologija, jetnografija i antropologija Evrazii* 45 (1): 93-103.
- Livshic, V. A. 1979. «Praviteli Panča (cogdijcy i tjurki)». *Narody Azii i Afriki* 4: 56-69. Moskva.
- Lurje, P.B. 2010. *Personal names in Sogdian texts in Iranisches Personennamenbuch 2. Mitteliranische Personennamen* 8. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Malov, S. E. 1951. *Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pis'mennosti*. Teksty i issledovanija. M. L.
- Masson, M. E. 1997. «K voprosu o vzaimootnoshenijah Vizantii i Srednej Azii po dannym numizmatiki». *Trudy SAGU*, 23: 91-104. Tashkent.
- Musakaeva, A. A. 1997. «O denezhnom obrashhenii Buharskogo Sogda (III v. do n. je. - VIII v. n. je.)». *ONU* 9-11: 21-31.
- Musakaeva, A. A. 2013. *Turanskie monety III-VIII vv*. Tashkent.
- Musakaeva, A. 2015. «O tjurkskih chekanah Zapadnogo Sogda». Novejšie issledovanija po istorii i istorii kul'tury Sogda v Uzbekistane. *Sogdijskij sbornik 2*: 93-100. Pod. red. Sh. Kamoliddin. Berlin: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing.
- Moravcsik, G. 1958. *Byzantinoturcica*. II, Berlin.
- Najmark, A.I. 1995. "O nachale chekanki mednoj monety v Buharskom Sogde".

- Numizmatika Central'noj Azii*, I: 29-50. Tashkent.
- Narshahij, Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zhafar. 1991. Buhoro tarihi. (Fors tilidan A. Rasulev tarzhimasi). *Meros*, 88-174. Toshkent: Kamalak.
- Narshahi, Muhammad. Ta'rūh-i Buhārā. 2011. *Istorija Buhary*. Vstupitel'naja stat'ja D.Ju. Jusupovoj. Perevod, kommentarij i primechanija Sh.S. Kamoliddina. Arheologo-topograficheskiy kommentarij E. Nekrasovoj. Tashkent: SMI-ASIA.
- Pugachenkova, G.A., Rtveladze, Je.V. 1990. *Severnaja Baktريا i Toharistan (Ocherki istorii drevnost' i srednevekov'e)*. Tashkent.
- Rtveladze, Je. V. 1982. «Numizmaticheskie materialy k istorii rannesrednevekovogo Chacha». *ONU* 8: 31-38. Tashkent.
- Rtveladze, J. V. 1998. «Monety na Velikom Shhelkovom puti». *Numizmatika Central'noj Azii*, III: 5-17. Tashkent.
- Rtveladze, J. V. 2002. *Drevnie i rannesrednevekovye monety istoriko-kul'turnyh oblastej Uzbekistana*. Tom 1. Tashkent.
- Rtveladze, J. 2006. *Istorija i numizmatika Chacha (vtoraja polovina III - seredina VIII v. n.je.)*. Tashkent.
- Sravnitel'no-istoricheskaja grammatika tjurkskih jazykov*. 2006. Pratiurkskiy jazyk-osnova. Kartina mira pratiurkskogo jetnosa po dannym jazyka. Moskva.
- Smirnova, O.I. 1970. *Ocherki iz istorii Sogda*. Moskva.
- Smirnova, O.I. 1981. *Svodnyj katalog sogdijskih monet*. Bronza. Moskva.
- Sogdijskie dokumenty s gory Mug*. 1962. Chtenie, Perevod. Kommentarij. Vyp. II. Juridicheskie dokumenty i pis'ma. Chtenie, perevod i kommentarii V. A. Livshica. M.: Izdvo vostochnoj litry.
- Sims-Williams, N. 2000. *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan*. I: Legal and Economic Documents. Oxford University Press.
- Skaff, K. J. 2002. "Western Turk Rule of Turkestan's Oases in the Sixth through Eighth Centuries". *Turks* 2: 364-372. Ankara, 2002.
- Stark, S. 2008. *Die Alttürkenzeit in Mittel - und Zentralasien. Archäologische und historische Studien*. Wiesbaden.
- Tabari. 1987. *Istorija at-Tabari*. Izbranie otryvki (Perevod s arabskogo V.I. Beljaeva. Dopolnenija k perevodu O. G. Bol'shakova i A. B. Halidova). Tashkent.
- Tishin, V. V. 2017. «K istorii Semirechenskogo plemeni chu-mu-kun'». *Vostochnaja Evropa v drevnosti i srednevekov'e. Antichnqe i srednevekovqe obshhnosti*, 233-238. Moskva.
- Tolstov, S.P. 1948. *Drevnij Horezm: Opyt istoriko-arheologicheskogo issledovanija*. M.: MGU.
- Togan, Z.V. 1981. *Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş*. İstanbul.
- Shagalov, V.D., Kuznecov, A.V. 2006. *Katalog monet Chacha III – VIII vv*. Tashkent.
- Shjuven, P. 1995. «O Vizantijskih posol'stvah k pervym tjurkskim praviteljam Sogda (Problemy onomastiki i toponimiki)». *ONU*, 1-3: 33-38. Tashkent.
- Jacenko, S. A. 2001. *Znaki-tamgi iranojazychnyh narodov drevnosti i rannego srednevekov'ja*. Moskva.
- Chavannes, E. 1903. *Documents sur les TouKiue (Turks) occidentaux*. Sbornik trudov Orhonskoj jekspedicii, 6.
- Chavannes, E. 2007. *Çin yıllıklarına göre Batı Türkleri*. Çeviri M. Koç. İstanbul: Selenge.
- <http://www.zeno.ru> – Pre-Islamic Central Asia.

Yoshida, Y. 2003. "On the Origin of the Sogdian Surname Zhaowu and Related problems". *JA*, 1-2 (291): 35-67.

Adabiyotlar

- Адилов, Ш. Т. 1998. «Административнотерриториальное устройства западного Согда в раннем средневековье» (Письменные источники, историческая топография, топонимика). *Ўзбекистонда ижтимоий фанлар 6*: 1831. Ташкент.
- Альбаум, Л. И. 1975. *Живопись Афрасиаба*. Ташкент: Фан.
- Бабаяров, Г. 2007. *Древнетюркские монеты Чачского оазиса (VI – VIII вв)*. Ташкент.
- Бабаяров, Г. 2012. *Государственный строй Западно-Тюркского каганата.*: Автореф. дисс. ... док. ист. наук. Ташкент: ИВ АН РУз.
- Бабаяров, Г. 2014. «Монеты Отрара с изображением парного портрета». *Тарихий манбашунослик, тарихнавислик, тарих тадқиқоти методлари ва методологиясининг долзарб масалалари*: Республика илмий-назарий конференция материаллари, 70-75. Тошкент.
- Бабаяров, Г., Кубатин, А. 2008. «К вопросу о византийском влиянии на иконографию монет Западно-Тюркского каганата». *O'zbekiston tarixi*, 4: 3-10. Ташкент.
- Бабаяров, Г., Кубатин, А. 2009. «Роль согдийского языка в Западно-Тюркском каганате». *Endangered languages and History. Foundation for Endangered Languages in collaboration with the Academy of sciences of Tajikistan: Proceedings of the Thirteenth FEL Conference*, 80-83. Horog, Tajikistan.
- Бабаяров, Г., Кубатин, А. 2010. «К новому чтению и интерпретации легенд на некоторых доисламских монетах Самаркандского Согда». *Тарих тафаккури*: илмий ишлар тўплами, 2232. Масъул муҳаррир ва тузувчи: Ш. Ҳ. Воҳидов. Бухоро.
- Бабаяров, Г., Кубатин, А. 2015. «К вопросу об употреблении титула MR'Y в Средней Азии в эпоху раннего средневековья». *Согдийский сборник. Новейшие исследования по истории и истории культуры Согда в Узбекистане*, 2: 89-92. Под. ред. Ш. Камолиддин. Berlin: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing.
- Баратова, Л. С. 2005. «Византийско-согдийско-тюркский симбиоз на монетах Средней Азии». *Second International Congress on Turkic Civilization*, 415-422. Bishkek.
- Babayar, G. 2007. *Köktürk Kağanlığı sikkeleri Katalogu (The Catalogue of coins of Turkic Qaghanate)*. Ankara: TİKA.
- Babayarov, G., Kubatin, A. 2013. «Byzantine impact on the iconography of Western Turkic coinage». *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung* 66 (1): 47-58. Budapest.
- Бичурин, Н. Я. 1950-1953. *Собрание сведений о народах, обитавших в Средней Азии в древние времена*. В 3-х томах. М.Л.
- Гумилев, Л. Н. 1967. *Древние тюрки*. М.: Наука.
- Beckwith, C. I. 1987/1993. *The Tibetan empire in Central Asia*. Princeton.
- Досымбаева, А. 2014. *Тюркология. Историко-археологический аспект*. Алматы: Service Press.

- Frye, R. N. 1954. *The History of Bukhara, translated from a Persian abridgment of the Arabic original by Narshakhi*. Cambridge.
- Gibb, H. A. 1930. *Orta Asya'da Arap Fütuhati*. Çev. M.Hakki İstanbul.
- Golden, P. B. 2002. *Türk Halkları tarihine Giriş*. Çev. O. Karatay. Ankara: Karam.
- Golden P.B. 2016. "The Great King of the Türks". *Turkic Languages* 20 (1): 26-59.
- Göbl, R. 1967. *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*. Band I. Wiesbaden.
- Камолиддинов, Ш. С. 1996. *Историческая география Южного Согда и Тохаристана*. Ташкент: Узбекистан.
- Кубарев, Г. В. 2014. «Парные супружеские изваяния у древних тюрок Южной Сибири и Центральной Азии». *Древние и средневековые изваяния Центральной Азии*, 55-57. Отв. Ред. А.А. Тишкин. Барнаул: Изд-во Алт. Ун-та.
- Кубарев, Г. В. 2017. «Древнетюркские изваяния из Апшиякты в Центральном Алтае (к проблеме выделения женских статуарных памятников у древних тюрок)». *Археология, этнография и антропология Евразии* 45 (1): 93-103.
- Лившиц, В. А. 1979. «Правители Панча (согдийцы и тюрки)». *Народы Азии и Африки* 4: 5669. Москва.
- Lurje, P.B. 2010. *Personal names in Sogdian texts in Iranisches Personennamenbuch* 2. Mitteliranische Personennamen 8. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Малов, С. Е. 1951. *Памятники древнетюркской письменности*. Тексты и исследования. М. - Л.
- Массон, М.Е. 1997. «К вопросу о взаимоотношениях Византии и Средней Азии по данным нумизматики». *Труды САГУ*, 23: 91-104. Ташкент.
- Мусакаева, А.А. 1997. «О денежном обращении Бухарского Согда (III в. до н. э. - VIII в. н. э.)». *ОНУ*, 9-11: 21-31.
- Мусакаева, А.А. 2013. *Туранские монеты III-VIII вв.* Ташкент.
- Мусакаева, А. 2015. «О тюркских чеканах Западного Согда». *Новейшие исследования по истории и истории культуры Согда в Узбекистане. Согдийский сборник*, 2: 93-100. Под. ред. Ш. Камолиддин. Berlin: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing.
- Moravcsik, G. 1958. *Byzantinoturcica*. II, Berlin.
- Наймарк, А.И. 1995. «О начале чеканки медной монеты в Бухарском Согде». *Нумизматика Центральной Азии*, I: 29-50. Ташкент.
- Наршахий, Абу Бакр Мухаммад ибн Жаъфар. 1991. Бухоро тарихи. (Форс тилдан А. Расулев таржимаси). *Мерос*, 88-174. Тошкент: Kamalak.
- Наршахи, Мухаммад, Та'рих-и Бухарā. 2011. *История Бухары*. Вступительная статья Д.Ю. Юсуповой. Перевод, комментариев и примечания Ш.С. Камолиддина. Археолого-топографический комментарий Е. Некрасовой. Ташкент: SMI-ASIA.
- Пугаченкова, Г. А., Ртвеладзе, Э. В. 1990. *Северная Бактрия и Тохаристан (Очерки истории древность и средневековье)*. Ташкент.
- Ртвеладзе, Э. В. 1982. «Нумизматические материалы к истории раннесредневекового Чача». *ОНУ*, 8: 31-38. Ташкент.
- Ртвеладзе, Э. В. 1998. «Монеты на Великом Щелковом пути». *Нумизматика Центральной Азии*, III: 5-17. Ташкент.

- Ртвеладзе, Э. В. 2002. *Древние и раннесредневековые монеты историко-культурных областей Узбекистана*. Том 1. Ташкент.
- Ртвеладзе, Э. 2006. *История и нумизматика Чача (вторая половина III - середина VIII в. н.э.)*. Ташкент.
- Сравнительно-историческая грамматика тюркских языков*. 2006. Пратюркский язык-основа. Картина мира пратюркского этноса по данным языка. Москва.
- Смирнова, О. И. 1970. *Очерки из истории Согда*. Москва.
- Смирнова, О. И. 1981. *Сводный каталог согдийских монет. Бронза*. Москва.
- Согдийские документы с горы Муг*. 1962. Чтение, Перевод, Комментарий. Вып. II. Юридические документы и письма. Чтение, перевод и комментарии В. А. Лившица. М.: Издво восточной литры.
- Sims-Williams, N. 2000. *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan*, I: Legal and Economic Documents. Oxford University Press.
- Skaff, K.J. 2002. "Western Turk Rule of Turkestan's Oases in the Sixth through Eighth Centuries". *Turks 2*: 364-372. Ankara, 2002.
- Stark, S. 2008. *Die Alttürkenzeit in Mittel - und Zentralasien. Archäologische und historische Studien*. Wiesbaden.
- Табари. 1987. *История ат-Табари*. Избрание отрывки (Перевод с арабского В.И. Беляева. Дополнения к переводу О. Г. Большакова и А. Б. Халидова). Ташкент.
- Тишин, В. В. 2017. «К истории Семиреченского племени чу-му-кунь». *Восточная Европа в древности и средневековье. Античные и средневековые общенности*, 233-238. Москва.
- Толстов, С. П. 1948. *Древний Хорезм: Опыт историко-археологического исследования*. М.: МГУ.
- Togan, Z.V. 1981. *Utumi Türk Tarihine Giriş*. İstanbul.
- Шагалов, В.Д., Кузнецов, А.В. 2006. *Каталог монет Чача III – VIII вв*. Ташкент.
- Шювен, П. 1995. «О Византийских посольствах к первым тюркским правителям Согда (Проблемы ономастики и топонимики)». *ОНУ*, 1-3: 33-38. Ташкент.
- Яценко, С. А. 2001. *Знаки-тамги ираноязычных народов древности и ран- него средневековья*. Москва.
- Chavannes, E. 1903. *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turks) occidentaux*. Сборник трудов Орхонской экспедиции, 6.
- Chavannes? E. 2007. *Çin yıllıklarına göre Batı Türkleri*. Çeviri M. Koç. İstanbul: Selenge.
- <http://www.zeno.ru> – Pre-Islamic Central Asia
- Yoshida, Y. 2003. "On the Origin of the Sogdian Surname Zhaowu and Related problems". *JA*, 1-2 (291): 35-67.

About the authors: *Gaybulla B. Boboyorov* – Doctor of Sciences in History, Assistant Professor, Tashkent State University of Uzbek Language and Literature named after Alisher Navo'i.

Tatyana D. Abbasova – Head of International Department, Tashkent State University of Uzbek Language and Literature named after Alisher Navo'i.

For citation: Boboyorov, G. B., Abbasova T. 2020. "Pre-Islamic Coins of Bukhara with Double Descriptions". *Uzbekistan: Language and Culture* 2: 57–88.

Mualliflar haqida: *Bolliyevich G'aybulla Boboyorov* – tarix fanlari doktori, dotsent, Alisher Navoiy nomidagi Toshkent davlat o'zbek tili va adabiyoti universiteti.

Abbosova Tatyana Djaxangirovna – xalqaro bo'lim boshlig'i, Alisher Navoiy nomidagi Toshkent davlat o'zbek tili va adabiyoti universiteti.

Iqtibos uchun: Boboyorov, G. B., Abbasova, T. D. 2020. "Islomdan oldingi Buxoroning qo'shaloq tasvirli tangalari". *O'zbekiston: til va madaniyat* 2: 57–88.